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Contents

"Celebrated Misses And Illustrious Strumpets": The Negotiation Between the Male Gaze and Female Self-Fashioning in Peter Lely's Windsor Beauties

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John Evelyn, in his 1697 publication *Numismata*, advised his readers to collect portraits, specifically those of "the celebrated misses and illustrious strumpets … as have debauched'd Great Princes, and contributed more perhaps to the ruin of the Kingdom than all the wars, fires, plagues, and plots which else have happened."[1] Through an analysis of Peter Lely's *Windsor Beauties* series it is evident that portraiture played a crucial role in defining the seventeenth-century understandings of womanhood denoted by Evelyn, and the obvious polarity between the positive and negative stereotypes assigned to female courtiers. By interpreting the context and details of these paintings, commissioned by the Duchess of York between 1662 and 1666, alongside diaries and memoirs, one can also theorise as to the relationship between the artist, patron, sitter, and wider society.[2] This analysis benefits from the application of a diverse theoretical foundation. Laura Mulvey's notion of the "male gaze," initially employed in twentieth-century film theory, can be reinterpreted to an early modern context, positing that Restoration portraits of women were coveted and fetishized by men and served as a means of possessing the sitters.[3] This can be juxtaposed with Stephen Greenblatt's concept of "self-fashioning," applied by Art Historians to female courtiers who attempted to use portraiture to shape their visual personas.[4] Though one cannot ascribe complete agency to these women, as they were continuously subjected to sexualisation by male figures, these highly variable interactions did not exist in complete opposition to one another. Oftentimes, prominent women were able to self-fashion *within* the confines of the male gaze, demonstrating the substantial role *The Windsor Beauties* played in determining how women were regarded, individually and collectively, by the court and society more broadly.

It is important to briefly consider the context of the *Beauties'* creation. The series commissioned by Anne Hyde, the Duchess of York, who was described as "being desirous of having the portraits of the handsomest persons at court" to complement her husband's *Flagmen* series.[5] The compositional differences between these two collections reveals the masculine driven emphasis on femininity and beauty in Lely's female portraits (figs. 1-2).[6] The Duke's personal involvement in the *Beauties'* commission further reinforces these influences, as he likely selected his mistresses Margaret Brooke and Jane Needham to be sitters, and the series was later displayed in the Duke of York's closet at Whitehall (figs. 3-4).[7] This clandestine placement limits viewing to a select male audience, enabling them to explore the more intimate nature of the images. However, the close working relationship between the Duchess and Lely, emphasised repeatedly in the diaries of Samuel Pepys, indicate that as a patron the Duchess was likely influential in the direction of the series, exerting definitive autonomy and agency in executing her artistic vision.[8]

The *Beauties'* ten sitters were often subject to intense scrutiny. The most famous

Figure 1. Flagmen of Lowestoft: George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1665-6, oil on canvas, National Maritime Museum.

Figure 2. Mary Bagot, Countess of Falmouth and Dorset (1645-79), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1664/5, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 3. Margaret Brooke, Lady Denham (ca 1647-67), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1663-5, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 4. Jane Needham, Mrs Myddleton (1646-92) with a cornucopia, possibly as Demeter, Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1663-5, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

was Barbara Villiers, mistress to Charles II and the subject of Samuel Pepys's infatuation. A November 1666 diary entry describes his desire to own her likeness by ordering a copy of a Lely portrait "which pleases [him] well".[9] Similarly, an excerpt from 1662 describes viewing "a most blessed picture" of Villiers that he "must have a copy of."[10] Pepys's desire to own Barbara's image can be seen as a scopophilic attempt to possess her person, while capturing the prevailing sentiment towards women of the court: simultaneously holding them in high regard while degrading them as sexual objects. This reputation likely drove Barbara to fashion her iconography to manage her public persona, which was later mocked by Andrew Marvell when he declared, "Paint Castlemaine in colours that will hold/(Her, not her picture, for she now grows old)".[11] Other figures within the *Beauties* were subject to contemporary commentary as well, such as Frances Stuart and Elizabeth Hamilton, described as the court's "chief ornaments" (figs. 5-6).[12] The *Beauties'* public presence likely motivated them to fashion their likeness using positive attributes ascribed to them by male courtiers. These sitters were able to work within the boundaries of male objectification to exert agency and display their influence at court, which was reliant on their beauty and wit. However, not all remarks about the women represented them favourably, providing another motivation for self-fashioning. When describing Jane Needham, Anthony Hamilton reveals that though she was "well made, fair, and delicate", she appeared as "precise and affected", as her desire to pass for an intelligent woman earned her the reputation as a bore with "indolent, languishing airs" (fig. 4).[13] Women at court were obviously held to exacting standards of behaviour and critique by their male peers. The resulting competition, rivalry, and comparison between them reflected

male perceptions and facilitated the women's attempts to assert their superiority through self-fashioning. Undoubtedly, women were held to a double standard in seventeenth-century society, with an expectation for them to appear as explicitly sexualised while adhering to the prescriptive boundaries of chastity and virtue.[14] In conjunction with the sweeping disapproval of Charles II and his court, it becomes obvious why many female courtiers tried to use their portraits to assert autonomy and control their personal narratives. Contemporary value systems and critiques not only affected how audiences interpreted women in portraiture, but further influenced the expectations of their looks and behaviour.[15] These ideals were incorporated in the masculine desire to both villainise and crave feminine displays of sexuality. The sitters endeavoured to manipulate this paradox for their own gain by actively conforming to or subverting societal norms.

For example, women felt increasing pressure to oblige masculine ideals of beauty to enhance their own position. Portraiture reveals the negotiation between parties in determining and perpetuating these ideals. Anthony Hamilton effusively chronicled, "you could not look anywhere without seeing [beauties]", including his sister Elizabeth, who "had the finest shape, the loveliest neck, and most beautiful arms in the world…her complexion was possessed of a certain freshness" (fig. 6).[16] Similarly, John Evelyn praised Jane Needham as "that famous and indeed incomparable beautiful lady", while Pepys remarked of Barbara Villiers that "I can never enough admire her beauty".[17] While these statements demonstrate the vital role of beauty in determining women's status at court and the degree to which they were seen as a form of spectacle for the male gaze, a designation as "beautiful" could serve as a form of political and

Figure 5. Portrait of Frances Theresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (1648-1702), Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1662, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 6. ''La Belle Hamilton" (Elizabeth, Countess of Gramont), Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1663, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 7. Frances Brooke, Lady Whitmore (d. 1890), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1665, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 8. Elisabeth Butler, née Stanhope Countess of Chesterfield (1640-1665), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), 1665, oil on canvas, location unknown.

social currency, affording significant opportunity to bolster one's position and celebrity by securing an advantageous marriage, or in some instances, rising to prominence through sexual provocativeness.[18] Beauty was thus a form of power for women, and though men largely controlled the discourse, women could capitalise on their appearance to maintain or advance themselves as a form of self-fashioning within the constraints of the male gaze.

Portraiture was a crucial tool in establishing fashionability. The parallels between Lely's *Beauties* and physical aesthetics of the period are readily observed, such as in Lely's portrait of Frances Brookes (fig. 7). These include a horizontal face, bulging eyes, fashionably styled hair in loose ringlets, a wide mouth with a large underlip, and a fleshy body with the suggestion of a double chin.[19] Lely's portraiture follows this aesthetic pattern, demonstrating how as a collective set, the *Windsor Beauties* effectively captures and magnifies the beauty standards of the 1660s, which were dictated in part by men, perhaps including the artist himself. Written accounts, such as William Sanderson's *Graphice*, further sexualise this vision of female beauty in portraits, such as the woman's head, "supported by her Noble neck: round-rising full and fat", as well as her "Ample breasts … the swelling Papps like fair Pome-waters. The Nipples too, like raspberry fountains…."[20] These features are similarly emphasised in Elizabeth Hamilton's *Beauties* portrait. As one of only three models without a necklace, greater attention is brought to the fleshy, bare skin of her neck and the considerable exposure of her upper body and cleavage, enhancing the voyeuristic nature of the portrait for male audiences (fig. 6).[21]

Interestingly, Lely's *Beauties* is notable in that many famed beauties at court were excluded from the set. One omission is Elisabeth Butler, whose 1665 portrait bears remarkable similarities to the appearance of many of the *Beauties,* including pale skin, face-framing dark hair and brows, and Lely's trademark "sleepy eyes", with a heavily hooded lid and distinctive almond shape (fig. 8).[22] In contrast, Elizabeth Wriothesely, Anne Digby, and Henrietta Boyle were included in the series, despite no commentary on their attractiveness (figs. 9-11).[23] While Lely infused some aspects of his "court look" into his depictions of the sitters, these women do not generally conform to the standards of beauty present in the rest of the series. Perhaps, by beautifying the less attractive sitters and placing them alongside the portraits of those more esteemed, Lely and his patrons were elevating the status of these women by associating them with more rarefied company.

Due to this discrepancy, one must consider whether the *Windsor Beauties* are an accurate representation of the sitters, or an idealisation based on the established masculine standards. Encountering the paintings for the first time, Samuel Pepys famously remarked that the portraits were "good, but not like", and critics of Lely have long noted that by creating a standardised face, he altered his models so extensively that they are virtually unrecognisable.[24] As a contemporary commented, "all his pictures had an air of one another, all the eyes sleepy alike …. So that Mr. [Robert] Walker the painter swore Lely's pictures was all brothers and sisters".[25] The "sleepy eye" remained one of the most common features of Lely's art and it has been speculated that this feature was modelled on Barbara Villiers and emulated in his other portraits (fig. 12). This is readily demonstrated when examining the *Windsor Beauties* and the rendering of the sitters' eyes.[26] Lely's role as creator of the court aesthetic and arbiter of fashionability may have

enabled Villiers's attempts at self-fashioning and enhanced her celebrity, whilst inadvertently defining the male-centric standards of beauty. One can also observe visual similarities in the faces across the entire series, with the notable exceptions of Elizabeth Hamilton and Frances Stuart, both of whom were highly acclaimed beauties in their own right, and whose likenesses were painted before the portrait of Villiers (figs. 5-6). Having removed a sense of individuality from the sitters and imposing Villiers's characteristics, Lely further detracted from their agency and autonomy, perpetuating the male gaze and reflecting his ability to influence contemporary beauty standards and the perception of his models. Conversely, by employing universal standards of beauty instead of likeness, each model is elevated to the status of the most beautiful sitter. Therefore, while portraiture is typically intended to resemble the subject, Lely's effort to unify their appearance with common traits granted them the opportunity to self-fashion through the prestige afforded to beautiful women, leaving lasting impressions on viewers as a perfected surrogate of the sitter in their absence.[27]

In addition to contemporary sentiment, seventeenth-century standards of beauty were founded on classical and renaissance ideals of Neoplatonism, which stated that physical beauty was a symbol of divine love and a reflection of inner goodness.[28] As Agnolo Firenzuola articulated in 1541, there was more to ideal beauty than physical appearance, including "grace", "propriety", and "moderation".[29] To educated contemporaries, the Windsor Beauties' appearances can be seen as a reflection of their virtue. Careful analysis unveils specific features of the paintings that promote these goals. In the series, the sitters make direct eye-contact, as though inviting the male observer to appreciate

their soul and inner character. Their "sleepy eyes" relay a calm, collected peacefulness, and many of the sitters, specifically Mary Bagot, Margaret Brooke, and Jane Needham, are depicted with a soft, endearing smile reflecting their inner contentment and satisfaction (figs. 3-5). The incorporation of Neoplatonic principles in the Windsor Beauties seamlessly embraces the male gaze while exalting the female sitters and instilling the positive values of a patriarchal society. By embracing these traits, women could exploit their painted image, promoting a particular narrative of their character. While Neoplatonism is an inherently masculine construct that caters to the male gaze, by painting women as docile and subservient, it also provided the opportunity for women to represent themselves in an idealised form, to support a particular narrative of their character.

Ironically, the same visual components of the Beauties that were positively attributed to Neoplatonic idealisation also advanced the male fantasy. In this context, Lely's famed sleepy eyes can be construed as intrinsically sensual, particularly when combined with other seductive features such as exposed skin and loosely bound hair.[30] Furthermore, the aforementioned smile can now be interpreted as knowingly tantalising, hinting at sexual availability. When coupled with the objectification of female portraits by figures such as Sanderson, it is evident that despite the possibility of alternate interpretations, these paintings cannot escape the overt expressions of the male-gaze. In crafting a series of idealised and beautiful women, Peter Lely indulged the exhibitionist fantasy of viewing the women, while also advancing ideas of moral character and inner goodness. Yet, perhaps inadvertently, by integrating multi-layered connotations of his sitters' physical appearance, Lely endowed them with agency and autonomy. Beyond the

Figure 9. Anne Digby, Countess of Sunderland (1646-1715), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), before 1666, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 10. Henrietta Boyle, Countess of Rochester (1646-87), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1665, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 11. Portrait of Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1665, oil on Canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

Figure 12. Barbara Villiers, 1st Duchess of Cleveland (1641-1709), Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), circa 1665, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.

power and opportunity inherent in physical beauty, women at court could further choose which aspects of the male gaze they sought to embody to represent the complexities of the personality they wished to convey.

Like beauty, allegory was rooted in Neoplatonic values, as these symbols were thought to convey the sitter's inner qualities and covertly mask sexual innuendo.[31] The women depicted in allegorical portraits were able to harness the loftier aspects of Neoplatonism and the baser elements of the male gaze to fashion a bold identity that combined both features, demonstrating the interplay between these often-opposing theories. Each of these portrayals reveals essential information about the model while providing a representation of the character the sitter best emulated or sought to emulate. For example, Frances Stuart's characterisation as Diana, the virginal goddess of the hunt, can be identified through Lely's inclusion of a bow, reinforcing the message of Stuart's chastity and her direct refusal of the king's sexual advances, a sensational topic in court circles (fig. 5).[32] In his diaries, Pepys recounts the progression of Stuart's potential relationship with the king, culminating in her elopement with the Duke of Richmond, in March 1667 to avoid becoming the king's mistress.[33] In portraying Francis Stuart as Diana, Lely transformed her into a symbolic manifestation of her virtue, with a two-fold allegory demonstrating Neoplatonic goodness and chastity through a masculine lens, together with independence in her conscious choice to avoid male objectification.[34] Likewise, rendering Barbara Villiers as Minerva is allegorically significant, as depictions of the goddess were correlated with a rise of female intellectualism and the "cultivated woman" (fig 12).[35] By aligning herself with others who portrayed themselves as the goddess, Barbara created a powerful visual

persona representing her desired perception in a clear display of self-fashioning. While it conceivable that Lely chose to showcase his muse in this fashionable guise because of their close relationship, his portrayal of Barbara as Minerva bore significant ideological importance. It subverted her reputation as "the curse of the nation", as dubbed by Evelyn, and instead imbued her character with positive qualities.[36]

It is impossible to know whose opinion principally directed the allegory in the *Windsor Beauties*; the Duke and Duchess of York, as patrons, played an important role, but the sitter and Lely himself may have also contributed to the final representation.[37] Accommodations for the intended audience may have also been a factor. Generally, Neoplatonic allusion serves to support the male-directed connection between physical appearance and inner character. It is apparent that Lely skilfully applied allegory and symbolism in the *Windsor Beauties* to impart meaningful ideals to these women, capturing their position and perception at court in pictorial form and fusing the aspirations of the sitter with popular sentiments established by the duke and duchess, along with court society, about their moral character.

While it is evident that allegorical imagery effectively portrayed the inner grace and nobility required of Neoplatonism, it simultaneously utilised symbolism to appeal to the male gaze directly. The portrait of Margaret Brooke is an excellent example as the image is rife with sexual symbolism. As she rests casually in her seat, a basket of flowers sits on her lap, while the rendering of the luxurious fabric of her gown subtly alludes to her slightly parted legs (fig. 4). Taking this overt sexual imagery further, her fingers delicately touch the flowers, a trope representative of femininity, or even genitalia, while her other hand cradles the basket in her lap.

The entire composition has the effect of drawing the viewer's eye directly to her pelvis. Her hint of smile and sensual "sleepy eyes", as previously, complete this alluring image. These depictions enhanced the erotic experience of viewing female portraiture in a manner that could be easily understood by observers while leveraging the sitter's sensuality, which in addition to her beauty, served as her primary tool in securing power at court. As such, it is apparent that props and their placement constituted an integral tool in reinforcing allegorical ideas and conveying the subtle messages embedded within the *Beauties.*[38]

Some portraiture incorporated allegorical imagery with the intent of twisting the conventions of Neoplatonic ideology.[39] While Lely's *Beauties* primarily adopted allegory as a means of affirming positive traits about the subject, this was not universally true, and it can be argued that the sexual perversity of the women depicted in the paintings renders any application of Neoplatonic allegory obsolete.[40] Barbara Villiers's portrayal as Minerva demonstrated the degree to which women could appropriate classical, male-dictated imagery to assert agency, but was also highly satirical when considering Frances Stuart's depiction as Diana (figs. 6,13). The two goddesses had a special relationship wherein Minerva protected Diana's chastity, ironically echoing Barbara's mentoring of Frances in an attempt to limit her access to the king.[41] Barbara's portrait may have been commissioned in direct response to Lely's earlier painting of Stuart, as it served to comment on their well-known rivalry. In response to her younger rival's fashioned image, Villiers took the opportunity to assert her agency and fashion herself as the superior goddess, indicating the degree to which the specific allegorical imagery was easily understood and manipulated by knowledgeable court insiders.[42]

To summarise, the dynamic exchange of ideas and attitudes between Peter Lely, the Duke and Duchess of York, the ten sitters, and the *Windsor Beauties'* audience demonstrates how Laura Mulvey's concept of the male gaze can be applied to an early modern context, highlighting the possible extent to which women could manipulate this construct in adherence to Stephen Greenblatt's self-fashioning. At times, whether deliberate or inadvertent, women would benefit from the celebrity bestowed upon them through the masculine interpretations of their painted images. Ultimately, it is clear that these women are not simply a collection of glorified courtesans or 'painted ladies' as so many have been inclined to believe. Instead, they are a group of ambitious and self-aware individuals who sought to strike a balance between self-fashioning and the patriarchal mandates of the male gaze by constructing a narrative of their own design. Despite the complexity of the negotiation that was required to bring their portrait to fruition, they succeeded in establishing an enduring legacy whereby even modern viewers can appreciate their image and respect the multi-layered nature of these women at court.

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Representation Disputes and Identity Construction in Digger Pamphlets (1648-1652)

by Lívia Bernardes Roberge

Introduction

The topic of identity is not new in early modern studies. Jacob Burckhardt[1] famously located the ascension of the individual at the very centre of the transformations of renaissance Italy[2]. Nevertheless, when it comes to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, the matter of identity is one that is yet to be explored at greater length. Representation and identity played important parts in the political disputes that engulfed England, Scotland, and Ireland throughout the 1600s. Therefore, this paper assesses how, within the politics of the public sphere[3], identities were being mobilised with political ends. We will approach the case of the Diggers, one of the groups that found in print a platform to disclose their opinions and grievances with the wider society.

Pierre Bourdieu has established that the disputes that take place on the symbolic field are just as important for the ordination and structuration of society, playing a crucial part in denoting sense to social practices, and establishing relations of power, for example[4]. Elements such as literature, religion, culture, and art are components of this symbolic field[5].

Conversely, Roger Chartier has demonstrated the centrality of representations for the understanding of early modern Europe. He defines representation as the result of practices and discourses which build identities as well as society itself: it is through representations that individuals denote meaning to their social world[6]. Social reality, for Chartier, is built through the clashes of representations, when different individuals and groups dispute their own takes on social reality, trying to establish control over representations[7]. Consequently, the formation of identities is also the result of such clashes: the way you perceive and present yourself, versus the way third parties perceive you. Identities, therefore, are not the product of one specific form of self-fashion; they are an active field of dispute.

The Diggers pamphlets

Before the start of the conflicts, some of those that later would be identified as Diggers were merchants and apprentices in London, whose businesses were affected by wars, as was the case of Gerrard Winstanley[8]. Between 1648 and 1649, Winstanley went through a process of 'spiritual awakening', which led him to publish five tracts where he explored his views on religion, social inequalities, and the land. Writing seemed to be a way for Winstanley to express the anxiety that war and bankruptcy had caused him.

However, in the pamphlet *The New Law of Righteousness*, Winstanley declared that words were nothing and must die, and that action was the life of all[9]. By then, he had already made the acquaintance of the army agitator William Everard, and together with several others, in April 1649 they occupied St. George's Hill, in Surrey, declaring that the earth was a godly gift to be enjoyed equally by all. But the adoption of 'action' did not mean the end of writing. Between 1649 and 1652, they published

fourteen pamphlets and one broadside.

It is impossible to approach Winstanley's and the Digger's pamphlets without addressing Giles Calvert and his bookshop, *The Black-Spread-Eagle*, as Calvert was involved in the publication of the majority of these. Unfortunately, the path that led Winstanley to Calvert is rather obscure. Nevertheless, Calvert's role and influence in the development of the ideas and formats of such pamphlets, as well as the environment of the bookshop itself, should not be neglected. In 1649, Calvert was already involved in the publication of prints by different radical groups and individuals, such as John Lilburne, Jacob Böheme, and Peter Chamberlen; and he might have had a crucial role in the crossing of paths between these subjects and their ideas. D. F. MacKenzie, for instance, has characterised Calvert's shop as 'the *one* point in London where nearly all radical writers went to seek a sympathetic trade response to, and efficient dissemination of, their new ideas'[10].

Mario Caricchio argues that not only print matter was a space for the construction and circulation of divergent ideas, but that bookshops should be understood as such as well[11]. Different people, with diverse ideas, were circulating in such ambiences. Bearing in mind the early modern process of producing a text[12], the influence of Calvert and his printers in such pamphlets was probably quite significant. Choices, such as typography and the disposition of titles on the cover sheets, were all matters that involved printers and bookseller/publishers as well as the 'author'. Therefore, these were the fruits of the collective efforts of different hands and minds.

The Diggers' central goal with such publications seemed to be that of being heard, to have a say in what was happening on a national level, even if at first their grievances and propositions might strike us as being rather parochial. They creatively mobilised a variety of tropes, metaphors, and representations to pursue various aims: the Norman Yoke, the biblical passages of Esau and Jacob, the regicide, theories of universal salvation and election, the eminent return of Christ in the form of 'Reason' rising within mankind, the language of levelling and, ultimately, the representation of 'the poor oppressed people of England'.

St. George's Hill

The occupation of St. George's Hill, in the parish of Walton-on-Thames, marked the entrance of the Diggers in the radical political scenario of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. This was probably the most famous, as well as the most mythicised, event related to them. It either began on April 1st, 1649, according to Winstanley and the Diggers, or on April 8th, if we are to rely on the report by Henry Sanders[13]. It entailed the building of houses for the Diggers and their families, preparing the land for crops, as well as tending to cattle.

They advocated against private property of land and labour for hire[14]. Because they believed that people would give up on their properties of their own free will when inspired by the Diggers example of working together and eating bread together[15], they always reaffirmed that they would not meddle with anyone's property[16]. They were, after all, seeking support for their cause, and trying to distance themselves from accusations of being a riotous, chaotic sort of people. John Gurney pointed out, for example, that another reason behind the choice for St. George's Hill, was that its location apparently seemed to be 'the one least likely to cause disruption for local tenants'[17].

The Diggers' unpopularity amongst

locals forced them to relocate to Little Heath, in Cobham, in August 1649. There, they seemed to enjoy some tolerance for a while, before eventually being cast away again. Gurney suggested that one of the reasons for this different reception in Cobham had to do with the fact that many of the Diggers were originally from there, or had some tie with the locality, not being complete 'outsiders'[18]. But eventually the Council of State was once again notified about 'a great number of persons gathered together about Cobham in a tumultuous and riotous manner'[19] After this second failed occupation, they proceeded to work in the property of Lady Eleanor Davies/Douglas, in Hertfordshire, between August and December 1650, before dispersing completely. Their last known pamphlet was Gerrard Winstanley's utopia, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, published in 1652 by Calvert.

Reactions to the occupation and the Diggers' responses

For a while, the occupation of St. George's Hill was a topic that filled the pages of the London press. But this media coverage, alongside the reactions of other groups and the responses of the Cromwellian government, were also central for the very definition of the group's identity and self-representation. John Bradshaw, who first brought the matter to the attention of Lord Fairfax, described the group as:

> "a disorderly and tumultuous sort of people assembling themselves together not far from Oatlands, at a place called St. George's Hill, and although the pretense of their being there by them avowed may seem very ridiculous, yet that conflux of people may be a beginning whence things of a greater and more dangerous consequence may grow, to

the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the Commonwealth".[20]

We notice attempts to characterise the group's actions as simultaneously ridiculous, and as a threat to the Commonwealth. Captain John Gladman, sent by Fairfax to inspect the matter after Bradshaw's warning, went as far as pointing out that the whole thing was unworthy of the government's attention[21]. The tendency to both ridicule and fear the Diggers can also be identified in the newsbooks that reported on them. In total, 22 different newsbooks and three news-pamphlets printed comments about the Surrey Diggers between April and October 1649, totalizing 43 issues.

The royalist newsbook *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, for example, mocked Everard and his 'intention to convert Oatlands Park into a Wildernesse, and preach Liberty to the oppressed Deer', while warning that 'what this fanaticall insurrection may grow unto, cannot be conceived; for Mahomet had as small, and as despicable a beginning'[22]. The Diggers' interpretation about common land was particularly targeted: 'They thought because they were called Commons, they belonged to any body, not considering that they are the Commons only for the Inhabitants of such, or such a place; They are a distracted, crack brained people'[23].

The London media sought to connect the Diggers with more 'conventional' types of rural protests and riots, claiming the group was set to destroy park pales[24] - despite the Diggers' not destroying fences/hedges, and not occupying property. There were also the occasional more 'neutral' reports, such as by *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, *The Perfect Weekly Account*, and *England's Moderate Messenger*[25]. These were considerably rare, but their existence strengthens the idea that there was a narrative

dispute going on about the group.

When reading through these newsbooks' reports, one thing that draws attention is how terms such as 'levellers', 'new levellers', 'Surrey levellers', and 'new levelling' appear in some of these texts[26]. The adoption of 'diggers' to reference the group made a slowly and steady appearance on the pages of such newsbooks, beginning with the 41st issue of Leveller sympathizer newsbook *The Moderate*[27]. Eventually, reports started to differentiate Diggers and Levellers:

> "There have vanished of lete out of these parts two sorts of people, by whom we feared would much trouble befall the Nation, the one were such as took part with those called Levellers, and the other though more weak, and despised, were such as were called Diggers, (…)"[28].

The only vehicle that tried to establish a direct link between Diggers and Levellers, was the anti-Leveller pamphlet *The Discoverer*, to which Lilburne promptly published a response denying such connections:

> "And lastly, I shall shew the falseness and malignity of the late Discoverers designe, of fathering upon me, &c. *all the erroneous tenents of the poor Diggers at George hill in Surrey* , laid down in their late two avowed Books, called, *The true Levellers Standard*, and *The new law of Righteousnesse*, to which they have annexed their names: The Reader taking notice of which alone, may be an answer to all that abominable lying Book, called, The Discoverer".[29]

The second part of *The Discoverer*, published after Lilburne's reply, alleged that he would have an easier time dissociating himself and the Levellers from the Diggers, than from the accusations of treason it made against him[30]. Either way, a relation between 'Diggers' and 'Levellers' was being established in the collective imagery, and associations between both groups only grew even more tricky, once those occupying St. George's Hill finally disclosed their 'pretense of their being there'[31] with a pamphlet titled *The True Levellers Standard Advanced*, published on late April 1649.

Levellers and True Levellers.

The True Levellers Standard Advanced displayed no information concerning its printer or bookseller, but it was signed by Gerrard Winstanley, William Everard, John Palmer, and twelve others. In it, they exposed their belief that God himself had instructed them about how the earth was supposed to be enjoyed by all equally, and that there should be no labour for hire, or hierarchies between men. And whilst they believed in the eminency of the rise of Christ's spirit within mankind, restoring this proper order and balance, they also believed it was their responsibility to help bring about God's will on earth. 'Work together; eat bread together, declare this all abroad'[32], was the group's motto. When they took on the matter of introducing themselves, they adopted a universalist tone: they were the 'common People of England', speaking on behalf of all 'those that have subscribed, and thousand more that give consent'[33]. But what draws our attention is the employment of *Leveller* on the coversheet of this pamphlet.

For many years, Christopher Hill[34] popularized the interpretation that the Diggers' claim that they were the *true* Levellers was aimed as a provocation at the group commonly known as 'Levellers'. However, recent investigations by Ariel Hessayon[35] have called the matter

into question, as he claims that the title of the pamphlet should be interpreted as 'True Leveller' being a reference to God, much like when Abiezer Coppe referred to God as 'that mighty leveller'[36]. Hence, according to Hessayon the pamphlet's title should be read *The True Leveller's Standard Advanced*; and not *The True Levellers' Standard Advanced.*

However, knowing that this pamphlet had a second edition which displayed information that it had been printed for Calvert[37], and dropped, precisely, the original title[38] containing the word Leveller, strengthens our belief that such employment was not at random. Considering the role played by printers and booksellers in the manufacturing of early modern prints, and that Calvert was a most prominent figure in the radical printing scene in the late 1640s and had been involved in printing Leveller pamphlets, at least one part involved in the production of this pamphlet was probably much aware of the symbolic capital that Leveller entailed in this context: Calvert.

Therefore, even if the use of Leveller was not a provocation *per se* aimed at Lilburne's group on the part of the Diggers, it could have been a strategic publishing decision aimed to draw the attention of the public. This title change opens an infinity of questions. Perhaps the group and/or their publishers had a change of heart about how strategic such title was, since 1649 was not a particularly good year to be associated with the Levellers, who were suffering persecutions and incarcerations.

In addition to that, our agreement with Michael Braddick's characterisation of this context as one of a 'crisis in truth telling', strengthens even more our suspicion that the option for such title must be understood in opposition to the 'original' Levellers. Even

if a direct provocation or dispute with them was not intentional, the truth is that it sparked controversy and made the public irrevocably associate both groups. After all, it did lead the Levellers to publish further tracts reinforcing that they did not defend the levelling of all men's estates, 1649's *A Manifestation*[39] being an example, and that they had nothing to do with the Diggers on St. Georges Hill, as seen in *The Legall Fundamentall Liberties of the People of England*[40].

The dissociative approach adopted by Lilburne is also interesting. Instead of endorsing, for example, that yes, *those* on top of St. George's Hill were indeed *Levellers* – while he and his companions were not, he chose to dissociate completely from any imagery related to new group. He resorted to labelling Winstanley and his companions as *diggers,* who had nothing to do with what he stood for. This can be understood as a recognition, on the part of Lilburne, of the symbolic capital contained in 'Leveller', which could also explain why, while never accepting the label, he nevertheless adopted it on cover sheets of his pamphlets, as was the case in the 1649 pamphlet *A Manifestation*, which's full title reads: *A Manifestation from Lieutenant John Lilburne, Mr. William Walwyn, Mr. Thomas Prince, and Mr. Richard Overton, (Now Prisoners in the Tower of London) And others, commonly (though unjustly) styled Levellers.* Therefore, even though they despised the label, the Levellers still made use of it in their pamphlets for they probably realised that this was the term by which they were mostly known in the context of the 'pamphlet wars'. However, such employments of *Leveller* could also have been a choice of the printer and/or the booksellers involved in its publication. The fact is, that despite Lilburne's efforts, a connection between the Levellers and those occupying St. George's Hill seemed

to have been established and solidified in the imagery of 17th century England.

To understand such naming disputes through a historiographical perspective, we must look back and assess the meanings that both 'digger' and 'leveller' carried in early modern England. In English dictionaries from the 15th and 16th centuries, 'digger' seemed to be a term associated with rural work, someone who dug up mines, wells, simple people who carried on manual, heavy labour[41], potentially perceived as ignorant by people of higher social statuses. As for 'leveller', there seems to be no entries of the word in early modern dictionaries prior to 1652[42], where it appears as part of the explanation for the legal concept of *Capias in withernam*.

A turn came with the Midlands' Rising of 1607. These were a series of enclosure riots, where the rebels destroyed fences and buried hedges in protest against the so called 'improvement' of the English countryside and its negative effects on the lives of common folk. In a letter dated 2nd June 1607, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, when writing about the actions of the 'tumultuous rable', employed *diggers* to reference them, whilst noting that they allegedly called themselves *levellers*[43]. This marked one of the first employments of 'digger' and 'leveller' with a somewhat political connotation. In a manuscript petition by the rioters, they titled it 'The Diggers of Warwickshire to all other Diggers' and signed it the 'poor Delvers and Day labourers'[44]. In it they denounced the erasure of common rights, the raise of rents and of the price of corn. Thus, 'Leveller' and 'Digger' started to be associated with forms of popular protests centred around the matter of property.

When these terms were recovered and mobilised in the 1640s, they seemed to be employed to dismiss both groups, with the intention of depicting them as a ridiculous people who, nevertheless, posed a threat to social order. In the Leveller's case, despite their efforts to deny accusations that their political programme encompassed the 'levelling' of property, such label was still adopted by their opponents to cast them under a threatening light. In the case of the Diggers, this seemed to be a term that would appeal to their supposed 'inferior' social status: poor, ignorant rural labourers, who had no place in voicing opinions about religion, politics, or society, who were mere enclosure rioters, adding to the depiction of a violent, irrational mob carrying non-sensical actions. In both cases, not only such labels were employed pejoratively, but also the idea of property seemed to be at the centre of such definitions.

The approach developed by Jean Pierre Cavaillé[45] about the community of goods as an 'unacceptable radical theme' during this period assists us in understanding such labelling dynamics. Cavaillé proposes the concepts of acceptability and unacceptability to analyse radical ideas, which complement interestingly Braddick's analytical approaches of creativity and mobilisation, especially because he emphasises how contexts affect the social, cultural, and political perceptions of ideas. In the 1640s many groups were trying to mobilise themes deemed to be unacceptable, disputing and promoting their acceptability – as was the case of the Diggers and the debate on property –, a 'strategy which presupposed the existence of spaces of restricted and clandestine acceptability'[46].

Cavaillé argues that in England, the community of goods as a political motif cannot be separated from the general debate about the 'myth of the original freedom of the Anglo-Saxons', which allocated the right to property

at the centre of freedom, therefore creating an intellectual environment in the 17th century which perceived attacks on the idea of property as attacks on the freedoms of the English people. It is interesting here to notice how Winstanley mobilised this rhetoric in a creative way, as he claimed exactly the opposite: that property was the origin of the corruption that was destroying the freedoms of the English[47], something that for him could be traced back to the Norman Invasion of 1066.

Just as Braddick demonstrated how the printed representations of the Irish Rebellion boosted the fear of Catholics and 'popish plots'[48], fear of languages and performances surrounding digging and levelling can be traced back to cultural perceptions about rural protests, such as the peasants' revolt in 1381, the Lollards, and the reports on the Midland Risings back in 1607. As demonstrated by Steve Hindle, there seemed to exist a great fear on the part of spectators that the protesters' pretensions were not 'merely agricultural, but social and political' and that they might soon be set to 'level all states as they levelled bankes and ditches'[49]. Therefore, the anxiety prompted by Digger and Leveller discourses on freedom and equality later in the 1640s seemed to relate to fears surrounding rural protests of the beginning of the century.

Hence, the anxieties about the Diggers and Levellers in the 1640s spurned both from the utter unacceptability of the topic of community of goods, the weariness about debates that brought property into question, as well as from the representations about the 1607 Midland Rising. Consequently, labelling the St. George's Hill group as *diggers* served at the time three main purposes: 1) dissociation from the Levellers; 2) dismissing their cause altogether by representing them as simple, ignorant people;

and 3) portraying them as a threat by connecting them to the enclosure riots of the beginning of the 16th and early 17th centuries.

From diggers to Diggers

In early June 1649, after *The Moderate* called them Diggers, and after many newsbooks had already circulated reports on them, the St. George's Hill group published the pamphlet *A Declaration of the bloudie and unchristian acting of William Star and John Taylor of Walton*[50]. In it, they reported alleged attacks they suffered from William Star and John Taylor. In the first page of this pamphlet, the group employed 'diggers' to represent themselves for the first time, but still in a subtle manner, without upper case letters:

> "Upon the 11 day of June 1649 foure men only being sitting and preparing the ground for a winter season, upon that Common called George-hill, there came to them *William Starr* of *Walton*, and *John Taylor*, two free-holders, being on horse-back, having at their heels some men in womens apparel on foot, with every one a staffe or club, and as soon as they came to the **diggers**, would not speak like men, but like bruit beasts that have no understanding […]"[51]

From this point on, the name 'Digger' would progressively make its way into the group's pamphlets, appearing with a capital 'D' on the cover of *A Watch-Word to The City of London, and the Armie*[52], and afterwards, in bold, capital letters, at the centre of the cover of the pamphlets '*A New-yeers Gift for the Parliament and Armie: Shewing, What the Kingly Power is; And that the Cause of those They call DIGGERS is the life and marrow of that Cause the Parliament hath Declared for, and the Army Fought for;* […]'[53]; '*A Vindication of those, Whose endeavors is only to make the Earth a*

common treasury, called DIGGERS'[54]; and *'The Diggers Mirth, or, Certain Verses composed and fitted to Tunes, for the delight and recreation of all those who Dig, or own that Work, in the Commonwealth of England'*[55].

Differently from the Levellers, though, they did not seem to use of the word to attract attention whilst simultaneously making clear their despise for it. Even if they still did mention that it was a name that had been attributed to them, that they were *called* 'diggers' by people, they did not display signs of dismissiveness or rejection. On the contrary, the Diggers seemed to progressively embrace their name, promoting a deeply creative appropriation of its meaning, one that encompassed representing themselves as 'the poor oppressed people of England', 'the saints of God', those fighting the injustice of enclosures, of buying and selling, building on a powerful collective representation that legitimised them to speak on behalf of all those being affected by the non-addressing of such matters by the government of the Commonwealth.

They seemed to understand that 'embracing a deviant identity – even that of a witch – offered forms of agency despite the fearful risks it also entailed'[56]. Considering that until the first half of the 17th century, as we have seen, 'Diggers' seemed to have had two main meanings – rural laborer and enclosure rioter – what the Surrey Diggers did was promote the creative development of yet a third meaning for 'Diggers': that of the righteous people carrying God's work on England, assisting in preparing it to become the first land where Christ would rise in people's hearts. They were the 'poor oppressed', the 'saints', 'the younger brothers', they were those who were advocating for the true liberation of England. The addition of this new meaning could be one of the reasons why

the use of the word 'diggers' reached a peak in frequency in print during the 1650s, coinciding with the aftermath of the entrance of the Diggers in the conflicts. The following graph shows the frequency with which 'Diggers' was employed in sources from EEBO during the 17th century.

Such data must be handled with care since a search on EEBO using CQPweb tends to provide peaks during the 1640s and 1650s due to the impact of George Thomason's collection. Nevertheless, we can still draw some interesting insights on how these terms were being employed during the 17th century. The addition of a third meaning to 'diggers' might just as well have contributed for it to enter the recurring political vocabulary of the period, with it being employed more broadly and frequently after the Surrey group first appeared in 1649. We could argue, then, that during the 1650s 'Diggers' became a word associated with the group that occupied St. Georges Hill, and everything they represented.

When creating this 'Digger identity', the group mobilised biblical stories, English history, and economic distress, constructing what Luc Borot deems an identity based on 'the holy history of the poor of England'[57]. This all delves deeply into language and literature as representation as, after all, these are not a perfect mirror of social reality, but rather representations of the social world[58]. Nicholas McDowell points out that many groups and individuals identified as radicals employed representations of themselves as poor, uneducated people to mobilise support in the public sphere, something that was accepted by historians like Hill as not only being true, but also as being an inherent trace of the phenomena of radicalism: something that could be depicted in terms of class struggle, fostering the interpretation of an underlying 'English popular radical tradition'. But

Frequency of 'Diggers' in EEBO sources between 1600 and 1699
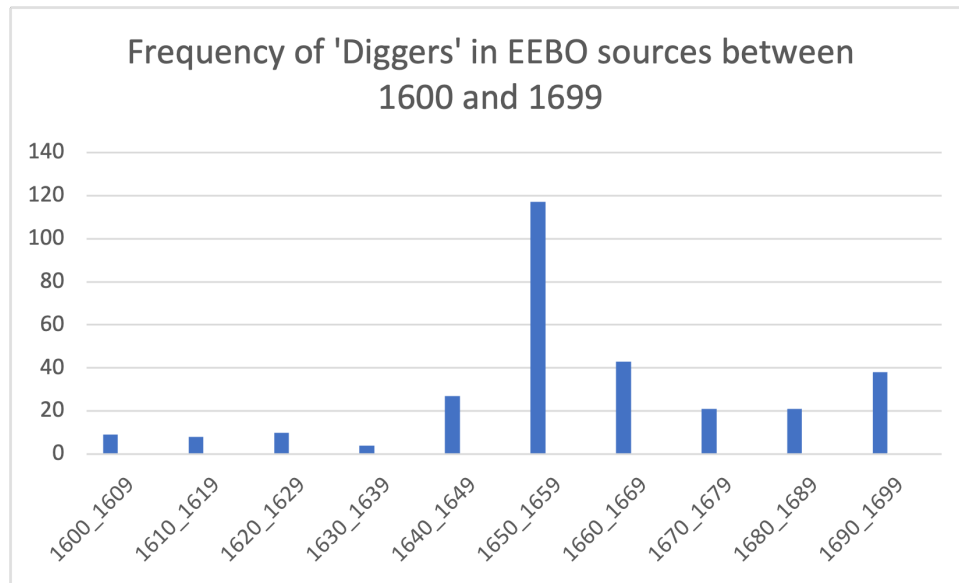
Graph 1: Frequency of 'Diggers' in EEBO sources between 1600 and 1699

Source: Elaborated by the author. Result of 'Diggers' search using CQPweb on the corpora Early English Books Online (V3).

McDowell alerts that, in many cases, while doing this, they displayed an educated background,[59] which leads us to comprehend the employment of such representation in their rhetoric with a different, strategical aim.

David Coast, when analysing 17th century petitions, also speaks about the symbolic capital that claims of poverty and suffering had in England in this period, stressing how Anglican and Lutheran doctrines had the characteristic of often promoting a certain 'idealisation' of the poor, claiming that their sufferings put them closer to God[60]: '[…] The more the imaginary petitioners abased themselves and used the exaggerated rhetoric of suffering, the more worthy they were of royal sympathy'[61]. So even though civil war probably had indeed affected terribly the lives of many of the Diggers, their mobilisation of such discourses in their pamphlets should also be interpreted as a representation dispute.

Such refashioning was 'successful', in a way, as it led to other groups elsewhere to mobilise this same language and identity. The new meaning was appropriated by others who were not necessarily connected with the Surrey Diggers. There were examples in Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, where new groups published broadsides employing similar language to forward the cause of access to common land. Therefore, differently from what was once asserted by the Marxist historiography, the foundations of Digger identity do not lie on class, just as the reasons they were called such do not lie (exclusively and primarily) on the fact that they were literally 'digging' with shovels on St. Georges Hill. It has much more to do with, it seems, what Braddick defines as formation of solidarities 'based not on family, neighborhood, age, gender, or class, but on shared values and beliefs'[62]. One recognised oneself as a 'Digger' based on a set of shared beliefs, values, and circumstances. Different individuals, with different trajectories, were brought together under this representation by the ways war had affected and changed them, and their perceptions of the world.

Conclusion

In the 1640s, the Diggers entered an arena where the truth was the commodity under

dispute. Their claim of 'true' levellerism, was an attempt to dispute certain narratives not only about themselves, but about various tropes populating English imagery in the 1600s. When they south to refashion what Digger meant, they were disputing their truth amidst the 'crisis of truth telling'[63]. This can, and should, be understood as a characteristic of political action of the period. The Diggers mobilised their own creative interpretations of history, law, legitimacy, authority, and scriptures to put forward their cause. They embraced a former pejorative term and refashioned it into something that – aided by Marxist scholarship – to this day echoes resistance and land reform.

Endnotes

1   Burckhardt (2001).

2   More recently, Stephen Greenblat (1980), Tara E. Pedersen (2015), and Roger Chartier (2002), whilst distancing themselves from some of Burckhardt's approaches, have also produced scholarship about the importance of identity, self-fashioning, and representation for the understanding of the early modern period.

3   Lake; Pincus (2012).

4   Bourdieu (1989), p. 9-10.

5   Bourdieu (1989), p. 16.

6   Chartier, (2002), p. 177. For the three main ways in which representations operate in the structuring of the social world see Chartier (2002), p. 183.

7   Chartier, (2002), p. 177.

8   Davis; Alsop (2014).

9   Winstanley (1649d), p. 80. Winstanley's 'action turn' might have been influenced by contact with the ideas of Peter Chamberlen. On this, see Caricchio (2011, p. 69-70) and Hessayon (2014, p. 18).

10   McKenzie (1976), p. 12.

11   Caricchio (2011).

12   Chartier (2015).

13   Sanders (1649), p. 195.

14   Everard et al. (1649b), p. 11; 14-16.

15   Winstanley (1649d), p. 513; 518.

16   Winstanley et al (1649f), p. 35.

17   Gurney (2007), p. 138.

18   Gurney (2007), p. 166.

19   THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, London. *To ye Justices of ye Peace of Surry*, 10 Oct. 1649. State Papers 25/94, p. 477-478.

20   Bradshaw (1649), p. 194.

21   Gladman (1649), p. 196.

22   THE BRITISH LIBRARY, London. *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 17-24 Apr. 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.551[12].

23   BL, London. *A Perfect Summary of an Exact Dyarie of Some Passages of Parliament*, 16-23 Apr. 1649. Issue 13, Thomason Tracts, E.529[19].

24   BL, London. *A Pefect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament*, 16-23 Apr. 1649. N° 298, Thomason Tracts, E.529[18].

25   BL, London. *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad To prevent mis-information*, 17-24 Apr. 1649. N° 308, Thomason Tracts, E.551[18]; BL, London. *The Perfect Weekly Account*, 18-25 Apr. 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.552[2]; BL, London. *England's Moderate Messenger*, 12-19 Jun. 1649. Issue 8, Thomason Tracts, E.530[39].

26   BL, London. *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*, 16-23 Apr. 1649. Issue 298, Thomason Tracts, E.529[18]; BL, London. *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 17-14 Apr. 1649. Issue 51, Thomason Tracts, E.551[19]; BL, London. *A Modest Narrative of Intelligence*, 21-28 Apr. 1649. Issue 4, Thomason Tracts, E.552[7]; BL, London. *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*, 23-30 Apr. 1649. Issue 300, Thomason Tracts, E.529[26]; BL, London. *The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout*, 4-11 May 1649. Issue 15, Thomason Tracts, E.530[2]; BL, London. *Mercurius Republicus*, 22-29 May 1649. Issue 1, Thomason Tracts, E.556[29]; BL, London. *A Modest Narrative of Intelligence*, 2-9 Jun. 1649. Issue 10, Thomason Tracts, E.559[5]; BL, London. *The Declaration and Standard of the Levellers of England...*, 23 Apr. 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.551[11].

27   BL, London. *The Moderate*, 17-24 Apr. 1649. Issue 41, Thomason Tracts, E.551[20].

28   BL, London. *The Perfect Weekly Account*, 20-28 Jun. 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.562[6].

29   Lilburne (1649c), p. 75.

30   BL, London. Canne, J., *The Discoverer Pt. 2,* 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.564[9], p. 80.

31   Bradshaw (1649), p. 194.

32   Everard et al. (1649a), p. 14.

33   Everard et al. (1649a), p. 1.

34   Hill (1991).

35   Hessayon (2014).

36   BL, London. Coppe, A., *A Fiery Flying Roll: A Word from the Lord to all the Great Ones of the Earth, whom this may concerne: Being the last Warning Piece at the dreadful day of Judgement*, 1649. Thomason Tracts, E.587[13].

37   Who, therefore, could have been involved in the publication of the first edition as well.

38   It was republished with the title *A Declaration to the Powers of England*, in late April 1649. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, New York. Everard, W. et al, *A Declaration to the Powers of England and To all the Powers of the World*, 1649. Early English Books, 1641-1700, D800A.

39   BL, London. Lilburne, J. et al. *A Manifestation from Liutenent John Lilburne, Mr. William Walwyn, Mr. Thomas Prince, and Mr. Richard Overton, (Now Prisoners in the Tower of London) And others, commonly (though unjustly) styled Levellers* (1649a). Thomason Tracts, E.550[25].

40   Lilburne (1649c).

41   Search results for 'Digger' on LEME: *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, ed. Ian Lancashire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018). http://leme.library.utoronto.ca

42   Search results for 'Leveller' on LEME: *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, ed. Ian Lancashire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018). http://leme.library.utoronto.ca

43   Hindle (2008), p. 21.

44   BL, London. *The Diggers of Warwickshire to all other Diggers*, 1607. Harley MS 787/11.

45   Cavaillé (2016).

46   Cavaillé (2016), p. 43.

47   Everard et al. (1649a).

48   Braddick (2009), p. 167.

49   Hindle (2008), p. 35-36.

50   Anonymous (1649).

51   Anonymous (1649), p. 59-60. Highlighted by the author.

52   Winstanley (1649b).

53   Winstanley (1650a).

54   Winstanley (1650b).

55   BL, London. *The Diggers Mirth, or, Certain Verses composed and fitted to Tunes, for the delight and recreation of all those who Dig, or own that Work, in the Commonwealth of England*, 1650. Thomason Tracts, E.1365[3].

56   Braddick (2011), p. 18.

57   Borot (1991), p. 7.

58   Chartier (2002).

59   McDowell (2003), p. 19.

60   Coast (2019), p. 74.

61   Coast (2019), p. 73.

62   Braddick (2011), p. 2.

63   Braddick (2008).

Tales of Plague and Fire: how to access reliable news and information in 1660s London

by Nicola Clarke

I have a particular interest in the multimedia nature of news in seventeenth-century England, a world in which both consumers and producers were dealing with a greater range of print, manuscript, oral, and audio-visual news than ever before. Regular periodical printed news provision could be described as the new kid on the media block, though in this period, it was strongly regulated compared to the heady free for all of the 1640s. Regardless, both manuscript and oral news transmission remained absolutely critical for all consumers.

I decided to look at these two events in an attempt to understand a different kind of news provision and consumption from the political/ religious/military coverage, which so often dominated the media history of the century, and explore the sort of news that would be useful to consumers – a brand of what in modern media parlance is often described as "news you can use". News coverage and consumption during the plague and fire share some similarities particularly in the providential interpretations frequently attached to them. Keith Thomas makes the point that there is nothing incompatible in seventeenth-century epidemics between a belief in providence and the exercise of practical self-help.[1] Therefore, it is likely that most news consumers would have been happy to make use of a variety of types of news, from astrological predictions to the data driven Bills of Mortality, from neighbourhood reports to personal newsgathering. Many people's approach to the reliability of news during such crises would have been a heterogenous mix of their religious faith, personal and community knowledge, and educational background.

One institution in 1660s England sat spider-like at the centre of a complex nexus of manuscript and print news transmission, the Post or Letter office. It was crucial to the distribution of the official printed newsbooks of the period: *Newes published for Satisfaction and Information of the People*; its sister publication, *Intelligencer published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People*; and their successor, the *London Gazette*. The Post/Letter Office was equally important for the distribution of the sanctioned manuscript newsletters and the transmission of news in personal and business correspondence. It was how those who remained in London told family and friends about events and how business was conducted throughout the disruption.

There was, throughout the plague, concern about the transmission of the disease via letters, and perhaps we all have a better understanding of those fears in 2022, than we might have done in 2019. The London apothecary William Boghurst who remained in the capital throughout the plague, describes this concern very clearly in his account of the epidemic, *Loimographia*. He explains in detail the arduous process used to deal with letters: sieving them, airing them at the top of a house or on a hedge, leaving letters for two or three days between cold stones, putting them by the fire like toast, or describing how "some would not receive them except on a long pole."[2] This

not only indicates fear of transmission but also the lengths that people were prepared to go to read letters in the increased social isolation of the epidemic. The main post office in London remained operational throughout the plague, with its head, James Hickes, pointing out that his team were working in conditions "so fumed, morning and night, that they can hardly see each other, but had the contagion been catching by letters, they had been dead long ago."[3]

The impact of the fire on news transmission by post was very different. In the immediate aftermath of the inferno, with the loss of the main post office, the distribution of information including the supply of the London Gazette, whose print shop was also destroyed, left a gap in both the distribution of official and unofficial news. In the week following the fire, urgent letters were coming into the Secretaries of State and the Postmaster General, from places as diverse as Swansea, Portsmouth, and Cumberland requesting letters and news which had been delayed. What particularly concerned regional officials was reliable information about what had actually happened in the City. Even as near to London as Eton, on 9th September there was still a vast amount of confusion and concern, with Lord Maynard writing to Secretary Williamson that "Having not even a gazette, people's spirits grow depressed with stories of persons ruined." He went on to say that he did not know whether the fire was by treachery or chance; and listed a range of conspiracy rumours saying there were thousands of such reports, and added that people did not know what to believe. As I shall discuss later, the State's approach to the fire was significantly impacted by these conspiracy theories.[4]

For Londoners living through these two disasters there were diverse multimedia sources available to follow the developing news. During the plague, the Bills of Mortality were the key official source of public health information, printed on a weekly basis by the Company of Parish clerks, they had been a regular part of Londoners lives since the early part of the century. The Bills provided information to the State, the City authorities, as well as the nascent group of demographers emerging at this time (e.g., John Graunt and Richard Smyth). At 1d a sheet or 4s a year for a subscription, they were cheap and were available through taverns, ale houses, coffee house, and mercury women to almost everyone else in the capital. In his 1662 work *Natural and Political Observations, Mentioned in a Following Index, and Made upon the Bills of Mortality*, Graunt speculates about why people bought and collected the bills. As he described it "they might take the same as Text to talk upon in the next Company; and with all in Plague-time, how the sickness increased or decreased, that so the Rich might judge of the necessity of their removal, and Tradesmen might conjecture what doings they were like to have in their respective dealings."[5] Graunt clearly highlights here, another important factor in news transmission in the period, having something interesting to contribute and pass on to your social network.

There was much debate in 1665 about the reliability of the Bills, many people, from diarists like Pepys and Evelyn to the non-conformist minister John Allin, thought they were unreliable, both because they mistrusted the standard of the reporting, undertaken by the frequently poorly paid searchers, and feared manipulation of the data by parish clerks. Allin, who was also an unlicensed medical practitioner in Southwark, reported doubts about the Bills as early as 26th May, when he wrote to a friend in his old parish of Rye that, "The sicknesse is sd to encrease in Holland, as it also doth here; ye bill mentioned 3 last weeke, and 14 this weeke, but

its rather believed to bee treble the number."[6]

Given both of Allin's unlicenced professions, his scepticism about the information of the Restoration state is perhaps not surprising, but Pepys, at the heart of the administration, was also sceptical and offers us direct evidence of the figures for the Bills being doctored in this period. On 30th August, he met James Hadly (*sic*.), the clerk of his parish, St. Olave's, Hart Street, who told him that the plague was much on the increase in there. "For," says he "there died nine this week, though I have returned but six." Pepys described this as a "very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places, and therefore the plague is much greater then people take it to be."[7] However both Pepys and Allin are much more accepting of the trends that the Bills outlined.

From June 1665, the two official newsbooks, *Newes* and *Intelligence*, were also printing the Bills, however I think it is also fair to say that the news books during the plague would not have provided Londoners with much information which they could have not found elsewhere. Neither saw their role as providing news that consumers could use, though somewhat bizarrely they carried advertisements for plague cures before they had any editorial coverage of the plague itself.

Most Londoners would have encountered their plague information via other sources, some official and many unofficial. They would have discovered the new Plague orders, through Proclamations in both printed and oral forms, from constables on the street and through the pulpit on a Sunday. They would have seen the thousands of ephemeral advertisement handbills for cures and preventatives, much of this information would have been unreliable and, in some cases, simply concoctions made for profit. However, it is a mistake to think that medical professionals of the day did not know that some projected cure or preventative were worthless. For example, in the early days of the contagion, all respectable medical opinion knew that rumours that having venereal disease stopped you getting the plague were wrong. Both William Boghurst, the leading apothecary of the plague, and Nathaniel Hodges, the most respected physician who remained in London throughout, were dismissive of it and William Kemp, in his *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence*, was damning, saying it was "no lesse unfortunate or wretched, than devilish and wicked advice for any to get the Pox, to avoid the plague."[8] For those interested in tracking the plague's development, and comparing it with previous epidemics, they could have purchased plague broad sheets, which gave the historical Bills of Mortality date for previous outbreaks, the up to date data for the current outbreak, and left spaces for the purchaser to fill in subsequent weekly death tolls.

Perhaps the most universal and democratic form of plague news was audio visual, the fearsome, almost constant sound of the funeral and passing bells and the ever-increasing number of red crosses appearing on the doors of affected homes. The sound of bells and the sight of crosses dominate the written personal accounts of London during the plague. There is no direct record of the emotional impact the bells had on the majority of the people in the capital, but their effect is strongly represented in the works and letters of those who have left an archival trail. In a letter, from St. Paul's, to Dean Sancroft at the height of the crisis in September, John Tillotson noted that "The bells never cease to put us in mind of our mortality."[9] In his reflection on the trauma

of the plague, *God's Terrible Voice in the City,* ejected minister, Thomas Vincent, who preached and ministered in London throughout, says all that could be heard were "the groanes of dying Persons …. and the Funeral-knells of then that are ready to carried to their Graves."[10] The sight of crosses and notices appearing on doors was a frightening warning to Londoners of all classes that the pestilence had reached their parish, or the parish of family or friends. On 7th June, Pepys recorded that in Drury Lane, near to where his parents -in-law lived in Long Acre, he saw "two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us" writ there – which was a sad sight to me, being the first of that kind that to my remembrance I ever saw."[11]

For the fire, Londoners would have been getting their news in a very different way – during the actual conflagration they would have been reliant on oral information being passed street to street and what they could see from whatever vantage point they could find. Proclamations, both printed and read out, would have been the major source for information from the authorities. They would have been particularly important for those seeking help and relief, on 5th September, there is, for example, a Royal Proclamation that alerted people to the fact that the King had ordered bread to be brought daily, not only to those markets that remained, but to the ones that had been newly created outside the fire zone. It also permitted people to store goods in churches, chapels, schools, and public buildings. Importantly, for those looking to re-establish their economic base, it stated that other nearby towns should receive the displaced and allow them to practice their trades. Proclamations like these were clearly examples of "news you could use" so long as people could effectively gather the information contained in them in a crisis.

This brings us to the importance personal newsgathering and news networks and the transmission and consumption of news in this period. As we see from Graunt's remarks about the Bills of Mortality, news was social currency, but it was also lifesaving information in 1665 and 1666. Pepys account of the fire, although it undoubtedly makes much of his role in reporting what was happening to the King and the Duke of York, does give us a very clear account of how many Londoners would have gathered their news in September 1666. He was woken about 3 o'clock in the morning by his maid, Jane, to be told there was a great fire in the city. He got up and went to have a look but believed it was far away so went back to bed. In fairness to Pepys, this was a decision to some extent conditioned by past experience – fires were not uncommon in seventeenth-century London. When he got up at six to dress, he had another look out of the window, and judged the fire to be smaller than before and further away and went back to tidying his closet. Later in the morning, Jane informed him that 300 houses had been burnt down and that the fire was burning down Fish Street by London Bridge. At this point Pepys assessment of risk changed, and he moved from relying on his domestic network, Jane, for news and went out to do some personal newsgathering of his own. He walked down to the Tower to gain a high vantage point and get a better look.[12] This, in some form, would have been how most people found out what was happening, the original source might have been a neighbour or a watchman and not a servant but the process was likely to have been much the same.

Both oral and manuscript news transmission play and important role in personal newsgathering. Letters were obviously central to many people's news networks, these networks could be professional, confessional, familial, or

a mixture of all three. Those on the margins of conformity often worried about the security of their letters. John Allin, for example, was careful not to have letters directly addressed to him. Oral news networks would have been disrupted by fears of contagion during the plague and by the massive dislocation of the fire. However, it is also not unreasonable to assume that new oral news networks would have emerged amongst the newly engaged searchers and gravediggers for example and in the post-fire displacement camps. There are examples of extraordinarily broad personal networks, Pepys's has extraordinary reach, from eyewitness reporting of the Fire directly to the monarch, to sharing the news of the Naval defeat at Bergen with a complete stranger while waiting for horses, and risking going to the Exchange to share news at the height of the plague. Through Pepys, watermen and tavern servants were in a news network with the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Albemarle.

Finally, I want to suggest that there was a very different much more proactive approach to news coverage by the Restoration state in the Great Fire than during the plague. I think its not unreasonable to say that Whitehall and the official media had a good Fire from a crisis management perspective and a poor plague. This may well be in part probably because it was possible for the Court to look active during the Fire without any enormous risk to the survival of the monarch which was not the case with a contagious disease and it would undoubtedly not have been in Charles II's playbook to get the Stuart Monarchy restored and then allow *yersinia pestis* to do what eleven years of the Commonwealth and Protectorate had failed to manage. But I also think it is clear that the more proactive communication strategy was to some extent a reaction to the conspiracy stories

which were rife almost from the moment the fire escaped from Pudding Lane; it was papists, it was 5th Monarchists, it was the French, it was the Dutch, it was the French and the Dutch, invasion was imminent. It was not the same environment during the Plague, when as Paul Slack points out during Tudor and Stuart epidemics there were "no hysterical hunt for scapegoats, no terror of plague sowers, no rumour that plague had been deliberately caused by witches or other agents of the devil."[13]

The Great Fire was different, as early as 3rd September Dutch Baker Cornelius Rievelt had been held in the Guard house in Westminster, essentially for being Dutch, long enough to petition Lord Arlington for his release and the authorities had had enough time to taken statements from five witnesses that one Anne English had said that five or six Frenchmen had come to her master's houses and told him to remove his goods because the house and the whole street would be burnt down.[14] There was clear and urgent need for the central government view that the fire was an accident to get out quickly not just in London to reduce unwarranted attacks on foreigners within the city, but also to reach across the country where rumours were spreading like wild fire and trained bands were being called up, in expectation of similar fires being set or imminent invasion. The speed with which the London Gazette manage to establish a temporary printing operation and get an edition out 10th September is a clear example of this, as is Charles II's personal appearance amongst the displaced at Moorfields, to emphasise that the Fire was an act of God, in a face-to-face delivery of news from the Crown.

In summary, for news consumers in particular during the two great civil crises of the 1660's it was a multimedia world, with all social classes having some access to all media. Print

was not necessarily more valuable to someone like Pepys, than his own personal observation, or conversations in which he heard news or passed it on. John Allin's friends in Kent had earlier news of the plague by letter than anyone in the country got from the official news books and a man waiting for horses got direct information about the Battle of Bergen from the Secretary to the Navy Board. Consumers were able to use a range of sources to judge the accuracy of the information before them, to compare and contrast the frequency of the tolling bell and red crosses on doors with Bills of Mortality for their parish. If some of these issues here are now familiar to us in the twenty-first century, I would suggest that in some ways the sources available and the reliability of the content provided may not be so very different from our own experience of the last two years of daily press briefings, social media health scares, and street WhatsApp groups.

Endnotes

1   Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England (London: Penguin Books), 789.

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3   The National Archive SP29/170. October 4, 1665.

4   TNA SP29/171 September 9, 1666.

5   John Graunt, Natural and Political Observations, Mentioned in a Following Index, and Made upon the Bills of Mortality, 2nd edition. (London: Tho. Roycroft, for John Martin, James Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1662).

6   John Allin to Philip Fryth May 28, 1665, East Sussex Record Office, FRE/9/12/5450.

7   Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys: Volume VI – 1665, ed. by William Matthews Robert Latham, (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 207. For confirmation see John Graunt, London's Dreadful Visitation, or, A Collection of All the Bills of Mortality for This Present Year (London: August 22- 29.

8   W. Kemp, A Brief Treatise of the Nature, Causes, Signes, Preservation from, and Cure of the Pestilence Collected by W. Kemp ... (London, 1665), 57.

9   Henry Ellis, Original Letters, Illustrative of English History: To 1795 (Harding and Lepard, 1827), 36.

10   Thomas Vincent, God's Terrible Voice in the City (London? s.n. 1667), 30.

11   Pepys, Diary, 120.

12   Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys: Volume VII – 1666, ed. by William Matthews Robert Latham, (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 267-268.

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"Revenge is Sweet": Subjectivity and Social Justice in The Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Leeson

by Alexandra J. Collinson

Content Note: There is mention of violence against women and children, and stillbirth in this paper.

Born around 1742 to a middle-class Catholic family in County Westmeath, Peg Plunket became Margaret Leeson: one of Ireland's most successful courtesans and brothel keepers during the late eighteenth century. Her autobiography, *The Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Leeson,* was published in three volumes between 1795 and 1797. She hoped the autobiography would improve her financial situation following her retirement from the sex trade. Within these memoirs, Leeson describes an attack she experienced at the hands of a Dublin gang which took place around the late 1770s. This paper examines how her reflections on this violence destabilise deep-rooted, interlocking systems of prejudice surrounding prostitution, gender, class, and religion operating within her context, to emphasise her status as a suffering human subject who has the right to seek justice for the crimes committed against her. Her life writing serves to validate her position in "civil society", as she calls it, functioning to articulate her strong moral compass and a powerful sense of her own selfhood.[1]

My analysis is informed by feminist theoretical approaches to life writing and sex work. Discussing the so-called "Scandalous Memoirs" – a generic category applied by modern critics to life writings by sexually transgressive female authors, published during the mid-to-late eighteenth century – Felicity

Nussbaum observes that:

> "Once a 'fallen woman' speaks a textual 'self,' she becomes a subject – the perceiver instead of the perceived. In contrast with seeming to be a generic abstraction, she is an 'individual' who participates in the particular and universal through loneliness, anger and passion."[2]

Nussbaum alludes here to a broad range of "scandalous" female writers condemned for a variety of alleged sexual indiscretions, including bigamy and adultery. However, I would add that the *sex worker's* act of asserting her textual subjectivity holds specific, unique weight in this period. The process of "speaking a textual self," is even more radical when it unfolds long after the fall, long after the writer's entry into the sex trade, when she is – in the eyes of the world – completely debauched, beyond the point of redemption. Women like Leeson even fell beyond the specifications of feminist sympathy in the revolutionary 1790s. The treatises of revolutionary feminist writers, including those of Marie Madeleine Jodin and Mary Wollstonecraft, are filled with dehumanising caricatures of morally degraded courtesans. In these texts, shame-faced fallen women – driven into prostitution by necessity – are at risk of being lured beyond redemption into lifestyles of revelry, extravagance, and moral corruption. While the end of the 1790s saw more sympathetic feminist approaches to the issue of prostitution, sex workers – interpreted as symbols of women's social subjugation in many of these literary

W. Hoare pinx.   Miss Plunkett.   J. Watson fec.
Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse Cornhill.

Depiction of Margaret Leeson:

*Watson, James after William Hoare. "Miss Plunkett",
National Portrait Gallery (Printed for John Bowles, Date
unknown).*

productions – stood at odds with their utopias of female liberation.

Indeed, sex workers of all strata were perceived by many to exist in a state of moral and physical degradation, persistently represented as abstracted symbols of corruption during this period. One male-authored libertine text, *The Tricks of the Town Laid Open,* describes sex workers as "vermin" who reside in "contagious… pesthouses."[3] Such misogynistic ideologies worked their way into feminist discourses, as these writers attempted to highlight the damage that patriarchal oppression had done to women. For example, Jodin depicts "vermin engendered by centuries of corruption," while Wollstonecraft talks of sex workers "infesting" the city streets, and Mary Hays of inebriated figures "revelling in destruction" while indulging in "excessive and brutal licentiousness."[4] Drawing inspiration from modern intersectional feminist theory, I adopt Melissa Grant's concept of the "prostitute imaginary" to discuss the ways in which such writers "conceptualise and make arguments about prostitution" through caricatures of dissipation, debauchery, and disease: in this way, sex workers are reduced to rhetorical devices in the works of misogynistic commentators and anti-prostitution feminists alike.[5] Defining sex workers in this way marks out a stigmatised group that is "easily imagined, located, treated, and controlled by law," in eighteenth-century society, and beyond.[6] With all this considered, life writing for Margaret Leeson is a radical act. She rallies against these abstractions through the assertion of her autobiographical self, with all the individual struggles, emotions, and feminist social commentaries she has to offer.

All of this is compounded by Leeson's status as a practicing Catholic in a period when Ireland was dominated by the Protestant ascendancy. Leeson's memoirs are open about her faith: she finds solace in prayer and seeks repentance with the guidance of a priest towards the end of her life. She condemns the intense anti-Catholic prejudice of her context, particularly the legal restrictions upon Catholics' landowning and property rights, as a "disgrace to any nation" (*Leeson,* p.202). As Diane Long Hoeveler puts it, "in order to modernize and secularize, the dominant British Protestant imaginary needed an 'other' against which it could define itself as a culture and a nation with distinct boundaries."[7] From this perspective, "a reactionary, demonized, and feudal Catholicism [was] created to stand in opposition to the modern protestant individual."[8] For example, in 1775, the naturalist Gilbert White discussed "the manners of [such] wild natives, their superstitions and their prejudices."[9] Thus, Leeson was navigating Prostitute *and* Catholic Imaginaries in this context, a myriad of prejudices surrounding her status as a sex worker and her religious identity. We cannot assume that her life writing constitutes the deliberate act of writing back to these prejudices, but as I will demonstrate, her self-representation certainly counters the dominant culture's caricatures of uncivilised otherness.

Having established these theoretical and contextual ideas, I now turn to examining Leeson's account of her attack – which took place at her brothel in Drogheda Street, Dublin. Around a decade after beginning her career as a kept woman, Leeson was now associating with some of Ireland's most powerful men. She could afford to be, in her words, "entirely her own mistress" (*Leeson,* p.67). She was eight months pregnant with her ninth child and living with her two-year-old daughter and a nurse. One evening, a notorious gang of upper-class men, known as the Pinking Dindies, demanded entry to her brothel. When she refused, they smashed the

windows, broke down the door, and ransacked her home. Leeson was attacked, and left fitting on the floor. Her two-year-old daughter died of fright, as she describes it, and her baby was delivered stillborn three weeks later.

Leeson's representation of these experiences and of her attackers destabilise prejudices associated with contemporary understandings of the "civilised." She writes:

> "At that time, Dublin was infested with a set of beings, who, however they might be deemed gentlemen by their birth, or connexions, yet, by their actions, deserved no other appellation than that of RUFFIANS. They were then called Pinking-dindies, and deriving boldness from their numbers, committed irregularities, abhorrent to humanity; and gave affronts when together, which singly they would not have had courage even to attempt. They ran drunk through the streets, knocking down whoever they met; attacked, beat, and cut the watch; and with great valour, broke open the habitations of unfortunate girls, demolished the furniture of their rooms, and treated the unhappy sufferers with a barbarity and savageness, at which, a gang of drunken coal-porters would have blushed. At the head of this infamous set was a man, who, though of a noble family, disgraced it then by his behaviour; and who has since made his name famous for contriving to mount nearer to Heaven than he had any reason for expecting ever to arrive. […] This shock, with the ill-treatment I received from these self-called gentlemen, at a time when my being so very big with child, would have moved compassion in the hearts of wild Indians, threw me into a fit. I lay as dead,

> when some of my neighbours took me out lifeless, and carried me in that state to one of their houses" (*Leeson*, p.70).

The Pinking Dindies were led by Richard Crosbie, student at Trinity College and, as Leeson sardonically references, a soon-to-be celebrated aerialist. Many of these men were, as J.D Herbert puts it, "sons of respectable parents, who permitted them to get up to man's estates in idle habits, without adequate means of support; others were professional students, who having tasted the alluring fruits of dissipation, abandoned their studies."[10] Given that Trinity College did not grant admission to Catholics until 1793, and Leeson's attack took place around the late 1770s, we can deduce that the Pinking Dindies were from privileged Protestant families. Leeson contrasts their external appearances of respectability with reality, invoking discourses of ruthless savagery to depict their lack of compassion, and their destabilisation of the local community. She exposes these so-called "gentleman" as "ruffians" whose actions are "abhorrent to humanity," inspiring terror amongst the civilised, peaceful society to which Leeson implicitly belongs. She weighs the gang up against classist and racist caricatures of "uncivilization" – from working-class "drunken coal porters" to "wild Indians" – to compound this sense of division. The gang roam freely through the streets of Dublin: they own the city's properties, frequent its clubs and taverns, and study at its university, all while abusing vulnerable women with impunity. For Leeson, the Dindies are barbarous others masquerading as civilised gentlemen.

It is worth noting that Leeson's depictions of aristocratic male threat resonate with the representations of upper-class "gentlemen" in female-authored gothic literature published during the 1790s. As highlighted by Anna

Shajirat, the Irish novelist Regina Maria Roche suggested that it was "not ghosts or demons that threaten[ed] violence and 'ruin,' to women, but living, breathing men."[11] Forced marriage, rape, and other forms of violence were real, everyday terrors faced by women. Leeson emphasises the dangers posed to sex workers, not only Roche's chaste female protagonists, by supposedly "civilised" men. As she observes, the Pinking Dindies preyed upon women working in the sex trade, abusing them, and ransacking their properties. Herbert acknowledges this sense of entitlement in his observation that these men "extracted from unfortunate girls, at houses of ill-fame, their share of what they deemed booty."[12] Indeed, Leeson's representation of these men freely "breaking" into women's houses and abusing their inhabitants reflects the aristocratic male's expectation of access to the spaces, bodies, and property of women, particularly those who were deemed sexually transgressive in this period. As victims of male violence were expected to fulfil strict standards of chastity, the bodies, voices, and experiences of sex workers were persistently devalued in this misogynistic culture.[13]

While sex workers were described as subhuman carriers of pestilence and disease in the prostitute imaginaries of misogynistic commentators and revolutionary feminists alike during this period, Leeson suggests that it is *the Dindies* who "infest" the streets of Dublin, with "unfortunate girls" as their suffering human victims. In Leeson's account, the members of *this gang* are less than human. The depiction of her vulnerable pregnant body, "so very big with child" compounds her vulnerability at the hands of "savages" who are entirely devoid of compassion, generating an image of maternal suffering which was likely to shock even conservative critics amongst her readership.

Leeson describes the consequences of the attack in vivid detail: she later describes her baby being delivered stillborn, its leg broken in her womb, and the two-year-old daughter who witnessed the attack suffering a "fit of screeching" and dying "in consequence of the fright' (*Leeson*, p.70). These "warriors" she sardonically observes, "murdered two helpless infants [and] bruised and maltreated their defenceless mother" for "fun" (*Leeson*, p.70).

On these terms, she challenges conventional terms of victimhood, villainy, and social sympathy: Leeson, the pregnant Catholic sex worker, suffers at the hands of predatory, uncivilised Protestant aristocrats. She emphasises her right to pursue justice, a daring move for a woman of her status in this period. As Julie Peakman observes in her biography of Leeson, attacks on brothels were frequent, but taking a case to court was difficult for anybody – let alone a known sex worker.[14] Women's characters were routinely dissected in court, particularly when cases involved working-class complainants against aristocratic men.[15] Showing up at court could also be a "transgressive public exhibition" for a woman, but Leeson had no sexual reputation to lose.[16] Certainly, facing opposition from a Catholic courtesan with financial independence would not have sat easily with a group of privileged Protestant men who routinely exploited sex workers. Leeson writes:

> "[Crosbie] thought I had forgotten him, and would proceed no farther; but revenge is sweet. I carried on my suit for my damages. A second trial ensued, in which he was cast; and I had him arrested for the amount, and again put him into Newgate. […] [He thought] being of a noble family, would be his protection and enable him to brazen it out: and some of the lads of the College, who were dissipated enough
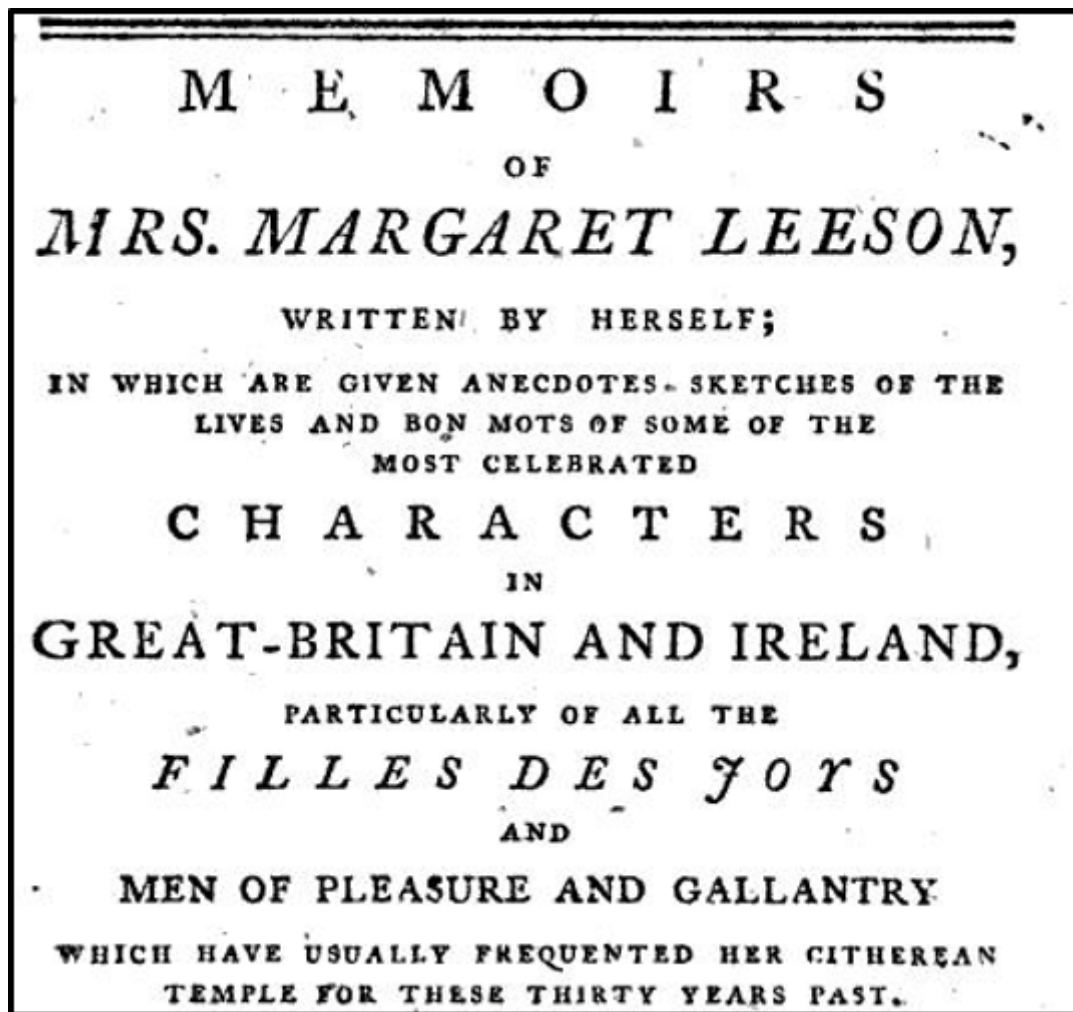
to be his companions, came repeatedly to my house, to intimidate me, and threaten what they would do if I treated them as I had done their friends: for they would not only demolish what was within it, but would pull down my own house itself. I answered, if they did I would build it up again, and make them pay the expense. At length, by paying high, I got Mr. Balloon apprehended and lodged in Newgate. […] good, quiet, peaceable and inoffensive persons, [should never] suffer themselves to be beaten or wounded by the wicked: to expose their lives to the hazard of losing them, or their property to be spoiled, rather than make their complaints to the magistrates. If that were to be the case, there would be an end to all civil society, in which the inoffensive cannot be preserved against the violent, but by means of the law, and the magistrates who execute them. […] I was bound to avenge them by the laws, out of my duty to the community at large; for…had they gone unpunished, that would have served only to embolden the perpetrators, to have extended their insolence and riotous abuse to others."

Leeson is threatened with further violence by her attacker and his colleagues, but remains unfazed by his status: she defiantly challenges Crosbie's blind assumption that his background will enable him to "brazen it out." She reclaims a strong sense of selfhood and autonomy in the face of these threats, asserting herself as an agentic "I" through a series of dynamic verbs: vowing to "build" her house up again and "make" them pay the expense should they destroy it, "getting" her attacker "apprehended" and later "lodged" in Newgate.

For Leeson "revenge is sweet,"

motivating her relentless pursuit of the arrogant Crosbie. But as she later acknowledges, she "took no revenge but that which the laws of [her] country sanctioned" (*Leeson*, p.72). Due to her unique financial advantage, Leeson manages to secure justice in a legal system which usually only benefited the most privileged members of society. Crucially, Leeson counts herself amongst "good, quiet, peaceable and inoffensive persons," who have the right to live without fear or damage to their person or property in a "civil society." Through the explicit use of this noun "person," and the repeated assertion of her status as an autobiographical "I," she writes her*self* into the notoriously male-centric discourses of law and order that prevailed during this period. Leeson represents herself as a human subject who abides by the law, deserves its protection, and beyond her personal desire for revenge, merits justice. The emphasis upon her property is especially striking in a system designed to obstruct property-holding rights for Catholics and women. Even further, Leeson positions herself a public servant, willing to oppose the formidable Pinking Dindies as part of her "duty to the community" at large. Contradicting dominant perceptions of Catholics and sex workers as uncivilised others, *she* is the respectable bastion of social order.

In this period, women struggled under a legal system which was, by William Blackstone's admission, "an old Gothic castle": ancient, unfathomable, and full of unexpected twists and turns – especially for any woman who attempted to negotiate it.[17] In her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and her novel *The Wrongs of Woman* (1798), Wollstonecraft condemned the reduction of women to "mere ciphers" at the mercy of higher male powers.[18] As Nancy Johnson puts it, her "vision of civil society…is where rational virtue rules; she is not

MEMOIRS

OF

MRS. MARGARET LEESON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF;

IN WHICH ARE GIVEN ANECDOTES SKETCHES OF THE
LIVES AND BON MOTS OF SOME OF THE
MOST CELEBRATED

CHARACTERS

IN

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

PARTICULARLY OF ALL THE

FILLES DES JOYS

AND

MEN OF PLEASURE AND GALLANTRY

WHICH HAVE USUALLY FREQUENTED HER CITHEREAN
TEMPLE FOR THESE THIRTY YEARS PAST.

Frontispiece of Margaret Leeson's Memoirs

*Lesson, Margaret. Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Leeson Vol
I (Dublin: Printed for the Authoress, 1795), Eighteenth
Century Collections online.*

so enamoured of discord and the inequities of the law because it is women, most often, who suffer the repercussions."[19] Implicitly, Leeson also favours a clear, rational system over any male-centric labyrinthine quirks – which typically functioned to sanction the abuse of vulnerable women, or else dampen their hopes of seeking retribution. She appears to have more faith in the law than Wollstonecraft, but still emphasises the fact that she had to "pay high" to achieve her legal successes: she occupies a unique position as a financially independent woman of uncommon wealth, with no sexual reputation to preserve. It should never be the case, she contends, that other "good, quiet, peaceable and inoffensive persons," should suffer, without feeling that they can "make their complaints to the magistrates." There should be no socioeconomic barrier to the pursuit of justice for any "*person.*" Leeson's commentary brings clarity to the gothic castle's recesses, darkened further by ingrained prejudice against Catholics and sex workers, through outlining her clear, logical application of legal rights to all "persons" of "civil society." Indeed, she challenges contemporary perceptions of sex workers as

a threat to civic health and stability, instead modifying the dominant culture's discriminatory terms of victimhood and sympathy. Leeson emphasises her human subjectivity as a seasoned sex worker, while harnessing her unique wealth and status against those who exploit her.

To conclude, I want to reinforce the significance of Leeson speaking her textual self, amidst the formidable mesh of prejudices at work within her social context. Her account of the Pinking Dindies attack provides a unique and harrowing insight into the vulnerability of sex workers during this period, while destabilising the ideologies which demonised women and alleviated the responsibility of their attackers. Revenge is "sweet" for Leeson, but her personal vendetta is embedded in broader understandings of her

status as a member of "civil society" who deserves justice for the wrongs committed against her. Crucially, she revised dominant social discourses to emphasise her identity as a suffering human subject, endeavouring to reclaim rights that so many women of her status were deprived of during the late-eighteenth century.

Endnotes

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Investigating Women's Spaces in Mourning in Margaret Cavendish's Bell in Campo

by Lauren Kilbane

Margaret Cavendish's *Bell in Campo* (1662) is a play in which Cavendish explores the traditionally male-dominated field of war through a female-oriented lens. In the play's main action, the valiant Lady Victoria leads a female army to victory against a rival male army. In this paper, however, I will focus on the play's subplot, which revolves around two war widows, Madams Jantil and Passionate. I will begin by situating the play within the broader context of attitudes to widows in early modern England. The paper will then turn its to the character of Madam Jantil. Whilst previous criticism has focused solely on a gendered analysis of the women's mourning, I would also like to highlight certain religious and sociological aspects of Madam's Jantil's mourning. In examining a female-authored play in this way, this paper aims to highlight the differing tensions faced by widows at that time. Gender roles, in this instance, were not necessarily limiting factors in a woman's life; rather, they allowed them the opportunity to become agents of remembrance in their own right.

The Reformation saw the methods in which the remembrances for the dead were remoulded to disregard previous Catholic practices. As Peter Marshall highlights, the Reformation:

> "…was a seismic event, a revolution of sensibilities whose ramifications were not confined to a private world of grief and personal remembrance, but one which was a primary influence on the creation of new liturgies, and patterns of ecclesiastical organization; new forms of civic commemoration; new uses of ritual space; new possibilities of cultural expression."[1]

The evolution of early modern mourning rites and practices created a juxtaposition between centuries of Catholic tradition and Protestant reforms. Death in early modern culture was something that could not be avoided, and something which touched the lives of everyone in society. Lucinda Becker asserts that "In a largely agrarian society, death could be represented as just one part of the divinely ordained pattern of life,"[2] and in this manner, death was regarded as part of God's greater plan for humanity. Those left behind considered it their duty to honour the dead and keep their remembrances alive in their own cultural space. In late medieval England, remembrance of the dead was one of the foremost obligations of the living, required by all laws of Christian charity.[3] However, the eruption of the Reformation "brought the prospect of memorial crisis to early modern Europe", as the severing of the Eucharist and commemoration provoked an "intense reflection on the social functions of memory and the terrifying spectre of oblivion."[4] Lucy Wooding explains that the Protestant reformers saw the obligation to pray for the dead as a burden, at odds with centuries of Catholic tradition, but coupled with an innate human instinct to do everything possible for the deceased.[5] Death, and remembrance of those who died, needed to be recorded in the early modern period, since it formed "part of the cultural process of mourning, of accepting, defining and facing death."[6]

The deathbed was viewed by early modern society as part of a woman's religious duties, and, as such, women were regarded as tied to death at a fundamentally societal level. Female attendance at deathbeds resulted in an inherent knowledge of the processes of death in the early modern period, and it was this knowledge "that was passed on to their friends and relatives, and would prove useful to them when they, too faced death."[7] Women were viewed as a group who could teach the wider community about death and were deemed responsible for remembrance of the dead. Patricia Phillippy explores the notion that mourning was itself a gendered experience in early modern society, as the performative act of mourning "engages gender-specific forms, gestures, and words to construct male and female subjects as essentially different."[8] The initial grief and mourning, and the subsequent remembrance of the dead can be regarded as a feminine duty, and early modern society equated knowledge of death with the feminine. It was this fact that early modern women could use to their advantage and create their own creative space in society.

It cannot be denied that the dead have occupied a significant cultural space in society throughout history. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall assert that as well as a basic necessity to dispose of the physical remains, the emotional bonds which link the deceased to their surviving relations – even beyond the initial bereavement and grief – "have usually demanded some form of symbolic commemoration as well as a belief in the continued existence of the dead in some afterlife place or state."[9] This commemoration of the dead, and the subsequent relationships that the living shared with their decedents "were profoundly embedded in religious cultures."[10] Memorialising the dead was upheld as one of the tenets of Protestant widowhood. For

example, it was believed that an early modern woman's "first task after her husband's death was to demonstrate to society that she venerated his memory."[11] And it is Margaret Cavendish's *Bell in Campo* that we see widows who embody this aspect, yet in doing so create their own sense of identity within this mourning space.

Following the death of Elizabeth I, early modern English society was faced with further religious tension. Her successor, James VI and I, was the son of Elizabeth's Catholic cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. Although raised within the Protestant faith, more puritanical Protestant observers were disappointed that throughout his reign, he "embraced the Elizabethan church structure with its emphasis on obedience to ecclesiastical law."[12] In turn, his willingness to remain in communication with foreign Catholic powers, and his promotion of several ceremonialist bishops only heightened the unease of Protestant reformers.[13] The tensions of the period, in this regard, seem inherently tied up in the monarch's refusal to denounce the traditional ceremonial aspects of the previous Catholic past.

If Protestant observers had hoped that James's successor – his son Charles I – would be more decisive in his religious stances, they were undoubtedly disappointed. Charles's subsequent marriage to the French Catholic princess Henrietta Maria raised further doubts about Charles's own personal religious sentiments.[14] In turn, Charles also appeared to place more stock in performativity than in his actions. Not only did playwright Ben Jonson lament that visual elements predominated over the actual dramatic texts in 1630s court-performed masques,[15] critics also note that:

"Where James had sought to win over his subjects and ensnare his enemies

through his command of language, Charles turned to visual symbolism and outward ceremony as an intrinsically more effective and less disturbing means of communication between ruler and ruled."[16]

Charles, in this regard, seemed to shift from the more literary ambitions of his father and towards a more ostentatious form of communication between the Court and his subjects. This intense focus on performativity surely did not assuage Protestant observers of their doubts surrounding Charles's religious views. Additionally, his appointment of William Laud as the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 also presented tensions. Amongst other things, it was claimed by their enemies that Laudians preferred what Peter Smart calls "pompous spectacles of glittering pictures and histrionical gestures," rather than more austere forms of Protestant preaching.[17] In this manner, the tensions of the traditional Catholic past threatened the new Protestant future in early modern English society.

This attention to performativity can also be seen when examining the actions of Queen Henrietta Maria. As a French princess, Henrietta Maria was familiar with the images of the *femmes fortes* that were appearing in 1640s Europe, particularly in France. The more theatrical imagery of the heroic woman appeared in response to martial women like Anne Marie d'Orléans, also referred to as "the Grand Mademoiselle," and spurred a contemporary feminist discussion that Ian Maclean describes as "a reassessment in women's favour of the relative capacities of the sexes."[18] Women, in this manner, were beginning to be viewed in a previously unseen heroic light as a result of these ostentatious images. Additionally, amidst the onset of the English Civil war, Henrietta Maria saw an opportunity to act out a similar martial role.[19] In a 1643 letter to Charles I, she amusingly styles herself as "her she-majesty, generalissima," giving herself a military title and taking on the performative role of a military leader.[20] In this manner, Henrietta Maria's decision to embody the valorous image of the heroine further reinforces her own theatricality, playing into a wider ongoing fascination with spectacle at the royal court.

Queen Henrietta Maria's letter also details that she will be greeted upon her arrival by none other than Charles Cavendish, Margaret's future brother-in-law. Not only a loyalist in her married life, Margaret's role as Queen Henrietta Maria's maid of honour – first in the displaced court at Oxford in 1643 and, subsequently, in Paris in 1644 – before she met and married William Cavendish highlights that she was within the loyalist movement from an early age.[21] Seventeenth-century women were often regarded as the bearers, rather than the possessors of lineage, as "their birth identities are subsumed in their marital identities."[22] However, despite this, Cavendish's role within the Royal Court emphasises the roots of her dedication to the loyalist movement. Cavendish's Royalist aspect of her identity, rather than disappearing when she married, flourished. The loyalist movement appears deeply embedded in her psyche, and subsequently influences her future writings.

The post-Reformation period witnessed a significant increase in the female presence on the early modern stage. Scholars have debated and theorised the reasons for this shift for many years. For example, Katharine Maus postulated in 1979 that the changing attitudes on the ideology linking theatre and female sexuality was responsible for the influx of women onstage.[23] Elizabeth Howe, in a later study, offered the idea that the royal court of Charles

II introduced female performers, saying that "It was within the select atmosphere of a particular social group that the first English actresses were introduced and flourished."[24] No longer content at being passive members of an audience, more women were keen to present their own thoughts and ideas to audiences. Cavendish's drama focuses largely on the Civil War effort, between Reformation and Faction, and the female army who emerges victorious from it. However, its subplot focuses on two widows, and their reactions to losing their husbands on the front line; Madams Passionate and Jantil. In order to examine the interlinking themes of gender, mourning and religion, it becomes clear that Madam Jantil can be found at the epicentre of all three.

From the moment she walks onstage, Jantil desires agency and displays courage. She is widowed early in the play, as her husband is killed offstage. However, Cavendish highlights the death through his memorialiser: his wife. As Madams Jantil and Passionate discuss their plans to join their husbands on the front line, Jantil is struck:

> "**Madam Passionate:** You look pale on the sudden, are not you well?
>
> **Madam Jantil:** Yes, only on a sudden I had a chill of cold that seized on my spirits.
>
> **Madam Passionate:** Beshrew me, their coldness hath nipped the blood out of your cheeks and lips.
>
> **Madam Jantil:** If they had been painted, they would have kept their colour."[25]

Cavendish highlights the potency of Jantil and Valeroso's link, as the sudden chill she feels presumably coincides with her husband's death on the battlefield. In turn, by referring to Jantil's face as pale and cold, Passionate draws attention to the suddenly corpse-like nature of Jantil's complexion. Death and beauty are linked through Madam Jantil in this way, creating a further sense of foreboding. In turn, Jantil points out that if her face had been painted, then she would not have lost the colour. These lines are reminiscent of the decorating of a corpse's face for burial. Although their husbands have not officially been declared dead, we can see the foreshadowing imprinted on both women. This further highlights the widows' role as their husbands' memorialisers.

Rather than becoming annihilated by her grief, Madam Jantil seems to embrace it and adopts a performative role for the remainder of *Bell*. Following her "sudden chill" in front of Madam Passionate, Jantil awakens to reveal that she has seen her husband's ghost. She explains that:

> "I saw his face pale as a lily white,
>
> His wounds fresh bleeding blood like rubies bright;
>
> His eyes were looking steadfastly on me,
>
> Smiling as joying in my company;
>
> He mov'd his lips as willing was to speak,
>
> But had no voice, and all his spirits weak;
>
> He shak'd his hand as if he bid farewell,
>
> That brought the message which his tongue would tell;
>
> He's dead, he's dead, asunder break my heart,
>
> Let's meet in death, though wars our lives did part."[26]

Jantil's prescient speech uses alliterative and colourful imagery to illustrate the horror, not

only of the apparition, but also the implication that Valeroso is deceased. These lines also mark a clear diversion from what has previously been performed onstage, as Jantil's recounting is in verse, rather than plain speech. This adds a further layer of performativity to Jantil's words. The fact that this is the first instance of such usage highlights a move towards the performative aspect of grief and mourning.

Additionally, the stage directions in this scene highlight Jantil's liminal status as a widow. Katharine Landers highlights that Jantil is "garment-marked, part of a discourse of performance through appearance, gesture and movement in the play…."[27] This discourse subsequently emphasises Jantil's performative mourning. In this scene, she appears "*alone as rising out of her bed, her mantle wrapt about her, and in her night linen.*"[28] Jantil's mantle in these stage directions has a double, layered significance. Not only could it denote a protective garment or blanket; Cavendish also seems to refer to the "mantle and the ring" of widowhood. The physical objects that would accompany this vow of perpetual widowhood chastity would have been a traditional indicator, for early modern women, of a widow. This garment also anticipates Jantil's later memorialisation of her husband and her cloistered, celibate status in Valeroso's tomb. In addition, the fact that the mantle is only covering Jantil's "night linen" plays upon the artistic "mid seventeenth-century aesthetic of dressing *en deshabille*."[29] Appearing in a garment designed to be worn close to the skin has an erotic, excessively feminine appeal.[30] This highlights Jantil's liminal status as a widow, caught between knowledge of sexual endeavours and a familiarity with death.

The final stage directions in this scene also reinforce this. "*After she had walkt silently a turn or two about her chamber her eyes being fixt on the ground, she return'd as to her Bed.*"[31] Interestingly, in these movements Jantil ascribes to the conventions of modest widowhood, but does so in a revealing state of undress. Landers underpins this further, stating that:

> "This assertion of silence, contemplative pacing, and a fixed gaze underscores Jantil's grief and anticipates her melancholy throughout the play, but also imaginatively extends Jantil's performance of titillating undress, creating a tableau that links grief, anticipated widowhood, and striking attire."[32]

Jantil subverts the traditions of chaste self-presentation, yet acts in a manner that modest women ought to. Her clothing and actions in this scene mirror her constrained status. In this manner, Jantil's tactile performative measures are further indicators of her future status as a widow, juxtaposed between societal judgements surrounding eroticism and death. Cavendish here deploys Jantil as the figure of the female performer, drawing attention to the performativity of her mourning before her widowhood is even confirmed.

Finally, Madam Jantil's ending – choosing to cloister herself in her husband's tomb – highlights a diversion from the established pattern in drama. Cavendish subverts the lusty widow trope here, choosing instead to exemplify Jantil as akin to a tragic hero instead. In assigning herself as the principal mourner of her husband in this manner, Jantil interjects her own agency into her mourning. In this regard, Cavendish also appears to interject her own agency here, as mourning monuments become a space for female creation. Patricia Phillippy affirms this, saying of monuments:

> "As objects at once *possessed* and *bestowed* by early modern women,

funeral monuments offered persuasive models of authorial creation and self-creation to later generations of women. […] The interactions and products of the monumental circle comprised of the Bassett and Cavendish women suggest that early modern funeral monuments shared a spectrum of strategies for gender construction with other cultural and textual forms, but also offered a unique venue for women's writing and a means for women to forge and preserve female alliances, both within families and beyond."[33]

Although Phillippy discusses the physical tombs of the Basset and Cavendish families, the literary monument of Madam Jantil likewise serves as a space within which she creates this own unique venue for her creativity. Cavendish's loyalist dedication, and the loyalist preoccupation with ceremony, is evident in Jantil's ostentatious and elaborate monument to her husband, as she herself becomes a living monument for her grief. Jantil's subsequent decision to execute her own will – by giving her husband's servants money and urging them to mourn her upon her demise – further creates female agency in a traditionally male-dominated role. She gives her maid Nell Careless "a thousand pounds to live a single life."[34] By doing this, Jantil ensures that her servant is rewarded for faithful service, but that the money will remain outwith male control. The decision to assert that Nell should live a single life highlights a desire to solidify the female agency that Jantil has discovered in her own widowhood. In turn, Nell becomes the woman who memorialises Jantil following her death:

"Truly I have seen so much sorrow in my lady, […] that had not my lady enjoined me to live a single life, I would never have married; wherefore my lady's generosity

did not only provide for my bodily life, and for my plentiful living, but provided for the tranquillity of my mind, for which I am trebly obliged to reverence her memory."[35]

Finally memorialising Jantil, Nell confirms that, without the means to remain unmarried, she may have married out of financial necessity. Her inheritance subsequently gives her social freedom to remain single. In doing this, Jantil's actions have revised "English systems of primogeniture, replacing them with female lineages of property headed by ceremonially and politically active widows."[36] Her widowhood has therefore carved out a new social status for women, orchestrated by the actions of a woman in mourning.

Throughout the play, Madam Jantil is a widow who in preserving Seigneur Valeroso's memory, has taken on the masculine role of poet.[37] As she does not adhere to the conventions of widowhood set forth in the period's conduct manuals, Jantil uses masculine stoicism and performative theatricality to subvert these conventions. Cavendish seems to endorse this path, as Jantil is permitted to die well and is subsequently memorialised by Nell. Jantil uses her widowhood in order to put forth what Nelson and Alker call:

"a subtle performance of grief that appears passive and fragmentary at the very moment it enjoys great rhetorical, poetic and theatrical authority, one that eschews conventional female practices of mourning."[38]

Through her performative widowhood, we see that Jantil is more akin to a hero from a tragedy, rather than the traditional remarrying widow stereotype as seen in Madam Passionate. Through Madam Jantil, Cavendish therefore

subverts the traditional narrative and creates a different space for a female character within *Bell in Campo*. In this regard, Cavendish uses Madam Jantil to pull away from the traditional narrative, instead creating a different space for a female character within the play: neither old crone, nor lusty widow.

Endnotes

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34   Cavendish, Bell in Campo, II.iv.19, 112.
35   Idem., II.v.21, 119.
36   Landers, ""A veil of obscure mourning,"" 87.
37   Shannon Miller, ""Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe": Affiliation and Memorialization in Margaret Cavendish's Playes and Plays, Never Before Printed," in Cavendish and Shakespeare, Interconnections, eds. Katherine Romack and James Fitzmaurice (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 19.
38   Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker, "Memory, Monuments, and Melancholic Genius in Margaret Cavendish's Bell in Campo," Eighteenth-Century Fiction 21, no. 1 (2008): 19.

Disability and Poverty in The Honest Man's Fortune

by Genna Kirkpatrick

This paper will explore the early modern theatrical representation of disability and socioeconomic status through various works, including *The Honest Man's Fortune*.[1] Initially performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613 at the Whitefriars Theatre, this play is generally accepted to be written by John Fletcher, Nathan Field, and Philip Massinger.[2] This section includes supportive evidence from two other Jacobean plays, Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Island Princess*.[3] My analysis of these plays examines the intersection of disability and socioeconomic status in early modern English society and theatrical tradition. This project examines original performance methods to understand how the physical aspects of theatre reflect and destabilize representations of impoverished disabled characters. Susan Anderson supports this perspective stating that the intersection of representations of disability and violent conflict can reflect, inspect, and question widely accepted social paradigms.[4] These plays demonstrate how the intersection between disability and poverty relies heavily on the two contexts having a cyclical relationship.

The critical context for this project begins with the seminal work by Tobin Siebers, *Disability Theory*. Siebers explores the interactions between minority identities by establishing disability as a cultural identity created when society defines specific attributes as inherently "disabling".[5] He argues that attributes like being limbless, deaf, or mentally ill are all natural variations of the human body. Hence, individuals are disabled by their social and physical environments, not their bodies.[6] This idea of the embodiment of disability exposes how socioeconomic status creates and extenuates disability through the disabling conditions associated with being impoverished and potentially unhoused in early modern England.

This project draws on recent Disability Studies scholarship, such as Genevieve Love's *Early Modern Theatre and the Figure of Disability*. The importance of embodiment is explained when Love states that it "joins two bodies (actor and character) and two media (Performance and print)".[7] However, Love seeks to "[take] up the disability of theatricality," based on the idea that disability is theatrical by nature due to embodiment and that theatrical performance is conceptualized through "prosthetic disabled characters".[8] Lindsay Row-Heyveld takes an alternate view, suggesting that the embodiment of disability, regardless of the veracity of that disability with the character, results in the individual experiencing the consequences of having a disability as they face the social and cultural consequences of being perceived as disabled.[9] The argument of this project aligns considerably with Row-Heyveld's emphasis on embodiment and how it combines elements of drama and performance, but by examining how playwrights construct and deconstruct disability in performance. I am also focused on how the mimesis of impoverished disability can destabilize and question cultural concepts. Katherine Schaap Williams argues that rhetoric is the method through which disability is defined and that the effect is hindered by the physical presence of disability that primarily consists of non-disabled actors miming disability.[10] Although rhetoric is essential to this topic and project, the embodiment of disability on stage

reveals how disabling processes like poverty and violent conflict affect the disabled body. As Siebers states, disability and poverty are not in the individual and their characteristics, but in how social structures like culture and physical environment are inaccessible, thus disabling, to those who embody difference.[11] When these conditions are represented on stage, a play can destabilize and question early modern English paradigms regarding disability and socioeconomic status by reflecting this culture back at its audience.

The exploration of the ways that *The Honest Man's Fortune* represents disability and poverty on stage requires an understanding of its theatrical background. This context begins with the company that initially performed this play at Whitefriars Theatre, the Lady Elizabeth's Men. In 1613 this troupe joined with the Children of the Queen's Revels, which, as James Marino argues, satisfied a need in the theatrical market, as the group dropped some of the Children of the Queen's Revels satirical work while holding onto its established cast and audience.[12] However, Lady Elizabeth's Men retained some elements of children's theatre to appeal to the Children of the Queen's Revels audience, such as the violence, infidelity, and satire directed towards the upper class in *The Honest Man's Fortune*.[13] By finding a balance between satire and universal appeal, Lady Elizabeth's Men were able to challenge and appease their audience while holding them and their society responsible for the struggles of the poor and disabled.

This troupe's interest in satirizing the upper-class and their role in society is vital to *The Honest Man's Fortune*, as the play centres around the Duke of Orléans's campaign to socially and financially ruin his neighbour Montaigne, as the Duke is convinced that Montaigne and Orleans's wife had a premarital affair.[14] Montaigne's dire circumstances, caused by Orleans's machinations, reflect how societal structures can disable a person when, due to his rank, Orleans has the authority to manipulate the law to ruin someone, namely Montaigne, who has less power. Montaigne begs that the "law disable me no more," a statement that locates the source of disability within social structures like the legal system.[15] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this use of "disable" was defined in the early modern period as "to pronounce legally incapable; to hinder or restrain […] from performing acts or enjoying rights which would otherwise be open to them".[16] This use of "disable" demonstrates an understanding that society can rob people of their means of security and personal freedom.

Once Montaigne has lost his wealth and aristocratic position, he has a violent altercation with a group of soldiers and creditors that accost Montaigne to recover his debts. However, as Montaigne is now penniless, the soldiers say: "wee'le satisfye or selues wth his / carcasse, & be paide that waies" [we'll satisfy ourselves with his / carcass and be paid that way].[17] As Montaigne cannot pay his debts, the soldiers hired by his creditors attack him, which results in his injury. Montaigne explains the seriousness of his injury as "Some one of them has certainlye / requited me, for I doe loose much blood".[18] Montaigne's injury directly results from the vulnerable social position he is left in due to the loss of his wealth. Thus, he has lost the protection of the law, so his creditors can recoup his debts "with his carcasse" unchecked by the legal system. The authors' approach to these issues indicates their unusual perspective that the disabling condition of poverty is caused by societal structures rather than a fault of the "othered." This view differs significantly from the early modern English tendency to characterize the poor as having vice

and willful idleness. For instance, *The Acts of the Privy Council of England* from 1598 equates the homeless and unemployed with the "lycentious tymes" they live in, which implies a moral failing within the impoverished that are condemned as deciding to be out of work.[19] In his essay collection from 1535 *The Lord Marquess' Idleness* William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester wrote that "idleness" "openeth the gate to all vice".[20]

Another of John Fletcher's works is the Jacobean tragicomedy from around 1619-1621 called *The Island Princess,* which, similarly to *The Honest Man's Fortune,* illustrates the imbalance of safety due to class through a group of townsmen discussing the concurrent destruction of the city and its inhabitants.[21] For example, in regards to the city Townes-man 2 states that "They tosse our little habitations like whelps, / Like grindletailes, with their heeles upward".[22] Townes-man 2 goes on to describe a simultaneously occurring dismemberment: "I met a hand, and a Letter in't in great haste, / […] /As if the Arme had forgot part of his arrant".[23] During conflict, the connection between the common people and their country's architecture formulates the idea that their bodies are sacrificed to uphold the city. Like Montaigne, these citizens are exposed to injury and disability due to their lower socioeconomic status. Injury due to violent conflict, particularly war, is an essential example of acquired disability. According to Phillip Thomas, the Jacobean era saw significant growth in the number of injured soldiers and veterans left to beg or steal for survival.[24] Barnaby Rich demonstrates this in his essay "Allarme to England" in which he explored the suffering of soldiers once they have "receiued many gréeuous woundes, but their estate of liuing, I woulde to God were knowne to those that might amend it".[25] Having been a soldier

himself, Rich testified that after a conflict ends, the soldiers received only "slaunder, misreporte, false impositions, hatred and despight".[26] A cyclical pattern emerges of a soldier becoming disabled, due to the state's actions, which thrusts them into poverty and exposes them to further disability due to malnutrition and homelessness. These individuals and the disabilities they get during and long after a conflict shows how their society can literally disable a person.

The fact that both *The Honest Man's Fortune* and *The Island Princess* share this representation of poor people acquiring disabilities confirms Fletcher's awareness of society's role in causing a disabling poverty. The presence of both these examples indicates that these discussions and ideas around socioeconomic status and disability were present on stage and in early modern England as a whole. Later in this scene, Montaigne again describes feeling disabled: "More opens still my disabillitye".[27] In this scene, Montaigne may be pointing to the injury he has just acquired when delivering this line. As Montaigne describes his wound as "open", he may be touching the wound or his blood or even be holding the wound open to accentuate his point about his injury furthering his "disabillitye" to the audience. The injuries sustained by Montaigne in *The Honest Man's* Fortune and the townsmen in *The Island* Princess are a physical representation of their impoverished circumstances and its cyclical relationship with disability. As their wounds spread and worsen, so does their poverty, and vice versa.

Montaigne experiences how society can figuratively disable a person, mainly due to the views on charity in early modern England. As G.R. Elton explains, although the Poor Laws were beginning to set standards for helping poor people find work, the animosity

towards begging grew during the early modern period.[28] The *Certaine Articles Concerning the Statute Lately Made for the Reliefe of the Poor to be Executed in London* of 1599 illustrates this hostility as it states that the "stubborne beggers" who refuse to "bee reformed" by choosing not to work "shall bee accompted as Rogues and so punished".[29] The condemnation of beggars and the migrant poor was part of increasing suspicion of and revulsion towards the landless poor and needy during the early modern period. This aversion towards begging and those forced to beg is demonstrated when Montaigne reviles the thought of begging: "I wolld be loathe / to be a burthen or feed like a drone".[30] Montaigne's position reflects early modern sensibilities about charity, as he "would loathe" to rely on the financial support of others and views it as being a "burthen." Montaigne's attitude only furthers the potential of him being further disabled due to remaining in poverty and living without charitable assistance. This cycle of poverty can expose him to further harm due to homelessness or starvation.

Montaigne's vehement refusal to accept charity is mirrored in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*; this Jacobean play also examines the relationship between disability and soldiership through Bosola, an impoverished soldier hired as a servant to the Duchess's brother Fernando. Bosola confirms the sacrifices made by soldiers as they now "hang in a fair pair of slings, take his latter swing in the / world upon an honourable pair of crutches, from hospital to / hospital. Fare ye well, sir: and yet do not you scorn us".[31] Bosola argues that the perception of these veterans and their sacrifice as honourable may sustain them, but they are still forced to wander and beg for charity. Bosola also acknowledges society's role in the perils soldiers face as he states that Ferdinand, the man he is speaking to,

"scorn[s]" soldiers like Bosola. In 1536 the *Actes Made in the Parlyament Begonne and Holden at Westminster* states that "aged, poore, and impotent personnes, compelled to lyue by al•rs shoulde be ordered, as howe vacabundes and myghty strong beggers shuld be whipped and punished."[32] This argument against begging reveals a general disgust towards those forced to rely on charity, as it condemns those who "lyue by al•rs" as they perceive those dependent on social support as morally wrong and criminals.

Bosola's description of soldiers implies that he is one such soldier that was injured in a violent conflict, as he asks Ferdinand, "do not you scorn us".[33] Bosola further demonstrates when he states that: "for / places in the court are but like beds in the hospital, where this / man's head lies at that man's foot, and so lower and lower".[34] Bosola compares his desire to join the court to the injured soldiers looking for places in hospitals, which indicates that Bosola is one such soldier, and a position at court could save him from having to enter a charitable medical ward. Further charitable efforts emerged during the early modern period as new laws and practices began. As Carol Rawcliffe writes, much of the responsibility for charitable work was left in the hands of religious institutions, such as large charitable hospitals run by the church that had strict religious requirements for those seeking help.[35] For example, in 1547, the *Iniunccions Geue[n] by the Moste Excellent Prince, Edward the Sixte* reinforced the powers of the church by assigning two churchwardens responsibility over a communal chest that "the Parishioners, shoulde putte into it, their Oblacion and almose, for their poore neighbours".[36]

Regardless of these efforts and the presence of apparent social care for the impoverished and unhoused, there remained a suspicion of and revulsion towards those

of a lower socioeconomic status. They were often regarded with scepticism and judgement regarding their needs. This doubt resulted in the practice of assessing the bodies, behaviours, and needs of poor people to root out faked disabilities. As anxieties around disability and poverty became more pronounced, playwrights increasingly deployed/created characters who fabricated disabilities in order to beg. The phenomenon of faked disabilities is illustrated by plays such as Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl*. The characters of Trapdoor and Tearcat in this play wear fake eyepatches and feign injured limbs to receive charity and ultimately are told they "deservest to be hanged up".[37] The social censure of charity and begging aggravate the perilous circumstances faced by both Montaigne and Bosola due to their poverty and disability. However, Montaigne and Bosola manage to become servants, which indicates that the poor and disabled can be employed. This example destabilizes the early modern legal and social beliefs that define disability as a person being functionally incapable of employment and autonomy.

Regardless of Montaigne's desperate circumstances, he adamantly refuses to accept charity. Ultimately, he is forced to accept Lady Lamira's offer to make him a "servingman" in her household. Shortly after, in one scene, the stage direction reads "Enter Montaigne bareheaded," meaning that he comes into the room with his hat off to be in Lamira's presence.[38] It is significant that in a room with other servants present, Montaigne is the only one who removes his hat when Lamira is present.[39] As the only man, including the other servants, on stage with a bare head, Montaigne is singled out as having the lowest social position in the scene. The only difference between Montaigne

the other servants in Lamira's household is his disability, which demonstrates how disability is socially constructed. Thus, the negative and condemning social perception of those with disabilities makes Montaigne lower class, rather than his social circumstances being inherent to his disability.

The regulation and separation of Montaigne from the cast are enforced when he is humbled and shamed in public. While Montaigne is insulted by his suitors, Lamira is hiding behind "an arras" and watching the men interact, seeking to evaluate Montaigne's words and actions, such as when he threatens the suitors to "stand for your guard".[40] Lamira then reveals herself, immediately criticizes Montaigne, and forces him to apologize to the men harassing him: "I will confesse / that I have wrongd them too, & make submission".[41] The observation and judgment of Montaigne's behaviour by Lamira, as she hides to "oberue" him, reinforces the early modern English evaluation of disabled people.[42] This scene reflects England's efforts to control those who embody disability, as Montaigne's lowered position is further asserted when he is forced from the room by Lamira telling him to "goe, bid the Cooke haste supper," while the rest of his former peers are free to remain.[43] Montaigne's experience in this scene illustrates how disability worsens the conditions of the poor, as it exacerbates their troubles and social isolation. Miming this phenomenon in performance shows their audience that these class hierarchies are created by society and not by nature. Nevertheless, the playwrights align with early modern thinking by portraying Montaigne's apology as virtuous, revealing they are somewhat impacted by the idea that the poor and disabled need to be observed and evaluated.[44] On the other hand, towards the end of the play, Orleans implies that Montaigne is

a person of good character when he says that "you haue taught me so much honor."[45] The playwrights use this scene to demonstrate that when an individual acquires a disability, the expectations of their social identity change. Thus, playwrights acknowledge that individuals with acquired disabilities are disadvantaged through their rejection or maligning at the hand of their community.

As *The Honest Man's Fortune* is a comedy, all wrongs in the story must be righted by the end. According to Leo Salingar, a comedy is defined by its plot progressing from sorrow and unhappiness but concludes with joy and security and, generally, a comedy must undo all wrongs and restore the status quo.[46] When *The Honest Man's Fortune* concludes, Montaigne's noble status is returned, and he is offered "those somes of monye / vniustlye wee detaine from you".[47] The comedic ending of the play maintains the traditional hierarchy and social standards of class by removing Montaigne's disabling circumstances; this reflects the medical model of disability. Siebers defines this model by locating disability in the person rather than the broader social framework, so the perceived inequality can only be corrected by effectively "curing" the disabled person.[48] The playwrights are aware of society's role in the cycle of poverty and disability, as evidenced by Montaigne's character and journey. Although the playwrights provide a complex appraisal of the societal causes of disability and poverty, they seem to reassert the status quo as Montaigne is restored to wealth and his disability and poverty disappear from the narrative. Orleans restores Montaigne's position and wealth as "lord Montaigne" just as easily as he had taken it away.[49]

Endnotes

1   This paper is a collection of the research included in the first chapter of my doctoral thesis. However, it explicitly covers my section on the representation of disability and poverty in The Honest Man's Fortune.

2   John Fletcher, Nathan Field, and Philip Massinger, The Honest Man's Fortune., ed. Grace Ioppolo (Manchester, England; New York: Published For The Malone Society By Manchester University Press, 2012), 19-20.

3   John Webster, Duchess of Malfi., ed. Karen Britland (S.L.: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2020), 1-2; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon / Vol. 5., ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1982), 1-2.

4   Susan L. Anderson, "Introduction: Disability in Early Modern Theatre," Early Theatre 22, no. 2 (2019): 147.

5   Tobin Siebers, Disability Theory (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Of Michigan Press, 2008), 5.

6   Idem., 6.

7   Genevieve Love, Early Modern Theatre and the Figure of Disability (London, Uk ; New York, Ny: The Arden Shakespeare, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2019), 14.

8   Idem., 16-13.

9   Lindsey Row-Heyveld, "'Known and Feeling Sorrows': Disabled Knowledge and King Lear," Early Theatre 22, no. 2 (2019): 157-160.

10   Katherine Schaap Williams, 'Demonstrable Disability,' Early Theatre, 22, no. 2 (2019), 186-188.

11   Siebers, Disability Theory, 5-6.

12   James Marino, "Adult Playing Companies 1613-1625," in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 96-97.

13   Ibid.

14   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 1.1.14-18,52-57.

15   Idem., 1.1.194.

16   OED, 'disable.'

17   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 2.4.65-66.

18   Idem., 2.4.133-134.

19   John Dasent, "Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 29, 1598-1599," www.british-history.ac.uk, September 10, 2021, www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol29, 388.
20   William Paulet, The Lord Marques Idlenes: Conteining Manifold Matters of Acceptable Deuise; as Sage Sentences, Prudent Precepts [Etc.] (London: Edmund Bollifant, 1587), 44.

21   Beaumont and Fletcher, Island Princess, 5.3.1-21.

22   Idem., 5.3.16-17.

23   Idem., 5.3.19.20.

24   Phillip Thomas, "Military Mayhem in Elizabethan Chester: The Privy Council's Response to Vagrant Soldier," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research 76, no. 308 (1998): 226-227.

25   Barnabe Rich, Allarme to England … by Barnabe Riche Gentleman (London: Henrie Middleton, For C. B[Arker]], 1578), 29.

26   Ibid.

27   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 4.1.42.

28   G. R. Elton, "An Early Tudor Poor Law," The Economic History Review 6, no. 1 (1953): 155-156.

29   Certaine Articles Concerning the Statute … Effect of the Same Statute (London: Imprinted By [J. Windet For] Iohn Wolfe, Printer To The Honourable Citie Of London, 1599), 8-9.

30   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 3.5.182-183.

31   Webster, Duchess, 1.1.61-63.

32   Anno XXVIII Henrici VIII. : Actes Made in the Parlyament Bego[N]Ne and Holden at Westm[Inster] The. VIII. Daye of Iune, in The. XXVIII. Yere of the Reygne of Our Most Drad Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry The. VIII. […] (London: Tho. Berthelet Excudebat. Cum Priuilegio, 1536), 11.

33   Webster, Duchess, 1.1.63.

34   Idem, 1.1.63-65.

35   Carol Rawcliffe, "Institutional Care for the Sick and Aged Poor in Later Medieval England," in The Routledge History of Poverty in Europe, C.1450-1800, ed. David Hitchcock and Julia Mcclure (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, Ny: Routledge, 2021), 111-115.

36   Edward VI, Iniunccions Geue[N] by the Moste […] as of the Laietie (Imprinted At London: Richard Grafton, 1547), 29.

37   Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, ed. Elizabeth Cook (London: A. & C. Black, 2006), 5.1.93-112.

38   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 3.3.36,43,105, 155.

39   Idem., 3.3.36.

40   Idem., 3.3.100-109, 121.

41   Idem., 3.3.152-153.

42   Idem., 3.3.101.

43   Idem., 3.3.154.

44   Idem., 3.3.153.

45   Idem., 5.4.202.

46   Leo Salingar, Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy (London; Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

47   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 5.4.213-214.

48   Siebers, Disability Theory, 6.

49   Fletcher et al., Honest Man's, 5.4.209.

"Creativity is intelligence having fun!" A Playful Historiography of Early Modern Music

by Nina Kümin

What are our research methodologies lacking? Throughout this paper, I will argue games. In the early years, most children learn through play, encouraged to experiment, explore, try new things out in a safe space, and apply knowledge to different contexts. Games encourage us to think in different ways about material and to question what we know and assume. These are all valuable strategies for research which, when used in conjunction with more traditional methods, can provide new and valuable insights, particularly within practice-led historical research.

Over the last few decades, practice-led research across many fields of early modern history has highlighted the need for methodologies that allow for technical and embedded knowledge (that which is gained and expanded in the physicality of practice) in research. For instance, dancers, such as Mary Collins, have been realising the dance steps shown in French baroque dance notation; dressage specialists, such as Emmanuelle Dupraz, have been recreating historical equestrian ballet moves; and artists and computer programmers have tried to finish paintings such as Rembrandt's *The Night Watch* (1642).[1] In early modern music performance research and practice, experimentation on historical instruments, such as by Judy Tarling and Barthold Kuijken, is perhaps the most obvious result of early modern musical practice-led research.[2]

In this paper, I propose that we take this inclusion of practice-led research a step further to include play through games as a valuable research and presentation tool, using my research into early modern improvisatory musical performance practice as a case study. Far from just being an educational strategy for early school years, as argued by Pat Broadhead and Marilyn Fleer, amongst many others, games have much to offer the researcher, especially within the field of practice-led research.[3] As currently demonstrated in higher education pedagogical research, passive learning is increasingly ineffectual for the diversifying student body, but stimulating active engagement is possible when teachers design sessions centred around what students are *doing* rather than the more traditional focus on teacher delivery; evidence for both these standpoints can be found in the work of John Biggs.[4] Following this active rather than passive learning model, where students are encouraged to come to their own conclusions rather than simply passively absorb information. Interacting with games can, therefore, stimulate a deep level of learning, both in researchers and in future learners: the player is forced to apply knowledge, to experiment, and to engage critically with ideas and concepts in a safe yet stimulating environment. Musicologist Anna Bull has argued that the current aesthetics of perfection that dominates classical music performance is creating dangerous narratives of constantly having to "get it right" which can be detrimental to performers' mental health and, she argues, that this is responsible for the relatively small number of people participating in classical music.[5] The same could arguably be said for research. The demands of publication and rigorous criticism, while useful and

important in later stages, cannot be conducive to experimentation. Including games as part of the research process provides an answer to this. They allow researchers to access embedded knowledge, which is particularly useful for practice-led research, and so remove the pressures and judgements of a performance or the need to produce by providing a way of accessing this knowledge without the severe internal or external editing process. With these barriers removed, participants are much more willing to try pushing things further in games. In addition, research, by its very nature, involves a lot of trial and error and games can reveal why certain methods are successful or not. Games allow embedded knowledge to grow, producing visual, aural, and tactile responses to research, allowing the development of ideas beyond that which is possible through the more traditional research methods of reading and writing alone. A playful history is an engaging history and, to quote Einstein, "creativity is intelligence having fun!"

My research is centred around improvisation during the early modern period. This practice involved musicians composing music during a performance rather than just playing from written notation that had already been composed – similar to common practice in jazz today.[6] Written sources are frustratingly vague in reference to baroque improvisation. Composed pieces can be examined as "examples" but the amount of time for reflection and editing the process of composition allows indicates that they are highly unlikely to be representative of improvised pieces. They are, however, useful for gathering some musical traits and characteristics that would have been in the improviser's toolkit to draw on. As Roger North noted:

"this is exemplified in the game of chess … he hath most gambetts hath the advantage … so he that hath most musicall passages drawne off from the musick of others and in most variety to be put together with extempory connection, is the best furnished for voluntary".[7]

A voluntary here, signifies an improvised piece. However, motives or musical fragments were linked together, to quote Kollmann, "like a series of thoughts in connection", the essence of which cannot be found in notated compositions.[8] Equally, treatises leave many blanks. Most focus on written composition and do not highlight improvisation because it was an integral part of playing and thus mentioning it specifically was likely thought unnecessary. Generally, the surviving advice suggests what to avoid, of course implying that this was, in fact, common practice. Scholars' attempts to define the improvised fantasia are often lacking specificity and practical applicability. Ward, for instance, posits that an improvised fantasia was

"a relatively free, monothematic or polythematic, more or less polyphonic, two or more voiced, sometimes highly ornamented or toccata-like music of greatly varying length occasionally based on borrowed music (parody) but more often newly invented".[9]

Yet performers did improvise profusely. Reports of eighteenth-century harpsichordist Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre praise her ability to improvise preludes and fantasies which could last over half an hour and that she had a "marvellous talent" for this art.[10] In order to be able to research early modern improvised music, therefore, looking at written sources does not provide a full picture. Using games can provide answers. Some of the games I have created in order to attempt to fill these gaps
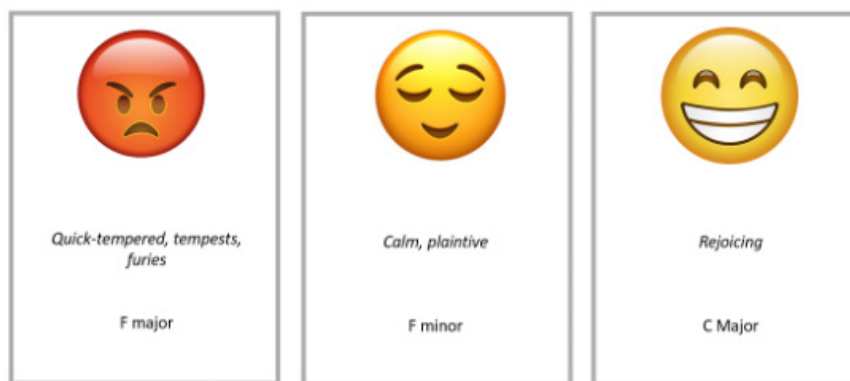
Three example cards from emoji Top Trumps.
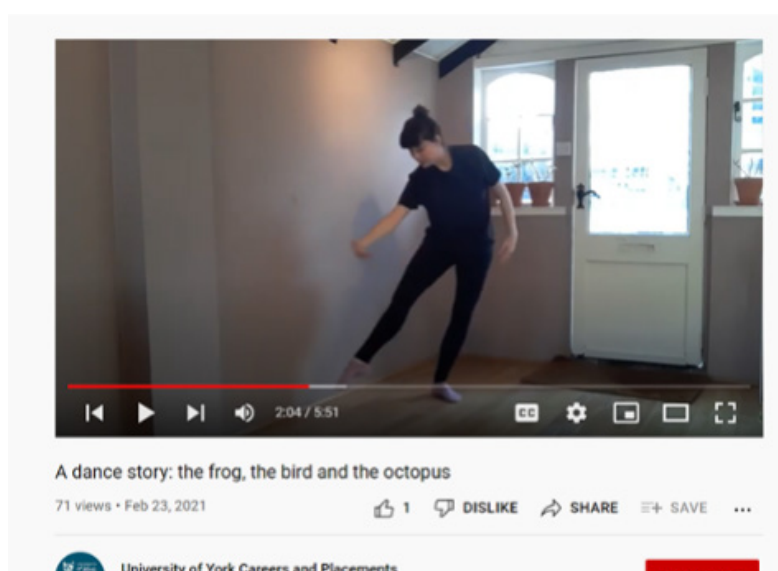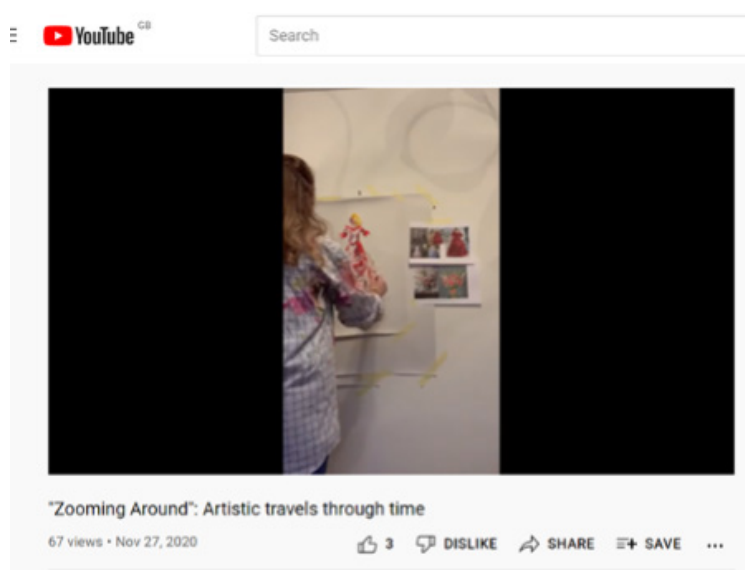
Stills from publications and outreach using art, dance and storytelling to inspire improvisation.
Nina Kümin and Amy Rodger, ""Zooming around": Artistic travels through time," YouTube video. Posted by "Nina Kümin - Improvising Violinist." November 27, 2020. www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mxg1Lp8eO-0&t=777s. Nina Kümin, "A dance story: the frog, the bird and the octopus," YouTube video. Posted by "University of York Careers and Placements." February 23, 2021. www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHRSY_ zHLCo&t=124s.

include harmonising a popular melody in as many different and surprising ways as possible to research and practice harmony; playing top trumps with emoji cards to rehearse and research the use of musical devices to provoke emotional responses in an audience (at this time considered the primary purpose of music); and improvising to art, stories, and movement to practice and research structure, stamina, thought process, and breaking the rules. This last game has proved a valuable tool to stimulate creativity in improvised collaborations with other artists as well as in my teaching of violin students and outreach projects with primary school students.

From these and many others, I have discovered ways to harmonise melodies quickly and to improvise two melodic lines at the same time; why certain rhythms and keys were used to create certain affects; and how embedded harmony must have been in contemporary understandings of music as this really is not intuitive to a melody instrumentalist of today. Also, phrasing and pauses are vital in improvisation to have mental breaks: it is impossible to maintain long passages of fast playing which perhaps explains why longer large-scale improvisations such as fantasias had so many contrasting sections. In addition, improvisers struggle to repeat passages exactly and thus sequences are challenging to improvise if they do not fit in a handshape: this could explain why certain figurations are common in composed music from this period. Certain keys are much easier than others and some double stops are much more natural and therefore occur more frequently in contemporary compositions. All of these indicate probable characteristics of early modern improvisations which would not have arisen from analysis and consultation of written sources.

In addition, modern day classical musicians often experience real difficulty applying a playful attitude to music and asking them to improvise is often met with great resistance.[11] Narratives remain from nineteenth-century romantic ideals that composers are geniuses and performers are translators whose creativity must never interfere with the intentions of the composer.[12] This makes it very difficult to create musical ideas in the first place and then to execute them without constant criticism and fear of technical imperfections. The aesthetics of perfection with which we view performances of early modern music today is not only inaccurate but a barrier towards improvising stylistically today. Historical listening and performance must therefore have been focused more on creativity, experimentation, and novelty than technical perfection, not only because of the limited rehearsal time and constant demand for new compositions, as discussed in scholarly literature, but also because a different aesthetic and mindset is needed to actually achieve improvisation in the first place.[13] When searching for methods to facilitate this kind of playing, I found games to be the best solution and actually found that they had a lot to offer my research as well as performance. This kind of playful improvisation reveals new music that is lost because it was never written down and perhaps more accurately, therefore, recreates the experience of early modern music making, both for performers and listeners. Outside the realms of music, I have found through games that you can improvise baroque dances, in contrast to the arguments put forward by scholars such as Franko.[14]

Games also stimulated a more critical consideration of what it means to improvise, a question that has been the subject of much scholarly debate.[15] Applying knowledge of this literature and my practical experience of

improvising alone did not produce many answers but playing games helped me to come to a conclusion. I found that it was in games when I was no longer trying to get it right or thinking too much that the most convincing improvisations emerged (this did not happen when "trying" to improvise stylistically). Successful improvisation, therefore, is the direct execution of a thought with minimal interference. Speech is a useful analogy in this respect. We think of what to say and then to varying degrees edit this idea depending on time pressure, resulting in a sometimes very different product. In musical improvisation, the time to do this editing is almost non-existent; thus, in improvisation, thoughts are directly executed with perhaps a millisecond to translate a musical sound into a physicality, ideas become products (assuming that the ideas match the improviser's level of technical proficiency). Performance is the direct execution of another's thought and composition is a delayed execution of a thought. Improvisation can involve elements of both performance and composition but it is this unique blend of the two, being the direct execution of a thought. This can be applied to any art form. In early modern terms, there were sometimes frameworks such as chord patterns to adhere to but improvised passages still represented the direct execution of a thought (these were just sometimes in response to a composed musical stimuli or to a performance convention). This is, therefore, the definition of early modern improvisation that I have come to, found through playing games. Paired with reflective critical thinking, games can reveal insights into creative and imaginative processes.

Finally, there are many technical shortcuts and tricks to enable the direct execution of a thought that have emerged by accident through my attempts to create games to practice improvising counterpoint and harmonisations.

For instance, creating a game based on chess to improvise counterpoint revealed that there were certain handshapes that naturally produced more successful improvisations than others and creating harmonisation games revealed that handshapes are transferable on the violin, allowing improvisers to really quickly harmonise any melody, reducing the thought and decision process from having to find several notes to just one internalised physical manoeuvre, producing results as speedily as reading written musical notation. These tips and tricks can be used to speed up the thought process for any kind of violin improvisation, beyond that of the baroque style. In addition, the same principle of handshapes applies to creating easily memorisable sequences. This is arguably the case for all instruments. There are many contemporary mentions of handshapes to create embodied knowledge, such as the Guidonian hand used to teach singing hexachords and in figured bass treatises such as by J.S. Bach and Niedt but this is not the case for violinists.[16] Lute and theorbo players also rely on similar embedded handshapes to read figured bass.

Improvisation games not only improved my technical abilities in improvisation but also my stylistic accuracy. They revealed philosophical, technical, and historical observations I would not have realised otherwise and provide a great way to present my work and to make my performances more exciting. Including games in performance or presentations can get audiences involved in the creative and research process, teach, and share the historical and practical knowledge. During the live presentation of this paper, to show the effectiveness of games in performance and presentation, the attendees and I played a performance and presentation game, named "Lost in Hamburg", that I created to improvise a fantasia in the style of Telemann,
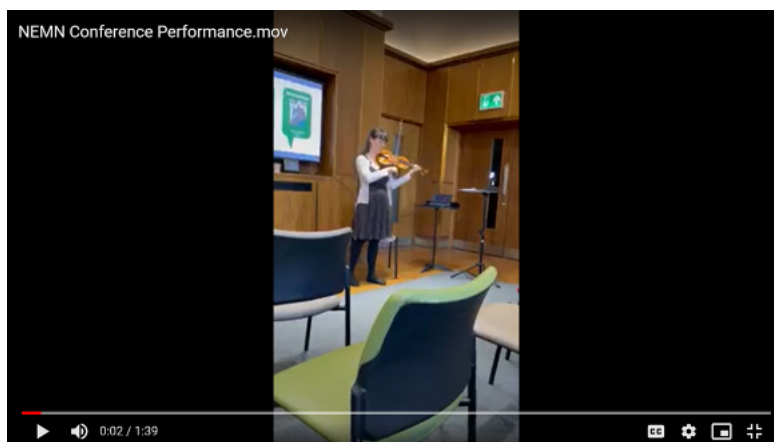
The locations where different sections can be improvised marked on a contemporary map of Hamburg.
Harvard Library, "Harvard University, Harvard Map Collection, G6299_H3_1725_S4_4188425249," Harvard Map Collection, accessed February 7, 2022, iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:9538197

Some example cards for places to stop on the way.

Still from a video taken of me playing this game with attendees at the 2022 Northern Early Modern Network conference in Newcastle.
The full video (of a short section of the full fantasia) can be viewed here: drive.google.com/file/d/1a3ISB6rvCGDL3YvKWsrHXn_ b1JGyZw-A/view?usp=sharing

one popular kind of improvisation in the style of a very famous early modern German composer active in the early 1700s. The premise of the game is as follows.

The game is set in eighteenth-century Hamburg. You have agreed to meet Telemann at the town hall in Hamburg but now you have arrived you find yourself in a tiny alleyway completely and utterly lost! The people of Hamburg are more than happy to help you but seeing that you are a musician (or with a musician if involving audience members), they ask for an improvisation in return for each set of directions they give you. Each person can direct you to the next landmark on your journey. Your improvisation must follow the key and affect stated on the "directions" card you pick up at each stop and must feature the rhythmic cell indicated by spinning the spinner. By the time you reach the town hall you will have improvised a fantasia in the style of Telemann!

Players start in the alleyway and make their way to the town hall. The number of sections should be determined beforehand from a minimum of two to a maximum of six. That number of cards are then chosen and laid out. Each card details the location, a suggested tonality and affect to inspire the improviser. Upon reaching the town hall, the final card reads "rejoicing" and in "your first key". For each stop, players must spin the rhythm spinner to find a rhythm (or several) to include. The suggested keys can either be observed or to create a cohesive whole if the keys are not closely related on the chosen stops, simply the major or minor instruction can be followed so that performers can choose a more related key such as the relative minor or dominant of the original key. This creates a stylistic improvised fantasia in the style of Telemann by stimulating sections in different characters with characteristic rhythms.

Players are also encouraged to draw on the ten guidelines set out in chapter four for improvising a fantasia in the style of Telemann. This game also works well in performance by asking audiences to choose the sections and rhythms or even suggesting themes and then the improviser can create a fantasia in the style of Telemann based on their instructions. Through this, audiences learn about the musical characteristics of a Telemann fantasia but also receive an insight into the mindset of an improviser, having authority over the music.

In conclusion, games can be used to help to fill in the gaps left by written sources as a methodology for practice-led research. Including games more widely into research might stimulate some interesting findings. Playing with improvisation brings a whole new meaning to playing music and is perhaps more akin to those experiences had by early modern audiences and musicians. Whether your research is practice-led or in any respect about a practice, I would encourage you to see if there might be one or two more playful ways of engaging with your sources or practice, you might just be surprised by what making and playing research games can bring to light!

Endnotes

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7   Roger North, *An essay on musical ayre* [1715] (Canberra: Australian National University, 1977), 354.

8   Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay On Practical Musical Composition: According To The Nature Of That Science And The Principles Of The Greatest Musical Authors* (London: Kollmann, 1799), 121.

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10   Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse François* (Paris: Coignard, 1732), 636, in Stephen C. Grazzini, "Reconstructing the improvised keyboard prelude of the French Baroque," (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 2014), 30.

11   See, for example, Ray Chen, "Albert Chang & Ray Chen violin jam session (feat. Lily) [improvising and viewer's song request]," YouTube video, posted by "Nozull," March 1, 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=rPsxL7Da4k4.

12   Edward E. Lowinsky, "Musical genius—Evolution and origins of a concept—II," *The Musical Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1964): 476-495.

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14   See Mark Franko, *Dance as text: ideologies of the baroque body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3-4.

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16   J.S. Bach, *Precepts and principles for playing the thorough bass or accompanying in four parts* (Leipzig, 1738); Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung zur Variation* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillern, 1706); Carol Berger, "The hand and the art of memory," *Musica disciplina* 35 (1981): 87-120.

Hobbes and the Army in Leviathan

by Nicolau Lutz

It is a curious fact that, despite the central role of wa*r* — in particular, the "war of all against all" — in the political theory of *Leviathan,* the army as an organised military force receives remarkably little attention from Hobbes. It is another curious fact that scholarly literature has rarely touched on this point.[1]

While Hobbes cannot be counted to the group of political theorists like Machiavelli or Justus Lipsius who also wrote extensively on military matters, it is this paper's conviction that a close reading of Hobbes's treatment of the army's place in the body politic can be a fruitful endeavour. If the right to wield the "publique sword" is the key attribute of Leviathan, as the frontispiece so memorably conveys, it seems justified to probe the matter and form of said sword. What is this "civill sword" made of and how is it forged?

To answer these questions, the paper will proceed in two steps. First it seeks to reconstruct Hobbes's position regarding the army in *Leviathan*. Second, it will contrast Hobbes's position to two alternative views on army organisation current at the time of writing, first the *Ius Gentium* tradition as found in the writings of Hugo Grotius, and secondly a collection of views on "mercenary armies" drawn from republican and common law discourse as found for example in the army pamphlets of 1647 or the writings of men like Marchamont Nedham and William Prynne.

I will argue that Hobbes's chief intention in his treatment of the subject was to de-politicise the army in light of the New Model Army's role in Pride's purge of 1648, the execution of Charles I in 1649, and the rise of Cromwell and the establishment of the Commonwealth. Hobbes manages to de-politicise the army in three moves: by denying the army a corporate nature; by denying the soldier and the army a right to act as representatives of the state; and by making a distinction separating the person of the subject from the person of the soldier. These moves can be read as part of his reply to rivalling positions in Civil War constitutional debates.

Part I — The Army in Leviathan

Armed force is at the heart of Hobbes's political theory in *Leviathan.* To escape the condition of "warre of every one against every one", men must by covenant bring into existence the person of the state, an entity of such manifest power to "keep them in awe, and tye them by feare of punishment to the performance of their Covenants".[2]

The symbol and instrument for this power is the sword. It is the "civill sword" that puts fear into men's hearts.[3] It is this sword that elevates covenants above mere words.[4] Those who "hold the publique Sword" under the sovereign's command are the soldiers of the state. Subjects have no right to resist "the Sword of the Common-wealth" and those that do are to be considered "unjust" factions who take "the Sword out of the hand of the Soveraign".[5] If this happens, the realm is thrown back into a condition of war of all against all, where every man protects himself "by his owne sword".[6]

In a civil state, the control over the armed forces, the army, the militia is one of the "markes" of sovereign power. Along the right of

prescribing civil laws, the right of judicature, the right of punishment, and the right of appointing magistrates, the "right of making warre and peace" is among the chief sovereign rights outlined in Chapter 18 of *Leviathan*. This right of making war and peace includes the right to assemble, arm, and pay the troops, as well as to levy money to pay them (taxation), along the expected right of declaring war against other states.[7]

Hobbes goes so far as to state that "the command of the Militia, without other Institution, maketh him that hath it Soveraign".[8] It is a striking passage if we compare it to his comment on the militia controversy of 1641 in *Behemoth*: "he that is master of the militia, is master of the kingdom, and consequently is in possession of a most absolute sovereignty."[9]

The organisation of the Army seems at first to be a straightforward business. From this same passage in chapter 18 we are informed that the army is a union of men under the command of the sovereign.[10] But if we probe this definition some interesting questions emerge. It is through these that we get to Hobbes's intentions behind his views on the army.

The first complication emerges if we probe the term "union". What is the nature of that union? Does Hobbes mean that the sovereign commands the army as a union? It seems unlikely. In contrast to other subordinate bodies that exist under the state, the army is not a corporate entity with autonomous existence. This is confirmed by chapter 22, which is devoted to the "parts" or "muscles" of a common-wealth, to "systems" as Hobbes calls them, or in other words devoted to subordinate corporate bodies. While we find other unions or corporate bodies, like provinces, colonies, towns, universities, colleges, churches,

merchant companies, and even families there, (all multitudes capable of being represented by a person or an assembly of persons) there is no mention of armies, an interesting omission considering Hobbes's use of the muscle-analogy.[11] If the army is not a corporate entity in itself, over which the sovereign assumes command, what is the army made of?

The second key term in that passage — "command" — bears more conceptual weight. In Hobbes's understanding, command is the expression of the will of a person to whom we are by contract bound to obey. Naturally, a command-based army can only exist after the establishment of a common-wealth, as contracts only hold binding force in a civil state. As Hobbes says, men need Leviathan to "tye them by feare of punishment to the performance of their Covenants".[12]

As the sovereign does not hold command over the army as a unit, the army itself is composed of chains of command. All the subordinate commanders and officers of the army have their command authorised by the sovereign, just as other public ministers are authorised by the sovereign to represent the person of the state in the administration of their office.[13] Without officers, there is no army.

Hobbes qualifies this chain-of-command view of the army in one aspect: he denies soldiers this ability to represent the sovereign. In chapter 23 on "Publique Ministers", Hobbes grants army officers the authority to represent the person of the common-wealth in militia matters, but is quick to qualify: "a Souldier without Command, though he fight for the Common-wealth, does not therefore represent the Person of it", because, "there is none to represent it to. For every one that hath command, represents it to them only whom he commandeth."[14]

A last question one might raise is about Hobbes's views on the nature of the contract that establishes the obligation of the soldier to obey the commands of the sovereign. Hobbes brings his most detailed answer only in the very last chapter of Leviathan. There are two arrangements in place: "Ordinary Subjects" are bound to the command of the sovereign through their original covenant to submit to his will. This includes the obligation to do military service as a militia, and/or to pay taxes to finance soldiers, as he had already briefly mentioned in two earlier chapters.[15] But this obligation becomes void when the citizen finds "his life within the Guards and Garrisons of the Enemy" or he finds his life otherwise threatened.[16] As the original contract was created in the interest of preserving one's life, a new situation can dissolve this contract, when the immediate preservation of one's life depends on disobeying sovereign command.

However, the soldier is one who "hath taken upon him a new obligation".[17] As long as his master "keeps the field", he cannot run. While this passage was — as Quentin Skinner convincingly argued — intended as part of his forceful intervention in the "engagement controversy", placing it in the context of other passages on the relationship of army and state reveals Hobbes' comprehensive stance on de-politicising the soldiery.[18]

In this context, it is useful to briefly discuss Hobbes's treatment of the armed forces as a threat to the common-wealth. One threat is particularly noteworthy here: if the army is of a "great force, and multitude" it might be "made believe, they are the People".[19] Hobbes then mentions Julius Caesar (arguably a veiled reference to Cromwell and the other Generals) as one who "bewitched" the army in such a way. But why is the army mistaking itself for the people so dangerous? If it is just a matter of a "popular, and ambitious" man winning "the affections of his army", why would he need to make them believe to *be* the people? Surely his natural charisma would be enough to win them over.[20]

The key point is that it is an act of legitimation. The general makes the army believe to be the people so as to trick them into thinking they, as the people, hold the sovereignty and are thereby legitimate in any governmental change they incite. It is a danger specific to an environment where claims on the natural seat of sovereignty in the people had been circulating. Viewed from this point, it is clear that armies should not be further encouraged to see themselves as the people. The ease by which armies can identify themselves as "the people", and less the ease of great men to bewitch with their charisma, is the true threat to the stability of the state. A threat slumbering in any army as a large assemblage of men.

Part II — Grotius, Fairfax, Prynne

There were two traditions current in mid-seventeenth-century England that present the nature and form of armed forces in different ways. The first one was the *Ius Gentium* tradition best exemplified by Grotius, the other was the traditions of republican or customary liberty.

The *Ius Gentium* — and, in particular, Grotius's theory of legitimate conquest — was important in informing the English *de facto* theorists of sovereignty, like Anthony Asham or Marchamont Nedham, who defended the new regime in this language.[21]

Incidentally, the matter and form of the armed forces play a vital role in Grotius's mechanics of conquest. In an original study of the role of space in Hugo Grotius's *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, Annabel Brett discusses his conception

of the army (lat. *exercitum*) as a body politic. Grotius defines an army "as that multitude of soldiers, which dares openly to invade enemy borders."[22] But especially in relation to the rights of capture, Grotius is forced to clarify. An individual soldier's act, such as capturing loot or a stretch of land, can take on several qualities, depending on the context. Is he acting under orders of a superior? Then he must be counted as an "instrument" in the hands of the commander, and not as a private person.

But Grotius introduces another condition modifying the quality of the soldier's act. The soldier acting as part of an army or "military expedition". In this case, "individuals (singuli) bear the person of the commonwealth, and act as its vicegerents".[23] In striking contrast to Hobbes, Grotius is willing to give the individual soldier, under certain conditions, the right to represent the *person* of the state. It is the Grotian view stripped of its subtleties that can be heard echoed in the position of the *de facto* theorists who see the right of conquest falling not on the general of an army but on "the army collectively".[24]

Opposing this Grotian view to the earlier discussion of *Leviathan* makes it clearer why Hobbes had no intention of granting corporate status to the army as a whole. To Hobbes, the erroneous assumption of an army of "great force, and multitude" being "the people", and either individually or collectively being able to lawfully represent the state, as Grotius suggests, is one of the great causes of civil war.

If we look at a number of writings dealing with the militia question in the 1640s and 1650s, we find there the idea closely related to Grotius's account that an army is a body with a life and logic of its own. This view essentially undergirds the New Model Army's refusal to disband on Parliament's orders in June 1647: it is under the "just Principles, and Law of Nature and Nations" that the "Souldiery may lawfully hold the hands of that Generall who will turne his Cannon against his Army on purpose to destroy them".[25]

This is something inconceivable to Hobbes, as a soldier resisting his commander breaches the very contract that elevated him into the status of a soldier, as well as the original contract of submission to the sovereign, and this act should therefore be counted as taking "the Sword out of the hand of the Soveraign". The only way that such an act of resistance can be legitimised in Hobbes' terms would be through a reference to one's natural and inalienable right to defend oneself against violence directed towards one's person.

But the point in Fairfax's tract is precisely in justifying collective action, premised on a differing conception of the army. The army, as a collective body, can "lawfully hold the hands" of parliament. The Fairfax-tract insists that those in arms now exercise their own "judgement and conscience" to "effect and vindicate the just power and right of this Kingdome in Parliaments". They hold enough judgement that they can act as guardians of the "supreme" good, the "safety and preservation of all".[26] While it is not made clear if the seat of action resides in the individual soldiers, or in the army as a collective, or somewhere in between, it is clear that Hobbes's stance amounts to a repudiation of the New Model Army's position by denying any theoretical possibility of the army engaging in collective action.

The other place where Hobbes conception of the army holds a position in English Civil War discourse is on the matter of the "free citizen-soldier".[27] The Fairfax-declaration can be seen

engaging in this discourse by leading the main charge against army disbandment with the declamation: "we were not a meere mercinary Army." Perhaps tellingly, Hobbes avoids the term "mercenary", even though it could be applied to his vision of a professional army based on a separate contract between soldier and sovereign.[28] People attuned to republican speech and language would hear the negative connotations of the term "mercenary" passed on from the Roman historians and re-invigorated by Machiavelli.[29]

In this view, the "citizen-soldier" is contrasted to the mercenary. While mercenaries fight for anybody with enough money, citizen-soldiers fight for the preservation of their *vivere libero* in a republic.[30] In the extreme case, mercenaries are a tyrant's favourite tool of oppression, citizen-soldiers are the only way to guarantee republican freedom.[31] We can find this view most clearly in Harrington's *Oceana* of 1656, or in the writings of Marchamont Nedham and William Prynne.[32] These writers collapse Hobbes differentiation between the ordinary subject and the soldier. For them, the arms of a healthy body politic must never be contracted away.

Prynne in particular employs an interesting mix of English and republican liberty in his rhetoric. And it is again passages on army organisation that reveal the intimate ties between statements on military organisation and constitutional claims. To Prynne, instead of a standing "mercinary" army, which would "make us their conquered Vassals and Tributaries, instead of English-Freemen", the safety and interest of the country is best protected by the people "united voluntarily", protecting themselves "with their own arms". Every able "private person, Family, Parish, Town, County, Association" should organise their defense "by their own unmercenary persons & Arms".[33] While Hobbes's chapter on corporations is silent on their relation to arms, Prynne envisions them as the foundation of English liberty. Given the date of publication, it is conceivable that Prynne was targeting Hobbes directly with these passages.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can identify three distinct points regarding the constitution of the military where Hobbes's views and those of contemporaries diverge: Firstly, Hobbes distances himself from any notion that armies hold an autonomous corporate existence, while Grotius's writing and the Fairfax-declaration can be read as supporting this claim in different ways, and Prynne suggests to base the existence of military force entirely on existing customary corporate bodies. Secondly, Hobbes rejects that the individual soldier ever bears the person of the state. Grotius accepts this view due to his position on the law of conquest. The Fairfax declaration uses this ability as basis for the soldiery's right of resistance to Parliament. Lastly, Hobbes tries to separate the person of the subject from the person of the soldier. Here the republican and the ancient liberties tradition strongly maintain that this must never come to pass.

In all three cases, granting some form of political agency to the army is part of supporting political positions that Hobbes profoundly disagrees with: rejecting any kind of corporate status to the army undermines an important conceptual vehicle for theories of popular sovereignty; separating the persons (and duties) of the subject and the soldier is Hobbes's contribution to the engagement controversy as well as a blow to republican writers, and so on. Given the great role that the New Model Army played in the events of the English Civil Wars, the conceptual underpinnings of the army could not be left unattended.

Endnotes

1   There exist some articles devoted solely to military matters: Deborah Baumgold, "Subjects and Soldieres: Hobbes on Military Service," History of Political Thought 4, no. 1 (1983): 43–64; E. C. Dolman, "Obligation and the Citizen-Soldier: Machiavellian Virtú versus Hobbesian Order," Journal of Political & Military Sociology 23, no. 2 (1995): 191–21. Both focus on the obligation of soldiers to their sovereigns.

2   Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan: Revised Student Edition. Edited by Richard Tuck. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), ch. 14, 91; ch. 17, 117. The page numbers refer to the numeration of the Cambridge Edition.

3   Idem., ch. 12, 84.

4   Idem., ch. 17, 117.

5   Idem., ch. 21, 152; ch. 22, 164.

6   Idem., ch. 19, 136.

7   Idem., ch. 18, 126.

8   Ibid.

9   Thomas Hobbes, Behemoth or The Long Parliament, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND Co., 1889), 98.

10   Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. 18, 126.

11   Idem., ch. 22, 155, 160, 163. The exception are irregular armed forces, like great families or tumultuous groups.

12   Idem., ch. 14, 91; ch. 17, 117.

13   Idem., ch. 23, 166.

14   Idem., ch. 23, 167.

15   Idem., ch. 21, 151; ch. 30, 238.

16   Idem., A Review, and Conclusion, 484.

17   Idem., A Review, and Conclusion, 485.

18   Quentin Skinner, Visions of Politics. Volume III. Hobbes and Civil Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 7, 234. Baumgold makes such a claim in Baumgold, Subjects and Soldiers, 63.

19   Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. 29 p. 229.

20   Idem., p. 130.

21   Skinner, Visions of Politics III, ch. 8, 249, 255n. 177.

22   Annabel Brett, "The Space of Politics and the Space of War in Hugo Grotius's De Iure Belli Ac Pacis," Global Intellectual History 1, no. 1 (2016), 49, referring to Hugo Grotius, Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli Ac Pacis Libri Tres, in Quibus Jus Naturae et Gentium, Item Juris Publici Praecipua Explicantur (Paris: N. Buon, 1625), Book II ch. 16.

23   Brett, "The Space of Politics", 50; Grotius, DJBAP, III. 6. 14. 1. I am using Brett's excellent translation here, which stays closer to the Latin original than the English translation of the Liberty-Edition: "Ibi enim singuli reipublicae personam sustinent, eiusque vice funguntur".

24   J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment : Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition, Princeton Classics Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 380.

25   Sir Thomas Fairfax, A Declaration from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army under His Command as It Was Humbly Tendered to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament : As Also to the Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of London : Concerning the Just and Fundamentall Rights and Liberties of Themselves and the Kingdome : With Some Humble Proposals and Desires (June 14, 1647), 6.

26   Idem., 5.

27   Pocock, Machiavellian Moment, 381.

28   It seems that Hobbes stands alone in his favourable view on a professional army at that time. Lois G. Schwoerer, "No Standing Armies!" The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), 51.

29   Séan Erwin, "A War of One's Own: Mercenaries and the Theme of Arma Aliena in Machiavelli's Il Principe," British Journal for the History of Philosophy 18, no. 4 (2010): 541–74.

30   Pocock, Machiavellian Moment, 372; Fairfax, Declaration, 5.

31   For the connection between good arms and good laws, see Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince, ed. Russell Price and Quentin Skinner, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, 2019), ch. 12; For "vivere libero": Niccolò Machiavelli, The Discourses, ed. Bernard Crick (Penguin Classics: 2003), II,2,1.

32   Schwoerer, No Standing Armies, 64. Pocock, Machiavellian Moment, 381.

33   William Prynne, Pendennis and All Other Standing Forts Dismantled: Or, Eight Military Aphorismes (London, 1656), 35.

The Governors of the "Estado do Brasil" and the "Estado do Maranhão" during the years of the Union of Crowns (1580-1640): Personal Networks, Circulation, and Political Development. An Approach

by Sergio Moreta Pedraz

As part of my doctoral thesis, I am going to try to carry out an original and novel investigation of the roles of the governors in Portuguese America (Brazil) at the time when it belonged to the Hispanic Monarchy (1580-1640). Through the different research projects, I will try to analyse the importance of the personal networks that the governors wove from a personal, political, and social point of view and their circulation within the occupied Atlantic space, that is, between the Iberian Peninsula and Portuguese America. On the other hand, I will study the repercussions these governors had on the political development that took place in the territory during the period of the Hispanic Monarchy in all its facets: Finance, Justice, and War.

My study is focused on the governor generals of the *Estado do Brasil* between 1580 and 1640 and the governors of the *Estado do Maranhão* between 1618 and 1640

Methodology and State of the Field

To develop the project, I am conducting research across Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. In Spain, I have the main archive on the period of the Hispanic Monarchy, the *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS). The documentation on our subject of study is mainly found in the following documentary collections:

- *Secretarías Provinciales (SSPP)*

- *Consejo de Estado (EST)*

- *Secretaría de Guerra y Marina*

Also important is the documentation of the *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI) in Seville, where I have information corresponding to the object of study. There, I found important documentation which gives us information on what was happening in Portuguese America from the point of view of Hispanic America, in this documentary collections:

- *Patronato*

- *Contaduría*

- *Audiencia de Buenos Aires*

- *Audiencia de Charcas*

- *Audiencia de Lima*

- *Audiencia de Quito*

- *Audiencia de Santa Fe*

Finally, finishing with the research in Spanish archives, I have information in the Archive of the Historical Library of the *Universidad de Salamanca*, where there is also valuable information in some of the manuscripts, in addition to the documentation I found in the main archives in Madrid: *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (AHN) and *Biblioteca Nacional* (BN).

In Portugal, I have to study the collections housed in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (AHU), the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* (ANTT), the *Biblioteca de Ajuda* (BA), and the *Biblioteca Nacional* (BN), all of which are based in Lisbon.

Lastly, I have used documentation from Brazilian archives, specifically the two most important archives in Rio de Janeiro – the *Arquivo Nacional* (AN) and the *Biblioteca Nacional* (BN) – as well as archives in the cities of Salvador de Bahia, the capital and main city of Portuguese America during this period, and São Paulo. This search for documents in the different archives will be combined with the study of edited collections of primary sources, the main works that concern our research topic. First of all, we have the epistolary corpus of some of the governors, composed of the letters they exchanged with the monarchs (Gaspar de Sousa, Diogo Botelho and Diego de Menezes).[1] We also have some exceptional sources from people who lived at the time, such as the *"Historia do Brasil"* by Frei Vicente Salvador, who tells us what happened in the colony until 1627 or the *Diálogo de las Grandezas de Brasil* by Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, a work written in the seventeenth century and whose latest translation into Spanish has just been published by Professor José Manuel Santos of the University of Salamanca.[2] Another work of these characteristics is entitled *"Livro que da razão do Estado do Brasil"*, attributed to Diogo Campos Moreno, who was sergeant-major of the *Estado do Brasil* between 1613 and 1617. Finally, we have the so-called *"Livro 1° and 2° do governo do Brasil"*, works that give us a very interesting overview of what it would be like to govern the colony, what it meant socially, and the personal interests that it entailed.[3] Of course, I cannot ignore the number of works written by the most important authors who have studied this period. To observe the general overview of Portugal at this time and what happened in terms of its incorporation into the Hispanic Monarchy, we find the works

of Fernando Bouza Álvarez, Rafael Valladares and Pedro Cardim, as well as, António Manuel Hespanha's study of modern politics.[4] Other very important authors who have studied what happened in Brazil during the period of the Hispanic Monarchy are Stuart Schwartz and Charles Boxer.[5] In addition, we have some very important studies, such as the one on slavery and its circulation in the Africa-Brazil-Lisbon axis, by Luis Felipe de Alencastro, or the only study on the governors generals produced so far, by Francisco Carlos Cosentino, although only focused on the "regiments" given by the monarchs to some of these governors, while I will try to make a more holistic analysis of these governors during these sixty years.[6] We cannot forget one of the fundamental tools for the study of this period, the BRASILHIS database, where we can find a huge amount of bibliographical and documentary references, as well as a multitude of identified people who had some kind of relationship with Portuguese America during this period, reaching, today, around 5,000 entries.

Why study the Governor Generals?

I believe that it is important to investigate the role played throughout this period by the main political figure sent to Portuguese America to govern the territory. The post of governor general was essential, as he was the link between Madrid/Lisbon and the colonial territories, since he was the person in charge of combining the political guidelines and military strategies that emanated from the political centre. In addition, he was responsible for directing, nuancing, and even getting involved in the reformist project that was being attempted. In other words, he was the main imperial agent of the Monarchy in Portuguese America.

While in Spanish America the role of the Viceroy – the main political figure in the territory – has been extensively researched, there is an evident lack of study on the figure of the governor general in Portuguese America, especially during the period of the Hispanic Monarchy (1580-1640), a period in which there were a series of reforms in which this office played a fundamental role. Only the sadly deceased Francisco Carlos Cosentino in his work *Governadores gerais do Estado do Brasil (séculos XVI-XVII)* has worked specifically on this issue although it is true that we find other authors that have dealt with some of these governors, such as Professor José Carlos Vilardaga with Francisco de Sousa or some studies of the governor Diego Botelho.[7]

Unlike the Viceroy of Goa, the main political office in Portuguese India, the governor general in Portuguese America did not obtain the office of Viceroy until the 18th century, only occasionally in the 17th century, which clearly shows the lesser importance of Brazil at this time with respect to the factories they owned in India.

Research Structure

<u>Networks of the Governors</u>

The personal and family networks that were formed in Portuguese America during this period is one of the fundamental themes on which our research is based.

I want to investigate the personal networks that were created around the figure of the different governors and what influence they had on the political development that took place in the colonial territory during this period. I will investigate the role of the governors in this development by following the political trajectories of these characters, reconstructing the personal networks that gravitated around them before and after their appointment, and

investigating the actions of these people in implementing the political reforms that were attempted in the Portuguese America. I do not want to focus only on the family networks of the governors, therefore it is also among our objectives to investigate the relation with some of the networks with members in the captaincies, such as the Sá in Rio de Janeiro.

But as I have said, I am not only focusing on the *Estado do Brasil*, but I am also trying to find out what happened in Maranhão, which is perhaps less known but also important. It is interesting to stop and find out what happened with the governors here. We find in this period four governors since the institution of the new *Estado do Maranhão*. The first was Diego de Cárcamo, of Spanish origin, a person close to D. Antonio, prior of Crato, rival of Philip II in his struggle for the Portuguese throne in 1580, nominated as the first governor of Maranhão although he finally did not occupy the position.

In 1624 the Crown appointed the second governor of the northeastern territory, the Pernambucan Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, member of the Albuquerque Coelho family, who was the first to occupy the post, and he held the position until 1636. It is important to clarify that, unless exceptional circumstances, the appointment as governor was for three years, which could be extended to six years.. For this very reason we find a letter dated June 1636, with the title *"nombramiento de personas pª el Govº del Marañon"* which reads as follows:

> *"The Princess Margaritta refers in her letter of 13 October 635, that you commanded it by another of the 6th of the past, that as the Governor of the Marañon has served in that post for nine years, and six years that the time for which it was provided has elapsed, and that she should propose*

to you people [...].[8]

He was succeeded by Jácome Raimundo de Noronha, who proclaimed himself circumstantial governor of Maranhão with the support of the chambers of São Luis and Belém after the death of Francisco Coelho in 1636. It is interesting to see how these political networks played an important role, since Jácome had engaged in a struggle with Francisco Coelho de Carvalho in 1634, as recently found documentation shows, when he wrote to the Court accusing him of the excesses the governor was committing, among other things of defrauding his majesty's treasury or of "insults, aggravations and threats"[9].

The last governor during this period was Bento Maciel Parente, defined in the sources as *"Fidalgo of your majesty's house, a very knowledgeable person of the Marañon and of all Brazil, of which he is a native, has served in those parts with valour and satisfaction for three years in the war of Pernambuco, with a good opinion, and may be fifty years of age."*[10]

He was *Capitão de Mar e Guerra* in the campaign for the conquest of Maranhão between 1615-1616, *capitão-mor* of the captaincy of Pará from 1621 to 1637 and finally he was appointed *Governador do Maranhão* from 1638 until his death in 1642.[11]

Circulation

It is also essential to investigate the circulation of these governors in its two aspects: circulation as "cursus honorum", that is, what positions they occupied before and after reaching the post of governor in Portuguese America, and circulation as a movement, what was the route they took both between the Iberian Peninsula and Portuguese America, as several of them travelled to the Court, and within the American territory itself.

If we talk about circulation as "Cursus Honorum", I have noted that there were governors who played an important role in the Portuguese bureaucratic network. Some of them, such as Diogo Botelho, Diego de Meneses, Gaspar de Sousa and Luis de Sousa were advisors to the monarchs years after occupying the post of governor in the *Estado do Brasil*, people who were asked what to do before assessing any situation that occurred in Portuguese America. Some of them obtained rewards after their term as governor generals, like Francisco de Sousa, in 1607, who after his term, returned to Brazil with ample concessions as governor of the previously named *Repartição Sul*, or others like Gaspar de Sousa, who was amply presented with grants for himself and his family.

And for circulation as a movement, I want to study the journeys made between the Iberian Peninsula and Portuguese America, where I have been able to identify some governors who passed through the Castilian Court, people like Francisco de Sousa, who travelled explicitly to Madrid to ask for those concessions to try to find mines in Brazil, Diogo Botelho or Diogo de Mendonça Furtado.

Of course, I am also interested in the circulation within Portuguese America itself, a point that I am already getting into, since I am seeing how for much of the time they held office the governors were far from the place where they had to be, which was the capital, Salvador de Bahia, and for different circumstances we find them in Pernambuco, São Vicente, etc.

Political Development

The powers of the *Governo-geral* and especially those of the governor general were defined by the regiments issued by the monarch.

In these sixty years, three regiments were

drawn up that reproduced the conditions that were established in Portugal and its overseas territories by the Hispanic Monarchy: one was granted to Francisco Giraldes in 1588, another to Gaspar de Sousa in 1612 and the last to Diego de Mendonça Furtado in 1621. In these three regiments, the powers granted to the governors increased, especially when it came to reinforcing their power in terms of defence and conservation of the territory in general, and the protection of the most important cities, particularly Recife and Salvador de Bahia.

Another of my objectives is to analyse the major events in Portuguese America in relation to what was happening in Europe at the time: what happened in 1588, the creation of a new court, the *Tribunal da Relação da Bahia*, the conquest and colonisation of Maranhão, the struggles with the Dutch and how, from 1625 onwards, everything changeed and it seems that there was a constant "state of war", the laws on the indigenous people from 1609-1611, the visits of the Inquisition, what happened to the pau-brasil, sugar, and the economy, etc.

In short, I will seek to identify the role of this political figure within a bureaucratic framework which, in this period, had ample signs of change.

Therefore, I believe it is necessary to apply to this subject the advances that have been achieved in similar research in the case of Hispanic America, trying to carry out a holistic analysis when investigating the different governors who held office during the period of the Hispanic Monarchy through the prosopographical study and the insertion of the networks that these people formed around them and to see what importance they had in the political development of the time. With this research we intend to continue advancing in what is, for some historians, a crucial period in the colonial history of Portuguese America.

Endnotes

1   Gaspar de Sousa (Salvado, J. P., & Münch Miranda, S. *Cartas para Álvaro de Sousa e Gaspar de Sousa (1540- 1627)* (Lisboa: Centro de História e Documentação Diplomática, 2001); Diego Botelho (Correspondencia de Diogo Botelho (Governador do Estado do Brasil). Copia paleographica extrahida da Torre do Tombo. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro,* Tomo LXXIII, Parte 1, 1910); Diego de Meneses (Garcia, R. (1935). Correspondência do Governador D. Diogo de Meneses (1608-1612). En Garcia, R. (Org.). *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro,* 31-81).

2   F.V Salvador, *Historia do Brasil, 1500- 1627* (São Paulo e Río: Weiszflog Irmãos, 1918); J. M. Santos Pérez, *Diálogo de las grandezas de Brasil (Edición crítica, traducción y notas)* (Madrid: Doce calles, 2020).

3   J. P. Salvado and Münch Miranda, S. *Livro 1° do Governo do Brasil (1607- 1633)* (Río de Janeiro: Centro de História e Documentação Diplomática, 2001).

4   A. M. Hespanha, *Vísperas del Leviathan: instituciones y poder político (Portugal s. XVII)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989).

5   S. Schwartz, S, *Sovereignty and society in colonial Brazil: the High Court of Bahía and its judges, 1609- 1751* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

6   L. F. Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: formacão do Brasil no Atlântico Sul. Séculos XVI- XVIII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); F. C. Cosentino, *Governadores gerais do Estado do Brasil (Séculos XVI- XVII): ofício, regimentos governação e trajetórias* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2009).

7   J. C. Vilardaga, *São Paulo na órbita do imperio dos Felipes: conexões castelhanas de uma vila da América portuguesa durante a União Ibérica (1580- 1640)* (Tese de Doutorado) (USP, São Paulo, 2010).

For Diogo Botelho, I recommend this classic work: M. T. Magalhães Crespo, *Diogo Botelho no Governo do Brasil (1602-1608)* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1964).

8   All translations of the original documents from Portuguese into English are my own unless stated otherwise. AGS, SSPP, 1478, 353.

9   AGS, SSPP, 1478, 109-110.

10   AGS, SSPP, 1478, 353v

11   https://brasilhis.usal.es/es/personaje/bento-maciel-parente

New Considerations: The Deposition of Christ at St. John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, Malta

by Lydia Pavia Dimech

Figure 1: Attr. to a follower of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, The Deposition of Christ, mid-sixteenth century, oil (?) on panel, central panel: 120 x 84 cm, side panels: 120 x 42 cm each, St. John's Co-Cathedral Museum, Valletta. Photograph: Author.

Introduction

Currently located in storage in one of the rooms abutting the sacristy at St. John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, Malta, is a Northern Renaissance triptych representing *The Deposition of Christ* (Fig. 1), generally attributed to the circle of Jan Van Scorel (1495-1562). This triptych was formerly displayed at St. John's Co-Cathedral Museum. However, the museum is currently being refurbished. This folding triptych is composed of three intact and framed paintings, with the central panel measuring 120 x 84 cm, while the side panels measure 120 x 42 cm each.

Contrary to the central panel, which is made up of three wooden planks and is only painted on the front, the side panels are composed of two wooden boards and are painted on both sides. The central panel of this triptych depicts the lamentation of the dead Christ in three-quarter length. The two flanking side wings represent, also in three-quarter length, and in three quarter-view, St. Joseph of Arimathea on the left and Mary Magdalene on the right. All three scenes are set against a distant landscape. Through the thorough research conducted on this particular triptych, it was possible to come up with new considerations and as originally discussed in the

Figure 2: NLM, AOM 1953, f.241r.

Figure 3: Figure 1 with side wings closed. Photograph: Author.

current's author postgraduate dissertation, a new attribution - to a follower of Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550) – and new timeframe – mid-sixteenth century – to this particular painting is therefore being proposed.[1]

New attribution

Scholars have repeatedly suggested that *The Deposition of Christ* triptych was brought to Malta with the arrival of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John from Rhodes in 1530.[2] This is most probably due to the archival documentation dating back to the eighteenth century that states:

> *"…il quadro maggiore della quale tempo fa era di pittura Greca portata da Rodi, rappresentante Nostro Signore morto in grembo alla Beata Vergine, con due posticelle che si chiudono, nella quali d'una parte e dipinto San Giovanni Evangelista, e dall' altra La Maddalena… ."*[3] (Fig. 2).

It is interesting to note that this document refers to a Greek painting rather than as a Renaissance painting. As a matter of fact, Dominic Cutajar goes on to explain that North European pre-Renaissance works were commonly described and referred to as Greek.[4] Indeed, Michelle O'Malley explains that during the Renaissance, *alla grecha* used to refer to the style of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyptychs that were based on the tracery of Gothic architecture.[5]

Based on this eighteenth-century document, and on the fact that Jan Van Scorel is known to have established good contacts with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, and on the high artistic calibre of the painting, Mario Buhagiar attributed this work at St. John's Co-Cathedral to the immediate circle of Jan Van Scorel.[6] Yet, upon further discussion with Molly Faries, the triptych cannot be stylistically attributed to Jan van Scorel or a follower.[7] In fact, she is of the opinion that the triptych is closer to southern Netherlandish paintings, such as the circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst.[8]

The models and composition of the three panels forming *The Deposition of Christ*, located at St. John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, are based on a now lost triptych that was originally executed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst sometime around 1530.[9] This triptych has eloquently been discussed with Annick Born, who is of the opinion that, even though the composition is probably based on a lost work by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, the style and technique used in the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral were executed by a less skilful painter and cannot be attributed to Van Aelst or his circle.[10] According to Born, *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-Cathedral could be the work of a local Maltese painter or of an Antwerp artist copying a successful master.[11] However, since this painting is believed to have arrived on the Maltese Islands following the arrival of the Hospitaller Knights, it cannot be the product of a local Maltese painter. Moreover, and also more importantly, no knowledge of a Maltese painter working in the Renaissance style is known to date. Therefore, this possibility can be ruled out.

Consequently, the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral cannot be attributed to Jan Van Scorel or his circle and not even to Pieter Coecke van Aeslt or his circle. As mentioned, the possibility that *The Deposition of Christ* triptych is the product of a local Maltese painter is highly unlikely. This work can therefore more accurately be attributed to a follower of Pieter Coecke van Aelst. The artist who executed this triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral was aware of the original composition executed by Van Aelst. Also, the

artist in charge is of considerable merit and even though his works are not considered to be on par with works by Van Aeslt himself or his circle, it is still evident that the artist had been trained by a very skilful master. This hypothesis was put forward following an educated analysis.[12] However, this conclusion could be further confirmed or else disregarded once a proper scientific analysis has been conducted on all three panels of the triptych especially since it is evident that the triptych has been subjected to a previous intervention with some sections being repainted.

The same composition is also found in other paintings by Pieter Coecke van Alest and his workshop. At the Fine Art Museum of San Francisco there are two side panels, and they depict the *Mary Magdalen* (right-wing) and *Joseph of Arimathea* (left-wing) that are attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. However, there is no reference to the central panel and to what it used to represent. While the composition of these two side panels is definitely the same as that of *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, there are some notable differences between the two. The most noteworthy difference is in the high artistic level and the finishing quality of the painting. The two panels at San Francisco are of an exceptional quality and they are superior to those at St. John's Co-Cathedral especially in the intricate details and the emotion with which the figures are depicted. Other differences are in the decorations such as in the corset of Mary Magdalene and in the ointment container.

New timeframe

Since *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-Cathedral painting was previously believed to have come from Rhodes, it was assumed that the painting was executed prior to 1527.[13] However, this seems improbable. Van Aelst became a free master in the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp in 1527.[14] According to Annick Born, the original lost composition by Van Aelst himself probably dated to around 1530.[15] The *terminus ante quem* of the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral is different to what has been previously believed. Hence, the triptych was executed after 1530 and it cannot have been brought to Malta by the Knights from Rhodes which leaves the question, what if the archives are referring to another yet unidentified painting? In fact, according to the previously mentioned eighteenth-century archival document, the right-hand side panel represented St. John the Evangelist, whereas this triptych represents St. Joseph of Arimathea.

It may be that the person who wrote the document confused the figure and instead of St. Joseph of Arimathea, wrote St. John the Evangelist. However, the two figures are easily distinguished especially through their attributes and thus, it is rather difficult to confuse the two. St. Joseph of Arimathea, as in the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral, is usually depicted as a wealthy elderly bearded man wearing expensive robes and a headdress. St. John the Evangelist on the other hand was a fisherman and could not afford lavish clothes. Moreover, it must be pointed out that St. John the Evangelist is depicted in the central panel of the triptych as a young man.

Technical considerations

The majority of the Netherlandish Renaissance triptychs with curved tops are between 80 and 120 cm high.[16] The longest planks available were usually 340 cm.[17] In fact, *The Deposition of Christ* triptych, which is here being attributed to a follower of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, is 120 cm high. This measurement

Figure 4: Hook on triptych represented in Figure 1.
Photograph: Author.

Figure 5: Attr. to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Triptych of the Deposition from the Cross,
first half of the sixteenth century, oil on panel, 201 x 137 cm, Galleria Regionale della
Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis, Palermo. Photograph: Credits to the Galleria Regionale
della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis, Palermo.

indicates that it was following the norm and hence, abiding with the usual standard measurements of triptychs with curved tops.

The measurements of the two previously mentioned panels (109.2 x 31.1 cm each) located at the Fine Art Museum of San Francisco are similar to the side panels of the Maltese triptych (120 x 42 cm each), since the difference is due to the frame thickness. Thus, it may also be suggested that the paintings may have been executed following a true size *cartone*. It could also be that the painter who executed the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral knew of the measurements of the panels at San Francisco, or of another who followed the same measurements, and enlarged the size of the print by possibly using the squaring method.

The two flanking wings of the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral are painted on both sides. While the inner sides depict St. Joseph of Arimathea and Mary Magdalene, the outer wings were painted at a later date and, according to the style, it seems that they had been repainted during the Baroque era (Fig. 3). It may further be suggested that the outer wings were painted to blend in with the decoration of the room. For a period of time, this triptych was placed in the chapel of the *appartamento d'inverno* in the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta.[18] It may be argued that, as frames were changed according to the interior décor, it may also be that the outer wings were painted in a manner that reflected the interior décor of the *appartamento d'inverno*.[19] Since this triptych has not been scientifically investigated as yet, it remains unclear whether the designs on the outer wings cover and/or replace an original Renaissance design, or if they were left bare and then painted over.

While the chapel of the *appartamento d'inverno* was obliterated and lost with the building of the current oval staircase in the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta, parts of the original walls of the chapel and the ceiling still remain.[20] One of the supposedly original walls of the chapel has similar floral decorations to those that appear on the closed triptych. Even though this floral decoration was widely used, the fact that it is found on one of the walls of the chapel may further attest to the argument that the outer wings were painted to blend in with the decoration of the room, in this case the chapel.

When reference is made to other Netherlandish triptychs of the time, the exterior wings of such triptychs usually display an image which prepares the viewer for what they are about to see on the inside.[21] In most cases, these would usually represent the annunciation scene.[22] The inclusion of the hook (Fig. 4), which seem to follow the authentic Renaissance hooks, indicates that the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral was always meant to close. Moreover, the format is completely different from the pseudotriptych form.[23] Thereby, it is feasible to suggest that according to the format and the frame structure, the triptych was always meant to have the outer wings painted.

Framework

Not so many Renaissance paintings survive in their authentic Renaissance frames. Frames were changed for various reasons including, but not limited to: a change in fashion or taste; when they passed on to different owners/collectors; and to update the presentation of older frames.[24] Nevertheless, the folding triptych representing *The Deposition of Christ* still survives in its original gilded framework. This makes it one of the five known Renaissance paintings in Malta that are known to have survived in their

original woodcarving.[25] Unfortunately, it is not known what type of wood was used since no dendrochronological investigations have been attempted as of yet, neither on the frame, nor on the panel itself.

Re-examining previous literature

When mentioning *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-Cathedral, in his book entitled "Essays on the Knights and Art and Architecture in Malta 1500-1798", Mario Buhagiar refers to another sixteenth-century Flemish oil on panel painting located at the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis at Palermo which represents the same subject and which according to him was a mirror image of the triptych found at St. John's Co-Cathedral.[26] When referring to the Palermo painting, Buhagiar cited the Inventory Number 73. This inventory number is linked to a painting dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, representing the *Triptych with the Deposition from the cross* (Fig. 5) and attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.[27]

Buhagiar also argues that the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral was well known outside of the Maltese Islands so much so that the composition of the triptych at Palermo might have been based on an engraving of the Maltese triptych.[28] However, this seems unlikely to have been the case. While the subject is the same, the figures are depicted in three-quarter length, and the episode represented is depicted in an open space against a distant landscape, therefore the triptych at Palazzo Abatellis is definitely not a mirror image of the triptych at St. John's Co-Cathedral.

Marks and labels identified on the back on the painting

Following a thorough visual investigation on *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-

Cathedral in Valletta, marks gouged into the back of the central panel have been identified (Fig. 6). The central painting is composed of three wooden boards. However, these gouge marks are only present on one of the side planks (when one is looking at the back of the panel, this would be the plank to our right).[29] Gouge marks are mainly found on the back of Brabant panels and these lines cross one another, forming a pattern of intersecting lines. They are not continuous from one plank to the other,[30] attesting that such marks were already present before the wooden boards were joined together. However, they are not usually found on each wooden plank that make up the whole support. In the case of *The Deposition of Christ* painting, these gouge marks are only visible on one wooden plank from the three strips that make up the central panel. Moreover, these lines usually consist of two to five lines and are less than 1 cm wide from each other.[31] Indeed, the back of the central panel of *The Deposition of Christ* painting contains five lines. Furthermore, these planks do not contain saw marks, thereby indicating that the wooden boards were split from tree trunks.[32]

Gouge marks are also sometimes called cargo marks, to indicate that they are associated with trade and transport.[33] Moreover, they might also be referred to as merchants' marks.[34] These types of marks are only found on oak wood which was felled and cleaved for transport from the Baltic Forest.[35] Hence, even though no dendrochronological investigations or wood identification have been attempted as yet, the presence of these marks gouged into the panel serve as proof that, at least for the central panel, oak was used (*Quercus* spp.). Apart from this mark, visual investigations also seem to suggest and confirm that the wood is oak. The same reasoning cannot be applied to the flanking panels. This is since they are painted on both

sides and hence, it has not been possible to confirm if they contain gouge marks or not. Furthermore, as it has already been pointed out, this triptych has not been scientifically investigated as yet.

Different suggestions and interpretations of gouge marks in general have been provided. It was proposed that these marks were carried out by timber tradesmen. It was also argued that these marks may have been included to indicate a good quality stock of wood. It has also been suggested that these planks were marked by the lumberjacks in the Baltic area.[36] Nowadays, it is assumed that these marks were made in the Baltic Forest after an oak tree had been felled and cleaved for transport to the transit harbour, such as in Danzig of Köningsberg.[37]

A substantial amount of the panels that contain these gouge marks were used by painters working in Brabant, Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels or Louvain. In fact, these marks have been found on the back of numerous works by several masters such as on the back of a number of paintings by Jan Van Scorel.[38] Nevertheless, such marks have also been found on Northern German altar paintings.[39] Yet, these marks also appear on paintings found in other regions in northern Europe. This is since the wood would have originated from the Baltic area and then it would have been marked before it was shipped to the Hansa towns.[40]

Panels with these longitudinal cut marks, which are found on the back of altar panel paintings, seem to have been executed between the end of the fifteenth and the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[41] Indeed, this fits well within the timeframe of execution of this particular painting, since as already discussed, this panel dates to the mid-sixteenth century. Moreover, the presence of these marks gouged

into the panel are linked to the first provenance of the painting either after splitting and trading down the river, or else from the trading of the timber from the Baltic towards the West.[42]

It is interesting to note that, in comparison to the Italian Renaissance painters who mainly made use of wood found locally, and hence did not choose the wood base on its characteristics but on availability, the Netherlandish painters imported their Baltic oak wood.[43]

Apart from gouge marks, *The Deposition of Christ* painting has two inventory labels on the back: one is handwritten while the other is typed (Figs. 7 and 8). A fragment of a circular sticker on top of the typed label also survives (Fig. 9). It bears a handwritten number "587" which is possibly linked to a particular inventory. Nonetheless, it was not possible to track down this number since the museum at St. John's Co-Cathedral does not possess documents related to this painting.[44]

The inclusion of one letter has also been identified on the back of the central panel of *The Deposition of Christ* triptych located at St. John's Co-Cathedral Museum in Valletta (Fig. 10). It seems to represent the letter 'P' and possibly another illegible inscription directly below it. One possibility may be that the other illegible inscription was the letter 'X' and hence, it may be that it represented the old Christian symbol Chi Rho, which are the first two Greek letters for Christ. The subject represented on the front makes the possibility of the Chi Rho rather fitting. However, this is just a probability and unfortunately, to date, its true meaning is not yet known.

Conclusion

Due to the profusion of Baroque art and architecture extant on the Maltese Islands,

Figure 6: Gouge marks. Back of Figure 1. Photograph: Author.

Figure 7: Inventory label on the back of Figure 1. Photograph: Author.

Figure 8: Inventory label on the back of Figure 1. Photograph: Author.

Figure 9: Inventory label on the back of Figure 1. Photograph: Author.

Figure 10: Mark on the back of Figure 1. Photograph: Author.

Renaissance works of art are often overlooked in the study of the history of art. Consequently, while some Renaissance works present in Malta have been in the limelight of scholarly investigations, others have long stood in the shadows waiting for their deserved share of a proper analyses. A case in point is the triptych representing *The Deposition of Christ* at St. John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, Malta. While merit has been given to this painting through the pivotal publications by Mario Buhagiar, this triptych was never studied from a multifaceted perspective, something that this paper has sought to do.

This triptych, albeit not the most refined of Northern Renaissance works, still deserves acknowledgement, especially within the local Maltese scenario. The importance of this triptych lies in its long five-hundred-year history which is mainly associated with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John and even though this research sought to challenge the preconceived idea that it arrived on the Maltese Islands with the Knights from Rhodes in 1530, the triptych is still very much associated with the Knights. This is since it was displayed in the Grand Master's Palace and due to its current location, St. John's Co-Cathedral, the former conventual church of the Knights of St. John. In fact, as already discussed, this painting is known to have been in the Chapel of the *appartamento d'inverno* in the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta up until the early nineteenth century. It was then transferred to the sacristy of the St. John's Co-Cathedral, and it remained there until the 1960s. It was then given on loan to the Mdina Cathedral Museum. It is not known exactly when the painting was sent back to St. John's Co-Cathedral; however, it was already in the Co-Cathedral by 1998/99.

Apart from its historical context, this folding triptych is one of only a few Northern Renaissance paintings known on the Maltese Islands. In fact, it is the only known example of a folding triptych of the period that forms part of a public collection. Its rarity is further enhanced by the fact that it survives intact in its original gilded framework.

To conclude, though the visual and educational analysis discussed in this paper has brought to light new considerations about this triptych, as previously mentioned, the conduction of a scientific investigation would provide us with a more comprehensive view about the history and stylistic considerations.

Endnotes

1   For more information, see Pavia Dimech, Lydia, "A History of Interventions on Renaissance Paintings in Malta," (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Art and Art History, University of Malta, 2021), 117-123.

2   Sir Hannibal P. Scicluna, *The Church of St. John in Valletta: It's history, architecture and monuments, with a brief history of the Order of St. John from its inception to the present day*, Rome, Casa M. Danesi, 1955, 211; Mario Buhagiar, *The Iconography of the Maltese Islands, 1400-1900: Painting*, (Valletta: Progress Press, 1987), 36; Mario Buhagiar, "Paintings", in *The Order's Early Legacy in Malta*, ed. John Azzopardi, (Valletta, Said International Ltd., 1989), 27; John Gash, "Painting and Sculpture in the Early Modern Malta", in *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes, (Malta: Mireva Publications Limited, 1993, 518; Dominic Cutajar, *History and works of art of St. John's Church, Valletta, Malta*, (Valletta: M. J. Publications, 1999), 117; Mario Buhagiar, "The Treasure of the Knight Hospitallers in 1530: Reflections and Art Historical Considerations," in *Peregrinationes: Acta et documenta*, (Malta and Perugia: Accademia Internazionale Melitense, 2000), 45; Mario Buhagiar, *Essays on the Knights and Art and Architecture in Malta 1500-1798*, (Sta Venera: Midesea Books Ltd., 2009), 61; Theresa Vella, "The Paintings of the Order of St. john in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century", (unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History of Art, University of Bristol, 2012), 151.

3   National Library Malta (hereafter referred to as NLM), Archivium Ordinis Melitae (hereafter referred to as AOM) 1953, f.241r.

According to tradition, this triptych was formerly the altarpiece of the chapel of one of the galleys of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John. For more information, see Scicluna (1955), 211; Edward Sammut, *The Co-Cathedral of St. John: Formerly the Conventual Church of the Order of Malta and its art treasures*, (Malta: Progress Press, 1950), 59-60, Buhagiar (2000), 54.

Translation in English - [...the main titular Geek altarpiece which has been brought over from Rhodes, representing the dead Christ on the Blessed Virgin, with two folding panels, in which on one side there is painted St. John the Evangelist, and on the other Magdalene...]

4   Cutajar (1999), 117.

Dominic Cutajar is the former curator of St. John's Co-Cathedral Museum and the former curator of the National Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta, Malta.

5   Michelle O'Malley, *The business of art: contracts and the commissioning process in Renaissance Italy*, (New Heaven London, Yale University Press, 2005), 23.

6   Jan Van Scorel is known to have visited the Holy Land in 1519. During this pilgrimage route, Jan Van Scorel visited Rhodes. It was in Rhodes that Van Scorel met Grand Master Fabrizio Carretto (1455-1521) and it was during this time, that Jan Van Scorel was commissioned by the Grand Master to execute a plan of Rhodes.

Buhagiar (1989), 27; Buhagiar (2000), 45; Buhagiar (2009), 61. Personal communication with Professor Buhagiar, founding father of the Art History Department at the University of Malta and currently a visiting Academic with the Department of Art & Art History at the University of Malta on 7 September 2020.

7   Information obtained from a personal communication with Dr Molly Faries on 6 July 2020. Dr Faries never studied the painting in person and her arguments are based on the images that the present author sent to her.

Dr Molly Faries is an authority on Jan Van Scorel, and she has published extensively on Van Scorel and his workshop.

8   Information obtained through a personal communication with Dr Molly Faries on 6 July 2020

9   Information obtained through a personal communication with Dr Annick Born on 26 August 2020.

10   Information obtained from a personal communication with Dr Annick Born on 26 August 2020. Dr Born never studied the painting in person and her arguments are based on the images that the present author sent to her.

Dr Born has published significantly both on Jan Van Scorel and on Pieter Coecke van Aelst.

11   Information obtained from a personal communication with Dr Annick Born on 26 August 2020.

12   The analysis has been based on a thorough research depending on art historical connoisseurship. Reference has been made to other paintings which are similar in style, date, period, and execution. While reference has been made to other art historians in the field, a lot of emphasis has been based on visual and comparative analysis. Hence why, this analysis has been an educated one rather than a scientific one.

13   This was because of the eighteenth-century document at the National Library. NLM, AOM 1953, f.241r.

14   Elizabeth Cleland, Maryan W. Ainsworth, Stijn Alsteens and Nadine M. Orenstein, *Grand design: Pieter

Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance tapestry, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 18.

15   Information obtained from a personal communication with Dr Annick Born on 26 August 2020.

16   Hélène Verougstraete, *Frames and supports in 15th and 16th-century Southern Netherlandish paintings*, (Brussels: Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 2015), 125.

17   Ibid.

18   NLM AOM 1953, f.241r.

19   George Bisacca and Lawrence B. Kanter, "Introduction", in *Italian Renaissance Frames*, eds. Timothy J. Newbery, George Bisacca and Lawrence B. Kanter, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 11; Laurence B. Kanter and George Bisacca, *Italian Renaissance Frames*, accessed on 16 July 2020, www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/fram/hd_fram.htm.

This room was obliterated with the building of the oval staircase by Grand Master Verdalle (1582-1595). Information obtained from a personal communication with Dr Theresa Vella, Visiting Senior Lecturer with the International Institute of Baroque Studies at the University of Malta, on 25 September 2020.

20   The chapel of the *appartamento d'inverno* was built during Grand Master Jean de la Cassière (1502-1581). Information obtained through a personal communication with Dr Theresa Vella on 25 September 2020 and with Dr Jevon Vella, Deputy Director at the Institute for the Creative Arts, MCAST, on 3 March 2021.

21   Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study in Patronage*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, (Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1969), 4.

22   Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, (London, Phaidon Press Ltd., 2004), 164.

23   An example of a pseudotriptych format is the *Triptych of the Madonna del Soccorso*, which is attributed to Antonio de Saliba and located at the Mdina Cathedral Museum, Malta. For more information regarding the pseudotriptych format, see Pavia Dimech (2021), 127.

24   Bisacca and Kanter (1990), 29; Laurence B. Kanter and George Bisacca, *Italian Renaissance Frames*, accessed on 16 July 2020 from https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/fram/hd_fram.htm; Alison Wright, *Frame work: Honour and ornament in Italian Renaissance art*, (New Heaven London: Yale University Press, 2019), 28, 41.

25   Four of these paintings form part of local public collections, while the fifth one forms part of a private collection. For more information, see Pavia Dimech (2021), 84.

26   Buhagiar (2000), 45; Buhagiar (2009), 61.

27   This triptych at the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis measures 201 x 137 cm. Many thanks to Ms Valeria Sola, Art Historian Officer at the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis and to Dr Roberta Cruciata, Lecturer at the Università degli Studi di Palermo, for providing information about the triptych at Palazzo Abatellis.

28   Buhagiar (2000), 45.

29   These marks gouged into the panel were discussed with Professor Jørgen Wadum, Managing Director at Wadum Art Technological Studies (WATS), through a personal communication on 24 February 2019.

30   Jørgen Wadum, "Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in the Northern Countries", in *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*, eds. Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothc, (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1998), 162.

31   Verougstraete (2015), 16.

32   Wadum (1998), 162.

33   Information obtained through a personal communication with Dr Molly Faries on 6 July 2020.

34   Molly Faries and Peter Klein, "Panels and Dendrochronology: Works by Jan van Scorel and Other Masters in the Centraal Museum's Collection", in *Utrecht Painting, 1363-1600, The Collection of the Centraal Museum, Utrecht*, eds. Molly Faries and Liesbeth M. Helmus, (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2011), 43.

35   Verougstraete (2015), 17.

This information was obtained through a personal communication with Professor Jørgen Wadum on 24 February 2019.

36   Wadum (1998), 162; Verougstraete (2015), 17.

37   Information obtained through a personal communication with Professor Jørgen Wadum on 24 February 2019.

38   Faries and Klein (2011), 43.

This information was also obtained through a personal communication with Dr Molly Faries on 6 July 2020.

39   Wadum (1998), 162.

40   Ibid.

41   Ibid.

42   Information obtained through a personal communication with Professor Jørgen Wadum on 12 April 2019.

43   Luca Uzielli, "Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in Central Italy", in *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*, eds. Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothe, (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1998), 114; David Bomford, Jill Dunkerton, and Martin Wyld, *A closer look: conservation of paintings*, (London: National Gallery Compony Limited, 2009), 14; Raffaella Bruzzone and Maria Clelia Galassi, "Wood species in Italian panel paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: historical investigation and microscopical wood identification", in *Studying Old Master paintings. Technology and Practice*, ed. M. Spring, (London: Archetype Publications-The National Gallery, 2011), 254, 258.

44   This was confirmed to the present author by Mr Anthony Casha, General Administration Officer at the St. John's Co-Cathedral Foundation.

The First Northern War in the light of the letters of the Royal Commissioners: Marcin Kromer and Jan Dymitr Solikowski

by Maciej Polak

Polish historiography refers to the rivalry for the dominium maris Baltici (domination in the Baltic Sea) and Livonia, between 1563 and 1670, as the "First Northern War." In Scandinavian literature these events are known more broadly as the "Northern Seven Years' War", and in Russian literature as a narrower aspect of the much longer "Livonian Wars"[1].

The Polish-Lithuanian side and King Zygmunt August himself were involved in the Livonian policy from 1550. However, it was only after the events directly related to the Treaty of Pozwol in 1557 (a tribute to the Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of the Sword) that a wider conflict broke out[2]. States with an economic and strategic interest in Livonia (the State of Moscow, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Kingdom of Sweden, and the Hanseatic cities) got involved in the war. Due to the lack of decisive successes in the military field and changes in alliances, an increasing number of diplomats were involved in the conflict[3].

Zygmunt August mainly tried to bring about a Danish-Swedish peace through diplomatic activities. At the beginning of the war, Poland and Lithuania were allied with Denmark. However, in Sweden, Eric XIV was overthrown. The Finnish prince John, married to Zygmunt August's sister Catherine, took the throne. Thus, Sweden became an ally of Poland and Lithuania[4].

At the same time, the Polish king tried to maintain the alliance with Denmark, which was becoming weaker and weaker. In 1565, the Polish army captured Parnau. According to the treaty of 1563, it was to fall to Denmark. However, Zygmunt August did not want to hand over the city to his ally. The Danish king Frederick II also tried to fight the Polish privateer fleet. In July 1569, the Danish fleet deceitfully seized nine privateer ships near Rewel. Jerzy von Eden, the provost of Żuk, sent to Denmark, demanded the release of privateers on behalf of Zygmunt August. Frederick II refused the Polish deputy and demanded that the Polish side attack the Swedes in Livonia. However, in 1568, Zygmunt August entered into an alliance with Sweden. He promised his brother-in-law, John III, that he would bring peace between Sweden and Denmark. However, Polish commissioners did not reach Roskilde in time, where envoys from Denmark, Lübeck, and Sweden debated[5]. A short-lived peace was concluded, which the Swedish king rejected as unfavorable to his country. In July 1569, further Danish-Swedish negotiations were undertaken, once again without the participation of Polish commissioners. They were also unsuccessful[6].

A new initiative for an agreement on disputes was put forward by the French ambassador to Denmark, Charles Dancay. He proposed a peace congress in Rostock in November 1569. Frederick II, after consulting the Polish king, agreed to this. Moreover, Zygmunt August prepared a new group of commissioners: Marcin Kromer and Jan Dymitr Solikowski. Piotr Kłoczowski was to support their work. In October 1569, Zygmunt August informed Marcin Kromer that the participants of the legation were to meet in Lidzbark Warmiński. From there, the

commissioners were to travel to Rostock for a peace congress[7].

The first of them, Marcin Kromer, was born in 1512 to a burgher family in Biecz.[8] He graduated from the parish school in Biecz and then studied at the Academy of Cracow (1528–1530). After receiving a bachelor's degree, he stayed in Kraków, where he was employed in the royal chancellery by Chancellor Jan Chojeński. In 1537, he went to study in Padua and Bologna in Italy. In 1540 he returned to Poland as a doctor of both laws. He gained the support of another patron, Piotr Gamrat, the Bishop of Cracow, and became his secretary and adviser. Kromer was also ordained a priest. In the years 1543–1544 he was a bishop's envoy to Rome, and in 1544 he received the canonry of Cracow. In 1544, he became the royal secretary of Zygmunt Stary and a close associate of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Samuel Maciejowski. Already during the reign of Zygmunt August, he became a full-time envoy to the Habsburg court. He also dealt with Prussian affairs and, as an expert in this province, received the Warmian canonry in 1551. In 1552, the king rewarded him with the title of nobility for his historical works on Poland. In the years 1558-1564, he was a permanent envoy at the court of the emperor.[9]

In addition to his diplomatic activities, he was active in the field of the counterreformation and also produced religious and historical texts and wrote poems[10]. Buoyant diplomatic activity in northern affairs also allowed Kromer to create a draft of the historical novel Historyja prawdziwa o przygodzie żałosnej książęcia finlandzkiego Jana i królewny polskiej Katarzyny (English title: A true story about the sorrowful adventure of the Finnish prince Jan and the Polish princess Katarzyna)[11]. After the Szczecin Congress, he also obtained confirmation of the Warmian coadjutor, and in later years he also became the bishop of this diocese.[12]

The second commissioner, Jan Dymitr Solikowski, was born in 1539 in Sieradz to a Protestant family[13]. He was the son of the hereditary mayor of Sieradz, Jan Solikowski and Zuzanna Fischer. In the years 1556-1559 he studied at the Academy of Cracow, then for a year (from July 1559 to April 1560) in Wittenberg under Philip Melanchthon, the Lutheran reformer. After returning to Poland, he stayed in the court. In 1560, he was employed in the office of Primate Jakub Uchański. A year later (1561) he received a bachelor's degree, and in 1562 a master's degree in liberal sciences and philosophy. In 1562, he was ordained a priest. In 1564, he became the royal secretary of Zygmunt August. Under the direction of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Walenty Dembiński, he took part in several missions and diplomatic missions. Throughout his life, he developed humanistic abilities, as did Kromer. He wrote political texts, religious polemics, and, in particular, Latin poetry[14]. In 1583 he was officially granted the Archbishopric of Lviv[15]. Both commissioners and royal diplomats took part in attempts to end the first part of the struggle for the dominium maris Baltici.

On November 20, 1569, Jan Dymitr Solikowski and Marcin Kromer set off from Warmia towards Rostock. They stopped in Szczecin, where they awaited the development of events and contacted other envoys. They reported to the king in a letter of December 7, 1569:

> "Merciful King and Your Majesty! Following Your royal orders, we set off immediately, paying no attention to anything and sparing our health, horses and other things. We were sure that if we got there on time, other commissioners

would be waiting. However, in Szczecin we learned from the Lois family and other people that there were no commissioners of the kings of Sweden and Denmark in Rostock [...]. We learned that the Swedish king in Schonland harmed the Danish king because the Swedish king conquered the Danish Warberg Castle. When the Danish king tried to recapture the castle, the cannons shot the Danish hetman Daniel Ranczaw and the commander of the Danish cavalry, Franc Burkenhans. The Danish king was also supposedly under threat, but he managed to recapture the castle three weeks ago" (own English translation – M.P.)[16].

At the turn of the year, it turned out that no peace congress would be held in Rostock. Frederick II captured the Varberg Fortress and told the delegates that he would not sign a ceasefire with Sweden. John III in turn demanded that the congress be moved to Stralsund. Thus, the Polish commissioners, Kromer and Solikowski, set off on their way back to Poland in January 1570. Kromer returned quite quickly because on the last day of January he got back to his bishop's seat in Warmia, and Solikowski set off for the royal court[17].

In turn, the situation on the international stage overlapped. Successive Polish deputies lobbied Frederick II to start peace talks. In April, the Danish king was persuaded to start new negotiations. Thus, the Polish deputies proposed to change the location of the congress to Szczecin. This place was accepted by the kings of Sweden and Denmark and the French ambassador, Charles Dancay. The date was initially set for 1 July 1570[18].

The host of the congress was to be the Pomeranian prince Jan Fryderyk and the official patron of peace talks, Zygmunt August. Sweden was represented by Chancellor Nils Gyllenstjerna, together with several councilors and secretaries. Denmark sent an envoy of five: Peder Bille, Jørgen Rosenkrantz, Henrik Rantzau, Niels Kaas, and Joachim Henke. In turn, Lübeck sent both mayors to the congress along with secretaries. The Imperial envoys Joachim Schlick, Krzysztof von Karlovitz and Kasper von Minkwitz also appeared as intermediaries. The role of the emperor's representative was also to be played by the host, Prince Jan Fryderyk. In addition, there were two deputies from the Saxon elector Augustus and Dancay represented France. Zygmunt August relied on the proven and knowledgeable Marcin Kromer and Jan Dymitr Solikowski, who were supported by Justus Klaudius and Stefan Lois. The final selection, as well as the required documentation, were not prepared until July 1570, the moment when the congress was to begin. Therefore, the Polish delegation arrived with considerable delay. The deliberations with the participation of Polish commissioners began, so it was not until September[19].

The Polish commissioners had undertaken a difficult task. We can learn exactly what the Polish delegation tried to do from the account left by Marcin Kromer[20]. The Polish commissioners were to reconcile Sweden and Denmark and at the same time gain as many benefits as possible for Zygmunt August. The largest of them was to be the blockade of merchants' shipping to the Russian city of Narva. Therefore, the main goal of Polish diplomats was to torpedo the plans of Danish diplomacy. Denmark and Lübeck did not want to agree in any way to the disruption of profitable trade with Narva. That is why Kromer and Solikowski tried to create a coalition based on representatives of Sweden and the Pomeranian prince Jan Fryderyk. In addition, the

commissioners tried to force the imperial envoys to cooperate by threatening to lose control of Livonia. In turn, through the requests sent to Zygmunt August, the Polish delegation gave the appearance of secret talks with Moscow[21].

The above activities were supplemented with real activities during the congress. As intermediaries, they drafted solutions to the disputed articles, formulated by the parties, and submitted them to the imperial delegates, who again agreed them through their own discussions. Then a joint draft was submitted to the parties in writing. This scheme was repeated twice with no positive effect[22].

Congress did not seem to end with a deal. The reason was mainly two disputable elements. The first is maritime trade with the Moscow city of Narva, the second is Livonia. In the remainder, a satisfactory compromise was reached for all parties. The Poles continued to support the imperial delegation in the conviction that the sailing of western merchants to Moscow was not in the interest of the Reich. In addition, evidence was presented that Magnus, supported by Denmark, was acting against the German Empire. Even the Polish commissioners managed to persuade Emperor Maximilian II to intervene with Danish king Frederick II[23].

However, the actions of the Polish delegation fell short of the weakness of Swedish diplomacy. It was instructed to sign the agreement at almost any cost due to the threat posed by Moscow. First, they betrayed the Polish commissioners in the deliberations concerning Livonia. Then they were pinned to the wall by the French and Danish delegations on the Baltic trade and the maritime trade route to Narwa[24].

Ultimately, a peace treaty was formulated, which was signed on December 13[25]. Based on the text of the treaty and Marcin Kromer's

account, the treaty contained the following principles:

- The Danish king must refrain from making any demands against Sweden;

- Sweden must waive all requirements for Norway, Scania, Halland, Blekinge, Gotland, Jämtland and Herjedalen. Sweden will maintain the influence of the ecclesiastical authority of Linköping over Gotland and of Uppsala over Jämtland;

- Sweden must return the eight intercepted ships Jægeren, Herkules, Løven, David, Hektor, Hjorten, Morian and Bjørnen to Denmark;

- Denmark must return the intercepted vessel to Sweden;

- Sweden has to pay 150,000 thalers for the Elfsborg Fortress. Half to be paid in June 1571, a few weeks after the fortress is returned. The remainder is to be paid in two installments within two years of the first payment;

- For now, both kings must be able to use the national coat of arms "Tre Kronor";

- Sweden and Denmark must try to resolve the conflict over the coat of arms on their own before 1 January 1572;

- If the problem of disarming the country's military forces has not been resolved by that date, the matter must be settled by a court in Rostock;

- The German Emperor will not influence the Swedish possessions in Estonia. If he wishes to do so or wishes to return them, he will have to pay compensation for the Swedish costs;

- Narewska shipping will be maintained for

Danes and Lübeck, and Swedish ships can pass through the Sound without paying customs duties;

- Lübeck is to receive 75,000 thalers and regain its privileges in Sweden, but without the exclusive right to trade[26].

Solikowski and Kromer also signed the treaty. In summing up their mission, they explained to the king in the following words:

> "When we signed the contract, we made every effort to ensure that the rights of our most great King were not violated. One must be relatively satisfied with the provisions of the new alliance treaty. Our merciful king must have read the content of the report on the decisions of the congress and what was not done. Thus, the Merciful King will be able to conduct further negotiations according to his will. We ask the Worshipful King to appreciate our service and the difficult work at the congress. We performed our work with faith and diligence and we hope that the king will look at us with a merciful eye" (own English translation – M.P.)[27].

Thus, the First Northern War ended, but the clashes for the dominium maris Baltici and Livonia continued for the next years, until the eighteenth century.

Endnotes

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11   M. Kromer, Historyja prawdziwa o przygodzie żałosnej książęca finlandzkiego Jana i Królewny Polskiej Katarzyny, ed. J. Małłek, Olsztyn 1983; S. Bodniak, Autorstwo „Historji prawdziwej o przygodzie żałosnej książęca finlandzkiego Jana i królewny Katarzyny", „Pamiętnik Literacki" 28(1931), p. 77-87.

12   The most valuable description of Kromer's clerical activity in: A. Eichhorn, Der ermländische Bischof Martin Kromer als Schriftsteller, Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst, Braunsberg 1868.

13   E. Kotarski, B. Kumor, Jan Dymitr Solikowski, in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. XL, Warszawa–Kraków 2000.

14   A. Podlecka, Pisma polityczne Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego w Bibliografii Stanisława Estreichera, „Bibliotekarz Podlaski", 38(2018), p. 121-137.

15   More information about Jan Dymitr Solikowski: A. Chmielowski, Życiorys księdza Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego Arcybiskupa Lwowskiego, Kraków 1890.

16   Original version: „Najaśniejszy a Miłościwy Królu a panie panie nasz Miłościwy! Jako była wola i rozkazanie Waszej królewskiej Mości naszego Miłościwego pana, wiedząc przy tym i o krótkości czasu, który był na zjazd i spólnych komisarzów w Rostoku naznaczony, bez wszelakiego mieszkania, nie szanując ani zdrowia, ani koni naszych, w drogęśmy się pośpieszali. I byliśmy te nadzieje, aby nas, gdy już czas minął naznaczony, komisarze insi, którzy ktemu aktowi należą, już tam oczekiwać mieli. Aleśmy sam w Stetinie i od Loisów, i od innych ludzi, taka sprawa wzięli, iż w Rostoku jeszcze dotychmiast nikogo nie masz ani z strony Króla Duńskiego, ani Sweczkiego […] W tych czasiech po onym, jako Król Sweczki w Schonlandzie wielką szkodę Królowi Duńskiemu uczynił, znowu Król Sweczki Królowi Duńskiemu wziął zamek Warberg, o który, gdy się Króla Duńskiego ludzie kusili, nawyzszy hetman Daniel Ranczaw i Franc Brukenhans, starszy nad jezdą, z działa są postrzeleni i sam Król od tegoż niebezpieczeństwa był niedaleki. Acz zasię tego zamku przed trzema niedzielami Król Duński dostał" in: List Marcina Kromera i Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego do króla Zygmunta Augusta, ed. W. Polak, „Almanach Historyczny" 1(1999), p. 245-251.

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19   S. Bodniak, Kongres szczeciński…, p. 32-36.

20   See: Marcina Kromera relacya o kongresie szczecińskim, ed. K. Liske, „Kwartalnik Historyczny", 3(1889), p. 214-227. More information in the archival documents and letters: Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (The Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow), sygn. 79 IV, Teki Naruszewicza nr 79 and also: sygn. 300 IV, Manuscriptum Collectaneorum ad Reges Danicum et Sueticum 1569-1570; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), Metryka Koronna, Księgi Poselstw (Libri Legationum), sygn. LL 20.

21   S. Bodniak, Kongres szczeciński…, p. 37-42; Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (The Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow), sygn. 300 IV, Manuscriptum Collectaneorum ad Reges Danicum et Sueticum 1569-1570; k. 556-586.

22   S. Bodniak, Kongres szczeciński…, p. 43-45.

23   S. Bodniak, Kongres szczeciński…, p. 47-51.

24   S. Bodniak, Kongres szczeciński…, p. 53-62.

25   The most of documents treaty of peace are in Riksarkivet Stockholm (National Archives of Sweden). For example document: Friedensvertrag von Stettin 13 XII 1570.

26   Selected treaty provisions from: Marcina Kromera relacya o kongresie szczecińskim, ed. K. Liske, „Kwartalnik Historyczny", 3(1889), p. 223-227; and in: Riksarkivet Stockholm (National Archives of Sweden), Friedensvertrag von Stettin 13 XII 1570.

27   Original version: „a my też tę ugodę podpisując, tegośmy dokładali: salvo per omnia iure Serenissimi Regis nostri protestationibus nostris. Alecz co się nowych foedera tycze, naszem zdaniem nie masz czego pragnąć. Jużeś W. K. M. N. M. Pan summę zjednania tych tam królów wyrozumieć raczył, i to, co jeszcze restat około czego W. K. M. tak rządzić będziesz mógł, co się W. K. M. najlepszego w tej mierze będzie widziało. A prosimy, abyś W. K. M., Nasz M. Pan tę posługę i pracę naszą pełne trudności his tam difficilimis temporibus, w której na naszej wierze i pilności nic nie schodziło, miłosiernie od nas sług swoich przyjąć raczył" in: Marcina Kromera relacya o kongresie szczecińskim, ed. K. Liske, „Kwartalnik Historyczny", 3(1889), p. 227.

Queen Kristina of Sweden's Self-Writing and its Unusual Form and Function

by Connor J. Webb

In studying the various forms of self-representation of Queen Kristina of Sweden, the most striking of all of them is her memoir, a document composed in stages and left incomplete. Kristina was the Queen of Sweden from 1632 until she abdicated the throne in 1654 at the age of 28. For the majority of her reign she was still a minor and under a regency. While her memoir relates, at least tangentially, to the events of Kristina's life it does not read as a cohesive document. Though this could be attributed to it likely having been written in parts at different stages in Kristina's life – much of it is not specifically dated but rather whole sections have one date – even chapters that follow on from each other logically at their point of transition can deviate wildly from each other in tone and content. Only nine chapters and fifty-five pages long, it was ultimately left unfinished.

In early modern memoir writing there was a spectrum of writing styles, both distinct and indistinct from the autobiographical genre we know today. On one end of the spectrum was strict self-writing that closely detailed the author's life in a way that we might easily recognise as autobiographical writing today, at the other end of the spectrum was writing not focused on the life of an individual, but on historical events that might only tangentially be related to the life of the author. Paul Delany defines these extremes more specifically in *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* as a subjective focus on the self and an objective focus on external events.[1] An example of this subjective focus is the memoir of Sophie of Hanover (1630-1714), who created a piece of self-writing that we would today recognise easily as an autobiography. In contrast, the memoirs of Charles V (1500-1558) fall on the other end of this spectrum: writing in the third person, he employs a very objective manner, detailing outside events in a way that might be more recognisable as a piece of narrative history rather than autobiography.[2] The self-writing of Kristina falls somewhere in the middle of this spectrum. Although she does include depictions of external events, rather than simply focusing on the subjective events of her own life, she does not do so objectively. Kristina's portrayal of the Thirty Years War is an excellent example of this. While in Chapter Six she does give an account of events that happened shortly after her father Gustav II Adolf's (1611-1632) death, she does so with a clear subjective bias towards the Swedish military and their accomplishments.[3] Kristina wrote her memoir in a manner that was, at times, reminiscent of several different subcategories of autobiographical writing ranging from chapter to chapter, the only unifying factor being her sometimes sparse recollections of her own life and thoughts. Though writing across the spectrum of memoir writing was not unusual at this time, it is Kristina's combination of these diverse styles that makes her memoir a unique reading experience.

During the Renaissance period in Europe, works of self-writing were created in ever increasing numbers. As the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed, the political memoir grew in popularity across Europe, not only focusing on the depiction of political events but growing to act as pieces of

political propaganda in and of themselves.[4] In the seventeenth century this popularity grew in France as the French Bourbon court created a tradition of memoir writing that would be copied across the courts of Europe.[5] Prominent examples of memoirs created in this tradition include, but are not limited to, the memoirs of Maximilian de Béthune, Duke of Sully (1560-1641); Louis François Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu (1629-1715); and Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz (1613-1679).[6] In this context, as an individual who had a close relationship with France both before and after her abdication, it is hardly surprising that Kristina decided that she herself would create her own work of self-writing.[7]

In contrast to other prominent pieces of self-writing by early modern European individuals such as Sophie of Hanover, Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615), Charles V, and Catherine II (1729-1796), Kristina's memoir is unusual in that it combines several different styles/genres of self-writing into one unusual document.[8] These various styles included predominantly Augustine-style confessional writing, particularly in Chapter One, and political memoir writing, but it was not limited to only these styles. Throughout the nine chapters Kristina also utilised descriptions of military enterprise, and more traditional memoir style writing in which she focused on historical events that related to her but did not happen to her directly.

Kristina's self-writing can be seen to have many influences within the many different forms of self-writing, and these differing influences prevent her writings from feeling like a cohesive document. However, this may be easily explained by the circumstances of her writing. There were several occasions when Kristina began creating

an autobiographical work. The first instance was written in Italian in 1658. In a letter to Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), Kristina portrayed it as being very short and soon abandoned the project because, in her words, she found it difficult to write in Italian.[9] Shortly after, Kristina began another attempt, this time in French, *Les Memoires de Christine Alexandra* (The Memoirs of Christina Alexandra). Although similar in tone to her later, and longer, attempt, it was also quickly abandoned.[10] The memoir that is most well-known and that will be dealt with here was written in French in 1681, the first chapter specifically dated as 11 June 1681.[11] Even this text had several different versions, some of which have very few differences while others have deviations, additions, or subtractions. While Kristina's work does demonstrate several well-defined themes throughout, some chapters have distinct identities that clearly follow literary forms that were developed by the seventeenth century, whereas others seem to have a mix of purposes. When comparing her work with those of other early modern European monarchs and potential influences this is especially apparent.

Two useful points of comparison for Kristina's self-writing are that of Charles V and Catherine the Great, so chosen because they were early modern monarchs whose reigns bracket that of Kristina's and who created pieces of self-writing that have contrasting similarities and differences to that of Kristina's work.[12] Both monarchs gave detailed accounts about varying periods of their lives, Catherine beginning her self-writing earlier in her life, when her predecessor Empress Elizabeth I still occupied the Russian throne, while Charles chose to begin with his ascension to the Spanish throne. In contrast to the memoirs of Kristina, those of Catherine the Great can be seen to lack literary

flare. While Kristina moved fluidly between different genres of self-writing depending on the major theme of each chapter, Catherine's writing consistently follows a single recognisably autobiographical form throughout. Despite this difference in writing style the similar periods in their lives that both memoirs focus on make this a useful point of comparison. Beginning in 1756, Catherine the Great also composed several versions of her memoir. The version that still survives was started two years before her death in 1796.[13]

As with any early modern monarch, each experienced complicated power dynamics both on and off the throne. Kristina had been a hereditary monarch, and until her abdication she had been relatively secure. While she did abdicate, having an obvious effect on her power in society, she did so voluntarily into a position that was more powerful than the majority of both men and women in Europe at this time. Catherine on the other hand was not a hereditary monarch and even when she came to hold power in Russia she did not do so as securely as Kristina had earlier in her life. When taking into account their individual circumstances at the time of writing their memoirs, the fact that Catherine remained on her throne is an important advantage and gave her more potential to control her life and perception than was possible for Kristina by this time. On the surface it is easy to assume that Kristina and Charles had more similarities than Catherine and Kristina, however, there were still intricacies of power involved and the two existed in very different situations for many reasons. While neither occupied their thrones anymore, Charles had held more power during his reign than almost any other person in history and held onto more power afterwards, as his successors continued to seek his advice even after his

retirement to a monastery.[14] This is an important difference as Kristina was not seen as favourably in Sweden after her abdication, often struggling to receive the annuity promised to her upon her abdication.[15] This allowed Charles to take a more passive tone compared to Kristina's more overt representations of herself and of her image. While both are obviously forms of political memoir, the self-writing of Charles V and Catherine the Great utilise opposing styles within the genre, Charles's objective memoir-style contrasts with Catherine's subjective writing and emphasis on the events of her life. There are clear differences to Kristina's in both, for instance neither share any similarities with her first chapter. However, there are also areas of overlap and similarity in each memoir. Chapters Three and Six, which focus on recent Swedish political history and the Thirty Years War respectively, for example both share similarities with Charles V's memoir whereas Chapter Four, which focuses on the political machinations that led to the meeting and marriage of Kristina's parents and her birth, is more similar to the writing of Catherine II. It is a testament to the inconsistencies of Kristina's memoir as a whole that there are such clear similarities with each, given how different Charles and Catherine's memoirs are.

Though it was also unfinished, Kristina's father, Gustav II Adolf, began writing his memoirs during his life much as Kristina did.[16] His writings were significantly smaller than those created by his daughter, reaching only twenty-one pages in total and never progressing to a second chapter. The sole chapter of his memoir is much like the second and third chapters of Kristina's own memoirs: a sketch of the recent history of the Vasa dynasty from Gustav I (1523-1560) gaining the throne of Sweden to the unrest in the family that led first to Erik XIV (1560-1568), then Johan

III (1569-1592), and finally Karl IX (1604-1611) taking the throne as the sons of Gustav I.[17] When looked at through the lens of Kristina's intention, given the similarities between the two texts, it is easy to speculate that both Gustav and Kristina had similar motivations. For Gustav it is easy to see that emphasising his strong familial claim to the throne could be an important starting point for his memoirs given that his cousin King Sigismund III Vasa (1592-1599), who had previously held the throne of Sweden before he was deposed by Gustav's father Karl IX, was still alive and on the throne of Poland. This issue of legacy and legitimacy would seem to be as important to Kristina, as while she no longer sat on the throne of Sweden, her position as a former Queen continued to play an important role in her identity.

Though there is a religious tone throughout Kristina's memoir it does not function as a true devotional text. The first chapter is the most obviously religious of the memoir where Kristina maintains a steady focus not just on God and his influences on her life and achievements but on thanking him for bestowing these glories on her.[18] However, further chapters do not maintain such a heavily devotional tone, instead shifting through other forms of self-writing to other issues in her life and only intermittently returning to issues of religious focus. Those such as Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) who wrote famous devotional texts, often wrote at the direction of others, such as their spiritual directors. By the time she began writing, the Roman Catholic Church had less of an official involvement in Kristina's life and this could be a likely contributory factor as to why the religious focus of the memoir reduced as she progressed with writing, not to mention that the strongest religious influence at the time the memoir was written about was that

of Protestantism – something Kristina potentially would not want to highlight as while she had converted to Roman Catholicism in 1655 doubts about her true religious conviction abounded.[19]

Despite being one of the few accessible genres of writing for women, Kristina's devotional writing is not reminiscent of that composed by Catholic women at the time given her conversation and the negative influence of malicious rumours and propaganda regarding the strength of Kristina's faith it is unlikely that she would have chosen to emulate the forms of devotional writing favoured by Protestant women. This differed from Catholic women's devotional writing in that Catholic devotional writing was a public expression of faith, whilst Protestant devotional writing was done alone as an act of self-surveillance that replaced Catholic confession. As such, when looking for influences for Kristina's distinctive first Chapter One must look further afield.[20]

Taking into account Kristina's numerous negative and patriarchal comments about women, femininity, and the capabilities of women in her self-writings, it is also sensible to look to the writing of men for influences. Though only comparable with the first chapter of Kristina's memoirs, the self-writing of St. Augustine is the best close comparison to this chapter, especially as Kristina is quoted as saying of his writing "Ce que J'ai vu des ouvrages de cet hommes incomparable suffit pour une faire admirer le reste, que Je ne verrai peut-être jamais." (What I have seen of the words of this incomparable man is enough to make me admire the rest, which I may never see.) [21] Both of their first chapters are distinctive and neither Kristina nor St. Augustine maintained quite the same tone past the first chapter/book of their memoirs, as even St. Augustine moved on from his strongly

theological beginning to a more straightforward recounting of his life. Though unlike Kristina he did sustain a strongly devotional tone even in the more autobiographical sections of his self-writing. This difference is mostly due to the more abstract tone that St. Augustine employs; he speaks of God more existentially rather than in direct relevance to his life.[22] Kristina on the other hand spoke with more specificity about her life and the way God had interacted with it.[23] The differences between the first chapter of Kristina's memoir and the following eight are much more distinct than that of St. Augustine's self-writing, to the point that it appears likely to be due to a conscious decision by Kristina to change form from her second chapter onwards. Whereas St. Augustine naturally transitioned to writing autobiographically while still maintaining an obviously devotional tone, Kristina moved much further away from the devotional tone. These differences demonstrate the distinction between the two and the way that Kristina used different forms of the memoir depending on her focuses for each chapter.

Chapter One is the most obviously disparate to the rest of her memoirs, the composition and tone is one that is not continued in the rest of her writing. While the theme of religion and Kristina's relationship with God is one that permeates the rest of the memoir, the presentation differs greatly in the eight chapters that followed. This chapter could also be seen not as the intended first chapter of her self-writing but as that of a prayer written by Kristina displaying the aims she hoped to achieve through the writing and publication of her memoirs.[24] When viewed in this way the beginning of Chapter Two, with its description of the geography and demographics of Sweden, also makes more sense as the beginning of

an overall bigger text that deals not only with Kristina's life but important matters of Swedish national politics.[25]

As with Chapter One, Chapters Two and Three are not strongly autobiographical, and instead read more like a chronicle of the history of Sweden and the Vasa family. Kristina still has not reached the time of her own birth and though she does reference herself briefly, it is usually in the middle of narration of events relating to others, such as at the beginning of the third chapter when she is describing the advent of the reformation in Sweden.[26] From the fourth chapter onwards, Kristina moved on to create a more obviously autobiographical text once she had reached the circumstances of her birth in the middle of that chapter. However, even in these sections of her memoir her focus would waiver from a straight retelling of her life and in one instance in Chapter Six diverted to a fairly detailed retelling of some of the events of the Thirty Years War.[27] Though from a modern standpoint it may feel odd to take so long to reach an author's birth within a memoir, when you look at her purposes as not only solidifying her own reputation but that of her family it brings her choices of topic further into perspective.

Kristina's memoirs could also be read as her attempt to redirect the narratives about her that were diffuse in early modern Europe, emphasising her religious convictions with a heavily devotional focus in Chapter One could have been important to Kristina not only with regards to her standing and reputation but her personal priorities. Before her abdication Kristina had a reputation for learning and enlightenment, she was well known as "Pallas/Minerva of the North", famed for her intellect and was a generally well-regarded individual.[28] However, after her abdication there was a drastic change

in the way she was perceived and she was no longer afforded the respect and admiration that had been widespread while she still occupied the throne. As well-known a woman as she was in seventeenth-century Europe, her once sterling reputation when she was a young queen had been plagued by numerous rumours after her move to Italy and conversion to Catholicism. It would not be surprising if those close to her such as Cardinal Azzolino or Pierre Chanut encouraged the creation of a document refuting many of the worst claims against her. Kristina was often subject to both slander originating in anonymous pamphlets and general rumours that attacked her in a wide variety of ways including comments about appearance, her way of dressing, accused her of having delusions of intellect, made accusations of terrible blasphemy, for swearing and disgraceful conversation, for having a scandalous and profligate way of living. She was also, paradoxically, accused of numerous homosexual acts while also being accused of having a number of male lovers.[29] As time passed after her abdication these rumours and beliefs grew in popularity as memories of her excellent reputation during her time as Queen faded. They could be found in lampoons but the majority of these rumours originated from four pamphlets that were printed shortly after her abdication reprinted many times subsequently.[30] Even after her abdication Kristina remained self-confident and independent, she took her own council, and displayed no more humility than she had while she was queen.[31] These rumours have also had an impact on scholarship about Kristina. Even today there is disagreement as to whether Kristina was a genuine convert to Roman Catholicism or whether she simply desired to live in Rome and central Europe instead of in Sweden, which contemporaries considered a cultural backwater. With most memoirs published posthumously,

Kristina's decision to correct inaccurate beliefs was a particularly prescient attempt to correct the misinformation that swirled around Europe both before and after her death.[32]

It could be that this text was created not just as a vanity project or a record for posterity but as an attempt at good public relations, a concept that would not have been alien to her as a former queen. If this were the case it is interesting that she chose not only to not release the text in order to address her perception in society but not to even finish writing it. This was an unorthodox approach given that while other monarchs left memoirs as a record of their lives and actions after their deaths, such as the previously discussed Catherine the Great and Charles V, these were more aimed at preserving the image they had rather than repairing or creating a new one, as it was not as necessary as it was for Kristina. Catherine the Great remained on the throne of Russia until her death and Charles V was generally well regarded and did not suffer from the kind of reputational damage during his lifetime that Kristina experienced. While Kristina did try and seek other thrones after her abdication in 1654, she was not successful and all three of these attempts occurred over a decade before she began writing her memoirs.[33] Thus they were unlikely to have had any impact on the purpose of her writing. Indeed, Eva Haettner Aurelius, who has done substantial work on Kristina and her writings, believes that the motivation behind the entirety of Kristina's memoirs can be traced to a desire to correct perception not only regarding misconceptions about her own character and motivations, but the participation of Sweden in the Thirty Years War, and the succession to the Swedish throne within the Vasa dynasty.[34] Kristina's ego should also be taken into account here. Her strong self-

belief was a consistent part of her personality, her entire life and a more traditional desire to preserve her legacy for future generations should not be discounted, an argument supported by the fact that she spent time focusing not just on her own life but also on the more peripheral achievements of Sweden that would have contributed to her legacy as Queen during that period. Thus, I believe that Kristina's memoirs had multiple, disjointed purposes: they were not only an attempt at good "public relations", nor simply designed to secure her reputation. Instead, they were a disjointed synthesis and tackled multiple fronts. She began with a devotional chapter, an "Augustine-style" confession, before drifting into a political history that advertised the power and quality of herself, her family, and Sweden more generally. On multiple occasions, she sought to return to her devotional tone. However, she was ultimately unable to square these diverging genres, and never completed her memoirs.

Endnotes

1   Paul Delany, British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969), 1.
2   Sophie of Hanover, Memoirs of Sophia, Electress of Hanover 1630-1680, trans. H. Forester (London: Richard Bentley & Son 1888); Emperor Charles V, The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles V, trans. Leonard Francis Simpson, M.R.S.L. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1862).
3   "J'ay creu devoir render icy justice a La gloire de ma nation, en disant la verité en Sa faveur, et en mettant en son jour une action Si Singuliere et Sans exemple, cette Victoire ayant esté obtenue contre toutes les Regles de La guerre par La Seule bravoure des L'Infanterie Suedoise, ce qui est presque Sans exemple dans les Siecles passés" (I believe I have a duty here to do justice to the glory of my nation, in saying the truth in their favour and in placing in the daylight their action so singular and without example, this victory that had been obtained against all the Rules of War by the sole bravery of the Swedish Infantry, this which is almost without example in the past centuries.) Kristina of Sweden, L'Historie De La Reine Christine, ed. Eva Haettner Aurelius, (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2019), 6-45, 77-93, 24. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.
4   Eva Haettner Aurelius, L'Histoire De La Reine Christine (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2019), XV.
5   George Egerton, "Politics and Autobiography: Political Memoir as Polygenre," Biography, (1992): 221-242, 226.
6   Maximalian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, Prime Minister of Henry the Great, trans. M. de L'Ecluse (Edinburgh: Gavin Alston, 1773); Louis François Armand du Plessis Richelieu, Maximes d'état au Testament Politique d'Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu (Paris: Impr. de Le Breton. 1764); Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, Memoirs of Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, Written by Himself (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1899).
7   Sven Stolpe, Christina of Sweden, (London: Burns & Oaks Limited, 1966), 165.
8   Sophie, Memoirs of Sophia; Charles V, The Autobiography.
9   Sven Stolpe, Från Stoicism Till Mystik Studier i Drottning Kristinas Maximer, (Stockholm: Bonniers), 301-302.
10   Kristina of Sweden, "Les Memoirs de Christine Alexandra" in Stolpe, Från Stoicism, 301-302; Aurelius, L'Histoire de la Reine Christine, 47.
11   Aurelius, L'Histoire de la Reine Christine, i.
12   Charles V, The Autobiography; Catherine II, The Memoirs of Catherine the Great, trans. Mark Cruse and Hilde Hoogenboom, (New York: Modern Library 2005).
13   Monica Greenleaf, "Performing Autobiography: The Multiple Memoirs of Catherine the Great (1756-96)," The Russian Review 63, no. 3 (2004): 408.
14   Dom Basil Hemphill, "The Monastic Life of the Emperor Charles V," Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review 37, no. 146, (1948): 140-145.
15   Curt Weibull, Christina of Sweden, (Stockholm, Svenska Bokförlaget (Bonnier), 1966), 179.
16   Michael Roberts, The Early Vasas, A History of Sweden 1523-1611, (Cambridge University Press, 1965), 240.
17   Gustavus Adoplhus, K. Gustaf Adolfs egen historia, in Carl Gustaf Styffe, Konung Gustaf II Adolfs Skrifter, 69-90.
18   Kristina of Sweden, L'Historie De La Reine Christine, 6-9; "Ce Seroit a moy, Seigneur une très grande ingratitude Si Je n'employois le loisir que Vous m'avez donné a Vostre gloire: Ce que Vous estez, et ce que Je suis, m'y oblige." (It would be a horrible ingratitude of me Lord if I did not employ the spare time that you have given me to Your glory: That which You are and that I am obligates me to it.)
19   Curt Weibull, Christina of Sweden, (Stockholm, Svenska Bokförlaget (Bonnier), 1966), 52.
20   Adelisa Malena, "Edo-documents or 'Plural Compositions'? Reflections on Women's Obedient Scriptures in the Early Modern Catholic World," Journal of Early Modern Studies 1, no. 1 (2012): 98; Effie Botonaki, "Seventeeth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," The Sixteenth-Century Journal 30, no. 1 (1999): 4.
21   Saint Augustine, The Confessions of Saint Augustine, trans. E. B. Pusey, Project Gutenberg, www.gutenberg.org/files/3296/3296-h/3296-h.htm; Johan Arkenholtz, Mémoires Concernant Christine Reine de Suède, Amsterdam et Leipzig 1751-1760, Book IV, 14-15.
22   "So speak, that I may hear. Behold, Lord, my heart is before Thee; open Thou the ears thereof, and say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." Saint Augustine, The Confessions.
23   "Vous avez verse Sur moy a plaines mains tout ce qui peut rendre une personne heureuse, et glorieuse en ce monde." (You have poured on me with full hands so much that can make a person fortunate and glorious in this world.) Kristina, L'Historie De La Reine Christine, 6.
24   For instance "J'escriray pour detester tout ce qui Vous desplaist en moy, et enfin J'escriray pour ne donner qu'a Vous Seul la gloire de tout ce que Je Suis." (I write to detest everything that which displeases you in me, and finally I write to give you the sole glory of everything that I am) Kristina, L'Historie De La Reine Christine, 8; Aurelius, L'Histoire De La Reine Christine, XVI
25   "La Suede est cette partie du monde Si peu connue par les anciens Située dans La Region appellée par les Geographes La froide, ou La septentrionale qu'ils croyoient inhabitable autrefois." (Sweden is a part of the world so little known by the ancients located in the region called by the geographers The Cold, or The North that they previously believed uninhabitable) Kristina, L'Historie De La Reine Christine, 9-12
26   "Mais ce Prince Si brave, qui fust Sans doute un des plus grands Roys qui aye jamais regne en Suede, eust la malheur de ternir toute Sa gloire par le crime de L'Apostasie qu'il rendit contagieux a Sa posterité, et tout Son Royaume, en y introduisant L'heresie de Luther, dans laquelle tous les Roys Ses Successeurs ont malheureusement continué jusques a present a L'exeption de moy, et du Roy Sigismond qui Sommes estéz les Premiers Roys

Catholiques de nostre Maison apres l'apostasie" (But this prince so brave, who was without doubt one of the greatest kings who has ever reigned in Sweden, had the misfortune to tarnish all his glory by the crime of apostasy which he made contagious to his descendants and all of his kingdom, in introducing the heresy of Luther, in which all the kings, his successors have sadly confirmed until the present with the exception of me, and of the king Sigismund who had been the first Catholic king of our house after the apostasy) Ibid, 12-13.

27   "On gaigna quelque temps apres La mort du Roy, une Victoire en Alsace qui merite d'estre rapportée pour Sa Singularité." (We won some time after the death of the king, a victory in Alsace that merits to be reported on its own.) Ibid, 23.

28   Sven Stolpe, Christina of Sweden, 247; Marie-Louise Roden, "Queen Christina's Relationship to Sweden After Her Abdication of 1654." Nouvelles de la République des Lettres 1, (1991): 113-130.

29   Weibull, Christina of Sweden, 100-101.

30   Ibid, 103.

31   Oskar Garstein, Rome and the counter-reformation in Scandinavia; the Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden 1622-1656, (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1992), 768.

32   Aurelius, L'Histoire De La Reine Christine, XV.

33   Garstein, Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia, 767.

34   Aurelius, L'Histoire de la Reine Christine, xii-xiii

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Cover Image: Grien, Hans Baldung. Portrait of a Lady. c. 1530. Oil on Panel. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum.

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