

**NEWSWRITING AND SATIRE
DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH WARS,
1665–1674**

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates for the first time the extensive intertextual relationship which existed between newswriting and satire during the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars, 1665–74. Building on recent scholarship reconstructing seventeenth-century newsreading and newswriting, it examines the sophisticated engagement of early Restoration satirists with news. The analysis of Andrew Marvell and others reveals that they offered selective criticism of the practices of newswriting, but also possessed an imaginative indebtedness to rhetorics and literary conventions developed between newswriting and panegyric. This study sheds new light on that relationship by combining literary criticism with an extensive archival reconstruction of the conditions of Restoration newswriting: comparing drafts of state and anti-regime news documents held at The National Archives with their published counterparts resituates texts like the *London Gazette* into their cultural and journalistic moment. The development of rhetorical techniques in these documents can thus be newly identified and tracked. Analysing newswriting, panegyric, drama and satire together offers a fresh reading of the literary and political culture of the early Restoration, challenges long-standing assumptions about state newswriting, and reveals how satiric works traditionally understood to be highly critical of the Restoration mainstream actually participated in a sophisticated intertextual exchange, which developed precise rhetorics in response to ongoing news events. As a result, this thesis provides a new narrative for the growth of widespread anti-regime sentiment between 1665 and 1674. It identifies late-1673 as a key moment, in which anti-regime newsprint sensitive to satirical conventions combined with developments in satire to challenge previously dominant loyalist rhetorics. By pushing beyond disciplinary boundaries, this thesis thus resituates canonical writers and works into new cultural contexts, and demonstrates their complex entanglement with texts, writers and writing processes traditionally overlooked as ephemeral.

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While it may be simpler to name those who did not supervise this project at one point or another, I would like to celebrate the care, attention and expertise contributed by my supervisors Emma Jay and James Davey, who offered the guidance necessary to see this project through its early years; Lesel Dawson, whose suggestions were crucial in putting it into a form I was happy with; Neil Johnston, who mostly ticked boxes; Robert Blyth, whose scrutiny was invaluable, and whose proofing canonical; and Katy Mair, who, in supervising this project and a work placement at The National Archives, has always been on hand with masterful advice, humour and insight. I am deeply thankful in particular to Edward Holberton, who has been present throughout with a winning combination of enthusiasm, academic rigour and heart. I have been very lucky in these supervisors. All were a pleasure to work with, and sincerely enthusiastic about my research. I couldn't hope for a better-natured team to spend several years alongside.

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Finally, my family have also been a great support during this time, be it through the encouragement my parents offered (and especially my mum Marion's excellent proof-reading), or the care my siblings Siân and Kyle took to feign disinterest in my thesis, and thus keep me grounded in the outside world. My grandad Doug died at the end of 2019, and while this thesis is not on Westerns, the only form of high literature he recognised, it was finished with him in mind.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: Jack Avery..... DATE: 03/07/2020.....

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Note: the restrictions in place due to the coronavirus pandemic mean that it has been impossible to arrange for high-quality copies of some of these images. Hopefully this will be corrected in future.

List of Abbreviations

<i>Arlington's Letters</i>	<i>The Right Honourable the Earl of Arlington's Letters to Sir W. Temple, Bar</i> , ed. by Thomas Bebington (London: W.N., 1701).
<i>Dryden's Works</i>	<i>The Works of John Dryden</i> , ed. by H.T. Swedenberg, Earl Miner, Vinton Dearing, et al., 20 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961-89).
<i>Gazette</i>	<i>The London Gazette</i> .
<i>Grey's Debates</i>	Anchitell Grey, <i>Grey's Debates of the House of Commons</i> , 10 vols (London: Becket and De Hondt, 1769).
<i>Intelligencer</i>	Roger L'Estrange, <i>The Intelligencer</i> (1663-5).
<i>Kalendarium</i>	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. by E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).
<i>Newes</i>	Roger L'Estrange, <i>The Newes</i> (1663-5).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , < https://www.oxforddnb.com/ >.
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , < https://www.oed.com/ >.
<i>P&L</i>	<i>The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell</i> , ed. by H.M. Margoliouth, Pierre Legouis and E.E. Duncan-Jones, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
<i>Pepys's Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription</i> , ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell & Hyman, 1971-83).
<i>POAS</i>	<i>Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714</i> , ed. by George d. f. Lord, 7 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963-75).
<i>PW</i>	<i>The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell</i> , ed. by Annabel Patterson, Martin Dzelzainis, Nicholas von Maltzahn and N.H. Keeble, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
<i>Van Varen</i>	<i>Van Varen en van Vechten: Verzen van Tijdgenooten op onze Zeehelden en Zeeslagen, Lof- en Schimpdichten, Matrozenliederen</i> [Of sailing and fighting: occasional poetry on our sea-heroes and naval battles, panegyric and satire, shanties], ed. by Daniel François Scheurleer, 3 vols ('s-Gravenhage: 1914).
<i>Williamson Letters</i>	<i>Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cologne</i> , ed. by W.D. Christie, 2 vols (London: Camden Society, 1874).

Transcription Conventions, Translations and Dating

I have aimed for minimal interference in the transcription of manuscript sources. Contractions and superscriptions have been preserved, as has spelling.

This study makes frequent use of manuscript texts which have undergone revision or correction. Unless otherwise specified, the following transcription conventions apply: ‘~~xx~~’ struck out; ‘xx’ addition; ‘~~xx~~’ struck out addition; ‘^’ arrow in original; ‘[^]’ a correction above the line with no ‘^’ mark in the original; ‘xx’ marginal note; ‘{xx}’ original text too obscured to transcribe; ‘~~xx~~’ obscure original text struck out.

All translations are my own, unless otherwise specified.

Dates are given in Old Style. The mixed use of New Style in newswriting of this period can potentially cause confusion, either when it appears in English new stories from the Netherlands, or in Dutch news. I have made it clear when given dates are in New Style. Occasionally I have included both Old Style and New Style dates together, when it made sense to do so.

INTRODUCTION

Seventeenth-century newsreading, satire and ‘false news’

During the first months of the Third Anglo-Dutch War the poet and MP for Hull, Andrew Marvell, wrote a newsletter to his nephew, William Popple. The mood was tense, with growing uncertainty about England’s role in Europe and recurring fears of terrorism. He concluded by mentioning a recent *Proclamation to Restrain the Spreading of False News* (1672):

There was the other Day, tho not on this Occasion, a severe Proclamation issued out against all who shall vent false News, or discourse ill concerning Affairs of State. So that in writing to you I run the Risque of making a Breach in the Commandment.¹

The term ‘false news’ might activate certain assumptions among modern readers, and Marvell’s use of it here was similarly conditioned by the powerful resonances the phrase possessed for him and his contemporaries.² Earlier in the century, Francis Bacon had described ‘false Newes, often running up and downe’ as a symptom, or ‘Signes of Troubles’ brewing in a state.³ Decades later, and after the emergence of print newsbooks during the Civil Wars, the term had grown ubiquitous in newswriting and literature. The title-pages of early Restoration newsbooks proclaimed that they were published ‘to

¹ *P&L*, II, p. 328; this referenced *A Proclamation to Restrain the Spreading of False News, and Licentious Talking* (London: 1672). The first royal pronouncement against ‘false news’ is to be found in the 1275 Statute of Westminster: this and later fourteenth century statutes against seditious libel and ‘false news’ were an important precedent for Tudor and Stuart legislators, David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 37. The *scandalum magnatum* libel laws of which legislation against ‘false news’ was a part were important throughout the Restoration, including in the Duke of York’s reprisals against his enemies after the Exclusion Crisis, John C. Lassiter, ‘Defamation of Peers: The Rise and Decline of the Action for Scandalum Magnatum, 1497-1773’, *The American Journal of Legal History*, 22.3 (1978), 216–36 (pp. 229-30).

² In fact, modern experts now prefer ‘false news’ to the poorly defined ‘fake news’ as a more neutral term for true disinformation, Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, ‘Disinformation and “fake news”: Final Report’ (House of Commons: 2019), p. 7.

³ ‘Of Seditions and Troubles’, in *The Oxford Francis Bacon, Vol. 15: The Essayes, or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. by Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 43. Martin Dzelzainis has examined the evolution of sedition in Bacon’s thought from being a consequence to a cause of turmoil, “‘The Feminine Part of Every Rebellion’: Francis Bacon on Sedition and Libel, and the Beginning of Ideology”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.1 (2006), 139–52 (p. 114).

prevent False News', while dramatists looking for regime sponsorship, such as John Crowne, continued to connect 'false news' with political upheaval.⁴ In his *Charles the Eighth* (1672) a staging of the critical assessment of dubious intelligence – 'the slave, who the false news did bring, | Came with those tydings to betray the King' – contributed to the heroic play's wider topicality.⁵ Popular poetry further ensured that readers associated 'false news' with the new discursive space of the coffee-house: 'No Coffee we use, | Our Selves to abuse, | With plotting false Newes'.⁶ News was treated with significant distrust in the early Restoration, and both the regime and the public understood the quality of news in circulation to have far-reaching consequences. Such questions about proper reportage were turbo-charged by large-scale, complex and newsworthy events. The Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars (1664–7, 1672–4) offered these in abundance, and thus form a key period in the development of the discourse around Restoration news in literature. This study asks how the satirical writing of the early Restoration questioned the practices of contemporary newswriting, and to what extent it participated in them. To answer this, it must also examine a key feature of newswriting which encouraged suspicions of 'false news': how significantly did the imaginative techniques of literature permeate the news?

What 'false news' actually was remained unclear. Much of the term's versatility came from the fact that, like modern 'fake news', it accommodated several incompatible definitions. These included disinformation (deliberately circulating falsities), misinformation (mistakenly circulating falsities), and, most often, factual reporting with which the accuser did not agree.⁷ Marvell toys with Popple by playfully amplifying this indeterminacy and dropping his nephew into an interpretative maze. 'I run the Risque', he says enigmatically, 'of making a Breach in the Commandment'. If Marvell has not just 'run the Risque', but is actually spreading 'false news', which variety is it: disinformation, misinformation, or uncomfortable truth? Perhaps it is the two former, and Popple should take his gossip about 'several

⁴ *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, p. A1v (7 January 1661).

⁵ John Crowne, *The History of Charles the Eighth of France* (London: T.R. and N.T., 1672), p. B1v; Steven Pincus has described the plot's wider political resonances in 'Republicanism, Absolutism and Universal Monarchy: English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 241–66 (p. 248).

⁶ Matthew Stevenson, *Norfolk drollery, or, A compleat collection of the newest songs, jovial poems, and catches, &c.* (London: R. Reynolds, 1673), p. I3r.

⁷ A similarly confused understanding of the definition of 'fake news' among the modern public remains problematic, Reuters Institute, 'Digital News Report' (2017), p. 20.

Fires of late' with a pinch of salt.⁸ However, if he has been circulating 'false news' by accurately reporting stories the regime would rather have suppressed (such as the 'potent and subtle' strategic position of Louis XIV), the designation of his newsletter as 'false news' counter-intuitively makes it *more* credible.⁹ By encouraging Popple to weigh up the relative merits of different forms of 'false news' Marvell brought his nephew into a critical engagement with the interpretative problems which regularly confronted newsreaders during the Restoration Anglo-Dutch Wars. This acute consciousness of newsreading was a key feature of the poetry of Marvell and his contemporaries. Early Restoration writers recognised that the manner by which information was mediated and transferred was often as important as the information itself, and, beneath the easy shorthand of 'false news', changes in the creation and distribution of news during the 1660s and early 1670s demanded new strategies of reading and writing to interpret, adapt and contest it.

Neither was the rhetoric of 'false news' limited to pro-regime discourse. In an earlier verse satire Marvell had shown no compunction about playing on the resonances built into the phrase. 'Who with false news prevented the Gazette' (775), he asked of government newswriters in *The Last Instructions to the Painter* (1667).¹⁰ Echoing Bacon's argument that 'false news' was among the 'Signes of Troubles' in a state, Marvell included it among a number of others, 'commands sold' (770), 'rifling prizes' (774) and 'forts left unrepaired' (780), to demonstrate that it was the current government which was undermining the cohesion of the English state, and its capacity to prosecute a successful naval war. This grim appraisal of the regime in *The Last Instructions* had slowly been developing through Marvell's three 'Painter' satires, underground poems first circulated in manuscript, which narrated the ignominious failures of the Second Anglo-Dutch War.¹¹ Critics such as Noelle Gallagher and Nigel

⁸ *P&L*, II, p. 327.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ All quotations from Marvell's poetry are taken from *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Nigel Smith (London: Pearson Education, 2007). Five years later Marvell and the clergyman Samuel Parker were accusing each other of spreading destabilising 'false news' in their pamphlets on religious toleration, *PW*, I, p. 119; Parker lectured Marvell that 'more it seems you could have done *were it not for falling under the penalty of a certain Act of Parliament against spreading of false news*', *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed* (London: James Collins, 1673), p. 278.

¹¹ The question of attribution clings doggedly to these poems. Twentieth-century criticism was reticent to acknowledge that a precise and artful Marvell could be responsible for the rough poetry of the *Second Advice* and *Third Advice* satires, and would acknowledge only the better executed *Last Instructions*, Warren Chernaik, *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Smith have recognised the ‘essentially journalistic’ qualities of these poems, the first notable satiric writing of the Restoration period.¹² Their observations build on a growing recognition of the journalistic underpinnings of mid-seventeenth-century poetry, particularly in the work of Blair Worden, David Norbrook and Joad Raymond.¹³ That said, the identification of these ‘journalistic’ qualities has focused predominantly on the theoretical – comparing the perspectives of formal history and journalism, for example – and engages with news media at a level of abstraction removed from the granular practices of day-to-day newswriting and reading.¹⁴ At first, this was because it was radical enough to argue that news could be important in understanding poems which, through their transcendental literary quality, reach beyond their moment.¹⁵ Although scholarship now generally acknowledges the value of what

Press, 1983), p. 211. By the end of the century that view was increasingly challenged by scholars like Annabel Patterson, who argued that Marvell had a hand in some or all of those earlier satires, ‘Lady State’s First Two Sittings: Marvell’s Satiric Canon’, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 40.3 (2000), 395–411 (p. 396). The Marvellian attribution has been supported by recent computational analysis of the poems, John Burrows, ‘Marvell and the “Painter Satires”: A Computational Approach to Their Authorship’, *The Modern Language Review*, 100.2 (2005), 281–97 (p. 293). Earlier sceptics, such as Warren Chernaik, have now recognised the evidence for Marvell’s involvement, ‘Harsh Remedies: Satire and Politics in “Last Instructions to a Painter”’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Edward Holberton and Martin Dzelzainis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 443–62 (p. 450). The attribution debate is now focused on a significant question which is even less easily resolved: are the poems solely Marvell’s work, or were they composed collaboratively with others? These others are usually imagined as the circle around the Duke of Buckingham, though greater precision remains elusive, Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 190. This study follows the current weight of evidence and accepts Marvell’s authorship of the *Second Advice*, the *Third Advice* and the *Last Instructions*.

¹² Noelle Gallagher, ‘“Partial to Some One Side”: The Advice-to-a-Painter Poems as Historical Writing’, *ELH*, 78.1 (2011), 79–101 (p. 90); Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 191–4; see also Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 101–5.

¹³ Blair Worden, ‘Andrew Marvell, Oliver Cromwell, and the Horation Ode’, in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and Kevin Sharpe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 147–80; Joad Raymond, ‘The Daily Muse; or, Seventeenth-Century Poets read the News’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 10.2 (1995), 189–218; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For important studies examining how the language of newswriting entered poetry earlier in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, see also Alastair Bellamy, *The Politics of Court Scandal: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Alastair Bellamy and Tom Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 388–90.

¹⁴ Gallagher, ‘The Advice-to-a-Painter Poems as Historical Writing’ (2011), pp. 82–4. Smith, for example, gets around the problem of an apparent lack of evidence by taking a direct relationship between newswriting and poetry out of the picture, arguing that ‘throughout the cycle of Painter poems, Marvell’s knowledge of events and personalities is not tied to any particular source (e.g. specific newsbooks); rather, it appears to be based on a conglomeration of opinions and information on events’, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), p. 191.

¹⁵ Paula McDowell argues that this firm distinction between literature and ephemera was a construction of eighteenth-century print culture, which effaced a recognition of the literary value of pamphlet writing and newswriting, and which has endured up to the present. Recent digitisation efforts are undoing much of this distinction by making ephemera a far more visible part of catalogues, ‘Of grubs and other insects: Constructing the Categories of “Ephemera” and “Literature” in Eighteenth-century British Writing’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth Century Print*, ed. by Kevin Murphey and Sally O’Driscoll (Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 31–53 (pp. 33–4).

Colin Burrow disparagingly called ‘New Model criticism’, a lack of hard evidence struggles fully to capture the degree to which this was a mutually reinforcing relationship, in which poetry could also inform newswriting.¹⁶ Combining analysis of panegyric, drama and satire with an archival reconstruction of contemporary newswriting, this study will build on that scholarship and demonstrate the lively and complex manner in which the creative techniques of literature and news interpenetrated during the early Restoration.

Contemporaries were alert to this interplay of reportage and imagination. The prolific ‘false news’ rhetoric indicates that an anxiety about the pollution of newsworthy information with an artificial narrative and artistic flair (an inevitability in most newswriting, which must filter and mediate earlier reports) was already ingrained in the decades after the emergence of print newsbooks in England. Its high mobility also indicates that the language of news could be deployed to argue from various perspectives. Is there any distinction at all in how satirists and the government’s supporters wrote about reporting, and expected it to be done? Answering this question will reveal the important role newswriting played in guiding the imaginations of its many different readers.

I. The state of the news in the early Restoration: dangerous, irrational and literary

News posed acute problems for the restored regime, its supporters, its critics and the public at large. Modern scholarship has carefully reconstructed the elaborate information networks which spanned Europe by the late seventeenth century, and contemporaries were well aware that they could not be rolled back.¹⁷ ‘*Supposing the Press in Order, the People in their right Wits, and NEWES, or No Newes,*

¹⁶ In New Model criticism *Paradise Lost* ‘is transformed into little more than a superior belated newsbook’, Colin Burrow, ‘New Model Criticism’, *The London Review of Books* (19 June 2008).

¹⁷ See, for instance, Carmen Espejo, ‘European Communication Networks in the Early Modern Age’, *Media History*, 17.2 (2011), 189–202; Paul Arblaster, ‘London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century’, in *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473-1941*, ed. by Lotte Hellings, Alistair Duke et al. (Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 145–50; Paul Arblaster, ‘Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications’, *Media History*, 11.1–2 (2005), 21–36; Joad Raymond, ‘Newspapers: A National or International Phenomenon?’, *Media History*, 18.3–4 (2012), 249–57; Jason Peacey, ‘Wandering with Pamphlets: The Infrastructure of News

to be the *Question: A Publick Mercury* should never have my *Vote*' observed the arch-royalist Surveyor of the Press Roger L'Estrange in what was, nevertheless, the first edition of his newsbook *The Intelligencer*.¹⁸ He might not like it, but he had to go along with it.¹⁹ L'Estrange was no crank: it was universally acknowledged that the public should not be given access to all the information available to a state, or be privy to its inner processes, the *arcana imperii*.²⁰ Most agreed there was a danger that simply keeping the public informed 'gives them, not only an *Itch*, but a kind of *Colourable Right*, and *Licence*, to be Meddling with the *Government*'.²¹ When outspoken opponents of the government like the elderly republican George Wither caveated criticism of state intelligence with observations that 'it is imprudence to reveal | All truths at all times', they were not merely paying lip service to regime truisms.²² No-one believed in a world free of censorship or state monopolies on intelligence, as long as the state was held to be the right one.²³

Circulation in Civil War England', in *Not Dead Things. The Dissemination of Popular Print in England, Wales, Italy and the Low Countries 1500-1820*, ed. by Joad Raymond, Roeland Harms, and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 97–114; these networks also grew and developed beyond Europe, as Michiel van Groesen has demonstrated in *Amsterdam's Atlantic: Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

¹⁸ *Intelligencer*, pp. A1r-v (31 August 1663).

¹⁹ Geoff Kemp has identified the 'deeper contradiction' recurrent across L'Estrange's career, which saw his writing invite the very public engagement he considered illegitimate, 'L'Estrange and the Publishing Sphere', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 67–90 (p. 71); see also Dorothy Turner, 'Roger L'Estrange's Deferential Politics in the Public Sphere', *Seventeenth Century*, 13.1 (1998), 65–101 (p. 86).

²⁰ William Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle, for example, advised Charles at his Restoration to 'forbid Eyther Domesticke or forayne news' to prevent further dissention, quoted in Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 96.

²¹ *Intelligencer*, p. A1v (31 August 1663).

²² George Wither, *Sigh for the Pitchers* (London: 1666), p. E4v.

²³ Blair Worden, 'Literature and Political Censorship in Early Modern England', in *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. by C.A. Tamse (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1987), pp. 45–62 (p. 48); Worden questioned Annabel Patterson's argument that censorship was of formative importance in early modern writing: she had suggested that early modern censorship was limited by a tacit acceptance of oppositional works which, if they were sufficiently oblique, would be allowed to pass, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 243. The Dutch Republic featured a combination of self-censorship, preventative and repressive censorship, although with limited efficacy, S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? State Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in *Too Mighty to Be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. by C.A. Tamse (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1987), pp. 63–86 (p. 81); Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brenden Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 151–9 (p. 156).

This newsreading environment was further complicated by the fact that the assessment of truth and credibility in the seventeenth century was highly complex, and drew on a large number of indicators. Kate Loveman has observed that when:

authors or readers described a work as ‘true’ they might mean ‘factual’, ‘probable’, ‘morally correct’, ‘generally approved’ or ‘officially sanctioned’. Dextrous or unconsidered eliding of these and other meanings was common.²⁴

Over recent decades critics and social historians have identified the flexibility of early modern definitions of truth in numerous contexts.²⁵ Malcolm Gaskill’s examination of pre-trial depositions, for example, has revealed how magistrates accepted witnesses’ accounts which used fictionalised conventions, a ‘common pool of phrases, motifs and images’ often shared with cheap print, ‘to stimulate shared understandings, attitudes and values’.²⁶ Literary conventions could expand beyond imaginative texts and into factual writing.²⁷ As a result, the criteria outlined by Loveman and others blur the already thin distinction between newswriting and literature, fact and fiction. With newswriting participating within systems of credibility which acknowledged the potency of moral and dramatic truths, reports which might seem incredible now, such as mighty feats performed by heroic individuals, were not necessarily considered clunky impositions. They might even corroborate expectations previously conditioned by panegyric and drama. Tom Cogswell has demonstrated the ease with which newsreaders (including some in the government) accepted extravagant newsbook accounts of the first Duke of Buckingham’s heroism on the 1626 Île de Ré expedition, despite his already diminishing celebrity cachet.²⁸ Flexible early modern standards of credibility thus offered broad criteria by which news could

²⁴ Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1704: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 9.

²⁵ Barbara J. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

²⁶ Malcolm Gaskill, ‘Reporting Murder: Fiction in the Archives in Early Modern England’, *Social Research*, 23.1 (1998), 1–30 (p. 8).

²⁷ Gaskill attributes this as much to the convergent evolution of community strategies and those of hack writers as to ‘mutual stylistic influence’, ‘Fiction in the Archives’, (1998), p. 27.

²⁸ Tom Cogswell, ‘“Published by Authority”: Newsbooks and the Duke of Buckingham’s Expedition to the Île de Ré’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.1 (2004), 1–25 (pp. 17–20).

be deemed accurate, and, as a result, acknowledged a much more porous boundary between newswriting and imaginative literary technique.

Although contemporaries did recognise that the factors which informed the interpretation of news could be problematic, their focus was predominantly on its emotional qualities. This led them to ask recognisable questions of their rapidly expanding and diversifying news culture. As one jest-book observed, this was a culture which encouraged a form of reading which was unduly emotional, and valued the instant gratification of novelty over close study: ‘when the gazets are cry’d, we buy in expectation of some thing new, yet though the news be ne’re so good, in three days time ‘tis laid aside, though we were pleased with our penny worth’.²⁹ Modern criticism has generally agreed. Joad Raymond, for example, has described the fundamentally emotional experience of seventeenth-century newsreaders who:

read not studiously but with emotion against the better part of their reason, and while they read they encountered anger, amusement, wonder, relief and anxiety.³⁰

This is remarkably similar to recent scholarship describing modern newsreading practices via Web 2.0, where readers:

share what *feels* important to them, and that is often determined through the emotions of outrage, anger, disgust, glee, anticipation, amusement, joy, or appreciation. These feelings are fleshed out as they are shared through communication with others.³¹

These studies emphasise that modern news narratives are increasingly confirmed not through rhetorics of accuracy and evidence, but by conformity to a dynamic emotional network developed within a ‘participatory media culture’.³² In high intensity social networks where information passes from person

²⁹ *Folly in Print, or, A Book of Rymes* (London: 1667), pp. A3v-A4r.

³⁰ Joad Raymond, ‘Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century England’, in *Reading, Society, and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 185–212 (p. 204).

³¹ Lynn Schofield Clark and Regina Marchi, *Young People and the Future of News* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 14.

³² Alfred Hermida, ‘Social Journalism: Exploring How Social Media Is Shaping Journalism’, in *The Handbook of Global Online Journalism*, ed. by Eugenia Siapera and Andreas Veglis (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 309–28 (p. 312); Zizi Papacharissi, *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 4; David Patrikarakos argues that for modern newswriters and states, ‘to fight

to person, be it gossiping on the Exchange or virtually on social media, the ‘fleshed out’ experience of a powerful emotional response to a news story can function as a guarantor of credibility, or as a considerable impediment to questioning it.³³ The most thorough seventeenth-century example of this process remains Samuel Pepys, who habitually recorded in his *Diary* the intense emotional experiences attached to encountering items of news. Information is frequently contextualised with the emotion it triggered, ranging from ‘an extasy of joy’ to deep ‘melancholy’.³⁴ It is worth drawing from Raymond the emphasis that early modern readers experienced news ‘against the better part of their reason’. Pepys recognised that his prioritisation of instant emotional experience often crowded out rational assessment; news on one victory sent him ‘into such a joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts’.³⁵ Contemporaries already concerned about the political consequences of newsreading were thus highly anxious about the fact it appeared to be driven not by reason but emotion. This anxiety was further aggravated by the evocative, rhetorical qualities of newswriting: that is, the ability of the accomplished journalist to stimulate an emotional response.³⁶

This is a familiar problem. L’Estrange would easily recognise the stark conclusion of the largest modern study into young newsreaders, that ‘overall, young people’s ability to reason about the information on the Internet can be summed up in one word: *bleak*’.³⁷ Fluency in social media is no guarantor of critical acuity. Likewise, while Pepys was adept at navigating the social networks from which he got news, even removed from the emotive moment his ability coolly to assess that information was less accomplished.³⁸ When the government tried to defuse ‘the most horrid and astonishing news’

sentiment with logic, [...] is an almost impossible task’, *War in 140 Characters: how Social Media is reshaping conflict in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), p. 88.

³³ Kate Loveman has analysed other aspects of Pepys’s skilled newsgathering in relation to network theories, *Samuel Pepys and His Books, Reading, Newsgathering and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 101-6.

³⁴ *Pepys’s Diary*, VI, p. 220 (10 September 1665); VII, p. 155 (8 June 1666).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 121 (8 June 1665).

³⁶ This is a recognised problem in modern reporting, where expectations deriving from fictionalised caricatures come to determine public perceptions of real conduct, Don J. Waisanen and Amy B. Becker, ‘The Problem with Being Joe Biden: Political Comedy and Circulating Personae’, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 32.4 (2015), 256–71.

³⁷ Stanford University, ‘Evaluating Information: The Cornerstone of Civic Online Reasoning: a Report of the Stanford History Education Group’ (November 2016), p. 4.

³⁸ For Pepys’s ability to navigate the social spaces of news, his use news as a form of social currency, and a more generous description of his tactical deployment of news to ‘ingratiate himself with his superiors’, see Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books* (2015), p. 90.

of Dutch atrocities against the English in Africa, Pepys, unable to fully extricate himself from the passionate ‘fury’ of the merchant community, conceded that ‘I find the generality of the world to fear there is something of truth in it – and I do fear it too’.³⁹ We should be wary of assuming that submergence in early modern news networks made readers any savvier than our own. A growing body of scholarship is recognising that the much-debated Habermasian public sphere only ever existed as an ideal, while Mark Knights and others have sought to redefine that rational discursive space as an inherently *irrational* entity.⁴⁰ Newswriting between friends often entailed the recognition and performance of this fall from urbane, rational disinterest to emotion-driven gossip. Marvell wrote Lord Wharton in 1667 that ‘I believe you haue lesse curiosity to hear news then I inclination to tell it’, before providing him a cocktail of court gossip, political updates and military intelligence, while the Earl of Rochester told Henry Savile that ‘I can have no curiosity for news’, before asking for exactly that.⁴¹ Shrewd readers and writers like Pepys, Marvell and Rochester were sufficiently self-aware to identify (and potentially utilise) the irresistible emotion-driven characteristics of news interpretation they themselves experienced.

So, the criteria for truth were broad, and, even if they could be pursued rationally, it was doubtful that the reading public would do so. No wonder L’Estrange preferred ‘No Newes’. However, pro-regime newswriters did experiment with a number of solutions. They could suppress reports they disagreed with, albeit with the risk of the story breaking anyway, but without a favourable gloss. They could also rationalise newswriting and strip it of its emotive language. Or they could accept that

³⁹ *Pepys’s Diary*, VI, pp. 42-6 (23, 25 and 27 February 1665). Pepys’s highly self-aware striving to follow a logical thought-process demonstrates how early modern newsreaders were being dragged into the familiar psychological battleground of *akrasia*, the struggle of knowing the rational course of action even as one yielded to passion, Christopher Tilmouth, *Passion’s Triumph over Reason: A History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 17-8.

⁴⁰ Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 49-52. Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn have argued that this irrational public sphere was also a feature of public political culture in the Netherlands, ‘Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries’, in *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn and Elsa Strietman (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 1–31 (p. 15). See also Joad Raymond, ‘The Newspaper, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century’, *Prose Studies*, 21.2 (1998), 109–36 (p. 115); Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 45.2 (2006), 270–92 (p. 284).

⁴¹ *P&L*, II, p. 310; *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. by Jeremy Treglown (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), p. 117. This was also a phenomenon in the Netherlands: the Dutch writer Pieter Hooft, who frequently condemned the inaccuracy of newspapers, still found himself reading them deep into the night, and fretted when poor weather meant they might arrive late, Van Groesen, *Amsterdam’s Atlantic* (2017), p. 50.

newsreaders were always going to be fallible, and manipulate emotion-driven reading through the use of rhetorical conventions, what L'Estrange called 'convenient *Hints* and *Touches*'.⁴² As another propagandist explained to the Secretariat, 'if they [the English public] bee put into a great passion they forget their particular interests and animosities'.⁴³ Restoration newsprint usually included a bit of each approach, aiming for an objective description of events which was nonetheless prone to flights of rhetorical fancy, particularly when national heroes were concerned, and where censorship is often hard to differentiate from the newswriter's own emotive refusal to believe bad news.

It should not therefore be a surprise that literature, in its turn, found space to accommodate the features of newswriting. Just as this study will demonstrate the use of literary technique in newswriting, so it will identify how poets integrated the structures, features and conventions of news into their verse. In the process it will become apparent that the cultures of Restoration news and poetry were densely and creatively entangled. Poets encountered similar methodological problems to newswriters: what degree of fictionalisation was most conducive to public good, and how should emotional and rational reading practices be balanced? This study will demonstrate that poetic disagreement on this subject was significant, and can upend some of the received critical narratives of Restoration verse. For example, reading Edmund Waller's ostentatious panegyric *Instructions to a Painter* (1666) and Marvell's response, the *Second Advice to a Painter* (1666), in this intertextual newswriting environment restores to Waller's poem something of its extreme audacity, and reveals the conservatism of Marvell's response.⁴⁴ For poets seeking to engage with current events, be it in panegyric or satire, questions about the quality of news available were inextricably tied to their own literary technique, and the movement of conventions between news and verse writing.

⁴² *Intelligencer*, p. A1v (31 August 1663).

⁴³ SP 29/312 fol. 190.

⁴⁴ Annabel Patterson provides a good example of the traditional critical narrative, which imagines a 'long-standing ideological argument' between an outraged 'Opposition' Marvell and a conservative Waller, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 72-6.

II. News of the state: political, institutional and international contexts

of Restoration newswriting

My approach will thus often emphasise similarity over difference when it comes to the voices of regime supporters and their critics, and this in a study of a period which finished with the first very real breakdown, in 1673, of the relationship between king and parliament.⁴⁵ Does this method risk downplaying the historical contests of the early Restoration, while also doing oppositional writing a disservice? Amid an overwhelming desire for stability and consensus, there was a broad effort in the early 1660s to make the new settlement work. In his study of the early life of Charles II's long parliament (a body 'highly sensitive to signs of political crisis'), Paul Seaward has demonstrated the commitment of Clarendon's administration and parliament to finding a middle way between a strengthened monarchy and notions of traditional law and liberty.⁴⁶ Examining the prevailing 'rhetoric of moderation' during the early Restoration, John Montano has argued that its emphasis on 'unity and consensus' spoke to a substantial constituency (although noting that the language of consensus provided for total political exclusion of that minority who refused to accept its premise).⁴⁷ Jonathan Scott likewise identifies a 'broad public consensus' which survived until the Exclusion Crisis, while for Steven Pincus the 'opposition' of 1665–74 would remain 'a loose and very angry grouping', an internally divided collection of individuals defined most coherently by periodic estrangement from the regime, rather than by any extensive collaboration.⁴⁸ This 'consensus', in rhetoric and in practice, was a key feature of the

⁴⁵ Ronald Hutton, *Charles II: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 309.

⁴⁶ Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime 1661-1667* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 34-5, 39, 45. Annabel Patterson's history of this parliament accelerates through the 1660s to the drama of the early to late 1670s, *The Long Parliament of Charles II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴⁷ John Montano, *Courting the Moderates: Ideology, Propaganda, and the Emergence of Party, 1660-1678* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), p. 52.

⁴⁸ Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677–1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 44; Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 372; Brian Cowan, meanwhile, has questioned how far coffee-houses were the innovative, oppositional territory they have customarily been defined as, arguing they engaged with the government on its own, familiar terms, 'The Rise of the Coffee House Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 47.1 (2004), 21–46 (pp. 44-6).

early Restoration. However, agreement on when it ended is more elusive. While Scott's identification of the Exclusion Crisis as a terminal point is traditional, he has recently also located the beginning of the regime's serious problems in 1672.⁴⁹ This accords with interpretations which emphasise religious dissidence – one of the period's most salient questions – and which identify the emergence of significant divisions by the early 1670s.⁵⁰ Ronald Hutton and others have long seen the events of summer 1673 (the debacles of the Third Anglo-Dutch War and the revelation of the Duke of York's Catholicism) as preparing the stage for the dramas which played out from 1678.⁵¹ Literary criticism has nonetheless tended to prioritise the Exclusion Crisis for the richness with which panegyric, drama and satire engage with the constitutional questions of the moment.⁵² Less has been said of the important satiric flowering of 1673.⁵³ Neither has the emergence that year of a revitalised culture of underground news attracted proper attention.⁵⁴ Both of these will be addressed in this study, as the techniques of newswriting and satire identified here responded to and also helped to shape the changes in Restoration politics over the decade 1665–74.

The political environment of the early Restoration therefore resists simple binaries. In fact, writers of news and poetry were often pulled between various principles and obligations, communities and personal relationships (particularly as all these had proliferated and intensified during the turmoil

⁴⁹ Jonathan Scott, *How the Old World Ended: The Anglo-Dutch-American Revolution 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 194-6.

⁵⁰ Gary de Krey, 'The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-73', *Albion*, 25.4 (1993), 565–80. Richard L. Greaves, for example, considered the 1660s to be a period of crisis and uncertainty as the Restoration state was slowly assembled, and that 'the degree of success is more apparent to modern observers than it was to fretting contemporaries', 'Great Scott! The Restoration in Turmoil, or, Restoration Crises and the Emergence of Party', *Albion*, 25:4 (1993), 605–18 (p. 607). See also, Tim Harris, "'There Is None That Loves Him but Drunk Whores and Whoremongers': Popular Criticisms of the Restoration Court", in *Politics, Transgression and Representation at the Court of Charles II*, ed. by Catharine MacLeod and Julia Marciari Alexander (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 35–60 (pp. 36-7).

⁵¹ Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 307.

⁵² Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Peter Hinds, 'The Horrid Popish Plot': *Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2010); Robert D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Derek Hughes, *English Drama, 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Paulina Kewes, 'Otway, Lee and the Restoration History Play', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan J. Owen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 355–77.

⁵³ This often falls into a dead zone between Marvell's 'Painter' satires and those of the Exclusion Crisis: even Love only gave this period a few pages between the two, *English Clandestine Satire*, (2004), pp. 116-9.

⁵⁴ The growth of underground news in 1673 is touched on in passing by Patterson, *The Long Parliament of Charles II* (2008), pp. 27-30. See also John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age'* (London: Blackwell, 2000), p. 50.

of the previous decades). These intersecting perspectives informed their complex engagement with news, politics and literature. Marvell himself was deeply entangled with the institutions and attitudes of the state, and its tight control on information. If he could label the government newspaper ‘false news’ in 1667, his previous employment in John Thurloe’s Cromwellian Secretariat, which had overseen the first state-centralisation of print news in Marchamont Nedham’s *Mercurius Politicus*, complicates any attempt to define him as an advocate for a less restrictive news environment.⁵⁵ Blair Worden has shown how closely Marvell engaged with Nedham’s newswriting throughout the 1650s, and this was a project with which he shared political sympathies, not least a support of Richard Cromwell.⁵⁶ While this led to accusations that *Politicus* was ‘hatch’d at the Court’, modern critics differ on how much the regime actually oversaw newswriting.⁵⁷ Although Jason Peacey imagines the newsbook was subject to maximum interference – ‘Thurloe’s staff not only provided intelligence, but [...] may have edited it before it reached Nedham’s desk’ – Raymond has argued that he wittily pushed the government line with little intervention from above.⁵⁸ It must be remembered that a state monopoly on news publication was not in itself objectionable to those associated with the Cromwellian regimes, Marvell included.

That said, the state control of print news publishing did intensify over the early Restoration, gradually moving from lax oversight of a licenced writer (L’Estrange) through to the state centralisation of newswriting in the Secretarial office and, ultimately, the writing of key news texts by the Secretary

⁵⁵ For Marvell’s employment in Thurloe’s office as John Milton’s assistant, see Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 136-53. Tom Cogswell disputes an identification of the mid-century as the point at which English governments became alert to the potentials of newsprint, seeing the pamphlets on Buckingham’s 1626 Île de Ré expedition as ‘effectively the first government-engineered coranto’. However, this was limited to half a dozen publications focused on one event, and the periodical did not last beyond the expedition, Cogswell, ‘Newsbooks and the Duke of Buckingham’s Expedition’ (2004), pp. 8, 24.

⁵⁶ Worden might nonetheless have put it too firmly that ‘there is nothing improbable in the thought of Nedham, who coveted immortality for his journalism and kept it for reuse, showing off such passages to Marvell, a fellow writer, or else sharing with him some unpublished writing that had been related to them’, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 61.

⁵⁷ *A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament (so called)* (London: 1658), p. 41; for Marvell’s career as a Protectoral MP supportive of Richard Cromwell, see Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 154-8.

⁵⁸ Jason Peacey, ‘Cromwellian England: A Propaganda State?’, *History*, 91.302 (2006), 176-99 (p. 197); Joad Raymond, ‘A Mercury with a Winged Conscience: Marchamont Nedham, Monopoly and Censorship’, *Media History*, 4:1 (1998), 7-18 (pp. 14-5); Worden agrees with Raymond that Nedham was relatively independent of day-to-day oversight, *Literature and Politics* (2009), p. 27-9.

of State themselves.⁵⁹ Indeed, while it is a recurring feature of this study that the Secretary of State wrote the news, one should not lose sight of its novelty. Peacey could only speculate on Thurloe's editorial involvement in *Politicus*, while in subsequent decades newswriting grew beyond ministers' control.⁶⁰ One of the most unique features of Restoration news – and perhaps Restoration political culture – was the inseparability of newswriter and minister of state. Harold Love's observation that 'the chief difference between the seventeenth century and ourselves [...] was that there was nothing corresponding to our sharp professional divide between the executive, the civil service and the press' understates the degree to which these were overlapping duties in the early Restoration.⁶¹ As a result, the state newspaper *The London Gazette* has been generally held in low regard by twentieth-century critics, whose understandable distaste for state monopolies on information led them to describe it as an intolerable outrage with 'little to no popular appeal'.⁶² Regarded as an unfortunate interval of Stuart tyranny interrupting the march towards the temporary and then permanent lapses of the Licensing Act in 1679 and 1695, studies of newswriting often avoided the *Gazette* altogether.⁶³ Recent critics have recognised the incompleteness of this picture, and have reassessed the newspaper's impact and popularity. Raymond, for example, has observed that it was 'stimulating precisely the discussion which the government wished to curb', while Natasha Glaisyer has demonstrated its enduring popularity even

⁵⁹ The best description of this process, and the organisation of the Secretariat's news publishing, remains Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licenced News, 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Jason Peacey has described the growth of 'a fairly careful and considered way' of constructing news texts in the period leading up to the Restoration, where even tightly controlled newsprint was 'predicated upon a dynamic relationship between producer and consumer', 'Editing and Editorial Interventions in English Journalism from the Civil Wars to the Restoration', *Media History*, 18.3–4 (2012), 259–73 (pp. 261, 270); for a highly partial account of the contest over news publication, see J.G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II* (London: Lane, 1923); Alan Marshall's remains the best account of the Restoration Secretariat's wider intelligence work, *Intelligence and Espionage* (1994); Harold Love provides a detailed description of the scriptorium which Joseph Williamson, Arlington's undersecretary, established to produce manuscript newsletters from the Secretariat, a more exclusive counterpart to the print *London Gazette*, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 130–2.

⁶⁰ Even Margaret Thatcher was only occasionally able to request specific newspaper headlines from the editor of the *Daily Mail*, who 'put it in type after you wrote it' following her third election victory in 1987, correspondence quoted in Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorised Biography, Volume Three: Herself Alone* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), p. 3.

⁶¹ Love, *Scribal Publication* (1993), p. 175.

⁶² James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 12.

⁶³ Bob Harris, for example, skimmed over early Restoration newsprint in *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London: Routledge, 1996). It is similarly absent in Barbara J. Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 41–2.

as alternatives emerged at the end of the century.⁶⁴ The inextricable relationship between writing and government had a literary as well as a journalistic dimension: the prevalence of dramatists, panegyrists and satirists among the sitting MPs in the House of Commons (most notably Marvell and Waller) meant that parliament was also closely enmeshed with topical publishing. Some of those who lauded or derogated the regime in printed verses were also those who granted it supply, and scrutinised its intelligence management in the House and in committee. Analysis of verse about reportage, access to intelligence and its management must therefore account for this complex interplay of institutional perspectives and experiences.⁶⁵

Above all, these state newswriters imagined themselves to be in continual competition with their military adversary, the Dutch, and the penetration of Dutch news into England.⁶⁶ This was not without reason. Lisa Jardine has demonstrated the porous boundaries between English and Dutch cultures in the seventeenth century, with developments in politics, art, science and music fostered by the extensive connections between the two.⁶⁷ The importance of this relationship is particularly apparent when focusing on news, information flow and Anglo-Dutch conflict: during the Restoration the Netherlands was the central node of Europe's news networks.⁶⁸ It is also conspicuous from a literary

⁶⁴ Raymond, 'Newspapers, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere', (1998), p. 128; Natasha Glaisyer, "'The Most Universal Intelligencers': The Circulation of the London Gazette in the 1690s", *Media History*, 23.2 (2017), 256–80 (p. 249); see also Thomas O'Malley, 'Religion and the Newspaper Press 1660–1685: A Study of the London Gazette', in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Harris and Alan Lee (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), pp. 25–46. Andrew Pettegree attempts to find a middle way between earlier disdain for the *London Gazette* and this ongoing reinterpretation, labelling it 'reliable, and as informative as the government wished it to be [...] it said little or nothing about the pulsating politics of the day', *The Invention of News: how the world came to know about itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 239.

⁶⁵ A good example being Timothy Raylor's reimagining of the relationship between Marvell and Waller, 'Marvell and Waller' in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 635–51.

⁶⁶ Many of the texts seized by the English Secretariat as they attempted to combat Dutch influence are still held in The National Archives's extensive collection of Dutch print material (SP 119). Some of these were catalogued by the Secretariat's go-to translator Henry Oldenburg in 1673 as 'The Chief contents of divers Dutch Pamphlets', with these including a 'satyricall Poem stuf with bold & bitter expressions', 'a short plaine narrative', 'a merry Censure of divers Poems & Pamphlets' and 'sawcy reflexions upon the Kings of England & France', SP 9/101/1 fol. 15. For Dutch information campaigns in England during the Third Anglo-Dutch War, see K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672–4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

⁶⁷ Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: HarperCollins, 2008); Lisa Jardine, *Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch Culture* (London: UCL Press, 2015); Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁶⁸ Arblaster, 'Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century' (2001), pp. 145–50.

perspective, as critics increasingly sensitive to Marvell's numerous ties to the Netherlands seek to locate him and his writing within various Anglo-Dutch contexts.⁶⁹ Dutch poets like Jacob Cats highlighted the connective tissue between the two nations in panegyrics addressed to Charles II as he progressed through the Netherlands on his way back to England in 1660:

Uw Britsche stranden

Sich streken over zee tot onse Nederlanden;

De taele die 'er vloeyt uyt uw bespraeckten mont,

Is Hollands even selfs [...]

Dit's recht een Hemels werck, een onverbonden bant,

Die vast te samen voeght het een en 't ander Landt.

[Your British beaches

Extend themselves over sea to our Netherlands;

The tongue that flows from your speaking mouth,

Is equally Holland's itself [...]

This is a right Heavenly work, an unbroken bond,

That fast together fits the one and the other Land].⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Annabel Patterson, "'Crouching at Home, and Cruel When Abroad": Restoration Constructions of National and International Character', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 210–27; John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Nigel Smith, 'The European Marvell', in *Texts and Readers in the Age of Marvell*, ed. by Christopher D'Addario and Matthew Augustine (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 170–85, (pp. 172–6); Steven N. Zwicker, 'What's the Problem with the Dutch? Andrew Marvell, the Trade Wars, Toleration, and the Dutch Republic', *Marvell Studies*, 3.1 (2018), 1–12; Charles-Edouard Levillain, 'England's "Natural Frontier": Andrew Marvell and the Low Countries', in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 114–27; Esther van Raamsdonk, *Milton, Marvell and the Dutch Republic* (London: Routledge, 2020) [forthcoming].

⁷⁰ *Aensprake van Hollandt aen Carel den Tweeden* [Address from Holland to Charles II], in *Alle de Werken van Jakob Cats* [All the works of Jacob Cats], ed. by Johannes Allart, 19 vols (Amsterdam: 1794), V, pp. 230–1; similar sentiments can be found elsewhere in Dutch poetry, such as in Constantijn Huygen's 'De Uytlandighe Herder' (1623), in *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*, trans. by Peter Davidson and A Van Der Weel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996). A geographic connection between the two territories running under the Channel was interpreted more aggressively in English poetry, such as in

That contiguous tongue reached over into English discourse. Metaphorically, the Dutch ‘Dialect of Rudeness’ was associated with political deviancy, leaving English discursive culture ‘Dutchified’ and ‘Amsterdammified’.⁷¹ In practice, news passed easily between the two nations, particularly given the large exile populations each hosted, and the fact that maritime connections remained faster and more efficient than those of land. These communities were not self-contained: Secretary Arlington was one of many partners in an Anglo-Dutch relationship when he married Elisabeth van Nassau-Beverweert during the Second Anglo-Dutch War.⁷² While Marvell’s speculation in *The Third Advice* that ‘through that cranny in his gristly part [Arlington’s slit nose], | To the Dutch chink intelligence may start’ (209-300) was founded on a bawdy logic rather than any evidence, archival correspondence demonstrates that she did prove a concern regarding leaks to foreign newspapers: ‘tis printed in y^e Antwerp Gazet in a Lett^r out of y^e Hage y^t my Lady Arlington hath wrote to her sister’.⁷³ The easy transfer of information was facilitated through many such connections: familial, cultural, political and intellectual. In their boundless enthusiasm, English amateur scientists even accidentally leaked what were supposed to be military secrets to their Dutch counterparts.⁷⁴

Edmund Waller’s *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector* (1655): ‘Holland, to gain your friendship, is content | To be our out-guard on the Continent’ (101-2), in *Selected Poems of Abraham Cowley, Edmund Waller and John Oldham*, ed. by Julia Griffin (London: Penguin Books, 1998); both Marvell and his opponent Secretary Arlington could describe the Low Countries as a whole as ‘the Bulwark of England’ and ‘the natural Frontier of England’, *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 183; *PW*, II, p. 242.

⁷¹ *His Majesties Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, together with the Lord Chancellors Delivered In Christ Church Hall in Oxford, the 10th of October, 1665* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1665), pp. E2r-v; SP 29/312 fol. 6; John Taylor, *Religion’s Enemies* (London: Thomas Bates, 1641), p. 6. Individuals across the English social strata learnt the Dutch language during this period. These included the seaman Edward Coxere (*Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere*, ed. by E.H.W. Meyerstein (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 19) and the scientist Robert Hooke, who was taught by his lodger, *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672-1680*, ed. by Henry W. Robinson & Walter Adams (London: Taylor & Francis, 1935), pp. 15-7, 21. The famous Dutch Admiral Michael de Ruyter and the courtier Constantijn Huygens were themselves notable English speakers, Andrew Little, ‘British Seamen in the United Provinces during the Seventeenth Century Anglo-Dutch Wars: The Dutch Navy, a Preliminary Survey’, in *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: Continuity and Change in the North Sea Area and the Baltic c. 1350-1750*, ed. by Hanno Brad (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 75–92 (p. 88). The degree to which linguistic play between the two tongues marks out Marvell’s poetry on the Dutch is increasingly debated, John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English* (2008), p. 240.

⁷² It is estimated that by mid-century over a quarter of marriages in Rotterdam involved an English partner, Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 51.

⁷³ SP 84/182 Vol. II, fol. 33. She was also present at bed-side intelligence briefings: ‘I wayted upon my Lord Arlington, who was pleas’d, when he awak’d and understood my being there, to command me to his bedside, where I deleivered my expresse, and both his Lordship and his Lady, then lyeing by his side, seemed very glad to understand your good health’, *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 126.

⁷⁴ Jardine, *Going Dutch* (2008), p. 290. Intellectual networks were considered particularly vulnerable: Alan Marshall has described the government investigation of Henry Oldenburg’s correspondence during the Second Anglo-Dutch war in *Intelligence and Espionage* (1994), p. 56.

These connections were more tenuous in one arena: literature. There is a striking lack of literary exchange between the two countries, and apparent correlations, from Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and Joost van den Vondel's *Lucifer* (1654) to Marvell's *Appleton House* (1651) and Constantijn Huygen's *Hofwijck* (1653), must be ascribed not to direct influence, but to their convergent evolution in a shared Anglo-Dutch environment.⁷⁵ Helmer Helmers has described how writers on both sides of the North Sea 'participated in one single public sphere [...] drawing from the same topical sources, and shared the same political concerns'.⁷⁶ The existence of highly developed Anglo-Dutch news networks and this shared 'public sphere', combined with the absence of literary exchange, determines the use of Dutch language material in this study of English literature and newswriting. That is, while Dutch literature will only appear on the periphery, it can be highly illustrative in demonstrating how writers in each country could extrapolate different conclusions from an overlapping news culture. These conclusions were often determined by literary conventions which had incubated separately in England and the Netherlands. Including Dutch poetry thus reveals the interpretative actions of English language writers which would otherwise remain obscure.

⁷⁵ For examples of the century-old contest over influence, see George Edmundson, *Milton and Vondel: a Curiosity of Literature* (London: Trubner & co, 1885); Paul Sellin, 'Vondel, Joost van den (1587-1679)', in *A Milton Encyclopaedia: Volume 8*, ed. by William Bridges Hunter (London: Associated University Presses, 1980), pp. 145-6. The critical tendency to speculate about a literary relationship between Marvell and Huygens continues, albeit with little evidence, Ineke Huysman, 'Andrew Marvell and Constantijn Huygens: Common Grounds and Mutual Contacts', *Marvell Studies*, 3:1 (2018), 1-18. Constantijn Huygen's attempts to introduce the poetry of John Donne to the Dutch literary sphere earlier in the century have generally been understood to have been a failure, though this view is undergoing some revision, Robert G. Collmer, 'Donne's Poetry in Dutch Letters', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 2.1 (1965), 25-39 (p. 34).

⁷⁶ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (2015), p. 61; an approach also taken by Esther van Raamsdonk, 'Creation in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and Joost van de Vondel's *Adam in Ballingschap* (1664) ["Adam in Exile"]', *Milton Quarterly*, 51.2 (2017), 71-110 (p. 108); Paul Hoftijzer writes that within the Dutch book trade 'there is nothing to indicate that Dutch literary taste and ideas were at all affected by English writers', 'The English Book in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book Trade 1473-1941*, ed. by in Lotte Hellinga, Alistair Duke et al. (Goy-Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2001), pp. 89-107 (p. 93).

III. Thesis outline

This study can be divided into two parts. The first three chapters, which examine the newswriting of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–7), place Marvell's poetry at the centre of their analysis. The final two chapters, which consider literature and reportage during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–4), address a more diverse satiric environment. The detailed observations made through a close analysis of the relationship between newswriting and an individual satirist are thus built upon to provide an account of the emergence of a nascent oppositional perspective incorporating underground newswriting and satire, and which recognised Marvell's 'Painter' poems as its antecedents.⁷⁷

Chapter One examines how the Battle of Lowestoft (1665), the first major engagement of the war, was reported in newsprint and panegyric, and outlines the close intertextual relationship between them. In light of this, I reassess Marvell's first satire of the war, *The Second Advice to a Painter*, and its relationship with Edmund Waller's *Instructions to a Painter*. Chapter Two introduces the major reporting controversy of the war, as English claims of victory after the disastrous Four Days' Battle (1666) were met with allegations of a cover up. It examines the rhetorical strategies used by state newswriters to accentuate the credibility of their narratives of the battle, and questions how satirists such as Marvell identified and responded to these strategies in their own writing. The third chapter probes more deeply into the longstanding intertextual relationship between state newswriting, panegyric, drama and satire. Structured around a case study of the complex representations which developed around the Duke of Albemarle, it demonstrates just how formative literary conventions were on Restoration newswriting, before asking how far Marvell was willing to depart from them in his 'Painter' poems.

⁷⁷ Mary Tom Osborne identified thirty-two 'Painter' poems from the period 1660-1688, where the form was 'used almost exclusively as a vehicle for satire and lampoon', *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems, 1633-1856: An Annotated Finding List* (Austin: University of Texas, 1949), pp. 17-8. For the influence of Marvell's satires, see *English Clandestine Satire*, (2004), pp. 101-16.

Chapter Four uses another case study to identify and track a different set of conventions through the peacetime period 1667–72, and into the Third Anglo-Dutch War. The narrative of Catiline’s conspiracy provided a vehicle for client writers to celebrate the prudent dispersal of intelligence by the Restoration Secretariat into the public sphere. However, the story was swiftly appropriated by a growing body of anti-regime satirists, who found that it was better suited to the conspiratorial interpretation of news events they began developing over 1673. As disillusionment rapidly developed, the Third Anglo-Dutch War was contested as much in parliament as by its indecisive naval battles. In Chapters Four and Five action in the Commons is therefore as important as naval warfare. Like Chapter Two, Chapter Five examines a reporting controversy: the collapse of the public’s faith in state newswriters to report basic facts after the Battle of the Texel (1673). In doing so, it questions how an innovative oppositional news culture established a rival claim to report credibly on military and parliamentary news, and asks if it and the year’s satires shared a distinctive rhetorical voice.

IV. Thesis methodology

This study focuses primarily on the relationship between print news and literature. For historians such as Ian Atherton, who emphasises the enduring significance of manuscript news networks, or Tim Harris and Adam Fox, who have rightly argued for the vibrancy of oral news in the late seventeenth century, this may seem unduly restrictive.⁷⁸ The Restoration featured a heady mixture of news media, including the continuation of powerful oral news networks, epistolary communication, established manuscript newsletter services, and an extensive culture of performed news, celebration and commentary embedded in sermons, triumphal celebrations, and ballad literature.⁷⁹ While all these forms will be

⁷⁸ Ian Atherton, ‘The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century’, in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Joad Raymond (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 39–65; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Cultures in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 336-405.

⁷⁹ Tony Claydon, ‘The Sermon, the “Public Sphere” and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England’, in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 208–34; Marcus Nevitt, ‘Ballads

drawn on in this study, they usually serve to contextualise newswriting found in print. Although newsletters like those Marvell wrote to Popple, Lord Wharton and his Hull constituency were a key means for provincial readers to receive sensitive news, for the literary and political culture in London they were superfluous. Loveman points out that Pepys did not subscribe to any formal newsletter service, as their utility was outstripped by oral discourse.⁸⁰ Of equal importance is the fact that the *London Gazette* was the common reference point when thinking about news and newsreading, and was thus integral to how Marvell and others imagined their news environment.⁸¹ As Michael McKeon argues, print differentiated itself from oral and manuscript communication in the generation of ‘an abstract totality’ which could be engaged with.⁸² It was ubiquitous in the capital and mailed to the provinces, read by loyalist and dissident alike. The discourse around newsreading, and particularly that which worried about its deleterious effects, centred principally on print news.

Scholarship on early modern newswriting often runs into one crucial obstacle: if evidence for newsreading in the form of marginal annotations is scarce, the residues of newswriting are even more elusive.⁸³ Recent studies on the formation and consolidation of seventeenth-century news narratives in print, be they Emilie Dosquet’s on Louis XIV’s ‘devastation of the Palatinate’, Carmen Espejo’s on Spanish news a century earlier, or Peacey’s on the Interregnum, have been forced to confront a fundamental problem: ‘We know little about the actual writing of newspapers, the work of gazetteers and their sources, especially their informers and correspondence networks’.⁸⁴ As Cogswell concedes,

and the Development of the English Newsbook’, in *The Routledge Companion to British Media History*, ed. by Martin Conboy and John Steel (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 183–94 (p. 186); Angela McShane contests the critical commonplace that ballads were a vehicle for news distribution, arguing instead that they functioned as commentary on oral news, ‘The Gazet in Meter or the Rhiming News-Monger: The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative’, in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2005), pp. 131–50 (p. 146).

⁸⁰ Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books* (2015), p. 86.

⁸¹ For example, in the *Rehearsal Transpros’d* (1672) Marvell returned repeatedly to the *London Gazette* as an example of Samuel Parker’s substandard reading, *PW*, I, pp. 53-4, 85, 135.

⁸² Michael McKeon, ‘Marvell Discovers the Public Sphere’, in *Texts and Readers in the Age of Marvell*, ed. by Christopher D’Addario and Matthew Augustine (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 56–73, (p. 58).

⁸³ Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper* (1996), p. 265.

⁸⁴ Emilie Dosquet, ‘“We Have Been Informed That the French Are Carrying Desolation Everywhere”: The Desolation of the Palatinate as a European News Event’, in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 641–74 (p. 654n); Jason Peacey, ‘Editing and Editorial Interventions’, (2012), p. 260; Carmen Espejo, ‘The Prince of Transylvania: Spanish News of the War against the Turks, 1595-1600’, in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 512–41.

‘from news gathering to editorial work [early modern periodical publication] remains profoundly mysterious’.⁸⁵ When sources do survive for newspapers from the end of the century, they remain far from comprehensive.⁸⁶ As a result, the editorial processes which shaped stories in print can usually only be described by conjecture and in imprecise detail. My innovative combination of archival research and literary criticism demonstrates that this is not the case for Restoration England. As a state newspaper, the *London Gazette* is a uniquely valuable resource for reconstructing the practices of early modern newswriters. Its stories were compiled from state intelligence letters – papers which are still preserved in The National Archives – and this has allowed me to match and compare the print article with the original manuscript source, identifying what was suppressed, what deemed worthy of inclusion, what altered and by what methods. The survival of draft news pamphlets in manuscript makes these holdings even more valuable, as the process of textual intervention can be tracked across several iterations. In his study of late Stuart regime publicity, Kevin Sharpe briefly touched on the *Gazette*, recognising that a ‘mixture [...] of report and literary device’ was of formative importance in Restoration newswriting. However, he concluded that ‘the polemics and literary techniques of Restoration newspapers [...] await their own full study’.⁸⁷ My study reconstructs for the first time these ‘literary techniques’ and strategies by examining the print newspaper alongside its archival source, and by placing these in a broader intertextual context through comparison with panegyric and drama. Furthermore, by reconstructing newswriting’s literary conventions one can identify their presence in satirical texts, such as Marvell’s ‘Painter’ poems, where they would otherwise slip beneath the critical radar.

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⁸⁵ Cogswell, ‘Newsbooks and the Duke of Buckingham’s Expedition’ (2004), p. 11.

⁸⁶ Helen Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: the Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 39; Natasha Glaisyer, ‘Readers, correspondents and communities: John Houghton’s *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1692-1703)’, in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 235–52 (p. 235).

⁸⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: Images of Restoration and Revolutionary Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 91-2.

News was profoundly significant in the early Restoration, both as the subject of a debate over how it should be written, and as an important participant in an extensive culture of literary invention. Newswriting, after all, did not just provide the raw details of commemorative and satiric poetry: itself an imaginative exercise, it helped to develop the rhetorical constructions which shaped writing about the present. While this made news a problematic form of writing – the imaginative process appeared to subvert news’ factual purpose – it also presented creative opportunities. It was through the rhetorical qualities of news that writers seeking to influence public and parliamentary opinion could best take advantage of emotion-driven reading practices. By examining newswriting as an active participant in early Restoration literature, this study will demonstrate the remarkable hold it had on contemporary imaginations.

CHAPTER ONE

‘Not to be expressed nor understood’: writing the Battle of Lowestoft in news and poetry

Popular expectations were high ahead of the Battle of Lowestoft (3 June 1665), the first large engagement of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and after the battle these expectations played a key role in determining how it was written about in news, poetry and satire. In the Netherlands an anonymous poet encouraged recruitment on the grounds that the Dutch were in a stronger and more unified position than during the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–4):

In de twist van Cromwels tijdt,	[In the quarrels of Cromwell's time
Was hier onrust in ons Landens [...]	There was agitation in our lands [...]
Maer dit vry versekert zijt,	But this is fairly guaranteed,
Ons Provintien alle-gelijcken	Our Provinces altogether
Trekken nu maer eenen Lijn. ¹	Now move in one line.]

If the Dutch thought themselves stronger, so did the English. Stirring ballads proclaimed the popular sentiment that if England had been so successful under the usurper Cromwell, surely they would be even more so under the restored Stuarts:

Then Butter-boxes mark your hits,

For all your wits are dull,

Wee'le teach you better manners yet,

¹ 'Trompet Geklanck' [Trumpet Sounded], reproduced in *De Teems in Brant: Een Verzameling Teksten en Afbeeldingen Rond de Tweede Engelse Zeeoorlog* [The Thames on fire: a collection of texts and images concerning the Second Anglo-Dutch War], ed. by Wim van Nispen (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), p. 23.

Than ever did Old Noll:

You then were basted pretty well,

And forc'd to cry and lower:

And to weep, on the deep,

When the Cannons loud did roar.²

The successes of 'Old Noll' (Cromwell), commonly cast in Restoration ballads as a bumbling brewer, would be refined and consolidated by a warlike courtly virtue more in keeping with the 'better manners' of the restored monarchy, represented at sea by the king's brother and Lord High Admiral, James, Duke of York.³ As the English mobilised, these expectations were given voice in a short panegyric broadside by the poet and MP for Hastings Edmund Waller: *Instructions to a Painter* (1665). Waller's broadside – the most high-profile of a number of such panegyrics – its reissued pamphlet extension and Andrew Marvell's parodic *The Second Advice to a Painter* (1666) will be central to this chapter's examination of the relationship between panegyric, satire and newswriting. Occasional poetry by its nature focuses on news events, but these texts demonstrate how in the early Restoration it engaged with newswriting with a sophistication which has not hitherto been recognised.

Waller's *Instructions to a Painter* attempted to accommodate news events to the hybrid form of panegyric and epic heroism which he had helped to popularise.⁴ Earlier seventeenth-century panegyric had sought to negotiate the ruler's conduct as well as celebrating their person and the country's peace and plenty. James Garrison describes how 'the restriction on the king's power over the people, coupled with the people's promise of obedience to the king, completes the pattern of mutual

² *Englands Valour, and Hollands Terror* (London: 1665). Steven Pincus describes how propaganda looking back to the Protectorate set 'extremely high standards of success', *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 361.

³ Laura L. Knoppers, 'Sing Old Noll the Brewer: Royalist Satire and Social Inversion, 1648-1664', *Seventeenth Century*, 15.1 (2000), 32–52 (p. 41). By the disastrous conclusion of the war, satirists recalled better times 'When Rednose ruled, [and] Mars sons were regarded', British Library Add MS 34632, fol. 28^v. For Cromwell's notorious red nose, see Laura L. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 26.

⁴ James Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of the Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 109-29; Warren Chernaik, *The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 126.

responsibility' in such poetry.⁵ However, since his (now awkward) panegyrics on Cromwell, Waller had been building the features of epic poetry into a form of panegyric with an extremely martial spirit.⁶ In this he was not alone, nor without precedent. As Victoria Moul has demonstrated, Waller was the most conspicuous English language practitioner of a 'distinctly Claudianic subgenre of poems of formal political panegyric-epic' which looked to late-Roman antecedents and developed through neo-Latin panegyric during the middle decades of the century.⁷ In the *Instructions*, he dissolved the boundaries traditionally imposed on the behaviour of the peaceful prince, allowing York to assume a glorious and warlike omnipotence:

Let thy bold pencil, hope and courage spread

Through the whole navy, by that hero led;

Make all appear, where such a prince is by,

Resolved to conquer or resolved to die.

With his extraction and his glorious mind

Make the proud sails swell more than with the wind (15-20).⁸

York's ability to alter the world around him by his mere presence demonstrates the degree to which Waller's verse bent reality around the Duke. Somehow the force of his blue blood and 'glorious mind' (York was not known for mental gymnastics) propels the ships forward. The conceit struggles along, vulnerable to anyone noticing that James's 'mind' is equivalent to air, but it establishes an important

⁵ Garrison, *Tradition of the Panegyric* (1975), p. 94. Andrew McRae has recently explored 'the potential for a greater range of political expression' in panegyric, 'Welcoming the King: The Politics of the Stuart Succession Panegyric', in *Stuart Succession Literature: Moments and Transformations*, ed. by Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 186–204 (p. 187).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 120-2.

⁷ Victoria Moul, 'England's Stilicho: Claudian's Political Poetry in Early Modern England', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (2019), 1–28 (pp. 2, 27). Moul notes that Waller's *A Panegyrick to My Lord Protector* (1655) features as a title-page epigraph two lines from Claudian's panegyric, which 'make explicit the genre to which Waller's poem belongs' (p. 25). Edward Holberton notes that 'Waller's praises adhere closely to classical rhetorical templates' in the *Panegyric* and that he innovatively 'directs the reader specifically to Claudian's example of occasional praise' through close stylistic and formal imitation, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics, and Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 90.

⁸ All quotations from Edmund Waller's *Instructions to a Painter* (1665, 1666) are taken from the edition in *POAS* unless otherwise specified; for the original poem, see *Instructions to a Painter for the Drawing of a Picture of the state and posture of the English Forces at Sea, under the Command of His Royal Highness in the Conclusion of the year 1664* (London: 1665).

feature of Waller's naval poetry: the wider fleet is totally subordinate to the royal individual. Given the highly personalised cult of Stuart propaganda, this might initially seem unremarkable. However, it was not necessarily the case in other poems which also appeared in broadside, and which imagined the fleet as a hierarchy with York at the top of a network of named heroic officers, each with their own distinct characteristics.⁹ The ballad hoping to outdo 'Old Noll', for example, found space for a stanza on 'Brave Allen our Rear Admiral' and his December raid on the Dutch Smyrna fleet.¹⁰ Waller instead anonymised Thomas Allin's party to a 'small squadron of the English' (56), ensuring they become a mere extrusion of a navy which remains emphatically York's, and that the Duke engrosses the accomplishments of his individual subordinates. This was not a given, and while the public expected York to take the leading role in decisively beating the Dutch, there was also a widespread recognition that he was the tip of a spear comprised of many English heroes.¹¹ His undiluted dominance in the first *Instructions* broadside was thus already an unorthodox reimagining of the standards of panegyric, and of how readers and writers conceptualised the English fleet.

When news filtered back after the Battle of Lowestoft English hopes appeared to have been spectacularly confirmed. The Dutch Admiral Jacob van Wassenaer, Heer van Opdam, was killed when his flagship, the *Eendracht*, detonated during the battle. The explosion blew out windows in Dunkirk and the engagement swiftly concluded with the Dutch fleeing the field.¹² This presented a simple and

⁹ Ballad literature in particular emphasised the role of common seamen. The most prestigious example of the distribution of credit is Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667), but to get a broader sense of this culture see the ballad quoted above, *Englands Valour, and Hollands Terroure* (London: 1665), and also *The Royal Victory* (London: 1665); *The English Seamans Resolution* (London: 1665); *Englands Royall Conquest* (London: 1666); *A New Ballad Of a Famous German PRINCE and a renowned English DUKE* (London: 1666). A widespread familiarity with the individuals in command was encouraged by the hierarchy of admirals, which was envisioned in the public imagination somewhat like a modern sports team. Readers regularly collected lists of captains and ships, which were available for English and Dutch navies in manuscript, print separates and in newspapers. For examples, see Bodleian Library, MS Don.b.8, fols. 242-8; *A List of His Majesties Navy Royal, Hitherto designed in the present Expedition against the Dutch, with the Commanders names, number of Men and Guns, April 30. 1672* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1672); *Intelligencer*, pp. 216, 376 (3 April 1665, 29 May 1665).

¹⁰ *Englands Valour, and Hollands Terror* (1665).

¹¹ After the Restoration the English fleet continued in the shape taken during the Republic and Protectorate (unlike the disbanded army), which meant it was a particularly 'reform-minded and talented' section of government. This may have encouraged the dispersal of credit based on performance, Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 93.

¹² Frank L. Fox, *A Distant Storm: The Four Days' Battle of 1666* (Rotherfield, East Sussex: Press of Sail Publications, 1996), p. 96. George Downing wrote from Amsterdam that 'there was such a blow y^t it shooke many houses & many windows blow open', SP 84/176 fol. 61^r; such observations made their way into Waller's

coherent narrative which, by confirming what the English expected, proved irresistible. Expectation was and remains a powerful force in news: Samuel Pepys could astutely describe how ‘we cannot think of any business but lie big with expectation’.¹³ It generates a ‘mental matrix for easy reception and registration of the event if it does finally take place’, and Lowestoft was a perfect example of this phenomenon in action.¹⁴ In reality (and as English newswriters were soon to know) Opdam had died several hours earlier from injuries sustained from a musket shot, and his ship had exploded from unknown causes: perhaps a shot to the powder room, or an accident on board.¹⁵ Furthermore, when the Dutch withdrew, the English squandered their advantage as the Duke of York delegated his command in order to go to bed. The Dutch escaped unmolested. When Waller released an updated pamphlet version of his *Instructions to a Painter* which included the battle in early 1666, his account of events remained wholly in line with the expectations his initial poem had cultivated. Shortly afterwards a response began to circulate in manuscript: Andrew Marvell’s *Second Advice to a Painter*.¹⁶ While this sought to correct the account of Lowestoft in Waller’s poem, it also aimed to bring it into line with the representative conventions which usually governed verse writing about news events, such as crediting a broader hierarchy of named individuals.

Writing a loyalist history of the war after it finished, the Earl of Castlemaine reduced the Battle of Lowestoft to three principal events: the deaths of ‘Five Noblemen of great Quality’, the Earl of Falmouth principal among them; the detonation of Opdam’s flagship ‘in sight of all our Navy’; and a poor attempt to justify York’s failure to chase down the Dutch, held back ‘least [...] some ill chance might befall him’.¹⁷ By then, these three episodes had embedded themselves in the public memory of

Instructions to a Painter: ‘His cannons’ roar, forerunner of his fame, | Makes their Hague tremble, and their Amsterdam’ (265-6).

¹³ *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, p. 216 (23 July 1666).

¹⁴ John Galtung and Mari Ruge, ‘Structuring and Selecting News’, in *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, ed. by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, 1981), pp. 62–72 (p. 55); Gaye Tuchman, ‘The News Net’, *Social Research*, 45.2 (1978), 253–78 (p. 276).

¹⁵ SP 84/176 fol. 61^v; Fox, *Distant Storm* (1996), 95-6; Edward Hyde, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), II, p. 129.

¹⁶ For the question of the ‘Painter’ satires’ attribution, see the Introduction, fn. 11.

¹⁷ Roger Palmer, *A Short Account of the Material Passages in the First War Between the English and Dutch Since His Majesties Restauration* (London: H. Herringman, 1671), pp. 10-3. This was an English translation of a French original, which had been published in the immediate aftermath of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Martin Dzelzainis, ‘Marvell and the Earl of Castlemaine’, in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin

the battle: the first two through panegyrics like Waller's and the latter from more critical commentators like Marvell. Operating as principal sites where the battle's narrative was formed and contested in news and literature, these three episodes will be the focus of this chapter's analysis. First, I will consider how they were initially reported in English news publications, where expectations conditioned by verse broadsides, ballads and panegyrics pushed reticent newswriters towards narratives of personalised heroics. I then demonstrate how Waller's innovative form of epic-panegyric went beyond this intertextual negotiation and significantly distorted the narrative established in news to suit his aesthetic requirements. Finally, I show how Marvell's *Second Advice* highlighted and contested Waller's distortions, re-establishing narratives originally found in loyalist newswriting. Annabel Patterson argues that Marvell already had a distinct 'Opposition strategy' in the *Second Advice*, and that he aimed to contest regime narratives and forms of representation imposed from above by an 'imperial court culture'.¹⁸ Contextualising the satire within its contemporary news environment and alongside Waller's unorthodox panegyric enables its apparently oppositional qualities to be reinterpreted: the satirist who emerges sits curiously within the general consensus regarding narrative and representation.

I. Reporting the Battle of Lowestoft in English newsprint

To understand how the battle's narrative was established, we must consider how news was consolidated in its aftermath. The heroic interpretation which developed was not just imposed from above, but was generated equally by the newsreading public themselves. Understanding in a little detail how news conventionally travelled and was shaped will also be important in order to appreciate the developments described in later chapters. Time and distance were crucial factors in news, the more so in the chaos following naval battles spread out over several miles clogged with fire and smoke, where collecting and collating various reports was notoriously difficult. It would often take a long time to ascertain even

Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 290–312 (pp. 296–7); Clarendon followed a similar division when recounting the battle in his history, though he went into greater detail, *Life* (1857), II, pp. 129–33.

¹⁸ Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 72–3.

which ships had been lost, let alone who had ‘won’ in a situation where territory was not held and victory remained uncertain. The seaman Jeremy Roch quoted Marvell’s lines on Lowestoft, ‘The noise, the smoke, the sweat, the fire, the blood, | Are not to be expressed nor understood’ (207-8), to describe his own experience of combat: within such a maelstrom it was easy to mistake one ship for another, and rumours flew quickly and with questionable substance.¹⁹

If figuring out the result was difficult enough, the relatively close proximity of English and Dutch urban centres to the sites of battle meant that the first news many had was not from articulated testimony, but the raw sound of combat itself. In London and Amsterdam many people listened to the distant cannon fire in order to extrapolate from changes in volume whether the fleets were advancing or retreating: ‘We judge them here to be half *Seas over* from the *North foreland East North East*’.²⁰ The noise of cannons was the first news of a battle to be reported in print, and would be the first news to reach provincial areas. Waller’s description of York’s ‘cannon’s roar, forerunner of his fame’ (265) was no reification, but evoked a familiar part of the public’s experience of news. During the Battle of Lowestoft Pepys recalled ‘all this day by people upon the River, and almost every where else hereabouts were heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being engaged; which was confirmed by letters from Harwich, but nothing particular: and all our hearts full of concernment for the Duke’.²¹ Pepys shared a widespread anxiety about the risk of putting a martial Stuart mythology into practice – York was removed from the front line after this battle – but his concern also demonstrates York’s centrality to early interpretative efforts, even before concrete information arrived. In the newsbooks listeners also ‘pray as we ought to do, for the safety and good success of his *Royal Highness*, and all the rest of those

¹⁹ In keeping with the courtly adventurousness of his captain and role-model, Sir Freschville Holles, Roch excluded ‘the sweat’ from his quotation of Marvell, *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times* ed. by Bruce Ingram (London: Constable, 1936), p. 49. Writing to Secretary Arlington with his observations of one battle, Thomas Clifford warned of the dangers posed by confusion and exhaustion: ‘I have no tyme to read it over and for ought I know may have instanced one thinge two or 3 tymes over but if yor Ldp knowe in wath disordre I am in with turmoyleing and for want of sleep that would be excused for I have not slept 2 houres in every 24 since I left yor Ldsp and sometimes when I am writeing in the middle of a relacion I doe almostt forget what I am to say next’, SP 29/158 fol. 88.

²⁰ *Intelligencer*, p. 390 (5 June 1665); see also *Newes*, pp. 412, 420 (8 June 1665).

²¹ *Pepys’s Diary*, VI, p. 116 (3 June 1665). This anxiety was shared by the government, and Clarendon described Charles II’s own ‘terrible apprehensions during the three days’ fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordnance’, *Life* (1857), II, pp. 127, 136.

Honorable and Loyal Persons': as in the early poetry, York was at the forefront of a network of individuals who were key to the battle's interpretation.²²

Rumours of more substance began to circulate in the following days. While Pepys recorded them he was also careful to note their uncertainty: 'but nothing more for certain'; 'great talk [...] but of this no certainty'; 'but I do not give much belief to it'; and 'ill reports run up and down [...] but without ground'.²³ London's extensive oral culture was supplemented by reportage in print newsbooks, but in the first months of the war newswriting was yet to be centralised under the Secretariat. Instead, it continued to be farmed out on licence to the notorious Surveyor of the Press and champion of cavalier Anglicanism, Roger L'Estrange. Published since 1663, L'Estrange's newsbooks, *The Newes* and *The Intelligencer*, were written at one remove from the state's intelligence networks. While the Secretariat supplied him with some information, the flow was not consistent and L'Estrange also had to rely on private channels: when war appeared imminent he had sounded out Pepys as a potential source 'to get now and then some news'.²⁴ In form his newsbooks were stylistically conservative, bibliographically and rhetorically reminiscent of the pamphlets published in England since the Civil Wars. Rather than striving for ostensible objectivity they possessed an aggressive editorial voice; Joad Raymond has called this the 'railing' style: an energetic, partisan tenor which 'focused on conflict' against outsiders.²⁵ However, in the absence of an enemy L'Estrange often ended up haranguing his readers instead, and Pepys had found his garrulous first edition to be 'a simple beginning'.²⁶ If L'Estrange was outspoken, he was not incautious: in the immediate aftermath of Lowestoft he remained as wary as Pepys, writing that 'Here is a general rumour in this Town, that *His Majesties Fleet*, hath given Chase to the *Hollanders*

²² *Intelligencer*, p. 390 (5 June 1665).

²³ *Pepys's Diary*, VI, pp. 117-20 (4-7 June 1665).

²⁴ SP 29/134 fol. 153; *Pepys's Diary*, V, p. 348 (17 December 1664).

²⁵ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 28, 56, 115, 153-8. This 'demotic banter [...] transposing orality into print' continued in L'Estrange's later publications, Mark Goldie, 'Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* and the Exorcism of the Plot', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. by Anne Duncan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 67-88 (pp. 68-9).

²⁶ *Pepys's Diary*, IV, p. 297 (4 September 1663). L'Estrange was often busy fighting the last war in news, rather than adapting to current circumstances: at the accession of James II Evelyn remarked that his newsbook the *Observer* 'rather kept up animosities than appeased them, especially now that nobody gave the least occasion', *Kalendarium*, III, p. 160.

[...] which I shall not venture to report for certain, in regard I have not seen any warrantable Advice that reaches so farre'.²⁷

Subsequent editions reported similar rumours from Whitehall and the coastal towns. With the situation still uncertain, many of these repeated or contradicted each other: like their antecedents, stories in L'Estrange's newsbooks were set as they arrived and, as a result, accounts found later in the newsbook could run contrary to those set before. Furthermore, as news took time to travel it did not arrive in, and was not set in, a neat chronology. In this discontinuous uncertainty the newsbook was ultimately reminiscent of the oral rumours recorded by Pepys, and almost as reliant on individual interpretive efforts.²⁸ Newsreaders who encountered multiple contradictory accounts in print had to be ready to apply their critical faculties and participate actively in the interpretation of a form of news which took time to establish a factual orthodoxy. Early in the news cycle it was left to the reader to parse out accounts (albeit censored ones) and decide what was important. Among this flurry of information, vague reports of Opdam's death gradually crystallised. At first it was only that 'one of the *Dutch Ships* was blown up' at the start of the battle (dated 5 June).²⁹ This was corroborated by a subsequent report later in the issue from an eye witness that 'in his sight 9 of the *Dutch Fleet* were burnt and blown up' (dated 6 June 'at 7 in the Evening').³⁰ First-hand experience remained the ultimate authority for news, and the credibility of these generalised reports thus relied on the frequent deployment of rhetorics of witnessing, such as 'in his sight'.³¹ On the same day this newsbook was published Pepys recorded from his own sources that 'Opdam [is] blown up'.³²

²⁷ *Intelligencer*, p. 390 (5 June 1665). Critics have recognised the 'deeper contradiction' of L'Estrange's career, which saw his writing invite the very public engagement and discussion he considered illegitimate, Geoff Kemp, 'L'Estrange and the Publishing Sphere', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 67–90 (p. 71); Dorothy Turner, 'Roger L'Estrange's Deferential Politics in the Public Sphere', *Seventeenth Century*, 13.1 (1998), pp. 85–101 (p. 86).

²⁸ Raymond points out the important resemblance between early newsbooks and oral rumour, *Invention of the Newspaper* (1996), p. 127.

²⁹ *Newes*, p. 414 (8 June 1665).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

³¹ Raymond, *Invention of Newspaper* (1996), p. 131; David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 61–3.

³² *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 122 (8 June 1665).

A more stable and ordered account of the battle was given by a short pamphlet L'Estrange also printed on the same day (8 June). Separate pamphlet relations of major actions were a long-standing convention. They served to consolidate the chaotic narrative of battle into a more stable form than the newsbook, eliminating contradiction and placing events within some semblance of chronological order and a hierarchy of importance. In practice this came down to a basic narrative of the fight's principal actions, followed by casualty lists and stories of other notable occurrences which did not fit easily within the established narrative. *A Summary Narrative* (1665) therefore established a linear interpretation of the battle, but one which remained haphazard around its periphery and concluded with a list of events outside of chronological order (the last of these was the death of Falmouth).³³ L'Estrange's account of the combat itself was short, but included the first description of the moment when 'Opdams Ship was blown up [...] which amazed Their whole fleet, as it encouraged Ours, so we fell in Pell-mell'.³⁴ In this version York has nothing to do with the explosion. Despite having resolved on a basic narrative, L'Estrange continued to resist the 'Rumours of this *Town* [which] have been so wild and various', and which, amplified by the emotional elation of victory, were taking on a strong popular force.³⁵ Pepys, for example, finally cast aside his scepticism and 'with my heart full of joy' indulged wholly in celebration, going so far as to buy a new silk suit, 'which, though I made one lately, yet I do for joy of the good news'.³⁶

By refusing to endorse the widespread heroic narrative which had overwhelmed Pepys L'Estrange provoked disappointment from a newsreading public expecting to have these rumours confirmed and dramatised in print as the official narrative. An informant wrote to Secretary Arlington's undersecretary:

that all persons I spake with are much dissatisfied with the relation that came out in print fryday last concerneing the success of our ffleet: Against the insulting dutch therein is noo Notice taken of y^e singular encounter of his Highnes with Opdam as by y^e Generall report & beleife of Many was sunck. by his

³³ *A Summary Narrative of the Signal Victory* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1665), p. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁵ *Intelligencer*, p. 420 (12 June 1665). In the pamphlet L'Estrange qualified that 'it will be hard, till stories are well composed, to give a particular account', *A Summary Narrative* (1665), p. 5.

³⁶ *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 123-4 (8 and 9 June 1665).

highnes Shipp euen at his side after a long dispute & Exchangeing Many broadsides and though Opdam & two other flagg shippes with seuerall others of their shippes ingaged & endeauerd y^e sinking taking or killing his Highnes yet god was pleased to preserue & bless his Highnes [^]with success to sink & destroye those his Enemmis.³⁷

The ferment of gossip and ‘Generall report’ had already established a popular oral narrative of the admirals’ duel which the writer could pointedly repeat at length and in detail. It amalgamated conventional cultural motifs like ‘the insulting dutch’ with the expectation of York’s heroism and details drawn selectively from other accounts. This was a narrative which was generated not simply by L’Estrange’s propaganda but through a popular will, conditioned prior to the battle through materials like Waller’s poetry, and which was fed by propaganda but not wholly determined by it. L’Estrange himself complained about the excessive popular zeal which ‘report[s] things greater then they are because they wish them so’.³⁸ The public wanted heroic stories of national glory, and L’Estrange’s news, with its overemphasis on rational caution, failed to provide them. Such feedback is a reminder that heroic narratives were not an imposition on a sceptical public who wanted hard facts: news was entertainment, involving significant emotional investment, and newsreaders wanted an exciting story corresponding to their expectations.³⁹ Failure to match this demand placed L’Estrange in an awkward position. He appeared to be disconnected from a mutually reinforcing news culture shared by the regime and the public, both of whom demanded a heroic narrative of Stuart prowess. The correspondent made this clear in his suggestion that ‘undoubtdly the ingagement of his Highnes & the Prince [^]& others would be of exceeding aduantage to his Ma^y & satisfaction to all his subjects’.⁴⁰ One need not take this as hyperbole: such a narrative would indeed gratify both.

³⁷ SP 29/124 fol. 30 (10 June 1665).

³⁸ *Intelligencer*, p. 421 (12 June 1665).

³⁹ Philip West comments on the high demand for vivid war reporting in the early modern period, ‘Early modern war writing and the British Civil Wars’, in *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing*, ed. by Kate McLoughlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 98–111 (p. 98). Raymond has described the need for news to provide heroic figures, *Invention of News* (1996), p. 197–9. Modern news also demands ‘personification’, describing highly complex events in individual terms, Galtung and Ruge, ‘Structuring and Selecting News’ (1981), p. 57.

⁴⁰ SP 29/124 fol. 30.

Meanwhile, further criticism was being levelled at L'Estrange's newswriting from elsewhere. The Earl of Sandwich complained to Pepys that 'the printed relation should not give him one word of honour', while the above letter had also noted the conspicuous absence of any information on 'the Earle of Sandwch': national heroes beyond York deserved attention and both Sandwich himself and newsreaders expected to find his exploits in print.⁴¹ The Earl, however, appears not to have known who to complain to, and blamed William Coventry instead. Pepys noted that it took lobbying by one of Sandwich's clients 'showing Lestrange Captain Ferrers letter' for the editor to 'do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late Victory'.⁴² Early modern printed news is often said to have lacked the prestige of less ephemeral forms of writing, like history.⁴³ While this is true, significant evidence of lobbying points to a more nuanced contemporary understanding, with public figures who read the news of their own exploits naturally expecting others to do so, and thus imagining newsprint as a means to establish a public narrative of their own heroism.⁴⁴ Lobbying campaigns by Sandwich and other commanders demonstrate that from an elite perspective it was print which determined oral news, not the other way round.⁴⁵ Conventional newsreaders and their ostensible heroes both expected that newswriting would provide narratives which developed the latter's public image: intervention was a sign that this process was going wrong.

In his *Second Advice to a Painter* Andrew Marvell situated himself within this consensus, going so far as to claim the role of its arbiter. It is not conventional to see Marvell as speaking from the perspective of the loyalist public, but reading his satire through the context of the specific newswriting problems after the Battle of Lowestoft reveals this to be the case.⁴⁶ The most explicit appearance of

⁴¹ *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 135 (23 June 1665); SP 29/124 fol. 30. See also *Pepys's Diary*, VI, pp. 148-9, 276, 301; VII, p. 67 (5 July 1665, 25 October 1665, 17 November 1665, and 7 March 1666).

⁴² *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 128 (15 June 1665).

⁴³ Noelle Gallagher has explored how late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists distinguished the elite genre of history from the 'short scope and artless style' of newswriting, *Historical Literatures: Writing about the Past in England, 1660-1740* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 5.

⁴⁴ Chapter Five will demonstrate the even closer attention Prince Rupert paid to his appearance in newsprint.

⁴⁵ Modern scholarship disagrees, and sees print and manuscript news during the seventeenth century as contingent on informal oral networks, Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Cultures in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 363-4.

⁴⁶ Nigel Smith, Marvell's most recent biographer, is more inclined to imagine him working with either a cadre of disaffected MPs, or with the troublemaking 'circles surrounding the opposition peers' like the Duke of Buckingham, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 190.

newswriting in the satire is within exactly this context of public dissatisfaction, and yokes together a mockery of Sandwich's conduct and L'Estrange's newsgathering: Sandwich 'by the gazetteer [...] was mistook, | As unconcerned as if at Hitchingbrooke' (107-8), his country seat. Marvell nonetheless moderates his criticism of L'Estrange, and the editor is 'mistook' and bad at his job rather than maliciously misleading, as newswriters were imagined to be in his later satires. In describing L'Estrange as incompetent Marvell was hardly a radical outsider speaking truth to power: as seen previously, newsreaders were very ready to acknowledge that he was 'mistook' and could have done a better job. Marvell adopts the rhetorical posture that his own satire is a corrective for those heroes who had been overlooked: 'What others did let none omitted blame: | I shall record whos'e'er brings in his name' (229-30). Again, Marvell's suggestion is not a radical one. It adapts existing discontent to advocate for under-acknowledged captains from within an accepted consensus.⁴⁷ Several of the captains mentioned in the letter of complaint quoted above are precisely those experienced men whom Marvell makes room for in the *Second Advice*: Rupert, Lawson, Marlborough and Smith.⁴⁸ Above all, Marvell relies in this statement upon the assumption that heroic narratives were desired and due. Yes, there was a frustration with Restoration news, but this was not on the basis of it reporting falsities: more information was desired, and in the form of heroic adventures. Widespread dissatisfaction with L'Estrange's reporting, from the Secretariat and the admirals through to the public and those sceptical about the war's prosecution, indicates why few tears were shed when the state took over news publishing later in the year.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Marvell's championing of the under-acknowledged captains correlates imperfectly but nonetheless importantly with the dispute in the Restoration navy between veteran professional mariners – known as tarpaulins – and gentleman amateurs, J.D. Davis, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: the Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991). Marvell continued to play with assumptions about the proper dispensing of credit in a relation of a parliamentary debate, imagined as military encounter, in *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1677): 'it might be injurious where all of them did so excellently well, to attribute more to any one of those Lords than another, unless because the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, have been the more reproached for this brave Action, it be requisite by a double proportion of Praise, to set them two in equal terms with the rest of their Companions in Honour', *PW*, II, p. 285.

⁴⁸ The correspondent wrote 'How ^{also} Major Smith & my Lord of Malborour [...] ^{the Earle of Sandwch Sr John Lawson} [...] for their Exceeding valours [...] ought to be had in [...] memory', SP 29/124 fol. 30. The *Second Advice* emphasised the action of these individuals in particular (174-6, 199-203, 215-6, 227-8).

⁴⁹ J.G Muddiman suggested this reporting failure convinced the secretariat to take news under their own control, *The King's Journalist 1659-1689* (London: John Lane, 1923), p. 173.

L'Estrange himself was well aware that there were alternative methods of newswriting. In the early editions of his newsbooks he had commented at length on the public demand for news:

The prudent Menage of a *Gazett* may Contribute in a very high Degree: for, beside that 'tis *every bodies* Money, and (in truth) a good part of *most mens study*, and *Bus'ness*, 'tis none of the worst ways of Address to the *Genius*, and *Humour* of the *Common People*; whose *Affections* are much more capable of being *tuned*, and *wrought upon*, by convenient *Hints*, and *Touches*, in the *Shape*, and *Ayre* of a *Pamphlet*, then by the *strongest Reasons*, and *best Notions imaginable*, under any *other*, and more *sober Form whatsoever*.⁵⁰

There is a marked contrast between the rational, 'prudent Menage' of the editor, and the emotion-oriented practice of their readers. For L'Estrange, newsreaders were resistant to 'the strongest Reasons', but open to the subtleties of 'Humour' and 'Affections'. The rational editor, therefore, could carefully deploy emotion through 'convenient *Hints*, and *Touches*' to manipulate the passionate '*Common People*'. Like his modern counterparts, L'Estrange was well aware that narratives were best conveyed not as facts, but emotional experience.⁵¹ He also recognised that any rejection of cautious reason would bring him closer to the dishonest methods of seditious polemicists. In the same year he wrote in similar terms that they, eschewing the 'playner' for the 'Popular Stile', were also 'forc'd to cover their Meaning under Ambiguities, and Hints'.⁵² The loyal newswriter who, however necessarily, abandoned the unpopular '*sober Form*' was not methodologically distant from an irrational satirist. One therefore had to be careful. L'Estrange's first *Summary Narrative* had been wary of 'convenient *Hints*, and *Touches*', attempting to make that appeal to '*sober*' reason at the expense of emotional immediacy. As he might have guessed, that was not what newsreaders wanted.

L'Estrange ultimately bowed to pressure and quickly released a revised version of the pamphlet 'wherein are supplied many Defects in the Former', and which placed a dramatic narrative of York's

⁵⁰ *Intelligencer*, p. 2 (31 August 1663).

⁵¹ David Patrikarakos, *War in 140 Characters: How Social Media is reshaping conflict in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), p. 264.

⁵² Roger L'Estrange, *Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press* (London: A.C., 1663), p. 10.

heroism centre stage.⁵³ In this *Second Narrative of the Signal Victory* (1665) the personal duel between the admirals becomes the primary event of the battle. While more information abounds on the periphery in terms of casualty lists and minor events, this is now emphatically the Duke's story: even York's name and title is set in larger type on the title page. L'Estrange had evidently learnt his lesson and the perspective shifts wholly to York from the outset. This provided the raw materials for the revised *Instructions to a Painter* and a number of other poems, and Waller picked up on L'Estrange's attentive changes to the report's opening. The earlier pamphlet began 'with the first appearance of the *Dutch Fleet* on our *Coast*'.⁵⁴ L'Estrange had speculated on their motivation: they were 'brought thither rather (in all probability) in expectation of finding Ours on disorder upon the preceeding foul weather [...] then from their own innate valour'.⁵⁵ His decision to start from the Dutch perspective was rejected in the *Second Narrative*. Instead, it begins from that of 'His *Royal Highness*, after his return from the Coast of *Holland* [...] having certain Intelligence, [...] that the *Dutch Fleet* had taken the Sea'.⁵⁶ Whereas previously it had been the Dutch who moved towards the English coast, this movement is replaced with York's earlier return to England after raiding on the Texel. The narrative's trigger also shifts from the 'probability' of Dutch intelligence to the 'certain Intelligence' of the English. This is similarly the movement with which Waller begins his additions to the *Instructions*: 'once more', he asks his painter, 'place our navy by the Holland shore' (65-6). The pamphlet's highly personal focus on York and his own dramatised perceptions is maintained throughout the preliminaries. L'Estrange even assiduously records that the 'news was brought' that the Dutch were first sighted while York was 'at dinner': the reader encounters them with him from the dining table.⁵⁷

This close perspective continues as battle is joined and the two admirals meet. The reader follows York onto the deck of his ship, attending so closely that they can even hear him speak:

Opdams Ship [...] coming up to lie almost opposite *in their Line* to his *Royal Highness* Ship in *Ours*;

His *Royal Highness* was pleased to give command to bear up to him, saying *He would himself have a*

⁵³ *Intelligencer*, p. 420 (12 June 1665).

⁵⁴ *A Summary Narrative* (1665), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *A Second Narrative of the Signal Victory* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1665), p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Bout with Opdam, (for so he termed it.) In which being obey'd, and the whole Fleet taking example by the working of his *Royal Highness* Ship, we began to ply our Guns at so near a distance, that the enemy began to shrink apace, though not absolutely to run. Whilst things were in this condition, it pleased God (who had through the whole Conduct of this great Business wonderfully favoured us) by an extraordinary Operation of his Almighty hand to facilitate our Work; and to shorten the danger to which his *Royal Highness* had resolved to expose his own person, by the *blowing up of Opdams Ship*; which as it was a great joy to the *English*, so it could not but infinitely discourage the *Enemy*, who did not stand land after.⁵⁸

This dramatic retelling foregrounds the episode within the narrative and ensures it takes a prominent place as the deciding moment of the battle. It gains a vivid dramatic potency and credibility from the reported speech of York, which correlated well with the energetic martial image constructed in propaganda and popular culture. Furthermore, it inserts York as the active agent within a pre-existing narrative, established in the previous pamphlet, in which Opdam's ship exploded and the Dutch fled.

It is therefore interesting to note that L'Estrange's characteristic caution leaves a number of critical details implicit. For example, he does not specify that Opdam is alive during the encounter – the duel is with 'Opdams Ship' – as intelligence from George Downing, the ambassador in Amsterdam, had by this point suggested otherwise. His report that 'Obdam was first killed wth a shott & about .3. houres after his ship blowne up' had come in a letter L'Estrange was using at the same time to give a shorter account of the battle in the *Intelligencer*.⁵⁹ Instead York's reported speech merely allows this inference to be made. Furthermore, any shot which detonated the *Eendracht* is only implicitly from York's ship: Downing's letter again indicated otherwise.⁶⁰ The pamphlet can be read to suggest that providence guided a critical shot into the *Eendracht*: equally, it could have exploded for other reasons. Therefore, through some careful ambiguity and 'convenient *Hints*', L'Estrange is able to maintain his

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁵⁹ SP 84/176 fol. 61^v. The Venetian ambassador also heard reports that 'in the combat the Admiral Opdam was wounded by a musket shot', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Vol. 34, 1664-1666, ed. by Allen B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933), p. 145. The account in *The Intelligencer* does mention the fact Opdam 'as we hear, was slain several hours before' his ship exploded, p. 338 (12 June 1665).

⁶⁰ Downing wrote that 'she blew up, as is conceived by some shott among her powder, though some say by a fire ship', SP 84/176 fol. 61^v.

ongoing caution while nevertheless providing the public and government the opportunity to read into the news the heroic narrative they had both desired. A careful reader, and one familiar with the rumours of the moment, could read otherwise. A creative doubling of interpretations through sly newswriting was not unique to L'Estrange. Paul Arblaster has identified how the reporting of the self-immolation of the Hapsburg Captain Jan Jacobsen allowed continental newsreaders to construe alternative moral interpretations from his suicide, depending on how well acquainted they were with the classical analogues deployed.⁶¹ In the present example the narrative gains heroic potency by synchronizing with public expectations and popular poetry, without ever yielding to them entirely. An engaged reader then fills in the gaps with assumptions generated by their wider literary culture. The propagandistic functions of loyalist newswriting could thus best be realised through its interaction with a cultural consensus which conditioned its readership to make inferences not justified by the news text itself. L'Estrange, meanwhile, could console himself that his report fulfilled popular demand while not being technically inaccurate.

II. Initial verse responses to the Battle of Lowestoft: panegyric and critique

This mutually reinforcing relationship between news and poetry entered its next phase as commemorative verses emerged marking the battle. Before this poetry is addressed in detail, it is worth considering its relationship with news in light of the intertextual features of reportage I have just outlined. Focusing on the representation of the Amboyna massacre, an infamous atrocity committed by the Dutch in the East Indies, Anthony Milton has demonstrated how a generalised news narrative could be injected into the public sphere: 'once a patriotic audience had been primed, [the originators] could then sit back and watch a series of initiatives from independent authors, printers and playwrights' who

⁶¹ Paul Arblaster, "'Our Valiant Dunkirk Romans': Glorifying the Hapsburg War at Sea, 1622-1629', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 583-96 (p. 591).

would confirm the desired line.⁶² Within such a system, as Angela McShane has noted with regard to ballads, production was decentralised away from the state. Publishers of popular verses which conditioned expectations and commemorated events seized the moment by their own initiative, and in doing so reinforced and developed the narratives of the state.⁶³ This decentralised output was sold and read alongside newsprint. ‘Contemporaries did see ballads and news pamphlets as existing in competition or dialogue’, Marcus Nevitt observes, the two overlapping in their consumption.⁶⁴ News and popular poetry were mixed together materially and textually, but they also constituted a narrative territory shared between state authority and the public. The two worked in concert to develop a collective interpretation of the truth. In his study of early modern science, Steven Shapin described truth as ‘a matter of collective judgement [...] stabilised by the collective actions which use it as a standard for judging other claims’.⁶⁵ This statement has been applied to news studies, with the caveat that news, unlike science, can only ever aim at an approximation of certainty.⁶⁶ Taking that into account, I would argue that this consolidation of ‘collective judgement’ by ‘collective action’ occurs not simply through news, but also the extensive seventeenth-century popular culture which conditioned and elaborated upon it. We have already seen how expectations constructed in literature determined newswriting, but this narrative generation was an ongoing process, and continued in the verse responses to Lowestoft.

⁶² Anthony Milton, ‘Marketing a massacre: Amboyna, the East India Company and the public sphere in early Stuart England’, in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 168–90 (p. 179); Kevin Sharpe also examined this self-generating community of praise and justification, *Rebranding Rule: Images of Restoration and Revolutionary Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 46-7.

⁶³ Angela McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15 (2011), 105–37 (pp. 113-6). McShane has nonetheless been careful to argue elsewhere that ballads were not a news source in themselves: rather, they provided popular interpretation and commentary on news events already reported by an extensive oral news culture, ‘The Gazette in Meter or the Rhiming News-Monger: The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative’, in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2005), pp. 131–50 (p. 146). For the traditional argument that ballads were a key news source for commoners, see *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by C.H. Frith (London: Navy Records Society, 1908), p. vii.

⁶⁴ Marcus Nevitt, ‘Ballads and the development of the English Newsbook’, in *The Routledge Companion to British Media History*, ed. by Martin Conboy and John Steel (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 183–94 (p. 184).

⁶⁵ Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 6. Mark Knights extrapolated these ideas into the context of Restoration newsreading in *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 60-3.

⁶⁶ Randall, *Military News* (2008), p. 6.

News and poetry continued to influence each other in a perpetual process where the existing consensus became the standard to judge new material by.

Given its easy conformity to popular expectations from before the Battle of Lowestoft, and to the rhetorical conventions of royal heroism they had already developed, the sensational story of the admirals' duel naturally appealed to ballad-writers working quickly in the battle's aftermath. These ballads offered uncomplicated reiterations of the core elements of news narratives, down to the abiding convention of eye witnessing as a guarantor of truth. Therefore one finds 'Opdam blown up in both Navies eye', his death causing the Dutch to 'quit their Stations in the liquid field'.⁶⁷ The uncomplicated explosion-retreat story established in L'Estrange's first *Narrative* was repeated across a large number of popular print publications.⁶⁸ The embellishing detail of York's personal 'bout with Opdam', the key dramatic component of the story in popular rumour and the *Second Narrative*, also made frequent appearance:

In this cruel Conflict stout Opdam was slain
By the great Duke of York, & lyes sunk in ye Main
Twass from ye Dukes Frigat that he had his doome
And by the Dukes valour he was overcome;
It was his good Fate,
To fall at that Rate,
Who sink under Princes, are buried in State.⁶⁹

The ennobling effects of the encounter are clear enough. As in the ballad which promised to teach the Dutch 'better manners' at the outset of the war, Opdam is fortunate to achieve a noble dignity – 'buried in State' – in being defeated by York and subsumed into his developing legend. Prior expectations thus

⁶⁷ *The Dutch Armado a meer Bravado* (London: 1665).

⁶⁸ For example, *Bellum Belgicum Secundum* (Cambridge: 1665); *Ingratitude Revengd* (London: 1665); *The Dutch Armado A Meer Bravado* (London: 1665); Edward Howard, *A Panegyric to his Highnesse the Duke of York, on his Sea-Fight* (London: 1666).

⁶⁹ *The Royal Victory* (London: 1665).

determined the particular interpretations applied to ongoing news events. Such broadsides were often set to specific tunes which reinforced the patriotic narrative, and, alongside the ballad's blackletter printing, these features emphasised the experience of an English folk tradition and the glory of past achievements relived in the present (in particular the already entrenched 'myth' of English sea-power).⁷⁰ Through these loaded multimedia characteristics, and the ballad's confirmation by the written and oral news culture in which it participated, recent events were provided a seamless continuity with the past and expectations were comfortably confirmed and resolved.

Even underground publishing was broadly situated within the rhetoric and conventions of the popular print consensus. In his 1664 poem *Tuba-Pacifica* the former republican nonconformist George Wither had argued against the war, and for Anglo-Dutch protestant unity. Seventy-seven years old in 1665, Wither had long been producing unrepentantly critical (and unrepentantly lengthy) prophetic poems on current affairs. Despite this outspokenness, *Three Private Meditations* (1665), the underground volume he published on the Battle of Lowestoft, features a wry appropriation of the rhetorics of loyalist poetry. It metabolises the language of the loyalist consensus, playfully breaking it apart and turning it against the state and its supporters.⁷¹ For instance, a number of poets (including Waller) marked the English fleet's departure with descriptions of naval processions decorated with 'Streamers and Flaggs of Honour, like the taile | Of Comets shooting fate where they look pale'.⁷² Wither was no different:

Then, with *Streamers* and with *Flags*,

Foolish vaunts and *shameless brags*,

⁷⁰ C. Marsh, 'The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. by J. Crick and A. Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 171-90 (p. 179); Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meaning of Black-Letter', in *The Book of the Play*, ed. by Martha Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99-126 (p. 107); N. A. M. Rodger, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-Power in English History', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 153-74 (p. 157); Elaine Murphy and Richard Blakemore, *The British Civil Wars at Sea, 1638-1653* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), pp. 7-8.

⁷¹ David Norbrook recognised in Wither's 1640s poetry his 'habitual technique of adopting a rhetoric of unity but working from within it to move opinion in a more partisan direction', 'Levelling Poetry: George Wither and the English Revolution, 1642-1649', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21 (1991), 217-56, (p. 233).

⁷² Edmund Gayton, *The Glorious and Living Cinque-Ports of our fortunate Island* (Oxford: 1666), p. 7.

They weigh'd Anchors from the shore

Which, by some, was seen no more.⁷³

The ease with which Wither is able to appropriate the language of loyalist panegyric for his criticism of regime policy highlights the mobility of these conventions, and thus their artificiality.

Wither was also highly conscious of anti-Dutch rhetoric, but, in a move characteristic of his sense of Anglo-Dutch equivalence, he applied its recognisable, convention-driven language to the English. Popular exhortations the Dutch 'cease your high and mighty brags; | We need but Mackrel Boats, to take your Flags' became the 'Foolish vaunts and shameless braggs' of Wither's Englishmen.⁷⁴ Popular stereotypes therefore offered Wither a shortcut to criticise English conduct and valorise that of the Dutch. He was able to capitalise on a feature which is now well-recognised in a growing body of scholarship which addresses the manner in which the English and Dutch aggressively represented each other during this period: that, even as these works asserted difference, those differences were located in each nation's own misgivings about their own identities, and ultimately reveal an Anglo-Dutch sameness.⁷⁵ Wither's poetry demonstrates the ease with which these artificial stereotypes could be swapped. 'We say, the Dutch to us ingrateful be', he observes, echoing an extensive literature such as William Smith's *Ingratitude Revengd* (1665), 'Our Conscience tells us, we are so to thee'.⁷⁶

The same applies to Wither's portrayal of naval combat. His *Meditations* provided an alternative account of Lowestoft, but which nonetheless emulated the gruesome Lucanic rhetoric and 'dismemberment conventions' that Nigel Smith has identified as so integral to popular sea-battle poems.⁷⁷ Even Waller tried to outdo the extreme bloodthirstiness of his contemporaries. As York advanced on the Dutch, he describes how 'the sea with spoil his angry bullets strow. | Widows and

⁷³ George Wither, *Three Private Meditations* (London?: 1665), p. 13.

⁷⁴ *One Broad-side more for the Dutch: or, The Belgick Lion Couchant* (London: 1665).

⁷⁵ Gijs Rommelse, 'Negative Mirror Images in Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1650-1674', in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 199–216; Elizabeth Staffell, 'The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 169–86.

⁷⁶ Wither, *Three Private Meditations* (1665), p. 7.

⁷⁷ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 206.

orphans making as they go; | Before his ship fragments of vessels torn, | Flags, arms, and Belgian carcasses are borne' (217-20). This violence was perpetrated according to a partisan logic, where wanton dismemberment and carnage are inflicted by the English upon the Dutch. There is a distinction between the immense, impregnable English bodies, York 'the bulwark of his native land' (132), and the fragmenting bodies and ships of their opponents. As shall be seen, when English bodies fragment it is within contained, centripetal episodes integral to the narrative. When it comes to the Dutch, it is centrifugal, the carnage spilling out on all sides and with little narrative consequence save its own excess. Instead of rejecting this rhetoric, Wither's imagination also exalts in it, but as he does so he aggressively collapses the distinction which factionalised the outcomes of violence. His mariners are all anonymised and could be equally English or Dutch. The two nations suffer together, bound as one under God:

Dread of Death, *that man* amazes;
 Noise and smoke, and sudden blazes
This man blinds, and deafneth so
 That, he knows not *Friend* from *Foe*.
 Some, are slain by their own *Tools*,
Wise-men speed as ill as *Fools*;
 Here, a *Valiant Souldier* dies,
 There, a *Coward* sprawling lies.
 [...] *Ships*, were either split, or fir'd;
Men, by thousands, there expir'd,
 This man sinks, and that man swims,
 Some escap'd, with loss of limbs.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Wither, *Three Private Meditations* (1665), pp. 13-4.

Like the mariner ‘deafneth so | That, he knows not *Friend* from *Foe*’, readers of Wither’s verse are also left blind to the identity of the victims. War does not discriminate – friendly fire claims those ‘slain by their own *Tools*’ – and the implicit lack of national distinction is furthered by an explicit lack of differentiation between the ‘wise’ and ‘Fools’, ‘Valiant’ and ‘Coward’. The lurid descriptions of broken bodies also occur within a radically different narrative imagination. There is no linear progress here: the standard chronological sequence of events, localised around heroic individuals, does not appear. Neither do the battle’s principal occurrences, such as the detonation of Opdam’s ship, Falmouth’s death and the Dutch retreat. This huge conglomeration of individual sufferings can only find interpretative coherence in the omniscient mind of God: ‘Thou alone, oh Lord, canst tell’.⁷⁹ Wither rejects the smooth narrative established through news and occasional poetry as artificial and misleading, defining his own poetic method against a false heroic logic of ‘Deeds by HERO’s done, | With Tales of Robin Hood, and Little John’.⁸⁰ Instead, he coaches his readers how to identify conceits like anti-Dutch rhetoric and factionalised dismemberment in their encounters with newswriting and panegyric, and how to strip them away to find the presence of an underlying divine logic unbound by over-simplified narratives. By learning to be alert to the rhetorical constructions which shape writing about news events, Wither’s readers gain access to a radically different perspective which reveals the presence of God.

We shall return to Wither in future chapters, but for now he serves as an example of how the powerful conventions of loyalist topical poetry could shape the vocabulary of writing which resisted consensus assumptions. Popular pressures as much as state ones determined the shape taken by news and its accompanying literature. Time also remained a factor. News reports took time to be consolidated into a narrative like L’Estrange’s, and the same applied for their representation in poetry. Returning to the immediate aftermath of Lowestoft, three occasional poems were registered with the Stationer’s Company just over a week after the battle. All were from noted panegyrists of various persuasions. These included the nonconformist Robert Wild, the royalist panegyrist Jasper Mayne, and Marvell,

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 16-7.

whose commonwealth era poem *The Character of Holland* was revised and reissued.⁸¹ Recently, Martin Dzelzainis has suggested that it was Marvell himself who contributed a new conclusion to this poem in praise of York, Sandwich and Rupert, another important reminder that not only was Marvell not an outsider, he was an active member of this culture of news and topical poetry, and had been for over a decade.⁸² These were all opportunistic works which, even in the case of supposed verse narratives of the battle like Mayne's, did not touch on specifics and only offered a highly generalised description of naval warfare. They could have easily been written prior to the battle according to established expectations.⁸³ As Richard Steele noted when commenting on similar 'Mechanick' panegyrics forty years later, 'a whole Poem of this Kind may be ready against an ensuing Campaign, as well as Space left in the Canvass of a Piece of Tapestry for the principal Figure, while the Under Parts are working'.⁸⁴ The only direct reference to known events in the three poems comes from two lines in Wild's poem concerning Opdam's death, and even then the Admiral's ship does not explode, but sinks.⁸⁵ Their formulaic similarity is evident through the appearance in each work of polemic against '*Flemish Frogs*', '*Base Dutch*, whose lineage is the same with Frogs', who live where the sea 'at leap-frog o'er their steeples played' (24).⁸⁶ These poems capitalised on and accentuated a celebratory mood which would then inform later works, and demonstrate how facts of the battle did not immediately reorient or

⁸¹ These were listed as '*The Character of Holland*' (13 June), '*To His royall highnesse Duke of York a Congratulatory Poem on that Signal Victory*' (16 June) and '*An Essay uppon the late victory obtained by his royall Highnesse*' (16 June), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: 1640-1708 A.D: Volume II*, ed. by George Eyre (London: 1913), p. 357.

⁸² Martin Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Dutch in 1665', in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), pp. 249–65.

⁸³ Jasper Mayne, *To his Royall Highnesse the Duke of York* (Oxford: 1665); for a particularly egregious example from the following year, which promised a specific battle narrative and delivered only highly generalised conventions, see *The Red Sea* (London: 1666).

⁸⁴ Steele's essay looked back on the origins of pictorial panegyric during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, judging that 'Waller and Denham had worn out the Expedient of *Advice to a Painter*', *The Tatler*, ed. by Donald F. Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), I, p. 33.

⁸⁵ 'Thither your *Opdam* with some thousands, are | Gone down to take possession of your share' in Robert Wild, *An Essay Upon the late VICTORY* (London: 1665).

⁸⁶ Wild, *the late VICTORY* (1665); Mayne, *To his Royal Highnesse* (1665); and Marvell respectively. Andrew Fleck locates the conventionality of the early stages of Marvell's poem within a long-running, expansive culture of anti-Dutch rhetoric, 'Marvell's Use of Nedham's *Selden*', *Notes and Queries*, 54.4 (2007), 422–5 (p. 423); see also Richard Todd, 'Equilibrium and National Stereotyping in "The Character of Holland"', in *On the Celebrated and Neglected Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), pp. 169–91. Warren Chernaik argues that Marvell had opportunistically added topical content to the end of a more general poem he had begun earlier, *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 164.

influence topical poetry: instead it was subsumed into an ongoing publishing drive which continued to be shaped by pre-battle expectation even after the event.

Popular ephemera riding the coat-tails of the victory, published as much from profit-motive and careerism as patriotism, was replaced at length by more dignified and stately works which were understood to better commemorate and stabilise the memory of the battle. Nevertheless, these accounts remained indebted to the conventions established in the popular verse which preceded them, a state of affairs occasionally recognised in that very poetry. In a concluding envoy 'to the KING' Wild expressed the hope that the initial flurry of opportunistic verse would be ordered and monumentalised by more refined writers:

My Loyal Zeal to run before my Wit

This is my Pens miscarriage, not a Birth;

Her hast hath made her bring blind Puppies forth,

My aims in this attempt, are to provoke,

And kindle flames more Noble, by my smoak.

These noble flames were the longstanding (sometimes) cavalier poets John 'Denham', 'modest [Abraham] Cowley' and:

Waller (great *Poet* and true *Prophet* too)

Whose curious Pencil in Rich Colours drew

The Type of this grand Triumph for your view,

(The Fishers (like their Herrings) bleeding new)

With the same Hand shall give the World the sights

Of what it must expect when *England Fights*.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Wild, *An Essay upon the late VICTORY* (1665). It should be more widely recognised that the joking attribution of Marvell's satires to John Denham also plays with the widespread expectation that Denham would provide a panegyric like Waller's.

Wild playfully reverses the effect of expectation while asserting its powerful influence. Waller, who dictated the ‘Type of this grand Triumph’ in his first *Instructions to a Painter*, is made a ‘true *Prophet*’ of what was to come. Wild at once acknowledges (in ‘Type’) and overlooks how Waller did not merely prophecy the story of the victory: he conditioned its telling before the fact, making truth conform to his art. Nevertheless, Wild’s purpose is to invoke the principal panegyrists of the restored monarchy (rather than the second tier collection of Marvell, Mayne and himself), and invite them to transform the ‘blind Puppies’ and obfuscating ‘smoak’ of his occasional poetry into a ‘Noble’ form, a narrative to appropriately glorify that monarchy.⁸⁸ Indeed, Wild’s contrast of his blind ‘smoak’ with Waller’s ‘flames’ was an image echoed by the latter in his revised *Instructions*, where the fires of his poetry brought order to the smoke of battle.⁸⁹ Furthermore, when Waller followed through on Wild’s request he also included a final envoy to Charles II akin to Wild’s own: not an unusual feature in commemorative poetry, but absent his original *Instructions* and its model, a translation of Busenello’s *A Prospective of the Naval Triumph of the Venetians over the Turk* (1658).⁹⁰ In practice, Waller was in step with his less prestigious counterparts.

III. The place of news reportage in the poetry of Edmund Waller and Andrew Marvell

Waller’s revised *Instructions to a Painter*, published in early 1666 as a pamphlet rather than a broadside, significantly extended his earlier panegyric. That became the prelude to a heroic narrative of the battle itself. The fact that the earlier poem was so easily accommodated into the latter demonstrates how powerfully expectation could contour the interpretation of news events, as Waller’s pre-battle rhetoric slips seamlessly into the events which follow. His willingness to redeploy existing material to hasten out a new poem also reveals the similarity of his methods to those writers above who used expectation,

⁸⁸ All three of these poems were published under varying degrees of anonymity.

⁸⁹ This is treated in greater detail below, in the final section of this chapter.

⁹⁰ Thomas Higgons, *A Prospective of the Naval Triumph of the Venetians over the Turk* (London: Henry Herringman, 1658).

stock devices and, in Marvell's case, an old manuscript, to quickly assemble commemorative verses. However, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, Waller's praise poetry was moving away from the values of a genre which had traditionally staged 'the instructional theme of limitation' as a negotiation between ruler and ruled, ideal and actual.⁹¹ Panegyric was yanked out of its dialogic and mutually constitutive mode – one may think of analogues in the consensus formation of news – as Waller rejected the established narrative, arbitrarily remaking Lowestoft in York's image.⁹² The Duke is the only English commander named in the entire poem, so considerable a presence does he impose over proceedings.⁹³ Waller's departure from panegyric's consultative conventions mirrored the aristocratic engrossment of naval command, and Marvell bound the two together in his travesty of Waller's panegyric, the *Second Advice to a Painter*. Often following Waller's verse closely, Marvell's satire clipped its wings, bringing it back to a closer adherence to the established news narrative and correcting its flights of epic and arbitrary fancy.

The *Second Advice* covers the first year of the war but centres, like Waller's poem, on the Battle of Lowestoft. It excoriates the conduct of the fleet's arbitrarily appointed gentleman officers, exemplified by the Duke of York. It also praises the survivors from the interregnum navy, those who had obtained their position not by casual appointment but labour, and whose actions Waller had ignored. I demonstrated earlier that this was presented not as a disenfranchised outsider's complaint, but articulated from within a disappointed newsreading consensus. While Marvell does express reservations about the causes of the war (317-34), if it was to be fought he wished it to be fought successfully.⁹⁴ This

⁹¹ Garrison, *Tradition of the Panegyric* (1975), p. 109; Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 221-2. Chernaik outlines Waller's place in this tradition, *Poetry of Limitation* (1968), pp. 116-24. Noelle Ghalagher has recently argued that this tension between epic and historical truth accounts for panegyric's awkwardness for both modern readers and contemporaries, 'The Embarrassments of Restoration Panegyric: Reconsidering an Unfashionable Genre', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39.3 (2015), 33-54 (pp. 36-7).

⁹² Sharpe read the *Instructions* as having 'responded very much to the English circumstances that also produced the *Gazette*' in a newly brazen form of royal representation and image control, *Rebranding Rule* (2013), pp. 50-1.

⁹³ Even Falmouth is relegated to being one of 'three worthy persons' grafted onto York's 'side' (147).

⁹⁴ Bardle has justly emphasised Marvell's support of an aggressive foreign policy in the 'Painter' poems, a key difference between him and Wither, *Literary Underground* (2012), p. 110. David Norbrook observed that, during the First Anglo-Dutch War, 'paradoxically [...] some of those who most favoured union with the Dutch were also keenest on war, which stood to eliminate monarchical interest', *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 293.

tallies with the reissue of the *Character of Holland*: while sympathetic to the Dutch, it is ultimately a pro-war polemic.⁹⁵ In the *Second Advice* objections to the war are less important than to a poetics which removed itself from the communal negotiations which regulated both news and panegyric, and to a naval hierarchy which similarly imposed itself from above. To distort the hapless performance of the courtier captains in such elevated and influential terms required correction. Marvell's damning inclusion of York's failure to follow up the victory (a fact which went unreported in print), is his most conspicuous attempt to correct the course of the publically constructed narrative, and it is telling that failure is measured by an inability to smash the Dutch as expected.

The majority of Marvell's account of the battle actually followed established accounts closely, both in terms of content and style. Comparison with a more radical writer like Wither highlights the fact that his narrative was not innovative, but indebted to the story as it was commonly understood. Like the *Character of Holland*, the *Second Advice* was ultimately functional, and the approximate timing of its scribal publication with the April 1666 sitting of Parliament is a good indication that it was intended to influence opinion among Marvell's peers in the House of Commons.⁹⁶ MPs remained amenable to a regime which was yet to lose a battle, so arguments about improving the war's prosecution had to be positioned from within the broadly established consensus.⁹⁷ Identifying this enthusiasm for military efficiency and adherence to accepted orthodoxies adds definition to a picture of Marvell's opinions and strategies at the start of the war which is still developing. Rejecting a residual Whig reading of Marvellian constancy, it recognises that his views were malleable and liable to change, and that he was

⁹⁵ Critics can over-emphasise the pro-Dutch characteristics of this poem, published to support a war against the Dutch, Annabel Patterson, "Crouching at Home, and Cruel When Abroad": Restoration Constructions of National and International Character', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 210–27 (p. 224).

⁹⁶ Norbrook argues that Marvell initially wrote the *Character of Holland* in support of his attempt to find government work, *Writing the English Republic* (1999), p. 293.

⁹⁷ The *Second Advice* 'was probably written and intended to be circulated to coincide with the calling of Parliament on 23 April 1666', a month after Waller's revised *Instructions*, Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), p. 189; Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (1999), p. 76-7. Martin Dzelzainis points out that it was the *Fourth Advice*, an anonymous sequel to Marvell's satires usually considered 'poetically inferior', which Restoration censors considered 'politically more explosive' than Marvell's careful modulated verses, 'Andrew Marvell and the Restoration Literary Underground: Printing the Painter Poems', *The Seventeenth Century*, 22.2 (2008), 395–410 (pp. 401-2).

far less disenfranchised than anachronistic projections from his later satires would indicate.⁹⁸ By reading the ‘Painter’ poems through their use of newswriting, it becomes clear that the *Second Advice*, though often outrageous, is certainly more ambiguous than Marvell’s subsequent satires.

i. Writing the death of Falmouth

In his first *Instructions* broadside Waller had firmly established the epic scope of his project: he instructs his painter to ‘make [York] bestride the ocean and mankind [...] He grasps the Indies in his armed hand’ (25, 28), and Noelle Gallagher has picked up on the politics of scale in both Waller’s poem and Marvell’s response.⁹⁹ To a point of almost ludicrous exaggeration the Duke is imagined as a colossus. The ungainly and unquestioning excess of such passages has encouraged critics to see Waller as struggling with the inherent silliness of his conceits, and to identify this ‘impractical’ absurdity as a natural attraction to Marvell.¹⁰⁰ Waller’s epic design was nonetheless redirected in the extended *Instructions* pamphlet, moving from an evocation of raw scale to a greater focus, in a work of greater length, on epic character. The use of historical antecedents was already deeply ingrained in Waller’s poetic practice, providing him a means to demonstrate the immutable qualities of heroism and that ‘the same ethical characteristics’ of the past persevered into the present.¹⁰¹ Waller had already praised York’s ‘Rage in Fight, and Art in Conduct’ (12) in the broadside, and he leapt on the potentials embedded in this new idea of unrestrained royal ‘Rage’, never mind it potentially being at odds with traditional notions of Stuart transcendence. In addition to visual grandeur, York therefore becomes glorified as a supreme martial hero in the pattern of ‘the great Achilles’ (127).¹⁰² The force of this

⁹⁸ Patterson describes Marvell as adamantly opposed to the war from the start, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (1999), pp. 87–8. See also, Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 190–1.

⁹⁹ Noelle Gallagher, “‘Partial to Some One Side’: The Advice-to-a-Painter Poems as Historical Writing”, *English Literary History* 78.1 (2011), 79–101 (pp. 87, 91–3)

¹⁰⁰ Garrison, *Tradition of the Panegyric* (1975), p. 120; Chernaik, *Poetry of Limitation* (1968), p. 190.

¹⁰¹ Chernaik, *Poetry of Limitation* (1968), p. 126.

¹⁰² Waller was not alone: Jasper Mayne had also designated York as an ‘Achilles’, but this was a passing conceit which had little influence on the wider poem, *To His Royall Highnesse* (London: 1665), p. B2r.

Homeric vision imposes itself so strongly on Waller's panegyric that it compels it to depart from the narrative consensus established in news and poetry.

This equivalence between York and Achilles is most fully realised in Waller's rendition of the admirals' duel, the basis of L'Estrange's account and popular interpretations of the battle. Given its prominence, the duel unsurprisingly forms the centrepiece of Waller's additions, taking up a quarter of the new material which had to cover not just the battle itself, but also its build-up and aftermath. This significant engrossment testifies to the centrality of this episode to Waller's imagination. Furthermore, this is a highly optimistic version of the combat which accepted, in full, the 'convenient *Hints*' of the *Second Narrative*. L'Estrange had offered only a possible reading of York's agency: Waller took these inferences and ran with them, all while amplifying York's potency through the model of Achilles. This was not an inevitability. The next year John Dryden was careful to follow the actual passage of the Four Days' Battle as described in its pamphlet narrative when writing his heroic poem *Annus Mirabilis* (1667), making sure to conform his epic imagination to reportage. The poem therefore dispenses credit more evenly throughout the fleet, and this attention to detail even extended to learning how to apply technical maritime language, 'the proper terms which are used at sea', correctly.¹⁰³

Waller instead read the news through the force of popular expectation, and when that failed to suit his purpose, readily departed from facts as reported to let the conventions of representation override truth. Within L'Estrange's narrative the duel had been the focal moment, but one supplemented by other notable events, described in varying levels of detail. Above all the news reports were *busy*, crammed with occurrences which resisted ordering. However, York's encounter with Opdam dominates Waller's panegyric, and through his overwhelming focus on this central moment he warps the perspective of the battle around it. It engrosses all attention, so that the other combats orbiting it – those lesser fights which padded out L'Estrange's pamphlet – stop while 'both the fleet's eyes are bent this way, | Neglecting all the business of the day' (179-80). The belligerents on both sides give up their own struggles to be

¹⁰³ *John Dryden: Selected Poems*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and David Bywaters (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 30.

subordinated as witnesses to the duel and guarantors of its truthfulness, aping the conventions of optical proof to mitigate Waller's deviation from reported truth.

If York was to be cast as a modern Achilles, he needed the accoutrements to match. First, Waller gave him a divine protection to outdo the Thessalian's 'impenetrable shield': 'Some power unseen those princes does protect, | Who for their country this themselves neglect' (127, 135-6). York also gets the boy, as Waller provided him his own Patroclus in the form of his long term favourite, the Earl of Falmouth.¹⁰⁴ Achilles had been spurred to action after Hector killed Patroclus and, for a poet scrabbling for similarities, Falmouth appeared to be a welcome analogue. The unfortunate Earl had been obliterated along with two other gentleman by a single shot during the battle, a demise captivatingly gruesome enough, but made much of in reports because, as Pepys recorded, 'their blood and brains [went] flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say'.¹⁰⁵ Despite this morbid drama, in news reports after the battle their deaths were usually summarised in concluding casualty reports, placed among the host of minor combats and events which were effaced in Waller's narrative.¹⁰⁶ In letters, including York's own testimony, their deaths bore no connection to the Opdam combat, while Pepys's own 'minutes' of letters on the battle placed Falmouth's death as the first point listed but only reached Opdam's during the final casualty list.¹⁰⁷ Some did make effort to confer significance on this episode. In his commemorative sermon to Charles II on the victory, which was printed and helped further establish the standard narrative, the Dean of Westminster John Dolben had compared Falmouth's death to Opdam's.¹⁰⁸ However, this was not a narrative or causal link, but an

¹⁰⁴ The two had been close friends in exile during the Interregnum, Ronald Hutton, 'Charles Berkely', in *ODNB* (2008).

¹⁰⁵ *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 122 (8 June 1665). For a reading of Falmouth's death within a biblical rather than classical typology, see A.B. Chambers, *Andrew Marvell and Edmund Waller: Seventeenth-Century Praise and Restoration Satire* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), pp. 101-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Summary Narrative* (1665), p. 5; *Second Narrative* (1665), p. 16; *Intelligencer*, p. 440 (12 June 1665). In his history, Clarendon also made no association between Opdam and Falmouth, *Life* (1857), II, pp. 129-32.

¹⁰⁷ SP 29/123 fols. 47^{r-v} (4 June 1665); *Pepys's Diary*, VI, pp. 122-3 (8 June 1665).

¹⁰⁸ On the importance of sermons for authorising news narratives see Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper* (1996), pp. 190-2; Randall, *Military News* (2008), pp. 31-2.

example of the cataclysmic effects one shot could have: Dolben interpreted it as a confirmation of God's mercy that such casualties were not more widespread.¹⁰⁹

Waller departed from the ambiguity of the news reports which had kept the admirals' duel and Falmouth's death separate, shunting Falmouth's explosive end ahead of Opdam's and making the Dutch admiral responsible for the fatal shot. In doing so Waller imposed a dramatic logic on the battle which he had drawn from his epic models: the chaos of the news reports was subordinated under a heroic order where events progressed logically, and pitiful deaths provided dramatic motivation for the protagonists. It strengthened the Achilles comparison, while also making Waller's own narrative more compelling, with the death functioning as a spur to action for York. However, Waller had let his aesthetics soar beyond reportage, and that had consequences. It is only in popular poetry of the following year that Falmouth's death achieved the chronological placement and dramatic importance established by Waller. Poets like Edmund Gayton emulated the narrative coined by Waller to praise '*Falmouth* [...] thy oblidged *Proxie* [...] a surety sacrifice'.¹¹⁰ Waller's aestheticised vision – embarked upon as an act of dramatic convenience – therefore imposed itself on the cultural memory of the real event.

Patroclus's death was a particular favourite in Waller's occasionally poetry, and he had already applied it decades previously to York's father, Charles I, in *Of his Majesty Receiving News of the Duke of Buckingham's Death* (1628: pub. 1645). On that occasion Waller had stressed the difference between Charles and the Homeric hero: unlike the overly emotional warrior Charles was 'God-like, unmoved, and yet, like woman, kind' (34) at 'Patroclus slain' (10).¹¹¹ His virtues were a Christian fortitude, rather

¹⁰⁹ John Dolben, *A Sermon Preached before the King On Tuesday, June 20th. 1665. Being the Day of Solemn Thanksgiving For the Late VICTORY at SEA* (London: A. Maxwell, 1665), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁰ Edmund Gayton, *The Glorious and Living Cinque-Ports* (Oxford: 1666), p. 4. Earlier poems placed Falmouth's death after Opdam's, *Bellum Belgicum Secundum* (Cambridge: 1665), pp. 8-9. William Smith's *Ingratitude Revenged* (1666?) also follows Waller's new sequence, pp. 5-6. His poem cannot be firmly dated, but its multiple echoes of Waller's language and conceits suggest it took the *Instructions to a Painter* as a model. As Dzelzainis points out, Smith also borrowed from the *Second Advice*, 'Marvell and the Dutch' (2015), pp. 249-65. Extensive plagiarism was not unusual, and was part of the culture of quick, opportunistic publishing which responded to wartime events. In perhaps the most outrageous example, John Tabor unapologetically ripped off Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, going so far as to copy entire lines and stanzas in *Seasonable Thoughts in Sad Times, Being some Reflections on the Warre* (London: 1667), p. G4r.

¹¹¹ Quotations from *Of his Majesty Receiving News of the Duke of Buckingham's Death* are taken from *Selected Poems of Abraham Cowley, Edmund Waller and John Oldham*, ed. by Julia Griffin (London: Penguin, 1998).

than pagan passions, contrasted ‘to show the superiority of the Christian to the Pagan’.¹¹² Spearheading the development of a more martial Stuart myth in 1665, Waller might have considered Charles II’s widely reported reaction to Falmouth’s death. Pepys heard the king was ‘much troubled’ and Clarendon recalled the ‘flood of tears’ he shed at the news.¹¹³ In such a context emotional response found greater sanction. No longer was the wrath of Achilles something to define Stuart behaviour *against* – with the royal brother at war it was now a laudable model for conduct. The static father was therefore replaced by the ceaseless action of the son:

His friends in pieces torn, the bitter news,

Not brought by fame, with his own eyes he views [...]

He storms and shoots, but flying bullets now

To execute his rage, appear too slow:

They miss, or sweep but common souls away,

For such a loss Opdam his life must pay! (161-2, 167-70).

In a glance back to his earlier poem on Charles I, York no longer receives the information of his favourite’s death vicariously ‘brought by fame’: he is a present witness who ‘with his own eyes [...] views’ Falmouth’s demise. Waller sets up a flattering intertextual comparison with the passive royal father as both overlap in the territory of the Achilles–Patroclus myth. As with York’s providential shield, the classical analogy must also be exceeded. While Falmouth plays Patroclus, two more close ‘friends’ are also blown away at the same time, rendering the moment in triplicate. Waller consistently opted for ‘heroic amplification’; that is, demonstrating the exceptional adherence of his object to heroic values by making them exceed the heroes of antiquity ‘in their own sphere’.¹¹⁴ The intensity of York’s grief and ‘rage’ is thus three times that of Achilles. Finally, Waller’s use of York’s ‘own eyes’ as witnesses to Falmouth’s death authorise his narrative readjustments of common ‘fame’ through the

¹¹² Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing, Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 158.

¹¹³ *Pepys’s Diary*, VI, p. 123 (9 June 1665); Clarendon, *Life* (1857), II, pp. 136-7.

¹¹⁴ Chernaik, *Poetry of Limitation* (1968), p. 139.

unimpeachable social credit of the Duke.¹¹⁵ This glossed a little last-minute credibility onto his unsupported chronology.

When Marvell responded to Waller's poem he sought to remedy much of this distortion. The ill-fitting classicism and its speculative chronology were objectionable, while the much-reviled Falmouth was a prime example of the gentlemen officers Marvell believed should not have been on the fleet.¹¹⁶ In Marvell's hands he becomes a gruesome example of their fate as Waller's poetry is brutally shorn of its heroic pretence. Here and elsewhere, the local echo of Waller's poem which Marvell carried out can be best understood within the tradition of renaissance *parodia*. Demonstrating its importance to Marvell's Latin poetry, Estelle Haan carefully differentiates this type of *parodia* from parody's redefinition as burlesquing in the eighteenth century: a staple of the curriculum, it was a close reproduction of an original text, particularly its syntax, but which deftly changed some of its language to produce a radically new meaning.¹¹⁷ This often took the form of inversion ('inversa'), altering prestigious Latin and Greek verses to address low subjects.¹¹⁸ Simultaneously technical and playful, *parodia* was an exercise to showcase poetic accomplishment, and which featured a schoolboy humour recognisable and conducive to an audience of Marvell's peers in the House of Commons. As a result, it was well suited to deconstructing Waller's false classical grandeur from within a familiar and non-threatening territory.

Marvell first carefully relocated his local *parodia* of Waller's verses on Falmouth.¹¹⁹ Gallagher has emphasised that the *Second Advice* has 'a structure that is essentially journalistic' in its short-term focus: I would go further and argue it is structurally true to journalism in a formal sense as well.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Randall, *Military News* (2008), p. 61.

¹¹⁶ Pepys wrote of Falmouth, 'the world conceiving him a man of too much pleasure to do the King any good', *Pepys's Diary*, pp. 123-4 (9 June 1665); for further opinions to that effect, see Clarendon, *Life* (1857) II, pp.105-6, 128-9.

¹¹⁷ *Parodia* was also the genre of Marvell's earliest published poetry, Estelle Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry: From Text to Context* (Brussels: Editions Latomus, 2003), pp. 23-35. *Parodia* was ambiguously defined in renaissance theory: was it simply rendering a decorous text absurd, or did it have a stronger and more negative connotation? For an outline of this confusion, and the critical inclination towards the latter definition from the sixteenth century onwards, see Margaret Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern and Post-modern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 9-11.

¹¹⁸ Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry* (2003), p. 23; Rose, *Parody* (1993), p. 9.

¹¹⁹ Marvell followed Waller closely – Smith has pointed out that the two poems are even roughly the same length, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), p. 190.

¹²⁰ Gallagher, 'The Advice-to-a-Painter Poems as Historical Writing' (2011), p. 90.

Marvell placed the favourite's death *after* Opdam's, correcting Waller's narrative imposition and drawing his version of events closer to that found in news reports. In L'Estrange's *Narrative* and the *Second Advice*, Falmouth is relegated to a list of casualties outside the main chronology of the battle: while Waller had given him agency in death, Marvell's poem emulates newswriting in ensuring that he is a passive and inconsequential victim with no notable achievement save his own gory demise. The fact that the battle yet goes on is clear in Marvell's poem. After the Dutch admiral was slain:

The Duke himself, though Penn did not forget,
Yet was not out of Danger's random set.
Falmouth was there, I know not how to act,
Some say 'twas to grow Duke too, by contract.
An untaught bullet in its wanton scope
Quashes him all to pieces and his hope.
Such as his rise, so was his fall, unpraised;
A chance-shot sooner took than chance him rais'd:
His shattered head the fearless Duke distains,
And gave the last-first proof that he had brains (179-88).

Falmouth's death is removed from a Wallerian chronology which prioritised dramatic power. That had given the York–Opdam episode a sentimental coherence, assuming that the battle could be understood according to the logic of fiction and, as an extension of this dramatic organisation, that York's command was similarly rational. Marvell rejected this. As his lines on 'the noise, the smoke, the sweat, the fire, the blood' (207) made clear, naval combat in the *Second Advice* is chaotic and resists easy interpretation. Indeed, Marvell's warfare is potentially even more pessimistic than Wither's in that it is discriminating, but only its lack of justice: 'Death picks the valiant out, the cow'rds survive' (220).

These features are forced into their extremes under the command of York and his hapless gentleman officers. Falmouth is obliterated out of nowhere by 'an untaught bullet in its wanton scope',

‘a chance-shot’, another victim of ‘Danger’s random set’ which does not follow Waller’s smooth rules of narrative. As noted above, Falmouth was only distinguished in reportage through his death: ‘I know not how [he was] to act’, Marvell wonders ironically about his ‘unpraised’ place in the battle’s narrative. Inverting the privileged and influential position this death was afforded within Waller’s poem, Marvell’s *parodia* ensured that Falmouth’s demise is insignificant to both York and the narrative of the battle. The Duke ‘distains’ the grisly results, rather than finding them the object of mediation they had been in Waller’s *Instructions*, ‘His mind at once reflecting on their youth, | Their worth, their love, their valor, and their truth’ (163-4). Although Marvell does emulate Waller’s recourse to the language of optical ‘proof’, Falmouth’s death becomes an event to which no-one outside of the poet and the reader seems to be paying attention. While York looks the other way, the poet takes over his role in meditating on the remains, but they become objects of only incidental significance, ‘the last-first proof that he had brains’ (188). Waller’s certainties, emphasised by York’s mediation on supposed constants, ‘their worth, their love, their valor, and their truth’, are broken apart and rendered disordered and incoherent.

Instead Falmouth becomes just one of the many dead, relocated into a section which follows the opening combat narrative, and which emulates the style of news reports which conventionally followed the primary story with short, separate episodes, accounts of damage done and a list of dead and maimed participants. Furthermore, this process extends beyond the favourite to encompass the other officers, good and bad, who went excluded and unnamed in Waller’s highly linear narrative.¹²¹ Marvell emphasised that ‘every captain on the quarter-deck commands’ (209) and reinstated the named network of officers, bringing his own narrative of the battle closer to that found in print news. A breakdown of Lowestoft in L’Estrange’s pamphlet, Waller’s panegyric and Marvell’s satire makes this clear:

<u>Second Narrative (L’Estrange)</u>		<u>Instructions (Waller)</u>		<u>Second Advice (Marvell)</u>
3-7	Preliminaries	91-122	Preliminaries	112-154 Preliminaries
7-10	Opening combat	123-198	Falmouth and Opdam	155-170 Admirals’ duel
10	Death of Lawson	199-258	York routs the Dutch	171-178 Death of Lawson

¹²¹ *Second Narrative* (1665), p. 16.

10-11	Admirals' duel	259-286	York's triumph	179-188	Death of Falmouth
11-12	Dutch rout			189-196	Berkeley's conduct
12-13	Other notable events			197-214	Smith vs. <i>Urania</i>
14-16	Dutch losses			215-216	Death of Marlborough
16	English losses			217-226	Lament for the dead
	incl. Falmouth			227-232	Actions of others
				233-244	Botched pursuit

Waller clearly sheds a considerable volume of material relating to the battle. Marvell reinjected this content according to a journalistic logic which placed it after the main combat between York and Opdam, as L'Estrange had done. This reasserted the centrifugal energy, characteristic of newswriting, which Waller had effaced in his attempt to force all events into York's orbit. Marvell even adopts the rhetoric of a newswriter during this process:

Rupert did others and himself excel:

Holmes, Tyddiman, Myngs; bravely Samsun fell.

What others did let none omitted blame:

I shall record whos'e'er brings in his name.

But unless after stories disagree

Nine only came to fight, the rest to see (227-32).

I described earlier how Marvell speaks here from within consensus assumptions that reportage should credit a collective of heroes. However, he does not just voice the shared expectations of the newsreading public, but also adopts an editorial voice, reminiscent of L'Estrange, which promises to personally compare accounts, to check if 'stories disagree', and to produce an authoritative narrative. Like L'Estrange he reminds his readers of fundamental uncertainties and that this work is an ongoing process, one where they may expect a later, revised edition. Ultimately, his statement illustratively blurs the two

writing environments which inform the poem. On the one hand, it promises to revise the *Second Advice* iteratively, within the malleable textual networks of manuscript circulation through which it initially moved.¹²² At the same time, the promise echoes periodical newsprint and gestures towards a more accurate edition in the future. In pointing to their shared mutability, the practices of writing newsprint and manuscript satire merge together. Instead of rejecting the conventions of reportage as insufficiently dramatic (as Waller had done), or as too obfuscating (as Wither had), Marvell thus builds the form, responsibilities and conventions of newswriting into the *Second Advice* on its own terms.

ii. Writing the death of Opdam

This programme of correction can also be identified in Marvell's *parodia* of the death of the Dutch Admiral Opdam. On this occasion Marvell followed Waller's narrative closely, and consequently reproduced the sensational interpretation – only implied in L'Estrange's pamphlet *Narrative* – that Opdam had died in the *Eendracht*'s explosion. This cause of death did not feature in L'Estrange's newsbooks, manuscript newsletters or Dolben's commemorative sermon.¹²³ It was, however, the reading promulgated by the first wave of panegyrists: out of all the English writers who celebrated the battle, only William Smith added the detail that the admiral was injured beforehand, and he was probably writing *after* Waller.¹²⁴ Despite the high culture aspirations of Waller's *Instructions*, his highly classicised representation of Opdam's death grew out of the conventions established by this popular print environment. Marvell's close *parodia* undid Waller's attempt to efface these origins, and emphasised that, despite superficial classicisms, his writing owed more to the conventions of opportunistic print panegyric than Homeric epic.

¹²² The protean way in which the text of Marvell's 'To his Coy Mistress' changed between manuscript copies is a good example of the instability characteristic of manuscript circulation: it appears in a miscellany from around this period 'reworked [...] to suit the coarser tastes of the Restoration court', Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 189; for the manuscript in question, see Bodleian Library, MS Don.b.8, fols. 283-4.

¹²³ Dolben, *A Sermon* (1665); *Intelligencer*, p. 438 (12 June 1665).

¹²⁴ *Ingratitude Revengd* (London: 1665), p. 5. For the dating of Smith's poem, see fn. 110 above.



Figure 1. A comparison of the Battle of Lowestoft (left) and the Four Days' Battle (right) in a Dutch news engraving, The National Archives, MPF 1/232.

Those early verse accounts were typified by a farcical and kinetic sense of humour which delighted in imagining the movements of the exploded admiral's body:

Not long ere *Opdams* head does upward fly

His dull Dutch fancy never soar'd so high:

Yet his trunk keeps the chair, so kind is fate,

To let him die as well as live in State;

Then down he plunges with Ship, men and all,

And visits Pluto like a Generall.¹²⁵

The idea of Opdam (dead or alive) being catapulted into the air was an enduring one, influential on both sides of the North Sea. In an illustrated Dutch news-sheet commemorating the war in 1667, an engraving of an exploding ship, complete with human figures catapulted skyward, represents Lowestoft (Figure 1). Such images were not used for the other battles and the particularity of this moment is confirmed by the caption's description of how 'sprongh het Admiraels Schip met Obdam en al die daer op waren [...] door ongeluck uan sijn eygen kruit aengesteken in de lucht' [unluckily the Admiral's Ship with Opdam and all who were on-board [...] sprung into the air after the lighting of its own gunpowder].¹²⁶ This

¹²⁵ *Bellum Belgicum Secundum* (Cambridge: 1665), p. 8.

¹²⁶ *Eeuwige Gedenck-Tekenen, Van de Engelse en Nederlantse Oorlogh en Vreede* [Eternal thanks-images, of the English and Dutch war and peace] (Amsterdam: Marcus Doornick, 1667).

motif recurred in English popular poetry for the rest of the war and into the next one, even appearing in the notorious satire *The History of the Insipids* (1674), whose poet recalled ‘when Opdam blew up in the air’.¹²⁷ Elsewhere, Dutch newsletter writers marked the anniversary of when ‘le Sr O’ Obdam voila en l’air’¹²⁸ and Dutch poetry attempted to accommodate the convention into respectful memorials:

Hij vloogh uyt nood geperst na ‘t woonhuys van de Son

Vermidts hy hier op aerde soo end niet leven kon,

En reedt ten hemel in op Mavors helden-wagen.¹²⁹

[He flew from necessity to the dwelling of the Sun

Because he could not live so cramped here on earth,

And rode to heaven on Mars’s heroic chariot.]

To recognise that this conceit was widespread in both English and Dutch commemorative verse is not to dilute the influence of popular poetry on Waller. It is the kinetic sense of humour which precisely distinguished the event in English writing and which reveals Waller’s ultimate indebtedness to this convention. It was perfectly possible to classicise this moment without falling into comedy, as many Dutch poets did.

Instead, Waller sought to render the English portrayal decorous through a classical gloss which could not help but retain a kernel of that kinetic humour:

His flight tow’rds Heav’n th’ aspiring Belgian took,

But fell, like Phaethon, with thunder strook;

From vaster hopes than this he seemed to fall,

That durst attempt the British admiral (191-4).

¹²⁷ POAS, (69).

¹²⁸ SP 101/49 fol. 124.

¹²⁹ *Op de Helden-doodt van de Heer Opdam* [On the heroic death of Lord Opdam], in *Van Varen*, II, p. 119; for other poems which make use of the explosive death conceit, see *Op het Graf van Eere* [On the grave of honour] and *Op de Dood* [On the death] in the same, pp. 120, 118.

Waller's verse veers between a number of incompatible tones, his classicisms unable wholly to escape the conventions of popular humour.¹³⁰ Indeed, the yoking together of popular motif with epic pretensions contributed to the strain often observed in Waller's poem, that 'the poet's wit and grace have a difficult job of controlling the intrinsic absurdity of much of his material'.¹³¹ Waller's aptitude with meter only compounds this issue and undermines the stateliness of his language. The uninterrupted first line, with its three contractions, gives a strong sense of Opdam's explosive upward trajectory as it breezes past its own words. As he reaches the summit the pauses of the following line evoke the admiral at the peak of his ascent – but this is realised in almost comical terms, the Dutchman pinned there for an unrealistically long moment, 'with thunder strook'. The next two lines send him hurtling back down to the sea. This finely realised kinetic description beats popular verse at its own game, but the joke is ultimately on Waller: a comic disparity opens between the supposed decorousness of his poetry, and its farcical execution. This presented an open goal to a satirist like Marvell, who honed in on this passage as an opportunity for another local *parodia* of Waller's style.

By placing this passage firmly back within the context of the darkly comic popular print Waller had tried to extricate it from, Marvell demonstrated that he was more indebted to that than to Homer or Claudian. The Dutch admiral:

Makes to the Duke, and threatens him from far

To nail himself to's board like a petar:

But in the vain attempt takes fire too soon,

And flies up in his ship to catch the moon.

Monsieurs like rockets mount aloft, and crack

In thousand sparks, then dancingly fall back (165-70).

¹³⁰ Waller's description of Opdam as the 'thunder stook' Phaethon may recall the description of the defeated Alaric in Claudian's *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of Honorius*, who 'gasped out in these my waters the thunderbolt with his last breath', *Claudian: Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, trans. by Michael Dewar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 16. As noted earlier, Claudian was an important model for Waller's 'political panegyric-epic', Moul, 'Claudian's Political Poetry' (2019), p. 2.

¹³¹ Chernaik, *Poetry of Limitation* (1968), p. 190.

Identifying the underlying kinetic humour of Waller's passage, Marvell returns it to the fore and reunited tone of language with meter: contractions like 'to's board like a petar' become an idiomatic alternative to Waller's contractions, dictated by his stately rhythm.¹³² Marvell establishes his own firm sense of the admiral's movement in these lines: Opdam is similarly suspended mid-flight, pinned between a comma and the line end with a 'crack', before detonating like a firework on the ensuing line and then being released to 'dancingly fall back'. This phrase metrically plays out Opdam's descent, down to his hard impact 'back' against the water. Waller's divine lightning is reimagined as the static detonation of a firework, an insistently vernacular counterpart to his forced similes of Icarus and Phaethon, and one which associates the moment with celebrations of victory: setting off rockets was a common feature of thanksgiving commemorations in England and the Netherlands.¹³³ Marvell therefore combined a keen technical *parodia* of Waller's verse with an exemplary execution of the conventions of popular print, and tied Opdam's death to the street cultures whose celebrations provided consent for narratives of victory.¹³⁴

Marvell reinforced the distinction between Waller's overwrought classicisms and his own poetry by also replacing the Phaeton imagery with the conspicuously demotic motif of the ship's flight to the moon. Marvell's description of Opdam's ascent closely emulates two vernacular texts he knew well, Cyrano de Bergerac's *The Government of the World in the Moon* (1659) and Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (1657).¹³⁵ Nigel Smith has noted Marvell's indebtedness to these 'texts of fantasy or irreverence' for his prose writing, but their influence here and elsewhere in the satires is not registered

¹³² There is some variety in the contractions between print and manuscript copies. While they are less prevalent in the underground print editions, early manuscript copies often feature additional contractions, such as 'T'nyale', Bodleian Library, MS Don.b.8, fol. 241.

¹³³ One finds Pepys and his family playing with fireworks, and their prevalence could sometimes cause accidents, *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 152 (6 June 1666); SP 101/49 fol. 32.

¹³⁴ Marvell also appeals to popular street culture in the *Last Instructions*, where Skimmington rides are evoked to describe the satirist's purpose to 'represent | In quick effigy' (391-2). For the use of such popular cultures in satire, see James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 60. Chapter Two offers a more detailed examination of the presence of fireworks and street celebrations in Marvell's subsequent 'Painter' poems.

¹³⁵ Cyrano de Bergerac, *Selenarhia or the Government of the World In the Moon*, trans. by Thomas StSerfe (London: J. Cottrel, 1659); Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1657).

in his edition of Marvell's poems.¹³⁶ For example, like Opdam who 'flies up in his ship to catch the moon', Bergerac's narrator attempts to reach the moon in a vessel with 'fireworks [...] fastned to it'.¹³⁷ His ascent is as explosive as Opdam's: 'I was snatcht up in a Cloud [...] as soon as the flame had devoured one rank of crackers, [...] another rank began to play the Devil', and the vessel falls back to earth as the adventurer himself rockets onwards.¹³⁸ Marvell gestures at his French-language model with the fact that it is 'Monsieurs', rather than Heeren, who 'mount aloft'. For Smith, these books functioned as 'self-enclosed ludic zones, quite apart from the world of political engagement, and equivalent to those more celebrated places of disengaged play' realised in Marvell's lyrics.¹³⁹ However, while imaginative recreation is important here, Marvell's use of 'that Famous Wit and Cavaleer' Bergerac (the book was published in a cheap English edition during the 1650s) is not 'self-enclosed' but is built into his ongoing criticism of the failure of Waller's verse to accommodate factual reality.¹⁴⁰ Marvell demonstrates that a better version of Opdam's death can be written which uses playful vernacular literature to construct the metaphor, rather than tonally incoherent and narratively distortive mythologies. Marvell's exploded admiral is skilfully embedded in the popular consensus and evokes a culture of 'Cavaleer' humour, street celebration and exuberant, contemporary print encoded as royalist.

¹³⁶ Nigel Smith, 'Transvernacular Poetry and Government: Andrew Marvell in Early Modern Europe', *Marvell Studies*, 2(1).6 (2017), 1–26 (p. 15). There are numerous examples of these texts percolating into Marvell's satires. For example, compare StSerfe's figurative use of the French import 'caracole' with Marvell's in the *Second Advice* (*Selenarhia* (1659), p. B7r; *Second Advice* l.60), a term often misread by the poem's printers and unusual enough to be used by Annabel Patterson to argue for Marvell's authorship, 'Lady State's First Two Sittings: Marvell's Satiric Canon', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 40.3 (2000), 395–411 (p. 400). StSerfe and Marvell both use the term to denote farcical movement, while in the original Bergerac had used 'corvée', to indicate labour, Cyrano de Bergerac, *Histoire Comique Contenant les Estats & Empires de la Lune* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1657), p. 14. Another example of extended correlation with Marvell's 'Painter' poems occurs with the arrival of Bergerac's protagonist to the Arcadian paradise of the Moon. Looking into a 'Crystal stream' he 'found my youth restored, my face changed to a vermillion hue; and my natural heat by little and little, to mingle with my Radical humidity; in fine, I retired into fourteen yeers of age', Bergerac, *Selenarhia* (1659), p. D1r. The Dutch admiral Michael de Ruyter discovered a similar effulgent youthfulness in the *Last Instructions* as, during his progress along the Arcadian paradise of the Thames, 'the sudden change, and such a tempting sight | Swells his old veins with fresh blood, fresh delight. | Like am'rous victors he begins to shave, | And his new face looks in the English wave' (531-4). Acknowledging a vernacular farce as a source for this richly erotic pastoral sequence – and one which has long fascinated critics – offers a tantalising new perspective on Marvell's poetics.

¹³⁷ Bergerac, *Selenarhia* (1659), p. C5r.

¹³⁸ 'The Salt-petre taking fire, did by increasing, avoid the danger: the consuming of the matter was the reason that the Artifice failed; and when I thought of nothing but leaving my head upon the top of some mountain, I found (without stirring my self at all) my Elevation continued; and my Engine taking a farewell of me, I perceived it to fall towards the Earth again', Bergerac, *Selenarhia* (1659), p. C5r.

¹³⁹ Smith, 'Transvernacular Poetry' (2017), p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ Bergerac, *Selenarhia* (1659), p. A3r.

It celebrates and performs the news culture which the transcendental classicism of Waller's verse tried to efface.

iii. The journalistic rhetoric of vision

In the *Second Advice* Marvell was willing to comply with popularly agreed-upon news narratives, and found them a space for poetic play. By deftly reaching in his *parodia* of Waller's *Instructions* at the conventions of popular panegyric, Marvell revealed the close relationship which existed between Waller's superficially epic verse and that writing. While Marvell did not follow print news or panegyric blindly, neither did he disavow them: they could still be expected to do their jobs competently, and he did not dispute the consensus narrative of the initial combat. The third event that Castlemaine was forced to address in his history came after the battle. The English failure to follow up on the Dutch retreat had no antecedent in print news: L'Estrange had simply reported that after Opdam's death the Dutch had 'presently fled, we following them, and taking and burning their Ships until night'.¹⁴¹ By the time Castlemaine was writing, this story had been rejected. The failure of the English to prosecute their advantage in the *Second Advice* is Marvell's greatest departure from established news and it helped popularise the narrative of this debacle. However, if Marvell moved beyond accepted news narratives, these events are nevertheless still described through the deployment of a rhetoric already seen throughout this chapter, and which was a lynchpin of contemporary reporting: that of optical proof. In the debacles which conclude the poem Marvell's engagement with the rhetoric and techniques of newswriting dovetails with his wider poetic practice, allowing a fascination with the means of understanding opened up (and closed off) by vision to be deployed to satiric effect. This was an approach which was to continue across the 'Painter' poems, evolving, as shall be seen, with Marvell's changing attitude to news.

¹⁴¹ *Second Narrative* (1665), p. 11.

We have seen the prevalence of optical proof in news rhetoric. Sight in news is certainty, or as close as one could come, particularly if reinforced by the honorifics of rank and title. There was an assumption that once something was seen, it was apprehended and understood, with little room for the idea that perceptions could be misinterpreted or imperfectly preserved.¹⁴² This rather naïve attitude is no historical curiosity: studies of modern reportage highlight a similar over-reliance on simplified rhetorics of witnessing.¹⁴³ Justifying state intelligence operations in the Netherlands to the parliamentary inquiry after the war Joseph Williamson, who also ran the *Gazette*, claimed that ‘much of this [information was] from eye-witnesses employed on the place’.¹⁴⁴ Their observations were considered adequate, with – as now – only limited recognition of the dangers of subjective interpretation. Williamson’s remark evokes a fantasy of perfect reportage where events could be trapped and stabilised between the intersecting observations of multiple perspectives: in fact, these agents were unreliable and got most of their information second-hand, as he, if not his audience, knew.¹⁴⁵

The same conventions dominated topical poetry, though this could on occasion account for the distorting powers of perception: one might recall ‘Opdam blown up in both Navies eye’, caught between the two intersecting fields of vision and negating any partisan interpretation by this mutually Anglo-Dutch act of looking.¹⁴⁶ Developments in seventeenth-century optics had popularised the theory that images were impressed upon the eye in the manner of a camera obscura before being transmitted mysteriously to the consciousness, so that the image of the exploding flagship can be ‘imprinted’ (a contemporary term) ‘in the [...] eye’ of the watching navies.¹⁴⁷ *The Dutch Armado a meer bravado* (1665) was hardly the most elegant of broadsides, yet even it was informed by the mechanics of looking in some detail: one should not be surprised to find a more complex interrogation of the senses in Marvell’s satires, especially given how integral optical play was to his lyric poetry. Indeed, Marvell is

¹⁴² Randall, *Military News* (2008), p. 61.

¹⁴³ Barbie Zelizer, “‘Eyewitnessing’ as a Journalistic Keyword”, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 24.5 (2007), 408–28 (p. 412).

¹⁴⁴ Reproduced in Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licenced News, 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 88.

¹⁴⁵ Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 125.

¹⁴⁶ *The Dutch Armado a meer Bravado* (London: 1665).

¹⁴⁷ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 387-91.

notable even among seventeenth-century poets for his frequent use of imperatives inviting the reader into acts of looking.¹⁴⁸ This often toys with the idea that meaning and form may exist in the perspective of the eye of the beholder rather than in the object itself, and that the act of looking develops ‘the mutually constitutive nature of vision and cognition’ through the movement from ‘sight to vision, from perception to recognition’.¹⁴⁹ Object and subject are both therefore contingent on positioning and ‘the relativity of human perception’.¹⁵⁰ Only by exploring the experience of looking and the ‘interpreting consciousness’ of perspective can the observer approach truth.¹⁵¹ While looking is an active process which, when combined with careful meditation, can lead to knowledge, it is not itself a guarantor of understanding.

Vision had also already provided Waller with a metaphor for his artificial construction of truth. Like newswriting, the ‘Painter’ conceit foregrounds the optical transmission of information. Often working through ekphrastic description – what Marvell in the *Last Instructions* calls ‘poetic picture, painted poetry’ (944) – it imagines that painting and poetry are compatible and mutually reinforcing forms. While Marvell’s ‘sophisticated application of the doctrine of *ut picture poesis*’ explores the consequences of this interplay, the same cannot be said of Waller, who was less interested in how a single painting or perspective could encode meaningful information.¹⁵² When he seeks to justify his departure from the ‘Painter’ conceit into the territory of epic, he instead defines epic panegyric as a means, through multiple and roaming perspectives, to bring to view underlying structures which

¹⁴⁸ Donald Friedman, ‘Sight and Insight in Marvell’s Poetry’, in *Approaches to Marvell: The York Tercentenary Lectures*, ed. by C. A. Patrides (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 306–30 (p. 313). See also Rosaline Colie, *My Ecchoing Song: Andrew Marvell’s Poetry of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 188–216.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Schoenfeldt, ‘Marvell and the Designs of Art’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and Derek Hirst (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 87–101 (p. 88); Friedman, ‘Sight and Insight’ (1978), p. 316.

¹⁵⁰ Colie, *My Ecchoing Song* (1970), p. 216.

¹⁵¹ Friedman, ‘Sight and Insight’ (1978), p. 328.

¹⁵² Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (1999), p. 78. For Marvell’s subtle use of various seventeenth-century pictorial forms, see Earl Miner, ‘The “Poetic Picture, Painted Poetry” of *The Last Instructions to a Painter*’, *Modern Philology*, 63.4 (1966), 288–94 (pp. 289–90).

painting, with its fidelity to one accurate visual representation, fails to do.¹⁵³ Waller argues that warfare is too seemingly chaotic for mortal sight alone to interpret:

The task in battle does the Muses fit.

They, in the dark confusion of a fight,

Discover all, instruct us how to write,

And light and honour to brave actions yield,

Hid in the smoke and tumult of the field (290-4).

Acknowledging that battle reportage was contingent on a limited system of human witnessing insufficient for his poem, Waller justifies his departure from it by arguing that his narrative is constituted from a transcendental optics. This reaches beyond eye-witnesses into ‘the dark confusion of the fight’ as the ‘Muses’ impose selection and order on rediscovered information. Only then, after the event has been regularised into a classicised model of ‘brave actions’, can it be understood as ‘light’ penetrates ‘the smoke and tumult’. To defend his factual distortions Waller redefines actual observation as misleading, while his rearrangement of news reports is justified as organising the encounter into a set of more perfect perspectives, at once artificial yet true to an underlying heroic logic.

As previously shown, Marvell’s narrative lacks Waller’s firm cause and effect: characters enter and are maimed quickly without cause or consequence. York ‘distains’ the broken body of Falmouth, refusing to validate his death with the observation of a man of honour and which was performed by Waller’s Duke ‘with his own eyes’. Falmouth’s body goes deliberately unseen and removed from Waller’s project of bringing ‘brave actions’ to ‘light’, while Sandwich is ‘mistook’ by the Gazetteer and thus the wider narrative. These are not a one-off occurrences, for throughout the *Second Advice* multiple iterations of wilful ignorance are imagined through blindness and the closing of eyes. However,

¹⁵³ In this case he departed from Busenello, who had ostensibly argued that the painter always exceeded the poet: ‘But let my pen unto thy pencil bow, | To thy bright colours inke is dark and low’, Higgons, *Prospective of the Naval Triumph* (1658), p. D8r.

unlike the Falmouth and Sandwich episodes, where a refusal to look demeans the object, these later cases satirise the viewing subject.

This optical play focuses on York. After the battle had been won the Duke retired to bed, leaving the pursuit of the routing Dutch to Henry Brouncker. Brouncker pretended authority to order the fleet to halt the pursuit, allowing the Dutch to escape. Marvell's version of the fiasco leans heavily on the faulty execution of vision:

With a sweet sleep the Duke began to drown,
And with soft diadem his temples crown.
But first he orders all beside to watch;
That they the foe while he a nap might catch.
But Brouncker, by a secreter instinct
Slept not: nor needs it; he all day had winked (235-40).

When his attention is most needed York closes his eyes in an overwhelming sleep in which he will 'drown', and swaps the business of warfare for a fantasy of achievement: he mistakes the drowsy sensations of encroaching sleep for a triumphal coronation that 'with soft diadem his temples crown'. Mistaken feeling replaces reality. Contemporaries understood the sleeping imagination to be stimulated with false sense impressions which arose from within – 'dreams are caused by the distempers of some of the inward parts of the body' – and these were then experienced in the same manner as outside stimuli.¹⁵⁴ York's observation of external events is replaced with false internal impressions of his own heroism, which confuse the tactile experience of laziness for triumph. Hobbes claimed such dreams, and the failure to distinguish them from reality, was the basis of delusion and superstition.¹⁵⁵ In averting his vision and in his delusions which replace it Marvell ensures that York, whose royal sight had authorised Waller's account and whose experience had been central to L'Estrange's revised pamphlet, is wholly compromised. Although he appoints a vicarious 'watch' and delegates the duties of sight to

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by J.C.A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

an intermediary, his choice lacks perception: Brouncker has proven unable to keep his own eyes open, which have ‘winked’ all day like the drooping lids of Lely’s sensuous court portraits.¹⁵⁶ He is a fit stand-in only in that, like the dreaming Admiral, his own fantasies overrule observed evidence. By waving his sword about he ‘makes the misled compass wheel’ (242) and the Dutch escape unharmed. Once more false impressions born of other forces, this time magnetic, distort perceptions and information. This was an artful caveat. Given that to accuse an individual of lying was to question their social worth, it was more expedient to claim they were imperceptive.¹⁵⁷ In one sense this was a variant of the longstanding corrupt council convention which Marvell also freely deployed, the only distinction being that the corrupt members were the perceptive organs of the body.

After such a debacle ‘’T were time that thou and I too should repose’ (246), the poet tells the painter. Perhaps, Marvell suggests, it is preferable to emulate these false heroes in sleep and live in fantasy, rather than observe the sad truth of unimpeachable visual evidence. Better to avoid witnessing the event entirely, than to see and understand it. But this is not what the poet or the painter do. For Marvell the only option is to keep observing and recording: to ‘paint but this one scene more’ (251). As the focus shifts to Sandwich’s attempt to capture the Dutch East Indies fleet, York’s faults transfer over to the new Admiral, and a commander’s incompetent conduct is again characterised by the closure of eyes. As the Dutch convoy passes by, Sandwich:

To ’scape his sight and fight, shut both his eyes;

And for more state and sureness, Cuttance true

The left eye closes, the right Montagu (264-6).

Sandwich flees from the material ‘fight’ by cutting off vision, and once again an imagined tactile triumphalism replaces an understanding of events derived from ‘sight’. His eyes are ceremonially closed ‘for more state and sureness’ by the Admiral and his captain in a balanced courtliness which is compounded by Arlington’s agent Thomas Clifford, who offered ‘t’apply to both his seal’ (267):

¹⁵⁶ There is a 1661 Lely portrait of Brouncker, G.S. McIntyre, ‘Henry Brouncker’, in *ODNB* (2011).

¹⁵⁷ Shapin, *Social History of Truth* (1994), pp. 9-13, 66-9.

communal blindness comes state-sanctioned. At the conclusion of his expedition ‘a good pilot and a fav’ring wind | Bring Sandwich back, and once again did blind’ (293-4). Faulty transmission of information, the underlying material of news, is repeatedly the means through which Marvell demonstrates the incompetence of these commanders. They deliberately cut themselves off from intelligence – both intelligence as information and as cognitive ability – by closing their eyes and withdrawing from systems of optical proof. Within the rhetoric of reportage to not witness something is to render it uncertain and unknown, and therefore, in the *Second Advice*, vulnerable to replacement by heroic fantasies rooted in delusional tactile sense impressions. As the war moved into 1666, problems with the relationship between intelligence and reality were attributable to the refusal of incompetent individuals to acknowledge and assess credible information conveyed through ocular proof. Cowardice unbefitting their stations sees the courtiers and Sandwich surrender to knowing ignorance, while Waller ignores the evidence presented in news reports. For Marvell, the problem is localised within their refusal to exercise their individual perceptions, rather than in the ability of optics to convey sufficient intelligence for interpretation.

IV. Conclusion

Early in the Second Anglo-Dutch War Marvell’s fidelity to the conventions of Restoration newswriting was strong. Despite its scandalous attacks on some courtiers the *Second Advice* remained a poem of consensus, trusting that correction from within, rather than destructive attacks from without, would be a fit way to bring incompetence and the arbitrary distortion of events to light. Marvell aligned his position with the moderate consensus of newsreaders who wanted stories of heroism, but who also recognised that the English fleet was made up of an extended network of laudable individuals. It was Waller’s panegyric which was too radical, and which abandoned public expectations of how to write about newsworthy events. The *Instructions to a Painter* overemphasised the existing practice of heroising individuals, concentrating those energies exclusively in York and allowing them to warp the

story of the battle to a degree which went beyond the flexible limits of what was usually tolerated. In highlighting Waller's deviation from expected practice, Marvell built the structure, conventions and assumptions of early modern newswriting into the *Second Advice*. These are as important as his literary parody of Waller's ekphrastic 'Painter' conceit: it is here that Marvell differentiates his careful reportage from Waller's classicising grandiloquence, and it is through the familiar standards of news that he lays claim to a greater credibility. Appreciating the importance of newswriting in Marvell's satire inverts the usual interpretation of his relationship with Waller and the Restoration mainstream: it is now Waller who refuses to conform. As Waller published no further panegyrics on the war, Marvell's subsequent satires addressed the emergence of issues which went beyond grievances with the command of the fleet. Would he continue to argue from within a newsreading consensus? And how far would he honour the heroic assumptions behind his newswriterly promise to 'let none [be] omitted'? As will be demonstrated in the next two chapters, the premises which underlay the approach to newswriting in Marvell's first 'Painter' satire were brought into question by the reportage of the following years, while his criticism of Waller's panegyric would evolve to address new and more significant forms of misrepresentation.

CHAPTER TWO

‘Who with false news prevented the Gazette’? Reading and writing about the experience of news after the Four Days’ Battle

In October 1665, five months after the Battle of Lowestoft, the English Secretariat assumed control of news publishing. Roger L’Estrange was compelled to sell his license to Henry Bennet, Baron Arlington, and the latter’s office began to publish the *Oxford Gazette*, so-called because of parliament’s removal to Oxford on account of the plague. When government returned to London so did the newspaper, under the new title of the *London Gazette*. It encountered some initial competition: from L’Estrange, who briefly attempted to continue publishing news with the *Publick Intelligence*; and from its initial editor, the veteran newswriter Henry Muddiman, who published the *Current Intelligence* from Secretary Morice’s office. Though the *Gazette*’s printer Thomas Newcomb was burnt out by the Fire of London, it only missed one issue. However, the *Current Intelligence* disappeared, and Muddiman focused instead on his profitable scribal newsletter service.¹ Until the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1679, the state-run *Gazette* was therefore the only English print news periodical available.

This chapter examines how the intertextual literary character of Restoration newswriting identified in the previous chapter developed once newswriting was subject to state centralisation. To what extent did state newswriters continue to produce imaginative strategies to manage (or efface) the difference between the intelligence reports they turned into news, and the expectations of the newsreading public? What impact did newswriting’s even closer involvement with the needs and

¹ For a rather partial account of the Secretariat’s acquisition of news publishing, see J.G. Muddiman, *The King’s Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II* (London: Lane, 1923), pp. 172-94. The best version remains Peter Fraser’s, who noted that Joseph Williamson’s manuscript newsletter scriptorium met its own cost, functioning not as a means to self-enrichment but the establishment of reciprocal intelligence flows, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licenced News, 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 48-50. For the scriptoria of Williamson and Muddiman, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 130-1.

resources of government have on the creativity of these writers? These became critical questions over the course of 1666, as a series of errors in information management by the English Secretariat before and after the Four Days' Battle ensured that intelligence was a prominent theme in the year's satires. It should therefore be asked too how far these satires recognised a connection between the Secretariat's intelligence operation and their news publications. In addition to exploring how satirists continued to comment critically on news, this chapter interrogates the dynamic intertextual transfer of rhetoric and conventions between newswriting, panegyric and satire, and shows that satirists, increasingly conscious of news as a pressing issue, used these conventions in new, more pointed ways.

To answer these questions, this chapter moves between examples of state newswriting, panegyric and satire, identifying how writers in each genre responded imaginatively to the problems they encountered while writing about news and intelligence during 1666. However, before these literary issues can be addressed, the domestic and international context which state newswriters sought to participate in must be described in a little more detail. Doing so will enhance our understanding of the quandaries state newswriters faced, the factors informing the decisions they made, and the rhetorical tactics they deployed.

I. The state centralisation of newswriting: its context and its strategic objectives

The *London Gazette* was a serious endeavour, and was intended to be taken seriously. Indeed, to those greeting its arrival in late 1665 it would have come as something of a surprise that this 'meagre and impersonal' newspaper would be so frequently disparaged by historians.² Unlike Roger L'Estrange's histrionic editorials it had, as Samuel Pepys observed, 'no folly in it', and the 'railing style' of the fallible individual was replaced by the dispassionate and authoritative voice of the state.³ This was replicated in its *mise-en-page*. Out went the pamphlet newsbook format, to be replaced with a two-sided

² James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 98.

³ *Pepys's Diary*, VI, p. 305 (22 November 1665).

broadsheet with a pair of columns, reminiscent of continental models such as Abraham Casteleyn's *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*.⁴ As George Downing noted to Joseph Williamson, Arlington's powerful undersecretary, this made it much easier to carry around and post.⁵ Self-consciously based on European models, more than its forebears the *London Gazette* was designed to be a recognisable part of the highly developed European news networks of the 1660s.⁶ This ambition is clear even in the geographical specificity of its title: previous English newsbooks (like L'Estrange's *Newes*) had not followed this European convention. By late 1666 a direct French translation, the *Gazette de Londres*, was also published from London.⁷ The *Gazette*'s new rhetorical and material properties were part of a strategic attempt to rationalise and order English news into a form prestigious enough for the restored monarchy, and able to credibly disseminate its narratives in a domestic and European context.

I emphasise the *Gazette*'s radically international outlook because this remains a developing view. Twentieth-century critics considered it indicative of the censorial nature of Restoration newsprint that the *Gazette* paid little attention to domestic news and judged that, 'concentrating [...] on foreign news, it had little or no popular appeal'.⁸ In fact, in reporting at length on European affairs the *Gazette* both catered to a favourite topic of seventeenth-century readers, and also further emphasised English prestige and stability. This international focus followed long-standing practice across Europe, evident

⁴ Casteleyn and Williamson had established an intelligence exchange which continued throughout the Second Anglo-Dutch War, despite the fact that Casteleyn was also licenced as printer for local government in Haarlem, and therefore in the service of both governments, Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 151–9 (p. 156). In the inquiry after the war, Williamson covered up their relationship, listing Casteleyn as 'Sir David' in his journal, but he continued to exchange intelligence with the Dutchman up to the Third Anglo-Dutch War, Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State* (1956), pp. 73, 102. Henry Muddiman took the *Gazette*'s emulation of Dutch newsprint even further when he left the *Gazette* to start the *Current Intelligence* from Secretary Morice's office. While the *Gazette* did not separate news from various countries in discrete sections under a geographic heading, the *Current Intelligence* did.

⁵ SP 29/137 fol. 133; SP29/144 fol. 73; SP 29/137 fol. 52; SP 29/138 fol. 77.

⁶ Carmen Espejo, 'European Communication Networks in the Early Modern Age', *Media History*, 17.2 (2011), 189–202; Paul Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473–1941*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga, Alistair Duke et al. (Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 145–50; Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications', *Media History*, 11.1–2 (2005), 21–36; Joad Raymond, 'Newspapers: A Nation or International Phenomenon?', *Media History*, 18.3–4 (2012), 249–57; *Not Dead Things: the Dissemination of Popular Print in England, Wales, Italy and the Low Countries, 1500–1820*, ed. by Joad Raymond, Roeland Harms, and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁷ Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State* (1956), p. 51.

⁸ Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper* (1986), p. 12.

in both the restrictive French press and, as Otto Lankhorst has shown, that of the supposedly more liberal Netherlands.⁹ Domestic news was expected to travel efficiently by oral and manuscript networks: it was through print that readers gained a greater understanding of the wider world. Indeed, the focus of the English print newsbooks which emerged during the Civil Wars on domestic turmoil created a false standard. To seventeenth-century readers, extensive domestic coverage was a sure sign of internal crisis and division, and hardly in keeping with the hopes of consensus in the early 1660s. The *Gazette*'s international focus was welcome (albeit propagandistic) evidence that its readers were living through a stable period, defined against foreign turmoil and the aggressive prosecution of wars abroad.

Print newswriting was therefore intended to be international in focus and reach. Integral to the transmission of information around Europe, newswriting was not simply a detached commentary on events but an active participant in their outcomes, shaping how they were interpreted and acted upon. The research of Jason Peacey, Alastair Bellamy and Tom Cogswell has demonstrated the enduring efforts of the English state and their neighbours to monitor and influence foreign newsreading publics throughout the seventeenth century, and during a number of hot and cold conflicts.¹⁰ In the Second Anglo-Dutch War this quality was exacerbated by the fact that naval battles often proved indecisive and particularly vulnerable to reinterpretation. Territory was rarely gained, while presence on the seas was no sure marker of success to those who judged victory by different conditions. As a result, quickly establishing a compelling and credible narrative of success was of paramount importance, and this need for narrative control encouraged the removal of the print news monopoly from L'Estrange to the state.¹¹

⁹ A combination of self-censorship and the limited efficiency of state censorship in the highly decentralised Netherlands prevented the Dutch authorities from exercising a strong, central control of publication, see Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1987), pp. 13-20; S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? State Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in *Too Mighty to Be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. by C.A. Tamse (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1987), pp. 63-86; Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands', (2001), p. 156; French discursive culture was far more limited, see Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 80-2.

¹⁰ Jason Peacey, "'My Friend the Gazettier': Diplomacy and News in Seventeenth-Century Europe", in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 420-42, (p. 426); Alastair Bellamy and Tom Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

¹¹ Reportage is a key motor behind Steven Pincus's accounts of the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars, which rely on how the public and parliamentarians interpreted changing narratives constructed around the conflicts, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); 'Republicanism, Absolutism and Universal Monarchy: English Popular

At home, the restored regime remained suspicious of what George Wither described as ‘Factions, threatening an intestine War, | if our Presumings unsuccessful be’, a fifth column of republicans and dissenters supposedly ready to agitate at any opportunity.¹² Clear narratives of state success would ensure they remained quiescent. Internationally, convincing foreign publics and governments of English victories was crucial in securing diplomatic and material support, eroding the morale of the enemy and maintaining England’s reputation. Writing to William Temple, then Resident in Brussels, Arlington described this strategic component of newswriting in:

the considerable Succours and Advantages they [the Dutch] have had by the conjunction with *France*; which hath not been remarkably visible in any thing more, than in getting their Narratives to be believed in all the Courts of Christendom, and helping them to make Bonfires for their Successes.¹³

News was an important component of an expansive war effort. In fact, according to Arlington, the Dutch alliance with the French was offering more benefits in the ‘Narrative’ conflict than in strict military terms. Panegyrics such as John Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) also recognised that the momentum generated by favourable reporting had tangible consequences: the Dutch ‘Fleet more mighty every day became | By late success, which they did falsly boast’ (671-2).¹⁴

The need for efficient publicity was particularly acute in the 1660s because the English were at a notable disadvantage: the Netherlands were *the* central hub of Europe’s expansive news networks, and Paul Arblaster has demonstrated that their printing establishments could gather and disseminate information at an imposing rate.¹⁵ Temple wrote to Arlington that ‘the care they haue taken in dispersing numerous pamphlets upon this last occasion has been extraordinary’.¹⁶ Later, he lamented the English failure to distribute news as quickly and evocatively: ‘I was unwilling to check the course [...] by

Sentiment during the Third Dutch War’, in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 241–66.

¹² George Wither, *Sigh for the Pitchers* (London: 1666), p. B1r. Thomas Osborne (the future Earl of Danby) wrote to Arlington after the Battle of Lowestoft that ‘I may guese by this part where I liue the Nation was neuer in more danger of ye Phanatique party then itt would haue but att this present if his Highnesse had recieved ye last defeat’, British Library, Egerton MS 3328, fol. 20.

¹³ *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 90; for details of this proposed pamphlet, see K.H.D. Haley, *An English Diplomat in the Low Countries: Sir William Temple and John de Witt, 1665-1672* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 96-9.

¹⁴ Quotations from the poetry of John Dryden are taken from *Dryden’s Works*.

¹⁵ Arblaster, ‘London, Antwerp and Amsterdam’ (2001), pp. 145-50.

¹⁶ SP 77/34 fol. 323^r.

publishing so late in the day a narrative of ours, w^{ch} looked so cold in comparison'.¹⁷ The established networks through which Dutch publishers could distribute news to a European audience were far more proficient than the limited English infrastructure centred in London, and supplemented by individual diplomatic agents abroad. Arlington wrote to Temple of one key narrative that 'I durst not hazard any of my acquaintance with the putting of it into *French*, because of the Sea terms wherewith it abounds'.¹⁸ Dutch newswriting, on the other hand, was published in a variety of languages and continental networks facilitated its easy movement abroad.¹⁹ News was circulated internationally through private epistolary routes, as one brief pamphlet in French advertised:

Messieurs, vous aurez la suite de ces choses a ce soir, je l'imprimeray incontinent pour votre service, & vous le trouverez a ma maison, afin quie le puissiez envoyer en France a vos Amis, qui seront bien aises d'entendre la victoire signalee, dont le Seigneur Dieu nous a couronne.²⁰

[Sirs, you hear the result of these things this evening, I will swiftly print for your service, and you may find at my house, so that you can send it to France for your friends, who will be pleased to hear of the signal victory, which Lord God has crowned us with.]

An English agent in Amsterdam warned that 'the account of these uictories (as they call them) is put into French [...] and sent to their seuerall Allies'.²¹ Another intelligencer observed the more aggressive Dutch information campaign:

¹⁷ SP 77/35 fol. 59^r.

¹⁸ *Arlington's Letters*, p. 90. English representatives abroad frequently worked as proxy newswriters, composing narratives, arranging for them to be printed locally and then distributing them. They were expected to work on their own initiative, rather than by commission. Examples include Temple in the Spanish Netherlands, Downing in the Dutch Republic and William Swann in Hamburg: 'The first probable Account cam to us from Niewport, w^{ch} being very distinct and of a Person soe Curious as to bee an Eye Witnessse I haue thought worth [...] the Printing heer, w^{ch} will bee don to morrow', SP 77/34 fol. 299^r; 77/34 fols. 308^{r-v}; 'I send [...] the enclosed relation w^{ch} I caused to bee printed heer, and dispersed with more beleef then the Ansterdam gazette', 77/35 fol. 33^r; 'The pamphlet your L^{sp} commanded was sent some days since to the press and is I imagine out by this time', SP 77/35 fol. 49^r; 77/35 fols. 59^{r-v}; SP 82/12 fol. 18.

¹⁹ Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands', (2001), p. 152.

²⁰ *Lettres Avthentiques* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1666) (SP 119/539).

²¹ SP 84/194 fol. 137^r; such campaigns produced texts like *La Novvelle Relation du Combat donne entre les Anglois, & les Holandois* [The new relation of the combat between the English, and the Hollanders] (Paris: 1666) (SP 117/107).

out of the printed papers [...] this is the general report of them, which they spread abroad through all places in Europe; which will be easily beleaved [...] be assured they will lack nothing that can be imagined for prosecuting of their great Victory.²²

Starting from the back foot, the struggle for international public opinion in the Second Anglo-Dutch War was usually a rear-guard action for the English Secretariat. However, rather than discouraging them from complex newswriting strategies, the challenge spurred state newswriters to develop imaginative approaches which could challenge their Dutch counterparts. This context is crucial for understanding their actions in the aftermath of the disastrous Four Days' Battle.

II. The Four Days' Battle and failures in English intelligence

The Four Days' Battle (1–4 June 1666) was a fiasco for Restoration intelligence and a key focus of the Commons' inquiry after the war. It put state intelligence awkwardly in the foreground and precipitated a crisis in news. Early in 1666 the French had joined the Dutch against the English, while York had been removed from action amid concerns for his safety. Following this, George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert were placed in joint command of the English forces. It was expected that a small French fleet under the Duc de Beaufort would join with the Dutch, bringing their combined might to bear against the English navy. When intelligence reached the English that Beaufort was moving into the Channel they split their fleet, a smaller squadron under Rupert detaching to hunt down the French before the Dutch managed to set out. This decision proved to be disastrous: English intelligence had been badly muddled and the French were nowhere to be found (actually they were loitering at Lisbon). Messages were sent to recall Rupert. Meanwhile, a huge Dutch fleet set out and encountered the remaining English under Albemarle. Though he could have withdrawn, the Duke decided to attack the Dutch. After two days of desperate combat the English were in a fighting retreat when Rupert

²² SP 77/34 fol. 318^r.

appeared on the horizon. Uniting with Albemarle, the two threw what was left of the English against the Dutch, and on the fourth day both sides pulled away, exhausted.²³

The feeling that they had beaten off the Dutch caused Albemarle and many of his seamen to insist long afterwards that the battle was a victory. In reality it was anything but.²⁴ The division of the fleet was investigated as a principal miscarriage of the war during the parliamentary inquiry afterwards. The issue of intelligence clearly exercised Marvell in particular. In a heated Commons debate he spoke ‘*somewhat transportedly*’ against Arlington, and accused him of debasing the office of predecessors like Francis Walsingham through corruption and maladministration:

We have had Bristols and Cecils Secretaries, and by them knew the King of Spain’s Junto, and letters of the Pope’s cabinet; and now such a small account of things! The money allowed for intelligence so small, the intelligence was accordingly.²⁵

The poor organisation of England’s intelligence was an understandable preoccupation for an MP who had found prior employment in the Protectoral Secretariat. Though not usually noted by critics, Marvell’s speech – or Grey’s transcription of it – paraphrased Thomas Fuller’s description of Walsingham’s idealised Secretariat, where the faultless sensory organs of the ‘Marvellous’ spymaster merge with his intelligence networks:

²³ For an exhaustive account of the battle and the controversies around it, see Frank L. Fox, *A Distant Storm: The Four Days’ Battle of 1666* (Rotherfield, East Sussex: Press of Sail Publications, 1996).

²⁴ Monck continued to insist that ‘Wee were overpower’d in numbers, But the Dutch lost much more then Wee’, SP 29/158 fol. 122^v. His conviction ‘that this is a victory’ was reported to Pepys by his clients, ‘but nothing like this appears true’, *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, p. 177 (24 June 1666). The mariner Jeremy Roch was similarly adamant that the English had won: ‘the Dutch quitted the watery field first, by that acknowledging their Masters’, *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times*, ed. by Bruce Ingram (London: Constable, 1936), p. 50.

²⁵ *Grey’s Debates*, I, pp. 70-1. John Milward focused on the allegations of corruption in his account that ‘Mr. Marvell made a most sharp speech [...] and especially hinted at the Lord Arlington as that he had got £1000 and a barony’, *The Diary of John Milward*, ed. by Caroline Robbins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 184. Pepys noted in similar terms that ‘the King paid too dear’ for Arlington’s intelligence, *Pepys’s Diary*, IX, p. 74 (17 February 1668). If this seems like straight-forward oppositional behaviour by Marvell, a few days later Arlington wrote to Temple that ‘Mr *Marvel* hath struck hard at me, upon the point of intelligence’, but he also noted that ‘this Day he hath given me cause to forgive him’ for moving for the King’s speech to be debated, *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 226.

None alive did better *ken* the *Secretary Craft* [...] Marvellous his *sagacity* in examining *suspected persons* [...] Cunning his hands, who could unpick the Cabinets in the Popes Conclave; quick his ears, who could hear at *London*, what was whispered at *Rome*.²⁶

In Fuller's description distances collapse as information moves instantly and without corruption around Europe, the perceptive organs of the master intelligencer merging with those of his agents. Arlington's Secretariat, Marvell alleges, has failed to exert this (fantastical) control and to prevent their intelligence from becoming adulterated. The corruption of Arlington's intelligence during transmission was to prove an important idea in Marvell's 'Painter' poems, as this chapter will shortly demonstrate. Furthermore, as Marvell also recognised in his satires, the intelligence failure was twofold. Not only had the fleet been split as the result of false information, but when news first began to reach London after the battle it promised a mighty victory for the English. Pepys recalled the visceral jubilation it caused: 'all the Court was in a hubbub' and street celebrations broke out across London. There he 'idled away the whole night' amid bonfires, drinks and fireworks 'mightily pleased with this happy day's news [...] the joy of the City was this night exceedingly great'.²⁷

However, when Pepys arrived at the office the next morning the hangover proved a sore one: 'But my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. Harvey, that came from Court, tell me quite contrary news, which astonishes me. That is to say, that we are beaten [...] and so can only report ourselves a victory'.²⁸ Pepys was not the only writer discombobulated by this about-turn. In John Evelyn's diary it is retrospectively dramatised with the sharp contrasts and juxtapositions Noelle Gallagher has identified as characteristic of his 'historical self-consciousness': as soon as Charles heard the good news he 'commanded [a]

²⁶ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: 1662), pp. 75-6. Rather than noticing Marvell's (or possibly Grey's) textual reference, Nigel Smith reads Marvell's speech as a rare eruption of his private opinions, and that he 'sees absolutism, tyranny and possibly religious persecution as a consequence of the high-handedness of would-be administrator courtiers [...] seldom is Marvell's anger, which was abundant enough, so forthrightly seen', *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 214.

²⁷ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, pp. 151-2 (6 June 1666). We should remember that Pepys wrote this in retrospect (at least after he sobered up). The manner in which he evokes a visceral sense of excitement in the moment, only to contrast it with the sudden fall back to reality afterwards, warrants comparison with the accounts of other writers such as John Evelyn and George Wither. For the problems of pinpointing exactly when Pepys was writing, for whom and how imaginatively, see Harry Berger, 'The Pepys Show: Ghost-Writing and Documentary Desire in "The Diary"', *ELH*, 65.3 (1998), 557-91 (p. 569).

²⁸ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 152 (7 June 1666).

Publique Thanks [...] but this was no sooner over, but newes came that our losse was very greate'.²⁹ We also find the dramatic switch from jubilation to despondency in Dutch newspapers: 'De Tydingte verwisselt, wetdende groote ontsteltenisse ten Hove vernomen: de victorie is weynigh' [the News changing, the Court learnt great dismay: the victory is small].³⁰ If the initial error derived from expectation – English over-optimistic leading them to seize any confirmation of victory however tenuous – Pepys was nonetheless correct that the English could still 'report ourselves a victory'. Always unwilling to concede defeat, the Secretariat was equally unwilling to row back on the highly public declarations of victory made by Charles and which had so energised London's population the previous evening. Instead, the *Gazette* gave glowing accounts 'of the late Happy Victory' even as gossip was spreading to the contrary.³¹ From The Hague Constantijn Huygens observed that 'De Engelschen doen al hun best, om hunne schande te bedekken' [the English do their best to cover their shame].³² With his head somewhat cooler Pepys could 'find great reason to think that we are beaten in every respect, and that we are the loser'.³³

The mistakes in English intelligence were very public: although the division was not reported in print it soon became public knowledge when Rupert hastened back to the fleet.³⁴ Furthermore, for a month afterwards the *Gazette* was unable to pinpoint Beaufort, there 'being of late no certain news where he is'.³⁵ The Secretariat had also – again very publically – blundered in declaring and then

²⁹ Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures: Writing about the Past in England, 1660-1740* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 49-53; *Kalendarium*, III, p. 439.

³⁰ *Oprechte Harlemse Courant* (26 June 1666).

³¹ *Gazette*, no. 60 (11 June 1666). In the meantime Dutch and continental newsreaders also learnt that English newswriters refused to concede defeat: 'on pretend neanmoins que la victorie est demure de nostre coste' [we nevertheless pretend that the victory is still on our side], *Nouvelles Ordinaires*, p. 26r (28 June 1666) (SP 119/54). See also Dutch manuscript newswriting, 'et de la on prevoid bien qu'en Angleterre on disputera encore le Combat; a qui en a este' la victorie' [one predicts well that in England, they will continue to dispute the Combat; who was victorious], SP 101/49 fol. 140^r (10 June 1666).

³² *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* [The correspondence of Constantijn Huygens], ed. by J. A. Worp, 6 vols ('s-Gravenhage: 1911-7), VI, p. 193.

³³ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 153 (7 June 1666).

³⁴ On 28 May newsreaders learnt that 'His Highness Prince Rupert, and his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, with the Fleet under their Command, set sail out of the *Buoy of the Nore*', *Gazette*, no. 56 (28 May 1666). Rupert's return to the fleet was first reported on 4 June: 'Dover, June 2. This Evening his Highness Prince Robert, with the Squadron under his command, passed by from the Westward towards the *Gunfleet*, where he thought to have found the rest of the Fleet', *Gazette*, no. 58 (4 June 1666). Individuals like Pepys with connections to the Admiralty, or access to alternative news networks, were aware of Rupert's movements earlier, *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 139 (31 May 1666).

³⁵ *Gazette*, no. 64 (25 June 1666).

insisting on a heroic victory, when all evidence appeared to point to the contrary. Once again it appeared out of touch with the very intelligence it was supposed to command. Contemporaries recognised that these two failures could be linked: Marvell, for example, mocked Arlington in the *Third Advice* as ‘the Secretary that had never yet | Intelligence, but from his own *Gazette*’ (283-4). State control of the media in this case left the government *more* vulnerable to news, as their errors played out in the public eye. This had been less of an issue when a degree of distance had been publically assumed – if not established in practice – between newswriting and government intelligence during L’Estrange’s editorship.³⁶ Now there was no mediating publisher to take the blame.

III. Writing the Four Days’ Battle in *A True Narrative of the Engagement between His Majesties Fleet and that of Holland* (1666)

Unsurprisingly, Arlington was dejected after the battle. He wrote to Temple that ‘Neither do I take a pleasure in repeating any thing of this last Engagement’, and referred him to the ‘printed papers’ of the *Gazette* for further information.³⁷ Moreover, he was worried about England’s ability to press its case for victory abroad: ‘this advantage, I am sure they had of us, That they have carried home their Trophies: Whereas we have not one’.³⁸ Arlington was right to be concerned. The *Gazette* had promised an ‘exact account when the particulars are perfectly known’ in the immediate aftermath, but this was a long time coming.³⁹ While L’Estrange had released both of his pamphlets within a week of the Battle of

³⁶ While Williamson had provided L’Estrange with state papers, the flow was not constant: Williamson wrote to him in October 1665 from Oxford that he was ‘sorry ye distance in w^{ch} wee are from y^{ou} deprives so of occasin of helping [...] y^{ou} in ye compsing of ye publicke Newes, as would be bett^r for his Ma^{ies} service & y^r own Reputacⁿ’, SP 29/134 fol. 153^r.

³⁷ *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 84. This low mood pervaded the government; Pepys recorded ‘how melancholy the Court is under the thoughts of this last overthrow (for so it is), instead of a victory so much and so unreasonably expected’, *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, p. 155 (8 June 1666). After the Medway Raid the following year Arlington similarly wrote to Temple of his dejection, ‘I have received yours of the 5th S.N. wherein you complain of our Stanchness in delivering over to you our News. The Truth is, it has been so bad of late, that I took no pleasure in sending it. [...] Many have murmured much at it; but, it going no further than talk, we have been content to dissemble the hearing of it’, *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 174.

³⁸ *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 84.

³⁹ *Gazette*, no. 59 (7 June 1666); see also the next edition, ‘We must beg pardon, that we do not yet give the full Narrative of the late Happy Victory against the Dutch’, *Gazette*, no. 60 (11 June 1666).

Lowestoft, it took over a fortnight for the official account of the Four Days' Battle to be advertised in the *Gazette*: a vacuum quickly filled by rumour.⁴⁰ *A True Narrative of the Engagement between His Majesties Fleet and that of Holland* (1666) finally emerged on 21 June.⁴¹ Because of the survival of a scribal draft in The National Archives, with extensive corrections made in the hand of Arlington himself, this pamphlet offers a unique opportunity to map the textual and rhetorical strategies the Secretariat used in attempting to spin the battle. Sending Temple the finished pamphlet, Arlington emphasised the close textual attention he had paid to it: 'Inclosed you have a Narrative, which was carefully laid together'.⁴² This care in compiling the pamphlet is evident in the systemic revisions the Secretary made to the draft, which range from minor changes to sentence structure and phrasing – themselves with important repercussions for the sense of the whole – to comprehensive revisions of the original. That the pamphlet was shaped by the writing of the Secretary of State would not seem unusual in retrospect: it became conventional in ensuing years for the Secretary to supervise directly other published narratives. Nonetheless, the *True Narrative* is the first example of a Restoration minister participating so directly in print newswriting.⁴³ As with L'Estrange's publications after Lowestoft it sought to give the final, official line, and it has been long recognised that the pamphlet lies behind much commemorative poetry, most notably John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667). However, its importance in oppositional verse has not been as widely acknowledged.⁴⁴ Given the unusually intimate opportunity

⁴⁰ Pepys provides a strong sense of the discontented rumours of this period: 'And as to the news, I do find great reason to think that we are beaten in every respect, and that we are the losers', (7 June 1666); 'talking of the ill-management of this fight, and of the ill-management of fighting at all against so great a force, bigger than ours' (8 June 1666); 'But I do not hear that he [William Coventry] is at all pleased or satisfied with the late fight' (9 June 1666); 'putting all together, we are, and are like to be, in a sad condition' (10 June 1666); and so on, *Pepys's Diary*, VII, pp. 153, 155, 157, 159.

⁴¹ 'We are prevented in giving you the rest of the Particulars of the late Engagement at Sea, by an exact Narration of all that Glorious Action, elsewhere made publick by Especial Command', *Gazette*, no. 63 (21 June 1666).

⁴² *Arlington's Letters*, p. 85.

⁴³ Secretaries of State had, however, been disseminating 'digests' of manuscript news since the 1630s, David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), p. 50.

⁴⁴ *Dryden: Selected Poems*, ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Harlow: Longman, 2007), p. 34; James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 170. Though making note of the *True Narrative* in passing, Smith only considers it in contrast with the *Third Advice*, Andrew Marvell (2010), pp. 193-4.

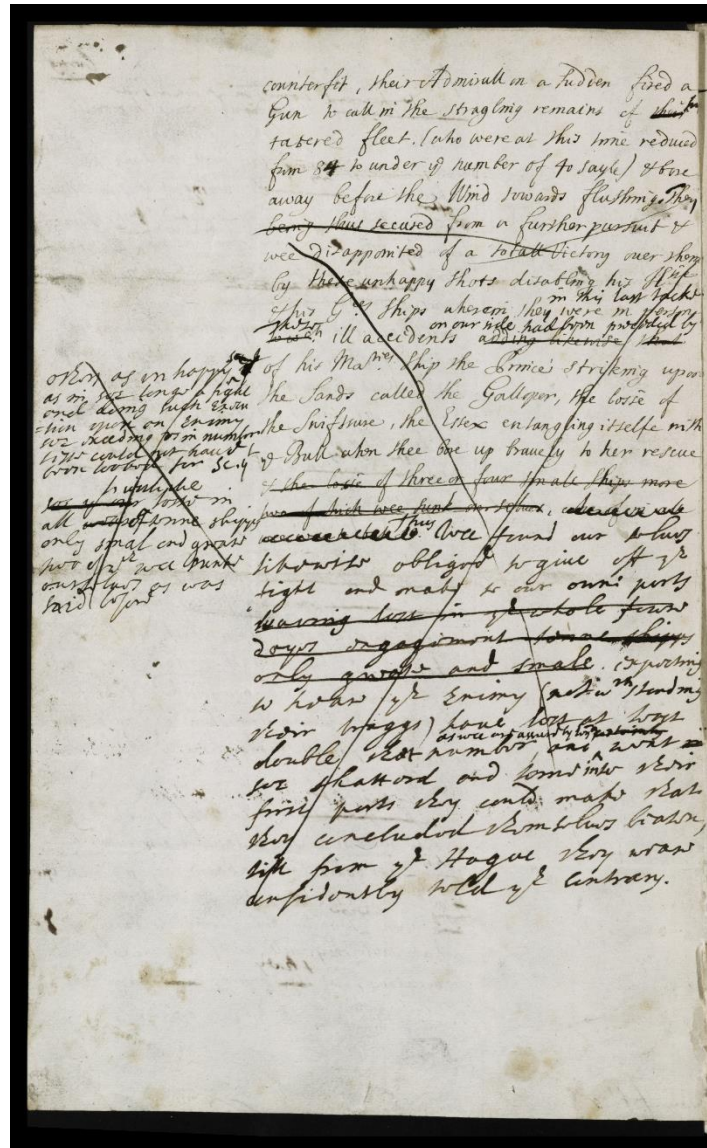


Figure 2. The final page of the 'True Narrative' draft, SP 29/158 fol. 59v.

this manuscript provides for eavesdropping on the newswriting process, and the *True Narrative*'s own important role in the cultural reception of the battle, it is worth spending some time considering what can be discovered from it here and in the following chapter.

The most striking example of Arlington's editorial efforts occurs at the conclusion of the manuscript, as multiple revisions jostle, strike out, overlap and explode from the page in an attempt to produce a suitable ending that would exonerate the English and turn their retreat into a victory. This resulted in a chaotic page of annotations which provides a fine visual representation of the difficulties faced by the Secretariat (Figure 2). By parsing out the various iterations we can witness the formation

of a government narrative which was to have a significant influence on public attitudes to news. The original scribal draft simply concluded with the Dutch withdrawing:

They being thus secured from a further pursuit & wee disappointed of a Total Victory ouer them by these unhappy shots disabling his H^{nes} & his G^{ces} Ships wherein they were in person to w^{ch} ill accidents adding likewise that of his Ma^{ties} Ship the Prince striking upon the Sands called the Galloper, the losse of the Swiftsure, the Essex entangling itself with ye Bull when shee bore up brauely to her rescue & the losse of three or four small ships more two of which wee sunk our selues ~~{xxxxxxxx}~~.⁴⁵

The mounting list of English losses, compounded by evident incompetence, clearly would not do: it sounded a particularly hapless note and utterly undid the claims of almost ‘Total Victory’. At first, minor attempts were made to clarify the chronology so that it was clear that Monck and Rupert had fought to the bitter end: ‘they were in person [^]in this last tacke’. Arlington clarified that those ‘ill accidents’ which befell the commanders ‘had been preceded by’ those of the *Prince*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Essex* and the *Bull*. The original draft was sufficiently vague that readers might conclude that the English were routed chaotically as their admirals lay disabled. However, these changes would not solve the fundamentally uninspiring conclusion. Arlington therefore crossed out mention of ‘the losse of three or four small Ships more two of which wee sunk our selues’. The ending was then extended in an attempt to conclude on a subject which wasn’t the English being forced to sink their own vessels:

Thus we found our selues likewise obliged to giue off ye fight and made to our own ports hauing lost in the whole foure days engagement some {xx} shipps only greate and smale.⁴⁶

Of course, this still left the parting focus on English losses. A cramped marginal note instead praised the English ships which had sacrificed themselves against ‘an Enemy soe exceeding us in number’. However, complaining about numbers still felt like Arlington was making excuses: excuses which could raise awkward questions about the division of the fleet, and the realities of the English naval exceptionalism prevalent in occasional poetry.

⁴⁵ SP 29/158 fol. 59^v.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

At this point Arlington decided to try new direction, striking through the customary rehearsal of English losses for a second time and shifting attention away from them to the Dutch. There, in an imaginative projection which went beyond enumerating and explaining away the material consequences of the battle, he chose instead to dramatise the Dutch response to their apparent defeat:

Thus we found our selues likewise obliged to giue off y^e fight and made to our own ports ~~having lost in the whole foure days engagement some {xx} shippes only greate and smale~~ expecting to hear y^e enemy (notwithstanding their braggs) haue lost at least double that number and ^as wee are assurd by lers ~~{xxxxx}~~ went soe shattered and torne into their first ports they could make that they concluded themselves beaten, till from y^e Hague they were defidently told y^e contrary.⁴⁷

This was an important development in the government narrative. Arlington now claimed that Dutch reports of victory were not only out of step with reality, but were a deliberate imposition by a Dutch civilian government ignoring the experience of their own mariners. In doing so Arlington accused the Dutch government of the very activity which he, their English counterpart, was busy perpetrating. To be fair to Arlington, he was aware that the Dutch state had celebrated as pre-emptively as the English. He had heard from Temple that ‘upon y^e first two days successe publick thanks were Giuen in y^e Hague, and an Expresse [...] was dispatch’d immediately to y^e French King wth news of y^e Victory’.⁴⁸ The Dutch government *had* been overhasty to declare victory, and in reality their successes were far more limited. However, these early celebrations – hardly unique to this occasion or the Dutch – were transformed in the *Narrative* into an organised conspiracy to cover up the battle and manipulate the narrative in the public sphere.

This became the principal narrative of the printed pamphlet’s conclusion. The draft page was crossed out in its entirety and replaced with a final manuscript separate, composed in a neat scribal hand, which was added to the end of the document (any other intermediate versions are lost). This new separate was the product of further revision which reorganised and integrated the most successful material from the chaos of the preceding page, while adding a more strident insistence on English

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ SP 77/34 fol. 300^r.

victory and its own accuracy. For instance, one still finds the disabling of Rupert and Monck, a fact which ‘oblidged us to returne to o^r ports’. However, this is followed by a new explanation which seeks to guide interpretation, warning the reader not to mistake it for defeat: though disabled, the English were ‘(as it is playne) mast^rs of y^e sea in this Engagem^t’. The account continues that ‘w^e had in all humaine probability had a total Victory ouer y^e Enemy, wth y^e losse on o^r side only of’ the *Prince*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Essex* and the *Bull*.⁴⁹ Note the development of the original ‘wee disappointed of a Total Victory ouer them’ through a rhetoric that cloaks its exaggerated ‘Total Victory’ in the language of moderation and supposed extrapolations from evidence, ‘in all humaine probability’.⁵⁰ The new pretence of detached scepticism masks a significant leap in assertion.

Most crucially, the conclusion accusing the Dutch of falsifying news was retained, while several small changes further emphasised Dutch losses and the malice of their government:

In y^e meane tyme we know they went much Shatterd & Torne into their first Ports y^y could make, & concluded y^mselues entirely beaten, till from y^e Hague they were told y^e Contrary by those who could know itt lesse.⁵¹

The Dutch are now ‘entirely beaten’ and their government’s disinformation is even more deliberate. Instead of simply asserting ‘y^e contrary’, the faceless Hague administrators are now imagined as possessing enough evidence to truly ‘know itt’ better. This is not the misplaced over-optimism of the earlier draft, but a calculated act to mislead the public. By following Arlington’s revisions we can witness the attempt to engineer a complete, coherent narrative. This had to follow an internal logic which paid lip service to the expected rhetorics of credibility, while in its conclusion it takes the fight to his Dutch counterparts. Arlington’s editorial work transformed an implied defeat into an explicit triumph.

⁴⁹ SP 29/158 fol. 60^r.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

IV. Contemporary responses to news reporting and the *True Narrative*

Why would Arlington bother torturously to revise the minutiae of a news pamphlet himself? Though news was crucial in influencing public opinion, was such exact pedantry justified? Seventeenth-century readers were far from passive consumers of newspapers and pamphlets. These were subjected to intensive textual scrutiny by a Restoration public who were avid – if not always accomplished – interpreters. Pepys recorded how, after another battle later in the year, he read the published pamphlet with John Creed. He then went over it again by himself on the boat home, ‘in order, it may be, to the making some marginal notes upon it’.⁵² Interpreting such a pamphlet could be its own ludic exercise, a socially competitive staging of rational finesse of the type Kate Loveman has described as occurring in the sociable reading of hoax texts.⁵³ We have seen in the previous chapter how newsreaders were willing to criticise newswriting which failed to meet their expectations, and to suggest improvements. The defences Arlington fortified the *Narrative* with would be subjected to assault by readers seeking to break apart the text and contribute their own marks of interpretive authority.

If individuals could be rigorous readers, high-profile newswriting was also subject to intensive scrutiny from Arlington’s counterparts at home and abroad. The *Current Intelligencer* – the short-lived newspaper of Secretary Morice’s office – opportunistically leapt on textual inconsistencies in the translation of the official Dutch pamphlet:

But it is very observable, that the French Translate differs from all the rest, in that very grand point which determines the Victor, that Translate saying, that *de Ruyter* at parting gave the first Signal for a Retreat: the rest, that the English did. The States would have the World believe, that this was only the carelessness of the Printer; but the Forreign Ministers, and indeed all wise men, discover the juggle, that though they would have impos’d upon them the whole story, they were more cautious in what they sent to *France*,

⁵² *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, pp. 220-30 (31 July 1666).

⁵³ Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 74-7.

who having several of their own Nation sharers in the Engagement, could not have been ignorant of so eminent an action.⁵⁴

Small wonder then at Arlington's reticence to translate 'Sea terms' into French! In this case Muddiman, the writer of the *Current Intelligence*, was unashamedly misrepresenting one fragment of the Dutch pamphlet on a grand scale. While it was true that the French translation had said that '*de Ruyter* sit donner le signal ordinaire pour la retraite' [De Ruyter gave the ordinary signal for retreat], in wrenching it free of its wider context Muddiman viciously twisted the meaning of the report.⁵⁵ In fact, De Ruyter's signal occurred against the chaotic rout of the English, who had been saved only by a lucky fog. While the French version was phrased poorly (in the Dutch '*de Ruyter door de ordinarijs Zeynschooten de Vloote versamelt*' [De Ruyter by an ordinary single-shot gathered the fleet]), Muddiman's close reading and its conclusions would be highly questionable to anyone with the original texts to hand.⁵⁶

News texts had to be able to weather these aggressive, selective and opportunistic forms of reading. This applied to the *True Narrative* in particular: unlike the often-contradictory and disposable *Gazette* it was devised to be *the* authoritative account, and the vast number of surviving copies indicate its extensive distribution and preservation.⁵⁷ It shaped public opinion, informed diplomats, and for those in the future looking back it would establish historical orthodoxy. Highly self-conscious of its own historical significance, it was also a source for commemorative poets seeking to stabilise a narrative consensus, such as in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*. However, not all readers of the *True Narrative* were as positive. George Wither recorded his own close reading of the pamphlet in verse, providing a rare dramatisation of a specific newsreading moment which can complement Arlington's draft: was his newswriting able to resist Wither's scrutiny?

⁵⁴ *Current Intelligence*, no. 11 (9 July 1666).

⁵⁵ *Recit de ce qui s'est passe en la Bataille Navale* (The Hague: 1666), p. B3v.

⁵⁶ *Oprechte Verhael Van 't gepasseerde in de Zee-Slag* (The Hague: Hillebrandt van Wouw, 1666), p. A5r. The English translation followed the Dutch in this regard, 'Wherefore the *Gen de Ruyter* by the ordinary sign-shotts gatherd the Fleet together', *A Relation of the Passages in the Battel at Sea, Between the Fleet of England And the United Netherlands* [...] published for the undeceiving of the English Nation (The Hague?: 1666), p. 15.

⁵⁷ The ESTC lists 25 survivals, but this is not comprehensive: for instance, it does not include the four uncut and undistributed copies buried in SP 9/56.

Wither recounted the events around the Four Days' Battle in *Sigh for the Pitchers* (1666), a collection of poems which ostensibly commemorated the day of fasting which coincided with the setting out of the fleet, 'breathed out in a Personal *Contribution* to the National Humiliation the last of May' (A1r).⁵⁸ This continued Wither's habit of playfully locating his poetry within the conventions of popular panegyric, which also often highlighted the correlation of its composition with the observance of Christian holy days.⁵⁹ The title and frontispiece of *Sigh for the Pitchers* made use of the longstanding emblem of two pitchers that, poised to dash each other to pieces, often represented Anglo-Dutch relations on both sides of the North Sea.⁶⁰ After several introductory verses the remaining pamphlet is taken up by the lengthy 'Sigh for the Pitchers' itself, a poem chronologically fractured into three distinct sections. The first of these gives the setting out of the fleet a Witherian spin, reprimanding the government and public for their vanity, presumption and the persecution of nonconformists. The flow of this central poem is, however, twice disrupted with the addition of further sections. The title page aptly describes these as 'complicated' in with the original, and prominently advertises the fact that they are closely tied to London's news culture, being '*Musings* as were occasioned by a Report of their *Actual Engagement*; and by observing the Publicke Rejoycing whilst this was preparing' (A1r). It was clear to potential readers that Wither intended to address the news controversies of the previous month: even, perhaps, that this superseded the battle itself in importance. Evidence that these were indeed hasty additions to the initial poem can be found in the fact that the last section was composed in a smaller type to fit into what space was left.⁶¹

⁵⁸ All quotations from *Sigh for the Pitchers* are taken from Wither, *Sigh for the Pitchers* (1666). See *A Proclamation For a General Fast throughout the Realm of England [...] Given at the Court at Whitehall the 28th day of May, 1666* (London: 1666). The *Gazette* also advertised the 'day of publick Humiliation, within the Cities and Liberties of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Lines of Communication, for a blessing upon His Majesties Fleet', *Gazette*, no. 56 (28 May 1666). Pepys thought the *Proclamation* rather last minute, 'not so much as declared time enough to be read in the churches the last Sunday [...] I suppose upon some news of the Dutch being come out': he used the day to do his accounts, *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 138 (31 May 1666).

⁵⁹ Thomas Sympsom began one collection with a poem on 'the Royal Navy, upon Their Sailing from the *Bouy* in the *Nore*, in the *Rogation Week*, 1666', *England's Palladion, or, Britain's Naval Glory* (London: 1666), p. A2r. David Norbrook argues that Marvell originally wrote the *Character of Holland* to coincide with a day of Thanksgiving during the First Anglo-Dutch War, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 296.

⁶⁰ Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 73

⁶¹ Following publication at some point in early-mid July, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Wither and his printers 'for dispersing a seditious Pamphlet intituled *Sighs for y^e Pitchers*, & all papers they shall there find of

As we have seen, Wither was ready to contest the fundamental principles of reporting in more strident terms than Marvell. In 1665 he had advocated reading news not to follow the intrinsic uncertainties attached to worldly success, but as a means to discern the actions of God upon a universal Anglo-Dutch protestant collective. After the Four Days' Battle the consequences of a broken news system appeared even more immediate. If one read news to follow the actions of God in the world (as Wither had coached in the *Three Private Meditations*), and therefore relied on reportage being generally accurate enough to identify God's actions, then a breakdown in the ability of news to provide basic facts imperilled the relationship between the community and God. As a result, the experience of news becomes far more traumatic in Wither's 1666 poetry, arriving not as a gradual trickle of information but as an invasion. To represent this experience, Wither manipulates the supposedly enthusiastic basis of his verse. The poet, who had been busy with his 'Personal *Contribution*', is suddenly interrupted by the arrival of reports of battle. He breaks off his original verse and shifts from a complex stanza arrangement to couplets:

And at this time: and his feet I lay

What I have writ, and what I have to say.

I might -----

BUT hark! methinks some Whisperings I hear,

As if both *Navies* now ingaged were:

And, Lo, the suddain *Rumour* of that *Storm*

Startles my *Muse* into another *form* (D2v).

like nature', SP 44/23 fol. 220^r; though 'there is no record of his imprisonment', Wither died in May 1667, Michelle O'Callaghan, 'George Wither', in *ODNB* (2004).

Wither had used the same technique twenty years previously in *Carmen Expostulatorium* (1647) to dramatise the arrival of the army to purge parliament.⁶² David Norbrook has described how, on that occasion, ‘by the break in his syntax the poet equates his lines with the lines of London’s defences, constructing the illusion that the new Model Army has decisively and irreversibly entered not only London but also his text’.⁶³ In 1666 the boundaries of London and the text are once again penetrated, but this time it is not soldiers but news which proves to be so disruptive to both. It comes in like an occupying army, fundamentally altering the balance of power and the public mood. The rupture is even more conspicuous on the page, accentuated by its appearance at the top of the verso as the reader turns overleaf and Wither’s prolix description of his religious vocation – which had been going on for several pages – is suddenly cut off mid-sentence. Rather unintentionally, the reader may experience some of the relief Wither was dramatising in London’s urban population.

At first the public celebrate as they had done the previous year. Indeed, Wither projects the emotional reaction of 1666 over that of 1665 by another echo of his own verse, this time his description of news after Lowestoft. The enthusiastic poet’s tendency to repeat and reuse stock motifs and phrases in (supposedly) spontaneous verse draws an affinity between the two events:

[1665]	[1666]
The <i>hopes</i> , which those <i>events</i> do give	Whilst this was writing, <i>Tidings</i> we received
(Of what we willingly believe)	(Which very willingly we then believd)
So high our <i>expectations</i> rear. ⁶⁴	That we were <i>Victors</i> (E2r).

At first, news in 1666 appears to have a concrete assurance 1665 lacked. The tense anticipation of the war’s first battle is replaced by seeming certainties, ‘hopes’ and ‘expectations’ giving way to the confident ‘Tidings [...] That we were *Victors*’. Yet Wither always cautioned his readers to beware such false assurances. Unlike its 1665 counterpart, the parenthetical intrusion in the later poem sacrifices

⁶² Stephen Bardle also addresses the stylistic similarity between the two passages in *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Wallis and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 89.

⁶³ Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (1999), p. 252.

⁶⁴ George Wither, *Three Private Mediations* (London?: 1665), pp. 5-6.

some of its spontaneous verisimilitude to allow a retrospective editorial note, warning of the dangers of communal credulousness and expectation. In 1665 the parentheses appear as an aside in the present tense, couched in present optimism; in 1666, as a cynical past observation. Wither's reader, busy reliving the communal elation of recent weeks, encounters an outside voice which forces them to interrogate their own response. For Wither, interpreting news required an awareness of the individual's irrational and emotional responses, and a willingness to resist them. Consequently, the poem becomes another exercise in educating the public to read news properly, a project which includes showing them the failures of their own critical faculties.

First, the flood of contradictory reports produces an emotional maelstrom recognisable from Pepys's account of the same events:

What have we heard, by that which *pro* and *con*

Hath been reported of what's lost and won,

But contradictions, intermixt with sounds

Of Lamentations, Losses, Deaths and Wounds,

And with relation of a *Victory*,

Which with infeeble and lame wings doth fly (E4r).

A year previously Wither had written a battle narrative for Lowestoft, albeit in his own idiosyncratic style. In 1666 there was not even the pretence of the conventional military poem. Instead, the fight is reduced to a bathetic aside which mixes ironic patriotism with barely concealed disgust and, perhaps, Dutch visual propaganda characterising Englishmen as dogs. 'Nothing parallels it fitter', Wither observes, 'Two English Mastive Dogs never fought better' (D3r).⁶⁵ Wither abandons the topical

⁶⁵ Dutch propaganda represented the English as rowdy dogs who needed their tails cut by stern Dutchmen, Gijs Rommelse, 'Negative Mirror Images in Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1650-1674', in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 199–216 (pp. 205–7); Elizabeth Staffel, 'The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 169–86 (pp. 179–82). Wither's use of mastiffs to make a political analogy had precedent in his civil war poetry, David Norbrook, 'Levelling Poetry: George Wither and the English Revolution, 1642–1649', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21 (1991), 217–56 (p. 249).

conventions teased on the title page as the poem's battlefield becomes the contested newsreading environment, and conventional features of battle narratives like 'Deaths and Wounds' are reimagined at one remove as reports arriving to distressed relatives at home. In his description of Lowestoft English and Dutch mariners had lost their identity in a suffering collective, but here the chaos is one where true and false reports become indistinguishable, bundled together as 'contradictions, intermixt'.

This battle also culminates in a central duel, although in this case the combat is between Wither and the *True Narrative*. As in the previous year, he built the language and cadence of pamphlet titles into his verse:

I have with heedfulness, perused that,

Sea-Gibberish, which is published to relate

What passed in the *Naval Fight* between

Both *Fleets*; with what, to some a ground hath been

To think, the *Victory* is on our side

And, that we still victorious do abide (E4r).⁶⁶

Wither then performs a dramatic close reading of the pamphlet to show his readers how to read such news providentially, and not mistake the outward show of the regime narrative for religious truth. To do so, he has to chart a course through the deliberately obfuscating 'Sea-Gibberish' of the *True Narrative* which cloaks divine truth behind a cloud of technical details. For Wither, an over-abundance of detail is as misleading as fabrication: a good report needs not all facts, but the pertinent ones, and expressed clearly. The *True Narrative* abounds with such language, 'the Wind at N. At Ten of the Clock

⁶⁶ In fact, Wither's phraseology best echoes the English translation of the Dutch pamphlet published on this occasion, *A Relation of the Passages in the Battel at Sea* (1666). While he may have been familiar with this pamphlet, his language remains too generic to draw any firm relationship. In 1665 Wither had pointedly warped L'Estrange's pamphlet's title, *A Second Narrative of the Signal Victory Which it pleased Almighty GOD to bestow upon HIS MAJESTIES NAVY Under the Command of HIS ROYAL HIGHNES THE DUKE of YORK AGAINST The STATES-FLEET of the United Netherlands*, into that of one his poems, 'The Second Hymn being an imperfect Narrative and confession to Gods glory, of what he hath done for us, in the late Ingagement, how little, we have merited the mercies vouchsafed, and how merciful GOD hath been to both Nations', *Three Private Meditations* (1665), p. 4.

that Night we Anchored, the *Northforeland* bring five Leagues from us, bearing N.W. and by W. there being a fresh Gale at S.W' being one of many examples.⁶⁷ Such technical detail would be as meaningless to most contemporaries as it is now: one needs only witness the intensive programme of learning Pepys subjected himself to in order to work efficiently at the Navy Board to remember that, even in a world dominated by naval concerns, this was still a specialised jargon.⁶⁸ That said, its inclusion was expected by newsreaders, serving the pretence that these pamphlets really were straight reproductions of intelligence letters.⁶⁹ Wither reminds his readers that an accurate language is not synonymous with a broader accuracy. Truth does not rest on a mapping of all details but an identification of the important ones.

Does Wither's method nonetheless entail some trust in regime newswriting? It assumes that there must be a kernel of truth buried somewhere that makes the exercise worthwhile. The state may try to obscure the facts, but an adept reader can still uncover them. Certainly Wither, himself a former newswriter, would have understood the pressures acting on his Restoration counterparts.⁷⁰ Uncomfortable facts had to be acknowledged and, while newswriters could massage them, open fabrication was distasteful, as evident in Arlington's pained efforts to report the ignominious fates of the English ships. In Wither's reading, however, even that residue of truth appears elusive, occluded by vast accumulations of misdirection. Seeking to find proof for 'the good success' which the report advertised, Wither digs deeply into the text:

But, nothing therein mentioned found I out,

Whence, I could pick forth, what to find, I sought.

All I could thence collect was but this much,

⁶⁷ *A True Narrative* (1666), p. 3.

⁶⁸ As news was arriving of the Four Days' Battle, Pepys lent Robert Hooke 'some of my tables of navall matters, the names of rigging and the timbers about a ship', *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 148 (4 June 1666). Kate Loveman has described how Pepys improved his mathematics to get an edge at work, *Samuel Pepys and His Books, Reading, Newsgathering and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 70-7.

⁶⁹ 'Sea-Gibberish' proved problematic for newswriters as well: recall Arlington's difficulties with translating 'Sea terms', *Arlington's Letters*, p. 90.

⁷⁰ Wither published *Mercurius Rusticus* in 1643, Norbrook, 'Levelling Poetry' (1991), pp. 225-6.

That we were beaten, and did beat the Dutch (E4r).

Wither represents himself as what modern criticism calls a ‘goal-oriented’ reader.⁷¹ He approaches the text actively for evidence with a purpose in mind, ‘what to find’, rather than simply taking it at face value. Wither recommends this ‘heedful’ form of critical reading, but even so he is quickly overwhelmed by obstructions, the jumbled syntax and density of pauses forcing his readers to become similarly unmoored, and replicating the confused amalgamation of ‘contradictions’ he encounters. Clear meaning becomes increasingly hard to fathom as Wither’s reading becomes entangled and lost in tautology: ‘to find, I sought’. One loses track of what he was looking for in the first place. This difficulty is overcome with an aphoristic conclusion, the clarity of which breaks through the tangled mass of Wither’s ailing prosody. He deduces from the muddled disjunction between the description of the chaos of the battle and the optimistic ending that ‘All I could thence collect, was but this much, | That we were beaten, and did beat the Dutch’ (37). In doing so, Wither accurately identifies the irreconcilable tension between narrative and conclusion which Arlington had tried so hard to obscure.

Like Marvell, Wither connects the Secretariat’s failures of reportage with the intelligence failures which had caused the battle to go awry in the first place. While claiming respect for the *arcana imperii*, he only does so with qualification:

For, though it is imprudence to reveal

All truths at all times (and not to conceal,

What may occasion mischeifs) never should

The *Truth* be falsesaid, or Untruths be told:

And, more advantage would to us, ensure

If our *Intelligence* were always true (E4v).

⁷¹ Lisa Jardine and Antony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy”, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990): 30–78; Gallagher describes how news was not normally considered by contemporaries to reward this level of attention, *Historical Literatures* (2012), pp. 4–8.

For Wither the strategic and moral imperatives of truth-telling are indivisible. With God the decisive actor in the world, strategy, including in publishing, has to be providentialist. For the state to fail to acknowledge that they were ‘assisted more by *Providence*, then *Men*’ (F1r) in being delivered from their abject failure is to further disturb the already estranged relationship between nation and deity.⁷² By refusing to recognise God’s chastisement, the regime arrogantly invites more suffering upon the country: they ‘break out into such Extravagances | As, to our Sins, are rather an addition | Than signs for *Thankfulness*, or true *Contrition*’ (F1r). With the plague ravaging London and war crippling the country during the summer of 1666, England risks that it will ‘*Sodom-like*, in sinning persevere | Until with *Fire* consumed as they were’ (F3r).

V. The development of false news rhetoric in the *London Gazette*

Wither was clearly not won over by Arlington’s newswriting. The latter’s decision to accuse the Dutch of false news nonetheless extended beyond the *True Narrative* and became a defining feature of the English state’s information campaign. The accusation itself was not novel. Allegations of dishonest reporting had long been standard in the immediate aftermath of battle, when information was in disarray and both sides given to optimistic projections of victory.⁷³ Most recently, this had occurred in L’Estrange’s newsbooks after Lowestoft. However, those allegations subsided relatively quickly once a better picture of respective losses became known.⁷⁴ At first, the same applied after the Four Days’ Battle. The *Gazette* quickly declared mission accomplished in the struggle against false news: ‘The

⁷² David Randall has observed that in war reporting earlier in the century, victories were ascribed to providence, defeats to fortune, ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, c. 1570-1637’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35.4 (2004), 1053–77 (p. 1067).

⁷³ Randall, *Early Stuart Military News* (2010), p. 10.

⁷⁴ Initially L’Estrange had claimed that the Dutch ‘are the more exasperated by having been *fooled* into a belief, that Their side had got the Day’, *Newes*, p. 448 (15 June 1665); within a fortnight he could say of his casualty list that ‘This Accompt ages effectually with That which is owned by the *Hollanders* themselves, the loss being so clear and undeniable, that it would have been vain to have endeavoured the concealing of it’, *Newes*, p. 476 (22 June 1665). Dutch poets were soon writing their own satires against the conduct of their navy, *Eerspooren van Staat, of Helden Wekker: Bestaande In Veerthein Sonnetten voor ’t Vaderlandt* [‘Honour-spurs of State, or Hero’s Alarm: consisting of 14 sonnets for the Fatherland’] (1665).

follys and falshoods dispersed concerning the late Engagement at Sea, are pretty well vanisht', and Europe agreed 'that Victory was on the English side'.⁷⁵ Within two weeks the Dutch were again left disconsolate after computing the results: 'In fine, when they had cast up their accounts at the *Hague*, and after their own Arithmetick, it was yet ingenuously resolved upon the question, That there should be no Bonfire made'.⁷⁶ The narrative which coalesced by mid-June was therefore conventional. As usual, the Dutch were surrendering to the inevitability of their loss.

The reports received by the Secretariat at this point indicated otherwise. Letters from the Netherlands informed them of the scale of the victory claimed by the Dutch: 'they brage most Cru'elly wth ther alledged Victorie obtained against y^e English'.⁷⁷ Even Temple conceded that 'By one from Amsterdam of the 23, I heare that all is there in triumph upon persuasion of a uictory' and 'that their greatest trophee is to haue done this feat without the French'.⁷⁸ 'Now you haue out of the printed papers sent you from Holland', an Antwerp correspondent wrote in mid-June, 'only they affirme the greate uictory they haue had ouer the English fleete'.⁷⁹ This flurry of early 'printed papers' was consolidated by the official Dutch pamphlet *Oprechte Verhael Van 't Gepasseerde in de Zee-Slaugh* [Sincere Relation of what occurred in the Sea-battle] (1666). We encountered this earlier in the *Current Intelligence*'s attack on its French translation. Published by the States's official printer and dated to 16/27 June, it was the principal weapon in the Dutch information campaign.⁸⁰ To compound matters, and to make the danger more acute at a European and domestic level, it was published in French, Latin and English, 'for the undeceiving of the English Nation'.⁸¹ It followed a similar strategy to the *True Narrative*; Frank Fox, the battle's historian, has noted that *Oprechte Verhael* gave an overly optimistic

⁷⁵ *Gazette*, no. 62 (18 June 1666).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ SP 84/180 fol. 35^r. Pepys also heard that 'it seems the Dutch do mightily insult of their victory, and they have great reason', *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 169 (16 June 1666).

⁷⁸ SP 77/34 fol. 315^r.

⁷⁹ SP 77/34 fol. 318^r.

⁸⁰ For background on the States's printer Hillebrandt van Wouw, see E.F. Kossman, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw* [The book trade at The Hague until the end of the eighteenth century] (The Hague: 1937), pp. 453-5.

⁸¹ *A Relation of the Passages in the Battel at Sea* (1666); see also the various translations, *Oprechte Verhael Van 't gepasseerde in de Zee-Slaugh* (The Hague: Hillebrandt van Wouw, 1666), *Recit de ce qui s'est passe en la Bataille Navale* (The Hague: Hillebrandt van Wouw, 1666), *Historia Rerum Gestarum* (The Hague: Hillebrandt van Wouw, 1666). The three copies in Dutch, French and Latin held at The National Archives demonstrate its circulation and careful collection by the English state (SP 119/531, SP 119/554, SP 119/560).

assessment of events, where leaps of faith were carefully couched in a language of rationality and moderation.⁸² This was performed (as ever) through the assertion of optical proof, tallying ‘what appears by bringing up of Prises before our eyes’.⁸³ Furthermore, the *Oprechte Verhael* also attacked enemy newswriters, pointing out that ‘the *English* in their *Gazette* of 4/14 to 7/17 June 1666 printed at London by publique authority (wherein they ascribe to themselves the Victory) say that 3 ships [...] were set on fire’.⁸⁴ Evidently Dutch newswriters also read their enemy’s news carefully. This was an argument made in similar terms to the English: false news derived from a misleading ‘publique authority’.

A week later the *True Narrative* entered this competitive environment of claim and counter claim.⁸⁵ It proved something of a watershed. Issues of the *Gazette* from this date (21 June) forward departed from the earlier consensus that had downplayed Dutch victory claims and instead began to play them *up*, alleging that they were part of a disinformation campaign orchestrated by the Dutch government against the Dutch public. Newspaper accounts from the end of June follow the *True Narrative* in attributing false news not to confusion or over-optimism, but to the state. In addition, given the expansive pan-European news networks in this period, disinformation could not be localised. A con perpetrated on Dutch newsreaders was therefore one against newsreaders across Europe. For example, one finds from Middleburg that:

Very great subtilty is used to perswade the world they were Victors in the last Engagement; and not a Soldier or Marriner dares speak his knowledge of our [the Dutch] losses: amongst other instances, a Seaman belonging to the *Friesland* Admiral, being askt what men they lost, since their ship came in extreemly torn from the fight; answered readily, they had five men killed, and seventeen wounded; which answer being disputed as hardly probable, in regard to the ragged posture of the ship, he replied again with an Oath in much passion, Let it be what it will, he was ordered to say just so.⁸⁶

⁸² Fox, *The Four Days’ Battle* (1996), pp. 276-7.

⁸³ *A Relation of the Passages in the Battel at Sea* (1666), p. 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁵ *Oprechte Verhael* was published on 16 June (Old Style), but the *Narrative* was only first advertised in the *Gazette* of 21 June (Old Style). On 22 June Arlington finally sent a copy to Temple in Brussels, *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 85.

⁸⁶ *Gazette*, no. 65 (28 June 1666).

A rigged contest is staged between the narrative of the Dutch state and the unimpeachable credibility of optical proof. Outrageously, the Dutch government denies what is evident to any observer.⁸⁷ It is notable that the story rests upon an assumption that news is not generated simply by state pronouncements, but through the consent and mutual construction of the public. The Dutch government relies upon the mariner to promulgate a false narrative he is unwilling to be party to, and local observers refuse to accept it ‘as hardly probable’. They construct their own interpretation based on ‘the ragged posture of the ship’. This story thus tacitly recognises and deploys for propagandistic purposes a version of the consensual news culture examined in the previous chapter, where credible narratives were constructed and assented to between the state and the community.

Meanwhile, the *Gazette* reported from Amsterdam that ‘tis not a little strange to consider the falsities thrown about amongst the people here, to blow them up into a valour, by persuading them they were victorious’.⁸⁸ Of course, this could simply be the opinion of the Secretariat’s correspondent, not the *Gazette*’s newswriters. Usually in seventeenth-century news we would struggle to differentiate the two. However, one encounters a unique opportunity here. The archival preservation of the original intelligence letters which were edited into the *Gazette*’s news stories allows us to peer behind the curtain, witnessing the changes made to the report as it migrated from intelligence despatch to printed news story. In this case it emerges that the passage was, in fact, an editorial addition to the original letter. That had merely reported that ‘Our news at first of our ffight was dubious’.⁸⁹ There is no conspiracy, no playing to the mob. Comparing how the two diverge reveals that the editor added details which emphasised the top-down nature of the deception, deliberately ‘thrown about amongst the people’ by the Dutch state.

⁸⁷ Reports like this sought to circumvent the fact that, as Arlington confessed to Temple, the English had a poor idea of the number of Dutch casualties. In its newswriting, the Secretariat attributed this to conspiracy, rather than its own intelligence failures, *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 84; see also Temple’s letter to Arlington, SP 77/35 fol. 59^r.

⁸⁸ *Gazette*, no. 66 (2 July 1666).

⁸⁹ SP 101/49 fol. 31^r. The likely editor at this time is Charles Perrott; Williamson outsourced the job of compiling news reports and while he supplied the stories the extent of his textual management is unknown. Given his obsession for control it seems unlikely that it was limited: we have already seen Arlington himself intervening in newswriting, Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State* (1956), p. 49.

That said, the report was not entirely rewritten, and the *Gazette* reproduced some of the stories the original letter did relay. By using the well-established rhetoric of Dutch audacity to print outrageous rumours which were evidently untrue, it sought to discredit all Dutch reporting. Here, examples included the report ‘that General *Monck*’s Ship was fired, he himself fish’d out of the Water’, and that ‘to exasperate the people against the King of *England* they as falsly report, that he has sent 2 Ships with Dutch prisoners to the Turks, selling them for a Groat a man’.⁹⁰ So far, so extravagant. Returning to the original letter, however, reveals that the correspondent had taken the slavery rumour, widespread enough to be repeated in Dutch poetry, quite seriously: ‘I must desire yo^r answer to one thing, if the King has sent 2: shippes with Dutch Prisoners to the Turkes and sould them for a Groat a man, for this is here confidently affirm’d’.⁹¹ None of this trepidation made it to the print account, which explained that the story was made up ‘to exasperate the people’. When the original correspondent did provide an example of ‘how wee can forge’ – a rumour of dead English sailors seen floating in the Sunday clothes they had been pressed in – the editor decided it was unsuitable for publication.⁹²

This policy of foregrounding Dutch reports of victory in order to discredit them was widespread, and facilitated by an expectation, popularised through verse and polemic, that the Dutch were arrogant and presumptuous. It should therefore be no surprise that the false news allegation migrated back into commemorative poetry. This followed the conventions established in newsprint:

Got Home, (as they are wont) they proudly Boast,

And Brag, that We, not They, the Day had lost:

Through the wide World they strait disperse their Lyes:

If they can’t Get, they can Make Victories.⁹³

⁹⁰ *Gazette*, no. 66 (2 July 1666).

⁹¹ SP 101/49 fol. 31^r. See *Aan Nederlandt op de Bevogte Zegen tegens d’Engelse Roof-vloot* [To the Netherlands on the blessed fight against the English Raiding-fleet], in *Van Varen*, II, p. 193.

⁹² SP 101/49 fol. 31^v.

⁹³ *Essay: or a Narrative of the Two Great FIGHTS at SEA* (London: 1666), pp. 6-7. Dryden also mentioned this controversy in *Annus Mirabilis*, ‘Already were the *Belgians* on our coast, | Whose Fleet more mighty every day became, | By late success, which they did falsly boast, | And now, by first appearing seem’d to claim’ (669-672). His verse recognises how reports of victory could generate military momentum, although this was portrayed as a

The *Gazette* had described how false victory claims were being spread ‘through the wide World’. In this case the anonymous poet reimagines the feared Dutch monopoly on maritime trade as a dispersal of ‘Lyes’ rather than consumer goods, eliding the role of the Netherlands as a nexus of both news and shipping.⁹⁴ That the Dutch state was disseminating false news quickly became a fixture of the loyalist consensus. However, as we shall now see, it was not without challenge.

VI. ‘False news’ in Marvell’s satiric poetry on the Four Days’ Battle

Given Marvell’s concern with correcting reportage in the *Second Advice*, it should come as little surprise that he engaged with this conspicuous development in English news culture: all the more so as it was bound up with the intelligence crises which antagonised him. His *Third Advice to a Painter* appeared by early 1667. The first half is a parodic narrative of the Four Days’ Battle, broadly similar in style to the *Second Advice*. In the second half, Anne Monck, wife of the English commander George Monck, speaks a prophetic oration which departs from this form, roaming across time from the Restoration to the Fire of London. Like Pepys, Evelyn, Wither, Arlington and the *Gazette*, Marvell conspicuously dramatises the moment news of the battle arrived: ‘The sad tale found her in her outer room [...] She heard the news’ (173, 187).⁹⁵ The widespread compulsion to stage the experience of the arrival of news was unique to this battle (aside from Wither this formula was invisible after Lowestoft), and foregrounded the confusion felt afterwards. However, it is only in the *Last Instructions to a Painter* (1667), written after the war, that Marvell explicitly connects the intelligence failures of 1666 with the phrase ‘false news’. Looking back at the miscarriages of the war through the framing of Peter Pett, the Commissioner of Chatham Dockyards, Marvell enumerates the allegations against him as a series of

false confidence ready to give way under pressure – incidentally a view shared by the battle’s modern historian Fox, *The Four Days’ Battle* (1996), pp. 267-70.

⁹⁴ Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* (2002), pp. 257-60.

⁹⁵ Though the Secretariat’s news publications had dramatised the arrival of news in the Netherlands, not London.

failures which could be tacitly attributed to individuals in government.⁹⁶ Prime among them is Arlington: ‘Who with false news prevented the Gazette, | The Fleet divided, writ for Rupert? Pett’ (775-6). Writing in retrospect, Marvell particularly associates ‘false news’ with the Four Days’ Battle, the nadir of Arlington’s often risible intelligence management. However, unlike the newswriters and loyalist poets who imagined ‘false news’ as being imposed from above by the Dutch state, Marvell sees it as being imposed by the English. Furthermore, his conception of an outside force intervening to ‘prevent’ and obscure the transmission of intelligence correlates with an important development in the rhetoric of witnessing between the *Second* and *Third Advice* poems. Marvell’s engagement with these two rhetorics of newswriting (state-led falsification and optical witnessing) is key to understanding his changing response to news and intelligence after the Four Days’ Battle.

The previous chapter demonstrated how Marvell twisted the ubiquitous convention of optical proof to highlight the incompetence of the English commanders during the Battle of Lowestoft. Their haplessness saw them abdicate the role of witnesses. *The Third Advice* resumed this preoccupation with optics but altered it in crucial respects, directing criticism not at the commanders but the government at home, and above all at the Secretariat. The language of a very literal cover up replaced that of wilful ignorance. This quality has been recognised by critics interested in Marvell’s use of the ‘Painter’ conceit: for Nigel Smith, obscuration is an ironic attempt to have the painter ‘mask the shame’ of the battle; for Annabel Patterson, ‘the principle that concealment [...] is necessary’ establishes a pseudo-‘decorous’ tone, only for Marvell to subvert it half-way through with Anne Monck’s free speaking.⁹⁷ These are valid readings, but they can be supplemented with an interpretation which understands Marvell’s obscurations as a calculated alteration to the unacknowledged optical play of the *Second Advice*. In the *Third Advice*, lines of sight are blocked not by the actions of a perceiving individual who chooses not to see, but through an outside intervention imposing itself over the action, obscuring the whole event. Hence the poet insists ‘draw curtains, gentle artist, o’er this shame [...] And, if the things

⁹⁶ Edward Holberton, ‘Representing the Sea in Andrew Marvell’s “Advice to a Painter” Satires’, *Review of English Studies*, 66 (2015), 71–86 (pp. 82-4).

⁹⁷ Smith, *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 194-5; Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 92.

were true, yet paint it not' (106, 109). One may recall Huygens's use of the same image in his description of the English 'bedekken' [to cover]. In order to draw attention away from the wound to Monck's buttocks, the painter is likewise instructed that 'with story of his hand or thumb, | Conceal, as honour would, his Grace's bum' (123-4). They must also 'in a dark cloud cover Ascue' (119) when the Admiral is captured by the Dutch.

As Marvell's account of the battle goes on, these repeated acts of obscuration accrue into an ironic demand for a cover-up. However, as Wither had observed of the *True Narrative*, truth would keep breaking through, and the *Third Advice* also re-enacts the failure of government efforts to spin the result. An attempt to draw the reader's attention away with a valorising metaphor, 'The long disaster better o'er to veil, | Paint only Jonas three days in the whale, | Then draw the youthful Perseus all in haste, | From a sea-beast to free the virgin chaste' (131-4) still circuitously returns to English failure, and evolves into a metaphor for Monck's defeat: 'For no less time did conqu'ring Ruyter chaw | Our flying gen'ral in his spongy maw' (137-8). In a process Arlington might have recognised, each failure to censor the story of the battle seems to introduce yet another disaster. With the painter conspicuously failing to complete the cover-up and stall the poem's forward momentum, it is left to God to have a go:

When a propitious cloud betwixt us stepped

And in our aid did Ruyter intercept.

Old Homer yet did never introduce,

To save his heroes, mist of better use (157-60).

In the *Second Advice* Marvell had praised Charles as 'our sun' (357) with the power to reveal 'kingdoms calm of joy and light' (363). In the circumstances of the *Third* a clarification is required: 'Worship the sun, who dwell where he does rise: | This mist does more deserve our sacrifice' (161-2). In the end, the English are left to do obeisance to obscurity. However, even this mist is unbelievable. It is a contrived *deus ex machina* which true poetry would not countenance, something 'Old Homer yet did never introduce'. Even the one real cover-up feels fake, as if it better belongs in Waller's poetry.

This crisis in information transfer was also experienced through other senses and media, expanding beyond optical play to sound. Marvell provided a curious account of those listening to the cannon fire for news. Somehow, the sound became a no-sound:

The list'ning air, unto the distant shore,

Through secret pipes conveys the tunèd roar:

Till, as the echoes vanishing abate,

Men feel a deaf sound, like the pulse of Fate (65-8).

In fact, this paradoxical 'deaf sound' was not poetic licence but a genuine phenomenon experienced during the battle, and recorded by both Evelyn and Pepys:

It is a miraculous thing that we all Friday and Saturday and yesterday did hear everywhere most plainly the guns go off, and yet at Deale and Dover, to last night, they did not hear one word of a fight, nor think they heard one gun. This [...] makes room for a great dispute in Philosophy, how we should hear it and not they, the same wind that brought it to us being the same that should bring it to them.⁹⁸

Fox has explained that this 'great dispute in Philosophy' was the result of differences between the speed of sound in warm and cold air.⁹⁹ Marvell harnessed the mystery of this 'miraculous thing' which worked by unknown 'secret pipes' as another example of information corrupted in transmission. Sound became unheard and experienced tactilely 'like the pulse of Fate'. As with the poem's optics, sense impressions are not impeded by the individual's comprehension but by travel across a perverted medium. Furthermore, as one may recall from the *Second Advice*, accurate information cannot be extrapolated from tactile impressions. Determining if the sound of cannon fire was gaining or retreating could not be accomplished by touch or 'pulse'. Instead, the result remains unknown. In the *Third Advice* those reduced to interpretation by touch are not simply the commanders York and Sandwich, as in the *Second Advice*: it is the entire 'shore' of England. A previously unmediated way for the population to receive information becomes ominous and uncertain.

⁹⁸ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 145 (4 June 1666); see also *Kalendarium*, III, p. 437.

⁹⁹ Fox, *The Four Days' Battle* (1996), p. 244.

A combination of optical and aural play is also deployed to describe the Secretariat's initial intelligence failure. The splitting of the fleet and the pursuit of the elusive French admiral Beaufort occurs twice in the poem, and on both occasions it is described as an optical illusion. During Anne Monck's speech Jeremy Smith's expedition to the Mediterranean in early 1666 is imagined to be part of a wider conspiracy to divide England's naval might:

Beaufort is there, and, to their dazzling eyes,

The distance more the object magnifies (277-8).

Again, a medium warps representation: 'the distance more the object magnifies' as expected optical principles invert (as that 'deaf sound' had done). The description of their eyes as 'dazzling' opens up two readings, the first via the now obsolete sense of 'dazzling' as 'dazzled', the other that it is Smith's eyes which do the 'dazzling'. This ambiguity highlights the occasionally porous boundary between the *Second Advice*'s incompetence, where the problem is located in the organ of perception, and the intelligence failures of the *Third*, where information is impeded *en route*.

Marvell's description of the division of the fleet at the start of the poem is more complex. One returns to Rupert's original expedition to find Beaufort before the Four Days' Battle, but in this case the Prince is imagined as participating in the supernatural folkloric event which became anachronistically reified in the nineteenth century as the Wild Hunt:

Rupert to Beaufort hollow: 'Ay there, Rupert!'

Like the fantastic hunting of St Hubert,

When he with airy hounds, and horn of air,

Pursues by Fontainbleu the witchy hare (53-6).¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The 'Wild Hunt', or 'Wilde Jagd' was a construction of nineteenth century folklorists. However, this amalgamated a series of longstanding and disparate European popular tales which were in perpetual evolution. For the complex history of this story, see Ronald Hutton, *The Witch: A History of Fear* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 125-8.

The allusive density of this passage belies its apparent simplicity, for it enfolds together a thick collage of motifs focused on delusion. Of these, the most evident to contemporary English newsreaders was Marvell's wry deployment of an old but popular libel from the Civil Wars. This explained that Rupert's aggressive conduct and plundering as a young cavalry commander was due to witchcraft, channelled through a familiar embodied in his infamous dog, Boy, 'who could go invisibly himself [and] under these disguises he brings us [parliamentarian London] false Informations'.¹⁰¹ This story had been constructed in the early 1640s across several royalist and parliamentarian news publications in which it is difficult to discern where sincerity ends and satire begins.¹⁰² Marvell's 'airy hounds, and horn of air' and the accompanying 'witchy hare' revive these tales and their concern with correct apprehension.¹⁰³ That libel folds into another memory of the Civil Wars, Rupert's notoriety for racing off into distance after breaking the enemy cavalry: 'Pursue no more, yee noble *Victors* stay, | Least too much Conquest loose so brave a day', as Abraham Cowley cautioned in his abortive epic *The Civill War*.¹⁰⁴ A mounted Rupert careering after a deceptive advantage while the real victory slipped between his fingers was already a longstanding commonplace. Twenty years later Rupert overshoots once again, careering across the Channel to the seat of the French king. Rupert, therefore, is misled by delusions and optical sleights which played on fault-lines in a martial reputation long established in news, folklore and poetry.

The passage extends beyond Rupert. Those memories of the Civil War synthesise with the Catholic myth of the legendary huntsman 'St Hubert'. This leads to another popular example of delusion: cults of Catholic saint worship – in this case the 'fantastic hunting' – were conventionally read by Protestants as failures of interpretation, the mistaking of icon for reality. Kate Loveman has pointed out the contemporary distinction between the sceptical 'Protestant reader' and their deluded

¹⁰¹ *Observations vpon Prince Ryperts White Dog, Called Boy* (London?: 1642), pp. A2v-A3r. See also Rupert as 'some fiery spirit mounted on some airy apparition in the likenes of a horse' in *Prince Robert his Plot Discovered* (London: 1642).

¹⁰² Mark Stoye, *The Black Legend of Prince Rupert's Dog: Witchcraft and Propaganda during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011), pp. 31-47; Bellamy and Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (2015), pp. 408-9.

¹⁰³ Marvell was later to describe the collective delusion of the early 1670s as 'so bewitched a time', *P&L*, II, p. 316. In his prose writing, witchcraft marked a failure of critical interpretation, a mistaking of maliciously crafted fiction for substance: 'Though I never heard before of a Church that was Bewitched, except that of the Galatians, *Gal.* 3.I. Whom St. Paul asks, *O foolish Galatians who hath Bewitched you?* taking it for evident that they were so, *because* (they are his very next words) *they did not obey the Truth*', *PW*, II, pp. 62-4.

¹⁰⁴ *The Civil War*, ed. by Allan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), (I.271-2).

Catholic counterpart.¹⁰⁵ However, with the appearance of St Hubert Marvell draws a more specific popular folk tale into his poem, and one which has gone unnoticed by critics. The story in question is of the mystical appearance of St Hubert to Henri IV in 1598 while he was ‘chassant en la grande Forest de Fontainebleau’.¹⁰⁶ This story might have appealed as, at the time of the Four Days’ Battle, the *Gazette* had reported that Louis XIV was summering at the royal estate at Fontainebleau.¹⁰⁷ Found in Pierre Matthieu’s *Histoire de France et des choses mémorables* (1605), this tale is another example of European vernacular print making its way under the surface of Marvell’s satires.¹⁰⁸ In the story, Henri:

entendit comme à vne demie lieuë loing de l’endroit où il estoit, des iappesmens de chiens, le cry & le cor des chasseurs, & en vn moment tout ce bruit qui sembloit ester bien elloigné, se presenta à vingt pas pres de son oreille.¹⁰⁹

[heard as if from half a league away from the place where he was, squeals of dogs, the cry and the horn of the hunters, and in one moment all this noise which seemed to be well distant, presented itself at twenty steps near his ear.]

Henri sent the Comte de Soissons to investigate: ‘Soissons s’aduançant entendit le bruit sans veoir d’où il venoit’ [Soissins approaching, heard the noise without seeing where it came from]. When a large man appeared – the ‘Phantosme en la Forest’ – some of their party claimed it was a local spirit called ‘le grand Veneur’ [the great Hunter], while others that it was ‘saint Hubert’.¹¹⁰

While a playfulness familiar from his use of Bergerac surely underlies Marvell’s allusion to this tale, it is also a coherent fit with the wider questions of information transmission packed into this passage and the poem as a whole. The folktale is concerned with (mis)apprehension and interpretation. Like the cannon-fire which disappeared only to reappear elsewhere, the horns of the hunt are difficult to pinpoint: human senses are confused by information’s progress through a distorting medium which, under normal circumstances, should be clear. Despite hearing it close by, Soissons struggles to find the

¹⁰⁵ Loveman, *Reading Fictions* (2008), p. 25.

¹⁰⁶ Pierre Matthieu, *Histoire de France et des choses mémorables* (Paris: 1605), I, p. 155.

¹⁰⁷ *Gazette*, no. 56 (28 May 1666).

¹⁰⁸ This story also occurs in Abraham Gölnitz’s *Ulysses Belgio-Gallus* (Leiden: 1631), pp. 163-5, but Marvell’s inclusion of St Hubert, absent Gölnitz’s version, indicates that Matthieu was the likely source.

¹⁰⁹ Matthieu, *Histoire de France* (1605), I, p. 155.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 155-6.

source of the noise, a spectral phenomenon remembered in Marvell's 'horns of air', and with satisfying resonances in Rupert's hunt for Beaufort. When the spectre itself appears, it is uncertain who the figure represents, and several markedly different interpretations are offered. Is this a ghostly appearance or a religious one? The evidence is uncertain.¹¹¹ Marvell's concern with delusion and the interruption of information therefore runs deep in this satire, permeating into a realm of folkloric play which, in its obscurity, takes us beyond any straight-forward polemic and into a densely aestheticised meditation on news and intelligence.

What solution was there when intelligence was so compromised? One of the most notable features of the *Third Advice* is its steady progress through a panoply of increasingly experimental truth-tellers and media. This has been long recognised by critics, though it is rarer for them to situate this in relation to questions of reportage. In particular, Martin Dzelzainis has explored the classical antecedents of the Duchess's prophetic voice, with the hope of vindicating her from charges of untrustworthiness by making her a modern Delphic oracle.¹¹² Patterson, meanwhile, reads her as a necessarily grotesque figure whose outsider status adds legitimacy and perspicacity to her satiric observations: the plain-speaking commoner wife is given 'the graver part of the satirist's message'.¹¹³ Whatever sort of prophetess we wish to imagine the Duchess as, these truth-tellers do not require extensive rehearsal. Modern criticism generally agrees that they are used sincerely. It does, however, remain relevant to consider Marvell's truth-tellers in relation to his misgivings about the integrity of intelligence explored here.

The poem concludes by offering a radically new form of information transmission which transcends the frequently compromised media of sight and sound. In the concluding envoy Anne Monck

¹¹¹ The term used repeatedly for sound in the tale, 'bruit', also means 'rumour' in French (i.e. 'un bruit qui court'), as well as in English and Scots, *OED*, 'Bruit'. 'Bruit' was also used in French language reportage to describe the sound of naval canon fire, 'on a entendu des dehors de cete ville un bruit de canon épouventable' [we heard from outside the city a the terrible sound of canons], *La Gazette d'Amsterdam* (22 August 1673); 'the bruit of a Victory' was also reported from the Netherlands in the *Gazette* following the Four Days' Battle, no. 65 (28 June 1666).

¹¹² Martin Dzelzainis, "'Presbyterian Sibyl': Truth Telling and Gender in Andrew Marvell's 'Third Advice to a Painter'", in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 111–28 (p. 121).

¹¹³ Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (1999), p. 94.

is imagined as ‘Cassandra’ (447) indicating that, despite their veracity, her prophecies are doomed to be ignored. The prophetess is, when it comes down to it, merely another stymied medium of truth. However, as the poem ends Marvell recasts the Duchess as Philomel, aligning her with pure and unmediated truth-telling. The imagery itself was a commonplace, extracted from a tradition of cavalier pastorals which had already used the myth to reflect on the reception of news. During the height of the Thirty Years War, for instance, Richard Fanshawe used it to suggest how artful transmission could transform horrific continental news, ‘a Scene | of bloudyer rage’, into an unproblematic abstraction: ‘How prettily she tells a tale | Of rape and blood’.¹¹⁴ Fanshawe’s Philomel stripped reportage of its significance, and ensured its stories remained so far removed in time and place that any threat or demand for intervention was inconceivable.

If Fanshawe had repudiated the significance of news, Marvell took the opposite approach. His transformation of Anne Monck into Philomel was an apotheosis in which she became the perfect news medium:

So Philomel her sad embroid’ry strung,

And vocal silks tuned with her needle’s tongue.

(The picture dumb, in colours loud, revealed

The tragedies of court, so long concealed.)

But, when restored to voice, increased with wings,

To woods and groves, what once she painted, sings (451-6).

The sound of cannon-shot had become attenuated and separated out. Vision had likewise been occluded and distorted. Here, finally, sound and vision overlap and interpenetrate in a new hybrid form which

¹¹⁴ *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, ed. by Peter Davidson, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), I, p. 59. Leah Marcus has argued that Fanshawe’s poem ‘openly designed to further [a] Stuart policy’ of isolationism, ‘Politics and Pastoral: Writing the Court in the Countryside’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 139–59 (p. 145); see also David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (1999), pp. 63–9. For the argument that such poetry does in fact advocate for an active life, albeit in the service of domestic reform, see James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 205–7.

exceeds the limitations of its constituent parts and the corruptions of other media. Distinctions between them collapse as Philomel works with her birdlike ‘needle’s tongue’ and sound and vision blur together in ‘vocal silks’ and ‘colours loud’. Patterson was right to suggest that ‘it is difficult to do justice to the puns, paradoxes, reversals, and condensations of this passage’, yet the density which she recognises is also integral to this passage’s message.¹¹⁵ This is an apotheosis whereby transmission and understanding instantaneously coexistent, held together in a moment, with no opportunity for interruption. The passage of information across time during the *Third Advice* was repeatedly impeded, but here time, like form, dilates and extends to wrap around itself: Philomel’s metamorphosis is not sudden, but an ongoing experience contained in a single moment of instantaneous understanding. She is birdlike, with ‘her needle’s tongue’, even before she transforms. The passage is so dense because truth comes like a tidal wave, unstoppable and all-encompassing. This is not the intermittent dribble of news, hearsay and gossip, where truth must be constructed by the reader: in this ambitious fantasy, truth is self-evident and indisputable. One might recall Marvell’s evocation in the House of Commons of Fuller’s description of Walsingham’s ideal intelligence operation, where distance and potential corruption is also imaginatively effaced by magical body parts: ‘cunning his hands, who could unpick the Cabinets in the Popes Conclave; quick his ears, who could hear at *London*, what was whispered at *Rome*’.¹¹⁶ Unlike his Commons speech, however, the poem allows Marvell to access the implications of the legend of Philomel and her ‘sad embroid’ry’, and thus the promise of revenge against those who first cut out her tongue.

¹¹⁵ Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (1999), p. 96.

¹¹⁶ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), pp. 75-6.

VII. Triumphal bonfires in the *London Gazette* and Marvell's *Third Advice to a Painter*:

writing and performance

If this is Marvell at his most hopeful, his fiercest denunciation of state newswriting in the *Third Advice* is found at the conclusion of his narrative of the Four Days' Battle, in which he addresses the 'joyful fires' (163) and celebrations that occurred following the news of an English victory. Marvell here appropriates a key permutation of the *Gazette*'s false news narrative, the reporting of Dutch triumphs. Triumphs, the burning of bonfires, ringing of bells, firing of guns and distribution of alcohol, were longstanding and widely recognised components in the news process and accepted as a means, both in performance and via textual report, to consolidate the certainty of a news event. Marvell's rendering of English bonfires draws specifically on how Dutch celebrations were reported in the English press, and engages with state newswriting techniques in a creative and highly critical manner.

Triumphal bonfires had been organised to mark state events since the Henrican period, and over the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were a territory where popular will met regime narratives.¹¹⁷ The role played by bonfires in consolidating news through public performance has been addressed by David Randall in his study of the Thirty Years War. They comprised what he calls 'public ritual' or 'ritual news', the performance in a 'public act of belief' of the process of 'assigning credibility' which functioned as a 'basic guarantor of the credibility of military news'.¹¹⁸ Randall also emphasises that these were not just local events: in their fundamental performativity they addressed outside observers. For organisers and participants they were 'self-consciously used for persuasion and propaganda', and the message of the celebration was typically 'communicated to enemies with the hopes of disheartening them'.¹¹⁹ This naturally led to frequent suspicions of falsification.¹²⁰ Political utilisation of triumphal fires was widespread: already in the early sixteenth century bonfires in London

¹¹⁷ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 70.

¹¹⁸ Randall, *Early Stuart Military News* (2010), pp. 26, 29.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.



Figure 3. Amsterdam celebrates the 1667 Peace of Breda in a Dutch news engraving, The National Archives, MPF 1/232.

had been occasion for competitive ambassadorial politics. The representatives of various regimes sought to use the participation of local crowds in their parties as an endorsement of their policies and narratives, jockeying for a performance of international solidarity from the English public.¹²¹ That said, it would be wrong to consider bonfires simply as state impositions. There was a widespread perception that they were popular, communal outpourings of good faith and solidarity. They were a site where state narratives met the consent of public consensus. Earlier writers like John Stow were clear about the social unity fostered by bonfires: ‘These were called Bonefires, as well of aminty amongst neighbors, that being before at controversie, were then by the labour of others reconciled, and made of bitter enemies, loving friends’.¹²² Bonfires were a crucial part of news, but news bound to symbols of community and consensus.

¹²¹ Steven Gunn, ‘War, Dynasty and Public Opinion in Early Tudor England’, in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England*, ed. by Steven Gunn and G.W. Bernard (London: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 131–49 (pp. 133–4).

¹²² In this case, during seasonal festivities, John Stow, *The Survey of London* (London: Nicolas Bourn, 1633), p. 84.

In order to understand the portrayal of triumphal bonfires in news and poetry after the Four Days' Battle, one must keep in mind their role in the consolidation of news narratives, particularly within a dynamic international context, and also their significance as an uncertain site where state imposition synthesised with a validating popular consensus. One of the key stimulants for the intensification of the English state's false news rhetoric was a growing anticipation of the celebrations planned by the Dutch. These would function as corroboration of the victorious Dutch narrative and reports of the celebrations would, as usual, be used to transmit that narrative internationally.¹²³ This was particularly the case when it came to the celebrations held by Dutch diplomats abroad, performed before influential foreigners and foreign publics who had already been appealed to by Dutch print and manuscript campaigns. As such, these triumphs became quasi-imaginary geographical sites onto which the contention between the English and Dutch narratives was written and performed. Planning his own party in Brussels, Temple reflected on how the coming celebrations would reinforce the Dutch print campaign:

the care they haue taken in dispersing numerous pamphlets upon this last occasion has been extraordinary, but to very little purpose in thees parts, where the cheat is grown ridiculous and will be more so by the great solemnity I hear the Dutch Resident intends heer tomorrow night by fireworks and other expressions of joy for their pretended victory.¹²⁴

In Brussels, which was better disposed to the English, Temple could afford to be confident that 'the cheat is grown ridiculous'. The relatively weak Spanish Netherlands were, however, of incidental importance in the wider narrative contest.

When reports from Amsterdam arrived of the Dutch thanksgiving on 20/30 June they were as galling as the English had feared. The Secretariat received multiple outraged accounts that 'they haue

¹²³ Dutch prints claiming victory after the two Battles of Schooneveld (1673) followed reports of the combat with instructions for a particularly rigorous 'Dank-vast-en Bede-Dagh' [Thanksgiving and Prayer day]. 'De Fransche en Engelsche Kerken' [The French and English Churches] of Amsterdam were invited to participate in the prayers for peace, *Afbeeldinge van de twee Zee-Slagen* (Amsterdam: Marcus Doornick, 1673). 'Victory en Vreughde-Vuuren' [Victory and Jubilation-Fires] are also conspicuous as both images and text on Dutch newsprints celebrating the 1667 peace, *Eeuwige Gedenck-Tekenen, Van de Engelse en Nederlantse Oorlogh en Vreede* [Eternal thanks-images, of the English and Dutch war and peace] (Amsterdam: Marcus Doornick, 1667).

¹²⁴ SP 77/34 fol. 323^r.

Bonfired y^e Last day of Junii new styll, wth such Ruednes y^e lyke was neuer seen'.¹²⁵ The vivid performance of extravagant celebration in the street, in newsprint and in manuscript infuriated English observers. It also posed a serious danger. The performance of such certainty only added credibility to the Dutch narrative, while the English struggled to appear anything other than downcast. Thomas Guy, an English captain, later told Pepys that 'the whole fleet was ashamed to hear of our Bone-fires'.¹²⁶ In response, the Secretariat asserted more and more strongly that the Dutch celebrations derived from a disinformation campaign run by the Dutch state. This strategy sought to show that the bonfires were not effusions of popular solidarity and consensus but artificial impositions. In this, English newswriters finally experienced some good fortune: by July intelligencers across Europe were writing back with reports of Dutch celebrations going spectacularly awry. As a result, the Secretariat did not omit to report these triumphs, but incorporated them into a new, moralising news narrative. According to this template, Dutch festivities were repeatedly inverted and both providential and popular justice rejected the narrative they endorsed.

Another correspondent wrote from Amsterdam with news that effigies of Monck, Rupert and Charles, fashioned to resemble portrayals of the English in Dutch popular prints, had been burnt in public.¹²⁷ 'You may see our Ingenuity to burne our Enemies as well as to gett the Victory' they observed.¹²⁸ This report was shorn of sensitive details and included in the *Gazette*:

These things blown amongst the People, have raised them to such a height of insolence, that in their extravagant Thanksgiving they could not refrain from exposing and burning their Enemies in Effigy; and besides the Prince and General, spared not the Persons of the King and Queen.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ SP 84/180 fol. 60^r.

¹²⁶ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 344 (28 October 1666).

¹²⁷ 'In some places was Moncke (one hand black & lame the other the sword almost out of his hand) sett in a pitch-Tub with a long Taile. In others Prince Rupert with a Taile also [...] In another place the King was made like a Dogg with a Crowne on his head, & the Harpe on one side with Strings broke, on the other the Rose & Thistle weathered, the Vnicorne running', SP 101/49 fol. 31^v; another wrote that the Dutch had 'making two men of Strawe & Called y^e one y^e Duke of Jork & y^e other Prince Ro^t: w^{ch} they burned in their fyres wth two whiyt flages & two Jakes', SP 84/180 fol. 60^r; Staffell, 'The Horrible Tail-Man' (2000), pp. 179-82.

¹²⁸ SP 101/49 fol. 31^v.

¹²⁹ *Gazette*, no. 66 (2 July 1666).

The change from ‘our ingenuity’ to the more familiar Dutch ‘insolence’ demonstrates an English editorial policy to play up the unimaginative volatility of the Dutch public. Creative agency is removed from the civilian population and transferred to the state as ‘these things blown amongst the people’ drive them to an emotional excess and ‘height of insolence’ which was practically uncontrollable: ‘they could not refrain’ from their actions. These were all editorial additions. The *Gazette* then drew on the original letter to provide a moralising conclusion to the heady mixture of false news and mass hysteria. The correspondent had been delighted to report that:

the fire flying ouer the Walls was by the Wind so caryed that it burned 2: houses & a barne. many Children killed and many hurt [...] and now I leave you to Judge the acceptableness of this sacrifice.¹³⁰

Rewriting this carefully, the *Gazette* reported how the Dutch celebrations were:

returned with some Injuries to themselves; the Fire of their Bonfires having burnt down 2 Houses and a Barn, and many Children kill’d and hurt.¹³¹

By underlining that this disaster was ‘returned’ upon the people, the *Gazette* made the retributive qualities suggested in the letter more explicit, and tied it directly to the celebrations. The letter’s ‘sacrifice’ to the success of the celebrations became a ‘return’ for its falsehood. Furthermore, the earlier additions by the newswriter helped to emphasise this sense of natural justice, and tie it more strongly to false news. The celebrations had initially been sparked by ‘these things blown amongst the People’, a coinage of the newswriter’s own and a neat device which foreshadowed the fire which spread from the dancing embers. It created an artful equivalence between the uncontrollable fires of the Dutch celebrations and the equally combustible consequences of false rumours.

The inverted triumph which became its own defeat underwent a number of further iterations. The same edition reported that Admiral Tromp’s ship ‘had all her Rigging damaged and burnt by their Lanthorns and Fires in their Thanksgiving-day’, while from further afield came a report that the Dutch Resident at Denmark had *died* during his triumph.¹³² The *Gazette* trimmed an already sparse account

¹³⁰ SP 101/49 fol. 32^r.

¹³¹ *Gazette*, no. 66 (2 July 1666).

¹³² *Gazette*, no. 66 (2 July 1666); this was labelled ‘a very ill Omen, and [...] peculiar Judgement’ in *The Current Intelligence*, no. 9 (2 July 1666).

from the English Consul John Paul to portray the death as another retributive blow against Dutch vainglory. The involvement of the French Resident, Danish King and local burgers was suppressed from Paul's original letter and the extravagance of the thanksgiving accentuated. A simple description of 'bonfires [...] for y^e Hollands victory obtained' became a story of how the Dutch 'celebrated their pretended Victory with great ceremony'.¹³³ This was no longer the communal event described in the letter in which several nations shared, but a Dutch imposition. Furthermore, the letter had related how there was a thunderstorm during these celebrations and a bolt of lightning struck the royal 'palace and sported the walls'.¹³⁴ Continuing with the theme of characteristically Dutch extravagance, this was transformed in the *Gazette* to the more mercantile-sounding 'Banketting-house' – removing the 'palace' also removed more evidence of international solidarity.¹³⁵ Another lightning strike which killed a seamen aboard the Dutch ship the *St Michael* was included. Finally, the death of the Dutch Resident was also given a more providential and moralising tenor. While the letter had added that 'also the hollands Resident soon dyed: who was well the day befor' the *Gazette* concluded that 'after all, the Resident himself fell down suddenly dead'.¹³⁶ Paul's letter had placed his death within the framework of weird happenings associated with the thanksgiving, the Consul feeling compelled to assert his Dutch counterpart's prior health in case this was mistaken for gradual sickness or infirmity. As such, in the letter it is not clear how instantaneous the death was. In the newspaper it is. The shift to 'fell down suddenly' acquires a providential tenor, the Dutchman struck down 'suddenly' and in implicit connection with the lightning strikes that killed the seaman.

The influence of this revised narrative can be demonstrated by the response of the intellectual John Evelyn. After the war the English government gave Evelyn broad access to the state archives to

¹³³ SP 75/18 fol. 73^r; *Gazette*, no. 72 (23 July 1666). Paul included short accounts of the triumph's accidents in several letters to the Secretariat, although the eventual *Gazette* article is based only on SP 75/18 fols. 73-4: the earlier versions reported the death of the Dutch Resident's son, while in the letter in question and the *Gazette* it is the Resident himself who dies; SP 75/18 fol. 71^r; SP 75/18 fol. 72^r.

¹³⁴ SP 75/18 fol. 73^r. The date of the letter (10 July) is mistaken in the *Gazette* (15 July).

¹³⁵ The customary scribal summary written on the outside of the letter by the Secretariat's clerk maintains Paul's 'Palace', indicating 'Banketting-house' was added by the newswriter. In earlier letters Paul had described it both as the 'Castell' and 'the Kings Palace or Pleasure-house', SP 75/18 fol. 71^r; SP 75/18 fol. 72^r. These two other letters do not have scribal summaries on the reverse. For contemporary satires of Dutch consumption and feasting, and its connection to Dutch civic culture, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: an Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987), pp. 150-220.

¹³⁶ SP 75/18 fol. 73^r; *Gazette*, no. 72 (23 July 1666).

write a loyalist history of the conflict. This included the full print run of the *Gazette* and state intelligence letters, including those from Denmark.¹³⁷ Evelyn considered this incident to be particularly illustrative of Dutch misinformation, and recorded it in his notes:

The Dutch made greate brags of this ^pretended Victory not onely in Holl^d but other Countryes where their ministrs were but more remarkabl in Denmark, where ther Resident celebratg the news of it wth great ceremony; a Thunderbolt falling on the banquetg house (besides other hurt) struck y^e Resident dead on the place.¹³⁸

That Evelyn got this story from the *Gazette* is clear in his use of ‘banquetg house’. He also extrapolated – thanks to the newspaper’s careful redactions – that it was the lightning striking that building which ‘struck y^e Resident dead on the place’. Evelyn fully embraced the providential logic which underlay the story of ‘rejoicing how allay’d in Denmark’, as he described it elsewhere: this despite the fact that he, with original letter and print story to hand, was one of the best placed readers imaginable for avoiding this construction.¹³⁹ Instead, he looked forward to the moment when the Dutch ‘made bonfire not for joy, but to dry up their tears’ after the next battle.¹⁴⁰

The most elaborate of these episodes, however, came from William Temple in Brussels. We have already seen his trepidation of his rival’s triumph. Temple’s lengthy letters were more vivid than Paul’s: the next year Arlington commended his account of the French invasion of the Spanish Netherlands which ‘paint out to us the miserable Condition of that Country: But much better than any other representation’.¹⁴¹ That artful quality made Temple’s newsletters particularly easy to adapt and his account of the Dutch triumph in Brussels quickly made it into the *Gazette* with only minimal editorial intervention. Temple had warned Arlington that, while the story had utility, this was not immediately obvious: it was ‘something fresher & more entertaining, and though it seem light at y^e

¹³⁷ See the ‘Demark: Journal’ notes Evelyn made in London, British Library, Add MS 78401, fol. 41^r; ‘All our Gazetts &c’ are listed as a source in London, British Library, Add MS 78393, fol. 30^v.

¹³⁸ Add MS 78401, fol. 35^v.

¹³⁹ Add MS 78393, fol. 30^v.

¹⁴⁰ Add MS 78401, fol. 25^r.

¹⁴¹ *Arlington’s Letters*, p. 190. Arlington extended similar praise to the Duke of Ormonde in October 1665, ‘you paint the Poverty of that Kingdom [Ireland] so feelingly’, *Miscellanea Aulica: Or, a Collection of State-Treatises, Never before publish’d*, ed. by Thomas Brown (London: 1702), p. 362.

beginning yett may, for ought I know proue serious at y^e Ende'.¹⁴² Arlington recognised this, and acknowledged the 'Comical Story of the *Dutch Residents Bonefires*' in his reply.¹⁴³ A 'Comical Story' with a firm message was just what the *Gazette* needed. Temple wrote first of the success of his own bonfire:

I judg'd fitt to doe it with a Moderation suitable to y^e Occasion, though to shew my Owne Confidence of the Victory I drunk a La sante des bainqueurs w^{ch} went Rounde with a great applause both in y^e house and the Street. The Dutch Resident heer haueing made much more Noyse of their Successe resolved it seems to make more show too, and upon Wednesday night Last, prepared a pyle after this Country fashion of three Storys & as high as a Maste; [...] the fyre was Giuen, but for fear of Quenching it noe liquor was sufferd to come neer it; The boys it seems not Careing much for fyre alone in a hot Night, begun to ~~through~~ throw their hatts at it, and an Ordinary fellow coming by gaue one of y^e Lower Barrells a Kick wth some scorne ~~it seems~~ saying, hee wonderd these fellow should make bonfyr, when they had bin beaten, this kick was not thought fitt to bee indured.¹⁴⁴

This fracas then escalated as the crowd began pelting the residence with stones. The Dutch responded and:

the Garison within planted two small brasse Gunns (used comonly in drinking of healths) at a Window pretending to giue fyre upon y^e Crowde.¹⁴⁵

The Dutch were then beaten back by the mob, who attacked the residency 'Crying out Viue le Roy D'Angletere Viue L Espagne Et L Angletere'.¹⁴⁶ The riot had to be broken up by the Marquis de Castelo Roderigo, the governor of Brussels, and the Dutch Resident fled town.

Temple, rightly on guard about French designs on the Spanish Netherlands, interpreted the 'serious [...] Ende' of the story within that context:

¹⁴² SP 77/34 fol. 332^r.

¹⁴³ *Arlington's Letters*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁴ SP 77/34 fol. 332^r.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 332^v.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

some men look serious upon it and think that the putting out of this fyre may kindle another much longer liued, considering y^e indeauors w^{ch} the french will Certainly use to blow it up.¹⁴⁷

This interpretation was not shared by the *Gazette*, which omitted Temple's analysis, though nonetheless leaving more of his language intact than the previous examples. As such, the omissions are more revealing of editorial intent than the mostly incidental revisions. For instance, as this episode occurred within a pattern of stories which see crowds as victims of Dutch misinformation, the newspaper neglected to mention the 'difficulty and threats of y^e People to force the Gardes themselus' as the riot was broken up.¹⁴⁸ Such detail which would have detracted from the sympathy intended for the crowd and would have rendered their actions less rational and directed, less a carefully controlled rejection of Dutch misinformation. The crowd was also subjected to greater danger from the Dutch Resident. The *Gazette* removed Temple's parenthetical diminution of the cannons pointed at the crowd. No longer are they party toys 'used comonly in drinking of healths', but legitimate weaponry directed menacingly at a crowd by the Dutch: 'those within placed two small Brass Guns at a window, pretending to give fire upon the crowd'.¹⁴⁹ When the rhetoric of the Dutch state failed to impose itself, it was replaced with the threat of violence. Furthermore, the Dutch celebrations became a more extravagant imposition than in the letter, where they had occurred in competition with the English. The *Gazette* made no mention of Temple's party, but adding that the Dutch Resident's celebration was done with 'as much show of joy as possible he could'.¹⁵⁰ (Temple had only said the Resident was 'resolved it seems to make more show too').¹⁵¹ These changes serve to enhance the prevailing sense in the original that the Dutch ran aground on attempts to manipulate the communal consensus traditionally associated with bonfires. 'It seems the Grain of that Countrey goes well with us', Arlington commented, 'it is pity it is no more visible yet in the Superiour Orbs'.¹⁵² That consensus was instead turned back against the Dutch, and their attempts to control the crowd quickly descend into violence.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ *Gazette*, no. 65 (28 June 1666). For a shorter version of this story, either lifted from the *Gazette* or deriving from a different source altogether, see *The Current Intelligence*, no. 9 (2 July 1666).

¹⁵⁰ *Gazette*, no. 65 (28 June 1666).

¹⁵¹ SP 77/34 fol. 332^r.

¹⁵² *Arlington's Letters*, p. 86.

These alterations drew the episode closer into line with the established pattern of inverted triumphs, standardising a chaotic event into the expected narrative framework. However, the English were not the only ones writing the news. Foreign diplomats in Brussels ascribed the riot to simpler causes:

Le resident d'Angleterre aviot fait des feux le mesme soir et avoit fait donner du vin a tous ceux qui en demandoient, et parce que l'on n'en donnoit point chez l'autre, la populace voulnt esteindre le feu, ce que ses domestiques voulant empescher, elle en prit occasion de commettre d'autres insolences.¹⁵³

[The English resident had made fires the same evening and had given wine to all who asked, and because it was not given at the other, the people wanted to put the fire out, which his servants tried to stop, and they took this opportunity to commit other insolences.]

Temple had read the danger of French invasion into the story, while the *Gazette* interpreted it as a retribution against Dutch false news. Others provided a simpler explanation: Temple had got the locals drunk and irascible. So much for 'a Moderation suitable to y^e Occasion'.¹⁵⁴ This drunken mob then trashed the Dutch bonfire when the Resident refused to serve them. This distinction is worth making as it highlights the artificiality of the English position: it was a rhetorical construction carefully extrapolated from real events which drew expected continuities between very different occurrences. This influenced interpretations among the English, but not further afield. Nevertheless, it is important to note that none of these stories were total falsifications. Each came from reputable intelligencers. Facts were not made up, but a systemic project of tactical omission and partisan retelling developed a powerful interpretative strategy which contoured newsreading, newswriting and Evelyn's history

¹⁵³ Abraham de Wicquefort to Hugues de Lionne (8 July 1666), in *Bescheiden Uit Vreemde Archieven Omtrent Te Groote Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen 1652-1676*. [Documents from foreign archives concerning the great Dutch naval wars, 1652-1676], ed. by H.T. Colenbrander ('s-Gravenhage: 1919), p. 403. For background on Wicquefort, a part-time spy and newswriter who also supplied intelligence to the English, see Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 248-9.

¹⁵⁴ SP 77/34 fol. 332^r.

writing.¹⁵⁵ Commemorative poets also adopted this providential interpretation: ‘Return’d with *Triumph* [...] Such foolish Creatures (*Hogens*) will ye be, | Thus to *mock* Heaven with a *Victorie*’?¹⁵⁶

Now recognising the prominence of this convention in English reportage and writing, we may return to Marvell’s *Third Advice* and its description of the English celebrations after the battle:

Now joyful fires, and the exalted bell,

And court-gazettes our empty triumph tell.

Alas: the time draws near when, overturned

The lying bells shall through the tongue be burned;

Paper shall want to print that lie of state,

And our false fires true fires shall expiate (163-8).

This looks rather familiar. Marvell deploys a rhetoric well established in the ‘court-gazettes’, but turns it around and makes ‘that lie of state’ apply not to the top-down imposition of news in the United Provinces, but to English state news publication. Thanks to the efforts of the English Secretariat, the idea of a state imposing a carefully fabricated lie through print news and the spurious commemorative services of an ‘empty triumph’ was not an unfamiliar one to an English audience. State writers established a newsreaderly expectation that Marvell could easily manipulate. In truth, he suggests, it is

¹⁵⁵ Browsing the state papers a few years later, John Evelyn jotted down headings to cover in his prospective history: these included ‘the Holldrs ^pretended Victory’, ‘joy ^bonfires’, and ‘Bone-fires in Holld’, Add MS 78401, fol. 52^r; Add MS 78393, fol. 30^r.

¹⁵⁶ Sympson, *England’s Palladion* (1666), p. B1v. Dutch poets found the over-hasty English celebrations ripe for mockery, and joined the contest over triumphs. In ‘Op het Victory-Branden der Engelsche’ [On the victory fires of the English] Jacob Westerbaen argued that they were not celebrating victory but escape from obliteration, *Het Derde Deel der Gedichten* [The third part of the Poems] (The Hague: Johannes Tongerloo, 1672), p. 532. The anonymous author of ‘Op het valsche Zegevieren der Engelse’ [On the false triumphal fires of the English] (1666) speculated that English newsreaders had misinterpreted the imprisonment of their admiral George Ascue in Lowenstein castle as an occupation, *Een en dertig uit, Of beurt, om beurt, Dat is, Zoo veel klinkkerts, Bestaande, In Lof, Verwijt, Aanmoediging, en Eerspooren* [One and thirty out, or turn, in turn, that is, so many pieces consisting of praise, criticism, encouragement and spurs to honour] (Amsterdam: J. van den Bergh, 1666), p. 19. Even Constantijn Huygens joined in, with verses comparing the battle to two men fighting on the beach: the English were like the man who, ‘liggen bloe’n, de houder van het Veld’ [lying bloodied, the holder of the field], celebrated territorial gain. This mocked two English claims: first, that the Dutch had defaulted to a loss by quitting the field first; second, that naval territory could be held as an extension of terrestrial territory, the theoretic basis of much Anglo-Dutch antagonism, *Koren-Bloemen* [Corn flowers] (Amsterdam: Johannes van Ravesteyn, 1672), p. 532.

‘our false fires’ which are tempting fate, and he meticulously runs through the conventions of the inverted triumph-gone-wrong as the English celebrations become ‘overturned’. For example, the violence accompanying Marvell’s inversion, such as the ‘lying bell’ having its tongue branded, is not out of place with those regime narratives which emphasised the severe consequences of wrongful celebration. The congruence is forced home by Marvell’s moralising conclusion that ‘false fires true fires shall expiate’: he appropriates and restages the retributive violence expressed in English newswriting which had focused on the children killed in the Amsterdam fires, the death of the Dutch Resident in Denmark and the storming of the house of his counterpart in Brussels. The Fire of London fills this requirement on a much grander scale. In his emphasis on revenge Marvell forces the *Gazette*’s providential logic (which had usually operated by implication) to the forefront. This has the consequence of giving the government conceit a Witherian spin: ‘the time draws near’, he proclaims, and the linkage between transgressor and anticipated divine retribution is accentuated by the passage’s final rhyme, which falls from ‘state’ to ‘expiate’. Switching out Dutch for English, Marvell twists a form of rhetoric constructed in the Secretariat’s newsprint back against the regime. Ever-complicated in his engagement with news, even at the height of his criticism of state newswriting he continued to write with its conventions to hand.

VIII. Conclusion

There was a crisis in news and intelligence after the Four Days’ Battle, but it was one that state newswriters attempted to fix with energy and creativity. Their critics, however, were alert to the strategies used to mislead them. Wither and Marvell were incisive readers of news texts, able to deconstruct and re-apply their rhetorics according to new circumstances. This crisis provided Marvell with occasion to move beyond political argument and into a more profound meditation on the transmission of intelligence. However, his satires nonetheless remained purposeful interventions, and he deftly altered the constructions of state newswriting into a form which could powerfully undermine

that newswriting. In his accentuation of the Christian providential logic found in state news, and also in his recourse to the bloody Philomel legend, Marvell's *Third Advice* demonstrates a new-found desire for action and revenge. It was no longer sufficient to parody Waller into conformity with consensus representations: newswriting – indeed, intelligence itself – was becoming dangerously corrupted. That said, the rhetorical strategies generated between verse and newswriting still exerted a strong imaginative hold. If government newswriting was open to question, those questions continued to be framed according to terms established from within the intertextual consensus.

CHAPTER THREE

‘A man in print a man in wax’: the problematic heroism of General Monck

The previous two chapters have considered the manner in which news narratives were mutually constituted by writers of news and literature, and how critical voices responded when this relationship broke down, or when the state was perceived to falsify the news for its own political ends. That intertextual relationship also closely shaped representations of individuals as well as specific events. Unlike the localised reporting and commemoration of a single occasion, writing about a particular hero required the creation of an imaginative framework which could encompass multiple news events over many years. This complex process drew other forms of writing, such as drama, into conversation with news and panegyric, and this chapter will examine the surprisingly close and creative relationship between them. It will also investigate how Marvell, highly attentive to the interplay of news and literature, responded in his own poetry. This chapter interrogates one significant example in George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, a key figure in newswriting and a crucial but under-acknowledged presence in Marvell’s later ‘Painter’ satires. Highly specific conventions for representing his heroism can be tracked through newsprint, panegyric and drama from the Restoration to the events of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. ‘The General’, as he was known, was a uniquely complex character, a problematic man who stimulated strong feelings but also greater imaginative responses. Focusing on Monck will demonstrate that, far from blandly rehearsing formulaic virtues, writers of news and poetry worked together within an ongoing intertextual dynamic to generate credible heroic personas around public figures which correlated with a history of observed conduct. These were sophisticated and individualised constructions, and the final part of this chapter will examine how Marvell transformed a central character of loyalist writing into a figure capable of conveying his targeted criticisms of the regime.

I. The Monck problem during the Restoration

Why was Monck, the handmaiden of the Restoration, such a problem? Every adult in the 1660s could remember that it was Monck who had marched his army down from Scotland in 1659, occupied London, and brought back the king. This was a mythology which, as Kevin Sharpe has shown, was incorporated into the calendar and celebrated every year: ‘this official remembrance of the past, the memory of which was divided and contested, was [...] an important strategy in securing support for the king in present and future’ in a nation where old wounds threatened to reopen.¹ Beyond Restoration Day (29 May) it was commemorated in a massive consensus of poetry, prose, sermons, drama and visual representation, ‘drowning the voices of discontent’ and reinforcing Monck’s ties to the Stuart line.² However, the communal memory it celebrated was also the problem. If everyone could remember the lengthy Restoration process – not the easy, inevitable event imagined in retrospect but a tense, agonised period – they could also remember that Monck had not declared for the king until the last moment. In fact, his actions had been cloaked in ambiguity and various factions had implored him to establish a new republic, himself as Protector, or to restore the Stuarts. On the Restoration Day of 1666 Samuel Pepys reflected on the annual street celebrations – they made walking home difficult – and ‘the difference among all, between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monke came into the City – such a night as I never think to see again’.³ Even the much-celebrated miraculous nature of the Restoration settlement ‘raised misgivings about the durability of that revolution and also about the genuineness of protestations of loyalty to the new regime’.⁴ Given Monck’s central role in that story, and the lack of clarity surrounding his own loyalties and motivations, he uniquely embodied those national misgivings.

¹ Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 40. See *A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used of all the King’s Majestie’s Loving Subjects The 29th of May Yearly* (London: John Bill & Christopher Barker, 1661).

² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule* (2013), p. 56. As an example of this in popular visual culture, one printmaker advertised ‘Small pieces of the King, Queen, Princess, Dukes of York, Gloucester, Albemarle [...] for to adorn Tobacco boxes, much in use’, reproduced in Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent: London Printseller c.1642-1665* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), p. 35.

³ *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, p. 136 (29 May 1666).

⁴ N.H. Keeble, “‘I would not tell you any tales’: Marvell’s Constituency Letters’, in *The Political Identity of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Conal Condren and D. Cousins (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990), pp. 111–34 (p. 112).

A powerful counter-narrative suggested that Monck lacked any principles whatsoever, and that the Restoration was not deliberate but almost accidental. In such a reading Monck was governed not by national interests but by his own self-interest, attaching himself to whichever party was ascendant. Indeed, this question of Monck's motivation has occupied historians up to the present: even to contemporaries like Gilbert Burnet he had 'no settled design' and was simply lucky to be at the right place at the right time.⁵ For those judging Monck by his historical record, he quit his Civil War royalism for distinguished service under the Republic and Cromwell, during which time he suppressed a number of royalist plots, informing on those who tried to recruit him.⁶ During 1659–60 he jostled for power and security.⁷ He repeatedly repudiated royalism in an extensive print propaganda campaign, but he also refused to swear an oath against Charles, all the while pledging himself to the Rump.⁸

Monck's uncertain political position stimulated an agonising mixture of optimism and trepidation in the period's occasional poetry.⁹ The royalist Samuel Pordage instructed that Monck 'Let [Cromwell's] example your ambition curb, | Doe not our growing *happinesse* disturb, | By mounting of a *Throne* is none of yours' lest it 'spoyle the lustre of thy great intent'.¹⁰ These feelings are strongest,

⁵ Gilbert Burnet wrote that 'he kept himself under such a reserve, that he declared all the while in the most solemn manner for a Commonwealth, and against a single person, in particular against the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he any design that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was possible, to set up for himself: others rather believed, that he had no settled design any way, and resolved to do as occasion should be offered to him', *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Ward, 1724), I, p. 84. Maurice Ashley gives an overview of this long-lasting and disputed historiography, *General Monck* (London: Cape, 1977), pp. 248–52. For the continuing debate, see Peter Reese, *The Life of General George Monck: for King and Cromwell* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2008).

⁶ Nicole Greenspan, 'News, Intelligence, and Espionage at the Exiled Court at Cologne: the case of Henry Manning', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 103–24 (p. 110).

⁷ Ashley, *Monck* (1977), pp. 176–95.

⁸ For an example of one of Monck's many pledges disaffiliating himself from royalism, see *A Letter sent from General Monck to Vice-Admiral Goodson* (London: 1659). Monck's propaganda campaign attracted the attention of his critics who, in the months following the Restoration, published *A Collection of Several Letters sent by General Monck* (London: 1660), supposedly a historical anthology of Monck's correspondence. In fact, it exacerbated suspicions of double dealing: genuine letters to the Commons and the generals professing his hostility to the king were juxtaposed with a fake letter to Charles II pledging his loyalty. This fake letter was originally a separate royalist propaganda piece from 1659, *A Letter from Gen. Monck to King Charles son of the late King Charles of England. Deceased.* (London: 1660). Ashley judged that 'it was effective propaganda because it verged on the truth'; *Monck* (1677), p. 188.

⁹ Andrew McRae has recently identified how Monck 'threatened constantly to assume the role of hero', 'Welcoming the King: The Politics of the Stuart Succession Panegyric', in *Stuart Succession Literature: Moments and Transformations*, ed. by Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 186–204 (p. 196).

¹⁰ Samuel Pordage, *Poems upon Several Occasions* (London: 1660), p. B3v.

however, in George Wither's *Furor-Poeticus* (1660). He examines (at typical length) his 'joyful hope' that Monck will restore the Republic, yet this optimism is continually undercut by 'doubt and fear' that the General has other intentions.¹¹ Wither can barely hold himself back from accusations of duplicity:

I hope, that as I have exprest him here

He is resolv'd; If not, I wish he were;

That I might live to see, before I die,

One man, whose *Deeds* made not his *words* a lie.¹²

This passage is typical. For all his hopes, Wither consistently voices a sense of doubt around the connection between Monck's intentions and his actions: 'He nothing seemeth to neglect, or do', 'if his heart be right', 'He may appear', he 'probably intends | The *publike weal* without sinister ends, | And is *One* meaning that which he professes', and so on.¹³ Wither's emphasis on Monck's 'words' – what 'he professes' – seeks evidence in his propaganda campaign, but this ultimately fails to assuage Wither's anxieties. His suspicions originate from an awareness of Monck's chequered past:

This *General*, hath been a *Royalist*,

Engag'd against the *publicke Interest*,

And, therefore, some suspicions are become

He may, at last, his first *Cause* re-assume.¹⁴

Monck is an enigma, difficult to define and pin down. Perhaps he has a design, but perhaps not – and if he has a design, is it the right one?

¹¹ George Wither, *Furor-Poeticus* (London: 1660), p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8. In contemporary petitions, similar mention is made of 'some crying out Monk was alwayes true to his old Master', *The Humble Advice and tender Declaration, or Remonstrance of several thousands of men fearing God, in the County of Durham, Northumberland, and the adjacent parts of Westmerland and Cumberland* (London: Henry Hill, 1659).

In retrospect Wither's doubts were justified, but his painful and fruitless attempts to read Monck's 'heart' capture an uncertainty which spanned the political spectrum.¹⁵ The diarist Thomas Ruggle recorded a more concise rhyme 'in almost in everybody's mouth' that imagined 'Monck under a hood, not understood'.¹⁶ The parliamentarian Edmund Ludow considered him 'a man void all faith and honesty'.¹⁷ Anxiety even surfaces in an ostensibly complimentary song performed before Monck in Draper's Hall once he arrived in London, 'Come Tom; if ever GEORGE be base, | Ne're trust good-fellow more'.¹⁸ Assessments, such that of John Careuth of Tynemouth, 'that General Monck was a traytor, and worse than Jezabel that was eaten by doggs', survive in the records of oral testimony.¹⁹

II. Rewriting 'the Generall' in early Restoration panegyric

This anxiety surrounding Monck's allegiances and motivation was expressed throughout the first decade of the Restoration, and continued beyond his death in 1670. Writing a posthumous *Life of General Monck* (1671) against the 'grosse Untruths in things that have flown about in the Diurnals', his chaplain Thomas Gumble insisted that one must reach 'the undeniable conclusion of the Generals full and constant purpose to Restore his Majesty'.²⁰ He conceded that as part of Monck's necessary dissimulation there may have been 'some large and lavish expressions against the Kings Interest and

¹⁵ Wither, *Furor-Poeticus* (1660), p. 10.

¹⁶ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, ed. by William L. Sanchse (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 30. This is adapted from a popular ballad, 'Till it be understood | what is uuder [sic] Monck's Hood', *The Rump Docket* (London: 1660).

¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian, Eng. Hist. MS C.487, fol. 11^v.

¹⁸ *A Dialogue betwixt Tom and Dick [...] Presented to his Excellency and the Council of State, at Drapers Hall in London, March 28. 1660.* (London: 1660). Thomas Rugg recorded some of these performances: 'theire ware after diner a kind of stage play and many prety anticks, som the cittizan and soldiers, others the country Tom and citty Dick, att many Hall[s] ware dancing and singing [...] and all to please his Excellency, Lord Generall', *Diurnal of Thomas Rugg* (1961), p. 71.

¹⁹ *Depositions from the Castle of York Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by James Raine (Durham: Surtees Society 40, 1861), p. 84. Edward Medburne of Wapping 'did wish that the King and Generall Monk were hanged together', *Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67*, ed. by John Cordy Jeaffreson (London: Middlesex County Records Society, 1888), III, pp. 302-9.

²⁰ Thomas Gumble, *The Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle, &c.* (London: Thomas Basset, 1671), pp. 123-4.

Restoration, yet the General was not at all bound by them'.²¹ After all, Monck's actions were divinely sanctioned in a neat exegetical twist, for 'that Scripture may be well mitigated in this case, where the Prohibition is, *Not to do Evil that good may come of it*; yet to pretend Evil, and do it, is another question'.²² Gumble's careful distinction between 'to do' and 'to pretend' was typical of a programme spanning newswriting and literature which rehabilitated Monck's image. If he was forced to confront abiding problems in 1671, he could draw on a decade of reputational construction inaugurated in the panegyrics on the Restoration. Rather than ignore Monck's ambiguous behaviour, poets had sought to find ways to reconcile it with the miracle of the Restoration, turning equivocal calculation into a secretive steadfastness.

The most popular and the most lastingly literary panegyrics of the Restoration demonstrate the prompt literary consensus which rehabilitated Monck's compromised reputation. Both the nonconformist Robert Wild in his highly popular *Iter Boreale* (1660) and John Dryden in *Astraea Redux* (1660) grappled with Monck's legacy and came to similar conclusions. Wild's poem remained a reference point deep into the decade: Pepys read it in 1663 'and now like it pretty well but not so as it was cried up', while Dryden opened his *Essay on Dramatick Poesie* (1668) with an attack on Wild as 'the very *Withers* of the City [...] When his famous Poem first came out in the year 1660, I have seen them reading it in the midst of Change-time'.²³ Wild's poem addressed Monck's ambiguity head on. If he was 'under a hood, not understood', there was a rationale to account for it:

But George was wary; his cause did require

A pillar of a cloud as well as fire:

'Twas not his safest course to flame but smoke –

His enemies he will not burn but choke (240-3).²⁴

²¹ Ibid., p. 131.

²² Ibid. Wither had made a similar argument from a republican perspective a decade earlier: 'he shall necessitated be | To deviate sometimes: yet, naithelless, | No whit infringe *essential righteousness*', *Furor-Poeticus* (1660), p. 8.

²³ *Pepys's Diary*, IV, p. 285 (23 August 1663); *Dryden's Works*, XVII, p. 12.

²⁴ Quotations from Robert Wild's *Iter Boreale* (1660) are from POAS.

Wild defined Monck's loyalty through his interior patience and sense of timing. By imagining a staunchly royalist inner psyche he was able to reconcile the General's caution with his role in the Restoration: it was Monck's plan all along. This allowed Wild to construct an authoritative and confident interior monologue for Monck which contradicted his outward dithering. When the Rump orders Monck to dismantle London's defences, the General secretly derides them: "'Well, let it be; | Your Rumpship want a scouring too,'" thinks he' (296-7). While it is implied by Monck's fiat 'let it be', Wild evades explicitly portraying Monck's initial compliance with the Rump before he reinstalled the fortifications. Instead, a historic episode emblematic of his confusing vacillation becomes one of mental consistency, where Monck's secret intentions reaffirm his protection of London and 'all England's Commons' (307). Mental depth also distinguishes Monck in a poem which renders his various opponents as extreme caricatures: General Lambert, for example, is a 'fierce fiend' (178) and veritable 'Beelzebub' (179) whose diabolical nature is all surface. Monck's complicated psychology is more conspicuous when such interiority is otherwise lacking. He 'played his part' (309), Wild explained, inaugurating a long tradition of representing the General as a performer.

Popular royalist poetry had previously used a description of an individual's interiority to account for inexplicable contradictions in behaviour encountered in news. When addressing the ignominious flight of Charles I in disguise to the Scots in 1646, Henry Vaughan and John Cleveland had both reinterpreted him as the 'Hieroglyphic King', an indecipherable monarch whose obscured exterior masked the workings of the *arcana imperii*.²⁵ Such a portrait had lasting resonances for the later images of mystical kingship which proliferated around the regicide, and, as Joad Raymond has shown, drew allusively on and contested reports of the incident in news-books.²⁶ Making his own march down from Scotland, Monck was not king but kingmaker, and while Vaughn and Cleveland could have recourse to the regal mystery of divine kingship, this was not the case for Monck's panegyrists: what did his actions clothe? A comparison with Charles I reveals an important distinction in the interpretation

²⁵ Henry Vaughan, *Thalia Rediviva* (London: 1678), p. 2; see also John Cleveland, *Poems* (London: 1651), pp. 28-33.

²⁶ James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: the Drawn Sword* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 138-47; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 65-70; Joad Raymond, 'The Daily Muse, or, Seventeenth-Century Poets read the News', *Seventeenth Century*, 10.2 (1995), 169-219 (pp. 191-7).

of the hidden Monck text, what Wild called his ‘dark-lantern language’ (248). Unlike Cleveland’s gnomic ‘Text Royal’, there is a trust in representations of Monck that his interiority can be unveiled and transcribed in a legible manner.²⁷ Wild can ventriloquise an internal monologue for the General, something unthinkable in the confounded interpretive efforts of Cleveland and Vaughan. No inscrutable ‘most mystical’ royal, Monck’s psychology was ultimately rational, and thus open to reconstruction.²⁸

This quality was also realised in Dryden’s *Astraea Redux*. Here, Monck’s interiority acts on a national scale within the body politic, his energised presence akin to the vital agent, inhabiting the nervous system and the brain:

How hard was then his task, at once to be
 What in the body natural we see
 Mans Architect distinctly did ordain,
 The charge of Muscles, Nerves, and of the Brain;
 Through viewless Conduits Spirits to dispense,
 The Springs of Motion from the Seat of Sense (163-8).²⁹

This is an interiority which generates an understandable and quantifiable result, the ‘Springs of Motion’ of the external limbs. However, Dryden’s metaphor is notable for its strong sense of interior complexity and obscurity: biological processes are occluded, for Monck is veiled over with skin and operates through ‘viewless Conduits’ in imperceptible ‘Spirits’, orchestrating the complex yet rationally perfect operations of the body from an abiding intelligence, ‘the Seat of Sense’. Dryden therefore adapts the body politic metaphor through a framework which asserts Monck’s constancy, secrecy and sense of timing.

Dryden then elaborates on this characterisation through a series of metaphors concerned with interior patience. These simultaneously emphasise Monck’s capacity for ‘wise delay’ (170) and realise

²⁷ Cleveland, *Poems* (1651), p. 32.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Quotations from Dryden’s poetry are from *Dryden’s Works*.

it structurally in elaborately delaying the moment of Restoration in the poem itself. We encounter Monck as the ‘Stomach’ embracing then destroying food (173), the ‘wise’ restrained doctor (175), a masquerader playing his part (179) and, most revealingly, as the ‘patient Angler’ (171), a glance at Izaak Walton’s *The Compleat Angler* (1653), the emblematic text of royalist patience notable for its evocation of a private constancy whose surface withheld the very politics it embodied.³⁰ Doing so bound Monck to a history of royalist quietism more long-lived than his own defections. Indeed, Dryden’s commitment to Monckian interiority left him far more reticent than Wild to pull the General over the precipice of thought and into action. The perspective shifts away from Monck before this passage can be fully resolved, Dryden’s attention turning to the trepidation of Monck’s enemies and then to the Restoration moment itself. The General’s actions are left strangely incomplete, caught forever on the cusp of intervention. This curious narrative feature had been anticipated in the body metaphor: Dryden never describes what movement Monck inspires. As a result, he creates a highly focused heroic image attentive to Monck’s interior qualities to the exclusion of all others. There is none of the martial pomp found in Wild’s General. The force of Monck is a quiet one, like the silent operations of the body or the fisherman. The ‘Martial brass’ (198), as James Garrison noted, is reserved for the outgoing regimes.³¹

This construction of Monck was not restricted to poetry: in newswriting it found expression in an emphasis on Monck’s characteristic ‘prudence’. As Phil Withington has demonstrated, this was a term with important resonances for civic responsibility and public service in a variety of roles across the state.³² ‘Prudence’ well encompassed the enclosed reserve and patience attributed to Monck, turning self-serving cunning into a loyal but thoughtful duty. Therefore, though ‘prudence’ could be thrown around among other public figures, it came to attach itself particularly to Monck. In the *London Gazette* his stewardship of the English fleet was typified by formulae where his ‘prudence’ was the structure onto which other characteristics amplifying his thoughtfulness were fixed: ‘all imaginable care and prudence’, his ‘infinite prudence and gallantry’, ‘Magnanimity and Prudence’, ‘prudent care and

³⁰ Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 60.

³¹ James Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 206.

³² Phil Withington, ‘Andrew Marvell’s Citizenship’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 102–21.

vigilance', 'Wise and prudent [in] Counsell'.³³ These qualities were encapsulated in 'the Generall', the title he frequently went by in newsprint and which condensed assumptions of his tactical acumen and martial potency into one word.³⁴ Drawing on a characterisation in literature which had responded the interpretative problem of the Restoration, newswriters developed it into an indicative marker through which to understand Monck's conduct in the present.

After Monck's death his memorialists also emphasised this 'prudence'. For Gumble 'prudent Counsels' (116) were a vital characteristic of Monck's conduct during the Restoration. At Monck's funeral sermon the Bishop of Salisbury, Seth Ward, gave a summary of the General's character, remembering that he acted 'by a *deep Prudence*, and an *impregnable Taciturnity*' and 'by his *Courage* and his *Prudence, Himself* (at first *alone* in the Design) without any *Confidents* or *Correspondents*'.³⁵ Another eulogist realised his combination of calculation and martial prowess in a manuscript poem which imagined Monck through a longstanding Machiavellian emblem of *prudente*: he 'In whom Minerva, did with Mars concurr | To peirc the Lyons, with the ffoxes furr'.³⁶ In its use of a formula with a well-known Machiavellian pedigree, and which had often been applied to Cromwell in the 1650s, the supposedly eulogistic poem managed to simultaneously evoke and embody something of the General's own indeterminate state.³⁷ His 'prudence' would always have its darker side.

A collaborative effort across the public sphere sought to create a model of heroics which could accommodate Monck. This was not simply restricted to a government line imposed from above, though regime propaganda did play its part. It was generated instead by an intertextual dynamic which brought writers from across the cultural spectrum – nonconformists and aristocratic amateurs, bishops and ballad

³³ *Gazette*, no. 59, no. 60, no. 65, no. 79 (7, 11, 28 June 1666; 16 August 1666).

³⁴ SP 29/158 fol. 57^v.

³⁵ Seth Ward, *The Christians Victory over Death: A Sermon at the Funeral of the Most Honourable George Duke of Albemarle* (London: James Collins, 1670), p. 23.

³⁶ 'Episide on Generall Monk', in British Library, Burney MS 390, fol. 24^r.

³⁷ Blair Worden has identified the importance of '*prudente*' to Marvell's description of Cromwell's 'wiser art' in the *Horation Ode*: this 'might suggest Machiavelli's observation, which was often recalled during the Puritan Revolution, that the successful prince must be both a lion and a fox', 'Andrew Marvell, Oliver Cromwell, and the Horation Ode', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and Kevin Sharpe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 147–80 (p. 165). See also the description of Cromwell as 'particpate of the fraude of the Fox as well as the force of the Lion' in *Killing is Murder* (1657), p. 20; and Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 143.

writers – into a perpetually evolving network. Crossing generic boundaries, this consensus could respond creatively to developments in news. Heavy-handed propaganda was rarely the best answer when aspiring writers could provide more dextrous interpretations of events, and in the interiorised Monck a remarkably homogenous solution emerged.

III. The Earl of Arlington and the construction of Monck in Restoration drama

Unfortunately, the Four Days' Battle dangerously destabilised Monck's reputation for prudence. While the intelligence blunders discussed previously did undermine the English position, the decision to take the fight to the Dutch with a reduced English fleet was Monck's own. Long afterwards, he was adamant that he had been victorious.³⁸ However, to other observers Monck's actions lacked the circumspect pragmatism and cunning sense of opportunity he had demonstrated six years previously. Encouraged by the close date of Restoration Day, popular poetry on the setting out of the fleet had already been looking back to 'heroick George' and the hope that 'your foes, Sir, in the *Belgick-Fleet*, | Like *Lambert's Rebels* fall beneath your feet'.³⁹ John Evelyn decried how expectations conditioned by this myth had resulted in 'our late over Confidence, that nothing could withstand the *Duke of Albemarle*', and judged that Monck 'made too forward a reckoning of his succeſſe'.⁴⁰ Pepys was told by Monck's disgruntled officers that it 'was a very sad thing for us, to have the honour and weal of the nation ventured so foolishly', while during the parliamentary inquiry after the War the Derbyshire MP John Milward recorded talk that 'it was not discreetly done'.⁴¹ The man who, through wise and discreet behaviour, had once restored the nation's 'honour and weal' was now throwing it away in a blunder. With such questions about Monck's judgement circulating, it was all the more crucial for the official narrative to

³⁸ Monck continued to insist that 'Wee were overpower'd in numbers, But the Dutch lost much more then Wee', SP 29/158 fol. 122v.

³⁹ The poet made this association even more explicit with the wish 'may [the fleet] too as much fortune bring, | As this-day six-year brought, unto the King', T.S., *England's Palladion* (London: 1666), pp. A2v, A3v.

⁴⁰ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 439.

⁴¹ *Pepys's Diary*, VII, p. 161 (11 June 1666); *The Diary of John Milward*, ed. by Caroline Robbins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 94.

stress that his unique form of heroism remained intact, and that this aspect of the foundational mythology of the Restoration state was uncompromised.

Arlington was forced to address Monck's decision to engage in his revisions to the *True Narrative* (1666). In the initial draft the English appeared to slip almost absent-mindedly into battle:

The Bristoll being then 4 Leagues in the N.E. of us made signall that shee discouered the enemies fleet & wee from Topmasthead made 8 or 10 sayle which proued the Hollands Scouts, at 7. a Councell of Flagg Officers was called {xxx} resolved to bear with them which wee did & at 10 wee discouered their fleet consisting of 84 sayle, At 11. the signall was set out to draw into a line of battle, at 12, being one league & ½ in the Wind of them wee bore up with them.⁴²

To tidy this up Arlington made a number of small alterations which subtly asserted Monck's choice to fight, ensuring that it was the consequence of his careful decision-making. The most conspicuous change was getting Monck involved in the English deliberations in the first place. Arlington inserted the General's flagship into the statement that a 'Councell of Flagg Officers was called ^aboard his Grace, where it was {xxx} resolved' to follow the Dutch scouts.⁴³ This placed the decision-making process emphatically aboard Monck's flagship and ensured that he was the spatial and tactical centre of the English organisation, akin to Dryden's 'Seat of Sense'. Arlington also intervened when the Dutch fleet was sighted: 'at 11. The signall was ~~set out~~ given to draw into a line of battle: and at 12 [...] we bore up with them'.⁴⁴ Rather than the signal being reflexively 'set out' at the sight of the Dutch, it was personally and deliberately 'given' by Monck. This led to combat – 'and at 12 [...] we bore up' – the connective 'and' making the fight a semantic consequence of Monck's order: in the original, where the two clauses were distinct, the sense was merely of the fleets drifting together.⁴⁵ Monck decides to seek out the Dutch, he prepares for battle, and this leads the English into combat. Three small changes therefore combined to encourage a perception of careful decision-making in keeping with expectations established around Monck.

⁴² SP 29/158 fols. 56^{r-v}.

⁴³ Ibid., fol. 56^r.

⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. 56^v.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Arlington continued to revise the manuscript according to similar principles. Before we consider this editorial work, however, it is worth pausing to take account of the Secretary's own literary experience, and how this influenced his writing about the General. Arlington would be well aware that he was part of an extensive writing community which took Monck as its topic: from close aristocratic friends to the newswriting clerks of his office, representations of Monck were everywhere. Furthermore, in a posthumous 'Character' the Earl of Mulgrave wrote that:

Having been educated in order to be a Divine, he was a better scholar than commonly Courtiers are; and so well versed in the *Classick Poets*, that I never knew any man apply them so properly on any subject whatsoever, and without pedantic affectation.⁴⁶

One should not think of Arlington as a cloistered bookworm, however: on one occasion Pepys noticed 'my Lord Arlington and his company' at a thinly attended Saturday matinee of Shadwell's comedy *The Sullen Lovers* (1668).⁴⁷ More importantly for present concerns, Arlington was well acquainted with the heroic drama of his friend Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. Writing to Arlington ahead of the 1664 London premiere of his play *The Generall* (first performed in Dublin in 1662), Orrery promised that 'I hope within less then a Fortnight twill be on y^e Theater, And if you are not surfetted, with what of mine you have alreddy seene [*Henry the Fifth*], I will beg y^e honour to wait on you when tis Acted'.⁴⁸

Orrery's rhymed heroic plays of the 1660s were some of the most popular and most rigorous explorations of the public image built up around Monck. Modern readers may be more quickly 'surfetted' on his often indistinguishable dramas than contemporaries, although even Pepys soon noticed how repetitious they were.⁴⁹ Orrerian drama interrogated the hard questions of the Interregnum and Restoration, restaging them across various periods and exotic locales in intense psychodramas of 'compulsive repetition' which 'mirrors the political and emotional process operating in him and many of his contemporaries'.⁵⁰ No matter the setting, each play was inhabited by a familiar cast of thinly

⁴⁶ 'A Character of the Earl of Arlington', in *The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave*, 2 vols (London: 1740), II, p. 86.

⁴⁷ *Pepys's Diary*, IX, p. 293 (29 August 1668).

⁴⁸ SP 29/63/317 fol. 155^r.

⁴⁹ *Pepys's Diary*, V, p. 282 (28 September 1664).

⁵⁰ Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 167.

veiled ‘prismatic characters’, highly reminiscent of real individuals.⁵¹ These included Orrery himself, royal brothers, a nefarious usurper and, of course, a restoring general. Through that prominent last character his plays, with their ‘regressive themes of civil war and guilt’, ensured that Monck’s constructed interiority was a subject of public interrogation far beyond the publishing flurry of 1660.⁵² Orrery was not alone in this obsession: other playwrights, such as Edward Howard in *The Usurper* (1664), got considerable mileage from emulating his interrogation of the General character.⁵³ Nevertheless, Orrery’s plays were the most prestigious and conspicuous. They offered an opportunity to exorcise the demons of the past, but in representing present political figures, albeit under flimsy aliases, these plays did not merely resolve historical anxieties but fed back into interpretations of the present. Unsurprisingly, therefore, they were co-opted into the projection of royal power. Orrery claimed that Charles II personally commissioned the *Black Prince* (1667) and his coronation robes were lent to dress Henry Harris and Cave Underhill, the actors playing the royal brothers of *Henry the Fifth* (1664), as an ‘embassy from the ritually sacred past to the vicariously intimate present’.⁵⁴ This added a material quality to their re-enactment of recent history, one John Kerrigan describes as ‘so acceptable that the king allowed his court to be projected into its fantasy’ and, as a result, the fantasy into the court.⁵⁵

⁵¹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 256.

⁵² Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration* (1992), p. 182.

⁵³ Given the striking similarities between Orrery’s *The Generall* and Howard’s *The Usurper*, Maguire has speculated that Howard had opportunity to read Orrery’s play in manuscript through his relation to the Earl’s wife, *Regicide and Restoration* (1992), p. 76.

⁵⁴ *The London Stage, 1660-1800: Part 1, 1660-1700*, ed. by William van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery and Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), pp. 79, 92; Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), p. 30.

⁵⁵ Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English* (2008), p. 262. It should be noted that although they championed an idealised elite culture, the audience of Orrerian drama was not a thin courtly one. Samuel Pepys, Elizabeth Pepys and their friends and family were regular attendees. The diarist attended an Orrerian play at least a dozen times during the 1660s (going to most several times) and also Howard’s *Usurper*. He also records multiple occasions on which Elizabeth Pepys and her servant Deb Willet went to see Orrerian plays together. Furthermore, discussion – rather than passive consumption – marks their appearance in the *Diary*: Orrerian plays and the questions they posed were debated and analysed. Pepys saw *The Generall* three times (28 September; 4 October 1664; 24 April 1669); *Henry the Fifth* twice (13 August 1664; 28 December 1666); *The Black Prince* three times (19 and 23 October 1667; 1 April 1668); *Tryphon* once (8 December 1668) and *Mustapha* three times (3 April 1665; 5 January 1667; 4 September 1667); Elizabeth Pepys saw *Henry the Fifth* without her husband on 6 July 1668 and *Mustapha* on 11 February 1668; Pepys saw *The Usurper* on 2 December 1668, *Pepys’s Diary*, V, pp. 281-2, 288, 240-1; VI, p. 73; VII, p. 424; VIII, pp. 5, 421, 487-8, 498; IX, pp. 62, 144, 256-7, 381, 389, 533.

Arlington watched these interrogations of the Monck character performed in the run up to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. In *Henry the Fifth* – ‘what of mine you have already seene’ – the Monck role was assumed by the general Owen Tudor. He is a rival to his king, although on this occasion their competition is restricted to the amorous and not the constitutional. For much of the play, King and General strive against each other for the affection of Katherine. Inevitably, this ultimately ends in Tudor’s submissive relinquishment of the princess to Henry: ‘For one joys loss another joy secures, | What loses me her favour, merits yours’.⁵⁶ Tudor must make do with the promise that his descendants will assume the throne. The peaceful agreement between the two men re-enacts Monck’s gifting of England to Charles, an explicitly marital process in both *Astraea Redux* and Cowley’s *Ode, Upon The Blessed Restoration* (1660): ‘Who’s that *Heroique Person* leads it on, | And gives it like a glorious *Bride* [...] ‘Tis the good *Generall*’.⁵⁷ This contrived scene tested Pepys’s credulity, given ‘the difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him [Tudor]’.⁵⁸ Difficult indeed, and hardly a resolution: Orrery’s audience would know Tudor married Katherine after Henry’s death. Typical of Orrery’s plays, this awkward example demonstrates the continuing difficulty in accommodating Monck figures and their competitive undercurrent into a formula of restored kingship, even when the question was romantic rather than revolutionary.

In the play Orrery had invited Arlington to, *The Generall*, these problems were explored within the context of another tyrannical usurpation. It was the first heroic play Orrery had written, but was only staged in London after the success of *Henry the Fifth*: unsurprisingly for a play renamed *The Generall* for an English audience, the problematic General character was at the forefront.⁵⁹ Pepys noted that it was uncannily similar to the earlier play, ‘no more, either in words, sense or design’, and shared its problematised interaction of love and loyalty.⁶⁰ This was embodied in the General character

⁵⁶ Roger Boyle, *The History of Henry the Fifth; and, the Tragedy of Mustapha* (London: Henry Herringman, 1668), p. 47.

⁵⁷ Cowley, *Ode, Upon The Blessed Restoration and Returne of His Sacred Majestie, Charls the Second* (London: Henry Herringman, 1660), p. 18; see also *Astraea Redux*, ‘while our cross stars denied us Charles’s bed, | Whom our first flames and virgin love did wed’ (19-20). For the ‘twinning of personal and national fertility’ in Restoration verse, see Zwicker, *Lines of Authority* (1993), pp. 91-4.

⁵⁸ *Pepys’s Diary*, V, p. 241 (13 August 1664); he claimed the Pierces agreed with him on the assessment that ‘Tudor’s being dismissed in the manner he is is a great blemish to the play’, V, p. 245 (17 August 1664).

⁵⁹ The Irish production had been titled after the female lead, *Altimira*.

⁶⁰ *Pepys’s Diary*, V, p. 282 (28 September 1664).

Clorimun, caught between his vow of loyalty to the unnamed Usurper and his sense of obligation to the deposed royal family and his beloved Altimera. A foundational heroic play, *The Generall* eschewed psychological realism, effacing interior complexity for a complex play of obligations professed on the surface and worked out through a ‘super-subtle ethical calculus’ of love and honour.⁶¹ Nevertheless, Clorimun exhibits an exceptional interior secrecy – or, at least, is suspected of one. While he protests his plain speaking to Altimera she still worries (correctly) that ‘His answer was his Craft, not ignorance’ (129) and that he plans the death of her lover Lucidor behind her back.⁶² This duplicity is clear in the subsequent gossip of his soldiers: ‘For ere the Generall to his Mistresse went, | The orders for his death to mee hee sent’ (130). Such behaviour generates an aura of ambiguity around the kingmaker Clorimun, familiar from the Monck figure but unusual and potentially destabilizing within Orrerian drama. Characters typically profess and negotiate difference openly, and words embody perfect meaning to support ‘a social hierarchy upheld by clear, uncorrupted language’.⁶³ Instead, Clorimun is suspected of duplicity by both the Usurper and the old loyalists. His psychology becomes a recurring subject for other characters’ debate and his actions are unusually difficult to predict. One moment may lead him to a ‘strange aversion to heroic deeds’ (116), while another will see him storm a town singlehandedly.⁶⁴

The theatrical rendition of the secretive General character can thus be seen to be congruent with Monck’s representation in newswriting and panegyric. An examination of Arlington’s theatre-going provides evidence for the origins of the rhetorical strategies he used as newswriter, but, when younger, Arlington also had his own poetry published several times: can this verse also inform a critical reading

⁶¹ R.D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 196.

⁶² All quotations from *The Generall* are from *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery*, ed. by William Smith Clark, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937).

⁶³ Derek Hughes, *English Drama, 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 34.

⁶⁴ This problem was also explored by Edward Howard in *The Usurper*: is his General ‘False Cleomenes’ or ‘Honest Cleomenes’? Cleomenes, operating alone and undercover, appears to have made good with the new regime. ‘What if this Lord should now prove false? [...] Perhaps he is involv’d to Act with those | That rule’ wonders the disguised princess Calanthe before their rendezvous. ‘I am mistaken, you are not Cleomenes’ she says, ‘You are some Monster of the Time: Good Heavens, | Why do you allow him such an honest face?’. Though Cleomenes eventually reveals himself to Calanthe – ‘We neither seem’d our selves’, he says – she continues to distrust him until the dénouement. When he stalls her enthronement to fetch the hidden male heir Cleander, she still finds it hard to discern his motives and parse them from suspicions of self-interest. ‘Is he become my Enemy’, she wonders, ‘The faith of men is but a mockery’, Edward Howard, *The Usurper, A Tragedy* (London: Henry Herringman, 1668), pp. 15-7, 62, 64, 67.

of his newswriting? If one compares the published print poetry of Arlington and Marvell in English before the Protectorate, their output is strikingly similar.⁶⁵ Though Marvell would not be flattered by the comparison, both had supplied dedicatory verses to royalist collections by friends: in Marvell's case Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta* (1649), in Arlington's a critical verse dedication to Thomas Killigrew's plays *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (1641). Arlington praises Killigrew's ability to draw natural characters from the observation of real persons rather than technical formulae, emulating 'Men that are living Rules'.⁶⁶ Both Arlington and Marvell had also produced a brace of royalist elegies, though Arlington's had marked the start of the Civil Wars and Marvell's their conclusion.⁶⁷ Of Arlington's elegies, the most relevant is that to Horatio Vere – already dead for seven years – whose poetic body was 'exhumed to serve as an exemplar of the active virtue to which the King's supporters appealed' at this time.⁶⁸

While other contributions focused on his military achievements in the Netherlands or his death, Arlington's pastoral on Vere – who was Monck's mentor – featured two shepherds reflecting on the capacity of the military hero's reputation to inspire emulation in the present, as the otium of Caroline poetics was rejected for war: 'who is he that now must guide our hands' when they 'clad in Iron now fetch in the May?'⁶⁹ Arlington's call to arms was inspired by the memories of past heroics, 'had we but him that did in them Command | We'd dare against the sturdiest Foe to stand'.⁷⁰ As Damon tells his son Alexis about Vere's legend, the son pledges that 'I, if that these broyles I do survive | In prayse of Him, will yearly Feasts contrive'.⁷¹ Unlike the other poems, Arlington's focuses on the energising effect Vere's legend can have on others. Nevertheless, a felt distance also opens up between present reality and a past being consolidated into myth. Young Alexis's inspired proclamations are often qualified by

⁶⁵ For Arlington's 'trite and flavourless' Latin poetry, see Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet Earl of Arlington: Secretary of State to Charles II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 6.

⁶⁶ Thomas Killigrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla* (London: T. Cotes, 1641), p. A2v.

⁶⁷ See Arlington's juvenile 'On the Death of the Lord Viscount Bayning', in *Death Repeal'd by a Thankfull Memoriall* (Oxford: 1638), pp. 41-2; Arlington went into exile rather than compound with the new regimes, so there is no equivalent to Marvell's anonymous Cromwellian print poem *The First Anniversary* (1655).

⁶⁸ Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry* (1997), p. 208.

⁶⁹ *Elegies Celebrating the Happy Memory of Sr. Horatio Veere Baron of Tilbury* (London: T. Badger, 1642), p. B7v.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. B7v.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. B8r.

uncertainty – ‘had we’, ‘if that’ – as the heroism of literary imagination seems impossible to match. All Arlington’s published poetry belongs to this youthful phase, but by the 1660s his attention to detail and sensitivity to heroic representations proved useful in his role as Secretary of State.

IV. Writing the Monck character into *A True Narrative* (1666)

We can now return to Arlington’s revisions of the *True Narrative* draft. The changes Arlington made to its presentation of the ‘Generall’ reflect the synthesis of deliberative and warlike virtue he had once imagined in Vere, and which were a common feature of the General character onstage.⁷² We saw earlier how Arlington revised the introduction of the battle to emphasise Monck’s prudent qualities. These revisions continued as the battle commenced. Once the English and Dutch fleets met, Arlington made further changes in order to accentuate the General’s martial valour. He sought to explain the disabling damage incurred to Monck’s sails on the first day by adding in parenthesis that it occurred to:

seuerall other of Our ships & especially the Admiral ~~especially~~ (his courage carrying ^{him} ~~the~~ foremost
to all dangers.⁷³

As is often the case in this manuscript, the revisions occur over several iterations. The first had added ‘especially’ and the parenthetical section (which was placed between lines in the original). That first ‘especially’ was then crossed out, and moved earlier in the sentence, becoming ‘especially’. Finally, ‘him’ was added in the margins. Arlington was evidently thinking carefully about how sentence structure could direct newsreading. In this case Monck’s unique dedication, which had first been emphasised by the initial ‘especially’, was doubled and embraced with the movement of ‘especially’ forwards before his title and the placement of the parenthetical stress on ‘his courage’ after it. These held Monck within a pair of descriptors which strengthened his unique shouldering of the burdens of combat, fitting for the man often cast as England’s deliverer. This was then amplified with the marginal

⁷² SP 29/158 fol. 57^v.

⁷³ SP 29/158 fol. 56^r.

'him' to keep drawing the reader back to Monck personally, 'his courage carrying ^him'. The chain of cause and effect continues, localised around the figure of the General. The disabling of Monck's ship thus became proof of his exceptional valour, rather than evidence of incompetence.

It was later in the *True Narrative*, during the English withdrawal on the second day and before the arrival of Prince Rupert, that Arlington found the best opportunity to reassert Monck's heroic prudence in full. By the time of writing Monck's management of the English retreat, the ignominious consequence of his decision to engage, was already being spun in the editions of the *Gazette* which followed the battle. It sought quickly to establish a consensus which interpreted the retreat as a characteristic example of Monck's use of 'all imaginable care and prudence'.⁷⁴ This turned an event which, when considered in the broader context of the battle, was potentially destabilising to Monck's persona, into one which, when considered locally, supported it. Doing so required establishing a biographical continuity with previous examples of Monck's prudence, and one finds this feature in Arlington's revisions. In his description of the withdrawal he added praise of Monck's 'accustomed & excellent conduct', where the addition of 'accustomed' located it within the expectations derived from a personal history of such deliverances: above all, the Restoration.⁷⁵ Marvell was alert to the manner in which Monck's management of the English retreat was deployed in the state press as an antidote to his decision to engage: in the *Third Advice* he addressed Monck that 'For as to reputation, this retreat | Of thine exceeds their victories so great' (317-8). In making a conspicuous virtue of necessity newswriters established a formula – Monck's exceptional conduct at the lowest point – with sufficient dramatic potency to attract topical poets, although some found it too awkward to approach directly. One almost managed to bypass the episode by describing how 'both the Fleets still Fight, and still Persue, | amazed Vict'ry, whilst from Each she Flew': the chase is of personified Victory, imposed over the English fleet in a sneaky misdirection which allows them to remain hunter, rather than hunted.⁷⁶ Dryden, on the other hand, acknowledged in *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) his fascination with this episode, and claimed the negotiation of its problematic qualities as his preserve:

⁷⁴ *Gazette*, no. 59 (7 June 1666).

⁷⁵ SP 29/158 fol. 57^v.

⁷⁶ *An Essay: or, A Narrative of the Two Great FIGHTS at SEA* (London: Henry Brome, 1666), p. B1r.

Let other Muses write his prosp'rous fate,
Of conquer'd Nations tell, and Kings restor'd:
But mine shall sing of his eclips'd estate,
Which, like the Sun's, more wonders does afford (357-60).

As in the writing of Arlington and Marvell, Dryden interpreted this moment within a biographical continuity 'of conquer'd Nations [...] and Kings restored'.

The episode saw a number of further examples of Arlington's attentiveness. As with the decision to engage, the retreat was edited to make it the result of a deliberative response to observed evidence, rather than an instinctual reaction to a stimulus. The latter interpretation could easily be construed from the original draft. Therefore:

The generall, who then thought good to hold our wind & make the best of our way home
Became:

The generall, who seeing that thought good likewise to hold our wind.⁷⁷

Arlington's Monck observes events and reacts to them in a timely and appropriate way. Rather than simply that he 'thought good', with its implications of arbitrariness, his decision is framed by precise interpolations elaborating on his mental processes: 'seeing that' he comes to a decision related 'likewise' to the evidence. Arlington staged Monck's hidden ratiocinations just as Dryden and Wild had done: to prove their rational stability and basis in prudence. Representations of the literary character, which had developed to explain problems in the interpretation of events six years previously, came to determine the relation of real-world events in the present. One also finds this evocation of his pensive interiority in commemorative panegyrics: 'Yet though in such Triumphant State He come, | Unmov'd he sits, neglects the pompous Shew, | And Triumphs o're his very Triumph too'.⁷⁸ Monck scorns the 'pompous Shew' of the outside world and, while alive in his own mind, he is alive in a characteristically

⁷⁷ SP 29/158 fol. 57^r.

⁷⁸ Abraham Markland, *Poems on His Majesties Birth and Restauration, His Highness Prince Ruperts and His Grace the Duke of Albemarles Naval Victories* (London: James Cotterel, 1667), p. 38.

unreachable fashion. As Monck's is a private and self-enclosed process, Arlington made sure elsewhere to redact other officers who were involved in decision making, crossing out their names and replacing them with an anonymised entity lacking the personal distinctiveness accorded to the General:

his Grace ~~there being present S^r Thomas Allen, S^r Christopher Mings & S^r Edward Spragge at a~~
Councill of y^e Flagg officers [resolved] to fall upon the enemy.⁷⁹

The council becomes a mere ancillary to his mental processes.

This pattern of prudent conduct continued when Monck swung into action to defend the retreating English, who were being threatened by the Dutch ships. As ever Monck's actions are deliberate. Whereas in the original draft Monck had found himself in sudden danger, 'his own ship being neare the enemy', Arlington again made sure that this was a conscious choice, 'keeping his own ship neare the enemy'.⁸⁰ This General is astute, able to determine the course of events rather than finding himself at the mercy of them. Furthermore, as in the example of the officer's council, the actions of the other commanders were effaced in service of the singular hero. In the original, when the Dutch make a sally against the English it is the English as a collective who were implied to fight them off:

such of the Dutch fleet that were the best saylors of them came first in parties find it too hot service to
attacque & therefore stayed for the rest.⁸¹

The Dutch 'find it too hot service to attacque' the united firepower of the English rear-guard. Arlington's revisions thrust Monck into this moment, where he comes to stand as a metonym for an English fleet which retreats into the background. The Dutch:

came first in parties upon him finding it too hot service to attacque him stayd for the rest of their fleet.⁸²

Monck's protection of the maimed fleet offers another repetition of the guardian of the nation stepping decisively in at the right moment to shepherd the English to calmer waters, the twice intruding 'him' resounding like the blows he chose to endure on their behalf. As in the earlier example, the repeated

⁷⁹ SP 29/158 fol. 58^r.

⁸⁰ SP 29/158 fol. 57^v.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

‘him’ also draws the focus resolutely back to the heroic General. Like any worthy stage hero, Monck fights off the combined arms of the enemy. Dryden found this irresistible.⁸³ His account of the retreat homes in on this passage, recasting Arlington’s frantic emendations within a suitably epic biblical scope:

He drew his mighty Fregates all before,

On which the foe his fruitless force employs:

His weak ones deep into his Reer he bore,

Remote from Guns as sick men are from noise.

His fiery Canon did their passage guide,

And foll’wing smoke obscured them from the foe;

Thus *Israel*, safe from the *Egyptian*’s pride,

By flaming pillars and by clouds did go (361-8).

The founder-saviour of the nation transforms into a new Moses. Monck’s actions do not contradict his mythology, Dryden suggests, but re-enact and even grandly exceed the precedent. In addition, Dryden’s innovation on the news accounts in the *Gazette* and the *True Narrative* – that Monck by cannon ‘smoke obscured them from the foe’ – reiterates longstanding metaphors for his secretive prudence. These are now literalised through a smoke screen reminiscent of Wild’s ‘pillar of a cloud’, which had obscured Monck’s *Iter Boreale* six years earlier. That Dryden chooses to conclude this quatrain with an invocation of Exodus, ‘by flaming pillars and by clouds’ (368), only heightens its resemblance to Wild’s ‘pillar of

⁸³ A number of other panegyrists were drawn to Monck’s single-handed defence of the English, and similarly anonymised and effaced his English comrades: ‘Mean while the Duke (Brave Soul!) as Good as Great | For others Safety did his own Forget; | And midst a Crowd of Dangers did Out-do | Souldier, and Seaman, and a General too’, *A Narrative of the Two Great FIGHTS* (1666), p. A2v. As Dryden was out of London at his wife’s family’s estate in Wiltshire, he was particularly reliant on the *True Narrative* pamphlet for its account of the battle. For the circumstances of the poem’s composition, see James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 170.

a cloud as well as fire' (241). The echo chamber of news and poetry amplified Monck's heroism again and again, raising it to a patriarchal grandeur.

One can therefore follow the movement of the Monck persona, formed by panegyrists in response to the problematic news moment of the Restoration, into the *Gazette* and the initial scribal version of the *True Narrative* in 1666. Its amplification through Arlington's revisions can then be tracked. Finally, one can identify how Arlington's corrections, which brought Monck's portrayal closer in line with the representations of Dryden, Orrery and others, then appealed to Dryden as he transformed the news report into poetry. Was he aware that what so excited him in the pamphlet was the displaced reflection of his own imagination? Through this intertwining of news and literature, where each adopts the qualities of the other and distinctions between the topical and the permanent collapse, one can see with particular clarity the ongoing intertextual exchange which characterised their relationship.

V. The Monck of news and literature in Marvell's 'Painter' poems

An acute sensitivity to the formative pressures of Monck's reputation also informed Marvell's parodic counter-narrative of the battle in the *Third Advice to a Painter* (1667). When Pepys got hold of a copy in January 1667 he judged it to be 'a bitter Satyr upon the service of the Duke of Albemarle the last year'.⁸⁴ Pepys was at once insightful and mistaken: the satire is profoundly concerned with the nature of Monck's 'service', but it is not so much embittered at the General's 'service' as at the state which demands it. Monck dominates this poem. He is the protagonist of the first half's battle narrative and then, as the husband of Anne Monck and the addressee of her speech, the focus of the second as well. He also reappears at key moments in Marvell's last and grandest satire of the war, the *Last Instructions to a Painter*. This thesis has demonstrated Marvell's sensitivity to conventions found across news and verse, and in his satires he discovered a powerful utility in the loyalist Monck characterisation. Instead

⁸⁴ *Pepys's Diary*, VIII, p. 21 (20 January 1667).

of unmasking Monck as falsely aggrandised, Marvell identified how key components of his myth could be redeployed to articulate the selective criticisms of the regime made in the 'Painter' poems.

Not only do the pressures of Monck's reputation influence Marvell's writing, he understood them to be operating on the General himself, the force of celebrity extending beyond the page to determine real conduct. While Arlington contoured Monck's behaviour to his mythology after the fact, Marvell imagined it to inform his decision-making in the first place, as Monck strives to emulate the hero of news and literature. As with Evelyn, who attributed Monck's decision to engage to 'too forward a reckoning of his succeſſe', Marvell caused the felt presence of Monck's heroic reputation to spur the General to action, as 'swoll'n with ſenſe of former glory won, | [he] Thought Monck muſt be by Albemarle outdone' (69-70). While it could sound like arrogance, Marvell subtly attributes his decision-making to insecurity. Unlike the aristocrats with whom he shared command of the fleet, and whom Marvell had criticised for their baseless and disastrous overconfidence (most notably the Duke of York in the *Second Advice*), Monck is imagined to be insecure in his reputation, highly conscious of its vulnerabilities and the constant need to corroborate it: Monck, the hero of the Restoration moment, 'muſt' be exceeded by the 'Albemarle' who came after. The danger that the Monck myth will shatter thus hangs over the poem. His Dutch opponent De Ruyter threatens the General that 'He ſhall tread back his Iter Boreale' (48), hinting with a glance at Wild's influential panegyric that in reversing his famous march Monck might rewind his reputation back before the Restoration, and before Wild's poetic rehabilitation.

In the 'Painter' poems Monck cannot escape time, and the ignominious history buried within in it: his ambiguous past actions are continually pressurising the present. Anne Monck's speech explodes the otherwise chronological mock-heroic narrative which had governed the poems up to that point, rewinding time back to the Restoration: 'I told George firſt, as Calamy did me, | If the King theſe brought over, how 'twould be' (217-8). She suggests that if her husband was deciding to bring over the king, she was willing to imagine alternatives to the influx of lazy and discontented cavaliers. Sure enough, an ensuing line as semantically indeterminate as the General himself suggests such possibilities. Imagine 'if we the King wiſhed Monck, or Queen a nun' (264), she asks – is this a wish

that the King could be more like Monck, or that Monck, as Dryden, Pordage and others had feared in 1659–60, could have been king? The legacy of Monck’s fateful decision continually pressured the Restoration present, offering alternatives just occluded from recognition by playful phrasing.⁸⁵ However, while Prince Rupert, now in his mid-forties, maintained the youthful exuberance that had characterised his Civil War service over twenty years previously, time fatally undercuts Monck. He attempts to fight De Ruyter ‘full of youthful heat’ (33), but age quickly imposes itself, leaving him like ‘an old bustard, maimed’ (91) with the reality of his sixty years pressing hard against him.

It is curious, therefore, that when the two fleets meet in the *Third Advice* Monck is not a creature of mere bluster, as the aristocratic officers had been in the *Second Advice*, but retains a residual martial potency. Warren Chernaik has noted how Marvell ‘treats Monck [...] with some ambivalence’.⁸⁶ While the General may be comical, his ship described as a ‘porcupine of flame’ (58), he is not ineffective and, for a while, proves a match for the Dutch. Indeed, Marvell playfully emulates the news accounts which had emphasised Monck’s agency at the expense of the rest of the navy by declaring the General ‘himself alone a fleet’ (52), but he does not mock the notion out of existence. Instead, Marvell repeats the assertions which underlay Arlington’s reportage: ‘had the rest but kept a time as true | What age could such a martial consort show?’ (63–4). The irony does not appear complete. Again, in Arlington’s draft the early disabling of Monck’s ship had served for a parenthetical emphasis of ‘his courage’ and Marvell uses the moment for similar effect, asserting that ‘Monck, disabled, still such courage shows | That none into his mortal grip durst close’ (89–90). This initial burst of energy is worthy of his reputation and ‘Ruyter no less with virtuous envy burns’ (73) as the skilled Dutch admiral and Monck engage in an eristic struggle to outdo each other. Though he had plenty of scope to do so, and had done so effectively in the *Second Advice*’s treatment of York, Marvell does not dismantle the Monck constructed in news reports, but accommodates himself to the myth.

⁸⁵ A playful use of verse to at once suggest and conceal the man who would be king is also a feature of Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis*. Following a stanza which takes the reader into Monck’s inner ratiocinations, the next begins with the highly ambiguous ‘So looks our Monarch on this early fight’ (557). Dryden allowed, in this introduction of Charles, a moment’s overlap with Monck. The anxieties of the Restoration had a long life.

⁸⁶ Warren Chernaik, ‘Harsh Remedies: Satire and Politics in “Last Instructions to a Painter”’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Edward Holberton and Martin Dzelzainis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 443–62 (p. 450).

However, this was not a simple reiteration of convention: if Monck yet embodied some form of heroic valour, he lacked the tactical intelligence which had been so crucial elsewhere. In the *True Narrative* he had been a governing intellect akin to Dryden's 'Seat of Sense', but in the *Third Advice* he is dismembered from the body of a fleet which cannot keep time. For Marvell, this cunning is De Ruyter's preserve: 'Victory does always hate a rant, | Valour her brave, but Skill is her gallant' (71-2). At the height of the battle this amorous personification of Victory swoops down to aid De Ruyter against her old paramour. He is 'quickly taught' (81) by her to penetrate Monck's weak spots. 'Valour' alone is not sufficient and Monck, unable deftly to respond to changing military circumstances like his fictive alter egos, is shown to feel the repercussion for his lack of that very 'Skill' he was so touted for possessing.

Marvell therefore inverts the representation of Monck's retreat established in news media, where the General had achieved his heroic apotheosis and Arlington had taken particular care to demonstrate his mental acuity and control of the battlefield. As in the *True Narrative*, the *Third Advice* focuses on displaying Monck's psychological interior at this moment, but while the former asserted its stability Marvell seeks to break it apart completely. De Ruyter follows through on his boast to make Monck 'tread back' his reputation and the General's supposed composure becomes dangerously destabilised. Marvell previously established the idea of the Monck-character acting as a felt presence on the General: as he finds himself falling short, Monck becomes increasingly emotional, the rational qualities of the *True Narrative* and its attendant poetry replaced with the fires of the heart, 'what indignation in his great breast did swell' (96). Marvell evocatively builds up Monck's rising passion over eight lines which tear apart his carefully constructed reputation:

Not virtuous men unworthily abused,

Not constant lovers without cause refused,

Not honest merchant broke, nor skilful play'r

Hissed off the stage, nor sinner in despair,

Not losing rooks, nor favourites disgraced,

Not Rump by Oliver or Monck displaced,

Not kings deposed, not prelates ere they die,

Feel half the rage of gen'rals when they fly (97-104).

The regular and resounding intonation of negation, with the verb suspended to the final line, strips Monck bare.⁸⁷ The delayed release of Monck's rage mounts to an immense frustration, any feeling of resolution or decisive action continually forestalled in this descent into the antithesis of prudence. Meanwhile, the General's impotent anger turns inwards through a succession of figures which obliquely apply to Monck himself. The list comprises a series of exemplars of constancy and feigning – perhaps reminiscent of *Astrea Redux* – which Monck is caught between as they are peeled away. From the initial figures of virtue and openness, whose minds and actions are in unison – 'virtuous men', 'constant lovers' and the 'honest merchant' – the list deteriorates and loses the poise of those earlier lines.⁸⁸ The figures are increasingly those of deceit, experts in feigning whose intentions and apparent actions do not correspond: 'the skilful play'r', the 'sinner' and 'favourites disgraced'. Recall Wild's Monck who 'played his part' (309). As the retreat from battle shows Monck's supposed decision-making to be fatally flawed, his reputation of virtuous constancy is also stripped away and replaced with abiding suspicions of opportunism and deception. That past returns with force as De Ruyter makes good on his threat. Finally, Monck's underlying association with Cromwell's regime returns to the fore, and the differences between the two collapse as history either side of the Protectorate glides together with 'Not Rump by Oliver or Monck displaced'. We have already seen that time was no friend to the General. Despite his original royalist credentials, Marvell rewrites historical memory as he turns the clock further back to 'kings deposed', using the similarity established between 'Oliver [and] Monck' to disastrously resurrect the latter's turncoat service for parliament, assertions of mercenary self-interest, and finally,

⁸⁷ The power of this formula to evoke a mounting sense of frustration which overflows a socially constructed reserve was recognised by Alexander Pope, who emulated it in *The Rape of the Lock*: 'But anxious cares the pensive nymph oppressed, | And secret passions laboured in her breast. | Not youthful kings in battle seized alive, | Not scornful virgins who their charms survive, | Not ardent lovers robbed of all their bliss, | Not ancient ladies when refused a kiss, | Not tyrants fierce that unrepenting die, | Not Cynthia when her manteau's pinned awry, | E'er felt such rage, resentment, and despair, | As thou, sad virgin! For thy ravished hair', in *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry*, ed. by Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), (IV.1-10).

⁸⁸ Of course, there may be a degree of trademark Marvellian irony in the 'constant lovers' and 'honest merchant'.

with the regicide, the ultimate subversion of his role as restorer and the triumph of suspicions concerning Monck.

VI. Marvell's reinvention of the Monck character

This fall is not the end of Monck for Marvell. He had been willing to allow his account of the early Four Days' Battle to be contoured by the General's public persona, and while Monck's tactical 'Skill' had been rejected it was not thrown out but redirected. Elsie Duncan-Jones has noted Marvell's ability to move fluidly between the contrary registers of praise and criticism.⁸⁹ Abjuring martial heroism, Monck's proven valour and reputation for secrecy were re-oriented to offer a remedy to the miscarriages of the war which nonetheless remained essentially true to the existing characterisation of the General. That said, Marvell intended Monck for a less acknowledged form of heroism, and one which was less likely to inspire lofty panegyric. Unlike the *Second Advice*, the failures which mar the war effort in the *Third* are predominantly administrative, a feature highlighted in Marvell's decision to focus on the blunders of the Secretariat. Monck's fall from grace, like the battle itself, must be covered up: 'Draw curtains, gentle artist, o'er this shame' (106) the poet instructs. While Marvell had been unremitting in stripping away the pretensions of York and Sandwich, he is consistent in moderating his criticism of Monck and asks the same from others. Monck must be treated by both the painter and Fortune with a 'gentle' (106, 127) touch. Even the General's injured buttocks must be obscured lest his dangerous, ever-destabilising past catch a glimpse: 'Conceal, as honour would, his Grace's bum [...] But should the Rump perceive 't, they'd say that Mars | Had now revenged them upon Aumarle's arse' (124, 138-9). In Monck's case, however, Marvell's deliberately poor cover-up marks the start of a metamorphic process whereby, over his wife's speech in the *Third Advice* and the *Last Instructions to the Painter*, the General is redefined not as a martial paragon, but as the exhausted hero of administration.

⁸⁹ Elsie Duncan-Jones, 'Marvell: A Great Master of Words', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), pp. 267-90 (pp. 286-90).

Exhausted, because this is a Monck increasingly constrained by circumstance, rather than capable of dictating it. Removed from the battlefield, he must accommodate himself to the complex and wearying mechanisms of the state. For example, the refitting of the English fleet in the *Third Advice* has none of the happy spontaneity of its counterpart in *Annus Mirabilis*. Steven Zwicker has highlighted that Dryden's version was a fecund and energised process where 'the Royal work grows warm, | Like labouring Bees on a long Summers day' (573-4).⁹⁰ As demonstrated earlier, the passage of time was not so amenable to Marvell's Monck: knotty with age and recurring anxieties, time does not helpfully dilate and there is no summery bliss or 'Royal work'. Instead, obligations press upon Monck incessantly and he is occupied with a difficult and tortured negotiation of interests. In such circumstances the material components of resupplying are perpetually adulterated and require the constant attention of a prudent administrator, not a warrior or Dryden's erotic king. 'Cherish the valiant up, the cow'rd cashier, | Find out the cheats of the four-millioner', Anne Monck instructs, 'Out of the very beer they steal the malt, | Powder out of powder, from powdered beef the salt' (327-30). The military persona is reimagined as a civic one, as Marvell discovers in the calculating Monck the latent capabilities of the assiduous administrator.

Such features place Monck within a network of civic virtues Annabel Patterson has identified as key to Marvell's understanding of responsibility, those of 'energy, decisiveness, and sheer hard work' (and, surely, that notorious prudence).⁹¹ This was, after all, the context in which Marvell himself knew Monck, negotiating with him on behalf of his Hull constituency because of the General's duties as the town's High Steward. Marvell wrote to the corporation of his diligent efforts: 'to say the truth my Lord Generall has been back and edge to you in this businesse'.⁹² In the *Third Advice* his redeployment of Monck's secrecy and constancy within the administrative system made him the perfect instrument to root out corruption, flowing through it like a cleansing spirit:

Look to the pris'ners, sick, and wounded; all

⁹⁰ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority* (1993), pp. 103-7.

⁹¹ Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 35.

⁹² *P&L*, II, p. 80.

Is prize, they rob even the hospital.

Recover back the prizes too: in vain

We fight if all be taken that is ta'en (343-6).

It is this redirected prudence, Marvell suggests, that can make Monck a worthy hero in a war where the greatest enemy is not the Dutch but corruption and malpractice. Indeed, terror of Monck's careful attention in the *Third Advice* spooks a crooked courtier 'afraid | Lest George should look too far into his trade' (305-6). At its most generous, this allows Monck to re-enact his foundational myth, delivering England once more from danger and re-restoring the king. Marvell draws him into the network of truth-tellers which populate the second half of the *Third Advice*: he must 'tell the King all, how him they countermines; | Trust not, till done, him with thy own design' (339-40). As during the Restoration, Monck must prudently cloak his actions until the moment of declaration, to 'trust not, till done'. The initial promise of the first line to 'tell all' is qualified by the second which, in an about turn, reasserts Monck's role as the quiet but powerful ordering force within the body politic, just as he had originally appeared in *Astraea Redux*.

Doing so meant separating Monck from the machinations of a self-serving and corrupt court, and establishing him as a separate locus of political power.⁹³ Again, this had precedent. It was not far distant from dramatists like Orrery and Howard who had imagined their loyal generals participating in the corrupt governments of malicious usurpers, all the while labouring alone and in almost paranoid secrecy to bring about a restoration. Once more Marvell's conception of Monck, even as he turns him to an anti-regime purpose, is rooted in long-established loyalist characterisations. As a result, Monck's relationship with the ruling administration is as tense and complicated as those seen in drama. Prior to Marvell's account of the Dutch raid on the Medway in the *Last Instructions* – the humiliating conclusion to the disorganised English war effort – the poet confesses his fascination with the General, who had

⁹³ A separation between Monck and the court was rumoured about during 1667, with Marvell writing to Lord Wharton that 'The Generall is returnd again to Town, which discredits that report of his having retired from Court upon discontent', *P&L*, II, p. 310.

attempted to organise the English defences.⁹⁴ He also describes how Monck's notorious ambiguity sees him dreaded by the very regime which finds him indispensable:

Often, dear painter, have I sat and mused
Why he should still be'n all adventures used,
If they for nothing ill, like ashen wood,
Or think him, like Herb John, for nothing good;
Whether his valour they so much admire,
Or that for cowardice they all retire.
As heav'n in storms, they call, in gusts of state,
On Monck and Parliament, yet both do hate.
All causes sure concur, but most they think
Under Herculean labours he may sink (511-20).

A residual indeterminacy clings to Monck. The poet is unsure 'why he should still be [...] used' and the perspective of the courtiers is equally confused: is he 'for nothing ill' or 'nothing good'? Does he remain the valorous hero, or the only one non-threatening enough not to be retired? Like his counterparts onstage, the General is the subject of questions and speculation. One also has the question of his workload: these are suitably heroic 'Herculean labours', but are nonetheless indicative of Monck's reinterpreted position. No more are his opponents found on the battlefield, but within a domestic state system which subjects him to a hostile profusion of responsibilities (more Augean stables than Nemean lion) in the hope of squashing him entirely. The sweat of Monck's labour is further emphasised by the immediate jump, after this passage, to the description of De Ruyter's progress up the Thames. That grand vision of effortless grace and easy fecundity – recognised by Zwicker as Marvell's appropriation of Dryden's erotic kingship – establishes De Ruyter once more as Monck's contrary.⁹⁵ While the latter

⁹⁴ For Monck's imperfect work in organising the defence, see P.G. Rogers, *The Dutch in the Medway* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 84-5, 102-4.

⁹⁵ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority* (1993), p. 114.

is worn down to 'sink' under his 'labours', the Dutchman grows younger and bobs along the waves, 'his sporting navy all about him swim | And witness their complacency in their trim' (535-6).

This question of heroism and public duty had occupied Marvell since the Civil Wars. For Patterson, Marvell's poetry on an active Cromwell and a retired Fairfax constituted 'a series of independent studies [...] in the interpretation and evaluation of contemporary public figures'.⁹⁶ His fascination with the public duties of the military hero was not deadened by the ostensible return to stability of the Restoration. Indeed, we can add Monck to the pairing of Cromwell and Fairfax as the third member of a soldier-politician dynamic which stimulated Marvell's verse writing for the better part of twenty years. Nevertheless, after a decade of experience of state service, secretarial and in the legislature, with an embassy and in intelligence, Marvell's conception of the heroic grandee had changed. It evolved beyond the debate between otium and negotium, and beyond millenarian and providential expectations that one man could erect the apparatus of a whole, coherent state.⁹⁷ The hero had to accommodate themselves to decrepit and hostile systems, to work as a self-enclosed agent and make only incremental, hard-fought gains. Age, inertia and disillusionment have set in, and Monck lacks the irresistible forward momentum which characterised those earlier heroes, and which survives in the foreign De Ruyter. Monck is an imperfect hero for an imperfect age.

This complicated engagement with Monck, the explanatory fictions constructed around him, and the ethos of service is realised in one more penetrating passage. It is also the one where the General is most easily effaced by criticism. This is the moment in the *Last Instructions* where narrator and reader

⁹⁶ Patterson, *Andrew Marvell* (2000), p. 16. Marvell's character studies of Cromwell and Fairfax have attracted an immense critical attention, while Monck has been almost wholly neglected. Some principal examples of the former include David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 243-70; Warren Chernaik, "'Every Conqueror Creates a Muse": Conquest and Constitutions in Marvell and Waller', in *Marvell and Liberty* ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 195-216; James Loxley, 'Prepar'd at Last to Strike with the Tyde? Andrew Marvell and Royalist Verse', *Seventeenth Century*, 10.1 (1995), 39-62 (pp. 56-8); Zwicker, *Lines of Authority* (1993); pp. 77-88; Blair Worden, 'Andrew Marvell, Oliver Cromwell, and the Horatian Ode', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and Kevin Sharpe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 147-80 (p. 154-65); Warren Chernaik, *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 15-25; Annabel Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 51-94; Ruth Nevo, *The Dial of Virtue: a Study of Poems on Affairs of State in the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 99-114.

⁹⁷ Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (1978), pp. 63-98.

join with Monck to witness the death of the young captain Archibald Douglas during the Medway Raid. Marvell's extreme personal investment and involvement in this moment have been frequently identified – 'this is a scene for which Marvell must have been the primary, and deeply attentive audience' – yet the presence of Monck is frequently minimalised in criticism which focuses instead on Marvell and Douglas.⁹⁸ In practice Monck is profoundly involved, both watching and being watched by Douglas, who:

Much him the honours of his ancient race

Inspire, nor would he his own deeds deface;

And secret joy in his calm soul does rise

That Monck looks on to see how Douglas dies (673-6).

It is a commonplace to read a voyeuristic Marvell transposing himself into Monck, to feel his presence sitting heavily behind this scene of mutual gazing. However, we should not be so quick to transform the General into a mere viewfinder. He participates in this Marvellian circular voyeurism, and it is because he has locked eyes with Monck that Douglas can die happily. The Earl of Clarendon – no fan of the General – later recalled a rumour that Monck had wished to make a heroic last stand, and tried to board a ship, reinforced only by a few pikemen, but was convinced of the folly of his decision. Instead he was left 'standing upon the shore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this mischief'.⁹⁹ Clarendon's image of the old man's frustrated heroism is important for unpicking Monck's place in this passage, for it is unsurprising that the General is reintroduced at a moment so concerned with constancy and inner fortitude. Monck's experience of valiant heroism becomes wholly virtual as he must watch his disappointed mythology perfectly embodied in Douglas. The young man assumes the interior fortitude and 'secret joy' of reserve once attributed to the General, who can only recognise that 'secret' inner life from a distance. Furthermore, Douglas performs this exalted interiority for Monck in a moment of intense theatrical self-consciousness. It is an idealised moment of heroic virtue, self-sacrifice

⁹⁸ Steven N. Zwicker and Derek Hirst, *Andrew Marvell, Orphan of the Hurricane* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 116; see also Paul Hammond, 'Marvell's Sexuality', *Seventeenth Century*, 11 (1996), 87–123 (pp. 105-7); and Zwicker *Lines of Authority* (1993), p. 114.

⁹⁹ Edward Hyde, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1857), II, p. 250.

and the triumph of the mind akin to the many stage renditions of the General character. Douglas can also trust that his death cements a stable past which will not turn hostile, that 'his own deeds' will crystallise like 'clear amber' (682) at the moment of immolation.

Yet Douglas does not simply realise Monck's fictive character in practice: he is also enchanted by the General's myth, and is highly reluctant to give up on it. While the deaths of the worthy captains in the *Second Advice* generate their pathos from contrast with the buffoons around them, for contemporary readers Douglas's death gains its tragic resonance from the contrast with the worn-down emblem of the very virtues he dies in service of. The Scot is happy that Monck 'looks on to see how Douglas dies', but there is little to suggest this is from competitively exceeding a rival, the eristic impulse which had forced De Ruyter to greater feats in Marvell's account of the Four Days' Battle. Instead, Douglas is characterised by a generous innocence that 'wondered much at those that ran away: | Nor other fear himself could comprehend | Then, lest heaven fall ere thither he ascend' (662-4). Douglas, in keeping with the youth Marvell forces on him, is childishy naïve.¹⁰⁰ He is unable to understand self-preservation, and his simple confidence and generosity is free from selfishness. Duncan-Jones rightly speculated that 'perhaps Marvell implies that this heroic suicide was impossible except to a boyish character'.¹⁰¹ This boyish innocence includes the juvenile hero-worship of a General ubiquitous in news and literature: Douglas's own courage feeds on a trust in Monck as hero, that only Monck can appreciate the value of his sacrifice and thus be the ultimate authorising witness. Critics recognise that 'the ecstasy of Douglas's destruction is compounded by being observed', but it should be noted this is by being observed by Monck in particular.¹⁰² As a result, the compromised quality of Monck's heroism can only make Douglas's death more pitiable: the world fails to assume the heroic mould Douglas imagines as he burns his way out of it. The tired old General is left standing on the shore, still searching for a way to tidy up the mess. The death of Douglas therefore encapsulates

¹⁰⁰ Martin Dzelzainis has described the programme of revisions Marvell made to the 'malleable property' of Douglas's biography which served to create and accentuate a virginal youthfulness, 'Marvell and the Earl of Castlemaine', in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 290–312 (pp. 299–301).

¹⁰¹ Duncan-Jones, 'Marvell: A Great Master of Words' (1975), p. 277.

¹⁰² Matthew Augustine, 'Borders and transitions in Marvell's poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 46–67 (p. 65).

Marvell's reinvention of the Monck character, as the eye-catching, performative heroism of martial valour is abdicated for the frustrating, less glorious, but more necessary virtue of unseen public service.

VII. Imagining Monck in Marvell's newswriting

The death of the General in 1670 did little to alter Marvell's adherence to a characterisation which also informed his newswriting, and his commitment to the popular myth is conspicuous when compared to other satirists. Monck's death gave numerous writers occasion for revisionism in mock-eulogies and secret histories which argued that the General was only ever an opportunistic turn-coat, 'A man in Print a Man in Wax | Forward and backward Circumflex'.¹⁰³ These were often direct manuscript responses, like Marvell's 'Painter' poems had been, to commemorative print poetry. To published verses which had imagined the General's spirit ascending as a recent shooting star, satirists replied that he was 'a wandering Starr an Comett bright | Borne with the Wind he was so light'.¹⁰⁴ They also metabolised elements from Marvell's deconstruction of Monck's reputation, repeating lines from the *Third Advice* almost verbatim.¹⁰⁵ Marvell did not take the opportunity to join with this criticism: his own writing on the General's death entailed a more sympathetic meditation on his complex character. A letter to his nephew William Popple, which complained at length of Marvell's own impotency in the current

¹⁰³ 'A Great Crye & little Wool', in London, British Library, Add MS 34362, fol. 30^v; also in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don.b.8, fols. 186-9. For other poems critical of Monck after his death, see 'Epitaph on Monck', in Add MS 34362, fol. 37^v; a different 'Epitaph', in MS Don.b.8, fol. 189; similar sentiments can be found in *The Dream of the Cabal* (1673), 'What if a Monck should both swear, lie, and feign, | Till he does both your trust and army gain, | And you believe his oath and faith is true, | But serves himself instead of serving you?' (321-4); see also John Collins's manuscript secret history *Mysteria Revelata* and its paratextual poetry (1674) in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscript of F.W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq.* (Norwich: 1899), pp. 198-239. The history was a refutation of Clarge's *Continuation* in Richard Baker's *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London: 1665, 1670, 1674), which helped established the Monck legend and was here described as 'contrived by combination | Of partial writers, whose great interest | It was thereby to have the truth suppress', *HMC* (1899), p. 198.

¹⁰⁴ Add MS 34362, fol. 30^v; *An Elegie on the Death of George Monck, General of His MAJESTY's Forces, Duke of ALBEMARLE, &c. (As it was Presented to the Late, and Most Deserving DUKE his SON.) Having appear'd about the same time an Extraordinary STARR* (London: 1670).

¹⁰⁵ Compare Marvell's 'that Buttock, never turned before' in the *Third Advice* (126) with 'that Breech he never turned before' in 'A Great Crye & little Wool', Add MS 34362, fol. 30^v and MS Don.b.8, fols. 186-9; see also 'Monck and Charon', where Anne Monck appears – under the name 'Joan' – and is also imagined as a brash-voiced truth-teller (of a sort), akin to her appearance in the *Third Advice*, Add MS 34362, fols. 21^v-32^v.

political malaise – ‘what probability is there of my doing any Thing to the Purpose?’ – concluded with mention of Monck’s death:

The King would needs to take the Duke of *Albemarle* out of his Son’s Hand, to bury him at his own Charges. It is almost three months, and he yet lys in the Dark unburied, and no Talk of him. He left twelve thousand Pounds a Year, and near two hundred thousand Pounds in Money. His Wife dyed some twenty Days after him; she layed in State, and was buried, at her Son’s expense, in Queen *Elizabeth’s* Chapel, And now,

Disce, puer, Virtutem ex me verumque Laborem,

Fortunam ex aliis.

[Learn valour from me, my son, and true toil;

Fortune from others.]¹⁰⁶

The quotation from Book XII of the *Aeneid* crystallises the competing tensions which endured in Marvell’s writing of the General. Taking it to refer not to Monck but the disillusionment Marvell himself confessed earlier in the letter, its editors have imagined the Aeneas–Ascanius relationship to be that between Marvell and his ‘puer’ Popple.¹⁰⁷ Considering its close consistency with Marvell’s portrayals of the General explored above, however, not to mention Monck’s Aeneas-like role in establishing the Restoration polity, the quotation assumes a playful life of multiplying referents.¹⁰⁸ For example, the ascription of ‘Fortunam’ to others in Monck’s proximity was a Marvellian commonplace, be it the ‘Fortunate Boy’ (693) Douglas or De Ruyter. The interplay of ‘Virtutem’ and ‘Laborum’ had also been crucial in the ‘Painter’ satires: recall ‘Valour her brave, but Skill is her gallant’ (72), and how ‘valour’ had characterised Monck’s behaviour early in the *Third Advice* as much as ‘true toil’ had his actions in

¹⁰⁶ *P&L*, II, pp. 315-6. The translation is from *Virgil II. Aeneid VII-XII. Appendix Vergiliana*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough and G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 331. William Frost has usefully considered the difficulties of fluently translating these highly ‘compressed’ lines in particular during the seventeenth century, ‘Translating Virgil, Douglas to Dryden: Some General Considerations’, in *Poetic Traditions of the English Renaissance*, ed. by Maynard Mack and George d. f. Lord (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 271–86 (pp. 280-2).

¹⁰⁷ *P&L*, II, p. 384.

¹⁰⁸ Abraham Cowley promised Monck that, as the founder of the restored state, ‘an *Illiad* or an *Aeneid* should be *Thine*’, *Ode, Upon The Blessed Restoration* (1660), p. 18.

the second half. Several years later Marvell's manuscript newswriting continued to be preoccupied with how Monck embodied the relationship between these characteristics. What was more heroic: public valour or secretive, prudent labour? Marvell's poetry and newswriting demonstrate the intertextual relationship between literature and news in microcosm; both were guided by the prominent public characterisation of Monck, but in both cases Marvell also used this characterisation as an opportunity for play and exploration. The consistency of his adaptation of the literary Monck is striking, as much for its self-consciousness as for Marvell's use of Monck to examine questions of duty without ever relenting wholly to the scepticism which marked other satirists, and which even troubled Monck's eulogists.¹⁰⁹

VIII. Conclusion

The power of the rhetorical conventions built up around Monck to shape expectation and imagination is registered strongly in Marvell's poetry and prose, as it is in the newswriting of Arlington and in literary writing throughout the 1660s. At its core this was an intertextual process, where the cultural identity of Monck was generated through the imaginative interaction of news, panegyric, drama and even satire. Although Marvell recognised the artificiality of this process, that very artifice stimulated his poetic imagination and, while he pushed Monck's reputation to breaking point in his account of the Four Days' Battle, he also recognised that it could communicate a form of truth. His attempt to redefine the General's characteristics within an ethos of prudent public service dovetailed the old concerns of his poetry on military strongmen with an attempt to offer a viable solution to the political maladministration outlined in his 'Painter' satires. Of course, identifying how Marvell grappled with the complex interpretative problems posed by Monck emphasises his continuity with the panegyrists and dramatists of the 1660s who faced similar difficulties, and who solved them through the creation

¹⁰⁹ For example, the posthumous 'Episide on Generall Monk' seen earlier, British Library, Burney MS 390, fol. 24^r.

of the General's extreme interiority. In fact, the potency of Marvell's argument comes from its embeddedness within this culture: he skilfully works within the national myth, reinterpreting key aspects of Monck's character in order to put forward a new account of the General's strengths as a leader and administrator. As in their encounters with news reports of battlefield heroics, readers were much more likely to accept the whole account of Marvell's satires if the portrayal of characters like Monck correlated with expectations arising from the public consensus. Marvell provided a character who could synthesise this heroism with satiric bite.

CHAPTER FOUR

Making paper work: intelligence, secretarial heroism and villainy in the Restoration *Catiline*

The interval between the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars saw the emergence in the loyalist consensus of a different sort of hero. They were not a warrior like Monck, Rupert or York: indeed, they were defined *against* martial prowess. Neither was this hero's territory the liminal space between warring states, but the corridors of power in the capital. This was the secretarial hero, the intelligencer who confounded sedition and mastered violent and unruly factions through the information-management of the state. It was unusual to see the secretary as a potential hero. As Peter Beal has observed, secretaries had long been easy satiric targets.¹ However, as this chapter will demonstrate, when Arlington's Secretariat was at the zenith of its influence, loyalist writers encouraged the reading public to understand their intelligence and newswriting activities through the story of Catiline's conspiracy, and thus invited readers to reimagine such figures as heroes. What can this process reveal about the conspicuous role newswriting played in Restoration culture? Cicero's discovery of Catiline's attempt to seize control of the late Roman Republic, particularly as understood through Ben Jonson's play *Catiline His Conspiracy* (1611), offered important resonances after the Second Anglo-Dutch War concluded. It could restore the standing of a Secretariat compromised by the controversies seen in previous chapters by offering, in Cicero, an appealing analogy for its policing of insurgent elements, and also for its dissemination of intelligence among the public as news. The story was useful in part because it was so versatile – it was a staple of the seventeenth-century political imagination – but that versatility also left it open to reinterpretation. Readers were more interested in the play's bloodthirsty conspirators than the tedious rhetorician. While state-supported writers and theatre initially amplified

¹ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 10.

the story's presence in the public sphere, the intensifying disillusionment of the interwar years and the Third Anglo-Dutch War saw it appropriated by anti-regime writers. Rather than heroicise the information distribution of the government secretary, these satirists used the narrative to imagine the secretive, anti-parliamentary endeavours of Arlington's ministry which lay behind news events. By 1673 the Catiline story flourished in the year's most prominent satires. Why was it so well suited to this moment, and able to provide both loyalist writers and satirists with a set of rhetorical conventions through which to depict newswriting and intelligence management to the public? What does the way in which the story transitioned from loyalist to satirical discourses reveal about their relationship after the Second Anglo-Dutch War?

I. 'So much trash': Secretarial patronage and the mediation of intelligence, 1667–73

After 1667, in the period between the ignominious conclusion of the Second Anglo-Dutch War and the beginning of the Third, Arlington's Secretariat was increasingly proactive in encouraging and commissioning loyalist writers. The government's recognition after the war that it needed to better manage its presence in the print public sphere built on the realisation in 1665 that news could not be left in L'Estrange's hands. To support the temporarily Francophobic turn in foreign policy which resulted in the Triple Alliance with the Dutch Republic and Sweden in 1668, the Secretariat commissioned the printing of two anti-French tracts: Francois-Paul de Lisola's influential *The Buckler of State* (1667) and its 'more legible and less arcane' epitome, *A Free conference touching the present state of England* (1668).² These pamphlets have attracted the recent attention of Mark Goldie and Charles-Edouard Levillain, who have argued for their importance in the public 'understanding of contemporary geopolitics'.³ They demonstrate just how closely Arlington's Secretariat supervised the

² 'The supplementary *Free conference*, composed in the fashionable genre of an imaginary conversation, was better calculated to the taste of the London coffee houses', Mark Goldie and Charles-Edouard Levillain, 'Francois-Paul de Lisola and English opposition to Louis XIV', *The Historical Journal* (2019), 1–22 (pp. 13–5).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

English publication of Lisola's tract: the translation work was undertaken by an anonymous government scribe and Lisola, then Hapsburg Resident in London, noted Arlington's intention to use 'secret papers' to promote an anti-French policy.⁴ The two tracts, with the names of Joseph Williamson and Arlington imprinted on the inside cover alongside the coda 'let this [...] be printed', were then distributed by the ultra-royalist court stationer, Richard Royston.⁵

Popularising Lisola's tract in England ended up cutting off English foreign policy at the knees once the regime realigned with the expansionist Louis XIV after 1670. Parliament and the public were not so willing to give up on the interpretation of events that Arlington had initially encouraged, which emphasised that the Francophobic turn in foreign policy aimed to curb French ambition, and Goldie and Levillain argue that Lisola's reasoning underpinned much of the oppositional writing which turned opinion against the Third Anglo-Dutch War.⁶ As evident in the state control of news publishing discussed in Chapter Two, too tight a grip on information in the public sphere could become a liability when political circumstances altered. Nonetheless, in the years after publication of Lisola's *Buckler* the Secretariat continued to intervene in support of original writers.⁷ They offered them access to the State Papers – those original sources for the *Gazette* – and expedited publication of the results. This increasing

⁴ Lisola wrote to the Emperor that, 'With the help of secret papers, we will seek, here [in London] as well as in the other provinces, to uncover the wily intentions of the French crown, instilling into people's minds everything that can contribute to the promotion of our cause', quoted in Goldie and Levillain, 'Lisola and English opposition', p. 10.

⁵ François-Paul de Lisola, *The Buckler of State and Justice against the Design manifestly discovered of the Universal Monarchy* (London: 1667) [originally *Bouclier d'Etat et de Justice*], p. A1v; *A Free conference touching the present state of England both at home and abroad: In order to the Designs of France* (London: 1668), p. A1v. Royston was doing a strong trade in supplying the court and Williamson's paper office, William Proctor Williams, 'Richard Royston', in *ODNB* (2004). This included providing the stationary and materials for the presentation documents of the year's treaties, SP 29/246 fol. 40^v. He was also used as mediator for those submitting stories to the *Gazette*, SP 29/441 fol. 5.

⁶ Goldie and Levillain, 'Lisola and English opposition', pp. 18-20. Goldie and Levillain are contributing to a longstanding debate over which political polemic was the most influential in reshaping public opinion over the 1670s. K.H.D. Haley had argued that public and parliamentary opinion had been deliberately reshaped by a Dutch propaganda campaign run by Pierre de Moulin at the behest of William of Orange, and that this reached a head in the highly influential pamphlet *Englands Appeal from the Private Cabal at White-hall to the Great Council of the Nation, the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled* (The Hague?: 1673), *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 97-111. More recently, Steven Pincus has argued that *Englands Appeal* was only successful 'because it dovetailed nicely with earlier English polemic', and that English public opinion shifted due to observation of news events, rather than one polemic, 'Republicanism, Absolutism and Universal Monarchy: English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 241-66 (p. 243).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.



Figure 4. The anti-English satire reproduced by Henry Stubbe in his *Justification* (1672), and still held by The National Archives, SP 119/497.

use of state documentation to generate supportive writing in the public sphere occurred alongside Arlington's growing dominance over a government split between several powerful ministers.⁸

The patronage of Henry Stubbe is illustrative. A return to war with the Dutch was likely after England joined with France. The nonconformist Stubbe was the most prominent of several polemicists who sold the Third Anglo-Dutch War to England's reading public, publishing the two pamphlets *A Justification* and *A Further Justification of the Present War* (1672).⁹ Important at the time, these also

⁸ Ronald Hutton, *Charles II: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 254.

⁹ Other pamphlets included William de Britaine's pamphlets *The Dutch Usurpation* (London: Jonathan Edwin, 1672), and *The Interest of England in the Present War with Holland* (London: Jonathan Edwin, 1672). Printed justifications were far more prevalent in the early 1670s than during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. After 1670 Stubbe had moved from subversive writing to being Arlington's client, but increasing disillusionment saw him tone down the anti-Dutch character of the *Further Justification*, and by late 1673 he was writing oppositional polemic, James Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 109-17; Steven Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 333-61 (p. 348).

dominate modern criticism which examines stereotyping, national identity and public opinion.¹⁰ This is because they were furnished with illustrations, reproduced from Dutch broadsheets, which demonstrated the ‘*Provocations of the Dutch by their Pictures, Medails and Monuments*’ which the English claimed were a legitimate cause for conflict.¹¹ The illustrations themselves had been given to Stubbe by Williamson’s Paper Office, after he had written asking for ‘some of those pictures as are most contumelious to this Nation (not personall, ag^t o^r King) and against the Parlement [...] if you will but favour me with halfe a dozen papers of this nature by the first post, you will gretly serve your Countrey’.¹² One ‘Curious Print’, for example, depicts Britannia ‘prostrate on the dry Land, Holland being mounted upon an Elephant, and trampling upon Her’, reproducing the engraving from the Dutch broadside now catalogued in the State Papers as SP 119/497, *Algemeene verklaringe Van dit Sinnebeeldt* [General Interpretation of this Emblem] (1666).¹³ The newly ennobled councillor Thomas Clifford, who was coming out from under Arlington’s patronage and attaching himself to York, also provided Stubbe with a warrant to seek state papers which had escaped the archives of government, ‘a Booke containing all the transactions between the Dutch and the late pretended Commonwealth’, from John Thurloe.¹⁴ As well as supplying resources, Arlington’s office was careful to expedite publication. Williamson had made a note in June 1672 when ‘Stubb’s [first] Booke came out’, just after the opening engagement of the war, the Battle of Sole Bay.¹⁵ In early November, after an uneventful summer at sea where gains were minimal compared to the astonishing progress of the French land armies, Williamson noted that ‘I licensed Stubbs 2nd Booke by expresse ord^r of E. Arlington, giuen to me at Whitehall

¹⁰ Elizabeth Staffel, ‘The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 169–86 (p. 183); Pincus, ‘From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes’ (p. 348).

¹¹ Henry Stubbe, *A Further Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands* (London: 1672), p. A1v. Twentieth-century historians considered the grievances around Dutch representations of the English to be cynical, populist propaganda on the part of the English government. More recent scholarship has advocated that we take them more sincerely, Pincus, ‘English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War’ (1995), p. 246. It is certainly the case that, when negotiating for peace at Cologne, Williamson was explicitly instructed to maintain the English demands about ‘Libells. Prints. & Medalls’, even as Charles gave up his vain hope for Dutch territorial concessions, SP 105/221 fol. 122.

¹² SP 29/312 fol. 190.

¹³ Stubbe, *Further Justification* (1672), p. A2r; *Algemeene verklaringe Van dit Sinnebeeldt* [General interpretation of this Emblem] (1666).

¹⁴ SP 29/29/312 fol. 215.

¹⁵ SP 29/319A fol. 57 (10 June 1672).

gate'.¹⁶ Not content with its monopoly on news publication, the Secretariat began to combine the documentary resources of the Paper Office with its executive reach to intervene more significantly in pamphleteering, and to selectively insert state intelligence into the public sphere.

John Evelyn's diary reveals more background on this programme. The government solicited Evelyn, a noted Anglican royalist and public intellectual, to produce a patriot history of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Evelyn was reluctant and recorded the informal pressures he came under from ministers of state from 1669 onwards in his diary.¹⁷ After one 1670 dinner with Arlington:

my Lord, communicated to me his Majesties desire, that I would undertake to write the Historie of our Late War with the *Hollander*, which I had hitherto declin'd; This I found was ill taken, & that I should disoblidge his Majestie who had made a choice of me to him that service, & that if I would undertake it, I should have all the Assistance the Secretarie Office & others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse.¹⁸

Again, 'all the Assistance the Secretarie Office [...] could give' was on the table. Arlington, Charles and Clifford continued to pressurise Evelyn for over a year. Access to the state archives – 'the necessary assistance of papers & particulars' – was repeatedly offered, and what progress he made was read, assessed and encouraged by the king and his ministers.¹⁹ After the ratification of the Secret Treaty of Dover with France in 1670, Charles chivvied Evelyn to focus, as Stubbe did, on the Dutch propaganda

¹⁶ SP 29/319A fol. 119 (6 November 1672). For Williamson's registration of both pamphlets, see *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: 1640-1708 A.D.: Volume II* (London: 1913), pp. 447, 443. That it was Williamson himself who entered both books into the Stationer's Register testifies to their perceived importance: he had only done so on a few previous occasions at the end of the Second War, *ibid.*, pp. 369, 381, 383.

¹⁷ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 522 (13 February 1669). We may only conjecture if other writers or polemicists were offered the same access to state resources or encouragement. The government certainly kept an eye on the dramatist John Crowne, as indicated by the archival survival of an advertisement for the print edition of his heroic play *The History of Charles VIII of France* (London: 1672), SP 29/47 fol. 232. Pincus has explored how it paralleled and supported England's current alliance with France, 'English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War' (1995), p. 248. The prompter John Downes recorded that the initial performance had been 'all new Cloath'd', but did not specify where the clothes had come from, *Roscus Anglicanus*, ed. by Montague Summers (London: Fortune Press, 1928), p. 32. The print edition was published at the same time as Stubbe's *Further Justification, The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 3 vols (London: 1903-6), I, p. 118.

¹⁸ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 549 (18 June 1670).

¹⁹ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 559 (28 August 1670). Earlier in the century, Francis Bacon and Lord Herbert of Cherbury had been given access to the state papers while writing their histories of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and Robert Cotton had borrowed papers while writing a history of Scotland commissioned by James I. Michael Riordan points out these earlier historians rarely returned the papers they borrowed, "'The King's Library of Manuscripts': The State Paper Office as Archive and Library", *Information & Culture*, 48.2 (2013), 181-93 (p. 185).

his Paper Office had received, ‘enjoyning me to make it a little keene, for that the *Hollanders* had very unhandsomely abused him, in their pictures, books & libels’.²⁰ Writing under such intense scrutiny was a stressful experience, and Evelyn confessed a decade later to Pepys that ‘I cannot thinke of it without emotion’.²¹

Nevertheless, he did begin to amass the necessary papers. Evelyn’s notes in the British Library and receipts from the Paper Office give some idea of his sources. They included ‘12 large Volumes’ of state papers, correspondence, and ‘All our Gazetts’: Williamson recorded that he had lent Evelyn ‘1 booke in folio of Gazettes from Nou: 7 1665 till 29 Octob^r 1667’.²² This vast amount of documentation, including both *Gazette* stories and their un-redacted manuscript originals, only increased Evelyn’s despondency. He later wrote to Pepys that:

’tis not easily to be imagined the sea and ocean of papers, treaties, declarations, relations, letters, and other pieces, that I have ben faine to saile through, read over, note, and digest [...] I confesse to you the fatigue was insufferable, and for the more part did rather oppresse and confound me than inlighten, so much trash was there to seift.²³

This is borne out by his notes, which struggle to filter pertinent information from dross.²⁴ It is worth contrasting Evelyn’s research practice with Stubbe and the *Gazette*, where the use of state documents was highly targeted and limited, based on the needs of the moment. Polemic and news were ephemeral, and could be selective, partial and incomplete. History writing, on the other hand, was a magisterial genre. In the neoclassical writing of the seventeenth century it was expected to be universalising,

²⁰ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 559 (28 August 1670). For other occasions on which Evelyn was reminded of the project, see *Kalendarium*, III, p. 558 (26 August 1670); III, p. 562 (15 October 1670); III, p. 563 (21 October 1670); III, p. 568 (20 January 1671); III, p. 569 (21 January 1671); III, p. 573 (1 March 1671); III, p. 586 (29 August 1671); III, p. 587 (22 September 1671); III, p. 623 (1 September 1672). In August 1673 Evelyn returned Clifford his papers. He lent an unfinished manuscript to Pepys in 1681, but it is now lost.

²¹ *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn*, ed. by Guy de la Bedoyere (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 123 (6 December 1681).

²² British Library, Add MS 78393, fol. 30^v; SP 45/21 fol. 8; see also ‘Calendar of Documents relating to the History of the State Paper Office to the Year 1800’, in W. Noel Sainsbury, *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London: 1869), p. 246.

²³ *Particular Friends* (1997), p. 123 (6 December 1681); this includes ‘ye Original Letters, Books, Mss: Journals Treaties, transactions of state, containd in 12 large Volumes belonging to his Majty: delivered me by Comand of my L: Arlington Sec of State’ mentioned in Evelyn’s notes, Add MS 78393, fol. 30^v.

²⁴ Evelyn’s notes are found in Add MS 78393 and London, British Library, Add MS 78401.

comprehending long-term causal narratives which revealed the underlying rhythm of the world.²⁵ Extrapolating this from a growing state bureaucracy was difficult in practice. There was too much to process, and, as Wither had previously noted of the *True Narrative*, an overabundance of intelligence swiftly became equivalent to no intelligence at all, ‘to oppresse and confound [rather] than inlighten’. By the time Evelyn was able to publish some of his research after the war as *Navigation and Commerce* (1674), it was out of date. Following complaints from the Dutch Ambassador, the book was banned.²⁶ Yet again, the injection of state documentation into the public sphere had been overtaken by events, and ended up supporting an anti-regime perspective. The project of using state intelligence to supply public writing therefore had severe practical limitations, and extends Joad Raymond’s observation that the *Gazette* stimulated ‘precisely the discussion which the government wished to curb’ to a broader series of state interventions in topical print publication.²⁷

In fact, Evelyn had initially attempted to offload the duty of writing this history onto his wife Mary Evelyn’s cousin, the classicist and schoolmaster at Tonbridge, Christopher Wase.²⁸ A month after Arlington ‘began to tempt me about writing the Dutch-Warr’ in February 1669, Evelyn nudged Wase towards the vacant historiographer royal position.²⁹ He wrote to Williamson that Wase was ‘one ready to drudge for you in the most Herculean Labours of the Pen’ and could ‘begin to take off the reproach we lye under from the Dutch and French Scribblers, who yet poison all Europ with their monstrous declarations, & pernicious pamphlets’.³⁰ Wase had already demonstrated a willingness to take up his pen

²⁵ Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures: Writing about the Past in England, 1660-1740* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 4-10.

²⁶ Gillian Darley, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 243.

²⁷ Joad Raymond, ‘The Newspaper, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century’, *Prose Studies*, 21.2 (1998), 109–36 (p. 128).

²⁸ Wase and Evelyn had a long history. Evelyn had hired Wase as a tutor to his wayward nephew George in the 1650s, while, Darley suggests, Wase may have assisted Evelyn in his translations from Greek, *John Evelyn* (2006), pp. 120, 152.

²⁹ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 522. Evelyn recorded that he went ‘To Lond: to place Mr. Wase about my L: Arlington’, *Kalendarium*, III, pp. 525-6.

³⁰ SP 29/249 fol. 111. Evelyn’s confidence in this scribal Hercules was not unanimously shared. To John Fell, vice chancellor at Oxford University, Wase was ‘crazed in his head, and void of all manage’, SP 29/292 fol. 146. The State Papers reveal difficulties in the Wase–Williamson relationship. See Wase’s ‘Resoluc̃ion not to appeare before you till I should bring wth me some Effects of ye employing this my Leisure’, SP 29/278 fol. 1 (Wase to Williamson: 16 August 1670). In a subsequent letter he even asked ‘whither I have behav’d my self inoffensively towards all yor domesticks’, SP 29/272 fol. 72 (Wase to Williamson 12 January 1670); see also SP 29/304 fol. 72 (Wase to Williamson: 19 March 1672). Though Wase struggled to complete projects, he did share what research he had completed with Evelyn, who borrowed ‘Some papers of C: Wases of ye D. Warr’ while working in 1673 on what would become *Navigation and Commerce* (1674), British Library, Add MS 78393, fol.

in the service of the Restoration state. Upset at the insults to the royalist cause and his friend John Denham in Marvell's *Second Advice*, he had composed a verse reply called *Divination* (1666). This was prominent enough that some critics believe it to have influenced Marvell's subsequent satires.³¹ In his verse writing after the war, Wase continued to single out the 'Painter' poems as exemplars of opposition fustian, labelling them 'Poet-Painter prate'.³² If he knew of it, Evelyn made no mention of *Divination*. He did, however, praise Wase's impeccable credentials as a subversive royalist poet during the 1650s, placing him within the wider network of writers who kept the cavalier ideology alive.³³ In citing 'his admirable translation of *Sophocless Electra*, for which Loyal poem he suffer'd greate persecution' Evelyn drew attention to Wase's ability to interlace classical translation with topical political content, something also made much of in the prefatory poems to the volume.³⁴ Wase could deftly 'by *flight of translation* [...] make | Him *libell* 'em, who is *ten ages* back | Out of their reach'.³⁵ Evelyn was prescient in highlighting this aspect of Wase's writing. It was through his artful and elusive use of classical history to address the present, rather than documentary research, that Wase was best able to serve the Secretariat.

II. Cicero and news publication in 1671: translating the *Catilinarians*

Evelyn eventually 'placed Mr. Wase, with Mr. *Williamson* Secretary to the secretary of state, & Clearck of the Papers'.³⁶ Since 1669 Joseph Williamson, the government's de facto intelligence chief and head

27^f. Evelyn encouraged Wase's projected translation of Vitruvius, but that never made it past an announcement, Darley, *John Evelyn* (2006), p. 241. Wase himself complained that booksellers were 'not Judges of Learning. but partiall against all Authors, as reaping advantage from y^e Sckolars Poverty', British Library, Add MS 78685, fol. 120^f.

³¹ Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 193; Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 89.

³² 'To the Kings Majesty', in Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.e.4, fol. 62^f; an elegy on John Denham by Wase also survives in the state papers, SP 29/270 fol. 292.

³³ Wase nonetheless eventually made good with the Cromwellian regime, asking Evelyn in 1654 'do you know y^t I have the Protectors hand to be restor'd to my Fellowship [at King's College, Cambridge] again?', British Library, Add MS 78685, fol. 119^f.

³⁴ SP 29/249 fol. 111.

³⁵ Christopher Wase, *Electra of Sophocles* (The Hague: 1649), p. ¶16r.

³⁶ *Kalendarium*, III, p. 526.

of the *Gazette*, had also been MP for Thetford. By the early 1670s rumours were circulating that he was in line to inherit Arlington's position as Secretary of State.³⁷ The rise to prominence of 'Dapper his Clarke' attracted the attention of satirists who mocked Williamson's scribal origins, disparaging his rise to power through the suggestion that 'Lord & Lacky begin with a Letter'.³⁸ If he was discovering the slander which came with conspicuous political power, Williamson was also attracting client writers willing to attach themselves to him in print. Wase was particularly keen to prove his own worth, and dedicated a translation of Cicero's *Orations against Catiline* (1671) to Williamson.

This was particularly fitting. Cicero was famously proud of his career: a *novus homo* from the country, he had attained every office of the *cursus honorum* in its year. Williamson was similarly a new man, the second son of a Cumberland vicar. It was the local MP Richard Tolson who had spotted his talent as a boy and sponsored him through Westminster School: by 1671 Williamson was in his late thirties and had risen so far as to brush the office of Secretary of State. Wase's choice to translate Cicero – the speeches of his consulate, no less – and to dedicate the results to Williamson naturally presented inviting parallels. This is before we remember that Evelyn pointed out Wase's aptitude at fitting the past to the present. Newly minted as an MP after he had proved a sufficient orator in his own defence during the inquiry into the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the three-part list Wase offered of Williamson's offices, 'Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lord ARLINGTON [...] Keeper of His Majesties Papers of State, and a Member of the Honourable House of Commons', accorded well with his praise of Cicero overleaf as 'how grave a Senator, how profound a Politician, how uncorrupt a Magistrate'.³⁹ Unsurprisingly, the easy comparisons between parliament and the 'Senate' were made elsewhere in Wase's poetry at this time.⁴⁰ Wase's description of Cicero's characteristically 'indefatigable industry'

³⁷ 'I know not how to tell your Excellency the new reports of the towne, they are so various and different. Most say all the great persons are retireing before the next Parliament; my Lord Arlington to be Lord Chamberlain, and your Excellency Secretary in his roome', *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 81, 126-7, 165. In fact, Arlington secretly offered his office to William Temple, and only when he refused did he sell it to Williamson for £6000, Alan Marshall, 'Joseph Williamson', in *ODNB* (2018).

³⁸ British Library, Add MS 34362, fols. 18^v-9^r; 'dapper' also glanced at Williamson's loud dress sense, Marshall, 'Joseph Williamson' (2018).

³⁹ Christopher Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline, In IV. Invective Orations: Containing the whole manner of discovering that Notorious CONSPIRACY* (London: 1671), pp. A2r, A2v.

⁴⁰ 'To the Kings Majesty', in Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.e.4, fol. 62^r.

also glanced at one of Williamson's most notable traits and his struggle to 'find leasure from publick and weighty Business'.⁴¹

Biographical resemblances laid the foundation for the broader parallel Wase was endeavouring to draw between the Catiline narrative and the work of Williamson's Secretarial office. The tale of how Cicero had, through his intelligence networks, uncovered Catiline's conspiracy to seize control of the late Roman Republic was a commonplace in the seventeenth century, as were his orations in the senate denouncing the villainous patrician. As a staple of the seventeenth-century Latin syllabus, these speeches were a natural choice for the schoolmaster Wase.⁴² The story permeated prestigious and popular culture, satisfying demands for a high-brow exemplar of rhetoric, Latinity and political conduct, while also providing enough bloodshed and intrigue to function as a touchstone for vernacular entertainment. Popular loyalist poetry, for example, imagined chattering coffee-house dissidents as 'Catiline's Conspirators, as they stood | Sealing their oaths in Draughts of reeking Blood'.⁴³ At the zenith of this story's cultural reach, what could fit the Secretariat better than an administrator who quashed a domestic plot against the state? Furthermore, in Arlington and Williamson's secretarial regime, where state documents and intelligence were selectively dispersed into the public sphere, a statesman who mediated the transferral of intelligence from state to public presented inviting parallels.

With the religious policies of the Restoration state in flux after the Second Anglo-Dutch War, intelligence-gathering continued to be of public interest. For a short period after the fall of Clarendon's ministry, a policy of toleration appeared more likely. That opening snapped shut with a renewal of legislation against dissenters and non-conformists.⁴⁴ Parliamentary pressure saw a fresh proclamation issued in 1668 against dissenters who were supposedly meeting 'of late frequently and openly, in great

⁴¹ Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline* (1671), pp. A2r, A3r; Marshall, 'Joseph Williamson' (2018).

⁴² Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 52-9.

⁴³ *A Cup of Coffee: Or, Coffee in its Colours* (London: 1663).

⁴⁴ Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 142-57. For the crisis over direction of this 'persecuting state' see Gary de Krey, 'The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-73', *Albion*, 25.4 (1993), 565-80 (p. 575).

numbers, and to the great disturbance of Our Peace'.⁴⁵ The Secretariat encouraged active suppression of meetings, and further draconian legislation appeared, including the renewed 1670 Conventicle Act, described by Marvell as a 'Quintessence of arbitrary Malice'.⁴⁶ Always ready to imagine undue power and organisation among religious dissenters, the government perceived the meetings of 1668 onwards to be increasingly militant.⁴⁷ Williamson was at the centre of this operation, as the networks which he used to gather intelligence for his published news also furnished him with information on suspected dissenters. Publishing the speeches of a politician who discovered a motley conspiracy of seditious persons and disenfranchised former soldiers planning to set fire to the capitol and assist a foreign army would reflect positively on Williamson, and was well suited to a newsreading public traumatised by the Civil Wars and accustomed to imagining insurgents around every corner, and hidden in every meeting house. It helped gloss over the over the foreign intelligence debacles of the previous war, commemorating instead Williamson's success at rooting out domestic plotters.

Wase's dedication is therefore a clever piece of flattery which creates a new type of hero in the secretary, the person of letters at the centre of an intricate web of intelligence. When cast in the Ciceronian mould this figure is no longer the cowardly, sneaking character typical of the 'fat scriv'ner' (249) in Marvell's *Third Advice*. In the post-war context of 1667–72, where fear of domestic conspiracy trumped invasion, adroit skill with intelligence replaced sword-waving, and the newspaper editor became the classicised hero. Wase's Cicero therefore speaks the language of Restoration conspiracy. When he describes his intelligence operation to Catiline, the activities of the seditious factions in Rome are presented in terms that bring to mind the religious meetings of nonconformists, forced by the stringent Conventicle Act to worship in their homes:

Many eyes and ears too, that you are little aware of, as hitherto they have, shall spy and watch your Actions, *Catiline*, What would you have more, if neither night can stand in its darkness your wicked Cabals? Nor a private House, within its walls the words of your Conspiracy.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *A Proclamation for Inforcing the Laws against Conventicles* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 10 March 1668).

⁴⁶ *P&L*, II, p. 314.

⁴⁷ Greaves *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990), p. 147.

⁴⁸ Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline* (1671), pp. 9-10.

Wase's use of the term 'Cabal' is particularly significant for an accomplished linguist willing to devote considerable effort to explaining his word choices.⁴⁹ 'Cabal' departs from Cicero's original 'coetus', or 'meeting'.⁵⁰ Instead, it plays up the passage's resonance with contemporary nonconformist meetings, often called 'cabals', and frequently carried out in secret and in 'a private House'. The translation allows loyalist readers to imagine that the worst suspicions they held of those meetings – that they were a flimsy cover for the plotting of old republicans and dissenters – are proven accurate.

Wase was probably encouraged in the first place by the high-profile revival of Ben Jonson's *Catiline His Conspiracy* (1611) in late 1668 by the King's Company. Jonson's play was also reprinted as new quarto in 1669: there was no better time for Wase to cash in. His translation is certainly highly theatrical, with a contextual introduction which establishes the moment of Cicero's speech in terms of scene, players and delivery:

The Consul calls a Senate in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, within the Tower of *Rome*; where met also *Catiline*, either to palliate the matter, or purge himself. Upon sight of whom, *Cicero*, being stirr'd betwixt Fear and Anger, stood up, and thus bespoke him.⁵¹

The scene is similarly set by a praetor during the play: 'Here, in the house of Jupiter, the Stayer | By edict from the Consul, Marcus Tullius, | You're met, a frequent Senate. Hear him speak' (IV.ii.2-4).⁵² The locating of the scene specifically 'in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*' rather than just 'the senate' does not occur at this point in Cicero or Sallust.⁵³ Wase and Jonson were both pedants, keen to exhibit their learning, but it is very possible that Wase had consulted Jonson's recently republished English translation. Cicero's speech was the centrepiece of Jonson's play, and the recent production had

⁴⁹ Christopher Wase, *Grati Falisci Cynegeticon. Or, A Poem of Hunting* (London: Charles Adams, 1654), pp. a12v-b6r.

⁵⁰ In the original 'si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest' [if night cannot conceal your criminal assemblies in its shadows nor a private house contain the voices of your conspirators within its walls], *Cicero 10: In Catilinam I-IV. Pro Murena. Pro Sulla. Pro Flacco*, trans. by C. Macdonald (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 38-9.

⁵¹ Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline* (1671), p. B1v.

⁵² Quotations from Jonson's *Catiline His Conspiracy* are from *Catiline*, ed. by W. Bolton and Jane Gardner (London: Edward Arnold, 1973). Wase's contextual detail that Catiline was present 'in order to conceal his designs or to clear himself', and that Cicero was 'either fearing [Catiline's] presence or roused by indignation' are translated from Sallust's account, *Sallust: The War with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha*, trans. by J.C. Rolfe and John T. Ransey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 70-1.

⁵³ The setting is only referenced in the Second Oration the following day, 'I summoned the Senate yesterday to the temple of Jupiter Stator' in *Cicero 10* (1977), pp. 80-1.

promised to perform it spectacularly. In fact, it proved something of a disappointment. Spectators were drawn to other aspects of Jonson's play than the high rhetoric which so pleased schoolmaster Wase. It was the conspirators, not the supposed heroes, that caught the imagination of the public and satirists, and it was overwhelmingly through *Catiline*, not Cicero, that they interpreted the present regime.

III. Jonson's *Catiline*: preserving the republic in royalist discourse

Catiline His Conspiracy had developed a prestige by the Restoration that few other English dramas could equal. Jonson himself was particularly proud of his translation of its classical sources. The initial audience, however, was more delighted by the earlier scenes of bloodthirsty rant and misogynistic satire: impatience with Jonson's attempt to stage the first oration (that staple of the syllabus) in its entirety caused the production to be shouted offstage.⁵⁴ Jonson responded aggressively in the prefatory material of the published play, targeting those who 'commend the two first acts with the people' because they 'dislike the oration of Cicero, in regard you read some pieces of it at school and understand them not' (p. 4). Instead, Jonson asserted he had written a literary triumph, and later seventeenth-century readers made a show of agreeing that it was 'the highest of our English Tragedies'.⁵⁵ This was the reflection of an extensive critical and cultural consensus, one dominant until the development of the Shakespeare cult in the early eighteenth century, which lauded Jonson as England's national poet.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 281.

⁵⁵ Edward Howard, *The Womens Conquest* (London: Henry Herringman, 1671), p. A3v; Gerald Eades Bentley, *Shakespeare & Jonson: their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 111-2. Aphra Behn objected to the high praise of *Catiline*, considering it an 'affectation', *The Dutch Lover* (London: 1673), p. A5r. Dryden was more protean in his approach to *Catiline*. Depending on the needs of the moment it was either the crowning achievement of English drama, and an unsurpassable precedent (*Defence of Essay of Dramatique Poesy* (1667), *Dryden's Works*, IX, pp. 7, 20); or the great precursor which his Restoration drama far exceeded, in *Of Dramatick Poesy* (1668), XVII, pp. 37-8, 51, 54-7; *Defence of the Epilogue* (1672), XI, pp. 207-11; *Of Heroique Playes* (1672), XI, pp. 13-4; *Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (1683), XIV, p. 319.

⁵⁶ Donaldson, *Ben Jonson* (2011), p. 281; Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 29-31; Michael Caines, *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Pepys, for example, had read the play in 1664 and found it ‘a very excellent piece’.⁵⁷ For the duration of the Second Anglo-Dutch War he amused himself by setting part of it to music. The project of ‘putting notes to *It is decreed, nor shall thy fate, &c.*’ occupied him deeply.⁵⁸ ‘My mind hath been full these three weeks of setting’ he wrote in the spring of 1666, and he continued even as news of the St James’s Day Fight arrived in late July.⁵⁹ Later, he taught it to his wife Elizabeth on Christmas Day.⁶⁰ He also taught it to several other women, including their servants Mary Mercer and Miss Barker, and the actress Elizabeth Knepp.⁶¹ In all it appears in eighteen entries, providing a space of cultural solace during the busy war years. That said, Pepys chose to set to music a resolutely martial passage, Catiline’s opening speech, in which he elaborated on the promises of Rome’s destruction just whispered to him by a ghostly Sulla:

It is decreed. Nor shall thy fate, O Rome,

Resist my Vow. Though hills were set on hills,

And seas meet seas, to guard thee, I would through;

I, plough up rocks, steep as the Alps, in dust (I.i.73-6).

After the violent ignominy of the Medway Raid, however, when a true threat had forced its way through seas, rivers and hills threateningly close to the capital, Pepys laid the work aside. Perhaps a paean to a collapsing state was too sensitive a subject.⁶² This hiatus was nonetheless short-lived, and Pepys returned to his setting in January 1668 after Knepp told him in December 1667 the exciting news, ‘which I am glad to hear’, that a production of *Catiline* was to be staged by the King’s Company.⁶³

⁵⁷ The full setting is held at the Pepys Library.

⁵⁸ *Pepys’s Diary*, VII, p. 91 (5 April 1666).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 104, 223 (18 April, 27 July 1666).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 420 (25 December 1666).

⁶¹ For Mary Mercer, see *Pepys’s Diary*, VIII, p. 35; IX, pp. 14, 16 (28 January 1667, 7 and 8 January 1668); Miss Barker, VIII, pp. 27, 50, 54, 142 (29 January, 8 and 11 February, 2 April 1667); Elizabeth Knepp, VII, p. 369; IX, p. 131 (14 November 1666, 24 March 1668).

⁶² James Grantham Turner has pointed out Pepys’s lack of sexual activity after the Medway Raid, ‘Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy’, in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald Maclean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 95–110 (p. 109).

⁶³ *Pepys’s Diary*, VIII, p. 569 (7 December 1667).

Like the Orrerian plays discussed in the previous chapter, this was a prestige production sponsored by the royal court. Like them, this sponsorship was conspicuously sartorial: ‘the King gives them 500*l* for robes, there being, as they say, to be sixteen scarlett robes’.⁶⁴ It was also much-delayed, only reaching the stage a year later in December 1668 after apparently being held up ‘for want of the clothes which the King promised them’.⁶⁵ Given the prevalence of Restoration revivals which sought to establish a sense of continuity with the pre-Civil War past, it was hardly unusual for the King’s Company to plan one of *Catiline*.⁶⁶ However, its appeal extended beyond the prestige of royalist literary artefact. Like Wase’s translation of Jonson’s source, and the Orrerian drama which rehabilitated Monck’s role in the Restoration process, this production offered a unifying spectacle after the divisions which concluded the Second Anglo-Dutch War. It would shore up a fragile consensus and focus minds on the eradication of insurgents. However, martial prowess was a villainous quality in a story which valorised the spymaster, not the soldier.⁶⁷ John Michael Archer has described how ‘spying is rehabilitated in *Catiline*’ after its hostile treatment in Jonson’s earlier Roman plays *Poetaster* and *Sejanus*, and that ‘political intelligence has become a safeguard against treason’.⁶⁸ Restoration loyalists also recognised that this was a drama of secrecy, rather than grand battles; of a government which published its perfectly gathered intelligence to an assembly and public who accepted the findings without question.⁶⁹

As one of the key political fables of antiquity and the seventeenth century, audiences were primed to interpret the Catiline story within a political context.⁷⁰ This was despite the awkward fact that

⁶⁴ Ibid., VIII, p. 575 (11 December 1667).

⁶⁵ Ibid., IX, p. 20 (11 January 1668).

⁶⁶ Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 236.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that heroic drama continued to be popular, and was yet to reach its apogee. My focus here is on the diversification and state support of alternative narratives.

⁶⁸ John Michael Archer, *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 95.

⁶⁹ In fact, Cicero’s *Catilinarians* and Jonson’s drama sought to downplay the degree to which Cicero’s intelligence work and decision-making was questioned, and the controversy which surrounded his severe punishment of the conspirators. His need for self-justification several years later is usually imagined to account for the speeches’ revision and publication, *Cicero: Political Speeches*, ed. by D.H. Berry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 151-4.

⁷⁰ Quentin Skinner has described Sallust as among ‘the greatest literary heroes’ of the seventeenth century’s ‘neo-roman’ political writers, and has outlined the complex manner in which they used his *Bellum Catilinae* to argue against tyranny, and also the endangerment of ‘free state’ virtues by republican military adventurism abroad, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 47, 61-5.

it concerned the preservation of a republic from authoritarianism. We should at least ask why the Restoration state saw utility in supporting this play, particularly following a war with the Dutch Republic. Scholarship on the versatility of the Catiline story has focused on its use during the Civil Wars. Ian Donaldson and Susan Wiseman have tracked the deployment of Jonson's play through this period, demonstrating how royalists and parliamentarians alike could find elements in it with which to defame the other.⁷¹ On one hand, it was easy for Milton to portray Charles I as a Catiline in *Eikonoklastes*, and parliamentarian writers could lay claim the republican virtues of Cicero.⁷² On the other, Abraham Cowley could use Catiline as a surpassed precedent of sedition in his *Civill Warr*: 'With shame and envy their high acts he sees, | And seems a Cic'ro, when compar'd with these' (II.560-1).⁷³ In 1642 'The Players Petition' had already made reference to Jonson's play to compare parliamentarians to 'aspiring Catiline'.⁷⁴ That said, for Donaldson and Wiseman the deployment of *Catiline* was often oblique, echoed through a 'continuum of cultural reworking' in plays and pamphlets which themselves might have borne little resemblance to the original.⁷⁵ It was also a fixture of the Exclusion Crisis in Whig and Tory writing, 'being one of the considerable and elaborate Treasons that ever was; by the greatest Men, controuled by the wisest Politicians'.⁷⁶ In controverting Marvell's *Account of the Growth of Popery* (1677) Marchamont Nedham described how he 'Reporteth to us, that the present Lord Chancellor [Heneage Finch], another Cicero, came in his Lordships [Shaftesbury's] Place before the end of 1673, as the former Cicero came into that which was aim'd at by *Catiline*'.⁷⁷ Their contested

⁷¹ Ian Donaldson, 'Talking with Ghosts: Ben Jonson and the English Civil War', *The Ben Jonson Journal*, 17.1 (2010), 1–18; Susan Wiseman, "'The Echo of Uncertainie': Jonson, Classical Drama and the English Civil War", in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, ed. by Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 208–29.

⁷² *The Complete Works of John Milton: Volume VI*, ed. by Neil Keeble and Nicholas McDowell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 334; *The Tragedy of that Famous Roman Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero* (London: 1651).

⁷³ *The Civil War*, ed. by Allan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1673). Cowley was referencing Catiline's appearance in the *Aeneid*, where he appears on Aeneas's shield, 'Hung on a Rock the Traytor; and around, | The Furies hissing from the neather Ground', translated in *Dryden's Works*, VI, (VIII.887-8).

⁷⁴ 'The Players Petition to the Parliament', in *Poetry and Revolution: An Anthology of British and Irish Verse 1625-1660*, ed. by Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 310.

⁷⁵ Wiseman, 'Jonson, Classical Drama and the English Civil War' (1998), p. 208.

⁷⁶ *The History of Catiline's Conspiracy* (London: 1683), p. A3r. For example, the play features prominently – alongside Marvell's 'Painter' poems – as the basis for John Oldham's *Satires upon the Jesuits* (1681): 'The first Satyr he drew by Sylla's Ghost in the great Johnson', *The Poems of John Oldham*, ed. by Harold Brooks and Raman Selden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 3.

⁷⁷ Marchamont Nedham, *Honesty's Best Policy* (London: 1678), p. A4v. Blair Worden argues that Jonson's *Catiline* played an important role both in Marvell's poem 'Tom May's Death' (1650) and in his *Account of the*

imagination of the early 1670s through a Catilinarian narrative was not an anachronistic imposition of the literary fashions of the end of the decade onto its beginning: both Marvell and Nedham were drawing on memories of the period, when the story had appeared frequently in the writing of the regime's supporters and its critics.

The versatility of the Catiline story onstage in the late 1660s is further evident from its near-simultaneous appearance in the Catholic exile and Anglo-Dutch Calvinist cultural spheres. A Latin *Catiline* play, performed at the English Jesuit College at St Omer in 1666, has been lost.⁷⁸ Tantalisingly concurrent with the English reprinting of Jonson's play is the appearance of a Dutch *Catilina* (1669). This was the work of Lambert van den Bosch, an Anglophile who had previously published an epic poem on the Restoration, and a history of the English monarchy.⁷⁹ Bosch had a habit of writing politically charged history plays which accorded with his Orangist outlook, and *Catilina* was no different.⁸⁰ However, despite his interests in English culture, similarities between Jonson and Bosch's plays do not sustain scrutiny: a close adherence to their classical sources likely governs their superficial resemblance. The correlation draws more from a shared cultural sphere of discussion and public imagination than any direct influence.⁸¹ What is notable here is that Bosch had no qualms about deploying the story within a princely, Orangist discourse. This is despite the fact that *Catilina* followed the 1668 Eternal Edict which had abolished the Stadtholder position in Holland: one might expect the

Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government (1677), and that on both occasions Nedham responded with an equally sophisticated use of the play, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 77-81.

⁷⁸ This appears to have been part of a roman theme at the College which spanned the Second Anglo-Dutch War; other productions included *Constantius* (1665) and *Valentinianus* (1667), *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700*, ed. by Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 207.

⁷⁹ Lambert van den Bosch, *L. Catilina* (Dordrecht: Geemen van Cappel, 1669). For Bosch's earlier oeuvre, including *Britannias of herstelde Majesteyt* [Britannias, or restored Majesty] (1661), *Het leeven van Maria Stuart* [The life of Mary Stuart] (1647), and *De historie van zijn majesteyt Karel de II* [The History of his majesty Charles II] (1660), see G.J. van Bork, *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs* [Dutch and Flemish authors] (Weesp: de Haan, 1985), pp. 95-6. An earlier Dutch Catiline play, Marten Besteben's *De 'tsamensweringe Catalinae* [The conspiracy of Catiline] (1648), only survives in manuscript, *De 'tsamensweringe Catalinae*, ed. by G. van Emmeren (Leuven-Amersfoort: 1988).

⁸⁰ Though, as Bettina Noak points out, he also published opportunistic wartime panegyrics on the de Witt brothers, 'The Dutch Republic between Hauteur and Greed – Lambert van Den Bosch and his drama *L. Catilina*', in *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Karl Enenkel, Jan L. De Jong, and Jeanine De Landtsheer (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 339-56 (p. 353).

⁸¹ Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 61.

story of a republican government's preservation from princely rule to have been more uncomfortable. However, the story seems to have presented more opportunities than limitations. Bettina Noak has identified how Bosch interlaced his play with a contemporary Orangist vocabulary which condemned aristocratic greed and luxury.⁸² This allowed the leaders of the Dutch Republic to be identified with the dissolute conspirators, rather than Cicero and the senate. Furthermore, Bosch's Cicero is a staunch moral traditionalist; his Caesar a princely champion. Jonson had imagined Caesar as a Machiavellian actor, but Bosch faithfully translated his clemency speech from Sallust and gave the general, an easy analogue for the Prince of Orange, a sympathetic portrayal.⁸³ The rescue of the Roman Republic could therefore reassert monarchic values.

The Restoration production channelled the powerful exorcism of sedition which made the story useful during the Civil Wars, in Wase's translation and in Bosch's play. A number of further correspondences heightened the play's topicality for an English audience in the 1660s. Jonson's *Catiline* staged at length the multiple conspiratorial meetings which Cicero's speeches only mentioned in passing, making explicit contextual details which could only ever be implicit in Wase's direct translation. These were keenly felt in a nation still attempting to sustain a consensus after decades of military turmoil:

The Commonwealth yet panting underneath

The stripes and wounds of a late civil war,

Gasping for life, and scarce restor'd to hope (III.iii.26-8).

As in Rome, the past had not been effaced, even if traditional government had been 'restor'd'. The political class of both nations looked at the demobilised soldiers, 'the old needy troops' (III.iii.72), of their 'late civil war' (in Rome, Sulla's rebellion), with suspicion.⁸⁴ Copying out a few pertinent lines from the play into his commonplace book after the Restoration, the royalist dramatist Samuel Tuke was

⁸² Bettina Noak, 'Lambert van Den Bosch' (2001), pp. 346-8.

⁸³ Julia Griffin, 'Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and the Dramatic Tradition', in *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, ed. by Julia Griffin (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 371-98 (p. 372).

⁸⁴ A recurring theme in Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990); Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

attracted to the phrase ‘ciuil Warr’, and the senatorial debate over whether the conspirators should be offered clemency.⁸⁵ ‘We are but new delivered from rebellion’, Lord Chief Justice Keeling declared during the treason trials which had followed the Bawdy House Riots earlier in 1668, disturbances the *Gazette* had blamed on ‘idle persons, many of them nursed in the late rebellion, too readily embracing any opportunity’.⁸⁶ The Ciceronian rhetoric of dissolute behaviour which had allowed Bosch to write moral laxity onto the Dutch republicans allowed English audiences to interpret the conspirators though these ‘idle persons’. For a city rebuilding after the Great Fire and paranoid about its origins – ‘Here have been several Fires of late’, Marvell wrote, ‘you may be sure all the old talk is hereupon revived’ – other similarities struck home.⁸⁷ Catiline’s conspirators plan on firing the city, ‘earth an altar [...] and Rome the fire’ (III.iii.135-6).⁸⁸ To compound the matter, they conspire with the Gallic Allobroges, a foreign people ‘easiest to be drawn | To our society, and to aid the war; | The rather for their seat, being next bord’rers’ (IV.ii.48-50). Threats of invasion from France, Scotland, the Netherlands and Ireland were common in gossip, state intelligence and the *Gazette*.⁸⁹ Given that the Dutch had actually landed marines on Sheerness, the threat of invasion was not an abstract one: England’s territory had proved worryingly permeable, its capital a tinderbox. These details synthesised with the anxieties about religious dissenters which informed Wase’s translation. When *Catiline* was finally staged at the end of 1668 it coincided with a widespread crackdown on their secret meetings. When one considers the play within this fraught environment, the crown’s decision to underwrite its costs appears sensible. By

⁸⁵ For example, Tuke copied Caesar’s argument that ‘deaths y^e end of Euils & a rest | rather then Torment’ in favour of clemency, and Cato’s argument that ‘to spare these men were to comit | a greater wickednes then you would reuenge’ against, British Library, Add MS 78424, fol. 132^r. Tuke was related to Christopher Wase by his mother’s side, and was a friend of Evelyn, Darley, *John Evelyn* (2006), p. 241.

⁸⁶ Four perpetrators were gruesomely executed. Keeling quoted in Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 88-9; *Gazette*, no. 249 (2 April 1668). For the riots themselves, see Harris, *London Crowds* (1987), pp. 82-91; Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990), pp. 144-6, 195-8; James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 190.

⁸⁷ *P&L*, II, p. 327.

⁸⁸ Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990), p. 202.

⁸⁹ For intelligence reports of a potential land invasion after the Four Days’ Battle, see SP 29/160 fols. 126, 133; SP 29/161 fol. 29; SP 84/180 fols. 35, 61; the *London Gazette* did not suppress reports that the Dutch were planning an invasion, but often reproduced them, albeit shorn of details about the support of local dissidents, *Gazette*, no. 65 (28 June 1666); no. 68 (9 July 1666). Fears of invasion could lead to dangerous false alarms. Intelligence reports of these were rewritten for the *London Gazette* with humour added in to defuse the threat; compare the accounts of a false alarm near Truro, SP 29/160 fol. 30 and SP 29/160 fol. 79 with *Gazette*, no. 67 (5 July 1666).

staging the successful rooting out of conspiracy by a traditionalist government, the regime sought to demonstrate that sedition was a real threat, but one which could be dealt with.

IV. The première: satire and performance within the Restoration court

When Pepys finally saw the production he did not interpret the play as one that celebrated the discovery and quelling of a conspiracy. Instead, he responded to *Catiline* in the same manner as Jonson's original audience, and his mind began to wander during the notoriously long oration scene. Although he enjoyed the sumptuous, state-sponsored decorations and costume, 'fine in clothes and a fine Scene of the Senate', he declared the play itself 'the least diverting, that ever I saw'.⁹⁰ The greater excitement was to be found in the court politics which erupted around the production. It was almost derailed on one of its first nights by a fiasco which demonstrated how court factions, involving political heavyweights like Arlington, could absorb theatre into the political realm, and politics into the theatrical. It became quickly apparent that the production had been taken over by divisive satirical energies emanating from the court long before it could foster harmony outside it.

A dispute between two court factions exploded onto the stage, in which the real-life tensions between individuals were played out via the satiric interpretation of theatrical characters in *Catiline*. These were roughly grouped around on one hand Arlington and the Duke of Buckingham, and on the other Barbara Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine and Charles II's chief mistress. Castlemaine had previously been close to Arlington, having helped facilitate his rise to prominence.⁹¹ By the time of the production, however, Castlemaine had fallen out with both ministers. The debacle which followed was related at length in a series of gossip newsletters from the French ambassador Colbert de Croissy to

⁹⁰ *Pepys's Diary*, IX, p. 395 (19 December 1668); Evelyn attended the same night, *Kalendarium*, III, p. 520; Pepys remarked further that 'the play is only to be read', not watched, *Pepys's Diary*, IX, p. 395.

⁹¹ Castlemaine and Arlington were both members of the vehement anti-Clarendon grouping; Clarendon recalled that they stood together at the window watching him heading towards his exile in 1667, Edward Hyde, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 3 vols (Oxford: 1857), II, pp. 304-7.

Louis XIV, who followed the controversy with interest.⁹² News of satirical stunts – and their consequences – could be a good indication of the obscure balance of power at court. In this case, Buckingham and Arlington had allied with Lady Elizabeth Harvey to lower Castlemaine’s credit with Charles during a dispute over the position of the Queen’s Lord Chamberlain. In response Castlemaine – who was also a lover of the actor playing Catiline, Charles Hart – hired Katherine Cory, the actress playing the conspirator Sempronia, to mockingly impersonate Harvey onstage.

Sempronia was a clever choice to ‘burlesque’ Harvey with, though this has not been noted by the event’s modern chroniclers.⁹³ She uses her aristocratic connections to attempt to swing the consular elections early in the play, as Harvey had supposedly done in her relation’s appointment as Chamberlain: ‘I ha’ been writing all this night’, Sempronia says, ‘unto all the tribes, | And centuries, for their voices, to help Catiline’ (II.i.96-8). Furthermore, like Harvey she also has some repute as a writer and wit, and ‘can compose in verse, and make quick jests, | Modest or otherwise’ (II.i.46-7). One surviving satire ascribed to the pen of Lady Harvey, ‘Take a Turd’, appears to bear out the ‘Modest or otherwise’ suggestion.⁹⁴ Harvey was likewise a wit in conversation: Colbert claimed Castlemaine was angered at Harvey jesting at her expense ‘through the liberty she has taken of wittily castigating and abusing people in front of the King’.⁹⁵ For Jonson, Sempronia’s political engagement, humour and learning could only mean one thing: she has ‘a very masculine’ (II.i.44) wit. Again, nothing could better match the gossip which attached to Harvey. Colbert reported that she was being treated as a ‘hermafrodite’⁹⁶ by Castlemaine, while the wider network of court gossip fed into a series of verse

⁹² Pepys provided a shorter account of the controversy, which was ‘making the King cheap and ridiculous’, *Pepys’s Diary*, IX, p. 415 (15 January 1669).

⁹³ A longer summary of this event, as well as translations of Colbert’s letters, are given by Colin Visser in ‘Theatrical Scandal in the Letters of Colbert de Croissy, 1669’, *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 7.2 (1983), 54–7. This event inaugurated a fashion for personal burlesques that year which quickly grew violent, Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 260. For the high-profile dispute between Coventry and Buckingham over another onstage impersonation during the same year, and which Croissy also reported assiduously on, see Annabel Patterson, ‘The Country Gentleman: Howard, Marvell, and Dryden in the Theatre of Politics’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 25.3 (1985), 491–59 (p. 492).

⁹⁴ Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 153; *Court Satires of the Restoration*, ed. by J.H. Wilson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), p. 28.

⁹⁵ Originally ‘mais par la liberté qu’elle s’est donnée de railler et medire devant le Roy et la Reyne dune maniere assez spirituelle’, Colbert (21 January 1669), translated by Visser, ‘Theatrical Scandal’ (1983), p. 55.

⁹⁶ Colbert in Visser, ‘Theatrical Scandal’ (1983), p. 55.

lampoons on ‘Harveys long Cunted Muscle’ and supposed lesbianism.⁹⁷ In the verse satires of the court such spurious intimate details become metonyms for individuals.⁹⁸ This was an unusually public outbreak of the court’s enclosed scribal communities: well matched in Jonson’s *Sempronia*, it seems likely that any ‘burlesque’ of the hermaphroditic character constructed for Harvey in satire would have focused on playing up such features. This would not simply have been an impersonation of her physical appearance and poise, but one with the potential to manipulate the play text to reflect satirically upon contemporary court politics. Certainly Charles, who had attended the premiere, was amused.⁹⁹ Lady Harvey was less so, and had Cory arrested.¹⁰⁰

What can we learn from this event? First, the *Catiline* production was already being used by factions to pursue political ends in public. Colbert interpreted the event as bound up within wider political concerns, both originating from them, and circling back so that ‘even those who hold the reins of government are not above getting involved’.¹⁰¹ This was not just a court squabble: it had consequences for government. Second, this was performed through satiric literacy and a cunning appropriation and reinterpretation of the play text, one which synthesised scribal and oral gossip with a latent potential in Jonson’s writing and the burlesquing abilities of a talented actress. The ‘burlesque’ of Harvey was not a simple case of hiring an amenable performer in a random production: it was informed by an understanding of the text, and a manipulation of the text to convey a crude but potent message. Finally, the play was sufficiently notorious to attract a great deal of attention: even, in Louis’s case, from foreign potentates. We should not be surprised to see it linger in the public memory. This was a highly politicised production, and, given the scandal, a memorable one.

⁹⁷ British Library, Harley MS 6714, fols. 3^{r-v}; printed in *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. by Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 279. For Lady Harvey’s ‘long clitoris’, see other lampoons in *Court Satires* (1976), p. 25; for her supposed lesbianism, see Love, *Clandestine Satire*, (2004), pp. 37-8. For hermaphroditism as a conventional way to represent and diminish women’s political agency, see Turner, *Libertines and Radicals* (2002), pp. 100-4.

⁹⁸ Love, *Clandestine Satire* (2004), pp. 23-5.

⁹⁹ Colbert in Visser, ‘Theatrical Scandal’ (1983), p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ Cory was freed on Castlemaine’s intervention with Charles and the impersonation continued; Harvey then hired hands ‘to hiss her and fling oranges’ at Cory, *Pepys’s Diary*, IX, p. 415 (15 January 1669).

¹⁰¹ Colbert in Visser, ‘Theatrical Scandal’ (1983), p. 54.

V. How *Catiline* was actually remembered by Restoration readers and audiences

It is particularly important to understand how *Catiline* was read and watched, and its consequences for how the play was constituted in individual and societal memory. This is because it was experienced in a unique manner which influenced its deployment in topical writing. Jonson's play tended to return through a very selective memory, one which privileged the bloodthirsty rant of Catiline and his accomplices over the play's supposed centrepiece, Cicero's oration in the Senate. We have seen Pepys set Catiline's opening rant to music, and his boredom during the senatorial scenes of the actual production. While the 1668 production was nonetheless successful enough to stimulate a small rivalry between the two theatres, it was characterised by escalating scenes of bloodthirsty rant in Roman costume. John Dryden's *Tyrannick Love* (1669) at the King's House was matched with Duke's Company's revival *The Roman Virgin* (1669) 'with villains to rival Catiline and Cethegus', as the extreme language of Jonson's conspirators spurred the theatres through an arms race of verbal extravagance.¹⁰²

Further examples of selective interpretation can be found among other readers. The owner of the commonplace book BL Sloane 161, writing around 1670–3, transcribed extracts from the 1669 printed edition of *Catiline* in between medical notes. These, however, were overwhelmingly examples of bloodlust and fury: they neglected to transcribe any of the actual Catilianarians. The only lines of Cicero's recorded are furious outbursts at Rome's corruption.¹⁰³ The presence of Catiline's particularly aggressive lieutenant Cethegus dominates these already selective extracts. The transcriber carefully separated Catiline's description of Cethegus from those of the other conspirators, which were not included, while transcriptions of Cethegus's speeches even have Catiline's interjections edited out.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Editorial note in *Dryden's Works*, X, p. 384.

¹⁰³ British Library, Sloane MS 161, fols. 24^{r-v} (in the play, these sections correspond to III.ii.1-12, 204-18, 220-1, 223-30).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 22^v (in the play, I.i.140-6); fol. 23^v (in the play, I.i.229-230, 235-238, 247-253).

The rant of Catiline and Cethegus, not the high-minded legal scenes, guided memory and interpretation. Dryden excused the excesses of his own theatrical rant on precisely those terms, that:

If I would take the pains to quote an hundred passages of *Ben. Jonson's Cethegus*, I could easily shew you that the Rhodomontades of *Almanzor* are neither so irrational as his, nor so impossible to be put into execution. For *Cethegus* threatens to destroy Nature, and to raise a new one out of it; to kill all the Senate for his part of the Action; to look *Cato* dead; and a thousand other things as extravagant, he sayes, but performs not one Action.¹⁰⁵

For all Dryden's scorn, he used Cethegus precisely because the Roman's verbal excess was a popular quality onstage. Indeed, Cethegus held a particularly privileged place in the public imagination, and following the production it became one of Michael Mohun's most popular roles.¹⁰⁶ For all the lofty praise, Jonson's play was primarily a source of exquisite rant.

That the play was remembered through this rhetoric of aristocratic violence was crucial for its transference from loyalist to anti-regime writing. The political environment of the early 1670s was tense. Many, including Marvell, felt that Charles II's government was growing increasingly arbitrary. Satirists worried that parliamentary autonomy was being deliberately reduced and subverted through bribery and corruption 'to make Parliament a rogue in grain'.¹⁰⁷ This erosion of parliamentary independence was also connected to a perceived intensification of courtly debauch and its violent overflow onto London's streets. Buckingham had murdered his cuckold, the Earl of Shrewsbury, in a duel in 1668. In late 1670 the MP for Weymouth John Coventry had been attacked and his nose slit by 'the Duke of Monmouth's Troop' for joking about Charles's relationships with actresses in parliament.¹⁰⁸ In 1671 Monck's son and the Duke of Monmouth murdered a beadle. These were 'the talke of all the towne', major news events reported everywhere in gossip and manuscript, including by Marvell.¹⁰⁹ His 'slightly salacious interest' in these events features prominently in Annabel Patterson's

¹⁰⁵ *Dryden's Works*, XI, pp. 16-7.

¹⁰⁶ *Roscius Anglicanus* (1928), p. 116.

¹⁰⁷ *On the Prorogation* (1671) in *POAS*, (20).

¹⁰⁸ *P&L*, II, p. 321.

¹⁰⁹ John Starkey's newsletter to Aston (24 December 1670), in Annabel Patterson, *The Long Parliament of Charles II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 32.

exploration how his newsletter reporting of the Coventry case differs from parliamentary diarists such as Anchitell Grey.¹¹⁰ From the latter, she deduced that ‘the scandal had seriously altered the mood of the Commons’ and was a ‘turning-point’ in parliament’s relationship with the crown.¹¹¹ The controversy crystallised anxieties about parliamentary freedom of speech and military coercion, and saw a proliferation of satiric writing.¹¹² Evidently the real threat of civil disorder was not from religious dissidents, who had proven their loyalty during the recent war: it was coming from the regime itself. James Grantham Turner has observed that in the writing which followed these outbreaks of street violence ‘precise identification’ telescopes away as the rhetorics applied to libertine and dissenter interpenetrate.¹¹³ The threat from the former expanded and overwrote that of the latter. Satires turned the familiar rhetoric of military violence against the English people: the wannabee soldier Buckingham seeks ‘more our own city than the Dutch to quell’.¹¹⁴

In this environment Catiline and his conspirators better fitted the royal court than the quiescent nonconformist community.¹¹⁵ Those factions whose rivalry had spilled out during the play’s premiere were thought to be plotting to overawe parliament, through force if necessary. As a result, memories of the *Catiline* production began to filter into the satirical writing of the early 1670s and the Third Anglo-Dutch War. A few of the features of the play which made it pliable to this reading should be delineated. While these were not all drawn on consistently by satirists, they represent a number of contact points which eased the application of the play to contemporary affairs. They could go spoken, or unspoken. These included:

¹¹⁰ Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), p. 34. As well as reporting on the Coventry episode, Marvell also wrote a comprehensive news-letter reporting Monmouth’s murder of the beadle, *P&L*, II, p. 323.

¹¹¹ Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), p. 36.

¹¹² *A Ballad Called the Haymarket Hectors* (1671), *On the three Dukes killing the Beadle* (1671) and *Upon the Beadle* (1671), all in *POAS*.

¹¹³ James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals* (2002), p. 190; Tim Harris, *London Crowds* (1987), pp. 83-4.

¹¹⁴ *On the Prorogation* (1671), in *POAS*, (69). This transferral of military language into a domestic context can be found in a number of other satires: ‘should you but name the prerogative whore, | How the bullets would whistle, the cannon would roar’, in *The Haymarket Hectors* (1671), in *POAS*, (53-4). The Earl of Rochester contributed a more elaborate example in *The Disabled Debauchee*. Buckingham, who was sent home from the fleet early in the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars, was eventually appointed a lieutenant-general of England’s massing land army in 1673, but he merely squabbled all year, Bruce Yardley, ‘Villiers, George’, in *ODNB* (2009).

¹¹⁵ Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet* (1990), p. 157; Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), pp. 254-86.

- 1) A cabalistic conspiracy headed by dissolute aristocrats.
- 2) A conspiracy which sought to replace senatorial institutions with arbitrary power.
- 3) A conspiracy to enlist against the metropolis: the poor; the ill-disposed; a foreign army; a standing army.
- 4) A conspiracy foiled by its revelation and opposition within the very senatorial institution it hoped to destroy.
- 5) This foiling was done by Cicero, a *novus homo* from the country.

These provided a structure around which a satirical portrayal could be established, and suggested conclusions which readers could further extrapolate. In the satire *A Dialogue between the Duke of Buckingham and his Father's Ghost* (1673) the use of Jonson's *Catiline* illustratively incorporates all the above features. Appreciating this wider context is important. While Robert Hume and Harold Love recognised the play's importance to this poem, they preferred to place it within the well-established tradition of ghostly visitations, only glossing its resemblance to Sulla's appearance to Catiline in 'a play Buckingham is known to have admired' in passing.¹¹⁶ In fact, the *Catiline* framework pervades this poem to a far more significant degree.

Firstly, Buckingham is the *ne plus ultra* of aristocratic dissolution and violence (point 1).¹¹⁷ 'Twas I that rob'd brave Shrewsbury of his life', he brags in a familiar language of excess, 'Adulterated her that was his wife [...] How many men from mee have found their death' (13-4, 20).¹¹⁸ Sulla likewise describes the 'incests, murders [and] rapes' (I.i.30) of Catiline during the play's memorable opening, while Catiline's first conversation with his wife Aurelia recounts the story that he had murdered her husband – his own son – to wed her. The framework of libertine violence and adultery was a natural fit for Buckingham. He also conspires to overcome parliament, 'our Party in the house

¹¹⁶ *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, ed. by Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), II, pp. 304-6. The commonplace ghostly visitation formula itself owes much to this scene and its antecedent in Seneca's *Thyestes*. Love recognised that the Catilinarian visitation was a '*locus classicus*' for Restoration satirists, but did not explain its pertinence or relation to the wider play, Love, *Clandestine Satire* (2004), p. 126.

¹¹⁷ The Earl of Rochester is merely the most conspicuous of his conquests: Buckingham declares that 'Ingenious Rochester soe mild was hee, | Him have I made a perfect Debauchery' (15-16).

¹¹⁸ Quotations from *A Dialogue between the Duke of Buckingham and his Father's Ghost* are taken from *Writings Associated with George Villiers* (2007).

are numerous [...] wee've gott the Speaker too, | Then name the thing that wee han't power to doe' (31, 33-4) (point 2). There is only one obstacle: the Cicero to Buckingham's Catiline, 'the man who for his partes soe much is fam'd, | Old Shaftesbury' (36-7). Though in other satires Shaftesbury could be lumped together with the nefarious conspirators, by late 1673 he had been ejected from the governing Cabal and into opposition. Before his dismissal, Shaftesbury had burnished his reputation as a senatorial orator with a famous speech made in support of the war against the Dutch. There, in the 'single most celebrated piece of Restoration oratory', he had echoed Cato the Elder's famous maxim 'Delenda est Carthago', drawing an explicit equivalence, already prolific in popular culture, between the Punic and Anglo-Dutch Wars.¹¹⁹ By inference, this extended to parliament and the Senate. It was therefore easy to portray Shaftesbury as Cicero, ready to defeat Buckingham's conspiracy in parliament (points 4 and 5):

He is too True, too Cunning, and too sly.

Before wee act, or our Designes display,

Weel rid that Cunning Fox out of the way.

This hand shall doo't, assisted by thy sword,

And hee shall dye when I but speak the word (38-42).

The eager rhetoric of Jonson's conspirators breaks into the poem, 'hee shall dye when I but speak the word' remembering Cethegus's promise 'He shall die. | "Shall" was too slowly said. He is dying. That | Is yet too slow. He is dead' (III.iii.174-6). Such verbal echoes suggest the existence of an ongoing parliamentary power struggle which can be made clear through Jonson's play. This poem, therefore, depends on a readership able to identify similarities between Buckingham and Catiline, Shaftesbury

¹¹⁹ Pincus, 'English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War' (1995), p. 255. Shaftesbury's speech was a barnstormer which was widely reported beyond parliamentary circles – a Dutch verse satire even takes it as its premise, arguing that the English were the true Carthaginians who 'brak verbond, en eed, hoogmoedig, trots en pragtig' [broke covenant, and oath, proud, haughty and overweening]. That said, the satirist confused Shaftesbury with the more well-known bogeyman, the Duke of York, *Karel de Tweede van Engeland in zynen Raad over den Oorlog tegens de Nederlanders raad pleegende, gebruikte zyn broeder de Hartog van York het oude Spreukje voor zyn advys: Delenda est Carthago* [Charles the Second of England, consulting his Parliament about the War against the Dutch, his brother the Duke of York used the old Adage for advice: Delenda est Carthago], in *Van Varen*, II, p. 412.

and Cicero, and to extrapolate out the consequences. This is done pragmatically, through deployment of those moments of rant its readers would actually remember. Most major elements of the oppositional Catiline interpretation are present, and in a fairly unsophisticated arrangement. We are now ready, however, to consider how *Catiline* could be warped and deployed in more complicated satires.

VI. The appropriation of *Catiline* in the satiric writing of the early 1670s

This framework also occurs in the only satire of the early 1670s which has had anything like a sustained critical afterlife. There is no sequence of ‘Painter’ poems for the Third Anglo-Dutch War, no artful libel which transcends the topicality of its moment as the *Last Instructions* has been held to have done, despite the fact that critics have recognised that the period saw a new-found ‘serious negativity’ in satirical writing.¹²⁰ Traditionally, studies of Restoration satire have often limited themselves to a brief overview of the period’s abundance of rough, crass and aggressive poems before moving on to the likes of Dryden’s *Mac Flecknoe* (1676).¹²¹ This is to undervalue the satiric writing of the period, which laid the foundations for the ensuing decade and which responded deftly to the political crises of the moment. The outlier is the *Dream of the Cabal* (1673), an anonymous satire on the ruling junta occasionally ascribed to Marvell, and somewhat more plausibly to his emulator John Ayloffe.¹²² Like the ‘Painter’ poems it was a staple of scribal miscellanies, while repeated mention in intelligence letters and a copy preserved in the state archives indicates that the Secretariat took it seriously.¹²³ Touching on the poem in his survey of satirical writing, Love concluded that ‘the envisaged readership is clearly an unsophisticated one’, citing in support its deployment of rant at the expense of political facts, the poem

¹²⁰ Robert D. Hume, “‘Satire’ in the Reign of Charles II”, *Modern Philology*, 102.3 (2005), 332–71 (p. 367); see also Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 102; Harold Love, *Clandestine Satire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 116.

¹²¹ David Farley-Hills, *The Benevolence of Laughter: Comic Poetry of the Commonwealth and Restoration* (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 98-100; Marshall, *Practice of Satire* (2003), p. 73.

¹²² George d. f. Lord, ‘Satire and Sedition: The Life and Work of John Ayloffe’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 29.3 (1966), 255–73 (p. 272).

¹²³ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 146; II, p. 21; SP 29/337 fols. 92^r-5^v.

‘preferring mythic images of villainy to hard data’.¹²⁴ It should be clear from the discussion of *Catiline* and its readers above that rant was hardly a factor which should disqualify a work from complex political and cultural engagement. In fact, Love’s observation fails to notice that the poem is structured through an understanding of the Catiline story – one likely conditioned by Jonson’s *Catiline* – and that the poet expects their readers to identify this, and constructively to draw out implications for the present.

The highly theatrical poem stages a dialogue between the members of the ever-changing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Charles’s inner council, here made up of ‘the grand Cabal of Seven’ (11): Buckingham, Lauderdale, Arlington, Clifford, Ashley (soon Shaftesbury), and Ormonde.¹²⁵ This is a conspiratorial gathering intended, like Catiline’s, to seize total control of the state. Like those conspirators, they are debating the best means to achieve this aim, and both are distinctly patrician plots against the elective body. In other satires of the early 1670s ministerial gatherings ‘Att Arlington’s’ house were also imagined within an imprecise Greco-Roman context as patrician symposia and ‘glorious Bacchanalls’.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, in the *Dream of the Cabal* direct references to Roman history are sparse. In a debate over replacing the ‘mixed hodge-podge’ (121) constitution with ‘absolute monarchy’ (120), Shaftesbury labels parliamentarians ‘plebians’ (129) and tells Charles that ‘Caesar or nothing you are brought unto’ (122).¹²⁷ This, however, is an exception – and a vague one at that – in a poem which typically withholds overt historical, biblical and classical reference to maintain an apparently rigorous focus on present crises. The satire is stronger for this contemporaneity, but the unspoken weight of Catilinarian precedent nonetheless drives this portrayal. The dramatic staging of

¹²⁴ Love, *Clandestine Satire* (2004), p. 117.

¹²⁵ The ‘Cabal’ was a highly imprecise identification. The memorable acronym of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale appeared in satire, such as a ‘numerica prophetia’ collected in Bodleian Library, MS Don.b.8, fol. 201. However, this was not universal and altered depending on circumstances and the writer concerned. To Marvell, for example, ‘the governing Cabal [...] are *Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashley, Orery and Trevor*’, *P&L*, II, p. 317.

¹²⁶ This *Further Advice to a Painter* described ‘The reall figure of a Councell-Board | Att Arlington’s, & round about it sate | Our mighty Masters in a warm debate. | Capacious Bowles with lusty Wine repleate, | To make them th’ other Councell-Boarde forget’, MS Don.b.8, fol. 205. Imagined secret meetings like this reflected gossip that ‘my Lord Arlington has removed the meeting of the Caball to his own lodgings, where indeed it has been this fortnight’, *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 184.

¹²⁷ Quotations from the *Dream of the Cabal* are from POAS.

the poem, the rant which put off Love and the conspirators' argumentation all derive from the familiar Jonsonian model.

Staging is important as the *Dream of the Cabal* is emphatically dialogic: once the discussion gets underway narrative intrusions are highly restrained, with the consequence that reading the *Dream* is very akin to reading the *Catiline* play-text. Similarities extend beyond innate theatricality. In framing the Cabal's discussion, the poet emphasises a series of circumstances which make the scenario familiar to any reader of Cicero or Jonson. The satire begins with the narrator struggling to sleep because of their financial difficulties. When they finally manage to, they are transported by an unnamed male entity to witness the Cabal gather together in the dead of night and in great secrecy, 'when sat they were and doors were all fast shut' (12). Like Cicero, the narrator is privy to 'what thou didst | last night' (IV.ii.128-9), and readers could easily recall Cicero's account of Catiline's secret gathering. This was another walls-have-ears moment where the concealing structures and spaces of conspiracy were opened up and made permeable, facilitating revelation:

I have those eyes and ears still keep guard

And spial on thee as they have ever done

And thou not feel it. What canst thou hope?

If neither night can with her darkness hide

Thy wicked meetings, nor a private house

Can in her walls contain the guilty whispers of thy conspiracy (IV.ii.173-9).

What once supplied a figurative description of Williamson's documentary intelligence becomes very literal in the *Dream of the Cabal*, as it is the satiric narrator themselves who slips through the walls. From a position 'secret was behind the hangings put. | Both hear and see I could' (14-5), they assume the role of Cicero's spy, becoming the 'eyes and ears [...] you are little aware of'.¹²⁸ Recalling Cicero's description of the house which cannot 'in her walls contain the guilty whispers of thy conspiracy', the

¹²⁸ Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline* (1671), pp. 9-10.

speaker, slid so tight between the wall and the tapestry they are forbidden ‘stirring’ (17) lest they disturb it, similarly permeates the fabric of the building.¹²⁹ Doing so makes it permeable to the outside world, facilitating the acts of revelation integral to the Catiline narrative and the public exposure of a plot against the state. The unknown figure who places the speaker there promises that these ‘present designs [might be] crossed with ill success’ (20) if only they are witnessed. Literalising Cicero’s porous house within the strong tradition of attaching credibility to visual and aural observation, the poet becomes an authoritative witness firmly within the accepted standards of seventeenth-century reportage.

The verbal texture of the meeting also conforms to the selective memory of Jonson’s secret council, as all the conspirators save Ormonde voice lofty hopes of destruction. These differ only in the degree of caution they advocate, and the methods they suggest to undertake dismantling the state. The most zealous is Charles’s Scottish governor John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, ‘in gall and guile a second unto none’ (48). A particular bogeyman in the early 1670s for those who feared an extension of his brutal politics to England, he was seen as an absolutist Francophile warmonger: ‘Lauderdail that lumpe of grease | Is for a Dutch War, & a French peace’.¹³⁰ A year before the public revelation of York’s Catholicism, he appeared the signal threat to parliamentary liberty. Marvell’s personal letters track his movements and see him as the principal dangerous influence on Charles, covertly attributing Charles’s decision to sit in on Lord’s debates – ‘an high Usurpation’ – to his influence.¹³¹ Other satirists also considered him to be the closest thing to a royal favourite under the circumstances. One verse supposedly ‘left in the Chamber Window of the Duke of Lauderdale’ warned that ‘Although you are now in great State, | Yett have a Care of Villars fate’.¹³² It was Lauderdale, not Arlington or the second Duke of Buckingham, who risked assassination like the first. Indeed, Lauderdale faced repeated impeachment attempts from a hostile English parliament, while Ronald Hutton judged that in the early

¹²⁹ See also *Cicero 10* (1977), pp. 38-9. Love has recognised that an architectural imagination is active elsewhere in the poem, *Clandestine Satire* (2004), p. 117.

¹³⁰ MS Don.b.8, fol. 515.

¹³¹ *P&L*, II, p. 316.

¹³² MS Don.b.8, fol. 370.

1670s ‘the strain of coarseness and brutality in Lauderdale’s own nature became more pronounced’, using as evidence his bellicose contributions to debates in the Committee for Foreign Affairs.¹³³

In the *Dream of the Cabal* his language thus overflows with the familiar rant of the Cethegus character, albeit via an exaggerated Scots accent. Readily mapping onto his reputation for uncivilised brutality, Lauderdale was a useful proxy through which to continue the long-running anti-Scottish strain in satire against the Stuart regime.¹³⁴ Furthermore, as a powerful second-in-command and a notoriously brutal administrator, Lauderdale made an easy Cethegus. Both share a habit of bloodthirsty outbursts:

De’il take my saul, I’ll ne’er the matter mince,

I’d rather subject be than sike a prince.

To hang and burn and slay and draw and kill

And measure aw things by my own guid will

Is gay dominion (63-7).

Lauderdale’s ‘Enraged [...] and, chol’ric’ (49) speech echoes both the essential bloodlust and the methodology of Cethegus’s approach to conspiracy: that is, the part of the play most memorable to audiences. Both men demand a quick and brutal assertion of absolute rule which is reinforced by a violence of such extremity that even their villainous companions are given pause. This bloodthirsty zeal stands apart from the other conspirators and feels no need to justify itself, save for the pleasure taken in its depredations. One can find any number of passages where Cethegus makes similar exclamations:

If the gods had call’d

Them to a purpose, they would have come

With the same tortoise speed [...]

¹³³ Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 310.

¹³⁴ Adam Smyth, “‘Reade in One Age and Understood i’ Th’ next’: Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.1 (2006), 67–82 (p. 79); Tim Harris, “‘There is none that loves him but drunk whores and whoremongers’: Popular Criticisms of the Restoration Court”, in *Politics, Transgression and Representation at the Court of Charles II*, ed. by Catharine MacLeod and Julia Marciari Alexander (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 35–60 (pp. 50-1).

I would have seen Rome burn'd
By this time, and her ashes in an urn,
The kingdom of the Senate rent asunder,
And the degenerate talking gown run frightened
Out of the air of Italy (I.i.218-20, 223-7).

This relentless desire for action places both Cethegus and Lauderdale at odds with their compatriots. Lauderdale's grimace at 'this eager, well-meant zeal' (69) and 'the Scot with laughter checked' (223). Catiline, meanwhile, describes Cethegus as 'too full of lightning' (I.i.304) and Lentullus asks 'Why do your passions now disturb our hopes?' (III.iii.125). In both cases the other conspirators advocate a series of more cautious and insidious approaches: when they propose violence, they add justifications and qualifications.

Furthermore, the poem deftly situated these conspirators within an ongoing news environment. Towards its conclusion the Duke of Ormonde, the one honest character, warns Charles that 'tis the law that makes you king' (331) and cautions 'what dishonour 'twould be to our crowns | If we to France gave cautionary towns' (351-2).¹³⁵ This Ormonde is not simply a straight-talker, jammed in by the satirist to throw the others' villainy into greater relief. Only recently reinstated on the Committee for Foreign Affairs, his portrayal responds to that appointment's coverage in an ongoing international culture of news and discussion. It was widely understood to be highly significant, perhaps indicating a change in royal policy, and reports travelled quickly through oral and manuscript networks. One letter to Williamson, then ambassador in Cologne, emulated the texture of public discussion in London, observing that 'the people are extreamely pleased to see the Duke of Ormond called into the Cabinett Councell againe, for, to speak their words, he is a good Protestant and Englishman'.¹³⁶ Wary of

¹³⁵ His argument is that of the Anglican royalist constituency, numerous in parliament but whose support was faltering over 1673. As Hutton notes, 'Ormonde [...] was now invited back to the Foreign Affairs Committee by Charles in an attempt to reassure conservative Anglicans in the wake of James's resignation', *Charles II* (1991), p. 308.

¹³⁶ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 61; numerous other of Williamson's correspondents reported on Ormonde's appointment, 'by which you may guesse att more', *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 59, 47-59.

potentially shifting circumstances, Williamson wrote carefully to Arlington that Ormonde's appointment was occupying discussion there:

y^e late discourses and surmises of this Place could not rayse in us any apprehension of His Ma^{ties} Counsell, nor of that most honourable person last admitted into y^m [...] our friends here did buzze ab^t their suspicions & feares, as our Enemyes did blaze abroad their hopes and assurances of a change to follow in His Ma^{ties} Counsell.¹³⁷

In his reply Arlington had to settle Williamson's nerves that his negotiating position was not being undercut, and that Ormonde's inclusion would have no effect on policy:

your Ex^{cies} know him too well to thinke him capable of aduising His Ma^{ty} to so dishonourable & imprudent an Act, as to break wth France, or make a Separate Treaty wth Holland, so agst y^e rules of Comon Sense in this conjuncture and yet I will not denye to you but y^e Town is soe full of this notion.¹³⁸

This is, in essence, what Ormonde advises in the satire, standing apart as 'six of seven agree | France shall be loved and Holland hated be' (379-80). The poem appeared within two months of Williamson's letters: the *Cabal* satirist was able to respond quickly to circumstances and accommodate this discursive 'buzze' into their dramatic dialogue. It is also clear that they, just like loyalist poets, adhered to optimistic expectations about the character of their hero already established in news.

Where is the head of this conspiracy, then – where is Catiline? Charles, the person we might expect to play that role, is conspicuously silent throughout much of the poem. However, this is not the prudence of a satirist libelling the king's council rather than his person. When Charles does speak, he fully inhabits the role prepared for him. While the satirist trusted in Ormonde's virtues, they were less hopeful than the Town's armchair politicians who thought his appointment would alter policy. Instead, they dramatised what happens to such good advice in practice: it cannot compete with the Catilinarian energies of the council, which have, by the poem's conclusion, taken over the king. Ormonde's advice

¹³⁷ SP 105/221 fol. 116.

¹³⁸ SP 105/221 fol. 115.

provokes Charles into a furious speech reprimanding his councillor and brimming with the wrath expected from a Catiline:

He's interrupted and bid speak no more
By's enraged Majesty, who deeply swore
His tongue had so run o'er that he'd take
Such vengeance on him and example make
To after ages, all which heard should fear
To speak what would displease the royal ear (353-8).

In his fearsome promise of a destruction which over-runs time and becomes a unequalled precedent for 'after ages', Charles's one speech-act binds him firmly to Jonson's Catiline. The latter had voiced similar wishes, and in near identical language:

The cruelty I mean to act I wish
Should be call'd mine and tarry in my name,
Whilst after-ages doe toil out themselves
In thinking for the like, but doe it less (III.iii.257-60).

It is clear that those 'mythic images of villainy' which Love thought debased the poem are actually part of an elaborate intertextual dynamic. This saw *Catiline* appropriated from government control and redeployed as an oppositional framework through which to interpret the news. While drawing on expectations conditioned by the excited reportage of Ormonde's promotion, the satirist demonstrates the ascendancy of private Caitlinarian conspiracy over idealised public virtue. One must ultimately interpret policy through the rationales of drama, not news.

Finally, by framing the poem according to Jonson's play the poet is able to flesh out the periphery of the conspiracy by implication: the conspirators fear parliament, and there is the unspoken potential for a Cicero to arise and defeat them. The poet has already begun this process by broadcasting

their hidden councils to a readership which certainly included MPs, in the hope that the elective body could yet take action.¹³⁹ Astute readers would realise they have only just begun the story, and remember that it ended with Cicero overseeing the execution of the conspirators. When the poem began to circulate in August 1673, it did so against anticipation of parliamentary attempts that coming October to ‘run up to the height and fall upon the Ministers, especially *Buck., Arling^t, Loddadale*’ when they met.¹⁴⁰ In the event, Lauderdale fled to Scotland and attempts against Arlington and Buckingham contributed to parliament’s prorogation.

VII. Synthesising Catiline’s villainy with Restoration heroism

Catiline provided the *Cabal* poet and their readers with a familiar framework through which to interpret and imagine the seemingly clandestine forces operating behind the news events of the present. The story was common enough that, even in the absence of overt mention, a readership trained up in the *Catilinarians* at school and likely familiar with the recent production, reissued play-text or Wase’s translation would have had little difficulty recognising the precedent. Furthermore, the narrative’s deployment was not always as subtle as in the *Dream of the Cabal*. The production featured explicitly in a satire from later in the year, the *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by* (1673). Another poem of uncertain provenance, while we cannot pinpoint the author, they were located within the oppositional moment which found *Catiline His Conspiracy* a key to interpreting the news.¹⁴¹ Events had been moving swiftly. By October Lauderdale and the Cabal had been replaced as the principal threat to parliament,

¹³⁹ See the satire’s presence in the scribal miscellany of William Haward, MP for Bletchingley, MS Don.b.8, fols. 411-8.

¹⁴⁰ *Essex Papers: Volume 1, 1672-1679*, ed. by Osmund Airy (London: Camden Society, 1880) p. 131; *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 29. For further context, see John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: “This Masquerading Age”* (London: Blackwell, 2000), p. 48; Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 309.

¹⁴¹ The *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by* was (erroneously) attributed to ‘A. M. Esq’, along with many others, in the first *Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* (London: 1689), p. 3. H. M. Margoliouth and Pierre Legouis attribute the poem with some conviction to Henry Savile, though also take note of its resemblance to the poetry of John Ayloffe, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, eds. H.M. Margoliouth, Pierre Legouis and E.E. Duncan-Jones, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), I, p. 421. It was attributed to ‘Mr Aylof’ in the Popple manuscript of Marvell’s poetry, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.d.49, fol. 272.

as news earlier in 1673 of the Duke of York's conversion to Catholicism ruptured the already febrile political scene in an event which determined the focus of English politics for the remainder of the century. It also intensified the popular and parliamentary reassessment of England's role supporting France in a total war against the protestant Dutch. Satires proliferated in this turbulent context and the *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke* by brought together the 'Painter' conceit – now well-worn enough to be reappearing in loyalist print – and the parliamentarian reinterpretation of *Catiline*.¹⁴²

York's Catholicism had been revealed by his failure to receive Anglican communion in accordance with the new Test Act. The result of intensifying parliamentary anxiety about Catholic infiltration and conspiracy, the passage of the Test Act through parliament in the spring had attracted little more than 'insouciance' from a regime unable to comprehend its potential consequences.¹⁴³ However, one of those who did anticipate the danger it posed was York's client Thomas Clifford, the current Lord Treasurer. Clifford, who had advanced himself through his assiduous work during the Second Anglo-Dutch War and was by 1673 a covert Catholic, anticipated the threat the Act posed to his own position. That service had already seen him characterised by satirists as possessing a careful and understated demeanour, the nefarious administrative counterpart to bloody ranters like Lauderdale. He appeared in the *Dream of the Cabal* as 'one more grave, | That had much less of fool but more of knave' (177-8), and in another satire as one who 'speakes Scripture, & politickes too, | The first is his Vizard, y^e other is his hue'.¹⁴⁴

This characterisation was recognised by the *Advice to a Painter* satirist. Clifford 'first appeared in humble guise, | Was thought to be so meek and yet so wise' (57-8), but this façade had cracked in a passionate speech he made against the Test Act in the House of Lords. There he had labelled it a 'monstrum horrendum' that 'ought to be spurned out of the House as a dirty Bill'.¹⁴⁵ This one outburst was all the satirist required to turn Clifford, who was already imagined through concepts of

¹⁴² *New Advice to a Painter; A Poetical Essay describing the last Sea-Engagement with the Dutch: May the 28th 1673. By an Eye-Witness* (London: 1673); *Further Advice to a Painter. Or, Directions to drawv the Late Engagement Aug. 11th 1673* (London: R. Vaughan, 1673).

¹⁴³ Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 301.

¹⁴⁴ MS Don.b.8, fol. 182.

¹⁴⁵ Quotations from *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke* by are taken from POAS; Thomas Clifford is quoted in Haley, *English Opposition* (1953), p. 95.

performativity, into Catiline's most notorious subordinate. In this case the connection was clear: 'when he came to act upon the Stage, | He prov'd the mad Cethegus of our age' (59-60). Given the established place Mohun's Cethegus held in public memory, it was a simple enough task to elide the stage of the Theatre Royal where *Catiline* had played in 1669 with the House of Lords in 1673: Marvell had recently noted that Charles II conspicuously describing his unprecedented attendance at the Lords debates on the Roos divorce as 'better than going to a Play'.¹⁴⁶ The Lords became little more than a playhouse itself as Clifford's ranting speech becomes an easy equivalent for the familiar 'mad' rant of Cethegus. However, the satire points out that it is not the ranting Clifford which is the true performance, but the subtle politician 'in humble guise'. Regime-sponsored drama becomes a means to identify the insidious powers operating within the state.

If Clifford is a Cethegus, the satire invites its readers to identify his Catiline. Given Clifford's close ties to York this required little imagination, and it is quickly confirmed that 'He and his Duke had each too great a mind | To be by justice or by law confin'd' (61-2). Clifford's behaviour was grounds to explore further parallels between Roman and contemporary conspirators. However, the satirist also utilised an important alternative tradition of Catilinarian heroism to reinterpret York's martial qualities within the new context established by their presentation of Clifford. This allowed the widespread formulae of York's heroism, generated in the poetry and newswriting of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, to be appropriated and turned against him.

A dual reading of Catiline's character informed his representations throughout history, and continued in Jonson's play and these Restoration satires: Catiline was the best of men, and the worst of men. Catiline, had he not fallen to conspiracy, was imbued with a heroic potential. Even his great controverter indulged this alternative reading: while defending one of Catiline's associates in *Pro Caelio*, Cicero acknowledged something of the 'paradoxical qualities' in the man which made him so appealing.¹⁴⁷ Suspicions that Catiline was the victim of a character assassination serving Cicero's immediate political needs were present from the early Imperium. In Sallust's history the conspiracy was

¹⁴⁶ *P&L*, II, p. 317.

¹⁴⁷ *Cicero 13: Pro Caelio. De Provinciis Consularibus. Pro Balbo*, trans. by R. Gardiner (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 421.

attributed to the degraded culture of an expansionist Rome, rather than simple villainy. This troubled perspective remained just beneath the surface of seventeenth-century writing on Catiline which, although it doted on the pantomime villain Cicero constructed, did not fail obliquely to acknowledge his dual character. Testimonies of his ‘great Endowments both of Body and Mind’, were often repeated and, as Wase translated, Catiline was:

inur’d to suffer Cold and Hunger and Thirst, and watch [sic] in pursuit of Whoredom and Villany, was cried up by these his Companions as one *hardy*; when as the Aids of Industry and Instruments of Vertue, were wasted upon Lust and Violence.¹⁴⁸

While it took until Henrik Ibsen’s *Catilina* (1850) for a play where Catiline assumed the heroic mantle in full, Ibsen was working within an existing counter-tradition.¹⁴⁹

In Jonson’s play this tradition sits in uneasy tension with the oft-diabolical Catiline. He occasionally followed Sallust in imagining that the patrician and his co-conspirators were not natural villains but men who, in other circumstances, could have passed for the heroes of a less degenerate age.¹⁵⁰ This is clear from Catiline’s opening speech, where he disavows the noble part of himself for tyranny:

Was I a man, bred great, as Rome herself?

One, form’d for all her honours, all her glories,

Equal to all her titles, that could stand

Close up with Atlas, and sustain her name

As strong as he doth heav’n? [...]

If she can lose her nature, I can lose

¹⁴⁸ *The History of Catiline’s Conspiracy* (London: 1683), p. B1r; Wase, *Cicero Against Catiline* (1671), pp. E1v-E2r.

¹⁴⁹ Henrik Ibsen, *Catiline and The Burial Mound*, trans. by Tomas F. van Laan (London: Garland, 1992), p. 51. For a description of this counter-tradition, see *Cicero: Political speeches* (2006), pp. 154-6.

¹⁵⁰ *Sallust: Catiline’s Conspiracy; The Jugurthine War; Histories*, ed. by William Batstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 12.

My piety, and in her stony entrails

Dig me a seat (I.i.83-7, 92-4).

Jonson's Catiline has similarly perverted Cethegus, 'whose valour I have turn'd into his poison' (I.i.141) – a line transcribed by Tuke and the anonymous copyist – and has 'Lentullus [...] degraded' (I.i.149-50).¹⁵¹ In a statement which anticipates his own demise, Cato describes Catiline's end as:

A brave bad death.

Had this been honest now, and for his country

As 'twas against it, who had e'er fallen greater (V.ix.84-6)?

These passages were all transcribed by the writer of Sloane MS 161, who took an interest in this heroic dimension as well as the diabolical one.¹⁵² Indeed, Jonson's conspirators appear like debased versions of the Homeric heroes so important for Waller's imagination of York. After Catiline confesses to perverting Cethegus and Lentullus, the two of them arrive. In his greeting Lentullus rejects the recurring formula used in Homeric poetry to hail the morning as 'rosy-fingered', reimagining this convention to be as poisoned and degraded as himself: 'Shee is not rosy-finger'd, but swolne black' (I.i.194).¹⁵³

This was a quality realised onstage through the revival's relationship with the heroic plays which perpetuated the Monck myth and that of the royal brothers. Catiline was played by Charles Hart, recognised by his contemporaries as the foremost actor of heroic characters. To the prompter John Downes 'Hart might teach any King how to Comport himself', while for Thomas Rymer 'to the most wretched of *Characters* he gives a lustre and *brilliant* which dazles the *sight*, that the deformities in the *Poetry* cannot be perceiv'd'.¹⁵⁴ Audiences accustomed to seeing Hart play the virtuous fighting lover saw those same qualities through the warped glass by which Cicero had imagined Catiline perverted:

¹⁵¹ Add MS 78424, fol. 132^r; Sloane MS 161, fol. 22^v.

¹⁵² Sloane MS 161 transcribes the section of Catiline's opening speech quoted here, covering I.i.73-97 (fol. 22^v); part of Catiline's inspiring speech to his troops, covering V.v.46-54 (fol. 26^r); and the entire account given by Petreus of Catiline's last stand with Cato's comments, covering V.ix.25-86 (fols. 26^r-7^r).

¹⁵³ 'Dawn appears some twenty times in *The Odyssey*, and the poem repeats the same line, word for word, each time: *emos d'erigeneia phane rhododaktulos eos*: "But when early-born rosy-fingered Dawn appeared..."', *The Odyssey*, trans. by Emily Wilson (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018), p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Roscus Anglicanus* (1928), p. 16; Thomas Rymer, *The Tragedies of the Last Age* (London: Richard Tonson, 1678), pp. 5-6.

the great warrior become the arch conspirator.¹⁵⁵ Hart did not have to play Catiline, with Mohun, who played *Tyrannick Love*'s Maximin, one viable alternative. The choice to focus on Hart's latent heroism at the expense of Mohun's consummate rant (he took the Cethegus role) indicates an appreciation of the more complicated heroism of the figure in Jonson's play, and a willingness to communicate that to the audience.

How does this relate to the Duke of York? The poet of the *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke By* advises that he be painted in exactly these terms: that is, as one whose natural disposition to heroism, when misdirected, makes his villainy all the more damnable. York in the *Advice* is not the dull or cowardly figure who often features in other satires, one easily bested in physical and mental fight.¹⁵⁶ Instead he is an active, energetic anti-hero modelled on Waller's myth of martial Stuart heroism, one who 'had too great a mind | To be by justice or by law confin'd' (61-2). A similar quality had recently been claimed onstage by Dryden's infamous hero Almanzor: 'The minds of Heroes their own measures are, | They stand exempted from the rules of war'.¹⁵⁷ Dryden had equated Almanzor with the Duke in the dedication to *The Conquest of Granada* (1672), and he had defended the character in comparison to Cethegus in its prefatory 'Essay'.¹⁵⁸ The York and Clifford of the *Advice* follow this debased heroic ethos. As the satirist describes them hatching their conspiracy:

Their boiling heads can hear no other sounds

Than fleets and armies, battles, blood, and wounds:

And do destroy our liberties they hope

¹⁵⁵ James Fowler has speculated that similar intertextual play may be behind a quotation of *Catiline* in Buckingham's play *The Chances* (1682). Charles Hart, playing Don John, voices some Catilinarian rant in a comedic context 'to burlesque his own tragic style', 'Catiline quoted in *The Chances*', *Notes & Queries*, 33:4 (1986), 467-9 (p. 469).

¹⁵⁶ For examples of the convention of York's dullness, see the oft-repeated satiric squib, 'But above all the Rest | Here's the Duke for a jest | And your Majesty for a great Politician', in *Works of John Wilmot*, ed. Love (1999), pp. 295-8.

¹⁵⁷ *The Conquest of Granada* in *Dryden's Works*, XI (I.IV.ii.11-2).

¹⁵⁸ 'Heroes shou'd onely be judg'd by Heroes; because they onely are capable of measuring great and Heroick actions by the rule and standard of their own. If *Almanzor* has fail'd in any point of Honor, I must therein acknowledge that he deviates from your Royal Highness, who are the patern of it'; 'I could easily shew you that the Rhodomontades of *Almanzor* are neither so irrational as his [Cethegus's], nor so impossible to be put in execution', *Dryden's Works*, XI, pp. 6, 16-7.

By Irish Fools and by a doting Pope (63-6).

This is, of course, a Catilinarian conspiracy. York and Clifford are deaf to anything other than their own rant and ‘can hear no other sounds, | Than fleets and armies, battles, blood and wounds’. Like the conspirators they become obsessed with an imaginary world of violence, the very feature for which Dryden had recently criticised Cethegus.¹⁵⁹ In a continuation of that great Stuart flaw, York has come to believe in his own myth. Indeed, he has become trapped there as the gore-covered hero of Waller’s *Instructions* who ‘before for honour, now revenge, he fought [...] he storms and shoots, but flying bullets now, | To execute his rage, appear too slow’ (160, 167-8). In its portrayal of Clifford the satire had turned state-sponsored drama into a vehicle for oppositional disillusionment. In rewriting the reputation of the Duke of York through the figure of Catiline, the satirist also appropriated the martial myth of the Duke we saw constructed in Chapter One: the once-noble ‘wrath’ of Achilles became the characteristic ‘rage’ of Catiline.¹⁶⁰

Catiline’s dual nature assisted a reinterpretation of that heroic ‘rage’, so important in the narrative of Lowestoft. All York can think of is war but, like Catiline, his martial prowess is turned upon his own people: the aggression which, during an offensive war, should be celebrated and directed against foreign enemies instead compounds with them against parliament and English ‘liberties’. Even those foreign soldiers which reinforce York in the poem draw him closer to Catiline. While the 1668–9 state production had hoped to invoke radical dissidents in league with the Dutch, York now heads an army of the dispossessed and foreign Catholics, ‘Irish Fools and [...] a doting Pope’. Again, it is notable that, compared with other satires such as *His Highnesse’s Conversion by Father Patrick* (1673), where York was imagined as the Pope’s stooge, the relationship here is skewed in York’s favour.¹⁶¹ His use

¹⁵⁹ ‘Cethegus threatens to destroy Nature, and to raise a new one out of it; to kill all the Senate for his part of the Action; to look Cato dead; and a thousand other things as extravagant, he sayes, but performs not one Action’, *Dryden’s Works*, XI, p. 7.

¹⁶⁰ From ‘μῆνις [...] Ἀχιλλῆος’ to ‘furibundus’, *Illiad*, trans. by Arthur Turnour Murray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 12-3; *Sallust*, trans. by Rolfe and Ransey (2013), p. 72. The transferral of York’s martial prowess into the domestic sphere occurred in a number of satires, most notably the ‘strong and weighty debate’ (2) between the Duke and the queen’s priest Father Patrick in *His Highnesse’s Conversion by Father Patrick* (1673). In that case ‘he manag’d this matter as he did his sea-fight’ (37): that is, incompetently. Quotations are taken from *POAS*.

¹⁶¹ See his announcement in *His Highnesse’s Conversion* that ‘I submit, for my conscience’s ease, | To be led by the nose as your fathership please’ (33-4).

of the ‘doting Pope’ assumes a dynamic far more akin to that of Catiline and the Gallic Allobroges: they are supporting him in *his* ambition. The use of these familiar frameworks allowed the satirist to reconcile the public mythology built up around the Duke of York in news and occasional writing with an interpretation, new to 1673, which demanded he be read as a Catholic villain.

VIII. Conclusion

Less compromising anti-regime writing began to emerge in volume during the early 1670s, and quickly intensified. While this would slowly develop into the political crisis which marked the end of the decade, by late 1673 there had already been a marked departure from the moderated satirical ethos of Marvell’s ‘Painter’ poems. The Catiline narrative would be indispensable during the Exclusion Crisis, as it had been in earlier moments of political urgency. However, criticism should recognise that it had already blossomed beforehand, in the early 1670s, when it provided a framework through which satirists could represent and interpret the forces operating behind news in the present. The ground for this had been laid by loyalist writers and performers, supported by the state, who had used the story as a means to stage the defeat of hidden insurgents (often religious dissenters) by regime intelligence gathering and dispersal. However, when it was raised to greater public prominence at the end of the 1660s it became vulnerable to anti-regime appropriation. This reading inverted the myths of heroism and public service which had characterised the loyalist telling, an interpretation that had relied upon a flimsy equivalence between government employees and Cicero (a character few really cared for). The anti-regime version capitalised on the fact that the public imagination was caught by Catiline and Cethegus, characters who could be used to redeploy the story in a manner critical of the government: oppositional writers identified analogues for these antagonists in contemporary political figures, while the House of Commons proved a much better fit for the imperilled Senate than Arlington’s own ministry. As opposed to exposing the actions of disenfranchised insurgents, this anti-regime interpretation revealed the hidden forces which operated behind news events, transforming a rhetoric previously used to celebrate state

surveillance and newswriting into one which opened up the secretive actions of that state's ministers. Nonetheless, that *Catiline* could so easily migrate from a loyalist to a nascent oppositional discourse indicates that satirical writing was still partially determined by the methods of interpreting news events established by a dominant culture of pro-regime writers. This is supported by the fact that a satire like *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by* could find in *Catiline* a way to reinterpret existing conventions of representing York as a classical hero, rather than abandoning them wholesale. Although satirical writing in the early 1670s featured a new degree of venom, and increasingly sought to distinguish itself from regime writing and panegyric, it was yet fully to break free from the powerful intertextual relationship which bound newswriting and poetry. The final chapter will examine the consequences, in late 1673, of the interaction of this acerbic literary environment with a new culture of anti-regime newswriting.

CHAPTER FIVE

Bringing to account: opposition newswriting during the Third Anglo-Dutch War

The *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by*, in which York and Clifford had been cast as a new Catiline and Cethegus, began circulating widely in the Town, the fashionable areas of London's suburban west end, in August 1673. It was one of many manuscript satires disseminated that year, adding fuel to a gossipy culture of foreign and underground newsletters, prints and manuscripts, all read and collected alongside pro-regime material.¹ Writing to Joseph Williamson, who was by then serving as plenipotentiary at the Cologne peace talks, his clerk Henry Ball reflected on how the satire was being read in light of the recent Battle of the Texel, where the French had apparently failed to follow orders, standing apart as the English and Dutch fleets came to blows:

This does indeed so inflame the people that every apple-woman makes it a proverbe, will you fight like the French, and the inclosed Advice to a Painter, ingeniously writt and cryed up extreamly when but touching gently upon that string, and bought up so fast that I could not gett two of them.²

Ball's instrumental metaphor is a potent one for understanding the interpretative relationship between news and satire in this year. By 'but touching gently upon that string' the satire was able to generate intertextual meanings and activate expectations which had been conditioned by the emergence, in the latter months of 1673, of a nascent oppositional news consensus. The *Advice* itself, probably written before the battle, made almost no reference to naval combat at all.³ However, as Ball noted a great

¹ See the motley collection of poems from this period in Bodleian Library, MS Don.b.8. The juxtaposition of panegyric and satire, theological verse and pornographic drinking songs in this volume, owned by the MP William Haward, is discussed in Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 211-7. The interplay of oral, print and manuscript cultures is also key to the intelligence letters Williamson received from his informers: 'these kind of reports makes the Town full of malicious libells. I am told of severall, and promised the cotypes of some which I dare not venture by the Post', *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 67.

² *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 2.

³ There are no significant variations on this point in the copy of the poem Ball sent Williamson, still preserved at the National Archives as SP 29/337 fols. 7^r-8^r.

reverberation and noise could be made with the slightest suggestion of a betrayal narrative already accepted by readers. The development of this oppositional interpretation can be mapped through the combination of anti-regime news publications, manuscript satires and the detailed newsletters Williamson had requested from employees such as Ball and Robert Yard.⁴ While they protested their disdain for coffee-houses, the fumbling attempts of Williamson's clerks to communicate the sense of the dynamic political moment are invaluable – all the more so as they were also writing the *Gazette*, and thus were responsible for the regime's first line of defence in print.⁵

This final chapter explores the development and consolidation of that alternative newswriting environment. Did anti-regime newswriting create a perspective significantly distinct from the loyalist consensus, or did the new culture of opposition in the early 1670s continue the careful negotiation between loyal and disloyal rhetorics which underlay the satires examined in previous chapters? While that shall be seen, from the range of sources available it is immediately apparent that 1673 marked a significant development in the Restoration news environment, with writers establishing a widespread alternative to the state-led consensus across a significant number of underground publications. In these texts specific anxieties about French betrayal at sea, the Duke of York's conversion to Catholicism and his marriage to Mary of Modena were supplemented by an upsurge in general fears of popery, and grievances at royal dissipation and court corruption. However, these concerns had originated in an oral context 'where *Illegitimate Reports* are got in close *Adultery* between *Lying lips* and *Itching Ears*', and the print and manuscript texts which drew on this discourse were just one part of a less tangible culture of spoken dissidence which, as studies of popular politics point out, had already been active for some time.⁶

⁴ 'In your Ex^{cyes} last to Mr. Yard you were pleased to command me to write to your Ex^{c^y} the reports of the towne, which I shall most faithfully observe, begging only your Ex^{cyes} pardon for the mistakes and falsities of them, and that your Ex^{c^y} will excuse me for writing exactly what I heare', *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 5-6.

⁵ 'Sir for news or towne discourse I must not pretend to know much, being I visitt not Tavernes nor Coffey houses, nor doe I converse much with any persons that doe', *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 112.

⁶ *The Character of a Coffee-House* (London: 1673), p. B2v; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Cultures in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 336-405; Tim Harris, "'There is none that loves him but drunk whores and whoremongers': Popular Criticisms of the Restoration Court", in *Politics, Transgression and Representation at the Court of Charles II*, ed. by Catharine MacLeod and Julia Marciari Alexander (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 35-60 (p. 36); David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Historians nonetheless agree that there was a significant shift in English political culture during 1673.⁷ For Steven Pincus in particular, this was the result of an about-turn in public and parliamentary opinion. Considerable anti-Dutch enthusiasm at the start of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1672 had quickly shifted into a burning dislike of the alliance with France: it was this hostility, he argues, that ultimately forced the crown to withdraw from the war early in 1674. This change in public opinion derived from three key factors: first, the extreme success of French land offensive, particularly in 1672; second, the political revolution in the Netherlands in which the De Witts were lynched and the Prince of Orange reinstated; third, the conduct of the French fleet.⁸ Pincus's emphasis on public opinion as a crucial determinant of Restoration policy-making means that an understanding of the news culture of 1673, the primary medium through which the public engaged with and formed opinions about these factors, is indispensable. All three were experienced as long-running news narratives communicated through a combination of gossip, manuscript and print: predominantly the latter, as they were international news stories. It is worth highlighting that public awareness of the first two factors was largely conditioned by triumphal reportage in state and loyalist media. The *London Gazette* and occasional pamphlet separates had avidly charted the successes of the land war against the Dutch, and frequently advertised up-to-date maps showing the extent of the French advance.⁹ The coup in the

2010), p. 205. Kate Loveman points out that the hoax news pamphlets popularised by the *Isle of Pines* (1668) already participated in 'a noted form of oral satire' with 'a strong oppositional element', and were 'as much an oral as a written phenomenon' in the discursive life which sprang up around deliberately false reporting, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1704: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 81-2; in its blend of hoax news and anti-regime satire the *Isle of Pines* is an important precursor to the underground news texts examined in this chapter, and is treated at length by Loveman and others, including Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 100; Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Historical and Political Contexts of "The Isle of Pines"', *Utopian Studies*, 17.1 (2006), 111-29.

⁷ K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Ronald Hutton, *Charles II: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 301; John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age'* (London: Blackwell, 2000).

⁸ Steven Pincus, 'Republicanism, Absolutism and Universal Monarchy: English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 241-66 (pp. 262-4); see also Steven Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 333-61.

⁹ 'A particular Map of the City of Maestricht, with the present Fortifications, by John Seller Hydrographer to the King', advertised in *Gazette*, no. 703 (15 August 1672); 'An exact Map of the Low Countreys, by the Sieur le Fenre, where the Territory of each several Prince or State concerned are so distinguish, that the late Conquests and present possessions of each are legible, without any labor', advertised in *Gazette*, no. 707 (29 August 1672). The *Gazette* and separate pamphlets avidly charted the successes of the land war, see *A Narrative of the Progress of His Most Christian Majesties Armies against the Dutch* (London: 1672). Marvell had joked in the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672) that 'I was too prodigal of my Bishops at first, and now have never another left in

Netherlands was also reported assiduously in the *Gazette*. This was done with little editorial glossing: its account of the gruesome lynching of the De Witts, ‘*A true Relation of what happened at the Hague [...] as it was written in a Letter from thence, and printed in Holland*’, was a faithful translation of the Dutch newssheet *Verhaal van ‘t schriklik omkomen van Jan de Wit* [Relation of the horrific death of Jan de Wit] (1672), one of a number collected by Arlington’s Secretariat.¹⁰ So far the principal news materials behind the shift in popular opinion had therefore been supplied by the state and its supporters.

It is in Pincus’s third factor, the alleged betrayal by the French fleet, that one encounters a contest between state and underground news pamphlets, both of which claimed to offer the authoritative version of events. Here can be found the creation of an opposition narrative that the English were betrayed at sea. These illicit news publications participated in the expansion, over late-1673, of underground printing and manuscript circulation in response to domestic and international controversy, and the intensifying struggle between king and parliament.¹¹ Print pamphlets reporting on parliamentary proceedings, termed ‘scofflaw pamphlets’ by Annabel Patterson, had also begun to emerge by the end of the year.¹² These emulated an existing culture of manuscript reportage, but also drew on the manuscript satires which had circulated earlier in the year to a degree which is yet to be recognised. As a result, this chapter is split into two interlocking parts which analyse the development of themes and processes introduced in the previous chapters. The first examines how the year’s naval battles were reported, the second addresses parliamentary news. The two cannot be considered in isolation, for events and their representations in both arenas impinged on the other; neither can they be considered outside of an expanding culture of satirical writing, whose conventions informed both types of

the *Gazette*, which is <too> our Authors Magazin’, *PW*, I, p. 54. During 1673 this coverage had come to focus on the siege of Maastricht, with news reports written from the perspective of the British and Irish soldiers serving with the Duke of Monmouth. The siege received continuous coverage in the *Gazette*, and was the subject of the official pamphlet *A Narrative of the Siege and Surrender of Maestricht* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1673).

¹⁰ *Gazette*, no. 704 (19 August 1672); *Verhaal van ‘t schriklik omkomen van Jan de Wit, Ruard van Putten. Geschreven uyt den Hage, den 20 Aug. 1672* (1672) (held at The National Archives as SP 119/797). The harbour-master at Harwich seized a large number of Dutch pamphlets on the de Witts’ deaths, SP 29/334 fol. 219; numerous pamphlets were collected by the state and remain at The National Archives in SP 119; one employee, probably Henry Oldenburg, even produced a bibliography and abstracts of several Dutch poems and polemics from this period, SP 9/202/1 fol. 15.

¹¹ Love, *Scribal Publication* (1993), p. 248; Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 50-1

¹² Annabel Patterson, *The Long Parliament of Charles II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 27-30.

reportage. Identifying the intertextual relationship between these different forms of writing reveals how ‘but touching gently upon that string’ in one text could indeed produce a maelstrom. In combination this writing could generate a coherent set of expectations with which to interpret news events, and a shared culture for the extensive opposition which ultimately forced Charles II out of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in early 1674.

I. Prince Rupert in state newswriting during the Third Anglo-Dutch War

The continued importance of conventions established in regime writing for anti-regime reportage is clear in the first examples of oppositional newswriting in print, which covered the naval actions of 1673. After the death of the Earl of Sandwich at the Battle of Sole Bay (28 May 1672) the anxieties of the Second Anglo-Dutch War were revisited, and the Duke of York was again withdrawn from command and replaced by Prince Rupert. Previous chapters have examined the importance of constructing a heroic persona in news at length: these figures offered continuity between past and present, and accentuated credibility by confirming expectations generated before events even took place. In 1673, that heroic persona also took over the voice of the narrative. Printed reports were authorised and made more credible by the textual performance of the hero’s voice in public as newswriter, where characteristic attributes of the martial hero on the battlefield, conditioned through literature, were reimagined as the linguistic and analytical markers of a unique journalistic voice. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War state news pamphlets shifted away from the detached narrative of events ostensibly collected from several sources, typified by an impersonal ‘we’ such as in the *True Narrative* (1666), and towards an epistolary format where these texts paraded their origins in letters of intelligence. For example, the Battle of Sole Bay was reported in *A True Relation of the Engagement of his Majesties Fleet under the Command of His Royal Highness, with the Dutch Fleet, In a Letter from Henry Saville [...] to the Earl of Arlington* (1672): this manipulated the long-standing assumption that credibility was amplified through

association with the pen of a man of ‘honourable status’, while also asserting the primacy of Arlington at the centre of government during the Cabal period.¹³

When the command passed to Rupert in 1673, state reportage intensified this epistolary conceit. With the heir to the throne out of the picture, news publication no longer required an aristocratic proxy like Savile, but could evoke the command of the fleet in a manner which would have been considered inappropriate while York was in charge. The two pamphlets which reported on the two Battles of the Schooneveld (28 May and 4 June 1673) purported to be *His Highness Prince Rupert's Letter to the Earl of Arlington* (1673), ensuring that it was Rupert's which became the authoritative voice of the state in print. This was not just an attempt to piggyback on Rupert's aristocratic credibility: it also sought to circumvent potential objections through the pretence of presenting state documents and intelligence in an unmediated fashion to the public. In this sense it was a continuation of the project of Arlington and Williamson's Secretariat which had been ongoing through the *Gazette*, John Evelyn's history and Henry Stubbe's tracts. This may also have been sincerely believed. One correspondent assured Williamson that ‘the truest y^r Ex^{cy} can have is what is said in the Prince's letter made publicke’; later in the year Arlington assured Williamson of ‘y^t Caution [...] wee alwayes obserue in diminishing our aduantages’ in reportage.¹⁴ Thanking Arlington for the printed copy of Rupert's letters, Williamson and his colleague Lionel Jenkins wrote that they were happy to note that this rendering of Rupert's letter was ‘confirmation of what his Highn^{se} Prince Rupert was pleased to order his secretary to write of the two Engagements’ directly to them.¹⁵ The printed, redacted text disseminated to the public corroborates the semi-private manuscript letter which Rupert wrote directly to the ambassadors.

Putting a voice into print was dangerous: it could be manhandled, mocked, or imitated. This accounts for the aversion to publishing York's words. Indeed, when Charles entered into a back-and-forth pamphlet dispute with the Dutch government at the end of the year, the Venetian ambassador wrote that he had misgivings, ‘having declared that a paper war was unseemly, and indeed it might

¹³ David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), p. 60.

¹⁴ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 16; SP 105/221 fol. 196.

¹⁵ SP 105/221 fol. 21.

damage him even more in the eyes of his turbulent subjects': what should be universal and constant became tainted with the transitory, the petty and the mundane.¹⁶ In the case of the Rupert pamphlets, reproducing his letters left the authorising voice of the hero vulnerable to appropriation by oppositional newswriters, should they be able to emulate it sufficiently: which, as it happens, they were.

The two indecisive Battles of the Schooneveld occurred off the Dutch coast over late May and early June, with the English fleet not returning until after the second. The brief intelligence letters which Rupert sent back to Arlington after each encounter were swiftly edited for publication as those two short pamphlets. They were also published in the *Gazette*.¹⁷ As previously, the survival of some (but not all) of the original letters at The National Archives allows the originals to be compared with their print counterparts for evidence of editorial intervention. Doing so reveals that the news texts are collaged from fragments of Rupert's letters. Only a few new words and phrases have been added; instead, the manuscript letters' sentence structures have been broken up, shuffled around and put into a new – and frankly more lucid – order. Some factual details, such as dates and wind directions, were added from other sources, while as one would expect Rupert's exasperated complaints about poor provisions were removed.¹⁸ The narrative itself does not greatly deviate from the originals.

What was added? In the first printed report there is a new caveat that it is 'such as at present can be made, having not had time to learn the particulars of the Enemies losses', and it concludes with a final salute to Charles on the occasion of his birthday.¹⁹ One longer addition serves to emphasise the aggressive heroism associated with Rupert, and previously seen in Chapter Two. Here he remains the energetic commander always keen to run down his foes:

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Vol. 38, 1673-1675*, ed. by Allen B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1947), p. 188; see also *The Letter Sent by the States-General of the United Provinces Of the Low Countreys to His Majesty By their Trumpeter: Together with His Majesties Answer to the said Letter* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1673).

¹⁷ *Gazette* no. 786 (2 June 1673).

¹⁸ See Rupert's reminder that 'My Lord as I desired in my last your kindnes to importune the prouiding & dispatching away of all prouisions for the fleet, soe I must now againe', SP 29/335/2 fol. 151.

¹⁹ *His Highness Prince Rupert's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State, from on Board the Royal Charles, off the Oster-Bank the 29 of May, 1673* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1673), p. A3r.

Sr Edw. Spragge who maintained the fight wth soe much courage & resolution, that the whole body gaue way, & had it not been for feare of the shoales, we had driuen them into their doors. (I mean harbours).²⁰

Sir *Edward Spragge* also on his side maintained the Fight with so much Courage and Resolution, that their whole Body gave way, to such a degree that had it not been for fear of the Shoals, we had driven them into their Harbors, and the King would have had a better account of them.²¹

While even in the original Rupert wishes to chase down and obliterate his opponents, the new observation that ‘the King would have had a better account of them’ contributes a frustration that this was not the case. In an editorial choice like this one can witness the formation of an intimate, emotional heroic voice congruent with the heroic actor of news and literature. In order to imagine the hero as a newswriter, the anonymous state newswriter attempts to inhabit the imagined psyche constructed over decades of writing. How would Rupert react? With fierce indignation, of course. Adhering to expectation, this fiction then served to corroborate, rather than weaken, the published pamphlet.

If this pamphlet was a success for the Secretariat, providing an authoritative account of the battle from one of its principals while also reiterating Rupert’s personal command and heroism (and by proxy the importance of his addressee Arlington), it failed to please the Prince. Rupert was careful to manage his public image in news, and during the Second Anglo-Dutch War his secretary had ensured that Arlington gave him a favourable write-up in the *True Narrative* alongside Monck.²² He encountered the first of the two reports on his way back to London on 9 July, and wrote of his irritation to Arlington:

I saw a letter in print I wrote your Lordship, to which there was something added which I wrote to the Duke, which I would have given a finger it had been omitted. Some now are mentioned in the relation

²⁰ SP 29/335/2 fol. 151.

²¹ *Prince Rupert’s Letter* [...] *the 29 of May* (1673), p. A3r; underlined sections show additions between manuscript and print pamphlet.

²² After the Four Days’ Battle Rupert’s secretary James Hayes had complained to Arlington that ‘in y^e Dutch Gazzet those lying wretches speak dishonourably of the Prince’ and requested ‘so that when ever the History of this great action comes his great name may be well mencioned, who boare so great a share therein [and that when] printing he may have his share in those also, who did most certainly bring [^]new courage to his friends, and [^]causes of admiration and astonishment to the Enemy’, SP 29/159 fol. 3^r. When Arlington edited the *True Narrative* he emulated Hayes’s language to add a note that the ‘Prince did manifest a courage and conduct answerable to the other *great Actions* which belong to the story of his life’, SP 29/158 fol. 58^v. Hayes thanked Arlington for having ‘done a right to a Brave Prince’, SP 29/159 fol. 63^r. Dryden then echoed this two-part formula of courage to friends, fear to enemies across the two stanzas of *Annus Mirabilis* which introduced Rupert (441-8).

and not others, which without doubt have done as much and perhaps more than those I mention. I had not leisure to mention all particulars. I only beseech you henceforth to stop such proceedings. It is no small discouragement that after I have from the time I set out watched all hours in the night as well as in the day to serve his Majesty I must just at my coming meet with a babbe of this kind.²³

It is likely that on reading this Arlington may have reflected on the second Shooneveld pamphlet, published that very day from Rupert's further letters.²⁴ Following that second publication Rupert's voice was removed from government news – too late, however, to prevent a precedent being set and an expectation for such pamphlets established. It is worth reflecting on Rupert's objection to this 'babbe', which came not from the rearrangement of his words, or the coining of new ones, but from the inclusion of genuine material. Though the original is lost, the 'something added' from the letter to the Duke of York is likely the reflection that '*de Ruyter* and *Tromp* had run a great hazard of being burnt by some of our Fireships, if they had behaved themselves as they ought to have done'.²⁵ Publically disparaging his rival admirals, and calling their honour into question, did not fit into Rupert's idea of martial honour: preserving that was more important than analytic accuracy or an authoritative realisation of his voice. Within the gentlemanly business of war, some things should go publicly unspoken.

His other criticisms similarly relate to an understanding of news as memorialising honours and dispensing credit. Both the original letter and its print counterpart had emphasised the valour of 'the *French*, who behaved themselves very bravely. Sir *Edward Spragge* also on his side maintained the Fight with so much Courage and Resolution'.²⁶ In private Rupert was notoriously at odds with both the French, who he did not trust, and Spragge, whom he considered foisted upon him instead of his preferred captain, Robert Holmes. While he *had* written to Arlington commending them both, this was in an official context informed by the knowledge of his own misgivings, in which the ironic construction should be that they behaved themselves well enough, rather than going above and beyond. Shorn of that

²³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1673: Volume 15*, ed. by Blackburne Daniell (London: HMSO, 1902), p. 356.

²⁴ *His Highness Prince Rupert's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State, from on Board the Sovereign Now under Sail, June 5.* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1673).

²⁵ *Prince Rupert's Letter [...] the 29 of May* (1673), p. A3v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. A3v.

context, however, and placed in print next to a briefer summary of other notable officers, several of whom were Rupert's clients and whose heroism had been truncated as assumed to need no reiteration in his original letter, Spragge and the French emerged more prominently. Hence Rupert's annoyance that 'Some now are mentioned in the relation and not others, which without doubt have done as much and perhaps more than those I mention'.²⁷ The contexts of private discourse and public news were different ones, and Rupert was alarmed at the potential for his decontextualised words to create an image of him as ungracious to his dependents and enemies, and overly friendly with the French. The image Rupert sought to cultivate of himself in news as an honourable soldier was not congruent with that aimed at by the Secretariat, whose narrative drew credibility from aggressive and frank assessments which appeared to conform to his reputation as established in literature.

II. Perceptions of Prince Rupert's move into opposition

This was not the last time in 1673 that Rupert would prove to be alert to the political power of his voice to validate or criticise. In August a further battle off the Texel proved farcical. Spragge had decided that his heroic destiny was intertwined with that of the Dutch admiral Cornelius Tromp, and, ignoring Rupert's orders and 'having affected to fight well', focused all his efforts on his avowed rival, only to die when the boat he was using to swap ships was sunk by a stray cannonball.²⁸ More disastrously still, the French contingent had stood off from the whole combat, claiming that they were unsure how to interpret Rupert's orders and leaving him to fend for himself against most of the Dutch fleet. Rupert, his mariners and much of London were apoplectic. Arlington's office went into lockdown and tried to withhold reports of the battle from Robert Yard, the clerk working on the *London Gazette*, who 'not being able to gett sight of any letters that come on such publick occasions from the Fleet, so that att

²⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1673* (1902), p. 356.

²⁸ SP 105/221 fol. 218.

such times wee must either be silent, or hazard running into errors'.²⁹ In the absence of documentation, the *Gazette* was reduced to publishing translations of printed letters from the Dutch admirals, with an admonition not to believe everything.³⁰ Rupert, perhaps more cautious after the Schooneveld pamphlets, refused to write down a full account of the fight 'but shall leave it to the bearer, Capt. Howard, who is wholly informed': several days later Arlington noted that 'the relation of y^e whole fact by y^e Prince to y^e King w^{ch} Coll Howard brings, is not yett come to us'.³¹ His office was forced to use other accounts for the official pamphlet.

Yard, who was reprimanded for making a scribal copy before it went to print, sent Williamson two versions of the pamphlet a week after the battle, 'the one as intended to have been published, and the other as it is published; all the difference between them is concerneing the French, who, it is said, had not right done them in the first'.³² When Arlington sent Williamson the printed account on the same day he advised more than customary caution:

wee haue had many relations of w^t happend then, but not so perfect as wee could wish; such as they are you will see y^m in y^e enclos'd Prints; Those of y^e red and white I thinke are pretty true, that of y^e Blue I think is more imparfect.³³

Either Arlington or Yard was not being honest with Williamson. The pamphlet comprised three anonymous epistolary accounts, one from each division of the fleet. The French, which Yard thought had the 'difference' of being censored, were the White squadron: the one that Arlington claimed was 'pretty true'. Though we no longer have Yard's draft copies, it appears that some effort had been made to emphasise French involvement. Certainly, the printed account used a marked level of detail to

²⁹ He continued that 'they are so farr from communicating anything to us, which is necessary should be made publick, that when we ask them they make difficulty to tell us', *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 174.

³⁰ From De Ruyter and Tromp's letters 'you will see what we [the Dutch] have as yet published here concerning the Engagement on Monday last, but withal, you must take notice, that the *Henrietta* Yacht which the *English* lost, is here called a great Man of War; as for their putting the *English* to flight, when they appear in a day or two upon our coast again, we shall doubtless believe the contrary', *Gazette*, no. 809 (21 August 1673). These news reports were extracted from the printed separates *Oprechte Missive Van de Heer Lieutenant Admiraal de Ruyter* [Sincere missive from Admiral De Ruyter] (1673) and *Oprechte Breif Van de Heer Lieutenant Admiraal Tromp* [Sincere letter from Admiral Tromp] (1673) which the Secretariat had received, and which are held at The National Archives as SP 119/842.

³¹ SP 29/336/2 fol. 150; SP 29/336/2 fol. 151; SP 105/221 fol. 174. Howard was credited with beginning the rumours of betrayal by the French, *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 170-3.

³² *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 174.

³³ SP 105/221 fol. 182.

emphasise their physical proximity to, and envelopment by, the Dutch, ‘who passed to Windward of [them] within Pistol shot, and the rest to Leeward within the same distance’.³⁴

Arlington’s letters to Williamson at the peace negotiations at Cologne made clear the need to shut down this controversy:

It must be your part to extinguish & appease all resentm^{ts} of it; For no aduantage undoubtedly could in this conjuncture make more for y^e Enemy then soweing of discord and distrust betwixt y^e Two Kings.³⁵

As with the appointment of the Duke of Ormonde to the Committee of Foreign Affairs earlier in the year, news reports were threatening to cause a storm in both London and Cologne. However, Arlington’s initial belief that Dutch newswriters would use the fight to sow discord went unsubstantiated. In fact, any strategic opportunism appeared to be restricted to attempts to pry apart the already distrustful English and French negotiating teams at Cologne. Arlington later wrote that ‘wee may fairly suspect it will be but little abated when they shall haue read y^e Amsterdam Gazette, giuing an account of y^e late Fight’.³⁶ This correlates with other sources. Dutch reporting was far more tepid than Arlington, ever ready to decry their falsifications, expected. Though ‘a translate of what was printed in Amsterdam of the late fight is read in our coffee-houses’, it emphasised the participation of the French in order to show the Dutch triumphing over two mighty enemies: the translation ‘sayes that the French and Blankert fought bravely’.³⁷ The same applied to Dutch occasional poetry. Understandable antipathy to the invading French saw Dutch poets portraying the English navy as a junior partner to French villainy: ‘Soo wil ook d’onbesuisde Britt | De Franschen in haar moed-wil helpen, | Geen bloed en kan zijn bloed-dorst stelpen’ [So the impetuous Brits, in their rowdiness, want to assist the French, no blood can staunch their bloodthirstiness].³⁸ One should not, therefore, consider the betrayal narrative to have been started or encouraged by Dutch newswriting.

³⁴ *A Relation of the Engagement of His Majesty’s Fleet With the Enemies, On the 11th of August, 1673* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1673), p. 9.

³⁵ SP 105/221 fol. 182.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 196.

³⁷ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 13.

³⁸ *Vreughen-olie voor treurigheid. Dat is: blijdschap van Nederland, Over ‘t afgekeerd Geweld der Vyanden* [Joy-oil for sorrow: that is: gladness of the Netherlands, concerning the deflected violence of the enemy], in *Van Varen*, II, p. 452.

As dissatisfaction escalated, Rupert, usually careful to keep his anti-French sentiments tactfully private, vented his frustration and allowed the claim to circulate that he had ‘drawne up a narrative himselfe of the late fight’ in manuscript, and that he was soon to ‘cause [...] this narrative to be printed’ on his return from the fleet.³⁹ Given the manner in which the Secretariat had used his reputation as a frank speaker to construct authoritative narratives of the previous two battles, this was a particularly dangerous prospect. Furthermore, after his return, observers began to note that he was frequenting the house of the Earl of Shaftesbury. The Lord Chancellor had been recognisably opposed to Charles’s foreign policy since June, and was already suspected, probably erroneously, of intriguing with the Dutch.⁴⁰ He would be dismissed from government in early November, after a turbulent parliament had been prorogued and he had arranged a royal pardon for all crimes and ‘concealments’ committed before 5 November.⁴¹ In the months beforehand, he and Rupert had been publically courting each other: ‘they are lookt upon to be the great parliament men, and for the interest of Old England’.⁴² This was a decisive moment in Rupert’s long-term movement towards circles of domestic opposition, though one should be careful of following optimistic anti-regime writers into overstatement: Rupert stood at the intersection of regime and opposition interests and a purely oppositional Rupert would only ever be a textual fiction.⁴³

September rumours of Rupert’s tell-all narrative were bound up with the dispersal of a similar account ‘pretended to be writt by [the French officer Damien de] Martel’ in an attempt to exonerate his own honour at the expense of the French fleet.⁴⁴ This was sent to Williamson.⁴⁵ The rumours of the existence of both of these accounts in the month after the battle were as important as any physical copy, fuelling expectations Rupert would be scathing about the French – as he had been of the Dutch in the earlier print pamphlets – and creating a febrile sense of demand evident in the letters to Williamson: ‘I

³⁹ *Williamson Letters*, II, pp. 8-14.

⁴⁰ K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 330-3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 342.

⁴² *Williamson Letters*, II, pp. 21-2.

⁴³ Leslie Chree O’Malley, ‘The Whig Prince: Prince Rupert and the Court vs. Country Factions during the Reign of Charles II’, *Albion*, 8.4 (1974), 333–50 (pp. 340-1).

⁴⁴ Some gossip claimed it was ‘joyned to the Prince’s’ narrative, *Williamson Letters*, II, pp. 1, 13.

⁴⁵ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 11; for the manuscript, see SP 29/337 fol. 18.

endeavoured [...] to gett a copy of it to send this night to your Excy but could not'.⁴⁶ While several of Williamson's informers claimed to have seen Rupert's account, none appeared able to get hold of a copy to send.⁴⁷ This points to a carefully controlled circulation of a supposedly incendiary manuscript, not surprising given Rupert's care over the public performance of his voice. The fact that 'witts of the Towne' joked that de Martel was to be hanged by Louis XIV, only for him to be placed in the Bastille on his return to France, did little to stifle this demand, nor did William Coventry's mentioning of his narrative and imprisonment in parliament.⁴⁸

III. The creation of an oppositional Prince Rupert in underground newswriting

The oppositional news pamphlet *A Brief Relation of His Majesties, and the French King's Forces Under My Command, with the Dutch* (1673) played to this expectation. This conspicuously mimicked the presentation and rhetoric of the pamphlets published earlier in the year to present itself as Rupert's promised account of the Battle of the Texel. The title-page emulated the two official pamphlets, though less elegantly, while a rudimentary block of flowers above the text on the first page echoed the more sophisticated first-page decorations of Thomas Newcomb's print-house. These pseudo-official bibliographical features were offset by a colophon restricted to 'Printed in the Year, 1673' (with no pretence of mimicking the 'by Authority' of state pamphlets), which provided a clear indication that the text was a product of underground printing, and therefore worthy of attention. In appearance the pamphlet therefore straddled the worlds of legitimate and illicit news publication. This positioning was borne out in the text itself. While Rupert is not mentioned anywhere by name, the reader is left in no

⁴⁶ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Robert Yard was 'onely permitted to take a quick view of it'; Henry Ball 'had hopes of a copy of his Highnesses relation, but Mr. Watkins of the Signett dirst not lett me partake that favour', *Williamson Letters*, II, pp. 9, 13.

⁴⁸ *Williamson Letters*, II, pp. 9, 20; *Grey's Debates*, II, pp. 212-3.

doubt as to the identity of the narrator who, by virtue of his role, could only be taken for Rupert. One reader still wrote ‘Prince Rupert’ on the title page to make this clearer.⁴⁹

Before considering the *Brief Relation* in detail, we should ask the obvious question: was it actually by Rupert? He had, after all, made no secret of his desire to publish his version of events. He was also an attentive curator of his own public image. In the papers of the Earl of Shaftesbury, donated to the Public Record Office in the nineteenth century by his descendants, we find three manuscript accounts of the battle of the Texel. One of these is a poorly preserved narrative, supposedly from ‘an Eye Witness’, which describes Rupert’s heroic conduct during the battle and his betrayal by all but ‘some ffew of y^e ffrench’.⁵⁰ Most of this manuscript is illegible, but the two other accounts are in a better condition. Both are versions of *A Brief Relation*. Furthermore, they do not appear to be transcriptions made from the print edition. One of them, here called BR.A, avoids the factual errors the *Brief Relation* commits, deviates occasionally in phraseology and features corrections to the original manuscript text which bring it closer to the printed pamphlet. The text of the second manuscript, BR.B, is cleaner and almost entirely congruent with the corrected text of BR.A. What is the relationship between these two manuscripts and the print edition? Has a strange, oppositional echo of the *True Narrative* draft made its way into the government repositories?

An eighteenth-century annotator of BR.B thought they knew: ‘The Author of *Columna Rostrata* says this account which was sent to the sec^{tary} of State was stifled because it was thought to reflect on the French too much’.⁵¹ However, the annotator was not in a position to identify the provenance of these manuscripts, and they reported as fact what the author of *Columna Rostrata* (1727), Samuel Colliber, considered hearsay: ‘This retreat of the *French* is supposed to have been the reason of supressing prince *Rupert*’s letter after the fight; for that letter, we may believe, contained some complaints not much to the honour of the king’s allies’.⁵² The annotator considered that BR.B was an exact scribal copy of this letter, written by Rupert. Examining BR.A contradicts that belief, as it features numerous textual

⁴⁹ Edition held at New York, Union Theological Seminary Library (shelf mark: 1673 R94).

⁵⁰ PRO 30/24/5/261 fols. 1^v, 2^r.

⁵¹ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 4^v.

⁵² Samuel Colliber, *Columna Rostrata: or, a critical history of the English Sea-Affairs* (London: R. Robinson, 1727), p. 234.

corrections silently carried over to BR.B. For example, the weather soured as the two fleets approached each other:

BR.A before nine there fell a ffogg wth a small Raine w^{ch} continued till ~~about~~ [^]toward 12 of y^e Clock then it Cleard up & y^e winde came to y^e South w^{ch} put y^e ffrench (being a head) to Windward of y^e Dutch; & [^]when all y^e ffrench Squadron hauing y^e wind instead of tacking & Edgadging the enemy ^{^(as I expected from them)} stood a way.⁵³

BR.B before Nine there fell a Fogg with a Small Rain, which continued till toward 12 of the Clock, then it cleared up & the Wind came from the South, which put the French being a head to Windward of the Dutch; When all the French Squadron having the Wind instead of Tacking and Engadging the Enemy as I expected from them, Stood a way.⁵⁴

The corrections crammed above the line in BR.A are all included in BR.B, which is probably a clean scribal copy. These corrections also appear silently in the print version, which also retains the parenthesis which BR.B omits.⁵⁵

As BR.A's account is revised closer to the pamphlet, this is probably an antecedent. It could still exist at some remove from the *Brief Relation*: perhaps BR.A was drafted for scribal circulation, copied into versions like BR.B, and such a copy was then the basis for the pamphlet. If the production of this manuscript account was done with printing in mind, it may still be the case that we lack a final copy. As shall be seen, the conclusions of print and manuscript differ significantly. However, there is further evidence that BR.A – or a close variant – is the copy used to compose the text. Let down by his own side during the battle, Rupert is surrounded by the Dutch:

BR.A ~~before~~ [^]about 12 a Clock I had upon mee D Ruyter & his Squadron on my Lee Quarter ~~And~~ an Admir^{ll} wth 2 fflaggs more upon my Weatherquart: & y^e Zealand Squadron upon my Broadside to Windward.⁵⁶

⁵³ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 1^r.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fol. 3^r.

⁵⁵ *A Brief Relation of His Majesties, and the French Kings Forces under my Command with the Dutch* (London?: 1673), p. A2v.

⁵⁶ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 1^v.

Print about Twelve a Clock I had upon me *De Ruyter*, and his Squadron on my Lee-quarter, and the
Zealand Squadron upon my Broad-side, to the VVindward.⁵⁷

The section missed from the print edition, ‘an Admir^{ll} wth 2 fflaggs more upon my Weatherquart:’ is one discrete line in BR.A (it is not in BR.B). It appears that the compositor made the easy mistake of skipping a self-contained line in the list of enemies surrounding Rupert, an error facilitated by the connective ‘&’ which also began the subsequent line and masked the gap.

Numerous other errors intrude between manuscript and print. Even without the manuscripts to hand, internal evidence reveals that its composition was slapdash: see, for instance, the omission of the word ‘Engagement’ or ‘Battle’ from its full title *A Brief Relation of His Majesties, and the French Kings Forces under my Command with the Dutch*.⁵⁸ Such accidentals continue throughout, viz. ‘we say the *Dutch Fleet*’ instead of the correct ‘we saw the *Dutch Fleet*’.⁵⁹ There are extensive examples of slight changes in phraseology and sentence contraction. Comparison with BR.A and BR.B also reveals more serious errors. When putting together the list of ships which were credited with helping the surrounded Rupert, for instance, the compositor had birds on the brain: they changed Holmes’s ship ‘the Rupert’ to ‘the Raven’, and Captain Carter’s ship ‘The Crowne’ into ‘the Crow’.⁶⁰ This was a short text – the pamphlet is only four pages long – but its printing was clearly rushed. Covert printing often occurred at night and in adverse circumstances, which may account for some of these mistakes.

What conclusions can be drawn? It appears that we have a scribal version of Rupert’s account in hand, and that it was being edited for scribal and possibly print publication by Shaftesbury or someone in his close circle. However, evidence again forces caution. In one of the most telling corrections, as the writer of BR.A got deeper into what was supposedly Prince Rupert’s first person account of the battle, they kept accidentally writing ‘His Highness’ instead of ‘I’. This happens several times:

⁵⁷ *Brief Relation* (1673), p. A2v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. A1r.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. A2r; PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 1^r.

⁶⁰ *Brief Relation* (1673), p. A3v; PRO 30/24/5/260 fols. 2^{r-v}.

likewise some of y^e red, to w^{ch} ~~his Highnes~~ I fiered a Gun.⁶¹

upon that ~~His Highness~~ sent [[^]] I sent.⁶²

to Attack y^e enemy againe ~~His~~ I putting out the usuall signall.⁶³

A professional scribe would not make this mistake easily, whether copying another document by Rupert or transcribing speech. It appears that the author lost focus on the initial decision to write from Rupert's point of view as they progressed, and had to repeatedly catch and correct themselves. Whether this account originated in a text written by Rupert or not, it is clear that in its transmission its scribe had to repeatedly efface the distance which was opening up between the Prince and its current form.

Most likely, BR.A is a mid-stage draft of the *Brief Relation*, and one which bears a close relationship to the copy text used in composition, or was the copy text. This draft was produced at an uncertain distance from Prince Rupert, but was edited to make it appear more intimate. It appears that Shaftesbury and his circle either wasted little time in getting involved in oppositional news publication after his November dismissal, or were already moving towards it while he was in government as Lord Chancellor.⁶⁴ Furthermore, if one considers there to be evidence enough for his involvement in the print publication of the *Brief Relation*, then one must antedate the point at which Shaftesbury has been thought to engage in the manipulation of public opinion in print. Rooting this in 1673, rather than the *Letter from a Person of Quality* (1675), testifies to the seriousness of that year's crises.⁶⁵ Rupert's own feelings on the matter are unknown, but it is clear that Shaftesbury was willing to use Rupert, and the reputation constructed for him in public, as a frontman for a campaign (in manuscript if not in print) against the French alliance. This meant co-opting Rupert's voice – something the Prince was rarely happy with – and drawing on his character as established in regime newswriting. Ultimately, in the

⁶¹ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 1^v.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 2^r.

⁶⁴ The publication date of the *Brief Relation* (1673) is uncertain, so its chronological position relative to Shaftesbury's career over late 1673 is unknown.

⁶⁵ See Shaftesbury and his secretary John Locke's *Letter from a Person of Quality, to his Friend in the Country* (1675), discussed in Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), pp. 126-31. For Locke's composition of this pamphlet, the conclusion that the 'survival of [source] documents establishes beyond doubt that the *Letter from a Person of Quality* was put together from material supplied by Shaftesbury', and their careful use of underground printers, see *An Essay Concerning Toleration: And Other Writings on Law and Politics, 1667-1683*, ed. by J.R. Milton and Philip Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 89-97.

continuing uncertainty regarding its provenance one faces a problem in analysing the rhetoric deployed in the pamphlet: do we have Prince Rupert's own words, however mangled, or those of a scribe pretending to be Rupert? Given the extensive editorial process of addition and redaction, and the faltering attempt to efface the actual scribal distance from the Prince, I believe that there is justification for considering this account not as an example of Rupert's self-fashioning, but as another iteration of the distinct personae constructed for him by newswriters.

The Brief Relation perpetuated the conformity between Rupert's heroic character and his voice established in regime newswriting (the passionate plain-speaker), deploying an artificial persona which amplified the underlying credibility of Rupert as a high-rank truth-teller. This was a Prince familiar from the year's panegyrics. His characterisation as the ever-youthful, energetic and fiery cavalry commander continued unabated, despite the fact he was now fifty-six:

The *Gallant Prince* that in all danger came,
 Wonders performed too great for th' mouth of *Fame*;
 Though they're intrench'd with *Sand*, he thinks it meet,
 To *fight*, not dully to *besiege* a Fleet.⁶⁶

Rupert would never become the 'patient angler' that Monck had been. He is typified by a powerful forward momentum, forcing his way onwards according to a vigorous and impulsive energy which turns the language of anger and aggression into a virtue:

Whilst *de Ruyter* presses in his wake,
 'Gainst so much odds such fierce returns does make,
 As all th' Assailors fury do's Out-doe;
 For who dare Charge the *Prince* and *Sovereigne* too [...]

⁶⁶ *A New Advice to a Painter* (London: 1673).

And with his louder Roarings rends the Skyes.⁶⁷

What could be immoderate in another hero is noble in Rupert. Following the events of 1673 this public interpretation was translated from the military sphere to the urban environment, much as the Duke of York's martial reputation was being reinterpreted, via *Catiline*, to imagine him as a danger within a domestic context. With York's heroism compromised, Rupert became the latest in the long line of hoped-for Protestant warrior princes which populated the seventeenth century, a confessional hero representing a residual tradition within a wider public discourse which increasingly focused on 'interest' over religion.⁶⁸ In the absence of a rival to that title, his reputation ballooned even as his actions proved inconclusive: 'The Prince is now the only heroe in their thoughts', as one of Williamson's correspondents wrote, echoing panegyrists who proclaimed him 'in whom *Nature* all *past Hero's* does summe'.⁶⁹ In this context, the precedent of the regime pamphlets and the promise of his own account cultivated an expectation that Rupert's impulsive frankness would cut through the misdirection of official news and rumour, performing his military energy textually to provide the plain facts.

Both the manuscript and print versions of the *Brief Relation* were written to accord with these expectations, though they diverged in their final emphasis. First, an example of correlation. The language used in the report embodies the force expected of the frank and energetic commander:

The Fight was very Sharp, and Close, I forced the Enemy into a great Disorder, and then sent two Fire-Ships amongst them, which encreast it: And if the *French* then Lying within Distance, had obeyed my

⁶⁷ *Further Advice to a Painter* (London: 1673), p. 3.

⁶⁸ Steven Pincus, 'From Holy Cause to Economic Interest: The Study of Population and the Invention of the State', in *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration*, ed. by Alan Houston and Steven Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 272–98. English readers interpreted various high profile individuals through the aspirational figure of the protestant warrior prince during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not least Phillip Sidney, Prince Henry, Rupert's father Frederick of Bohemia, the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus and, later, William of Orange. David Norbrook has examined this phenomenon in detail, and in relation to the militant protestant interventionist faction which lobbied English foreign policy, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For an example of the construction of this character earlier in the century, see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

⁶⁹ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 63; *A Panegyric to His Highness Prince Rupert* (London: 1673).

Signal, and Born down upon the Enemy according to their duty, I must have Routed them, and Torn them all to Pieces. It was the plainest, and greatest Opportunity was ever lost at Sea.⁷⁰

The language here goes beyond contemporary newswriting in its extreme aggression. It begins with the laconic frankness one would expect of the man-of-action Rupert: ‘the Fight was very Sharp, and Close, I forced the Enemy into a great Disorder’.⁷¹ The report lacks the precise detail one might expect in other reports from other voices, such as in Arlington’s *True Narrative*. The rhetorical conventions of Restoration newswriting do appear, but warped into configurations of intensified violence. The phrase ‘shattered and torn’, for example, was a staple of newswriting and occurs again and again in descriptions of the damage done to ships. It was stale enough by the early 1670s to be mockingly reproduced by Marvell in his city satire *The Statue in Stocks-Market* (1672–4), in order to describe ‘how his [Charles II’s] navy was shattered and torn | The day that he was both restorèd and born’ (47-8). ‘Torn them all to Pieces’, on the other hand, was far more ferocious. It is a tonal embodiment of the fierce Prince, whose ‘louder Roarings rends the Skyes’. Of all the English commanders, only Rupert could imagine frenziedly savaging the enemy and remain quite so gentlemanly and credible. This linguistic embodiment of his particular heroism was then complemented by a display of his frankness: ‘It was the plainest, and greatest Opportunity was ever lost at Sea’. The very statement proclaims its own plainness, while providing confirmation in an authoritative print voice of what was already being gossiped extensively. In the pamphlet’s final remarks Rupert complained of French claims that they could not follow his instructions that ‘the Case was so plain to every mans Eye in the whole Fleet’.⁷² Again, ‘plain’ speaking is emphasised both in the statement and the occasion it describes, and on this occasion credibility is further amplified by the intersecting optical witnessing of Rupert and ‘every mans Eye’.

That conclusion is where the manuscript and print versions diverge both in terms of the text, and the nature of their authorial princes. Ending the account caused the writer of BR.A some trouble: there is a greater density of corrections here than almost anywhere else. Finding a convincing rhetorical

⁷⁰ *A Brief Relation* (1673), p. A3v.

⁷¹ This contracted the manuscript version, making it even more laconic. BR.A reads ‘the fight was very sharp & close I forc’d y^e enemy into a very great disorder’: the second ‘very’ somewhat attenuates the phrase, PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 2^v.

⁷² *A Brief Relation* (1673), p. A3v.

flourish to finish on was not just a problem encountered in loyalist newswriting. When the French send a messenger to Prince Rupert in the scribal draft asking:

y^e meaning of y^e blew fflaggs being on y^e mitzen Peek w^{ch} I wondered at; since there was noe instruction, plainer easier to be understood [^]~~what should be done~~ or more necessary, amongst y^e Gener^{ll} instructions for fighting w^{ch} he had layd before him, and besides, it wanted neither Signall nor instruction to tell him w^t he should [^]~~then haue {xxxx} then haue done the dxxxxy~~ case was soe plaine to euery mans eye in y^e whole ffleet.⁷³

Newswriter-Rupert's analysis is poised finely between an explicit explanation of French incompetence and a powerful but subtle insinuation of malice. This informs the scribal corrections. They negotiate tricky implications around the performance of duty as the scribe struggles to place the proper emphasise on '~~what should be done~~', 'w^t he should [^]~~then haue {xxxx} then haue done~~'. The draft seeks to evoke the weight of honour and basic competence which 'should' compel the French ships forward to aid the English. The question is why they did not. Trust in Rupert's gallant heroism was therefore a bridge, allowing this scribe to shift manuscript newsreaders naturally sympathetic to the regime into a position of scepticism and critique.

While this might have been appropriate for the restricted circles of manuscript transmission, the printed *Brief Relation* avoided any such nuance. Instead, it drew on Rupert's plain-speaking reputation to make a furiously forthright statement:

Neither *English*, nor *French*, lost one Ship of War, nor do I think the *Dutch* had much cause to Rejoyce. And considering the Horrible and Apparent Treachery, or Cowardise of the *French*, I reckon it the greatest Providence, that ever befell me in my Life, that I brought off his Majesties Fleet so.⁷⁴

By interpolating a condemnation of the 'Horrible and Apparent Treachery, or Cowardise of the *French*' into the original manuscript text (which had only read 'considering all things'), and eliminating the manuscript's criticism of 'many of o^r own Captns', the pamphlet obliterates all ambiguity and pins the

⁷³ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 2^v.

⁷⁴ *A Brief Relation* (1673), p. A4r.

disaster wholly on French conduct.⁷⁵ Doing so reimagines Rupert's voice through a hard turn towards the aggressive character familiar from panegyric, and away from suggestions of careful and analytic mental processes. This Rupert multiplies the fire of the original draft and, as in the state news reports the Prince had objected to earlier in the year, possesses a straight-talking persona with little thought for gentlemanly conduct or reserve. In order to popularise an oppositional, anti-French message, the printed pamphlet actually veered closer towards the Rupert constructed in regime print, and further away from the cautious oppositional prince of manuscript.

Close attention to this underground pamphlet therefore demonstrates the careful appropriation of the public image and rhetoric associated with Rupert in loyalist writing, and its transferral into an oppositional context where Rupert's heroism is embodied in his written speech. A successful evocation of the Prince's character could enhance the credibility of an underground publication, correlating with expectations fostered in literature and providing a unique claim to truth. This was accentuated by the previous two state pamphlets, ostensibly written in Rupert's voice, which left open an opportunity for underground news when that format had to be retired.

IV. Contextualising the oppositional Prince in *An Exact Relation* (1673)

The Brief Relation was not the only oppositional news pamphlet of the year. The tactical deployment of Rupert's heroism was also taken up by a longer publication, *An Exact Relation of the Several Engagements and Actions of His Majesties Fleet* (1673), which survives in numerous print and manuscript copies.⁷⁶ The composition of the *Exact Relation* appears to have been less rushed than that of the *Brief Relation*: it more precisely emulated the title-page appearance of state news publications and the first page is headed by a more elaborate block of flowers. It is also the product of a more lengthy textual composition, offering a summary of the year's naval events in one narrative. These are woven

⁷⁵ PRO 30/24/5/260, fol. 2^v.

⁷⁶ ESTC lists 38 print copies, while a manuscript copy can be found at the National Maritime Museum (shelf mark: LES/6/5).

together and contextualised through an extensive narrative of corruption, betrayal and ‘Intrigues of Opposition’ in the domestic administration which prefigures texts like Marvell’s *Account of Growth of Popery* (1677).⁷⁷ *An Exact Relation* began by locating itself within the ongoing controversy over the year’s events, experienced in print and speech:

Since my coming from Sea, I have Read the several Prints which have been published, and have also in daily conversation about Town observed the various Reports, and opinions of Men, every one discoursing as he stands affected.⁷⁸

The author evokes an experience no doubt shared with their readers: the increasing plurality of published news and discussion over 1673. This is localised explicitly in the ‘Town’, notorious for its coffee-house culture and increasing manuscript satire circulation.⁷⁹ Dutch newswriting and pamphlets were among these ‘several Prints’, rubbing shoulders with the *Brief Relation* and state news publications. One informer wrote to Williamson ‘that in London at seurall Coffee houses are to be Read A Narratiue of y^e Last Ingagement pretended to bee Prince Rupert; and y^e News Letters of whithall, and y^e Dutch Gazets; and all manner of Dutch pamphlets’.⁸⁰ This diversifying reading culture, supplemented by the massive increase in print output in the Netherlands since 1672, was accentuated by rumour and gossip.⁸¹ ‘I come now from the withdrawing roome’ one correspondent wrote Williamson, ‘where the dinn is soe great against the French Squadron for not bearing in’.⁸²

The writer of the *Exact Relation* promised to cut through this abundance of information. They adopted a posture of impartiality and claimed that fundamental credibility of witnessing events first-hand, ‘having had the opportunity to be an Eye Witness of every Motion and Action from first to last’.

⁷⁷ *An Exact Relation of the Several Engagements and Actions of His Majesties Fleet* (London: 1673), p. C4r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. A2r.

⁷⁹ Matthew Augustine, ‘Trading Places: Lord Rochester, the Laureate, and the Making of Literary Reputation’, in *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, ed. by Matthew Augustine and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 58–78 (p. 64–5); Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), pp. 88–95.

⁸⁰ SP 84/195 fol. 204; see also Henry Ball’s complaint that ‘the Harelem and Amsterdam gazetts are so publique here’ in London, *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 46.

⁸¹ Guido de Bruin, ‘Political Pamphleteering and Public Opinion in the Age of De Witt (1653–1672)’, in *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*, ed. by Femke Deen, David Onnekinck and Michel Reinders (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 63–96 (p. 67).

⁸² *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 168.

This ‘faithfull Relator’ would acquaint the King and parliament ‘where the fault lies’.⁸³ A surprising number of historians have taken them at their word, and have even attempted to identify which captain was the author.⁸⁴ In reality, the pamphlet is a potent emanation of the print culture it supposedly corrects. This newswriter was certainly truthful when they claimed to have ‘Read the several Prints which have been published’, for their accounts of each battle are not original eye witness testimonies but closely rewritten versions of the two Rupert narratives published by the state, the oppositional ‘Rupert’ pamphlet, and the manuscript narrative of the French officer Damien de Martel. While these source texts are sometimes edited substantially, most of the time the alterations amount to changing Rupert’s first person address into a third person narrative, with a few first person plurals thrown in to perpetuate the conceit that the author was present. Indeed, the originals are followed so closely that material which only made sense in a report immediate following a battle is still included. For example, the claim that ‘what Loss they sustained, we, by reason of their going off in such a Confusion, cannot tell’ crept in, though by the time of writing that information would have been available.⁸⁵ These rewritten narratives are interspaced with allegations of conspiracy and accounts of administrative malpractice.

Given that the *Exact Relation* offered a resolutely oppositional narrative of the year’s events, one may be surprised at the degree to which government newswriting was incorporated unchanged. The first two battles at Schooneveld are not presented as secret histories which reveal a continuous pattern of French treachery, but are direct reproduction of Arlington’s *Rupert* pamphlets, faithful down to the phraseology, casualty lists and even the inclusion of Rupert’s supposed praise of French conduct (which he himself had objected to in the original). Therefore, the French ‘who behaved themselves very bravely’ became the French who ‘did indeed behave themselves very gallantly’.⁸⁶ Before the account of the second Battle of Schooneveld, a short preface is inserted to highlight the emergence of apparent delaying tactics by Spragge and the French, ‘which point of behaviour we knew not what to think of, it being the season of Action’, but this had no effect on the battle narrative, which remained faithful to

⁸³ *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. A2r.

⁸⁴ Frank Kitson thought it was one John Brookes, *Prince Rupert: Admiral and General-at-Sea* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 290. The *Exact Relation* is included among first-hand accounts of the year’s battles in *Journals and Narratives of the Third Dutch War*, ed. by R.C. Anderson (London: Naval Records Society, 1946).

⁸⁵ *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. B3r.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. B1v.

the regime account and made no mention of further French misbehaviour.⁸⁷ Oppositional news was being interwoven with the regime narrative.

Why should this newswriter follow state reportage so closely? One answer may lie in problems with reporting these battles themselves: they were stalemates with few heroic feats of note, and the Secretariat's accounts, particularly given their epistolary form, were curt (only two or three pages long) and lacking in extended information, struggling to make the best of disappointing circumstances where only the promised land invasion would prove to the public they had been successful.⁸⁸ Arlington confessed to Williamson that he lived in hope that the French 'Land Battles doe not proue such drawn ones as our Sea-fights usually are'.⁸⁹ If these battles were awkward for the regime, they well suited the design of the *Exact Relation*, where the aim was to prove that the English fleet under Rupert was highly capable, but that they were being hamstrung by their allies and a hostile administration. The subtext of disappointment inherent in the original pamphlets was, through editorial commentary and analysis, brought into the open:

So in this *Second Engagement*, wherein the Enemy came on with the advantage of the Wind, Fresh Men, and Provisions, &c. against us, we lost never a Ship, and but few Men. For which His Majesty and the Nation owes much, next under God, to his Highness, who at a time when non-supplies, and want of Men, and of all necessities, would have startled any man, gave such signal Evidence of his Courage, Diligence and Prudence in the Conduct of the Fleet, as is Admirable to consider in so great Discouragement and Disorder as we were under.⁹⁰

A second factor in the direct reproduction of state newswriting was the need to provide a convincing narrative which correlated with existing expectations: what better way to do so than to fit the developing conspiratorial interpretation around the narrative consensus which had already developed around these battles? The reader was not asked to question events as they had been reported by the state, only to reinterpret their significance in the light of new contextual evidence.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. B2v.

⁸⁸ *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 39, 62.

⁸⁹ SP 105/221 fol. 268.

⁹⁰ *An Exact Relation* (1673), pp. B3r-v.

In the case of the final Battle of the Texel the textual accumulation grows more complex. While a few facts from the official pamphlet appear to be used to build up incidental detail, the primary sources are the underground *Brief Relation*, which is silently followed as closely as the state ones had been, and De Martel's manuscript narrative. The latter is quoted directly in italics.⁹¹ The *Brief Relation* had made no mention of De Martel, perhaps because any representation of French heroism would be antithetical to its purpose, or because his manuscript was unavailable to the writer. In integrating De Martel with pseudo-Rupert, the reworking of sources is more elaborate than from the regime pamphlets. Furthermore, the process was not uncritical: the *Exact Relation* quietly corrected glaring errors from the *Brief Relation*, such as the bird-themed renaming of the ships the 'Crowne' and the 'Rupert'.⁹²

The *Exact Relation* is a good representation of the development of an oppositional news narrative in 1673. It is not a wholesale contradiction of state news, but emerges from it, metabolising earlier narratives and rhetorics established in loyalist writing which are then redirected or re-contextualised for an oppositional purpose, particularly after the Battle of the Texel. An oppositional interpretation could be constructed around earlier battles without the need to contradict the public consensus on what had happened: this framework instead reinforced the understanding that they were unremarkable victories by providing a rationale for why they had not been more successful. Such an argument played to the patriotism and expectation of decisive success established in state news and literature, and which was fundamentally associated with Prince Rupert. It also explained why this success had yet to appear. The *Exact Relation* featured much panegyric on Rupert, but it was also alert to the conventions which underlay it, and could modify them for rhetorical effect. One may recall the important formula Arlington had inserted into the *True Narrative* of Rupert's 'great Actions, which belong to the story of his Life, whereby he gave spirit to his Friends, and terror the Enemy'.⁹³ In the account of the Battle of the Texel in the *Exact Relation* this was inverted, so that the French behaviour 'gave great Encouragement to the Enemy, so it would have appall'd any Man less Couragious then the

⁹¹ For De Martel's narrative, see SP 29/337 fol. 18.

⁹² *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. C3r. The *Exact Relation* also includes the line which had been missed by the compositor during the printing of the underground *Brief Relation* pamphlet, 'an Admiral with two Flags more on his Weather-quarter' (see above), indicating that its writer used a manuscript copy of the report as a source, *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. C1v.

⁹³ *A True Narrative* (London: 1666), p. 7. See fn. 22 in this chapter.

Prince to see himself thus deserted'.⁹⁴ The French behaviour inverted the expected emotional terrain of the battlefield, where Rupert normally had the agency to dispense fear or favour to friend and foe. Instead, Rupert is threatened with becoming the object of this conceit. It is only by the unique force of his heroic resolve – 'it would have appall'd any Man less Courageous' – that he is able to reassert emotional control of the battlefield: 'Nevertheless, his Highness prosecuted the Fight on with an undaunted mind, and so Answered them at all points'.⁹⁵ A familiar strategy of loyalist representation was appropriated and modified for oppositional purposes.

There are similar echoes in the *Exact Relation* of the verse satires which circulated in the Town earlier in 1673. These included the satirical commonplace of the Duke of York's dullness, a central conceit of the widely distributed poem *His Highnesse's Conversion by Father Patrick* (1673), which in mid-April had been 'stolne from one to another a bout towne'.⁹⁶ Unlike the vaunting Catiline of *An Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by*, the Duke of *His Highnesse's Conversion* is easily led and struggles to discern obviously ulterior motives. This puts him at a critical disadvantage in 'strong and weighty debate' (2) with Queen Katherine's priest, Father Patrick Maginn:

For the Father was mighty in word and in reason
 He urg'd not a syllable, but came so in season
 That ev'ry argument was stronger and stronger
 So the Duke cri'd at last, "I can hold out no longer!" (14-7)

The convention of York's dimness reappeared in similar circumstances in the *Exact Relation*. In discussions also located at the heart of government, the anonymous domestic conspirators sought to prevent Rupert from raising a regiment of marines. To do so, they manipulated York's particular credulousness and 'offered so specious Reasons for it to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, that he

⁹⁴ *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. C1v.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. C2r.

⁹⁶ Quoted in Lucyle Hook, 'Something more about Rochester', *MLN*, 75.6 (1960), 478–85 (p. 482). Father Patrick was a recurrent figure in satire, appearing alongside Lady Harvey in one libertine *Song*, 'Oh! what damd age do we live in | since there is no christian soul | but old father Patric & Chiffin | dare put their pr- in the right hole [...] Since Harveys long C-ed muscle | Serves Steward instead of a Ta-', British Library, Harley MS 6941, fols. 3^{r-v}.

was thereby induced to divert His Majesties purpose in that matter'.⁹⁷ Satirical writing had established the belief that York was uniquely vulnerable to 'specious reasons'. Arguments which would appear obviously flawed to others – Maginn's explicitly 'weak' (5) argument that he convert to Catholicism, and the clearly malicious suggestion to withhold troops in the *Exact Relation* – would hold sway with him. A characterisation established in gossip and satire added credibility to this news document. Although oppositional newswriting was careful to present itself as the offshoot of regime newswriting, it also drew on a wider intertextual culture associated with manuscript satire.

V. The proliferation of oppositional news publication during 1673

The circulation of these accounts concerned Arlington, though he initially brushed off the controversy by observing that 'this falls out y^e lesse unhappily to us, in y^t wee are aduanced in y^e Campagne; The time being uery near of sending the French Squadron home'.⁹⁸ The appearance of the *Brief Relation* and *Exact Relation* indicated this problem would not go away so easily, and in a 1674 petition to Arlington the underground printer Francis Smith cited in his support the fact that he had 'made discouery of y^e great Venders of a booke called y^e apealle & naratiue of y^e sea fights', likely the influential polemic *England's Appeal* (1673) and the *Exact Relation*.⁹⁹ However, these were not the only news publications causing the Secretariat trouble. In October 1673 a warrant went out for Henry

⁹⁷ *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. A4v. Henry Ball wrote to Williamson after news of Clifford's conversion that 'Father Patrick, who, though seemingly acts a hard head, has more witts than he suffers to appeare at once', *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 6.

⁹⁸ SP 105/221 fol. 218.

⁹⁹ SP 29/360 fol. 278. Haley argued for the primacy of *England's Appeal* in a Dutch propaganda coup which forced England out of the war in *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-4* (1953). This was moderated by Steven Pincus, who argued that it was influential only in the degree to which it 'dovetailed nicely with earlier English polemic', 'English Popular Sentiment during the Third Dutch War' (1995), p. 243. More recently, Mark Goldie and Charles-Edouard Levillain have vouched for the importance of *England's Appeal* while also identifying the debts it owes to the writing of de Lisola in the previous decade, 'Fancois-Paul de Lisola and English opposition to Louis XIV', *The Historical Journal* (2019), 1–22 (p. 20). Marvell's indebtedness to *England's Appeal* is noted by Nicholas von Maltzahn in his 'Introduction' to Marvell's *Account of the Growth of Popery* (1677) in *PW*, II, p. 182. Though not the concern here, there are close textual similarities between the narrative of the events of 1673 in the *Exact Relation* and Marvell's in the *Account* which demand closer investigation – how far was Marvell's writing in 1677 framed by these earlier news documents?

Stubbe, previously one of the war's great proponents in print, 'for seditious discourses & printing & dispersing unlicensed Papers'.¹⁰⁰ This related to *The Paris Gazette* (1673), an ingenious oppositional publication which used an elaborate reproduction of the *mise-en-page* of the real *Paris* and *London Gazettes* to draw in a curious reader, and which was ideal for 'dispersing' in coffee-houses and among newsreaders accustomed to a wealth of European news materials. Around the time of Stubbe's arrest John Monson, MP for Lincoln, referenced reading the real *Paris Gazette* in a Commons speech.¹⁰¹ However, instead of containing news, the broadsheet listed a series of historical precedents arguing against the marriage of the Duke of York to Mary of Modena, and presented within various contexts of French expansionism.¹⁰² These were listed as if they were despatches in a regular newspaper: 'Oxford 1600', 'Amsterdam 1666', and so on.¹⁰³ In the hoax-newspaper Stubbe was able to synthesise his academic approach to polemic with a form which capitalised on the extensive public demand for news documents.¹⁰⁴ By masquerading as a newspaper from England's ostensible allies, the *Paris Gazette* inhabited the bibliographic conventions of the loyalist consensus and its expectations without appearing directly oppositional at first sight, even as the text itself delivered a subversive narrative.

Other forms of loyalist news were being emulated elsewhere. The year's 5 November celebrations were particularly extreme given the anti-Catholic zeal of 1673, the prorogation of parliament the previous day and the recent arrival of Mary of Modena. They proved a far more enthusiastic event than the year's military triumphs: 'that night there was more bonfires from Charingcrosse to Whitechapple then had beene in 30 yeares before'.¹⁰⁵ Chapter Two described how reportage sought to use news of celebrations to consolidate the narrative they endorsed. Similarly, these

¹⁰⁰ SP 44/40 fol. 127.

¹⁰¹ *Grey's Debates*, II, p. 198.

¹⁰² The extensive use of historical precedent is a key feature of Stubbe's argumentative method in both his academic and polemical writing, James Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 109.

¹⁰³ Henry Stubbe, *The Paris Gazette* (London: 1673).

¹⁰⁴ On his release Stubbe published a pointed historical translation which used 'those terms of State-holder, and States-General' to heighten an already obvious congruence with current affairs, *The History of the United Provinces of Achaia* (London: 1673), p. A2r. Like *The Paris Gazette* this *History* subverts expectations, as it initially appears to be a topical political history from one of the war's principal cheerleaders. This indeterminacy, combined with Stubbe's previous output, causes some mistakenly to read the text as an example of loyalist apologia, Nabil Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the Beginnings of Islam: The Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 67.

bonfires had their own news pamphlet, *The Burning of the Whore of Babylon* (1673). This vividly reported that:

you might have seen the broad Streets of *London* so thick with Bonfires, as if they had been but one Hearth, and the Fire-Works flying in such numbers, that the Serpents flew like Bees through the Ayre, and could scarce have room for one another to pass: The Bells were very early up that Morning, and rung so loud, as if they had prefaced a Jubilee.¹⁰⁶

All the conventions of the triumph, ‘Bonfires’, ‘Fire-Works’, ‘good Liquor’ and ‘Bells’, were appropriated to an expression of anti-Catholic feeling at a time when the state was closely wedded to Catholic power, and in a year where the public had had little to celebrate in the same style from sea.¹⁰⁷ Much was made of the ‘new Addition’ of burning effigies of the Pope, ‘a barbarisme of which I thought noe nation but the Hollander could have been guilty of’, as Gilbert Talbot wrote to Williamson.¹⁰⁸ In the ‘Hollander’ effigy-burning these fires emphasised Anglo-Dutch protestant cultural accord and therefore inverted normal practice during a naval war against the Dutch. They also glanced at the former naval hero, the Duke of York, as the immolated Pope was commonly believed to have been related to Mary of Modena, ‘for the common people here and even those of quallyty in the country believe shee is the Pope’s eldest daughter’.¹⁰⁹

These bonfires were therefore an anti-triumph, a protest against the defeat suffered in the union of York and his fifteen-year-old wife. Preserved and disseminated in print, the convention of reporting triumphs was turned against the regime. Along with Stubbe’s *Paris Gazette* and the Rupert pamphlets, this publication demonstrates how a significant volume of writing was appropriating pro-regime conventions to express a new, increasingly coherent oppositional consensus. Kevin Sharpe has pointed out that one of the virtues of loyalist printing was its sheer volume, ‘drowning the voices of discontent

¹⁰⁶ *The Burning of the Whore of Babylon* (London: 1673), p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3; *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 71; *Calendar of State Papers Relating to [...] Venice*, Vol. 38 (1947), pp. 173–4.

¹⁰⁹ *Williamson Letters* (1874), II, p. 63; *A Relation of the Most Material Matters Handled in Parliament* (London?: 1673), p. D2v.; in reality the Pope was opposed to the marriage, and recalled a dispensation allowing Modena to marry someone not officially Catholic, Andrew Barclay, ‘Mary of Modena’, in *ODNB* (2008).

or dissent'.¹¹⁰ By the close of 1673 only a few limp panegyrics had addressed the failed Texel battle.¹¹¹ Instead, the year's end witnessed an explosion in underground news publication, unseen in the previous decade, and which turned Sharpe's convention upside-down: the discontented voices now drowned out the loyalists.

VI. The influence of satire on underground parliamentary reporting

One major textual form of oppositional news remains. Francis Smith's petition to Arlington appears to have followed from his arrest in late 1673 alongside the vendor of parliamentary manuscript newsletters, John Starkey.¹¹² Both were arrested for 'having printed and sold certain notes of the last sessions of Parliament without licence or authority', an allegation Smith denied, and in the course of which he may have provided the information on the 'naratiue of y^e sea fights'.¹¹³ Printing proceedings of parliament and addresses of the Commons was forbidden, although Starkey did a firm trade in manuscript copies 'with a strongly Oppositional bias'.¹¹⁴ His 'false newes' network was carefully itemised in one document by Thomas Clifford's replacement as Lord Treasurer, Thomas Osborne.¹¹⁵ Smith's arrest likely related to the first of three print pamphlets reporting on parliament released over the winter of 1673–4, *Votes and Addresses of the Honourable House of Commons* (1673). This had appeared in late November 'and is publickly sold up and downe towne': he was arrested and bailed at

¹¹⁰ Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: Images of Restoration and Revolutionary Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 56.

¹¹¹ One loyalist *Further Advice to a Painter* followed the printed regime account of the battle so closely that it even reproduced some of its language, e.g. 'And whilst *De Ruyter* presses in his wake' versus '*de Ruyter* was right in the Princes wake, and pressed him very hard', (London: 1673), p. 3; *A Relation of the Engagement* (1673), p. B1r. See also *A Congratulatory Poem, on Prince Rupert* (London?: 1673); *An Elegy on that Grand Example of Loyalty, Valour, and Conduct, Sir Edward Spragg* (London: 1673).

¹¹² SP 29/338 fol. 78; see also Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), p. 19.

¹¹³ SP 29/360 fol. 278. Smith was also involved in printing an edition of Marvell's 'Painter' satires, Martin Dzelzainis, 'Andrew Marvell and the Restoration Literary Underground: Printing the Painter Poems', *The Seventeenth Century*, 22.2 (2008), 395–410 (p. 396).

¹¹⁴ Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Danby's memorandum on Starkey's news networks is reproduced in Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds 1632-1712*, 3 vols (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co, 1951), III, pp. 2-3; see also Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), pp. 19-20.

the start of December.¹¹⁶ The pamphlet was also truncated, translated and published in a Dutch edition.¹¹⁷ Patterson's brief survey of the three parliamentary news pamphlets of 1673–4 emphasises the care with which they were written for maximum impact, and their formative influence on the writing of parliamentary history.¹¹⁸ *Votes and Addresses* recounted the skirmishes of the year between the crown and a parliament unwilling to offer an unconditional supply. As anxieties about the French alliance, the faith of the Duke of York, his marriage, and the regime's disposable attitude to parliament mounted, parliament's previous quiescence and generosity gave way to a resolve to withhold funds until these mounting grievances were addressed.¹¹⁹ Hutton noted the importance of the autumn session in the fact that 'for the first time since [Charles's] restoration, he had totally lost control of a House of Commons'.¹²⁰

The writer of *Votes and Addresses* approaches the apparent onset of Catholic tyranny with a bathetic sense of humour. They recount the Commons address, once they gathered on 20 October, 'that the intended Marriage of his Royal Highness with the Dutchess of *Modena* be not consumated': the paragraph then drops to a single indented line, 'And the same day the parliament was prorogued till Monday next'.¹²¹ 'The Address of the Parliament to his Majesty' was then reproduced. This mixture of summarised parliamentary business, documentary inserts and a drama thick with unspoken implication characterises the pamphlet and its account of the rest of the short session from 27 October to 4 November 1673. By the end, these tussles became physical. As Charles appeared in the Lords on 4 November to prorogue parliament:

¹¹⁶ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 82.

¹¹⁷ *Journael van de Debatten, Besluyten, en Vooten des Parliaments* [Journal of the Debates, Resolutions, and Votes of Parliament] (1673) (SP 119/835).

¹¹⁸ Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), pp. 120–5. The only Restoration precedent for these pamphlets had been the manuscript circulation of Lord Lucas's speech against over-enthusiastic supply in 1671. This had been burnt by the hangman, and a print edition only appeared in 1673 with a false 1671 date. Though this edition is listed on the *Electronic Short Title Catalogue* as from 1670–1, it contains an appendix directly reflecting on the events of 1673.

¹¹⁹ For a more detailed background to these sessions, see Spurr, *England in the 1670s* (2000), pp. 48–50; Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), pp. 308–13.

¹²⁰ Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), p. 309.

¹²¹ *Votes and Addresses of the Honourable House of Commons* (1673), p. A2v. The Dutch edition omitted this playful feature, *Journael van de Debatten* (1673), p. *2r.

And the Lords hastening to Him, the Black-Rod being sent to the Commons-House to command the Speaker and the Commons to come to his Majesty to the House of Peers; but it so hapned that the Speaker and the Black-Rod met both at the Commons-House door; the Speaker being within the House, the door was commanded to be shut, and they cryed to the Chairs, others said the Black-Rod was at the door to command them to wait on the King to the House of Peers: but the Speaker was hurried to the Chair. Then was moved,

1. *That our Alliance with France was a Grievance.*
2. *That the evil Counsel about the King was a Grievance to this Nation.*
3. *That the Lord Lauderdale was a person that was a grievance to this Nation, and not fit to be intrusted or imployed in any Office or Place of Trust, but to be removed.*

Whereupon they cryed, *To the Question.* But the Black-Rod knocking very earnestly at the Door, the Speaker rose out of the Chair and went away in a confusion.¹²²

Robert Yard summarised this dramatic finale in a letter to Williamson about the pamphlet.¹²³ It is the most important section of *Votes and Addresses*, and was also included in the Dutch version. That, however, added more information, replacing the dramatic suspension of the hanging ending with newswriter's duty to report the facts: 'en ginhg confuselijck deur' went the speaker, 'waar op haar prorogatie volgde, tot den 7 Januario ouste style 1674' [whereon followed a prorogation until 7 January 1674].¹²⁴ The ominous uncertainty of parliament's future in the English edition is negated by the journalistic contextualisation of the Dutch, which places it within the established rhythm of sessions and prorogations. Dutch newsreaders were less concerned about tyranny in England and more about the effects English domestic politics might have on the war.¹²⁵ Consulting the Dutch edition therefore

¹²² *Votes and Addresses* (1673), p. A4r.

¹²³ The 'author whereof concludes his discourse that the morneing the Parliament was prorogued it was proposed the King's evill counsell was a grievance; and that the Duke of Lauderdale was a grievance; but that the Black Rod knocking at the doore, the House broke up and had not time to come to any resolve', *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 82.

¹²⁴ *Journael van de Debatten* (1673), p. *4v.

¹²⁵ Marika Keblusek has demonstrated the 'evidente nieuwhonger van het Nederlandse publiek naar de ontwikkelingen in Engeland' [the evident desire of the Dutch public for news of developments in England] during the Civil War period, 'Nieuwsvoorziening in de Republiek: De Engelse burgeroorlog in Haagse drukken' [News supply in the Republic: the English Civil War in printing from The Hague], in *Tekens en teksten: cultuur, communicatie en maatschappelijke veranderingen vanaf de late middeleeuwen* [Marks and texts: culture, communication and social change from the late middle ages], ed. by Henk Kleijer, Ad Knotter and Frank van Vree (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1992), pp. 60–77 (p. 66). 1673 also saw the first translation

reveals the editorial choice of the English to emphasise the dramatic at the expense of information: known facts a newswriter might routinely include are omitted to amplify the sense of conflict between crown and parliament.

These parliamentary news pamphlets also adopted various registers from manuscript satire, the texts among which they were circulated and transcribed, much as state news had been open to the influence of panegyric. As an example, one can identify the influence of the manuscript satires of 1673 on the last of these pamphlets, *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Commons* (1674). This had a false imprint satirically targeting York: ‘printed at Rome | By the Especial command of his Holinesse, at the request of his Highnesse the Duke of YORK’.¹²⁶ Consisting of a record of proceedings of the January–February 1674 parliament, where peace with the Dutch had been announced, and the reproduction of several relevant Acts, it was concluded by an interpretative analysis which channelled the conspiratorial register of the previous year’s manuscript satires. This imagined the meeting of the King’s councillors ahead of the 24 February prorogation in terms inherited from the *Dream of the Cabal*:

Perhaps some will expect that I should relate the means used by some of this *Cabal* to prevail upon his Maty the night before the Prorogation: but let them that expect this, know, that Truth sometimes ought to give place to modesty; I shall therefore draw a curtain before that part of the story, because we ought not to discover our *Fathers Nakednesse*.¹²⁷

The nocturnal meeting of the ‘Cabal’ ‘to prevail upon his Maty’ against parliament fits well with a pattern inculcated by the *Dream of the Cabal* satire and plays to the Catilinarian interpretative matrix established by the poem. In his letters to Williamson, Henry Ball, who had procured the copy of the *Dream* held at The National Archives – a ‘very scurrilous copyes of verses’ – also used the satire as a

into Dutch of three chapters from the start of the second book of Thomas Smith’s *De Republica Anglorum* (1583) as *Het Parlement van Engelandt, Met het Sitten, en de Macht van het selvige* [The Parliament of England, with its sitting, and its own power] (Amsterdam: Philips van Eyck, 1673): this provided Dutch newsreaders with an explainer of the often obtuse processes of parliament; see *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*, ed. by L. Aston (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), p. 146.

¹²⁶ *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Commons the last Session of Parliament* (London: 1674), p. A1r.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. F1v.

reference point through which to explain rumours about parliamentary affairs, ‘every one reporting strang discourses of the caball about it [parliament], worse almost than the dream’.¹²⁸ If the poem could be a ready reference point at this time for a government employee, it appears likely that the same would apply within the oppositional networks for which it was designed. The news pamphlet also concludes with another image adopted from the satire, to ‘draw a curtain before that part of the story’, just as the royal council was visually obscured from the cabal poet ‘secret [...] behind the hangings put’ (14). The cloth from the *Dream of the Cabal* then transforms into the covers which concealed a drunken Noah in a wry glance at court dissipation. Oppositional news was written and read in a vibrant, intertextual literary environment, and could thus absorb and develop conventions begun in satiric verse.

Where the pamphlet deviates from the *Dream of the Cabal* is in its list of conspirators ‘that advised and contrived this Prorogation’.¹²⁹ This is updated to better reflect developments since the poem’s appearance in August 1673 and the pamphlet’s composition in early 1674. Gone were the previous members of ‘the grand Cabal of seven’: Shaftesbury and Buckingham had been dismissed; Clifford was dead; Lauderdale under pressure in Scotland. Ormonde was still on the Committee, but it did not serve the cause of the author to include a character previously lauded as a protestant hero. That left Arlington to appear alongside a revised cabal – with little relation to reality – including a number of Catholics, notably York, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and the less well-known ‘Lord Arundel of Warder (The Popes Nuncio)’.¹³⁰ Arundel was ‘a minor Catholic courtier of impeccable loyalty’, most notable because York (much later) claimed he had witnessed Charles’s private announcement of his Catholic faith, and participated in the Secret Treaty of Dover.¹³¹ The subject of malicious anti-Catholic gossip, Arundell was forced into temporary exile in July 1673 alongside other notable Catholics, such as Colonel Richard Talbot, who had been labelled a grievance by parliament in March.¹³² Arundell was thus drawn into association with the recurring satiric figures of Talbot and Queen Katherine’s chaplain,

¹²⁸ Williamson *Letters*, I, p. 146; II, p. 21.

¹²⁹ *A Journal* (1674), p. F1v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), pp. 263, 271.

¹³² Williamson *Letters*, I, p. 145. The campaign to have the House of Commons act against Irish Catholics was spearheaded by Ormonde’s son Arran, see Hutton, *Charles II* (1991), pp. 300, 312; *Grey’s Debates* (1763), II, pp. 119-27.

Father Patrick Maginn. He appeared alongside both of them in the *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke by*, going by the (inaccurate) satirical title of ‘nuntio Arundell’ (96). Evidently this title stuck, and was transferred from manuscript satire to the underground print news pamphlet as a useful shorthand to express Arundell’s villainousness in a text where this was the only mention of him. *A Journal* reveals how news and satire were becoming part of a mutually intelligible oppositional matrix, both in terms of easy short-hands (‘Cabal’, ‘nuncio Arundell’), but also within a more elaborate interplay of conspiratorial imagery popularised and developed in oppositional poetry.

A similar adoption of satirical strategies occurs in another of these pamphlets, ensuring that *A Journal* is not a one off (*Votes and Addresses*, which features no inherited satirical material, was only a few pages long). *A Relation of the Most Material Matters Handled in Parliament* (1673) provided a powerful narrative of the parliamentary events of 1673, including twenty-three pages of parliamentary business compared to the seven of *Votes and Addresses*. This pamphlet went into much greater depth, interlacing the documentary evidence of the Commons journals with an extensive narrative of conspiracy. For instance, its account of the 20 October prorogation explicitly ascribed it to ‘the Advisers of this Marriage’ between York and Modena, who perceiving that ‘it might probably receive some Obstructions from the Parliament [...] therefore ordered it so that the parliament should be prorogued till the 27th [...] thereby to prevent and remove from his Majesty all Temptations to break the intended Marriage, and the *French Alliance*’.¹³³ This reportage ran directly into a concluding set of mock accounts of state expenditure:

Therefore Recollect your selves, that is resolve, That *Delenda est Carthago*, and to Advance the *French* Interest, that there be no need of Parliaments; Religion is concerned it seems (but which we know not) and Reformation promised, such as will make us all his Debtors, let’s therefore state the Account, that you may pay what is owing.¹³⁴

A number of important observations can be drawn from these accounts. One relates to the increasing danger to Williamson from lampoon and libel as he grew in prominence and was rumoured to be in line

¹³³ *A Relation of the Most Material Matters Handled in Parliament* (London?: 1673), p. C2v.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. D2r.

to replace Arlington. He had already featured in one manuscript satire and was soon to appear in others.¹³⁵ He was also alluded to in *Material Matters*, as Walter Overbury warned him: ‘Here is a report, and in print too, of one of your Excys [the ambassadors] seene lately at high masse, supposed generally to be your selfe, and many other things too tedious and unpleasant to insert’.¹³⁶ It is telling that Overbury described this as a ‘report’, unsure if what he was reading was a satire, libel or (false) news, but certain of its capacity to travel as news. Williamson had been featured as the third entry in the accounts, which were laid out in a table, with the expenses placed on the right:

For the Credit procured to the Nation	}	200000
By one of our Plenipotentiaries by going to		
High Mass with the Bishop of <i>Cologne</i> . ¹³⁷		

If this entry was a ‘report’, Overbury appears to have identified many of the others as libels, ‘too tedious and unpleasant to insert’. However, he did not feel the same about the bawdy satire on the court ladies *Sengior Dildoe*, ‘a song of a certain senior’, which he sent Williamson alongside the same letter.¹³⁸ Evidently sexual slander was more acceptable than alleged corruption. At any rate, Overbury’s concern about its consequences for Williamson’s reputation indicate that readers in the Town did not treat this satirical postscript as a disposable addition to the parliamentary news in *Material Matters*, but that it was read and remarked upon, with the dangerous potential for the allegations to enter popular discourse as news.

As with *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Commons*, these accounts drew on traditions and conventions prevalent in manuscript satires, and which were now transplanted into the medium of underground print news. Most conspicuous among these was the satirical catalogue. By 1673 this was a long-established form, but one which had seen important development over the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch wars. The model was John Donne’s *The Courtier’s Library*, a Rabelaisian prose

¹³⁵ British Library, Add MS 34362, fols. 18^v-9^r; MS Don.b.8, fol. 184.

¹³⁶ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 132.

¹³⁷ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D2r.

¹³⁸ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 132.

satire in Latin from the first decade of the century, which had long circulated in manuscript before being published as an attachment to his poems in 1650.¹³⁹ It comprised a parodic bibliography of 34 titles, often reworking existing texts. Through them Donne had satirised the lazy misuse of knowledge to construct a supposedly refined court persona and conversation. This form was reworked as a more specific, and more extensive, courtly satire during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, *The Century of Bookes printed att Oxford. 1665*.¹⁴⁰ That list used the withdrawal of the court to Oxford during the plague to imagine the various politicians and dilettantes of the court engrossing the printing houses of the university town with absurd titles which referenced court gossip about them. While Donne's satire was mostly general, this was highly individual: behaviour that is in a sense theoretical in Donne's list was realised in the *Century* as a grubby and corrupt pursuit of pleasure and advancement by named courtiers. Furthermore, unlike Donne's reading list, the *Century* was deeply commercial, a list of books to be bought and sold like the offices to which it frequently alluded.

The manuscript libel list form developed further in the commercial direction during 1673 in the form of a mock auction catalogue which survives in several copies: *On Thursday 29 May 1673 are to bee sold by Inch of Candle att ye Royall Coffee House neare Charing-Crosse these severall Goods in parcells*. This title mimicked conventional advertisements for auctions, which often appeared in the *London Gazette*:

The Adventurers to *Gambia*, will sell by the Candle on the Tenth of *September* next, being Wednesday, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, at the *African-House* in *Throck-morton-street*; *London*, A Parcel of *Elephants Teeth*, *Wax*, *Hides*, *Barbadoes Sugars*, *Ardas Silk*, and *Fifty Tuns of Old Guinny Red Wood* for Dying.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ A full English translation from the Latin can be found in Piers Brown, "'Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris': Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's 'The Courtier's Library'", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61.3 (2008), 833–66 (pp. 858–63); see also Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 173–5; the original can be found in John Donne, *Poems* (London: 1650), pp. 371–5.

¹⁴⁰ MS Don.b.8, fols. 225–34.

¹⁴¹ *The Gazette*, no. 804 (11 August 1673).

This new satire replaced the *Century*'s books with similar exotic goods, matching luxury products with an explicit price to personally enrich the courtier:

Two pounds weight of the Lord Arlington's best sweet-scented cut and dried Policy, at two & twenty pence, or thereabouts, to advance at each bidding by discretion.¹⁴²

These entries included a variety of figures from the court, parliament and military, with a focus on corruption, sexual excess, Catholicism and French untrustworthiness. The prices attached to each entry, from Arlington's cheap 'Policy' to an 8000*l.* annual cost for 'Three peeces of rich Royall Sodomy and Incest wrought by Madam Kerhuells [Portsmouth's] owne hand', establish a vigorous context of material, commercial exchange as a means through which to interpret state corruption, as the various dependants of a bankrupt government sell off their defining items.¹⁴³ A form which increasingly stressed financial impropriety proved a useful vehicle for the mock accounts in *Material Matters*, where manuscript satire synthesised with print journalism in a list of allegations whereby members of the court sold out English interests to the French and Catholics:

For Marrying his Highness (the undoubt	}	500000
ed Successor to the Crown) to an Adopted		
Daughter of the <i>Pope</i> and the <i>French King</i> . ¹⁴⁴		

Allegations drawn from popular rumour – Modena as the Pope's daughter – are therefore placed within a format already familiar from satire, but which appears at the conclusion of a news text.

In her survey of the pamphlet Patterson describes this section as a 'parodic accounting'.¹⁴⁵ John Spurr termed them a 'bogus set of accounts', attached to a reprint of the Commons journals.¹⁴⁶ Neither of them took notice of the fact that much of this accounting was, in fact, wholly accurate – at least selectively so. Given its satiric framework it comes as some surprise that a careful comparison of the

¹⁴² London, British Library, MS Harley 7315, fols. 91^r-4^v; London, British Library, MS Harley 4659, fols. 4^r-6^v; MS Don.b.8, fol. 453.

¹⁴³ MS Don.b.8, fol. 454.

¹⁴⁴ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D2v.

¹⁴⁵ Patterson, *Long Parliament* (2008), p. 123.

¹⁴⁶ Spurr, *England in the 1670s* (2000), p. 50.

mock accounts ‘Since May 17th 1673’ with the Entry Books for 1673 reveals that a numerical majority of the entries are real grants made by the Treasury.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore worth looking a little closer, to break the mock accounts apart in some detail. They begin with a series of clearly satirical opening entries, where the sums granted are huge and recurring round numbers: 500,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* for various alleged treacheries being favourites. These glance at a number of themes around which the oppositional consensus was being built: the Duke of York’s Catholicism, his marriage and a brusque summary of the naval narrative seen earlier, for ‘the Caball, in trusting the French once more, who lately by their treachery, hazarded our whole Naval strength’.¹⁴⁸ After nine entries a sub-section appears, headed ‘For the prudent disposing of the Nations Money given the last Session of Parliament’.¹⁴⁹ Below it are listed the names of high profile Catholics, rumoured crypto-Catholics and court allies, alongside alleged grants. Of these grants, the vast majority have exact documentary counterparts in the Treasury records, including, but not limited to, William Harbord, John Duncomb, George Carteret, the Earls of Oxford, Anglesey, Bath, and Bristol, the Marquess of Worcester and Sir John and Robert Holmes.¹⁵⁰ The figures quoted are almost always accurate, including examples such as the grant to Lady Falmouth, whose 11,289*l.* was hardly a round number.¹⁵¹ Most of the entries lack the satirical descriptions of the opening entries and only comprise a name and a figure, but a few go into detail as to the source of the revenue: again, these are mostly accurate summaries compared to the Entry Books. Towards the end of this section the entries grow more spurious and lacking in documentary counterparts – in particular, a number of huge sums to Clifford – but some, such as 2,000*l.* per annum to the Earl of Oxford and his wife, remain genuine.¹⁵² This is then bookended by a seamless transition to a concluding section of

¹⁴⁷ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D2v.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. D2v-D3v; *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 4, 1672-1675*, ed. by William A. Shaw (London: HMSO, 1909); for the specific grants relating to each individual, see Harbord, p. 164; Duncombe, pp. 363, 407 (also in British Library, Add MS 28076, fol. 37^r); Carteret, pp. 179-80; Oxford, pp. 167, 365 (also in Add MS 28076, fol. 8^v); Anglesey, pp. 171, 381, 424 (also in British Library, Add MS 28074, fol. 111^v); Bath, pp. 171, 381 (also in Add MS 28074, fol. 112^v); Bristol, p. 169; Worcester, p. 181 (also in Add MS 28076, fol. 4^v); John Holmes, p. 174; Robert Homes, p. 174.

¹⁵¹ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D3r; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, pp. 362-3 (Add MS 28076, fol. 20^v).

¹⁵² *Material Matters* (1673), p. D3v; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, p. 169.

more brazenly satirical entries, in the pattern of the opening one, but now listing the risible pittances allotted to genuine problems: 1s. 8d. for ‘Redressing Grievances in *Ireland*’, for example.¹⁵³

By mapping the sources of these entries, we can conclude that they are the result of a leak or leaks from within the state’s financial administration which reached oppositional publishers. It should be acknowledged that such grants could be the subject of public knowledge and gossip: Marvell wrote to Henry Thompson the next year that ‘you haue heard doutlesse that the Duchesse of Portsmoth has 10000li a yeare settled out of the Wine Licenses she of Cleueland hauing chosen hers out of the Excise as the more secure and legall fond’, but the Thompsons were wine merchants for whom such facts were important, and, as we shall see, the Wine Licence was often well discussed.¹⁵⁴ If some grants were gossiped about, this does not explain the density and accuracy of information here. We therefore have a leak of state documentation wrapped up textually within a satiric apparatus. These accounts are, in a sense, more of a fitting counterpart to the leaked minutes of the Commons preceding them than may first appear. Furthermore, there is no real attempt to signal the validity of the true figures, or to differentiate them from their more satirical counterparts: unless they have the Entry Books to hand, the reader is left to guess which figures are legitimate and which are not. If they believe some of the accounts to be real, they will likely (however briefly) entertain the idea that the more extreme examples could also be so. Reporting therefore presents a context in which satirical accusations appear wholly genuine. An inverse reading is also possible and coexists with the former. Many of these grants may be corrupt, but many were also fairly innocuous. In this hybrid form the extremity of allegations conventional in manuscript satires, such as those directed at Clifford, rubbed shoulders with factual evidence of supposed corruption. Encouraging the reader to construct conventional expenses as evidence of corruption is made possible by a misdirection conditioned by the satiric context, which enforces on the more innocuous grants an oppositional interpretation within the wider matrix of court corruption. In reality the list is a curious medley of grants to mistresses, deprived favourites, standard incomes for Grooms of the Bedchamber, pensions to the wives of deceased officers and Arlington’s

¹⁵³ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D4r.

¹⁵⁴ *P&L*, II, p. 336.

secret service fund, all dressed up as extraordinary personal income to further a Catholic, Francophile conspiracy. We therefore have two possible readings: if one assumes the accounts are genuine, then the extreme, satirical examples also appear momentarily real; if one assumes the accounts are a satire, then normal income suddenly appears insidious. Like Walter Overbury writing to Williamson, one cannot help but entertain the possibility of the ‘report’. It is the unstable realisation of news and satire together which produces so much oppositional weight out of this ambiguity.

VII. Imagining the Duchess of Cleveland’s income in gossip, satire and the House of Commons

How far was this information already publicly available? Some of these grants were widely gossiped about in 1673, and had been informing verse satire earlier in the year. While insufficient to be a source for *Material Matters*, the presence of these well-known grants in the accounts could serve to corroborate the rest. One example in particular demonstrates how the accounts drew on the assumptions of a wider culture of gossip and satire, and situated themselves within an established consensus. In the spring, Charles’s long-standing mistress Barbara Palmer, the Duchess of Cleveland, was pensioned off, while his new mistress, Louise de K  roualle, was created as Duchess of Portsmouth amid a series of lavish parties. This did not go unnoticed by gossips, MPs and satirists aware of the expense of the war and who remembered ‘the Bankers broken, and Exchequer shut up’ by the Stop of the Exchequer the previous year.¹⁵⁵ In particular, an annual income from the reformed Wine Licence of 5,300*l.* had been granted by the Excise Commission to the Catholic Cleveland and her children by Charles.¹⁵⁶ The changes to the Wine Licence, though with no mention of Cleveland, had been posted in the *Gazette*.¹⁵⁷ Williamson’s newsletter writers gossiped to him of the ‘wyne licences to the value of 5,300*l.* granted to my Lord Grandison dureing my Lady Cleaveland’s life’, while another correspondent set the figure

¹⁵⁵ *Grey’s Debates*, II, p. 211.

¹⁵⁶ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, p. 381.

¹⁵⁷ ‘All Persons in *England, Wales, and Berwick* excepting in the places let to Mr *Edward Tomson* in *Yorkshire* owing any Rent for Wine-Licenses, are forthwith to pay the same into the Office for Wine-Licences in *Durham-Yard, London*; and not to pay the same, or any part thereof, unto any person or persons whatsoever, at any other place’, *Gazette*, no. 804 (4 August 1673).

at 5,500l.¹⁵⁸ This culture of grants encouraged the public to imagine the real power politics between Charles II's various mistresses through an economic context, as well as through sexual and confessional ones. In July Williamson was told:

a pleasant ridiculous story [...] this weeke blazed about, that the King has given Nell Gwynn 20,000l., which angrying much my Lady Cleaveland and Mademoiselle Carwell [K  roualle] [...] The people say there has been 100,000l. given away these last five weekes, so ready are they to blaze pernicious lyes.¹⁵⁹

The propagandist turned anti-regime writer Henry Stubbe gossiped in another letter that Portsmouth 'cannot haue 30000  worth of Goods out of the East India Ships[.] Neither her Warrant, nor Clevelands, nor Nel Gwynn's would be accepted'.¹⁶⁰

Gossip was alert to how the women's incomes could illustrate the juncture at which court profligacy impinged materially on the national interest, compounded by an expensive conflict and Charles II's renewed demands for supply from parliament. This construction was not restricted to newsletters or the corners of coffee-houses.¹⁶¹ During the autumn debate on supply the MP for Southwark (and Monck's brother-in-law) Thomas Clarges allegedly reflected in the Commons on the money spent on royal mistresses. The parliamentary diarist Anchitell Grey was circumspect in his records, with Clarges only alluding to some 'donatives' when arguing against the supply. He claimed that he:

Cannot apprehend such an imminent necessity of giving, as Sollicitor *North* says there is—The remaining Taxes, the Customs, the Revenue, and Prizes, and for one reason above all, viz. four hundred thousand pounds given away in donatives—Does not repine at the King's Bounty, but apprehends no necessity of giving by it.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 130, 136.

¹⁵⁹ *Williamson Letters*, I, pp. 109-10.

¹⁶⁰ PRO 30/24/5/260 fol. 262.

¹⁶¹ Gossip about Cleveland also moved easily through the European news networks which have been so important to this study. In 1670 Charles Bertie, Danby's brother-in-law, wrote him from Hamburg that 'My lady Castlemaine's ^new honour surprizd us here wth great Admiration, the vulgar generally grumble at itt', British Library, Egerton MS 3328, fol. 44.

¹⁶² *Grey's Debates*, II, p. 210.

However, Clarges's specific allegations were considered important enough to be recorded by Williamson's informers:

There was brought into the House an account of foure hundred thousand pounds given away since the last Session, of which the Duchesses of Cleaveland and Portsmouth had the greatest share; this information was given by Sir Thomas Clarges.¹⁶³

Grey did, however, record that Clarges was called to account three days later by Robert Howard, saying that he 'has heard a worthy Knight (*Clarges*) talk of things he did not understand'. In reply Clarges claimed to be able bring forth the accounts: 'if what he said of donatives of four hundred thousand pounds since *May* last, gave him the occasion, he is ready to prove it by several warrants, if required'.¹⁶⁴ Were these the Entry Book warrants which supplied the information for *Material Matters*? It seems doubtful, but provides further proof of the cultural saturation of the discourse concerning the mistresses' incomes, and how this topic could be richly illustrative of wider parliamentary concerns. Gossiped news about them could be repeated in parliament, and on that basis travel yet further in newsletters like the one Williamson received.

It was at this juncture that the discourse of parliamentary grievances about supply could also meet that of manuscript satire, with its lurid fixation on the bodies of the women themselves. One satire titled 'the entertainment Nelly gave the new Dutchess' was noticed by Williamson's contacts as in circulation in August.¹⁶⁵ Focusing on the competition between the royal mistresses for place and income, the poem's opening emulated the familiar tenor of gossip, be it written in a newsletter or spoken in the corner of a coffee-house: 'Have you not heard how our *Sovereign* of late | Did first make a *Whore* then a *Dutches* create'?¹⁶⁶ By asking the perennial gossip's question, 'have you not heard', the satire ironically postures as an item of news. Everyone doubtless already knew this information. In addition, the satire follows the tendency of late-1673 gossip to interpret the political influence of Charles II's mistresses as much through financial news as sexual and confessional slander: the king 'Did first make

¹⁶³ *Williamson Letters*, II, p. 62.

¹⁶⁴ *Grey's Debates*, II, pp. 218-9.

¹⁶⁵ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 146.

¹⁶⁶ A transcription of the poem can be found in Love, *English Clandestine Satire* (2004), p. 59.

a *Whore* then a *Dutches* create'. There is a similar conflation of Charles's penis and dispensing power to that encountered in Rochester's infamous 'In the Isle of Brittain' lampoon (which also appeared in late 1673), where 'his Scepter and his Prick were of a length'.¹⁶⁷ Here the highly generative king's ability to 'make' encompasses in one moment both the making of a whore by payment and also the act of Ducal creation, which was similarly marked by cash exchange.¹⁶⁸

This satire also shares with Rochester's lampoon a championship of Nell Gwyn, '*Protestant* like to keep *Chast thy Bum*', as an icon of virtue in comparison to the Catholics Castlemaine and Portsmouth ('A *Whore* not only before, but a *Bugger* behind'). As the honest, overworked and unacknowledged Protestant hero who conspicuously lacked the financial support freely spent on others – Rochester's 'laborious Nelly' – Gwyn is a surprising counterpart to the Prince Rupert evoked in underground naval newswriting. The public imagined that both had been side-lined by Catholic conspirators: 'The people say, Madam Guinnn complains she has no house yett'.¹⁶⁹ The engrossing of positions and incomes by the Catholic mistresses (in 1673 Kéroualle was made Baroness Petersfield, Countess of Fareham and Duchess of Portsmouth) was contrasted to Gwyn's paucity: 'Wert thou a Whore of double Capacity', the satirist asks, in a multiplication of offices and orifices which embodies the perceived monopolisation of power and income by the other women. The effectiveness of highly generalised sexual slander (Catholics and sodomy was hardly an original combination) could thus be amplified through conflation with well-known gossip about grants and incomes. After all, the supposed news content of the satire's 'have you not heard' primarily applies to Portsmouth's financial settlement, not her sexual behaviour. Similarly, despite being a court dependant like the other mistresses, Gwyn's protestant, patriot credentials ensure that she joins Rupert in being silently passed over by the satirical accountant in *Material Matters*. These accounts were thus dependant on an expansive culture of gossip

¹⁶⁷ *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. by Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 85-6.

¹⁶⁸ For the interplay of high and low culture in Rochester's satires, see James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 224.

¹⁶⁹ *Williamson Letters*, I, p. 184. Some manuscript variants of Rochester's lampoon opt for 'poor laborious Nelly', further emphasising both the drudgery of her office and her unfavourable financial situation in comparison to Charles II's other mistresses, *Works of John Wilmot*, ed. Love (1999), pp. 88, 90.

which already interpreted news events through increasingly partisan perceptions of financial impropriety.

That Cleveland had been granted the income from the wine licence only encouraged the association of her finances with the behaviour of a dissolute court. Unlike most of the other entries, this source of income is specified in *Material Matters*:

Granted to the Dutchesse of <i>Cleveland</i> and her	}	203400:00:00
Children for ever, out of the Wine Licence		
Office, 11300l. <i>per annum</i> , at 18 years purchase. ¹⁷⁰		

This entry therefore combines the influence of a number of satiric traditions – mock accounts, sexual lampoons – with contemporary gossip and allegations made in the Commons. These mixed within a unique news pamphlet which blended documentary evidence with the practice of satire. The interpretive instability of this example is even greater than for those accounts cited earlier, for, while they were generally marked by a surprising accuracy, in this case a spurious figure has been attached to a real source of income. The actual value of the wine licence recorded in the Entry Books was 5,300l., less than half the 11,300l. reported in *Material Matters*.¹⁷¹ Williamson’s clerk had set the figure at either 5,300l. and 5,500l. in his newsletters, both far short of 11,300l. It appears the 300l. has been correctly remembered, but that the first digit has been increased from 5 to 11. While the underground printing of *Material Matters* means that (as in the *Brief Relation*) typographical errors are not uncommon, and these are most dense in the mock accounts, this does not appear to be a compositional error. Instead, the figures have been doctored. This further blurred the distinction between reporting and satire, as a real grant was inflated into outrageous proportions to demonstrate the corruptions of a dissolute court leeching away national revenue to sustain a growing family of mistresses and bastards. It correlates enough with the expectations of the pamphlet’s readers to be believable, but distorts factual data to make this superficial credibility point to an incredible outcome. In a way, oppositional newswriting was

¹⁷⁰ *Material Matters* (1673), p. D3r.

¹⁷¹ Add MS 28074, fol. 112^v.

being conditioned into falsities and exaggerations through a similar process to loyalist news: the associated literature and culture from which they drew compelled them to draw life closer to its literary representations.¹⁷² The powerful influence of satiric writing can therefore be identified in the oppositional journalism of 1673. In the contest between factual accuracy and satiric caricature, it was the latter which won out.

VII. Conclusion

By the end of 1673 a sophisticated culture of oppositional writing had emerged. This featured a similar intertextual relationship between factual reportage and literary convention to that which characterised loyalist and state writing, where evidence was warped to conform to expected personalities established previously through the combination of news, gossip and poetry. Even documentary evidence such as the leaked accounts, which were less vulnerable to the interpretative confusion of battlefield despatches, were made deliberately less intelligible, supplemented with hoaxes and stripped of their often routine original contexts. All this occurred despite the promise of *greater* accuracy, and the revelation of secret information: as with the Rupert pamphlets, opposition newswriters distorted and invented while claiming to cut through the misleading reportage of a conspiratorial government. This writing, and the wider political culture in which it participated, was unprecedented since the Restoration: there was now a viable and widely accepted alternative to the regime narrative for newsreaders. This oppositional consensus provided a set of expectations, characters and interpretative tools which readers and writers could use to explain news events. The English fleet was not more successful because they had been betrayed; the money to fight the war was being siphoned off by a corrupt court of Catholics and their sympathisers. It was through the combination of anti-regime newswriting and satire in sufficient volume that this intertextual framework could be established. However, the conventions of oppositional writing

¹⁷² The (mostly) factual section of these accounts therefore increasingly departs from legitimate figures and into the spurious. Further entries went on to grant Cleveland's eldest daughter 20,000*l.* and herself another 40,000*l.*, figures absent the Warrant Books, *Material Matters* (1673), p. D3v.

did not appear *ex nihilo*, and were dependant for their initial credibility on expectations established in loyalist newswriting and panegyric for over a decade. In order to achieve widespread support, oppositional writing had to position itself as the true loyalist continuation of consensus values unchanged since the Restoration: it was the regime, its critics argued, which was the true ‘Opposition’, and which had betrayed its own heroes.¹⁷³ Well-known characters like Rupert did not diminish in lustre, for the representative strategies of newswriting were too valuable to abandon. The oppositional newswriting of late 1673 and early 1674 was therefore an offshoot of the loyalist consensus examined in previous chapters, branching further from its original than Marvell had in the 1660s, but still connected at the root. Linked with the nascent opposition circle around Shaftesbury, who may have been involved in underground print news publication earlier than has previously been realised, this culture permeated public discussion and parliamentary debates as opposition to royal policy quickly hardened among the public and MPs. Ultimately, the literary expectations which informed the accounts in *Material Matters* contributed to an environment which made the continuation of the Third Anglo-Dutch War untenable.

¹⁷³ *An Exact Relation* (1673), p. C4r.

CONCLUSION

Reimagining Marvell, the *London Gazette* and Restoration satire

News and literature were profoundly interconnected in the Restoration. The writing of Restoration state news, which has historically been discounted as tepid, unpopular and uninventive, was energised by pressures and conventions established through a dynamic intertextual relationship with literature. Representations of national heroes and events were worked out between the two in creative response to observed events, and with an eye to continuity with narratives and characteristics established previously. Reporting and imaginative writing were not distinct but participated in an extensive exchange, whereby newswriting could deploy conventions developed by poets, while poetry and drama adopted those found in newsprint. In the attempted consensus of the early Restoration, with its emphasis on continuity and stability, this was a powerful and normalising relationship. It was not grudgingly accepted, but enthusiastically expected by the newsreading public, be they everyday readers or the ostensible heroes themselves. However, there were also limitations on these fictions: when Edmund Waller's *Instructions to a Painter* deviated from established standards of reportage, Andrew Marvell reasserted those values and drew it back towards a moderate centre. While the public, the state and even many of its critics acknowledged the utility of heroic narratives, valorisation was expected to be distributed fairly and according to merit. Waller's distortions were a step too far.

The intelligence controversies of the Second Anglo-Dutch War put the integrity of this structure under severe pressure. Marvell's 'Painter' satires moved from an assertion of consensus values to sustained criticism of state newswriting. However, even as they did so the rhetorics developed in news and poetry were redeployed and caveated rather than destroyed. Marvell's treatment of Monck is the most pronounced example. In his satires Marvell was one of the most adept and sensitive users of loyalist discourse, at once conscious of its strengths, its limitations and how it could be altered without

being destroyed. In his consistent rejection of heroic rhetoric George Wither was an outlier, albeit one who makes Marvell's conformity all the more conspicuous.

It was only with the growing disillusionment that marked the turn of the decade that anti-regime writing broke free from this consensus. When it did so, the appropriation of loyalist rhetoric continued, but it was conducted with a new cynicism, vigour and aggression. Loyalists hoping to counteract domestic dissidents sought to apply the highly versatile Catiline narrative to the post-war political environment. This project was swiftly hijacked when writers sympathetic to a developing oppositional ideology and parliamentary self-consciousness realised that Jonson's *Catiline* better fit their own interpretations of news. 1673 was a critical year in the deteriorating relationship between the public, parliament and the regime, and oppositional newswriting and satire was key in establishing a powerful sense of conspiracy and betrayal. Years before the 1679 lapse of the Licencing Act and the debates around exclusion, oppositional newswriting appeared in print and offered an alternative, internally coherent narrative of events to challenge that proposed by the state. It was in late 1673 that the constructions applied to news events by readers first substantially changed, and where fault-lines in the state control of information began to break open. In some respects, oppositional newswriting continued to work within the conventions of loyalist news, but in others, particularly when it came to parliamentary affairs, it integrated the characteristics of verse satire. This could significantly distort reportage, effectively establishing oppositional newswriting and satire as a mirror of loyalist news and panegyric. Anti-regime news did not therefore contest state news by striving to be objective, factual and absent imaginative convention: as we should expect from the consensus of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, it supplied its own affective rhetorics, synthesising loyalist heroism with familiar satirical conceits. Expectations generated through a powerful intertextual discourse continued to exert significant pressure on writers, but the developments of 1673 ensured that these were now built into a framework highly hostile to the regime.

This study has therefore questioned the radicalism of early Restoration satire. It has been a difficult line to tread: surely it is ridiculous to call Marvell's 'Painter' poems loyalist? They are offensive, critical and, to modern readers, *feel* obviously oppositional. However, this is to overlook the

careful moderation which makes them of their moment. They were sensitive to and utilised loyalist rhetoric in a manner which later, more bitterly partisan satires, did not. They seek to be reasonable. Offering continuity with some forms of pro-regime writing, their disagreements are targeted and local rather than adversarial. They better reflect the disappointments of cavalier Anglicans hostile to the court in the mid-1660s, its lifestyle and its politicians, than the more radical perspectives which emerged around 1670. Such a reading makes Waller, who critics often represent as a courtly, Augustan voice of the centre, the deviant, and Marvell the voice of the mainstream. One may struggle to find this an instinctive fit with the decidedly anti-regime Marvell described by Steven Zwicker, David Norbrook and others, a satirist who, from the *Second Advice* onwards, was working according to what Annabel Patterson called an ‘Opposition strategy’.¹ However, recent critical reassessments of Marvell’s religious politics by Phillip Connell, Johanna Harris and N.H Keeble have sought to move him from the radical fringe to the centre, and to emphasise the moderation and inclusivity which underlay his broad-church Anglicanism.² Timothy Raylor has similarly redefined Marvell’s relationship with Waller not as ‘implacable ideological opposition’, but as a competitive striving towards similar social and political roles.³ This willingness to lay claim to and inhabit compromised political, religious and cultural structures in pursuit of their ultimate reform is also a characteristic of Marvell’s satiric writing. Earlier criticism has often represented the Marvell of the 1660s as a Witherian figure, a radical reader and critic of the rhetorics of state writing willing to challenge its narratives at their very root, but though Marvell shared Wither’s sensitivity to the nuances of loyalist writing, he attempted to work within the consensus. The combination of Marvell’s support of the war’s prosecution, his qualified criticisms and his willingness to deploy the conventions of loyalist writing was not too subtle for his contemporaries: targeted criticisms in familiar language and which recognised existing national heroes were easier for

¹ Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 115; David Norbrook, ‘Marvell’s “Scaevola Scoto-Britannus” and Political Violence’, in *Reading Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Marshall Grossman (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 173–89 (p. 182); Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 72–3.

² Phillip Connell, ‘Marvell and the Church’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 128–43; Johanna Harris and N. H. Keeble, ‘Marvell and Nonconformity’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell* (2019), pp. 144–63; see also Paul Seaward, ‘Marvell and Parliament’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell* (2019), pp. 79–95.

³ Timothy Raylor, ‘Marvell and Waller’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell* (2019), pp. 635–51 (p. 649).

readers to sympathise with than uncompromising vehemence.⁴ Adherence to the conventions of loyalist discourse did not hamstring Marvell's satiric writing, but made it stronger.

This dissertation has demonstrated the great importance of the *London Gazette* to the imagination of Marvell and his contemporaries. One can no longer dismiss Marvell's print newsreading as a poor cousin to his use of manuscript newsletters: the reconstruction presented here of his attentive reading and its influence on the 'Painter' poems proves that Marvell dextrously imitated and reworked rhetorics drawn from newsprint. In fact, the terms on which he evokes newswriting are strikingly varied. It could be sharp and powerfully ironic, as in his inversion of triumphal celebrations, but Marvell's twisting of convention could also perpetuate in altered form myths whose absence might leave an intolerable vacuum. Monck is the prime example. Like many other newsreaders Marvell was strongly invested in the rhetorical constructions which underlay newswriting, and which shaped perceptions of news events. A similar imaginative weight can be observed acting on his imitators during the early 1670s. It was more natural for the writer of *Advice to a Painter to Draw the Duke* by to imagine York as a fallen Catiline, rather than to invent a version of the Duke which ignored his heroic persona. What emerges clearly is that, while contemporaries were highly alert to the rhetorical practices used in newswriting, this was not as obviously problematic as we in the twenty-first century may expect. Instead, attentive readers judged this writing by gradation, and identified often subtle distinctions between what was an understandable flourish and what a gross misrepresentation. As divisive politics resurfaced in the early 1670s, these distinctions, hardly immune to personal spite or favour in the first place, increasingly gave way to a partisan logic which judged the viability of rhetorical conventions according to an emerging set of cultural and political binaries.

Although the poetry of both Marvell and Wither was resurrected during the political turmoil of the following decades, it was Marvell's which proved more lasting. Wither, the 'good vates', was

⁴ While the *Last Instructions* demonstrates that by late 1667 Marvell's disillusionment had grown rapidly, that satire was circulated far less widely, and probably only among a small group of political allies around the Duke of Buckingham. Nigel Smith suggests that Marvell's involvement with Buckingham may explain the stark difference between the uncompromising attitude to Clarendon taken in that satire, and Marvell's advocacy on his behalf in the Commons, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 208-10.

remembered primarily as a curiosity.⁵ After the ‘Glorious Revolution’, his work retreated into obscurity, destined to critical bemusement interspaced with occasional approving nods from fellow radicals such as Coleridge.⁶ Marvell, on the other hand, was portrayed not only as the restorer of political satire but as almost omnipresent in the number of anonymous poems posthumously attributed to him. The ‘Marvell’ (or ‘A– M–l Esq’) attribution quickly became to the seditious what ‘Rochester’ was to the obscene, thanks in part to the print *Poems on Affairs of State* volumes of the late 1680s and 1690s.⁷ On this there is critical assent, though some debate exists about precisely *when* this canonisation occurred, as it has ramifications for studies which chart the interaction between print and manuscript satire into the eighteenth century. For Harold Love, a school of ‘Marvellian satire’ was clearly behind the state satires of the 1670s.⁸ Nicholas von Maltzahn has considered this ‘misleading’ to say the least, and that Marvell’s proto-Whig credentials as the ‘protestant patriot’ and ‘poet of liberty’ were only established with the *Poems on Affairs of State* collections themselves.⁹ This was to be attributed to the commercial pressures acting on booksellers, who sought to identify a viable oeuvre, rather than the patterns of manuscript transmission advocated by Love.¹⁰ We can, of course, have our cake and eat it: if ‘Marvellian satire’ is a misnomer, implying a conspicuous cultural figurehead akin to Rochester, his influence was nonetheless felt by direct contemporaries who may not have known him by name. This study has demonstrated some of the extensive impact of Marvell’s satires in the immediate years after circulation – for example, in satirical poetry after Monck’s death – even if borrowings were selective

⁵ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by Andrew Clark, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), II, p. 306. Wither was remembered primarily through his Civil War poetry as a Protestant prophet, as is clear in the titles of published collections of his works: *Mr Geo. Withers Revived: Or, His PROPHECIE of our present Calamity, and (except we Repent) future Misery. Written by him in the Year 1628.* (London: 1683); *Predictions of the Overthrow of Popery, And the Landing of the Prince of Orange in the West: Written by George Wither Esquire, in the year 1660. And some proposals for PERPETUAL PARLIAMENTS Written by the same Author in 1652.* (1689); ‘Wither’s Prophetie OF THE DOWNFALL OF ANTICHRIST. Published Anno 1644’ and ‘George Withers HIS PROPHECIE, OF THE Downfall of ANTICHRIST. Published Anno 1660’ in *An Exact Collection of many Wonderful Prophetes* (London: 1689).

⁶ Wither still resisted easy valorisation: as David Norbrook has noted, ‘in order to make Wither noble and profound, Coleridge has to rephrase him’, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 140.

⁷ *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* (London: 1689), p. 3.

⁸ Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 101-8.

⁹ Nicholas von Maltzahn, ‘Marvell’s Ghost’, in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 50–74 (pp. 56, 62-3); supported by Smith in *Andrew Marvell* (2010), pp. 335-6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

and in the service of less discriminate abuse. ‘Marvellian satire’ may thus be considered a useful anachronism for a stable of satiric poetry which understood the ‘Painter’ poems as their antecedents: only at a later date did it become the means through which late-seventeenth-century readers defined their own satiric tradition and values through the imagined figure of ‘Marvell’.

Here, however, I wish to use the reassessment of Marvell’s relationship with loyalist writing in this study to propose the possibility of an alternative posthumous reputation to the ‘Whig’ hero. This ‘loyalist Marvell’ should encourage us to consider other constructions: was there, for instance, a ‘Tory’ Marvell? James Yonge, a ship’s surgeon imprisoned in Rotterdam during the Second Anglo-Dutch War and later deputy surgeon-general to the navy, compiled an eclectic ‘list of famous men and women I have seen’ in his naval journal. This included Rupert, Monck, the ‘excellent poet’ Orrery, Buckingham and the royal mistresses as well as:

Mr. Andrew Marvell, Burgess for Hull, an ingenious man, author of some poems, *Advice to the Paynter*, *Miscellany*, *Rehersal transposed*; vindicated Mr. How and the naked truthe, a man not well affected to the Church or Government of England.¹¹

On one reading, this is the familiar ‘Whig’ Marvell, the free speaker ‘not well affected to the Church or Government’ who wedded civic responsibility (‘Burgess for Hull’) with artistry and religious controversy. It is perhaps telling, however, that Yonge’s exemplars of Marvell’s oeuvre are those which generally practiced an Anglican royalist moderation and comprehension in line with Yonge’s own Tory sentiments.¹² That is, the ‘*Advice to the Paynter*’ poems,¹³ the 1681 *Miscellaneous Poems*, which

¹¹ This entry appears to have been written sometime before the accession of James and therefore the print publication of the *Poems on Affairs of State* volumes, given that James appears as the Duke of York and Monmouth is recorded as alive: equally, it must have been written after the publication of Marvell’s *Miscellaneous Poems* (1681). Nevertheless, precise dating remains indeterminate in a journal which underwent several revisions. Yonge’s journal also raised questions about how maritime reading communities circulated Marvell’s satires: Jeremy Roch, another Portsmouth mariner who cast the horoscope of Yonge which precedes his list of famous people, included quotations from Marvell’s *Second Advice* in his own memoirs, *The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721)*, ed. by F.N.L. Poynter (London: Longman, 1963), p. 25; *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times*, ed. by Bruce Ingram (London: Constable, 1936), p. 49.

¹² For Yonge’s political career in the 1680s and 90s, see Ian Lyle, ‘James Yonge’, in *ODNB* (2004).

¹³ These probably did not include the more offensive *Last Instructions*, which had a far more limited manuscript circulation until it appeared in print in 1689. Given the diverse distribution of the ‘Painter’ poems across print and manuscript, and the profusion of imitations, it is unclear which ‘Painter’ poems Yonge is referring to here. As he otherwise lists Marvell’s print works, one might expect ‘*Advice to the Paynter*’ to refer to the early print editions, where they were termed ‘Directions to a Painter’. If this entry does date from the early 1680s, it precedes the printed *Poems on Affairs of State* volumes. However, in manuscript they are regularly called

excluded his Cromwellian panegyrics; the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672), which amused Charles enough to allow it to be printed despite L'Estrange's opposition; *Mr Smirke* (1676), which supported the moderate bishop Henry Croft;¹⁴ *Remarks upon a late disingenuous discourse* (1678), defending the moderate nonconformist John Howe from more radical Calvinists,¹⁵ and the notable absence (given its key place in Marvellian historiography) of the *Account of the Growth of Popery* (1677), Marvell's most radical – and most proto-Whig – tract, reissued posthumously in his name.¹⁶ If Yonge's Marvell is oppositional and 'not well affected', he is also circumscribed through texts which remain respectable, artfully 'ingenious' and moderate.¹⁷ It is pertinent that the 'Painter' poems are included among these borderline loyalist texts. Perhaps Yonge's 'not well affected' becomes clearer. Marvell is not so much 'ill affected', or some suchlike, but a deviation from 'well affected': itself not an uncommon characteristic of royalist or proto-Tory sentiment after the Restoration, and hardly an indication of radicalism. Though far from conclusive, we have a tentative example of the 'Painter' poems within a 'Tory' (or at least, non-Whig) historiography, and one which bridges the eras of 'Marvell' reification outlined by Love and von Maltzahn. As we rethink Marvell's politics, religion and oeuvre, perhaps we should also rethink the diversity of his readers and his legacy.

'Advice' poems, as are many of their imitators. I cautiously interpret Yonge to be referring to the printed Second Anglo-Dutch War poems. As Dzelzainis has pointed out, some of these print editions were bowdlerised to remove the most offensive content: Martin Dzelzainis, 'Andrew Marvell and the Restoration Literary Underground: Printing the Painter Poems', *The Seventeenth Century*, 22.2 (2008), 395–410 (p. 401).

¹⁴ Considering the list's brevity, it should be cautiously noted that Yonge's focus on Marvell vindicating the *Naked Truth* might also deliberately exclude the 'more controversial' *Historical Essay* which concluded the *Mr. Smirke* volume, Martin Dzelzainis and Steph Coster, 'The Comissioning, Writing, and Printing of "Mr. Smirke"', in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 538–57 (p. 539).

¹⁵ Yonge, an Anglican, recalled the only 'coolness and indifferency' between him and his wife was that she went to nonconformist conventicles, but he persuaded her to 'sometimes' attend Anglican services, *Journal of James Yonge* (1963), p. 146.

¹⁶ For Marvell's support of an inclusive Anglican church, see Connell, 'Marvell and the Church' (2019), pp. 128–43.

¹⁷ While Nicholas von Maltzahn does include Yonge in *An Andrew Marvell Chronology*, his relationship with Marvell is misconstrued. The passage quoted here is used as 'belated' evidence of Marvell's authorship of the 'Painter' poems, while it is later observed that 'either late in February or early March [1678], AM meets James Yonge, a naval surgeon from Plymouth visiting London, who later lists AM among the "famous men and women I have seen in my travels"'. This misinterprets Yonge's habits of including people he has seen from a distance (i.e. not meeting in person) in the list, while there is no evidence for this supposed meeting in Yonge's journal itself – the date merely derives from Yonge's trip to London, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 91, 199, 206; the same error is made in the current edition Marvell's prose works, *PW*, II, p. 400.

This study has brought the dynamic intertextual relationship between news and literature into focus by approaching state newswriting as a creative endeavour, and by using the collections at The National Archives to demonstrate the processes by which news was developed for publication. The state centralisation of print news in the early Restoration makes this possible: there is one newspaper, and its sources have been preserved. However, one may ask whether such a study is possible for other periods during the late-seventeenth century, and what this would reveal. There are some impediments. When the Licensing Act lapsed during the Exclusion Crisis in 1679 newsbooks reappeared, albeit briefly, and once the Act expired in 1695 print newspapers proliferated and diversified into a fascinating array of forms.¹⁸ The *London Gazette* was nonetheless careful to preserve its distinct identity among this crowd, and John Dunton was politely compelled to rename his *Athenian Gazette*, an eclectic anthology of readers' questions, to avoid any confusion between the two.¹⁹ As the work of private individuals, these publications lacked the institutional preservation of sources which makes the *Gazette* so valuable. Opportunity for similar reconstruction of publications like Dunton's is therefore limited.²⁰

However, one should not look beyond the *Gazette* too quickly. Natasha Glaisyer has demonstrated its enduring popularity up to the turn of the century.²¹ Its important role as a valve which could release or suppress state intelligence is also being recognised. Steven Pincus has noted a tactical use of the *Gazette* during James II's regime: it printed his influential accession speech to the Privy Council, while suppressing stories of French atrocities against the Huguenots.²² A more detailed investigation of state newswriting during this period would prove invaluable, exploring the extent of this close management and using literary criticism to identify how intelligence reports were edited for publication. With the *Gazette* edited by Robert Yard from 1673 to 1702, there is scope for a longer-term study to explore continuities and innovations with the newswriting practices identified here, in the

¹⁸ For Exclusion Crisis newswriting, see James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); for an example of the diversity of the periodical press, see Helen Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: the Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

¹⁹ It was renamed the *Athenian Mercury*, Berry, *Gender, Society, and Print Culture* (2003), p. 21.

²⁰ One of the few preserved letters from Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*, for example, is that of a woman complaining that Dunton had sent her a proposition in response to her original letter, *ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

²¹ Natasha Glaisyer, "'The Most Universal Intelligencers': The Circulation of the London Gazette in the 1690s", *Media History*, 23.2 (2017), 256-80.

²² Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 97, 177.

Gazette's early years. For example, how easily did the *Gazette* adapt itself to the representative conventions of new regimes? Answering such questions would determine whether the more literary qualities of newswriting identified here were unique to the early Restoration, or if they continued through the growing partisanship of later decades. Ample evidence could be found in The National Archives for such work.²³

There is a last point to be made about these sources. While original letters for some editions of the *Gazette* survive, there are other editions, such as those of 14, 18, 21 and 25 June 1666, where they appear never to have been returned to the state archives. Thanks to the fact that stories in the newspaper were dated and given a location, these editions allow the identification of which state papers have gone missing: letters of intelligence which have fallen outside the archives and the calendars, but for which evidence of their existence remains in the *Gazette*. This should be an important area of exploration for studies of the Restoration state and its intelligence networks, and also for the growing number of projects which seek to reconstruct early modern correspondence networks more generally, and in which individuals like Joseph Williamson are the cornerstones.²⁴ Reconstructing the transmission of these lost letters will improve the accuracy of any such networks, and may thus reveal key connections which have so far gone underappreciated.

* * *

There was a powerful relationship between news and literature during the early Restoration: rhetoric and literary convention moved between verse and newsprint, and, initially, between different political perspectives. This is what gives a lot of early Restoration panegyric and satire its journalistic flavour,

²³ A similar project might also be conducted for the Protectoral regime: while research has addressed Marchamont Nedham's use the newswriting rhetorics he developed during the Civil Wars, it is yet fully to consider his editorial adaptation of state intelligence sources, Joad Raymond, 'A Mercury with a Winged Conscience: Marchamont Nedham, Monopoly and Censorship', *Media History*, 4:1 (1998), 7–18.

²⁴ Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'Networking the Republic of Letters', in *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age*, ed. by Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2019), pp. 399–416.

and also what makes early modern news so unpalatable to modern readers averse to its hyperbole. If this dissertation has tracked the residues of newswriting through to their presence in satire with a new precision, along the way it has also aimed to demonstrate the assumptions and reasoning to which those state newswriters subscribed. Properly contextualised, the received wisdom that Restoration news was merely obstructionist recedes, and its ambitions become more apparent. Arlington and Marvell were both struggling to keep pace with an innovative newswriting environment, where individuals and the state had to adapt to rapid developments in the transmission of information which were outside their control. As this study has demonstrated, the struggle to identify and remedy a proliferating number of journalistic and communications problems is central to Marvell's 'Painter' poems, but the solutions offered to corruptions of information resolve either into the impracticable dreams of poetry, as in the fantasy of instant transmission of information at the end of the *Third Advice*, or return to conventions of heroism and heroic credit which themselves distort accurate reporting. Arlington's easy use of 'false news' allegations, something which in 2020 reads as rather tired out, appears a similarly insufficient response. Nonetheless, it does provide a good reminder that 'false news' can itself be a simplified narrative convention which masks a more complex reality. Today a growing body of thought advises similar caution about 'fake news': outcomes from the perception of 'fake news' can vastly outweigh the actual impact of mis- and disinformation.²⁵ Modernity shares with Arlington and Marvell this attempt to pin down an exuberant and emotive news environment, charged by new forms of sociability and powerful narratives which often conform to expectations generated in fiction.²⁶ If solutions are not easily forthcoming, the questions are old ones. This study has demonstrated that a key feature of writing in the early Restoration was a profound consciousness of the interpretive issues generated by the techniques used to write news. These were problems which exercised and stimulated the public, and in the 1660s and 1670s narratives which fused report and literary device had far-reaching consequences for Restoration politics and culture. Newspapers were only just becoming an unavoidable feature of

²⁵ Reuters Institute, 'Digital News Report' (2017), p. 22.

²⁶ David Patrikarakos, *War in 140 Characters: how Social Media is reshaping conflict in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), pp. 42-3.

readers' lives, but they already exerted a powerful influence on the imagination of Marvell and his contemporaries.

APPENDIX I

Tracing *The London Gazette* in The National Archives

The table below demonstrates how news stories in the *London Gazette* can be correlated with manuscript letters of intelligence which are preserved among the State Papers at The National Archives. Though gaps remain and correlation with foreign newsletters (e.g. with SP 84 – State Papers Holland) is even more labour-intensive, this table demonstrates the significant degree of matching possible among domestic papers in SP 29 – State Papers Domestic: Charles II.

Every location mentioned in the edition of *The London Gazette* from 9 July 1666 is listed, in order of its appearance in the newspaper. Note that European dispatches tend to be dated New Style, domestic Old Style. Also note what this shows about composition: an early collection of domestic stories are set from letters already to hand; this is followed by foreign letters of intelligence, before being concluded by the latest domestic post. This was standard practice for *The London Gazette* at this time.

Location	Date	Reference
Edinburgh	28 June	[untraced]
Pembroke	29 June	[untraced]
Dublin	30 June	[untraced]
Sunderland	1 July	SP 29/161 fol. 8.
Swansey	2 July	SP 29/161 fol. 41.
Minhead	2 July	SP 29/161 fol. 43.
Newcastle	3 July	SP 29/161 fol. 58.
Buoy of Nore	3 July	SP 29/161 fol. 63.
Alborough	3 July	SP 29/161 fol. 45.
Plymouth	3 July	SP 29/161 fol. 64.
Lyme	4 July	SP 29/161 fol. 90.
Danzig	29 June	[untraced]
Hamburg	20 June	[untraced]
Hague	11 July	[untraced]
Flushing	13 July	[untraced]
Paris	14 July	[untraced]
Dover	4 July	SP 29/161 fol. 93.
Dover	4 July	SP 29/161 fol. 96.
Norwich	4 July	SP 29/161 fol. 97.

Weymouth	4 July	[untraced]
West-cowes	4 July	[untraced]
Land-guard Point	4 July	SP 29/161 fol. 99.
Ipswich	5 July	[untraced]
Buoy of Nore	7 July	SP 29/161 fol. 161.
Canterbury	6 July	SP 29/161 fol. 140.
Dover	6 July	SP 29/161 fol. 151.
Harwich	7 July	SP 29/161 fol. 177.
Southwold	7 July	SP 29/161 fol. 176.
Whitehall	8 July	[untraced]

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A wide range of sources from The National Archives were used in this project, but the principle holdings drawn on are as follows:

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SP 75	State Papers Foreign, Denmark
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