ANATOMIZING THE SOCIAL BODY: REPRESENTING THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1665

by

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B.A. University of British Columbia, 1991

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Fine Arts)

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October 1993

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DE-6 (2/88)
ABSTRACT

This thesis will analyze the motivations behind a broadsheet produced in response to the outbreak of bubonic plague in the City of London in 1665. This form of representation utilized visual, textual, and statistical elements in 'anatomizing' the spaces of the City during the outbreak, and the social processes brought into play by the presence of the disease in the urban centre. I argue that this broadsheet attempted to create an ordered and unproblematic rendering of the disease's effects on the City and the social body out of the disorder wrought by the epidemic. With the construction through its representational framework of the disease as a phenomenon that is cyclical and natural, the print does the same for the means established by civic and royal government to counter the sickness and preserve order in the City. In other words, in this manifestation of Restoration print culture intended for a potentially large and unknown audience, harsh social policies enacted to police the spaces of the City and quarantine those infected were represented as inevitable and effective in returning London to a state of health. In so doing, the broadsheet also effaced any notion of social conflict and crisis over the latter issues that was invariably a part of epidemic plague's presence in the social body of early modern London. To represent the City and the social body under the grip of the disease in this way, discourses being reformulated in the Restoration context, such as 'political arithmetic', or statistical knowledge, were mobilized along with the construction of a visual narrative that applied closure over the event of the plague. Though it sought to create a picture of order out of the disorder of the plague, the broadsheet is laced with internal contradictions, and when viewed in relation to other textual and visual representations, this history of the plague in the City of London in 1665 reveals what it sought to obfuscate — social tensions between the sick and the healthy, those quarantined and those free to move about the City, between those who fled and those who stayed, and the real or imagined breakdown of order in the urban centre.
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I would like to thank first of all my readers, Dr. Rose Marie San Juan and Dr. Maureen Ryan, for their criticism and guidance. They pushed and encouraged me up to the last minute to make revisions and polish my argument, counselling that always resulted in the improvement and strengthening of the thesis. I am finally comfortable with this version, and I thank them for their support. I also wish to thank my fellow students, too many to mention, and the rest of the faculty in the Fine Arts department for contributing positive criticism and advice, and for producing the constructive intellectual environment of which this work will always remain a part.
INTRODUCTION

In late 1665, as a result of epidemic plague in London, an engraver by the name of John Dunstall produced a series of nine images depicting the disease and its effects on the urban centre (FIG.1). In visual form, these representations offer a chronological narrative of the progress of pestilence through the spaces of the City. Beginning with a scene of the sick being cared for in a private domestic interior, and, following several pictures located in urban public spaces, the sequence concludes with an image of a steady stream of people returning to London with the ever present old St. Paul's in the background. These images comprise the upper part of a broadsheet, or broadside, now in the collection of the Museum of London, that was printed towards the end of the year while plague still made its presence felt in the capital. Below the visual narrative, a person named John Sellers has compiled a comprehensive array of statistics drawn from the yearly Bills of Mortality for the current year, 1665, as well as those of 1625 and 1636, two previous years of great mortality from pestilence. ¹ These numbers compare the total deaths for the year

¹In the British Museum Print Room, and in the print collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London there are a small number of prints and portraits by John Dunstall. In the British Museum these are often bound in other books or collections and it is doubtful that they were originally sold in this manner. For example, there are a few Dunstall images of fish in a seventeenth century book entitled Pisces, Animals, and Insects, a collection of pictures of the fauna of the natural world. Appended to the back of a book by Jacques Bellange entitled Rope Dancers is another text labeled Geometrical Plates by John Dunstall, wherein is included various geometrical figures to aid and introduce a viewer/reader to the "Art of Pourtraicture, Delineation, or Drawing". The author is identified as "John Dunstall, School-master in Blackfriers, London, since removed into Ludgate Street". Additionally, there are etchings of festoons, a view of the Customs House and, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a view of Clarendon House at St. James, and an image of a royal coach presented to Charles II by Count Grammont. As these prints are all quite small and relatively unsophisticated, the plague broadsheet is, quite possibly, Dunstall's most significant commission. Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, new edition, George Williamson ed. (London, 1920), contains the following entry: "Dunstall, John, who lived in London about the year 1660, engraved a few portraits and other plates, which are etched and finished with the graver in imitation of the style of Hollar. In 1662 he published a book of birds, beasts, and flowers, fruits, &c. from his own designs". On the individual named John Sellers, I have been unable to turn up any information.
against those from plague alone for the alphabetically arranged ninety-seven parishes within the City walls, sixteen out parishes, nine out parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, and eight other out parishes. In addition, a written description in the lower right hand corner anchors the engravings, as each one is numbered and corresponds to a brief description in this text. The broadside is slightly damaged on the uppermost portion where a heading was originally located. Nevertheless, it is still possible to make out that the sheet intended to represent the last three great years of plague for London and adjacent parishes, "being a True ACCOUNT how many Persons died Weekly in every of those YEARS", and to exhibit the "Figures of the Greatness of the CALAMITY, and the Violence of the DISTEMPER in the Last Year, 1665".

Single sheet prints depicting visual and textual narratives of historical and current events — great battles, devious plots, strange happenings, tragic deaths or executions — were a regular feature of the print culture of early modern London. I have located in both the Guildhall and the British Library broadsides dating as far back as 1625 which utilize a similar format to represent the plague. The sheet by Dunstall and Sellers, through its manipulation of sophisticated visual, textual, and statistical elements, embodies the most intriguing example I have seen of this form produced as a result of significant outbreaks of epidemic disease. It so happens that this broadsheet is also one of the last examples of its kind, for bubonic plague in catastrophic proportions ceased in early modern England after 1665-1666, and this form of cultural expression on the whole disappeared. One can thus look at Dunstall's and Sellers' print as the most evolved model of this specific cultural product available for analysis.

This thesis will investigate the purpose and function of this type of representation in the years 1665-1666 and the context of Restoration London. The threat of plague, more than any other disrupting natural or social phenomena,
always raised the spectre for ruling authorities of a potential breakdown of social order. In the same way that plague made the individual body sick, the disease in epidemic proportions caused the social body to become ill as well. The sick were deemed too dangerous to be in free circulation, and therefore were shunned and quarantined away from the rest of the City. But it was never exclusively the sick in large numbers that menaced the overall well being of the body politic during the plague, for the threat to the City in 1665 derived from the healthy too — those who fled because they could afford to, abandoning community, parish, and neighbour, and those who left the metropolis taking with them a great proportion of its economic activity and vitality. Furthermore, in 1665, five years after Charles II was restored to the throne of England in the hopes of bringing peace, social stability, and religious uniformity to a nation besieged by insecurity and the fracturing of royal and ecclesiastical power in the previous decades, constant rumours of rebellions and uprisings circulated through the stricken spaces of the metropolis, an area dangerously under policed and virtually lacking in judicial authority. In other words, plague in 1665 exacerbated many social problems and tensions already existing within the social fabric of this Restoration locale. It is a crucial point, and one that will become clearer later on in this study, that the form of print culture I am analyzing parallels both the rise of statistics as a useful form of knowledge, and the rise of grossly unequal mortality rates between the parishes of early modern London and adjacent areas. With an awareness of this context, one realizes the necessity of the circulation of an image of the afflicted social body that could accommodate both the practices and actions of the City's inhabitants and the overall, more general, concerns of government with the preservation of order at the Restoration.

What is this image constructed by the broadsheet? In brief, the narrative constructed by Dunstall's visual images and accompanying textual description call
up a succession from sickness to health: the first image, depicting the sick in an
interior space is offset by the ninth, showing a number of the City's inhabitants
returning to the urban centre. The statistical comparisons on the lower half of the
broadside inform a viewer that plague came to the City, grew to epidemic
proportions, and then subsided, creating the impression that the group in the last
image return to a now healthy city. Through this representation, the sick social body
of the City undergoes the same process as the body of an afflicted individual. The
plague's threat to the single body is countered by medical care — the sick persons
pictured in the first frame are supplied with beds, nurses, a doctor and medicines,
clearly pictured on the small table to the right — while the potential disruption to
the spaces of the City is countered by fires in the streets, dog killers, shut-up houses
with posted watchmen, means of disposing with the dead, and means for
individuals to escape from the City. Everything is orderly, everyone works together,
and in the same way that some of the plague victims in the first image are cured, the
City too is returned to a state of health. What seems to be represented here is an
urban centre peopled by a cohesive and unified body, a peaceful and stable
community, effectively combating the disorder of the plague.

As will emerge in the following chapters, the perceived success of the civic
and royal government's attempts to control the infection, the representation of the
City as a consensual community, and the use of objective scientific knowledge
through the inclusion of statistics, were all tactics mobilized through this printed
medium in an intricate and highly sophisticated way. In investigating these
representational strategies, I pose a number of questions to Dunstall's and Sellers
broadsheet: how was the use of statistical information linked to Restoration
concerns about social peace and stability, and the growing importance of the science
of natural philosophy? How was the City and its urban spaces during this particular
plague represented, and what internal conflicts were emphasized or effaced? How
was the disease and its effect on the social body ordered in this visual and statistical representation? Was the threatened social body pictured, mapped out, 'anatomized' to present a less threatening version of the plague in order to mediate its effects for a certain audience? How would this broadsheet have, if it did, construct a representation of an ordered body politic out of the disorder of the plague? The broadsheet seemingly seeks to offer proof that programs taken by civic and royal authorities to control the disease, programs that were highly controversial and even felt by some to be ineffective or serving to exacerbate the problem, were as inevitable as the plague itself and therefore acceptable undertakings in order to return the City and its population to a state of well being. I argue that internal conflicts, those between City and country, between different groups in the City itself, between those who stayed and those who fled, conflicts that received articulation in other printed representations, were effaced or made innocuous in this narrative progression from a diseased social body to a healthy one.

Seen in a close reading of its historical context, Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside becomes a complicated and multi-layered phenomenon. Its complexity forces us to reappraise the resonance and scope of 'popular' material intended for a potentially large, anonymous audience of varying social and political composition.²

²The first attempt to address the issue of popular culture in seventeenth-century England on any scale is represented by the essays collected by Barry Reay in Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1985). The essays in this book deal with several aspects of popular and folk culture through the Civil War years and the Restoration, topics ranging from religion, sex and marriage, English common law, charivaris, festivals and popular protests, as well as issues revolving around the overlapping of print and oral culture. Some of the individual essays will be referred to later in this thesis. Like Peter Burke, who has an essay in the book, Reay and his collaborators define popular culture as the cultural manifestations of the non-elite, the little as opposed to the great tradition, "a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms...in which they are expressed"(6). Popular culture, or more accurately, popular cultures in the plural, particularly in the early modern Europe of the seventeenth-century, has to be seen as a fluid phenomena — in the process of a transition from oral to print, with both forms, the old and the new, existing at the same time and mutually influencing one another. In addition, these essays argue, it must be seen also to give to and take from high culture, or the culture of the elites. The latter becomes problematic when one sees that
The fact that the view of the social body in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside in any way links such a seemingly ephemeral, inexpensive, and mass produced cultural form to the pressing debates about social peace and stability in the Restoration raises another, more general question about the separation of culture into categories such as 'popular' and 'elite', and the little as opposed to the great tradition. These labels can serve to delegate cultural practices and objects to an appropriate container, and, for popular culture anyway, the only question to be answered then become whether a form or phenomena resists the dominant culture of the elites in any way. We have to look at the motivations behind cultural objects in their specific historical contexts, to try to understand the ways those commodities circulated, were made use of by actual individual subjects, and how they utilized or were utilized in a complex interrelationship of discourses and practices that cannot be simply termed popular or elite, dominant or resistant. For example, Paul Slack, the historian who has perhaps done the most extensive work in the last decade on plagues in early modern England, has inevitably encountered many forms of print culture in his research on the social aspects the disease. His assumptions are generally that plague literature, and here he would be including broadsheets such as Dunstall's and members of the upper classes and elites continually took part in and patronized aspects of popular culture, whereas the converse, that members of the popular classes took part in and in any way dictated high culture, virtually never occurred. From this one can infer that there was something at stake in popular culture for the dominant groups of early modern society, and it was in their interests to have a hand in banging the pots, making 'rough music', and influencing the content of plays or ballads. Therefore, there must have been something of ruling class ideology in the forms and expressions of popular culture, as well as resistance to it. The writers in this collection, it seems, feel that as a historian, one must be continually alert to decipher the hegemony of the dominant social group, or groups', ideology in the forms of cultural expression normally referred to as popular, for this can help us come to some understanding of our own modern period. Control over culture can mean the hegemony of the thoughts and beliefs of one class or social group over the everyday lives and leisure activities of another. In this sense hegemony, taken from the Italian writer, Antonio Gramsci, "refers to an order in which a common social-moral language is spoken, in which one concept of reality is dominant, informing with its spirit all modes of thought and behaviour...hegemony is the predominance obtained by consent rather than force of one class or group over other classes". See J.V. Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought (Oxford, 1981) 24.
Sellers', performed a kind of therapeutic function. The literate had the mortality bills and the broadsheets from which to draw statistical 'information', as well as other texts designed to entertain and be morally instructive. All helped the population of early modern England’s plague afflicted towns and cities "to come to terms with plague".3 Speaking specifically about the single sheet broadsides, Slack states that they illustrate "the range of intellectual options open at the popular level", and that the inclusion of large amounts of statistical information allowed "ordinary Londoners, as well as their governors...to anticipate a rise or fall in mortality, and to turn to medicine or prayers as circumstances or inclination dictated".4 Elsewhere, Slack has referred to popular texts and printed matter dealing with the disease by stating that "plague offered ample opportunity for contemporary reflection on a variety of moral and social themes".5

Half a century earlier, Walter Bell, the great historian of London's disasters, discussed some of the same material known as 'popular' plague literature. In fact, it is thanks to Bell that Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet has been preserved, for it belonged to the writer before he bequeathed it to the Museum of London. In Bell's 1924 *The Great Plague in London in 1665*, the author describes Dunstall's images, comments on their crudeness, and then states that the artist was no Hogarth, for only the great social commentator of the later period "could have suggested to us the dramatic quality of those fearful months".6 The lack of dramatic quality notwithstanding, Bell states that the value of this broadsheet is that it was contemporary with the plague, and therefore represented a form of truth. For

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example, he states in describing the crowded quality of the first image of the sick
room: "All this in one room! Perhaps the draughtsman has crowded his objects too
closely to get all represented, but what he has expressed is true. And it is the same
with the next picture".7 Similarly, in his The Plague and the Fire of London,
Sutherland Ross reproduced four of Dunstall's images, separated from the context of
the sheet and the rest of the narrative construction. In his description of two of the
images, panels five and seven, showing the carrying of coffins and mass burials in a
churchyard, Ross reasons that "the orderly appearance of the proceedings is probably
due to the artist's lack of skill, but he has an eye for detail".8

It is not the intention here to detract from the contributions of these
historians, for Slack and Bell in particular have produced invaluable research which
this thesis draws upon frequently. Yet, as this study is specifically concerned with
print culture, social order, and representation, I want to push the historical
interpretation of popular plague literature, and popular culture in a wider sense,
further than the somewhat passive attributes given it in studies such as these. I am
not concerned to pass judgment, for example, on John Dunstall's skill and merit as
an artist, but more interested in understanding if the unusual orderly appearance
that historian Sutherland Ross discerns in Dunstall's imagery has anything at all to
do with the social context in which the image was produced, a context, as I indicated
previously, overly concerned with the issue of social order and peace. My own
analysis seeks to discover whether this broadsheet could have served a more active
role, rather than merely a 'truthful' reflection of or response to the given social
catastrophe of the plague. In fact 'truth', the quality that Bell finds in Dunstall's
images, or different kinds of 'truths', were in the process of being contested and
articulated in the historical moment that saw the production of this broadsheet.

7Bell (1924), 103.
Some of these 'truths' are directly implicated in the image of the plague and social body represented on the print. For example, the statistical information on the sheet was not merely 'information' and therefore assumed a somewhat inert role, but embodied a culturally specific form of truth and a particular political position. Images of the plague in the City did not merely document the disease's progress through the City's urban spaces, as I will show, nor did statistics passively record the numbers of plague deaths in each parish. Woven together during the Restoration, the use of the visual and the statistical worked together to construct a representation that imposed a visual, chronological, narrative, and statistical order on the disorder of the plague of 1665. This representation, I will argue, was active and integral in serving to call up a viewing subject and implicate that subject in discourses and issues crucial to the Restoration era. The exercise is, then, to decipher if possible the ideological function of this broadsheet, to suggest the ways in which it might have been used, to posit the subject position called up by this specific form of representation, and assess how the viewing/reading subject's compliance with it was demanded and instituted.9

9Here I hesitate to use the term Restoration ideology, even though I am thinking of the methodologies posited by literary critics the likes of Terry Eagleton and Frederic Jameson. See, for example, Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology* (London, 1976), and Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, (Ithaca, 1981). Their work has been concerned with questions of ideology and literature, and the position of the reading subject in relation to literary texts. The construction of a subject position for them takes place in between the notion of ideological interpellation, drawn from Althusser, wherein a reading/viewing subject is shaped by the subtle and complex workings of dominant ideologies, and, on the other hand, the process of individuation, wherein resistance to the workings of ideology takes place within the already construed subject positions in a given social context. Terry Eagleton has argued that literature is the "most revealing mode of experiential access to ideology that we possess"(Eagleton, 101). For it is within this cultural form "that we observe in a peculiarly complex, coherent, intensive, and immediate fashion the workings of ideology in the textures of lived experience of class societies"(Eagleton, 101). With this in mind, cultural forms would become difficult to view merely as reflections, documentations, or passive records, and allow for the possibility that they are a locus themselves for the production of ideology. For a good critical discussion of these issues, see Paul Smith, *Discerning the Subject* (Minneapolis, 1988).
In attempting to answer such questions about an object of this type, this thesis is indebted to the historians of what is now known as the new cultural history. Through an approach to cultural objects and events that are often ephemeral and multivalent, such as religious, civic, and royal processions, or even the long ignored texts and images of popular culture, practitioners of the new cultural history have been compelled to undertake studies of an interdisciplinary nature. This type of history has consequently been pushed away from the positing of abstract analyses, in favor of an interpretation of culture that relies on historical specificity. Meaning for a given cultural form is derived from its context, and the struggles over varying representations of reality. There can be no single, objective, unified truth to history, but many truths and histories in competition. A carefully constructed representation of the plague, such as that fashioned by Dunstall and Sellers, was one version of the event among others, and helped to produce a certain kind of knowledge and perception about the outbreak of the disease that served the interests of royal and civic authority. At the same time, the contents of the broadside could easily intersect with other motivations, and be read or used by individuals in different ways. In other words, despite concerns over social order and the policing of


11 For example, in discussing her *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, Hunt states that her aim was not "to reduce revolutionary discourse to one stable system of meaning (the reflection of community, for example) but rather to show how political language could be used rhetorically to build a sense of community and at the same time to establish new fields of social, political, and cultural struggle — that is make possible unity and difference at the same time" (Hunt, 1989), 17.
cultural forms undertaken during the Restoration, not the least being rigid control over the productions of print culture, the knowledge and history of the plague produced in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet was not just an imposition of power from the top down, but utilized forms of knowledge and representation that empowered individuals in certain ways. These functions were, of course, implicitly tied to and inseparable from the context of Restoration London.

In legitimizing and theorizing a shift in the methods and objects of history, the writings of Michel Foucault have also greatly encouraged historical analyses of an interdisciplinary nature.\textsuperscript{12} In Foucault's work, as he explains, the objects of history have not exactly been replaced by new, previously undiscovered or unexamined events, individuals, archives or documents, but, rather, the focus of analysis has been shifted slightly: "it's still the same domain of objects, but the object has been magnified".\textsuperscript{13} Such a magnification can allow a change in the level at which the discourse of history operates, and unearth or address "a layer of material which hitherto had no pertinence for history and which had not been recognized as having any moral, aesthetic, political, or historic value".\textsuperscript{14} Foucault's methods of discourse analysis, and his research into the operations of the technologies of power brought into place throughout the early modern period and into the present day, are particularly useful in a project like this that seeks to ascertain how certain elements of popular print culture were embedded in, and made up an active part of, a matrix of political, social, and even scientific debates. But the intention here is not to use

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12}In fact, the new cultural history itself has received great impetus from the work of Foucault, and most of the historians cited in footnote 13 have, at one point or another, had to come to terms with the author's writings. See Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture" in Hunt ed. (1989), and the chapter entitled "Foucault's Phantasms" in Robert Young, \textit{White Mythologies: Writing History and the West} (London and New York, 1990).
  \item \textsuperscript{14}Foucault (1980), 50.
\end{itemize}
Foucault simply to contextualize a printed broadsheet from the seventeenth-century, which would run the risk of positing a transcendental historical subject somehow distanced from it. Rather, the project is to get at what kind of power this representation of the plague utilized or set in motion, and how that could come to account for the constitution of a subject within a specific historical framework.

Foucault encourages us to analyze the workings of power at the level where it is in direct and immediate contact with its object, at the point of its continuous and uninterrupted process wherein it comes to 'subject' bodies. As he writes, "in other words, rather than ask ourselves how the sovereign appears to us in his lofty isolation, we should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts, etcetera".\textsuperscript{15} Power must be analyzed in its disparate contexts and arrangements, for, as power utilizes and is utilized through a net like organization, individuals 'circulate' and are always in a position of simultaneously being subjected to power and making use of it.\textsuperscript{16}

Foucault charts a dramatic shift in the operations of the mechanisms of power predominantly through the eighteenth century and its period of fundamental structural change. Power was redirected into what he refers to as its capillary form of existence, where it became synaptic, interiorized, exercising force

\textsuperscript{15}Foucault (1980), 97.

\textsuperscript{16}In the essay "Questions on Geography" in\textit{Power/Knowledge}, Foucault discusses how power came to be disseminated in nineteenth-century France to more regional and local mechanisms. He states:

In consequence, one cannot confine oneself to analysing the State apparatus alone if one wants to grasp the mechanisms of power in their detail and complexity. There is a sort of schematism that needs to be avoided here — and which incidentally is not to be found in Marx — that consists of locating power in the State apparatus, making this into the major, privileged, capital and almost unique instrument of the power of one class over another. In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that reason can act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power(72).
from within the social body as opposed to from above: "It was the instituting of this new local, capillary form of power which impelled society to eliminate certain elements such as the court and the king. The mythology of the sovereign was no longer possible once a certain kind of power was being exercised within the social body".\textsuperscript{17} Though Foucault speaks primarily of French historical developments, in England crucial social and political shifts effecting profound structural change began to occur much earlier than the eighteenth-century. These conflicts began, in fact, in the middle of the seventeenth-century with the struggles of parliament against Charles I, and the contention over religious freedom.\textsuperscript{18} The Restoration is a particularly interesting moment in that all the trappings and symbolic systems of the monarchy were reestablished, and existed in the same cultural context as forms of power beginning to exercise themselves within the social body. The centralization and bureaucratization of the administrative arm of the state, the technologies of power and surveillance, the means to control and watch over the social body through methods of record keeping — the compilation of statistical information as a way of serving government with detailed knowledge about the nation, lands, population, and colonies — received their most rigorous formulation and theorization following the return of Charles II to power in 1660. For example, the techniques and methods of natural philosophy, of which the 'political arithmetic' mentioned earlier was a part, were offered to the king and the returning monarchical government as a tool capable of being utilized in the preservation of social peace. Charles II and his advisors recognized the potential benefits of such an

\textsuperscript{17}Foucault (1980), 39.

\textsuperscript{18}Foucault discusses the different contexts briefly in "Prison Talk" in \textit{Power/Knowledge}: "In England the same capillary modification of power occurred as in France. But there the person of the king, for example, was displaced within the system of political representations, rather than eliminated. Hence one can't say that the change at the capillary level is absolutely tied to institutional changes at the level of the centralised forms of the State"(39).
exchange, and with the granting of a royal charter in 1662, incorporated the association of intellectuals responsible for articulating these methodologies into the group known as the Royal Society. New modalities of power that would ultimately serve to destabilize and deconstruct the mythology of the sovereign were allowed to flourish under the protection and privilege of the king.  

One of the key elements to be garnered from Foucault for this thesis is his questioning of historicism and its relevance for studies of the plague. Foucault is opposed to historicism and Western humanism, because they assume a continuous process of development and progress leading to a kind of globalization. History, Foucault argues, should be seen as only one of several possible discursive forms of comprehension, and consequently one that is incapable of providing a solid foundation for knowledge. 'Total' history should be opposed by 'general' history. The former, standing for the assumption of a spatio-temporal continuity between the phenomena of history, the drawing of everything together according to a single principle, law, or form, and the interpretation of documents to create or impose universal meaning on them, is contrasted with a form of history that attempts only to determine relations between different series, to analyze temporal and specific heterogeneities rather than create homogeneity, and to avoid producing a comprehensive world view. With this in mind, then, what we should be doing is

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19 J.R. Jones, in Country and Court: England 1658-1714 (London, 1978), 80-81, is hinting at this when he claims that a new ideology was emerging under the surface of Restoration political events. This new ideology was characterized and encapsulated in the words 'interest' and 'improvement', wherein 'interest' became the bond that cemented social relations, for men would only work together if their private interests coincided with their public interests, and 'improvement' was linked to science and commercial development. Systematic examination of natural phenomena was to improve the workings of nature, society, and government.

20 Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (New York, 1972), 9, and Young, 70.

21 Young, 78. Young identifies another list of suspect categories and concepts that Foucault would come to reject including the subject, class, ideology, and any general theories of history or society.
attempting to offer answers to particular questions capable of making individual practices and cultural forms intelligible.

Studies of the plague in recent years have gained great impetus from Foucault and an anti-historicist approach. Traditionally, plagues have been seen as great tragedies that rise up on unsuspecting populations, decimate different nations, cities, and groups or classes of people equally, subside, disappear, and return again in a decade or a century to change the course of history. Plague is often emphasized as cyclical, and when one moves away from this notion we see societies and cultures prepared to deal with, and dealing with epidemic disease on an everyday basis. The disease, for example, was clearly not cyclical in early modern London, as the Bills of Mortality show, but continually present in some form. It was only at certain times of great infection that the disease became highly visible within the community, giving rise to social and cultural practices intended to meet and counter it, whether in fantasy or reality. Giulia Calvi, in her study of the Florentine plague of 1630-1633, points out that institutional responses imposed upon an afflicted city and its population from above by the state or crown coexisted with singular strategies for survival and the protection of individual interests. Therefore, she argues, there

22 Giulia Calvi, Histories of a Plague Year: the social and the imaginary in Baroque Florence (Berkeley, 1989). Other plague studies that move away from a historicist approach are, for example, Carlo Cipolla, Faith, Reason, and the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany (New York, 1977), which is a microcosmic study of a small Tuscan village that brings to light the subtle conflicts and strategies employed by the church and ruling authorities; Ann Carmichael, Plague and Poor in Renaissance Florence (Cambridge, 1986) wherein the author sets out to counter plague accounts that see epidemics as altering the course of history by showing that decisions and conflicts undertaken in plague stricken societies did influence patterns of mortality; and Arien Mack ed., "In Time of Plague: The History and Social Consequences of Lethal Epidemic Disease" Social Research vol.55 no.8 Autumn, 1988, which reproduces the papers given at a conference designed to initiate discussion between scientists and historians, and place AIDS in perspective through a social history of disease. The latter text indicates that even the definition of 'plague' is continually shifting through history. Most recently, is James Amelang's translation and commentary on a journal kept by a seventeenth-century Barcelona tanner, A Journal of the Plague Year (New York and Oxford, 1991). Amelang is very much concerned to position this translated journal within the current debates on popular culture, and does an interesting analysis of this text, and other written plague narratives, in his introduction.
can be no single history of the Florentine plague, but many versions constructing disparate socially and politically positioned representations. For example, in regard to an official account of the epidemic, that written by the Grand Duke Ferdinand II's librarian Francesco Rondinelli, Calvi has this to say:

The body of the city supposedly followed the same parabola of physiological decline and renewal experienced by the bodies of those who survived. The emphasis throughout is on cyclical and natural processes. Just as the disease appeared at regular intervals, so too was the opposite route toward health repeated. Imposing a naturalistic reading upon events, the official script assimilated the course of the city's history to that of the inevitable trajectory of the illness.23

Calvi shows how this cyclical ordering of the plague in representation performed a specific political and social function in Florence in 1630. A similar emphasis on the cyclical nature of plague is constructed in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet as well. The inclusion of statistics shows the rise and fall of plague in the City of London for the current epidemic and for two in recent history. Coupled with the narrative construction produced by the visual images, that pictures a city moving from sickness to health, a very particular version of the disease's presence in the social body was contrived. Visual imagery and statistical 'truth' mutually supported one another in this broadsheet, which, as I will argue, attempted to construct a form of continuity and consensus, a homogeneity to the social body, out of the discontinuity and rupture brought by the disease.

Foucault's own work on the plague is also important to the conceptual framework of this thesis. In his preamble to the chapter on Panopticism in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault leads into the discussion of Bentham's circular prison controlled by an act of surveillance from a central tower, and his overall conclusions about panopticism, with an analysis of the social reorganization set in

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motion by a series of French plague decrees from the late seventeenth century. These French plague orders — edicts and instructions to civic authorities on the proper way of controlling an urban centre's public spaces and its sick — envisaged an infected community subject to strict spatial partitioning, quarantine, surveillance, disinfection, and inspection that gave rise to the political dream of a disciplined society.\textsuperscript{24} The natural catastrophe of the epidemic offered institutional and official structures the opportunity to exercise, instigate, and hone the effects of power and discipline on a diseased social body. Official power attempted to counter the social inversion sickness threatened to bring with it by fixing the individual in place — a segmented, frozen, and immobile space in which the individual plague body and the entire social body had to remain visible continuously to the representatives of order. In other words, the plague stood as a metaphor, a condensed referent for all forms of social confusion and disorder, and was intended to be met by the technologies of order and discipline. Foucault argues: "Against the plague, which is a mixture, discipline brings into play its power, which is one of analysis".\textsuperscript{25} In other words, to preserve order in the social body during the plague, that body had to be dissected, compartmentalized, fragmented, and studied through

\textsuperscript{24}Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish} (New York, 1979), 198. 
\textsuperscript{25}Foucault(1979), 197. The vision of order and quarantine during the plague has its opposite in an image of complete social freedom. Foucault writes that a great "literary fiction of the festival grew up around the plague: suspended laws, lifted prohibitions, the frenzy of passing time, bodies mingling together without respect, individuals unmasked, abandoning their statutory identity and the figure under which they had been recognized, allowing quite a different truth to appear". For Mikhail Bakhtin, carnivalesque inversion and the plague come together in the figure of Boccaccio and the \textit{Decameron}. According to Bakhtin, the \textit{Decameron}, written during a time of great infection, articulates the moment as a model of cultural freedom, as a way of creating new possibilities for the utilization of frank, unofficial, words and images Social and moral conventions are effaced, as well as all laws, both spiritual and temporal: "Life has been lifted out of its routine, the web of conventions has been torn; all the official hierarchic limits have been swept away. The plague has created its own unique atmosphere that grants both outward and inward rights". See Mikhail Bakhtin, \textit{Rabelais and His World}, Hélène Iswolsky trans. (Bloomington, 1984), 272.
the production of detailed knowledge about its constituent parts. This was a process carried out on specific, living bodies and communities, as well as in representation.

Dunstall's and Sellers' print is a type of anatomical dissection of the social body of the City of London in broadsheet form. An anatomy metaphor presupposes a sick or diseased body, and the use of the anatomy metaphor on the social body of early modern London and England was not unusual. As I will show, it was a metaphor that could serve many interests in the seventeenth-century. For example, an anatomy could function to produce knowledge about an unknown entity, to make visible the feared and the invisible, and to counter these with objective truth based on the premises of the knowledge produced by the scientific and medical dissection. In the case of Dunstall's and Sellers' representation, the sick body is the social one, afflicted with the plague and the perceived social disorder carried along with it. To anatomize the social body of the City, both visually and statistically as was done in this broadsheet, in so far as it was to produce knowledge about that body and hold it up as truth through the legitimation by the scientific, served particular political and social functions in the uneasy moment of the Restoration.

I wish to position the production of Dunstall's and Sellers' visual and numerical representation of the plague of 1665 within what I see as a shift in the conceptions about scientific knowledge, and political philosophic articulations utilizing the metaphor of the social body. In English political and philosophic thought, the notion of the individual body finding its correlate in the social stemmed from a complex relationship of pagan, Christian, and non-religious traditions, which posited links between the macrocosm, the ordered world of the heavens, and the microcosm, the individual human being.26 Also known as the Great Chain of Being, such a system reinforced social hierarchies, and the

integration of humankind with the environment. Each part of the chain was thought of as a link, with a necessary role to play, and like the individual body, certain parts of the chain had more importance and controlled other aspects. The head, or king (sometimes referred to as the heart), directed the other parts of the body, and each other part had to exercise its appropriate function in collaboration with the head. In the discourse of seventeenth-century English medicine, and the practice of anatomy handed down virtually unchanged from the Greeks, was the method to establish hierarchy in the human body, and, by consequence, in the social body as well. As James Daly has argued, "the body natural was a favorite source of instruction for the body politic, since neither the head nor body could survive without the other, and the prevalence of virtually untreatable illness was a constant reminder of what happened when physical harmony was absent".27

In such a world picture, the natural sciences served methods and techniques of knowledge production that sought to discover the essential order of the natural and social world. Yet, the very world picture that natural philosophy sought to buttress and support came under attack in Stuart England, particularly in the middle decades of the century when the head was literally removed from the social body, and the body of the monarch, Charles I. Though the Restoration attempted to reinstall the head onto the political body, and along with it its entire set of representational and analogical symbolism, the belief in an essential natural order had been severely challenged and hampered by new methods of thinking.28 If divine and natural order could no longer be discovered in the macrocosm and, by

27Daly, 6. Daly states further that "what the macrocosmic correspondences did was to provide a range of analogies through which were pictured a political life in which royal power, legal order, and social cooperation were given a foundation in nature and supernature, and a sanction which appealed to the esthetic side of the imagination" (14).

consequence, the microcosm, by the disciplines of natural philosophy, perhaps the sciences, including anatomy, could be used to create order instead. This, I think, is one of the issues at the heart of the reformulation and dissemination of statistical knowledge, and the anatomy of the social body found on Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside. It is also part of the reformulation and institutionalization of science on the whole following the Restoration.

Another issue central to the concerns of this thesis is how large a public could read, view, and engage with the printed productions of Restoration society. The expansion of literacy and, codeterminous with it, growth in the production of printed text and visual imagery through the middle decades of the seventeenth century left a legacy of politically charged issues for Restoration government. For some members of the population, particularly the dissenting religious sects, ministers had from the early seventeenth-century on emphasized the "civil and moral comeliness in behaviour" fostered through acquiring literacy, and felt that it could help counter confusion and disobedience. Widespread literacy had been one of the central obligations of the Covenant and viewed positively as a benefit to social stability. Each individual would have his or her own access to the word of God expressed in the written texts of the bible, unmediated by the interpretation of specialized clergy. Conversely, for others, particularly by the 1660s, the advances made in national literacy were felt to have been socially and politically dangerous.

29 The extent of this literacy is given in varying degrees: Barry Reay, in the introduction to Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England, states that at the time of the Civil Wars, 30% of English men and 10% of women could sign their names. Reay gets his information from David Cressy, (see note 34 below). Peter Burke, in his essay "Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London", published in the same text edited by Reay, gives the percentage for the early century as 76% of a sample of craftsmen and shopkeepers in the City could sign their names. For women, literacy rose dramatically from 10% to 48% at the end of the century. Bernard Capp, in his essay "Popular Literature", also in the same text, gives the number of 30% for the male population in 1641, but qualifies it by noting that a far greater number would be able to read, but not write (199).

The royalist, William Cavendish, in a letter to Charles II, claimed that "the Bible in English under every weaver and chambermaid's arm hath done us much hurt"; another royalist, James Howell, complained in the same era that "people of all sorts though never so mean and mechanical" were learning to read and write.\textsuperscript{31}

Throughout the seventeenth century, under the reign of the Stuarts as well as the Commonwealth, both visual and textual material flowing from the printing presses of London had been a problem either for civil, monarchical, or religious authorities.\textsuperscript{32} The quantity of this production was substantial, indicating that inexpensive, mass-produced books, pamphlets, single sheets, bills and broadsides were increasingly becoming an important and visible part of seventeenth century English culture for a substantial portion of that society.\textsuperscript{33} For example, prior to 1640, the Stationer's Company registered approximately two hundred titles of printed material each year. In contrast, George Thomason, who faithfully gathered a large amount of material as it was published between 1640 and 1660, collected on average six hundred eighty books and pamphlets a year for the two decades, with two thousand alone in 1642. By this time printed editions of three thousand were not

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\textsuperscript{31}Cressy, 45.
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\textsuperscript{32}On the problems caused by print culture for royal, ecclesiastic, and parliamentary authority, and the legal steps taken to control the press see Frederick Seaton Siebert, \textit{Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776} (Urbana, 1952).
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\textsuperscript{33}Peter Burke comes to the conclusion that popular political consciousness was raised dramatically through the middle decades of the seventeenth-century, particularly in London. He writes: "As a late seventeenth-century witness remarked with some sourness, 'every little blue-apron boy behind the counter undertakes as boldly as if he had served an apprenticeship at the council board'. The Civil Wars of the 1640s and the crises of 1679-81 and 1688 made a great contribution to the political education of the ordinary Londoner. The impact of these events was made stronger and also more permanent by the fact that they were recorded in print. A new medium reinforced the new messages" (Reay, 48). Perhaps Burke could not quite see that the printing press and its products were also in a large way responsible for those decisive events occurring in the first place. See also Tim Harris, \textit{London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis} (Cambridge, 1987), who argues that the parliamentary struggles of the period of the Stuart kings and the Commonwealth can only be comprehended if we acknowledge that the political nation was far broader than customarily believed.

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unusual, and total annual printed production in London has been estimated by David Cressy at two million volumes per annum, with four hundred thousand two-penny almanacs alone.\textsuperscript{34} Judging by the dramatic increase in printed production between 1640 and 1660, a time of great political instability in England, it is reasonable to assume that the printing press became the single most important tool in the dissemination of political information, and, therefore, also largely responsible for the instigation of continual religious and political tension in a widely based and varied reading public.

In chapter one, I pay close attention to the historical context of the period in English history known as the Restoration, the era that saw a Stuart king, Charles II, return to the throne of England, and the enactment of a series of repressive parliamentary edicts intended to circumscribe dissenting political and religious activity. These attempts involved the policing of almost all aspects of cultural and social life, not the least being the power of the print medium.\textsuperscript{35} In such a context, virtually all the licensed productions of the print culture of London, which means the majority of England as well, for almost all printers in the country lived in London, became the voice of the dominant Restoration ideologies, and the voice of order. In addition, developments within the field of natural philosophy are very important in this context, for the statistical elements in Dunstall's and Sellers' sheet were linked to the discourse referred to at the time as 'political arithmetic', one of

\textsuperscript{34}Cressy, 46-48.

the many such disciplines being reordered and reformulated under the all encompassing designation of natural philosophy, itself being institutionalized under royal protection in the years immediately following the Restoration.\textsuperscript{36} In the 1660s, such a reworking of the discourses of experimental science, as will be shown in the first chapter, was conceived of by many of the leading proponents of the new science as a way of assisting in the production and preservation of social peace and stability.\textsuperscript{37} Natural philosophy, given state sanction in 1662 with the incorporation of the Royal Society, could and did develop into a complex interrelated field of discourses with the potential of serving to protect a community, define its norms even, its boundaries of health, and inscribe those identities and definitions onto and into the social body. Natural philosophy had the tools, or claimed it could produce them, that could be applied to a community — city, region, nation, colony — for the purpose of ordering that body, deciphering what, if anything, should be purged from it, and even what sort and form of activities and behaviour were desirable within it. Social order, conformity, and consensus had to be emphasized and encouraged in the cultural context of Charles II's England, for it was a predicament that occupied government and intellectuals alike following two decades of political and religious instability wrought by the Civil War and the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{38} A close reading of

\textsuperscript{36}See Peter Buck, "Seventeenth-Century Political Arithmetic: Civil Strife and Vital Statistics", \textit{Isis} 68 (1977)

\textsuperscript{37}See for example, Christopher Hill, "Partial Historians and Total History" in \textit{The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill} (Amherst, 1986), 8, where the author states:

The restoration brought back bishops, and aimed at restoring traditional certainties against the 'enthusiasm' of mechanic preachers and the 'atheism' of mechanic philosophers. The propagandists of the Royal Society, some of them a little tarred with the brush of radicalism, took up with gusto the attack on enthusiasm and atheism. Our most religious king, Charles II, was well advised to become patron of the Royal Society as well as head of the Church of England, and to tie both closely to the social hierarchy. It may have been no better for science than it was for religion, but it certainly helped to conserve the newly established order.
this historical context is necessary to understand the complexities and subtleties of Dunstall’s and Sellers’ print of the plague in London in 1665. This anatomy of the social body of the afflicted City is looked at more closely in chapter two, where the elements that comprise it — the images, the statistics drawn from a related cultural form, the Bills of Mortality — are linked to specific functions and uses of this form of representation, and to other representations of the social effects of the disease in 1665.

38See, for example, Andrew Browning’s introduction to English Historical Documents 1660-1714 (London, 1953), wherein he states that "by 1660 the peoples of the British Isles had become heartily tired of revolutions, anxious for the establishment of a settled and orderly system once more, and convinced that the best prospect of achieving this result lay in a return to something like the position before the outbreak of the civil wars"(3). If the Restoration was a moment overly concerned with the re-establishment of order, it was so because disorder threatened to erupt again at any moment, for the conflicts that had lead to the civil war and the commonwealth still existed, and, as Browning reasons, the later Stuart period was in fact, one of the most unsettled periods in British history.
CHAPTER ONE

THE RESTORATION CONTEXT: THE REASSERTING OF ORDER
AND THE POLICING OF CULTURAL FORMS

At which Words, Monarchy, and Loyalty, unveiling themselves, Rebellion starts as affrighted, but, recollecting herself, concludes her Speech thus.

Ah! Britain, Ah! stand'st thou Triumphant there,
Monarchick Isle? I shake with horrid Fear.
Are thy wounds whole? Upon thy Cheek fresh smiles?
Is Joy restor'd to these late mournful Isles?
Ah! must He enter, and a King be Crown'd?
Then, as He riseth, sink we under Ground.

Rebellion having ended her Speech, Monarchy entertains His Majesty with the following.

To Hell, foul Friend, shrink from this glorious Light,
And hide thy Head in everlasting Night.
Enter in Safety, Royal Sir, this Arch,
And through your joyful Streets in Triumph march;
Enter our Sun, our Comfort, and our Life.
No more these Walls shall breed Intestine Strife:
Henceforth Your People onely shall contend
In Loyalty each other to transcend.
May Your Great Actions, and immortal Name,
Be the whole Business, and Delight of Fame.
May You, and Yours, in a Perpetual Calm,
Be crowned with Laurel, and Triumphant Palm,
And all Confess, whilst they in You are Blest,
I, MONARCHY, of Governments am Best.

A portion of the discourse between Monarchy and Rebellion at the first triumphal arch of Charles II's procession to his coronation, described in John Ogilby's The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in His Passage through the City of London to His Coronation (1662).
By these Arts and Practices, the Faction works upon the Passions and Humours of the Common-People; and when they shall have put Mischief into their Hearts, their next Business is to put Swords in their Hands, and to Engage them in a direct Rebellion.

Sir Roger L'Estrange, Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press (1663).
INTRODUCTION

An analysis of John Dunstall's and John Sellers' anatomy of the social body of London during the plague of 1665 can only be undertaken with an understanding of a cultural context in which the political instability of the previous twenty years had reached a peak. England's faith in its political system's ability to resolve conflict had been shattered by the execution of a monarch, the destruction of the House of Lords, military dictatorship, constitutional reforms, and the spectre of political and religious radicalism in the highest seats of power. A combination of economic, political, and religious pressures in England had forced the reunion of parliament and monarchy in 1660, and the ensuing cultural moment of the Restoration required the negotiation and mediation of the nation's recent past. Internal and external wars had devastated trade, and the fracturing of governmental authority had given rise to a weak, divided nation, that both moderate religious radicals and landholding gentry increasingly felt could only be rejuvenated by the return of the monarch. The anarchy and heterogeneity of Civil War and Commonwealth, they hoped, would now be countered by harmony and a certain homogeneity of political and religious life. Part of this program would be brought about by the exertion of state control into a wide variety of cultural forms and discourses. For this thesis, the attempts by the returning monarchical government to control, police, and dictate the productions of the printing community are of paramount importance, but such actions did not exist on their own, and must be seen in relation to a complex set of ordinances and government decrees designed to demarcate, delineate, and circumscribe the public life of Restoration London and England. This chapter is concerned to examine those attempts and their significance in some depth. Control over print culture was just one example, though an extremely important one, of the

state's attempts to homogenize and contain dissent in this historical moment, and worked in combination with attempts to police religious life, and delimit political radicalism in English society. Print culture was by this time clearly the most effective means to influence public knowledge of political, cultural, and social events, and therefore offered a variety of positions from where to articulate criticism of the state.

The circumstances of the years between roughly 1640-1660 were seen at the Restoration as evidence of great disease wrought in the public body of the City and the nation. The decisive historical events of these years had been brought about largely by the fracturing of royal power and the growing strength of dissident political and religious publics. With the reinstallation of the monarchy, these uncontrollable and dangerous factions were both feared and seen as a threat to social order and stability, particularly in London, where dissenting interests were often identified with the causes of urban independence. As the speech opening this chapter from 'Monarchy' to 'Rebellion' during Charles II's coronation procession stated, hopes were pinned on a restored monarchy to purge these disturbing elements from the guts of London's social body where they continued to breed 'Intestine Strife'. 'Monarchy', the restored institution of government in its perfected form, would eradicate non conformity to the Church of England and resistance to the Crown from the City, and enforce social and political uniformity by compelling the kingdom's population to confess that kingship was the only form of government capable of uniting the state and transcending the recent conflicts.

The monarch was restored as the head of the body politic, and Charles II's government was to heal the wounds caused by the Civil War and the Commonwealth. When the social body became really sick, literally, in 1665 with the plague, some writers could not resist employing the metaphor of the king as healer,

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40Jones (1978), 37.
capable of expelling from the sick community whatever was inimical to it. For example, Thomas Cock, author of a text on public health in 1665 entitled *Hygienie, or A Plain and Practical Discourse Upon the First of the Six Non-Naturals*, in a discussion of good and bad vapors, related that the heart was the ultimate judge of what was good for the individual body. Cock, in explaining this, used the metaphor of the heart as king, capable of sensing what was best for the social body. Plagues, in a way, would be defeated by the wisdom of a king:

> which being communicated by the lungs to the heart, the heart (as in a Throne) by its Prerogative Royal, and Legislative Power, acts Rex, and truly examines and determines, approves and disallows whatever is Homogeneal and Heterogeneal to itself; and when it apprehends any inimical blood, scent, or vapour, contaminated and lodged in (its Kingdom) the Body, to approach its presence by the communication of inferior parts, it speedily throws off, and expells it by the coercive power of its Systole.41

The monarch embodied what was best for the social body at the Restoration, and it was his power and wisdom that could surgically excise the diseased portions of the community from the rest of English society. But in reality, the king could not act alone, and required a similar thinking Privy Council and parliament in order to carry out this operation.

I) CIRCUMSCRIBING THE BODY POLITIC

In the elections called by the hastily assembled Convention Parliament as Charles II made his way back to London in 1660, the parliamentary power base established by Presbyterians and independent religious sects was rapidly and

41 Thomas Cock, *Hygienie, or A Plain and Practical Discourse Upon the First of the Six Non-Naturals; viz: Air: with Cautionary Rules and Directions for the Preservation of People in this time of Sickness* (London, 1665), 16. Systole is the contraction of the heart to force blood through the human body.
decisively eroded by the return of the conservative gentry to power.\textsuperscript{42} Despite the endorsement at the request of Charles II of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, absolving and protecting from prosecution all those who had aided parliament or benefited from the sale of royalist or church lands — with the exception of the regicides — the Convention Parliament quickly ordered the symbolic mutilation of the textual representations of religious freedom by having the public hangman burn the Solemn League and the Covenant, which exemplified the agreement by Presbyterian dissenters to support parliament and oppose episcopacy.\textsuperscript{43} The Convention Parliament also repealed the 1642 statute excluding the Anglican bishops from the House of Lords, allowed clergy to once again hold lay offices, and restored the leading gentry to control over civil power through their command over the offices of the justices of the peace.

The parliament that was to sit for the next decade, commonly referred to as the Cavalier Parliament, worked very effectively to both limit and contain the various political publics established in the period leading up to the Civil War and through the Commonwealth. This suppression was achieved by a number of acts brought into legislation which, by the time plague struck London in 1665, had greatly circumscribed the public sphere. For example, the Act to Preserve the Person and Government of the King of 1661 extended the charge of treason from imprisoning or restraining the monarch to encompass writing, printing, preaching

\textsuperscript{42}In addition to the texts focusing more on the political and religious events of Restoration era by Seaward and Jones already cited, see also the very good study by Ronald Hutton, \textit{The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667} (Oxford, 1985), and the essays collected in J.R. Jones ed., \textit{The Restored Monarchy 1660-1688} (London, 1979). For a text dealing mostly with the religious settlement at the Restoration see Douglas R. Lacey, \textit{Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England} (Rutgers, 1969).

and speaking against royal authority; in the same year the Act Against Tumultuous Petitioning required that any petition proposing alterations to established laws had to receive preliminary sanction from a justice of the peace or grand jury.\textsuperscript{44} In addition, as part of an attempt to deal with the problem of large crowds gathering in the public spaces of the City for political purposes, this Act dictated against any petition being presented by more than twenty people. Another edict empowered justices of the peace, acting on information gathered from the churchwardens, with the authority to eject the poor from a parish if it was suspected that they might become a burden on the poor rate, and remove them to their locale of birth. Intended to prevent the poor rate of the wealthier parishes from becoming overburdened and overtaxed, such legislation effectively placed a large part of the population under the direct control of the justices of the peace and parish officers.\textsuperscript{45}

Religious dissenters from the independent and Presbyterian sects were effectively removed from positions of civic power with the Corporation Act of 1662, which saw Charles II and the country gentry firmly placed in control of the civic corporations. This move, of course, included the Corporation of London, which had been a stronghold of dissenting political power for the last two decades. Charles II himself selected commissioners to administer this Act from individuals acceptable to the House of Commons and the local cavalier interests. These commissioners had great power to effect purges, forcing all office holders to take oaths of allegiance and the Anglican sacrament.\textsuperscript{46} Also in the same year, the gentry's belief that religious uniformity was an essential prerequisite to political uniformity and stability saw the introduction of the much discussed Act of Uniformity. This act sought to impose religious harmony and agreement on all clergy in England by

\textsuperscript{44}Documents, 63 and 66.
\textsuperscript{45}Documents, 464. This act is known as the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1662.
\textsuperscript{46}Stuart Constitution, 351.
ordering them to use only the Book of Common Prayer, and consent to everything printed in it. Practicing ecclesiastics had to be ordained by a bishop, pledge non-resistance to royal authority, and disclaim the Covenant, now deemed to be an unlawful oath.\footnote{Documents, 377, and Stuart Constitution, 353. According to Jones (1978), the Act of Uniformity was really the birth of religious non-conformity, for it permanently divided the nation.} Such an act was designed to purify the religious establishment in much the same way as the Corporation Act cleaned out the civic corporations, for the nature of Presbyterian doctrines, and those of the independent sects even more so, did not allow believers and practitioners to take oaths of any kind.

Another much discussed act of 1662 and one that is central to this discussion in that it was directed at a vehicle often held most responsible for creating a fractured political body in England and contributing to a breakdown of monarchical power and civil war, placed control over print culture in the hands of the highest offices of church and state. This was the Licensing Act, and its object was to reorganize and oversee the press and the printing trade.\footnote{Documents, 67. The Act stated that "the well-government and regulating of printers and printing-presses is matter of public care and of great concernment, especially considering that by the general licentiousness of the late times many evil-disposed persons have been encouraged to print and sell heretical, schismatical, blasphemous, seditious, and treasonable books, pamphlets and papers".} Several means were adopted to achieve this end, including the reintroduction of the repressive Star Chamber legislation of 1637 that required all mechanically reproduced publications — books, single sheets, bills, and pictures — to be licensed by the Secretaries of State, the Bishop of London, or the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Act also sought to limit the number of master printers, thereby making production and the profession itself easier to monitor, and officially returned a monopoly on printed production in London to the Stationer's Company. The Stationer's monopoly had become invalid during the Civil War and the Commonwealth, and was now reinstated by Restoration government in exchange for a program of self-censorship.\footnote{Siebert, 257.} Needless to
say, it became exceedingly difficult to publish anything critical of government authority or policy, for only those publications which did not challenge the dominant ideologies of the restored powers would receive licensing.

Finally, in a long list of parliamentary edicts leading up to the year plague struck Restoration London, two more completed the program of attempted political and religious homogenization. The Conventicle Act of 1664 legislated against all unauthorized religious meetings, meaning any not taking place in an established church under the direction of a conforming minister, and the Five Mile Act of 1665, brought in during the Oxford session when parliament had convened there at the height of the plague in the City. Fearful that dissenting ministers were in a position to assume control over the pulpits from the Anglican ecclesiastics who had fled London during the plague, and hypersensitive to the danger that these dissenting voices, if publicly aired, could incite rebellion in an already restless public, parliament decreed that no ejected minister — one who had not taken the oath under the Act of Uniformity — could come closer than five miles to any corporate town.50

Clearly, then, severe and repressive measures were enacted by the returning monarchical government to eject opposition influences from parliament, church and civic corporations, to control print culture, and impose some form of order on social and political life. What should be emphasized here, though, is that the political changes imposed at the Restoration, however conservative and reactionary they might appear when compared to the Commonwealth, did not simply represent the replacement of parliamentary authority by absolutist power. Though the Stuart, Charles II, was returned to the throne, the monarchy of his father, Charles I, was not. Charles II was not the victor over parliament, for the latter's successes in the

Civil War had made it a permanent political force, and at the Restoration it retained reforms undertaken during the interregnum that had benefited its constituents as a class. Without question the gentry who wielded parliamentary power welcomed the possibility of the restoration of the monarch, for it would return the forms and principles of a hierarchical social order. As some recent historians, such as Paul Seaward and Ronald Hutton have argued, the true victors at the Restoration were the country gentry, who wielded their power in parliament to circumvent the potential for Charles II to gain absolute power. Refusing to allow the reintroduction of the prerogative courts and the establishment of a large standing army were just two examples of the way in which parliament exerted its independence and acted as a check on the absolutist potential of another Stuart king. The country gentry were also prime movers in the re-establishment of the traditional episcopal Church of England. Radicals, independents, and dissenters

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51Hutton, 183. Hutton states that the country gentry "gained absolutely from the Restoration", and their new found powers served as a preamble to Hanoverian England. Monarchy was re-established, and along with it episcopacy. For Hutton two obscure acts not mentioned in the text of the thesis point to the victors of the Restoration: the 1662 Poor Law, which strengthened the power of the Justices of the Peace over their localities by giving them the power to deport any newcomers who occupied a tenement worth less than £10 per annum to the parish of their birth, and a statute of 1661 which imposed a severe penalty for the hunting of deer on any land without the permission of the owner. These were both measures whereby the ruling class of gentry "reinforced its privileges and its control over the community". At the Restoration, with no prerogative courts and no standing army, "Charles II was essentially the president of a federation of communities run by their landowners, who operated a uniform judicial, administrative and political system". Paul Seaward, 49, also sees the gentry as reacting against the perceived decline of their wealth and power, expressed in the desires to reassert control over their local communities: "The determination of the restoration gentry to suppress political dissidence and to restore the proper social hierarchy was clear enough in the activities of the commissions of the peace, of the Corporation Act commissioners, and in the enthusiastic security measures taken by individuals, sometimes at their own expense". Seaward counters the generally agreed upon argument that the gentry were concerned to impede the power of the state and Crown in local affairs by stating that the gentry's real concern was with their social inferiors in the City and at court: "The royalism of the 1650s had been a philosophy of virtue in adversity, of distance from the corruption and stained principles of political life. Instead of converting royalism into a set of values and ideas which would firmly uphold the government after the Restoration, the court's actions helped to confirm its [the gentry] preference for the 'country', and its contempt for the court, its longing for the clarity of rural fresh air against the smog of city politics"(55).
were hunted out from the established church and civic corporations as urban centers were invaded by country gentry and the power of their parliamentary seats, reinforcing their privileges, and their control over the communities of Restoration England.52

Despite seemingly unanimous support for a restoration of the king by both conservative country gentry and civic government many conflicts still existed. On one hand, the former were deeply suspicious of civic powers that they felt to be seditious and Presbyterian, and fearful of the plots and rebellions, real or imagined, of other radical and dissenting sects. On the other hand, the members of the religious sects were wary of perceived plans by the gentry to make the king absolute, abolish parliament and parliamentary law, and replace the church of England with popery.53 The question of religious settlement proved to be the most difficult for the

52Jones (1978), 71. Jones differs from Hutton and Seaward in viewing the restored gentry’s power as less stable and more tenuous. For him, the conservative reaction at the Restoration was masking the operation of long term structural changes, marking the slow and consistent decay of the economic position of the lesser gentry and freeholders, while “mercantile and urban retailing interests increased in importance, and an entirely new social class, the ‘monied interest’ gained in prominence, wealth, and influence”. Despite regaining their offices and land, provincial gentry never felt secure, and found it increasingly difficult to maintain their standards of living due to falling agricultural production and rents, while they were continually faced with the prospect of the monied interest, the bankers and financiers, growing ever richer, and the court enjoying the favour of their proximity to the king.

53See R.S. Bosher, The Making of the Restoration Settlement (London and New York, 1951) and Seaward, 5 and 39. Seaward acknowledges that the “demolition of the episcopal Church of England in the 1640s, its partial replacement by presbyterianism, and the wide liberty of conscience permitted in the 1650s, was bound to be one of the restored monarchy’s trickiest problems”. The solution, though, was the most unlikely: a reconstruction and reinstatement of the Anglican Church of England and the legislation of religious uniformity. Interestingly enough, the author posits that conservative Anglican divines had made strong connections during their years of marginality with the country gentry where they had been forced to find shelter and support. With this gentry’s return to positions of power in Restoration England, the potential of the Church’s role in the suppression of sedition and dissent was recognized. A minority party of ultra-Anglicans wielded enormous influence in the new Cavalier Parliament, and stressed the antiquity and legitimacy of the Church of England, more so than its doctrine. They argued for the political necessity of religious uniformity in the interests of social peace and stability. Only a small faction of the Cavalier Parliament vociferously advocated religious uniformity, but, the majority of the House being concerned to preserve social order, therefore allowed the demands of this minority to be carried. Anglican parliamentarians continually attacked dissent in
restored monarchy since, after the demolition of the episcopal Church of England during the Revolution and the liberty of conscience allowed by parliament, it was highly unlikely that a reconstruction of the Anglican church and the imposition of religious uniformity would transpire. Yet, this is exactly what occurred, despite the fact that the House of Commons itself that had insisted on legislation proclaiming the dismantling of the Church of England twenty years previously. Enough support was mustered in parliament, and those pushing for conformity looked to the legitimacy, permanence, and antiquity of the law of the Church of England to guarantee stability. As the Act of Uniformity itself stated, "nothing conduceth more to the settling of the peace of this nation (for which is desired of all good men), nor to the honour of our religion and the propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God...". Social and political stability in Restoration England, or so it was felt, relied upon the imposition of religious uniformity and conformity upon the social body.

II) POLICING PRINT CULTURE

Widespread interest and involvement in religious affairs and politics at the Restoration was a legacy of the previous two decades, and clearly could not be easily effaced. During the Civil War and the Commonwealth the interest and participation of the public in political events had been assured by radical preaching and the any form, and opposed Charles II's bid to allow some form of religious freedom. They argued that the freedom to choose religious doctrine according to one's own individual conscience was what had led to rebellion, and called for the supremacy of institutionalized religious authority over individual consciences. These Anglican supporters could not go so far as to give the monarch himself the power to interpret the word of God, for the unchecked power of the king in religious concerns was equally as detrimental as the anarchy of individual beliefs. See Lacey (1969), 14-32, for a comprehensive account of the shift from presbyterian control in the City of London, to the collapse of independent religious power by 1662. Also interesting, and coming at the issue from the perspective of arguments over the notion of public and private interests, and their corresponding benefits to the community and nation, in the discourses about religious toleration at the Restoration is J.A.W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London and Toronto, 1969).

54Documents, 378.
productions of the printing press. It should be apparent by now how Restoration government succeeded in controlling what was said and taught from the pulpit, through the imposition of the Act of Uniformity and the removal of dissenting and unorthodox religious voices from public life. It is now necessary to take a closer look at moves to control the print culture of Restoration London.

At this time, the censorship of the press in England was equally as contentious an issue as religious uniformity. In 1662, with the return of Charles II

55 Aside from the brief analyses in the previously cited texts by Seaward, Hutton, Siebert, and Jones, of particular interest on this issue are Richard L. Greaves, Deliver Us From Evil; The Radical Underground in Britain 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1986), James Walker, "The Secret Service Under Charles II and James II" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, vol.15, 1932, in addition to his "The Censorship of the Press during the Reign of Charles II" in History, new series XXXIII, 1950, and Peter Fraser, The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1956). Legal authority and precedent for controlling printed matter revolved around the treason laws, proclamations, and royal injunctions of 1559, and the Star Chamber decrees of 1586 and 1637. In 1641 parliament abolished the authority of the Star Chamber thereby inhibiting the possibility that an author might be prosecuted for printed material critical of governmental authority. Also around 1641, when conflicts between the King and parliament grew tense, the monopoly by way of royal charter given to the Stationer's Company for licensed printed production broke down. The Stationer's Company themselves had switched allegiances to parliament in the hope of preserving a monopoly, but lack of controls allowed anyone who had access to a printing block to publish without fear. Parliament was forced to establish a committee in May of 1641, soon after the assumption of state administration, to examine the question of the press. The House was being buffeted from all sides by numerous pamphlets, broadsides, newsbooks, sermons and petitions. Presbyterians and independents campaigning for support in parliament, as well as royalists and high Anglicans, saw the benefits of garnering public support through the printing press. As Frederick Seaton Siebert has pointed out, parliament created 'public opinion' at this moment, and, once in power, quickly became terrified of it (180). By summer of 1643, parliament issued an ordinance preparing for the regulation and licensing of printed production and, as Siebert shows, "it is significant that the movement which sought to curtail the powers of the crown did not seek to abolish the controls but merely the source from which the controls emanated" (187). Power over the press was placed firmly in the hands of parliament, and the old alliance between the jurisdiction of the state and the Stationer's Company was renewed — only the licensing system now had biases that were Presbyterian and parliamentary rather than royalist and episcopal. Under Cromwell, periods of absolute repression were interspersed with moments of relative freedom for print production until 1655, when Cromwell himself produced a decree of regulation. Under this decree all official and unofficial newsbooks were suppressed, printers shops were inspected, all unlicensed printers suppressed and prosecuted, as well as street hawkers and mercury women, who sold single sheets and playbills in the public spaces of the urban centres. Offenders were sent to the prison at Bridewell for corporal and pecuniary punishment.
to the throne, a new program of censorship and restraints on the printing press was implemented as soon as the transfer of power was complete. One of the first acts of Charles II was to call in and have the public hangman burn several schismatic works at Session House in Old Bailey, including John Goodwin's *The Obstructours of Justice* (1649), and Milton’s *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1650) and *Eikonoklastes* (1649).56 All reforms, decrees, and acts deriving from the period of the Puritan Revolution were repudiated, and the new royal government took up where it had left off in 1641. The sole exception being that it was impossible to revive the Star Chamber, for its abolition had received the assent of Charles I. Though the Star Chamber could not adjudicate as an actual body, most of its legislation was revived in some form and the king allowed, even urged, parliament to assist him in controlling the press — a job that had once been a matter solely of royal right and privilege.57 Charles II did not relinquish much power, if any, and still retained the prerogative to suppress and license by royal proclamation, in addition to retaining authority over copyrights. The monarchy had wisely added parliamentary assistance and legislation to the privileges over the presses it had enjoyed previously, and even gave parliament pre-emptive control in some measure. By June of 1662 the Licensing Act was in effect, and remained in operation more or less until 1694. It is clear that the Act was seen by Charles and his government as an integral part of endeavors to preserve order and social peace, and was rapidly moved through the House of Commons with the addition of a note from the king himself stressing that the Act "did most conduce to the securing of the peace of the Kingdom".58

Under the Licensing Act printing was again limited to the City’s master printers who belonged to the Stationer's Company, and to the two presses at the

56Greaves, 208, and Siebert, 238.
57Siebert, 237.
58Cited in Seaward, 160.
universities of Cambridge and Oxford. A master printer was allowed two presses, one journeyman, and one to three apprentices, depending on their status in the Company. The importation of books from abroad in English was banned outright, and foreign language books had to land in London, except on special order from the Archbishop, whose appointee had to inspect them before they were freed from the customs officers. Book selling was limited to members of the Company solely, or those licensed to do so by the Bishop of the diocese where the seller resided. In addition, all "haberdashers of small wares, ironmongers, chandlers, and shopkeepers" were specifically prohibited from handling books and other printed material.59 As a condition of the licensing stipulations, each printer had to affix his name on every production from their shop, and, as often as possible, the name of the author. The Lord Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seal, the Lords Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron, or individuals appointed by them, were in charge of licensing books on the law. Texts dealing with the "history concerning the state of this realm" fell under the jurisdiction of the Principal Secretaries of State and, for books on heraldry, titles of honor or arms, the task fell to the Earl Marshal or appointee. And finally, books on divinity, philosophy, science, and art fell to the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.60

Dissenting and controversial publications still continued to be published, though their production became severely constrained.61 That strict control over the

59Siebert, 240.
60Licensing Act, Documents, 68.
61The previously cited text by Greaves is concerned with analyzing this material and the constraints under which it was produced. Siebert points out that in spite of the stringent regulations and the multiplicity of agencies of enforcement, there continued to flow from the presses a stream of publications which in that day and age were considered either seditious or offensive. While some of the publications seem mild enough to modern eyes accustomed to lively and often vituperative political criticism, it must be remembered that in the seventeenth-century both the government
print culture of early modern London was deemed essential for effective maintenance of public order is made clear in the number of texts produced at the time addressing the issue. In *A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and Printers*, (1663), published by the anonymous 'Society for Printers', the pamphlet called for the inclusion of printers in the policing of the industry, criticizing their exclusion in favour of the Stationer's Company. A member of the Stationer’s Company did not necessarily have to be a printer, or even know anything about the trade, and could just deal in book stock. Therefore, even though given a monopoly on production in the City for a program of self censorship, it really was in the financial interests of the members of the Stationer's to disseminate as much printed matter as possible, seditious, non-conforming, or otherwise. The text argues that if the printers themselves were given enhanced power through the Licensing Act, more of them would be encouraged to obey, and comes to the conclusion that "printing requires a more than ordinary inspection, because of the great influence it hath upon the Publike peace and safety, which is very much endangered by its irregularity, and which ought by all means possible to be preserved".62

Even stronger in its calls for a policing of the trade and its productions, was a text by Richard Atkyn's published in 1664, one year before the plague struck London. This book, entitled *The Original and Growth of Printing; Collected out of History, and the Records of this Kingdome*, argued that the art of printing, and absolutely everything connected with it, depended upon, and should depend upon, the Royal

and its subjects were inexperienced in either digesting the printed page or judging its effects(249). I take a more positive view of the print culture of seventeenth-century, and see it as a terrain making use of highly sophisticated strategies to target publics, as well as complex representational strategies. Comparing the print medium of that day to our own is somewhat facile, and does nothing to better our understanding of the specific intentions, beliefs, and motivations behind the printed products of the Restoration.

prerogative. In the book's frontispiece (FIG.2), a lower image of a laurel wreathed head and shoulder portrait of Charles II presides over a discarded pile cannons and other weaponry. Pushed into the background, like a historical memory, is the image of an army rushing forward to do battle, directed by a figure with a baton mounted upon a horse. This is perhaps a reference to Charles I, and the battles of the recent Civil War, as the ruler was well known for his equestrian portraits. The battle itself is invisible, taking place behind the portrait of Charles II, and on the right an army retreats victorious and orderly out from behind the image of the king. Charles II has brought stability to a nation wrought by internal wars without causing any more violent conflict, this lower image informs a viewer, an interpretation reinforced by the Latin inscription below the portrait drawn from Cicero, 'Cedant Arma Togae', 'leaving arms for togas', literally meaning leaving strife for peace. Above this picture is a second, larger image, depicting Charles II seated on a throne flanked by two figures, one in bishop's dress holding a bible, representing episcopacy and the Anglican Church of England, the other displaying the purse containing the Great Seal, representing the sovereignty of the king, and associated with the office of the Lord High Chancellor, the highest judicial official in the nation. The two figures are symbolically joined by a banner they each hold in an outstretched hand, on

63 The figure on the left could also represent the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the robes are strikingly similar to the dress required of that position. See, for example, George Clinch, English Costume (London, 1909). The right figure seems to be in the regalia of one of the monarch's clerks, for example the Clerk of the Privy Seal or the Clerk of the Chamber, but the purse is clearly that which contains the Great Seal, and is clearly shown in several portraits of various Lord High Chancellors. The Chancellor was sort of a secretary of state, presiding over the House of Lords, heading the judiciary, and controlling the appointments of the Justices of the Peace. The purse for the Seal was borne in front of the Chancellor, or carried on his arm during processions, but the Seal itself always remained in the House of Lords. At the opening of Parliament, the purse is the receptacle in which the Lord Chancellor conveys the signed copy of the king's speech from the Robing Room to the steps of the Throne. The Great Seal itself was the emblem representing the authority of the sovereign, and the only object through which the will of the king could be expressed. See H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England (London, 1926), and J. Harvey Bloom, English Seals (London, 1906).
which is written 'Scriptura et Leges Sunt Fundamenta Coronae', 'scripture and laws are the foundations of the crown'. The monarch sits on his throne, a hand on each figure's shoulder, giving them both royal protection and power, as rays deliver the divine right of rule from the heavens to the king.64

The basis of the king's power lies with the written word represented by scripture and law, disseminated through the print medium to his subjects, a message reinforced with great brevity by Atkyns in his epistle to the king, where he states "Where the Word of a King is there is Power: The King and Power being Relatives". Atkyns goes on to assert that printing is the people's deity, and as such is very dangerous if mishandled. Therefore, the trade should be under the protection of the king, who can ably administer and guide it:

That Printing belongs to Your Majesty, in Your publique and private Capacity, as Supreme Magistrate, and as Proprietor, I do with all boldness affirm; and that it is a considerable Branch of the Regal Power, will no Loyal Person deny: for it ties, and unites the very Hearts of the People, as please the Author: If the Tongue, that is but a little Member, can set the Course of Nature on Fire; how much more the Quill, which is of a flying Nature in itself, and so Spiritual, that it is in all Places at the same time; and so Powerful, when it is cunningly handled, that it is the Peoples Deity.65

64The Latin inscription "Justitia Stabilitur Solium" can be translated as "by justice the crown is stabilized", and "Per me Reges Regnant" as "through me kings rule", the 'me' being Christ. The latter inscription was also found on the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor since the tenth century. My thanks to Prof. Carole Knicely for aiding with the Latin translations.
65Richard Atkyns, Esq. The Original and Growth of Printing: Collected out of History, and the Records of this Kingdom. Wherein is also Demonstrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal; and is a Flower of the Crown of England (London, 1664), B1. In this extremely interesting text, the author goes on to argue that parliament should have nothing to do with control of the press, and that it should be up to the decision of the king and his privy council to police what is said about public figures. Atkyns argues that liberty of the press caused Charles II's father, Charles I, to be imprisoned, for a flurry of anti monarchical texts had been published and the people accepted whatever was printed as 'truth':

the Common People that before this liberty believed even a Ballad, because it was in Print, greedily Suckt in these Scandals, especially being Authorized by a God of their
Atkyns also states that printing is a food capable of nourishing the individual subject, as well as the public political assembly. He reasons that "Printing is like a good Dish of Meat, which moderately eaten of, turns to the Nourishment and health of the Body; but immoderately, to Surfeits and Sicknesses". The appetites of such a body for print should not govern the head, which, for Atkyns, is without a doubt the monarch.

A figure to control the 'diet' of the social body was required. Sir Roger L'Estrange was named surveyor of the press in 1662 and given wide ranging powers aimed at silencing partisan print culture. L'Estrange was entrusted by the king to search for and seize all seditious material including pictures, manuscripts, and books, and to arrest authors, printers, and publishers, a task he accomplished through the operation of a network of spies. Book stock and printing material were often seized without any apparent reason, in the hopes that the printing industry would be frightened into passivity and conformity with government demands if the Stationer's Company's program of self-censorship was ineffective. In the language of a typical warrant of 1664 issued from the king to L'Estrange, the political expediency of controlling the print culture of Restoration London for the purposes of ensuring social peace and stability was exemplified:

His Mate taking notice of ye many ill consequences that arise from ye printing, publishing, & dispersing of unlawful books & pamphlets to ye disturbance of ye government & of ye public peace of the nation, His expresse pleasure & command is, that taking with you a constable you doe from time to time make search for & seize authors, contrivers, contrivers,

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own making: the Parliament finding the Faith of the deceived to be implicitly in them...so totally possest the Press that the King could not be heard: By this means the Common People became not onely Statists, but Parties in the Parliaments Cause, hearing but one side, and then Words begat Blows: for though Words of themselves are too weak Instruments to Kill a Man: yet they can direct how, and when, and what Men shall be killed.

printers, binders, stitchers, & publishers, dispensers, & concealers of treasonable, schismaticall, seditious or unlicensed books, libells, pamphlets, or papers, & bring them in safe custody before one of his Ma\textsuperscript{e} principal sec. of state, to ye end they may be proceeded against according to law, together with all copys exemplaryes of such Books libells, pamphlets or paper as aforesaid. And in the due execution hereof all justices of ye peace, constables, & other his Ma\textsuperscript{e} officers & Subjects are to be aiding & assisting to you, as there shall from time to time be occasion, etc.\textsuperscript{67}

L'Estrange believed that the public had no right to be informed of political affairs, and, under his control the two Restoration newspapers, the Newes and the Intelligencer, published less and less information about political events. With a high literacy rate, particularly in London, these moves represented attempts to limit discussion and the amount of information available to a political culture of a highly literate and vocal population. L'Estrange's own work, Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press (1663), claimed that printed material still manifested a revolutionary spirit, and was being utilized to disaffect the people towards Charles II and encourage "seditious Inclinations into Action".\textsuperscript{68} Amongst his many suggestions to control access by members of the body politic to printed material and printing presses, L'Estrange even went so far as to suggest that no master printer be allowed to keep a press in his own home, nor should any printing house be allowed to have a back door.\textsuperscript{69} L'Estrange's news-sheets quickly became the sanctioned public voice of the government, continuing to appear during the plague of 1665, when it was crucial to maintain an 'official' version of the epidemic's course through the City, even though the paper had pretended the outbreak did not exist until it reached epidemic proportions. Such a monopoly on public news, and

\textsuperscript{67}Cited in Siebert, 256.
\textsuperscript{68}Sir Roger L'Estrange, Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press (London, 1663), A3.
\textsuperscript{69}L'Estrange, 4.
the importance of keeping the voice of the government heard above all others, was ironically referred to in a 1666 poem about the plague, wherein the author remarked that L'Estrange's two publications were the only products available in the City, and buying them represented the only trade: "Nothing sold here, but Oxford and L'Estrange,/ Two Sheets, the Cities Market and Exchange".70

In addition to the regulation of licenses for printed production, the issuing of printing patents and copyrights also served the aims of government policing of the printing industry.71 These could be issued as a reward for acquiescence with the printing regulations dictated by the state, and as a way of more closely binding the interests of individual printers and publishers with those of the government. The issuing of a patent was, quite simply, a royal grant of monopoly that gave sole ownership of the reproduction of a book to an author, printer, and stationer, or the reservation of an entire section of the publishing industry to a group or individual. Copyrights were often decided from prior registration in the annals of the Stationer's Company. For example, license was given to the Stationer's Company itself to print all French comedies and Aesop's *Fables*. One of the most notorious patents issued, and relevant to this study, was that given to the surveyor of the press himself, Sir Roger L'Estrange. In 1663 L'Estrange was given exclusive monopoly on the rights to publish "all narratives not exceeding two sheets of paper, mercuries, diurnals, playbills, quack-salvers, bills, etc.".72 In addition to erudite and scholarly books and the two weekly newspapers, the *Newes* and the *Intelligencer*, it appears that the cheapest and most ephemeral print forms coming off of the popular presses

70John Crouch, *London's Bitter Sweet Cup of Tears* (London, 1666), 6. The author's reference to Oxford was probably a reference to the *Intelligencer*, traditionally parliamentary news, and a reference to the fact that during the plague parliament had removed to Oxford, one of the only places other than London where a printing press could be found.
71Siebert, 245.
72Siebert, 245.
of Restoration London were intended to be firmly controlled and administered from the highest offices of the state.

III) ORDERING THE NATURAL AND THE SOCIAL WORLD

While the productions of the printing press and the printing trade itself were being organized during the early years of the Restoration, a similar process of reformulation was being carried out on the methodology and production of knowledge. The discourse of natural philosophy, or experimental science — of which John Sellers' 'political arithmetic' on the broadsheet was a part — underwent significant alterations. For both government and members of a concerned public, anxious to distance the nation from the political and social unrest of the two decades

In addition to the rhetoric of natural philosophy analyzed in the previously cited text by Richard Kroll, the most stimulating analytical account of the discourse of natural philosophy and its historical and cultural context is Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump* (Princeton, 1985). Kroll sets out to "reexamine what was at stake in the historiographical union of science and language" (5), and sees natural philosophy as part of a multiple discursive reorientation defined largely by 'nonscientific motives'. The writers involved in articulating the discourse of natural philosophy cooperated in "constructing a distinctively neoclassical method within their literary practices"(7). The construction of knowledge is then contingent on the specifics of its use or intended uses, and therefore Kroll shows "the deployment of a contingent epistemology to serve the motives of instituted organs of power, of which a typical case is the Royal Society"(18). The dominant rhetoric of the Restoration, of which natural philosophy comprises a large part, "entails a distinct epistemology, which in turn necessitates an equally distinct will to knowledge and representation"(40). Shapin and Schaffer, on the other hand, look at the scientific controversies between Robert Boyle and Thomas Hobbes, and their resonance in the cultural context of the Restoration to "suggest that solutions to the problem of knowledge are embedded within practical solutions to the problem of social order, and that different practical solutions to the problem of social order encapsulate contrasting practical solutions to the problem of knowledge"(15). The authors seek to explore the character of the relationship between the history of the new science, natural philosophy, and the history of political ideas and practice in the contrasting views put forward by the key seventeenth-century figures Hobbes and Boyle:

One solution (Boyle's) was to set the house of natural philosophy in order by remedying its divisions and by withdrawing it from contentious links with civic philosophy. Thus repaired, the community of natural philosophers could establish its legitimacy in Restoration culture and contribute more effectively to guaranteeing order and right religion in society. Another solution (Hobbes's) demanded that order was only to be ensured by erecting a demonstrative philosophy that allowed no boundaries between the natural, the human, and the social, and which allowed for no dissent within it(21).
between 1640 and 1660, it was clear that unregulated knowledge could produce civil strife. In 1662, with the granting of a royal charter, the creation of natural philosophic knowledge was institutionalized in the Royal Society.\textsuperscript{74} This public society was made up of individuals from a great variety of social backgrounds, members of the court and civil service, as well as merchants and tradesmen.\textsuperscript{75} The group was united under the common ideology of producing scientific 'matters of fact' through experimentation and discourse.\textsuperscript{76} With the granting of a state sanction, some members of the Royal Society, and in particular those associated with the


\textsuperscript{75}At this time, the composition of the Society was 40% from landed and aristocratic families, and 23% were the sons of Anglican clergy. The other third was made up of the sons of merchants, artisans, and yeomen. See Hunter (1981), 60-61.

\textsuperscript{76}Michael Hunter (1989), cautions that it is difficult, if not impossible, to definitively assert or discern the ideology of the early Royal Society(46). That they needed an ideology, or a public statement of their aims, is certainly clear, and Hunter cites the following reasons: incorporation gave them public visibility and permanence, and they needed to establish the public importance and justify the cultural need for what they were doing; they needed to answer to the critics of the new science, for example, from High Churchmen and lampooners; and finally, they required a definition of their role in the new society of the Restoration, for they believed that what they were proposing was innocuous, positive, and reconciling (48). The Society was intended to be permanent and stable, and be secure after the turmoil of the mid century, and it did have the capability to take in a mixture of royalists, Puritans, and Anglicans in a public body dedicated to the corporate pursuit of scientific knowledge, or 'truth'. Its public function was stressed by its first president, Lord Brouncker, and in Sprat's \textit{History}, where the potential to subsume the private interests of its members into the public concerns of the group for the benefit of society was stressed. Hunter ties this to the need during the Restoration to move away from individual interests and the capriciousness associated with them, to more public and formal structures and procedures, a move paralleled in shifts by government to impersonal and bureaucratic institutions and public service. Sprat's \textit{History} was careful to repeatedly proclaim loyalty to the monarch, and the benefits to the nation of natural philosophy. As Hunter writes, Sprat's aim was simply to align the new science with as many consensus values as possible, his specifics as to what was excluded mainly comprising elaborations of the enmity towards 'fanaticism' whose wide support among divers sections of the political nation was what had made the Restoration of the Stuarts possible a few years earlier"(57).
figure of Robert Boyle, began to actively theorize and publicize how the methodology utilized in producing undisputed matters of fact, and the knowledge such matters of fact represented, could perform a political and social function.

As the work of Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer has shown, the knowledge produced through the Society's discourse on science and experiment was represented at the time as being objective and uncontested inasmuch as it was produced by a group of individuals occupying a communal space with clearly defined and accepted working methods and rules. This idea of the communal production of knowledge could counter a notion of the acquisition of knowledge advocated by various Civil War and Interregnum sectaries, based on direct individual experience.\textsuperscript{77} Moreover, and of even greater importance, knowledge produced in a community could serve as a microcosmic model of how social peace and stability might be established and maintained at the Restoration. The scientific and intellectual community institutionalized in 1662 as the Royal Society, by countering disagreement and strife with consensus and stability, could foresee their methods being implemented in, or having repercussions in, a much wider cultural field, and potentially indicating the way to a permanent and indivisible social order. Even if not present in the laboratory while an experimental matter of fact was produced, an individual, by accepting and acknowledging the manner and practices of the production of this kind of knowledge, could give assent to it through a process of what has been termed 'virtual witnessing'. This process was the extension and multiplication of witnesses through the dissemination in print of a description and/or representation of an experiment, in order to allow the public legitimation of its matters of fact. Shapin and Schaffer have stated that "through virtual witnessing

\textsuperscript{77}Shapin and Schaffer, 39. "The laboratory was, therefore, a disciplined space, where experimental, discursive, and social practices were collectively controlled by competent members. In these respects, the experimental laboratory was a better space in which to generate authentic knowledge than the space outside it in which simple observations of nature could be made".
the multiplication of witnesses could be, in principle, unlimited. It was therefore the most powerful technology for constituting matters of fact.\textsuperscript{78}

Since this study will examine a broadsheet that brought together the visual and the statistical, the emphasis in this historical context on the connection between what is seen, or witnessed, and truth is crucial. Natural philosophy advocated that sincere knowledge was crystallized through the making of what were termed 'mirrors of nature', in other words the construction of detailed and objective observations of the natural world. Such realistic representations were based on a philosophy that the sense of sight was primary, and natural philosophy was a vehicle that could bring phenomena into view that had previously remained invisible. This conception was the basis of Robert Hooke's 1665 book \textit{Micrographia}, which claimed that the insights offered in the text's commentary and visual images represented true knowledge and could help regulate and order sensual impressions. Such a process was "to begin with the Hands and Eyes, and to proceed on through the Memory, to be continued by the Reason".\textsuperscript{79} The expediency of utilizing visual imagery with natural scientific discourse could easily allow the conflation of visual representation and truth. Boyle used images in his texts to facilitate the process of virtual witnessing and, as Shapin and Schaffer argue, "their role was to be a supplement to the imaginative witness provided by the words in the text".\textsuperscript{80} I will argue that the truth claims of the visual imagery in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet were maintained by way of a mutual relationship with statistical 'fact', derived from the presence of the comparisons drawn from the Bills of Mortality. The slippage from representation into truth disguises the ideological articulations of the broadsheet, and effaces the possibility that the City of London and the behaviour

\textsuperscript{78}Shapin and Schaffer, 60.

\textsuperscript{79}Robert Hooke, \textit{Micrographia; or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses} (London, 1665), Preface.

\textsuperscript{80}Shapin and Schaffer, 61.
of its population under the infection of the plague might have appeared other than the way it was depicted.

Social stability achieved through the establishment of religious uniformity and political consensus were critical issues at the Restoration, and Boyle along with the Royal Society saw in their construction of an experimental community a positive metaphor for the forms and conventions social relations might now take on. In other words, they saw the natural philosophic community linked by the objective discourses of science, and their 'matters of fact' as providing an integral basis for the preservation of social peace and stability. In attempting to make the production of knowledge visible as a collective enterprise and socially useful, this community moved towards the public constitution and validation of knowledge in order to erase the social rupture and dissensus produced by the disputes of the previous twenty years. As Shapin and Schaffer have argued:

In the official formulation of the Royal Society, the production of experimental knowledge commenced with individuals' acts of seeing and believing, and was completed when all individuals agreed with one another about what had been seen and ought to be believed. This freedom to speak had to be protected by a special sort of discipline. Radical individualism — the state in which each individual set himself up as the ultimate judge of knowledge — would destroy the conventional basis of proper knowledge, while the disciplined collective social structure of the experimental form of life would create and sustain that factual basis. Thus the experimentalists were on guard against "dogmatists" and "tyrants" in philosophy, just as they abominated "secretists" who produced their knowledge-claims in a private and undisciplined space. No one man was to have the right to lay down what was to count as knowledge. Legitimate knowledge was warranted as objective insofar as it was produced by the collective, and agreed to voluntarily by those who comprised the collective. The
objectification of knowledge proceeded through the displays of the communal basis of its generation and evaluation.\textsuperscript{81}

The history of the Royal Society and its key figures is implicitly bound up in the religious and political debates of the Restoration. Boyle and his associates were convinced that social and religious peace were necessary for the construction and maintenance of a social body able to serve both the individual interests of its members, and those of the nation. In \textit{A Discourse Concerning Liberty of Conscience} of 1660, Boyle's close associate Peter Pett wrote: "The great alteration in the body of the people since these last twenty years, requires that our old ends of promoting the welfare of the Church of England, should be attain'd by the conduct of new means".\textsuperscript{82} Pett's, and consequently Boyle's, new means of correcting the deformity in the body politic came dangerously close to subjugating the church merely to private gain, for, they argued, it would be in serving the individual interests of those groups most needy of being pacified and incorporated into a Restoration settlement — church, gentry, and merchants — that such a reparation could be achieved. The combined interests of these groups became identified after 1660 with the national good, and their uniting factor was trade, motivated by private interest. According to Boyle, man's greed did not represent a hostile state of nature, as his older contemporary Hobbes would assert, but, conversely, was an essential component of God's plan for humanity. Longing for worldly possessions and comfort had given society trade and manufacturing and, consequently, the discovery of nature.\textsuperscript{83} In this combination, God's purpose for man and the full benefits of human life would be achieved through the knowledge provided by natural

\textsuperscript{81}Shapin and Schaffer, 78.
\textsuperscript{82}Cited in J.R. Jacob, \textit{Robert Boyle and the English Revolution: A Study in Social and Intellectual Change} (New York, 1977), 140. Boyle and Pett were advocates of a policy of limited religious toleration, combined with strong discipline and the promotion of a strict work ethic to bring the more radical dissenting groups into line.
\textsuperscript{83}Jacob, 141.
philosophy, or scientific inquiry. The latter kind of knowledge was useful for man in ordering his immediate economic universe and social world, in 'anatomizing' the physical world in a way, so that an individual could utilize this power to extend and exert his "Empire... over inferior Creatures". In such a way, Boyle argued, "Experimental Philosophy may become useful to human life".\textsuperscript{84}

Moreover, such a link between natural philosophy and the interests of traders, gentry, and clergy at the Restoration was not only reserved for the yield of knowledge conducive to indigenous economic production and conditions. For example, in addition to enabling access to information about regional conditions for the possibilities of trade and agriculture, the utility of natural philosophic wisdom was also to be an essential part in the colonial project, and Boyle was commissioned by Charles II to take part in a Council for Foreign Plantations in 1660. This council worked in tandem with a Council of Trade to project how the colonies in the West Indies and North America could most efficiently be operated. In addition to the empirical information about material conditions and the most effective means to extract and transport the raw stuff of the colonies, natural philosophy could also serve a social function in ordering the population. Boyle was asked to offer solutions to many problems, including how the colonies could best be supplied with servants, the creation of a program to send vagrants overseas "who remain here noxious and unprofitable", how to control the perceived debauched behavior of the planters and servants, and, of course, the most efficient way to convert the natives to Christianity.\textsuperscript{85} The knowledge wielded by the natural philosopher was called upon to discern the right candidates for emigration, so that "ye Justices of ye Peace may be impowered at ye generall Sessions, or Assizes to... dispose of loose and

\textsuperscript{84}Boyle cited in Jacob, 142.

\textsuperscript{85}Jacob, 145. As J.R. Jacob writes, "the apparent intention behind the creation of the council then was to give some order and regularity to colonial settlements, which up to this point had grown rather haphazardly and not always to best effect from the point of view of the crown" (145).
disorderly people... for supply of forraigne Plantations". The private interests working for the public good needed a way of removing problematic individuals from the social body, or at least a way of controlling or making them discernible and quantifiable, and looked to the enlightenment offered by natural philosophy. During the plague in London in 1665, scientific knowledge would be mobilized to serve a similar purpose in forming part of a sophisticated anatomy of the social body of the City, both as a statistical map of the urban center and its population, and a way of imposing conceptual order on the disorder wrought by the disease.

It should be clear by now that the Restoration, and in particular the early years prior to the plague of 1665, represented a moment when a new royal government was determined to police a wide variety of cultural forms in order to insure religious conformity, social peace, and stability, and willing to support certain reformulated discourses as a way of buttressing the power and permanence of the state. Attempts were being made to reorganize culture at this moment in early modern England and, in many of its manifestations, it was pressed to become concrete and ordered. Richard Kroll argues, quite rightly, that the historical moment of the Restoration was marked by multiple discursive reorientations in response to the series of social, political, and religious pressures mapped out in this chapter. These discursive readaptations encouraged new focal points for cultural

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86 Cited in Jacob, 148.
87 Hunter (1989), argues that the timing of the early Royal Society's attempts to institutionalize the new science is significant, for it tells us something about the wider cultural context of mid seventeenth-century England: "Indeed, the time itself is arguably crucial, for the context of the Society's foundation is provided by a more general urge to organize which is in evidence during the decades on both sides of 1660" (6).
88 Kroll, 39. He writes: "Earlier forms of discourse and inherited vocabularies remain visible but assume different connotations and alliances; we witness the invention of new discourses to serve the needs of revived or new institutions". Kroll too sees the Restoration as a moment when culture becomes "organized and concrete". He cites the example of London after the Great Fire in 1666, as well as the frontispiece of Sprat's History of the Royal Society, depicting King Charles II in alliance with Bacon and Boyle's totemic air pump, or the establishment of the
activities and productions that shaped self-representations and produced meanings for the members of Restoration society. In the next chapter, a specific cultural form, a type of representation of the plague featuring text, visual imagery, and statistical information will be drawn into this Restoration nexus preoccupied with social peace and stability, and the reorganization of cultural and discursive configurations.

publication industry as a distinctive subculture, or the reorganization of university publishing, the architecture of the Royal Navy College at Greenwich, Wren's London churches, the Royal Society Charter, the granting of the theatrical monopolies to Davenant and Killigrew, the introduction of women players on the stage, the institutionalization of the royal mistresses, the development of a strikingly homogenous portrait style influenced by Lely and Kneller, and the habit of tea drinking as a characteristically English habit (44).

The Royal Society also sought to reorganize language itself, and discussed forming a body to regulate and improve English in a manner similar to the Académie Française. The work "An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language" (1668), posited a clear and systematic language to be utilized by merchants, divines, and natural philosophers, for the shortest way to clear knowledge. See Hunter (1981), 118-119.
CHAPTER TWO

REPRESENTING THE PLAGUE AND SOCIAL ORDER:
ANATOMIZING THE SOCIAL BODY

For with all humble submission to your Lordship, I conceive, That it doth not ill-become a Peer of the Parliament, or a Member of his Majestie's Council, to consider how few starve of the many that beg: That the irreligious Proposals of some, to multiply People by Polygamy, is withall irrational and fruitless: That the troublesome seclusions in the Plague-time is not a remedy to be purchased at vast inconveniences: That the greatest Plagues of the City are equally, and quickly repaired from the Country: That the wasting of Males by Wars, and Colonies do not prejudice the due proportion between them and Females: That the Opinions of plagues accompanying the Entrance of Kings is false, and seditious: That London, the Metropolis of England, is perhaps a Head too big for the Body, and possibly too strong: That this Head grows three times as fast as the Body unto which it belongs, that is, It doubles its People in a third part of the time: That our Parishes are now grown madly disproportionable: That our Temples are not suitable to our Religion: That the Trade and very City of London removes Westward: That the walled City is but one fifth of the whole Pyle: That the old Streets are unfit for the present frequencie of Coaches: That the passage of Ludgate is a throat too straight for the Body: That the fighting men about London, are able to make three as great Armies as can be of use in this Island: That the number of Heads is such, as hath certainly much deceived some of our Senators in their appointments of Pole-money, &c.

From the Epistle Dedicatory to John Graunt's
Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a
Following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality (1662).

What Come again? Where have you Roving been?
And what Rare sights i'th' countrey have you seen?
What Newes from thence? Did you the Plague outrun?
Or tell me truly, was it not Begun
Before you came? Or is your Money spent
Which you had in your pockets when you went?
Will not the Countrey trust? Your Credit's bad;
Is their no Entertainment to be had?
That to your City dailie Day by Day,
You flock as fast as when you Ran away!
Doth home spun Jone, or Country-Tom denie You for to Lodge, or in their Barn to lie?
It was the Plague did drive you out from hence,
And now the Plague o' the Purse, I hear from thence:
What fury dogs, and haunts you up and down,
First from the City, to the Country Town?
But when you'r there, you are afraid to stay,
And with a nimble pace do Run-Away;
Like as the fearful Hare, or Swift-foot Deer,
Doth fly before the Hounds: Your pannick Fear
Doth cause you with a swift and nimble pace,
To Run-Away, and flee from place to place,
For suppos'd Safety; yet you are much worse,
Having both Plague of the Body, and of the Purse.

From a broadsheet entitled *The Run-Aways Return:*
*or, the Poor Penniless Pilgrim* (1665).
INTRODUCTION

In Renaissance and early modern Europe, the notion of the anatomy referred to the demonstrative, staged dissection of a human body for didactic, moral, and juridical purposes. In addition to the latter uses made of the spectacle, an anatomy dissection represented a process enacted on an individual body, as a type or an object, in order to catalogue and analyze its individual parts. As I indicated in the introduction to this thesis, in England it was through the practice of anatomy that the distinct parts of the individual body could be relegated to their proper place in the establishment of a hierarchy of organs and limbs. The rank and essential order of the parts of the body thus established, a similar hierarchy could then be extended to the social body in order to perpetuate an impermeable classification of social positions and titles. In Restoration England the noun, anatomy, and its accompanying verb 'to anatomize', appeared in printed representations from a broad range of discourses — the medical profession, in the works of political thinkers and religious scribes, as well as social commentators, and invariably was invested with disparate meanings. For example, the individual body was dissected by the anonymous author of a 1672 broadside entitled The Phanatick Anatomized that caricatured the physical failings and deformities of religious dissenters: "His Back, and Shoulders broad yet cannot bear/ A heavy Burden, such as Common

89See for example Luke Wilson, "William Harvey's Prelectiones: The Performance of the Body in the Renaissance Theater of Anatomy", Representations 17, Winter 1987. Wilson's essay deals with Harvey's anatomy demonstrations for the College of Physicians in London in the 1620s. In a footnote, Wilson discusses the origins of the word itself: "A further indication that the 'whole' body is nothing other than the open or damaged body sewn up again or repaired is found in the word anatomy : etymologically a 'cutting up', the word describes the body as it is seen on the dissecting table, but it equally denotes simply the morphology of the intact body" (92). For a slightly earlier Continental context and function for the anatomy, see in the same issue, Glenn Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture", Representations 17, Winter 1987. Also dealing with the history of the medical and social aspects of anatomy dissections in England, but focusing primarily on the nineteenth-century, is Ruth Richardson, Death, Dissection, and the Destitute (New York, 1987).
Prayer/ His Belly's Tympanous, and full of pain/ Caused, (some think) by emptiness of brain". The body politic of the nation was the object of a similar process in the published speech by an ardent royalist during the Convention Parliament entitled *England Anatomized, her Disease discovered, and the Remedy prescribed, in a Speech by a Member of the (so called) Parliament* (1660). These examples are marked by the positing of an affliction topical to Restoration society that necessitates a cure, and their anatomies give away their political biases — in the latter, the cure is the reinstatement and preservation of royal authority, and for the former, it is religious conformity.

The plague was a phenomena located both in the individual body and in the social body. It was also reproduced through representation. Since the consequences of plague were a sick individual and an afflicted body politic, several anatomies were produced as a result of the outbreak in London in 1665. The individual was dissected in Dr. George Thomson's medical text *Loimotomia; or the Pest Anatomized* (1666), wherein he related his anatomical operation on a pestilential body, complete with a frontispiece illustration depicting the key moment of the event (FIG.3). This scene represented, as Thomson related, the culmination of his desire to view the inward parts of a pestilential body. Upon opening the right cavity of the heart, Thomson found "a white congealed matter, extracting which with my fingers, and narrowly viewing it, I would not compare it to anything more like, than a Lamb-stone cut in twain". Here in this crude frontispiece, the doctor offers the

90 *The Phanatick Anatomized* (1672), anonymous broadside, collection of the British Library.
91 *England Anatomized, her Disease Discovered, and the Remedy prescribed, in a Speech by a Member of the (so called) Parliament* (1660). This broadside is reproduced in *Somers Tracts* vol 6 (London, 1811).
92 George Thomson, *Loimotomia; or the Pest Anatomized* (London, 1666), 58. For Thomson, the plague only became deadly as a representation, when the body conceived the image of the disease, as he makes clear in an earlier text on the plague, entitled *Loimologia: A Consolatory Advice, and some Brief Observations Concerning the Present Pest* (London, 1665). Here he claimed an individual could become infected with the plague when they grew despondent or depressed, as when they were abandoned by
congealed substance to the viewer while the open cadaver of the fifteen year old servant of a wealthy patient of Dr. Thomson's lies on a plinth, his body covered with buboes, as a pot of sulfur burns to kill airborne infection. Thomson's assistant fears the wrath of God, clasps his hands and looks to the heavens, but the anatomist is empowered by his discoveries, and directly engages the viewer offering visual proof of the dissection and the legitimacy of his medical knowledge.93

the medical profession, causing them "to despond, and to become faint-hearted, who otherwise by confidence and resolved Magnanimity, the best preservative in Nature (for as much as none was ever infected by the Pest, but either from an Idea or Image of Hatred, Terrour, and Diffidence in the phantasie of the Individual Person, or in the Archeus, the innate Spirit of every part of the body..."(8)

As an aside, what is most interesting about this event and image is that it is being represented other than it took place, and that Thomson seems to be performing an illegal act and openly flaunting it. The image portrays the dissection of the pestilential body occurring in an interior space, perhaps to give the impression that it took place in a controlled laboratory space. The text, though, destabilizes the image. In Thomson's own words he relates a different story: after curing the servant's master M. Pick through chemical means, he obtained permission "to open this defunct body; for my own instruction and the satisfaction of all inquisitive persons." With the help of another servant, the corpse was not taken to a laboratory or anatomy theater, but "placed in the open air in a yard adjacent, which for several respects was very convenient." Anatomies were traditionally performed on the bodies of criminals, turned over to the College of Physicians by royal decree. They were allowed four bodies from the reign of Henry VIII, until; Charles II upped the quota to six. Under Charles II, the Royal Society was also given the privilege in their charter to perform dissections. If we see the plague as an inversion of social constraints, then it offered Thomson the opportunity to perform an anatomy himself, on the body of an innocent youth, completely removed from the official constraints of the College or Royal Society which, for the most part, had evacuated the City. And further, this inversion created the space for Thomson to publish a book flaunting this event visually and textually, creating the possibility that there could be many more witnesses to this dissection than in the confines of the College. But, contemporaneous voices are relatively silent on this event. Aside from a few scurrilous attacks on Thomson for his butchery by members of the College, the most interesting mention is the following, completely inaccurate, example in a letter from Joseph Tillison to William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral:

Dr. Burnett Dr. Glover and one or 2 more of ye Colledge of Physitians with Dr. O Dowd wch was licensed by my Lds Grace of Canterbury, some surgeons, Apothecaries, & Johnson ye Chymist dyed all very suddenly. some say (but god forbid yt I should report it for truth) that these in a consultacon together, if not all yet ye greatest parte of them attempted to open a dead corpse wch was full of ye tokens & being in hand with ye dissected body some fell down dead immediately, & others did not live ye next day att Noone. [from Watson Nicholson, The Historical Sources of Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year (Boston, 1919), 149.]
The social body was anatomized in William Austin's long verse work entitled *The Anatomy of the Pestilence* (1666), in which the author presented a reader with a step by step critique of the behaviour of the City's various social groups during the height of the epidemic. Austin was most critical of those groups that abandoned the City during the plague: doctors, clergy, lawyers, the court, even the trades and artisans that followed them. For example, in chastising members of the clergy that left the City in its time of great need, Austin writes: "They leave us; and we well do know the matter,/ That shepherds, when the sheep are smitten scatter".94 Lamenting the exodus from the City of a large proportion of the tradesmen, who would follow their richer clients, he rhymes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The only thriving trade that one can tell here} \\
\text{Lives by the dead, (as Hangman) Coffin-Seller;} \\
\text{You judging of this mystery, must know,} \\
\text{That sturdy Smith, who lives by the thump and blow,} \\
\text{Shoemaker, Chandler, Glover, Baker, Grocer,} \\
\text{And she makes shirts, and lives by Yes and No Sir;} \\
\text{All these, with almost eve'ry money-taker,} \\
\text{Are summ'd and tomb'd up in a Coffin-maker.95}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, Austin included a description of the spaces of the City at the height of the infection, the streets and the abandoned 'richly furnisht buildings', as well as a description of the well known figures associated with the plague: searchers of the dead, nurses, and watchmen.96

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94William Austin, *The Anatomy of the Pestilence; A poem, in three Parts, Describing the deplorable Condition of the City of London under its merciless dominion* (London, 1666), 12.

95Austin, 16.

96There was a tradition of this form of literature in response to outbreaks of the disease, going back to William Bullein's "Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence" of 1564, *Early English Text Society*, extra series, no. LII, (London, 1888), in which the author established a dialogue between various professional and social groups who discussed their obligations when plague strikes the City. The key figure in
Margaret Pelling, in her work on barber surgeons, the body, and disease in early modern England, has tied the early uses of the anatomy metaphor to a literary trend of social critique beginning in the early seventeenth century. Writers began to adopt the voice of the medical practitioner in order to diagnose social ills, and "the causes of the decline of civilized society were named and condemned in the same terms as disease was diagnosed and eradicated in the body". The decline of cultured society was often felt to be caused by growing urbanization and, it is reasonable to assume then, that the literary practice of the anatomy was linked closely to the growing uncertainty associated with anonymity in early modern urban life. Therefore, to anatomize a social body could be a process designed to intellectualize, rationalize and expose growing unknown individuals and/or types in the city. For example, this operation was clearly at work in a publication like *The Caterpillers of this Nation Anatomized* (1659), wherein the author set out to inform readers in the easiest and safest way to spot house breakers and pick-pockets, and other criminal elements of early modern England. The book also offered tips on

Bullein's text was the archetypal citizen 'Civis', who agonizes over flight from the City, finally deciding to escape, using biblical excuses to flee from danger. See also Slack (1985), 41-43.

97 Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: barber surgeons, the body, and disease", published in Beier and Findlay eds. (1986). See also T.J. Arthur, "Anatomies and the Anatomy Metaphor in Renaissance England" (University of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis, 1978), summarized in *Dissertation Abstracts International* 39 (1979), 4263A-4A. Pelling writes that the figures of the barber surgeons and the metaphor of the anatomy were utilized in literature of the late sixteenth-century because they were seen to be most capable of combating extreme and visible forms of corruption with the most effective and decisive means — cutting and revealing. Yet, she points out, writers were less concerned to promulgate a cure. This thesis differs, in that it looks at a representational anatomy of the social body, and postulates its perceived and hoped for therapeutic effect on the public community of early modern London.

98 *The Caterpillars of this Nation Anatomized, In a Brief yet Notable Discovery of House Breakers, Pick-pockets, & C. Together with the life of a Penitent highway man, discovering the mystery of that Infernal Society, to which is added the manner of hectoring & trapanning, as it is acted in and about the city of London* (London, 1659). The title of this text bears resemblance to that of a previous publication from the early 1640s, entitled *The Caterpillars of the Commonwealth Truly Dissected and Laid Open; the Frogges of Egypt, or the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth Truly Dissected and laid*
how to avoid dishonest and dangerous people while traveling, and, true to the promise of the anatomy in the title, took the reader inside an unknown and dangerous secret social group, "the society of Highway men", thanks to a penitent thief.

However, more than just a social critique, which might give the impression that the anatomy was predominantly negative, to 'anatomize' meant constructing something, a representation, which is never inert. Representations produce knowledge, and consequently are permeated with the social and political biases from where they originate. For example, the same Dr. Thomson mentioned above, in a slightly earlier text on the plague from the same year, had set out to respond to criticism of his medical practices by the official body of medical practitioners, the College of Physicians. Thomson, a doctor of chemical medicine, a discipline tarnished during the Restoration by its earlier associations with the radical religious sects, was engaged in a bitter print battle with the Galenist doctors attached to the College. Thomson exposed what he perceived to be falsehoods and inadequacies in their prescribed treatment of patients afflicted with the plague, and came to the following conclusion:

I have, I suppose, ... ripped up, and sufficiently anatomized, usque ad Sceleton, ... the huge deformed bulk of the monstrous, mutilated Galenical body; in so much that the most wise and acute Spectators and

Open with the subjects Thankefullness unto God for their deliverance from the nest of vermine (London, 1641).

For example, in the already cited essay by Luke Wilson (1987), the author points out that the anatomy by the physician William Harvey was to take place in the theater of the officially sanctioned College of Physicians. In addition to the physician members in the audience, there would have been the less classically trained barber surgeons, who would have been excluded from a large part of the spectacle in lieu of their lack of Latin, the language the demonstration would have been conducted in. Therefore, Wilson concludes, "the body is reconstituted in and through everyone in the theater, and particularly in and through the physician-surgeon difference, among others. At the same time, the body is the field where the political struggle occurs, and the object the superior knowledge and control of which constitutes the physicians' medical and political hegemony" (91).
Auditors of this Nation, ... have concluded that it was high time for such an unwieldy lazio, cumbersome, good for little, voracious animal Sarcophagum ... should now expire or breathe out his last, and become food for the birds of darkness.\textsuperscript{100}

In this example a specific social body, that of the Galenist physicians, were publicly anatomized when they had become a perceived problem for an individual outside of the group. Here, what the doctors attached to the official College of Physicians were up to needed to be exposed and made visible to a public through the surgical precision of a dissection.

In a different anatomy of the social body, Austin's *Anatomy of the Pestilence*, the metaphor could work in a slightly different, but related manner. In the dedication to the reader, the printer has written the following:

I shall only tell you, that this poem was written at the earnest request of some worthy persons into the Countrey, at that time of the Sickness, when the Mortality in London was so great, that (waving what was generally believed, that they, not to scare the City from itself, were afraid to own and publish half the number of the dead) according to the account of the usual Bills, there dyed seven or eight thousand a Week, with some hundreds over and above.\textsuperscript{101}

The tone was set, and the revelatory agenda of the text hinted at. Here in Austin's text the anatomy could reveal what had previously been hidden, misrepresented, or misunderstood, and transform it into something known, unthreatening, and controllable. As a process employed to construct representations, the anatomy made the invisible visible, and proclaimed that what it could produce and communicate to others was a commodity known as truth.

The broadsheet produced by Dunstall and Sellers was also, like Austin's work, an anatomy of the social body of afflicted London whose function was to propagate a

\textsuperscript{100}Thomson (1665), 12.
\textsuperscript{101}Austin (1666), preface.
kind of truth. Austin's anatomy seems to have been motivated by the desire to problematize the social behaviour of various groups in the urban centre, and bring to light social conflicts over flight from the City, strict quarantine, the destruction of trade and commerce, and the abandonment of brothers and sisters in the community. I will show that Dunstall's and Sellers' anatomy intended to do the opposite, in that it sought to smooth over the social tensions exacerbated by the presence of pestilence in epidemic proportions in the City. This it attempted through the use of visual imagery, text, and a numerical form of representation, its statistical comparisons. The information that Sellers compiled from these yearly Bills of Mortality functioned as kind of a statistical map of the City of London and its close lying regions, and substituted the ordering structure of language and number for the physical reality of the urban center. London, particularly within the walls, was characterized by a chaotic jumble of ninety seven parishes of varying size, population, and wealth, and was here arranged alphabetically parish by parish in the imposition of an order on the metropolis completely foreign to it, an order never to be found in its actual urban spaces and parishes. Rather, the City was organized by the alphabet and the information drawn from the Bills of Mortality, extraneous orders existing only within language and number. In the same way that the individual body of the plague victim was laid open by Dr. Thomson, and the diseased disorder of its interior parts organized visually and textually, so too was the diseased social body of the City. Dunstall's images and Sellers' mathematical facts brought the totality of the diseased urban centre onto the single sheet of paper, laid it out, and made it spaces capable of being grasped conceptually by a viewer as one might read a book.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Michel de Certeau, in the introduction to The Writing of History (Columbia, 1988), briefly discusses the formulation of the body in the field of medicine as a legible picture that can be translated into something which can be written "within a space of language". De Certeau is thinking of the work
This association of statistical fact and the representation of the plague in the social anatomy of the Dunstall and Sellers broadsheet was cultivated in order to produce an illusion or image of the maintenance of social stability when it was perceived to be threatened. Such a representational strategy of shaping a viewer's response to the event of the plague through the closure of a visual narrative and the ordering discourse of the newly formulated 'political arithmetic', could function to erase the social tensions exacerbated by the disease, and to naturalize the severe and repressive attempts by civic and monarchical government as the most effective means possible to control the disease, those afflicted with it, and the City's urban spaces.

I) PICTURING THE PLAGUE

How was the disease, those infected, and the urban spaces of London pictured by John Dunstall? The images were organized into nine different rectangular panels read from left to right. Each scene was numbered and supplemented by a textual description to guide the viewer through the intended chronology. The first picture depicts a private domestic sphere where, we are told in the accompanying text, the sick are being treated and those cured now walk with canes for the infection has made them lame. The viewer is thus given access to the inside a shut up house, where two female nurse keepers and a lone doctor minister to the sick, some lying two to a bed, while another is viewed on the floor next to a coffin. Two other women, both searchers of the dead, are visible: one in the foreground, carrying her white staff, and the other seated patiently at the bedside of a vomiting plague victim.

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of Foucault, particularly The Birth of the Clinic (New York, 1975), and indicates one of the processes of the 'anatomy' in its production of knowledge: "The body is a cipher that awaits deciphering. Between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, what allows the seen body to be converted into the known body, or what turns the spatial organization of the body into a semantic organization of a vocabulary — and vice versa — is the transforming of the body into extension, into open interiority like a book, or like a silent corpse placed under our eyes" (3).
A quite spacious interior, with large four poster beds and furniture is depicted in this image, leading one to suspect that it is more a representation of a middle class interior being shown. Despite the fact that the plague of 1665 devastated the poorer parishes of London, and ready evidence of this was available in the sheet's statistics, the middle classes seem here to claim infection with plague equally, despite contemporary criticism that they had on the whole abandoned their fellow citizens and community. Moreover, other than for the sick themselves, the view presented by this first scene would only be experienced in real life by the representatives of official authority, those hired by the City and the parishes to treat and care for the sick, the nurse-keepers and doctors, and those hired to identify the cause of death and remove the corpses, the searchers and bearers of the dead. The rampant mortality of the plague is offset by the descriptive text, which emphasizes that medical care provided by civic and parishes authorities was successful in treating and curing, and therefore controlling, the disease's effects.

Behind the closed doors of the shut-up houses, the individual members of the social body are cared for by the nurses, and the bodies of the dead will be swiftly removed by the searchers. This social body is inevitably gendered. In Elizabeth Grosz’s research on the constitutive and mutually defining relationship between bodies and cities, the city, for her, becomes one of the integral determinants in the social production of sexed bodies. Grosz problematizes the formulation that posits a parallelism or metaphor between the body and the city, in which the features and characteristics of the individual body are also the same in the social body. She argues that this construction reached its most articulated form in seventeenth century England with the writers Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and, I would add, Francis Bacon, William Petty, and John Graunt. Yet, as Grosz questions,
if there is a morphological correspondence or parallelism between the artificial commonwealth (the 'Leviathan') and the human body in this pervasive metaphor of the body-politic, the body is rarely attributed a sex. If one presses this metaphor just a little, we must ask: if the state or the structure of the polis/city mirrors the body, what takes on the metaphoric function of the genitals in the body-politic? What kind of genitals are they? In other words, does the body-politic have a sex?¹⁰⁴

Grosz argues that the body-politic, though it is claimed to be represented by and modeled on the human body, is implicitly gendered because the notion of the human body uses the male to represent the human. Grosz posits that such a gendering of the social body led to notions of ideal forms of government and order in the body politic that were naturalized:

the human body is a natural form of organization which functions not only for the good of each organ but primarily for the good of the whole. Similarly, the body-politic, whatever form it may take, justifies and naturalizes itself with reference to some form of hierarchical organization modeled on the (presumed and projected) structure of the body.¹⁰⁵

Plague brought disorder, anarchy, and selfishness to the social body, threatening its male qualities: order, rationality, virtue. The most condemned individuals in the majority of accounts of the plague in London in 1665 were the female nurse-keepers and searchers of the dead, hired by the parishes to care for the sick and report the causes of death to the Parish Clerks. The City personified as a woman was not unusual, nor was it threatening, but the City under feminine rule was something altogether different. London under the dominion of the plague was ruled by the care of the nurses, and the information on the social body provided by the searchers, for the data in the Bills of Mortality during times of severe infection

¹⁰⁴Grosz, 246.
¹⁰⁵Grosz, 247.
initially derived from their judgments. Graunt condemned the searchers, saying they often could not tell plague from consumption, or "after the mist of a Cup of Ale, and the bribe of a Two-groat fee instead of one given them, cannot tell whether this emaciation or leanness were from a Phthisis or from a Hectick Fever". Thomas Vincent claimed that people were more scared of the nurse-keepers than of the plague itself, and the physician, Nathaniel Hodges, claimed that the nurses were responsible for more deaths than household segregation: "but what greatly contributed to the loss of people thus shut up was the wicked practices of the nurses, for they are not to be mentioned but in the most bitter terms". Hodges later stated, in addition, that "nothing, indeed, deterred these abandoned miscreants from prosecuting their avaricious purposes by all the methods their wickedness could invent".

Even the text *The Shutting Up of the Infected Houses*, a text critical of government policy, blamed the nurses for a breakdown of the city's social bonds: "Little is it considered how careless most nurses are in attending the visited, and how careful they are to watch the opportunity to ransack their houses".

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106 John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1662), 46. Even Walter Bell (1924) was not free from this opinion, for in cautioning the reader of his history of the plague that it may be difficult to comprehend the differences between the seventeenth-century and the twentieth. He uses the example of the notification of death: "Notification of death, now so exact, was the most careless of matters. None expected it of the doctor. Relatives were under no obligation to make known to any public authority the loss of a life. It was no national or county or civic officer's duty to ascertain death; in fact, no man's job. It was a woman's job — that of the "searchers of the dead."(17) He goes on to call them illiterate, lacking in knowledge of diseases, usually elderly, and "circumstances made them habitually dishonest." Later on in the text, Bell discusses the nurse-keepers, and comments on the almost universal condemnation of these figures:

They are painted as monsters of iniquity. It would be happy to believe the charges incredible. They are too persistent and definite to be untrue; and when this character is allotted to the nurse-keepers by persons so fair minded as Dr. Nathaniel Hodges and by the Rev. Thomas Vincent — to name but two — it becomes evident that, in at least a great number of instances, the one who should have been the sick man's best friend was in fact his worst enemy. (108)


108 *The Shutting Up of the Infected Houses as it is Practiced in England Soberly Debated* (1665), 9.
For all these writers, the representation of the disordered City under the
affliction of the plague was one that keyed on the figures of the female searchers of
the dead and the nurse keepers. Under their rule the community's social bonds and
responsibilities of the inhabitants to one another were threatened, challenged by the
self interest of their greed, or the irrationality and inaccuracy of their intoxication.
The reign of plague and these feminine figures over London was a threat to secure
government and order, most aptly represented by William Austin in his poem *The
Anatomy of the Pestilence*:

City and monarchical government abandoned
With Searcher, Nurse, and Quack to rule our state,
To make completely a Triumvirate.
Her politicks are not from Aristotle,
But from the grave, the purse, the bag, and bottle.\(^{109}\)

The classical basis of stable society and sound government, the system of cosmic
harmony entrenched in English society was replaced, according to the poet, by
figures associated with complete and utter disorder — death, greed, thievery, and
inebriation. The triumvirate of stable and right rule — King, Lords and Commons
— was replaced by the searcher of the dead, the nurse keeper, and the quack.
Dunstall's City under the reign of the plague, beginning with an image of these
figures, is completely the opposite. It is rational, compartmentalized, functioning
still as a community thanks to the effective plague policies of the government. In
fact, as the text tells us, the nursekeepers actually help the sick regain their health.

From this spacious interior one is led out into the public spaces of the City
and shown carefully constructed representations that delineate all the measures
taken by civic officials to control the disease's malignancy: fires lit every six houses
in the streets during the worst of the mortality in September, houses shut-up with

\(^{109}\) Austin, 25.
Lord Have Mercy Upon Us and red crosses marked on the doors, the iconic figures of the searchers carrying their white staves, and the bearers of the dead with their red ones. Here also, as the textual description informs us, is a dog killer in action, and a sedan chair carrying the sick to a civic pesthouse. Needless to say, there is no indication that the latter were horribly overcrowded and inadequate. All this activity takes place in a wide, commodious street in front of tall, many windowed, expensive looking houses. The plague is never pictured where it was the worst, in the squalid, overcrowded yards and alleys of the poorer parishes. Dwellings that fronted onto streets in early modern London, as M.J. Power has convincingly shown, were consistently of the wealthier and merchant populations, with a full third having seven or more hearths, and approximately half of the houses with four to six hearths. In contrast, in the yards and alleys where population and density was much greater, and by consequence the effects of plague as well, over half the dwellings had only one to three fireplaces.\textsuperscript{110}

In the next image, one is given a distant view of London and the Thames, presumably from Southwark, with the old St. Paul's in the background. The river is crowded with watercraft showing "how multitudes did fly from London by Water in Boates, and Barges, and Lighters laden with Goods". Image number four shows flight by land, on foot, horseback, or in coach. In the foreground, the viewer is presented with the depiction of a City individual approaching some watchmen from an outlying region brandishing a piece of paper. This image, as the text states, represents "the Countrey people stopping them to shew their Certificates", being certificates of health issued by the office of the Lord Mayor. Then follow four images dealing with the disposal and burial of the dead: the bearers carrying coffins, "with red Staves in their hands, so that people might shun them"; carts carrying the dead

to the plague pits outside the City walls as birds fall from the sky, due to the diseased air; the plague pits themselves; and a public funeral. The last scene, the ninth, "sheweth their Return to the City", and depicts a mass of people on foot, horseback, or in carriages moving in unison towards the City, once again presided over by old St. Paul's.

This type of narrative sequence becomes even more apparent when it is compared with another image from 1665-1666 utilizing similar imagery (FIG.4). This print contained four pictures, three of which are identical to the illustrations by John Dunstall. These views were printed with explanatory text directly on the imagery similar to that found on the broadsheet. The one dissimilar image, described as "Burying the dead with a bell before them" with a representation of 'searchers', takes place in front of the piazza in Covent Garden. Which images were produced first, Dunstall's or the latter, is not important here. Rather, what is interesting is that the four image print makes no effort to construct any kind of chronology or narrative connection between the pictures whatsoever. Instead, the images present four disparate views of miscellaneous events associated with the plague in the City. No beginning, or no antecedent to the disease is hinted at as in Dunstall's visual narrative, nor is an end to the epidemic and a return to a healthy city postulated.

At work in the plague broadside, through the statistics and their collusion with the visual, was a representation of the world turned upside down turned upright again. The visual narrative constructed by Dunstall, or whomever commissioned the imagery in its sequence before the printing of the sheet, and the accompanying comparisons enabled by the inclusion of the parish by parish breakdown of the City from the yearly Bills, imposed a conceptual order on the diseased urban center, and helped to produce the notion of a cyclical nature to the epidemic. The City, as a complete entity, followed a course from health to sickness,
and back to health again. This narrative movement, from beginning to end, is shown in the pictures and emphasized by statistical matter of fact. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Giulia Calvi, in her work on the accounts of the Florentine plague of 1630, has shown how the body of the community during that epidemic was likened to an individual sick body that proceeded in a cycle from health to sickness, and back again. Such a naturalistic model was used to impose narrative order on the disorder of the epidemic, and therefore justified the harshness of official policies, and provided proof of their effectiveness. Despite the differences in historical context, and the fact that Calvi speaks primarily of textual material, Dunstall's and Sellers broadsheet performs a similar function as what she calls 'memoirs to order', by emphasizing that "in official memory the forms of social reorganization mobilized to counter the threat to the city are as inevitable and natural as the course of contagion itself."111 Such forms of social reorganization were all pictured in Dunstall's images or alluded to in Sellers' statistics: quarantine, segregation, surveillance, prohibition, and record keeping. Because the City is returned to health in the last image, and those who fled return, a viewer was led to read those efforts taken by official power as smoothly instituted and operated, and ultimately successful.

Steps legislated and undertaken by civic and monarchical authorities were not without their snags, disruptions, and contestations. They were not received unanimously by a passive population, doing its part to stave off infection and bring the City back to a condition of well-being like the consensual community postulated in the broadsheet. For example, as the excluded minister Thomas Vincent wrote in God's Terrible Voice in the City, panic came into the City as fast, if not faster, than the plague itself, and by the end of July there were more empty houses in the City.

than those marked with the red crosses.\textsuperscript{112} During late August and September all attempts to control the disease in the City had proved inadequate. Even something so apparently uncomplicated as the lighting of fires in the streets, as pictured in Dunstall's second image, was viewed as doing the opposite of what it intended. Thomas Cock argued that the lighting of fires would have a beneficial effect in attracting the infection, not repelling it, for all hot bodies attract. Therefore, fires should be lit in the suburbs, not the center of the City, for "the Infection will be drawn from the Center to the Circumference, as well as from the Circumference to the Center, as is apparent by the Cities being more, and the Suburbs less infected since this late unlucky experiment was made upon it".\textsuperscript{113} It was almost as if flight from the City, not plague, had become epidemic, causing problems within the urban centre as well as in other communities of the countryside. The Lord Mayor, John Lawrence, refused to issue any more certificates of health like the one being shown to the 'Country people' in Dunstall's fourth image. These certificates, once a guarantee of unrestricted passage during plague times, were being forged in great numbers and disregarded by authorities outside the urban center of London.\textsuperscript{114} By early July the courts had been suspended, thereby depriving the City of the

\textsuperscript{112}Thomas Vincent, \textit{God's Terrible Voice in the City} (London, 1667), 31.

\textsuperscript{113}Cock, 3. Nathaniel Hodges, member of the College of Physicians, and one of the doctors hired by the City to care for the sick, published his account of the plague in Latin in 1672, translated in 1720. In this text he also sees the fires as backfiring, being initiated by the remaining governors of the City while the medical profession remained undecided on what result they would have. As he writes:

\textit{But alas! the controversie was soon decided; for before the three days were quite expired, the heavens both mourned so many funerals, and wept for the fatal mistake, so as to extinguish even the fires with their showers. I shall not determine any other person's conjecture in this case, whether these fires may more properly be deemed the ominous forerunners of the ensuing conflagration, or the ensuing funerals; but whether it was from the suffocating qualities of the fuel, or the wet constitution of air that immediately followed, the most fatal night ensued, wherein more than four thousand expired. May posterity by this mistake be warned, and not, like empyricks, apply a remedy where they are ignorant of the cause.}

Sections from Hodges's text are reproduced in Bartel, 37.

\textsuperscript{114}Bell (1924), 94 137.
machinery of justice. Monarchical and institutional authority that organized and controlled social life had disappeared: Whitehall was abandoned by king and court on July 7, and both houses of parliament prorogued until August, a minimum number required for formalities and adjournment to meet in Oxford due to the king's need for supply in the war against the Dutch.

London and the surrounding area were cut adrift from the authority of the sovereign. The City within the walls still had the mayor and a few aldermen to exercise executive power, but the out-parishes were beyond civic control, a lack quickly noted by the government. A few justices of the peace were forced to remain and given wide reaching powers to exert order. Along with king and court, clergy, professionals, and wealthier merchants fled. Dissenting ministers, such as the above cited Thomas Vincent, took over the pulpits and what was left of the removed clergy's congregations. Services in St. Paul's Cathedral did not cease, though there was an inadequate number of ministers remaining, and the Dean himself, William Sancroft, left the City for Tunbridge Wells citing health reasons. Mass in the great cathedral was interrupted on occasion by angry mobs of religious dissenters, who

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115 I do not completely agree with Ronald Hutton's claims (228), when he argues against any indication that law and order broke down amongst all the horror of the disease: "Both legal records and literary sources indicate that constables still performed their duties and, despite the number of untended houses, that no great increase in crime occurred. The remarkable resilience of Stuart society again served it well". His own findings seem to contradict such a statement.

116 Bell (1924), 34, and Slack (1985), 223. George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, stayed in Westminster as the sole representative of the king, with the Earl of Craven as his first lieutenant, and two or three justices of the peace. The mayor of London, John Lawrence, remained in the City along with the Aldermen, who were forced to stay by a Mayoral Proclamation. Bell writes, and this is indeed interesting as far as this thesis is concerned, that

It proved greatly prejudicial to the outer areas that collective supervision was wholly lacking, save such as could be exercised by the justices of the peace. In national emergency these were accustomed to receive instructions from the Privy Council. The cleavage from the City was distinct, and only for statistical purposes was the Greater London of that day comprised within the Bills of Mortality.
declared openly to the gathered congregation that the sufferings of the City's population were the direct cause of the conformed church and state.\footnote{Bell (1924), 223, and Nicholson, 144. In a letter to Dean William Sancroft of August 10, 1665, Stephen Bing, a caretaker of St. Paul's, wrote "and the more sad are our times that neither calme nor storme will abate the fury of monstrous spirits whoe in the face of a Congregacon as at Pauls th'other day, will say these calamities are caused by the Government in Church & State". Apparently, according to Thomas Vincent, ejected Nonconforming Ministers took over the pulpits of those members of the clergy that had fled the City, and pamphlets circulated in the streets proclaiming 'Pulpits to let.' The Five Mile Act was intended to counter this potentially revolutionary threat, which, if one can believe Thomas, was gaining an audience daily. Churches taken over by Nonconforming Ministers were so full that the priests had to crawl over the pews to get to the pulpit. Once there, these ministers were welcomed by "such a face is now seen in the assemblies, as seldom was seen before in London; such eager looks, such open ears, such greedy attention, as if every word could be eaten, which dropt from the mouths of the ministers..."(Vincent, 56).}

On September 7, Sir Roger L'Estrange's paper the \textit{Newes,}, referred to the lack of Poor Rate payments being made in the City, and tried to minimize this escalating problem. Supplying for the infected and quarantined greatly strained the coffers of several parishes, and these payments lagged due to the numerous individuals who had fled the City without leaving a forwarding address. A short article in the paper reported that the Lord Mayor and aldermen had decreed that all citizens removed from the City had to notify their Church Wardens where they wished to receive notice of their Poor Rate payments, and blandly added that it was apparent "by the Roll that several wealthy persons are now out of Town, who have neither paid the same, nor left any orders for the payment thereof."\footnote{Newes, Sept 7, 1665.} In late August and September, household segregation collapsed.\footnote{Samuel Pepys, \textit{The Diary of Samuel Pepys}, Robert Latham and William Matthews eds. (Berkeley, 1983). Entry for September 14, 1665, (see also footnote 152), and Vincent, 42, wherein by late August the author sees shut-up shops, empty streets with grass starting to grow in some places, and a hears only the sounds of people dying punctuating a deep silence over the City. Now, he writes, "shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help".} People refused to stay quarantined and broke out of their homes, attacking watchers and even aldermen. Watchmen themselves evidently took part in civil disobedience also, as there are records of these figures...
joining neighbours in knocking locks off the entrances of shut-up houses, and physically erasing the red cross and "Lord Have Mercy On Us" from the doors. A group apparently even tried to shut-up Lord Mayor John Lawrence’s house.  

Pepys wrote about infected individuals in Westminster leaning out windows and breathing in others’ faces, and others who would throw rags that had covered their plague sores at passers by in the streets.  

Public funerals, and any kind of public concourse, were barred by royal prohibition, as funeral crowds were deemed the biggest danger for increased infection and threat to order during the spell of the plague. London’s social body had once again lost its head, with the king abandoning the City, and the spectre of disorder such a loss recalled — the Civil War and the Commonwealth — presented government with a potentially volatile situation. The jeopardy of uprisings and even revolution continually stressed authorities and the upper classes while pestilence gripped the City, whether the menace was real or not. Government took measures to control these threats by the Five Mile Act, mentioned in the first chapter, and an edict of June 28 that required all disbanded officers and soldiers who had at one time served in the parliamentary armies to immediately depart from London and Westminster to a distance of twenty miles.  

In the non-disorder of the plague in the City of London and parishes adjacent that Dunstall pictures, there was neither conflict nor tension. Removed from these visual constructions were any indication whatsoever of the anarchy of the City during the outbreak, any notions of the potential breakdown of interdependent and codependent social relationships and their substitution by selfish individual concerns for safety and self preservation. Instead, in the cycle that carries the City through sickness back to health, what was represented was both order and  

120 Slack (1985), 299.  
121 Pepys diary, Latham and Matthews eds., entry for February 12, 1666.  
122 On the Oxford session of parliament, see Hutton, 233-236.
consensus — a community operating effectively and actively under a benevolent civic and royal authority to return the City to health. This visual narrative of the social processes of the City during the epidemic disease of 1665 portrayed a clean disaster, compartmentalized, anatomized, and achieved in visual representation the same kind of exertion of order and control that the statistics claimed, and the policies adopted by civic and royal government sought. I do not want to argue here that Dunstall's and Seller's broadsheet was simply an expression of Restoration cultural and political authority, but due to the policing of cultural forms alluded to in the first chapter of this thesis — the control of the press being the most important — it would have been exceedingly difficult for the artist, the statistical compiler, and their printer to produce anything that challenged social, political, and religious conformity in 1665.

Yet, within the narrow confines articulated for this broadsheet and print culture on the whole by Restoration authority, space must also be made for a public that might have had different uses or readings of this form of representation, or those individuals who might have had a vested interest in acquiescing with the 'official' picture of the plague, but who also found reinforcement within it for their own individual actions during the outbreak of the infection. The utilization in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet of a natural cycle to the disease and its effects on the urban centre allowed the contentious issues of quarantine and flight to be represented as activities beneficial to the health of the community. In this way, the remedies of harsh household segregation of the sick from the healthy and escape from the urban centre were constructed as smoothly implemented and received by the population of the City without contestation or criticism, calling up a viewer for this cultural form that found flight and quarantine unproblematic issues. Perhaps the key to unraveling the identity of a public for this cultural form lies in the relationship of the visual narrative to the statistics drawn from the Bills of
Mortality. The production of the Bills of Mortality arose as a direct response to the plague. The collection and publication of such statistical information, the gathering and public dissemination of intimate knowledge about the disease's progress through the townships and cities of the kingdom, was initiated in order to facilitate attempts by royal government to preserve order and maintain social control in times of great affliction. But the knowledge produced by the Bills was also inextricably linked to the diverse social tensions irritated by the consequences of flight and strict household quarantine. In fact, as I shall shortly demonstrate by situating Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside within a tradition of plague broadsides produced within the City of London, the single broadsheet form that combined image, text, and statistic, likely owes its appearance in this cultural context as an intended mediation of the social conflicts over these issues. In order to better understand the way statistical 'truth' was being fused with visual 'truth' in Dunstall's and Seller's broadside in 1665, it will be necessary to take a closer look at the history of the Bills of Mortality, and statistical knowledge itself during the Restoration, along with their implication in the various means undertaken by monarchical and civic powers to control and monitor the disease's progression through the social body.

II) COUNTING AND COUNTERING THE PLAGUE

Bills of Mortality exist in manuscript form from the early sixteenth century, and were at first only produced during plague years. The compilation of the number of total burials from all causes tabulated against deaths from the plague alone had become the job of the Company of Parish Clerks on instructions from the king by 1536, when the wardens were instructed to have all of London's parish churches deliver to the Lord Mayor and the monarch the names of infected and dead persons.
every week.\textsuperscript{123} Two years later this tabulation was enlarged to include all christenings, marriages, and burials throughout the year. Throughout the century the scope of the Bills was gradually enlarged to include not only the parishes within the City walls, but the parishes outside and in the liberties as well. The Bills of Mortality were first printed in 1593 by the City Printer, and in 1626 a press was installed in the Parish Clerks' Hall, with the operating printer chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.\textsuperscript{124}

For most of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth, the audience for the Bills was limited: the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and the king, with the Lord Chancellor and the queen receiving copies by 1607. It is reasonable to assume that through the seventeenth century increasing numbers of the Bills came off the Parish Clerks' press as their audience expanded, so that by 1665, what had once been delivered on horseback to the king and court, and circulated amongst the mayor and aldermen, could be had by whomever was interested for the price of a penny every Thursday, or four shillings for a yearly subscription.\textsuperscript{125} On one side a reader could view the number of total burials beside the number of deaths from the plague for the parishes within the City walls, as well as several out parishes (FIG.5). On the other side, below the seal of the Company of Parish Clerks, the reader could peruse 'the Diseases and Casualties this Week': in addition to the 4237 dead from the plague, one also finds forty-five dead from old age, one hundred twenty six from consumption, and more vaguely, three from 'grief', one from 'lethargy', and two

\textsuperscript{123}Aside from the discussion of the Bills of Mortality in histories of the plague by Bell (1924), and Slack (1985), the most detailed analysis of the Bills, their contents, the machinery that produced them, and a further bibliography is F.P. Wilson, \textit{The Plague in Shakespeare's London} (Oxford, 1927), 189-208.

\textsuperscript{124}Wilson, 197.

\textsuperscript{125}Wilson, 202, and Bell (1924), 58. The price for a single weekly Bill of Mortality would not have been out of reach for craftsmen and labourers, who made thirty and eighteen pence a day respectively, but it is unlikely they would have had a disposable sum of four shillings for a subscription. See A.L. Beier, "Engine of Manufacture: the trades of London", in Beier and Findlay eds., 162.
'suddenly' during the week of August 15-22, 1665. The obscurity of the latter is contrasted by the absolute specificity of the single death "Broke her Scull by a fall in the street at St. Mary Woolchurch". As further indication of their public dissemination and potential to be perused by a large audience, the Assize of Bread was printed at the bottom, at nine and a half ounces for a 'penny Wheaten Loaf', and the same weight and price for three 'half-penny White Loaves". Surely the inclusion of the Assize of Bread, wherein the civic authorities decreed the size and weight of the most basic of food stocks, indicates a concern to deter the possibility of social unrest in the capital, particularly during the plague when food sources tended to get a little scarce.

The manner in which the Bills were compiled during times of epidemic disease seems to have been as follows. The almost universally despised searchers of the dead were hired by each parish to view the bodies of the deceased normally reported to the parish clerks by family members or neighbours. These searchers, upon viewing the corpse and officially ascertaining the cause of death, reported it to the constable, who reported to the clerk, who then reported the death to the chief of clerks. Royal orders decreed that the Parish Clerks, in addition to compiling the weekly statistics, were required to notify the deputy of the ward or alderman in writing within three hours after learning of an individual in their parish afflicted with the plague.\textsuperscript{126} False information could lead to imprisonment in Newgate. This information appears to have played, or been intended to play, a crucial role in maintaining control over the spaces of the City during times of plague. Dramatic rises in the number of residents infected by the plague could be watched for in different parishes, and swift measures to control the disease could be taken, such as

\textsuperscript{126}Wilson, 203.
the posting of watchmen on the streets in and out of an infected parish to prevent its residents from leaving.

Plague in a parish could be devastating, disrupting trade and commerce, and straining social relations between different classes of people living and working in close proximity. The preservation of order and the averting of panic in the City was contingent on the information in the Bills being kept secret until publication to prevent doctoring, and the parish clerks were ordered to deliver them to Guildhall before eight o'clock every Thursday morning without showing them to any other person before ten. The Bills could very easily be falsified, as they often were, even in 1665, and it was necessary to issue an order as early as 1607 against the possibility that a member or clerk,

by any cunning device, practice, or means, give away, disperse, utter, or declare, or by any sinister device, cast forth at any window, hole, or crevice of a wall of this house [the Guildhall], any bills or notes, whereby the reports of these returns for that week may be known or uttered abroad, before the book is given to the Lord Mayor.

The printing and disseminating of the Bills of Mortality to a much wider audience in the latter part of the seventeenth century must have been intended, in part, to counter the destabilizing force of inaccurate rumour and the manipulation of the Bills to serve the particular interests of various individuals or parishes with the supposed truth and accuracy of an official version, especially during times of great infection by the plague. I am unable to discern the numbers in which the Bills were published, or how they were circulated to a wider public. I assume they were sold in

127For example, Pepys writes in his diary on August 30, 1665:
   Abroad, and met with Hadley, our [parish] clerke, who, upon my asking how the plague goes, told me it encreases much, and much in our parish; for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six: which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places; and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be(Latham and Matthews, eds.).

128Cited in Wilson, 204.
stationer's shops, posted in public spaces, and delivered through the post,\textsuperscript{129} for they were readily and quickly available to individuals outside of the City during the plague. The king and court still received them, and Pepys managed to get them in Woolwich, as did the Venetian Ambassador Alvise Sagredo in Tunbridge Wells, though he doubted their accuracy.\textsuperscript{130} The trustworthiness of the Bills bothered more individuals than just Sagredo, and the question was discussed repeatedly in the seventeenth century, as well as today amongst historians who still use the information compiled by the parish clerks in the belief that they are gaining access to something truthful and verifiable about early modern English social life.\textsuperscript{131}

The Bills of Mortality represent one aspect of the many plans and devices established to protect the public health in times of plague in early modern England. In addition to the Bills, government and civic authorities pursued the formulation of a social policy which they hoped would provide the most benefit and public order for community and nation. As Paul Slack points out, though, changes and modifications in procedure never coincided with major epidemics, during which

\textsuperscript{129}It is with the Restoration that the notion of a centralized, state controlled post office comes into existence, another example of the policing of cultural forms following the return of Charles II to power. An Act for Erecting and Establishing a Post Office (1660), also known as the Post Office Act, was instituted in order that "the maintenance of mutual correspondencies and prevention of many inconveniencies happening by private posts several public post offices have been heretofore erected for carrying and recarrying letters". One wonders whether the urge to control religious dissent was at the heart of this move, having all communications pass through the public post offices under the authority of individuals attached to the state. It is suggestive indeed, for Article XII of the Act implicitly states "that no person shall be capable of having, using or exercising the office of Postmaster General, or any other employment relating to the said office, unless he or they shall first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy..." (\textit{English Historical Documents}, 475).

\textsuperscript{130}\textit{Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice} (London, 1933), 190. See also, for example, \textit{Calendar of State Papers Domestic} (London, 1864), 493.

\textsuperscript{131}For example, see the discussion in Wilson, 205-208, on the accusations of tampering and the problems of accuracy of the Bills in the late sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. On the problems of the use of information compiled in the parish register by historians today, see Christopher Hill, "Sex, Marriage and Parish Registers" in \textit{The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill} (Amherst, 1986) vol.3, 188-210.
there was no real opportunity to put new policies into effect. Instead, changes to
government plans in order to control those stricken with the plague and preserve
social peace in England's towns and corporations, especially London, occurred when
relatively minor outbreaks exacerbated other social problems and issues. In other
words, the threat of the plague and the potential public disorder caused by the
infected prompted repressive social policies designed to police the City's urban
spaces and parishes.

In these early formulations of a comprehensive official plague policy,
authorities vacillated on the causes of the disease between theories of infection and
theories of transmission. Legislators argued alternatively for a contagionist
interpretation of the causes of plague, believing that the disease was propagated
from person to person or, on the other hand, a miasmic interpretation that claimed
pestilence was generated by foul air, filthy streets, and tainted water. The former
influenced public policy in the direction of segregating the sick from the healthy,
and the latter would give rise to plans for increased maintenance of urban spaces:
the cleansing of the streets, the lighting of fires and sulfur to kill the air born germs,
and the like. Up until 1543 there was no clear preference by civic or royal authority
for one program over the other. At this time, though, perhaps envisioning the

132 Slack (1985), 200. On the development of these plague policies through the sixteenth and
seventeenth-centuries in England, see also John Findley Shrewsbury, A History of Bubonic Plague in the
British Isles (Cambridge and London, 1970). As early as the reign of Henry VIII, in the early sixteenth
century, aspirations for the introduction of government policy to improve the 'public health' had been
discussed by Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More. These two thinkers felt that England should be on par
with Renaissance European states and their social programs. The power of the state had a right and a
necessity to intervene in aspects of social life in the interest of public order, and Wolsey and More began
to draw up procedures concerning enclosures and sumptuary regulations, as well as the initiation of a
campaign against vagrants and beggars in London. In 1518 Wolsey established the College of
Physicians with the express purpose of caring for and improving public health in London. Of great
cornern to the initiators of these early programs, and a prime instigator behind their articulation, was
that plague and sweating sickness had struck London at a time of great social unrest. The measures
taken to combat these illnesses in the name of the public good were, conveniently, also ways of curbing
the potential of popular revolt.
benefits of a highly regulated 'healthy' social body, the Privy Council shifted its support behind theories of contagion and decided that the disease was the fault of individuals and their lifestyles, and not caused so much by the physical environment of the City. The Council deemed at this time that separating the sick from the healthy would be the most effective means for combating the disease, and settled on a program of enforced household segregation. Subsequent orders issued by this legislative group clearly stated that plague increased in its intensity and represented a threat to the social fabric of the City "rather by the negligence, disorder, and want of charity in such as have been ... infected ... than by corruption of the air".\textsuperscript{133}

In 1579 plague orders were first published and affixed in public places, and the policies dictated therein remained essentially unchanged until 1666. These English orders derived heavily from continental models, but differed in two ways: taxation was imposed to support the sick in lieu of the already existing Poor Law, and strict household quarantine was adopted. Along with flight from the City, an issue dealt with below, household quarantine remained the most contentious issue in discussions concerning the plague throughout the seventeenth century. Many felt strict segregation was simply too harsh — those quarantined were not allowed under any circumstances whatsoever to leave their premises until forty days had passed, and family members residing in the same house were similarly shut-in, whether they were infected or not. In addition, no visitors were allowed, and foodstuffs and supplies were delivered to an afflicted household by a nurse or watchman hired by the parish.\textsuperscript{134} The adoption of a policy of social containment comprised the majority of attempts by civic government to control the infection, yet

\textsuperscript{133}Cited in Slack (1985), 203.
\textsuperscript{134}See the \textit{Orders Conceived and Published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, Concerning the Infection of the Plague, 1665} (London, 1665).
was largely condemned by members of the medical profession not attached to the official College of Physicians, as well as by other social and political critics.\(^{135}\) We have seen that the broadsheet produced by Dunstall and Sellers in late 1665, or early 1666, with its visual and numerical narrative of the plague through the City of London, functioned to erase any indication of the contention surrounding these issues, and therefore served the interests of dominant authorities in preserving social harmony.

By 1604, through the Plague Act, the orders for strict household segregation and quarantine of those infected became statute law through an act of parliament, along with the imposition of local rates for the care of the sick. This Act was renewed parliament by parliament, and was made perpetual in 1641. By making the shutting up of households during times of plague into law, and therefore the most important action taken by civic and royal authority to check the spreading of the disease through the individual and then the social body, the Act also provided for the implication of corporal and capital punishment on those individuals who escaped from their shut-up houses, whether they had the plague or not. Watchmen were given the power to use discretionary violence — anyone found loitering in the public spaces of the City during periods of great infection could be whipped as a

\(^{135}\)See William Boghurst, *Loimographia; An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665* (London, 1666), 55 and 57. Boghurst, an independent apothecary, includes 'shutting up houses' in his list of ineffectual remedies and things to be avoided. George Thomson, in *Loimologia* (1665), condemns the policy of household quarantine:

I humbly conceive, with submission to the highest Powers, that it might be more conducive to the body Politick and Natural, if this rigid course of enclosing the infected so strictly within so narrow a compass were mitigated: for hereby intercourse of trading might be kept alive, and so miserable poverty prevented...Certainly none but such a Heathen as Galen would have given his disciples such impious and uncharitable Advice...(9). 

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vagrant rogue, and if the person was also discovered to have a plague sore on their body, they could be hung as a felon.\textsuperscript{136}

Despite the fact that, in 1665, there was a plague committee in the Privy Council, most of it left London with Charles II in July. This council had been trying to revise the plague orders in that year, and were pushing a bill through parliament that required a public pesthouse in every parish, and gave magistrates clearly stated authority to impose full quarantine on all infected houses.\textsuperscript{137} The Privy Council of 1665 had not the same powers as the one of 1630, and had to take into account the differences between the two houses of parliament. Ultimately the bill stalled due to opposition in the House of Lords, for the peers wanted their homes exempt from the policy of shutting-up, and wanted no pesthouse or graveyard in the proximity of

\textsuperscript{136}\textsuperscript{}Slack (1985), 211. One wonders how far, if at all, we have progressed with regard to deadly epidemic diseases when the social and juridical oppression afflicted upon individuals afflicted with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, and the search for social groups as scapegoats for the disease's spread, is taken into account.

\textsuperscript{137}\textsuperscript{}Slack (1985), 217. Several crucial modifications had occurred to the Plague Act during the time of the Stuarts, particularly in 1625, when an outbreak occurred in London while parliament was in session due to the king's need for supply. The poor rate was doubled to care for the infected in the City, and a general collection was imposed on the entire kingdom for the benefit of London and Westminster, the two largest urban centers and perpetually the hardest hit. The City's civic government was favourably responsive to such an idea, and even lent money to the parishes for the purposes of tending to the afflicted until the collections from the rest of the country started to come in. That financial support gathered in the churches around the kingdom for the benefit of England's large afflicted communities may give the impression of a charitable country concerned about their fellow citizens in the metropolis. However, what was really happening in 1625, as Paul Slack has pointed out, was that the country was paying for protection from the City, and demanding effective isolation of those infected, as well as security to prevent the afflicted from leaving the urban areas to roam free in the country, in return for financial assistance.

In 1630 Charles I dissolved parliament, and the Privy Council on its own took over the reins of social control and the preservation of order. Though plague was mild in this year, other social problems were pressing, resulting in the Caroline 'Book of Orders'. The Book of Orders represented a move by the crown to control many aspects of local government, and remove various public nuisances from urban centers. It also represented a slight shift in thinking about the protection of public health during times of epidemic disease, and recommended isolation in pesthouses for those infected with the plague, rather than an encompassing household segregation. By 1665 some attempts were made to construct pesthouses in Westminster and London, but these were wholly inadequate and, as the contagion grew, the policy of strict household segregation was undertaken again.
their residences. The failure of revised plague policy in 1665 indicates that, despite the representation in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside that household quarantine was effective in bringing the city back to health and universally imposed, the policy of strict household quarantine was clearly not enacted on houses in all neighbourhoods, or on all classes of people.

Flight from the City was also an option unavailable to all. Those who could flee were, of course, those who could afford to, having country houses to retreat to as shelter, or those capable of finding some other form of lodging in a neighbouring community. Flight only became a common recourse in the seventeenth century, particularly in 1625 and 1665. Shutting up houses and flight destroyed the economy of a city during the plague for, along with government bans on public markets and fairs, shutting up quarantined a large portion of a city's labor force, and flight removed the more successful merchants and traders from the city. People became wary of buying goods, and a shortage of cash and credit ensued because wealthier members of the population stopped leaving their money with scriveners and goldsmiths, and merchants refused to extend credit during the plague due to the uncertainty of the status of the creditor when it came time to collect. The majority of doctors and lawyers, who followed their patients and clients, and numerous members of the clergy evacuated the City as well. In published critiques of flight, such Austin's The Anatomy of the Pestilence, these figures are almost always universally condemned. Various arguments were put to use in support of retreat from the City, for example, biblical arguments about the correctness and acceptability of flight from life threatening danger were often used, and various 'public persons', that is magistrates and ministers, could use the excuse that their self preservation
was good for the commonwealth as a whole, and could therefore avoid danger if they found a substitute.\textsuperscript{138}

It is a crucial point, as far as this thesis is concerned, that the grossly unequal mortality rates between the parishes occurred parallel to the growth of the science of statistics as a useful form of knowledge, and the appearance of this knowledge as an integral part of the print culture of early modern London. For example, the view that plague was a disease equally infecting all members of the population becomes clouded when one pays close attention to the statistics printed at the bottom of Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside. The social geography of London had remained essentially unchanged from the sixteenth into the seventeenth centuries, with the central area of the City within the walls being generally richer and the outlying parishes poorer. This still held true in 1665, but drastic changes were to be found in the mortality rates for the different parishes. One might expect that the populations of the poorer parishes would be devastated in earlier epidemics and, with improvements in medicine and living conditions through the century, the mortality rates of these neighbourhoods would come to more closely approximate the ratios of the wealthier parishes. In fact, the inverse was the case.\textsuperscript{139} Both rich and poor parishes were afflicted more or less on equal ratios in earlier epidemics, but in 1665 wealthy parishes fared considerably better than impoverished ones. Statistics did, as has been shown, evolve as a discourse and practice specifically designed to deal with the social problem of the plague, as a way of ordering the potentially disordered social body of the afflicted city. At the same time, though, it had other

\textsuperscript{138}Slack (1985), 43, and Bell (1924), 56-60 and 91-96. See also Boghurst's ruminations on the question in Loimographia, 58-61.

\textsuperscript{139}Slack (1985), 157, and Bell (1924), 123. For example, in 1665 there were more deaths in Stepney and Whitechapel than in the whole of the City within the walls. For the years 1625, 1636, and 1665, the parish of Allhallows Honeylane had 8, 0, and 5 deaths respectively from the plague. In contrast, the total deceased from plague for the out parish Saint Giles Cripplegate grew from 2,338 in 1625, to 4,838 in 1665.
motivations, and as a form of print culture, other uses. One of the functions of the uniformity to the social body and the plague's effect on it in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside of 1665-1666, as I articulated earlier, would have been to erase the perceived differences in behaviour of the City's varying social groups during the outbreak of plague in 1665. With the return of Charles II to the throne at the Restoration, the science of mathematical analysis applied to the population of London and England assumed an even greater importance as part of the discourse of natural philosophy that could help in countering a fragile social peace with stability and consensus. It is now necessary to look more at the theorization and specific uses of statistical knowledge in the years immediately following the Restoration.

III) THE USES OF 'POLITICAL ARITHMETIC' AT THE RESTORATION

The growth of interest in statistics is surely associated with the expansion of function and use postulated by John Graunt in his 1662 publication *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality*. Graunt was a practicing tradesman, a London draper and haberdasher, as well as a Captain in the City Militia. His text is now regarded as the origin of statistics and demographics for Graunt was the first person to apply mathematical analysis to the social body of London, and the country in its entirety, through the use of information culled from the Bills of Mortality. He claimed his book would produce undisputed and clear knowledge about the state of the City and the country in exacting detail. As a result, Graunt was accepted into the Royal Society on account of this work through the petition of no less than Charles II himself. Graunt stated

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140 For details on Graunt, see the introduction by Peter Laslett to the facsimile reproduction of Graunt's text in *The Earliest Classics: John Graunt and Gregory King* (Farnborough, 1973), as well as Charles Henry Hull, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty together with the Observations upon the bills of mortality more probably by Captain Graunt*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1899, facsimile reprint New York, 1963).
that the "lowly Bills" had heretofore been used only by a small group of citizens to find out what happened rare, and extraordinary in the week currant: so as they might take the same as a Text to talk upon, in the next Company; and withall, in the Plague-time, how the sickness increased, or decreased, that the Rich might judge of the necessity of their removall, and Trades-men might conjecture what doings they were likely to have in their respective dealings.

Graunt claimed that the information contained in the Bills could and should be utilized in a greater capacity than this, in a way that would have a much more important social function.

Graunt and fellow founding member of the Royal Society, William Petty, who published his own *A Treatise on Taxes and Contributions* in 1662, were just beginning to theorize the social and political use of mathematical and statistical analysis, referring to it as 'political arithmetic'. As Peter Buck has written, where later experimenters with statistics presumed that natural and social phenomena were inherently ordered by causal laws and only then susceptible to quantitative study, Graunt and Petty saw the elements that made up the world as distinct entities with no intrinsic relations between them. Therefore, "they regarded causal laws as constructs of the human mind, and they conceived the uses of mathematics in terms of creating order rather than discovering its immanent principles".

Mathematical quantification, they claimed, provided knowledge free from controversy and conflict, and therefore could represent the construction of consensus and social harmony akin to the overall model proposed by natural philosophy at the Restoration. The conditions for the construction and maintenance

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141 Graunt, B1.
142 Buck, 67.
of social order had to be advocated by public institutional authority and legitimized by individual self imposition. Broadsheets employing image and statistics, such as that by Dunstall and Sellers and some different variations dealt with in more depth below, that invited the reader/viewer to make statistical comparisons, indeed, even to make those tabulations him or herself right on the sheet, could involve an individual in the practice of the new science of natural philosophy, and therefore make that subject virtuous as a producer of order and consensus in that historical moment.\footnote{As Buck writes, "Graunt and Petty stated the issue [the relationship between social order and the order of nature] primarily in methodological terms: quantifying is important because it provides a form of knowledge free from the distorting effects of controversy and conflict; and the natural philosophers' primary claim on our attention is that, as a group, they offer an example of how consensus about explanatory principles and concepts makes for social harmony. Underlying this view was a further argument — that the conditions for social order ultimately must be self-imposed by individuals as well as enforced by public authority" (67).}

Graunt, in \textit{Natural and Political Observations}, was obsessed with the problem of disorder in the social body of the City and nation, from beggars and vagrants to the threat of the plague, and looked to the "Mathematiques of my Shop-Aritmetique" to anatomize these potential problems and bring them clearly into view. In dedicating his book to Sir Robert Moray, member of the Privy Council for Scotland and also President of the Royal Society in 1662, a group Graunt refers to as a "Privy Council for Philosophie" and a "Parliament of Nature", whose three estates were the mathematical, mechanical, and physical, this London draper represented 'political arithmetic' as equivocal in importance to affairs of state and the events and figures that comprised history itself:

\begin{quote}
For my own part I count it happiness enough to my self, that there is such a Council of Nature, as your Society is, in being; and I do with as much earnestness enquire after your Expeditions against the Impediments of Science, as to know what Armies, and Navies the several Princes of the World are setting forth. I concern my self as
\end{quote}

much to know who are Curatours of this or the other Experiments, as
to know who are Mareshals of France, or Chancellour of Sweden. I am
as well pleased to hear you are satisfied in a luciferous Experiment, as
that a breach hath been made in the Enemy's works: and your
ingenious arguings immediately from sense, and fact, are as pleasant to
me as the noise of victorious Guns, and Trumpets.\textsuperscript{144}

A belief that the practice of natural philosophy, the conscious and deliberate
observation of the natural and the social world, and the discourses of the Royal
Society were completely elitist and reserved to a small proportion of the population
of Restoration London, is contradicted by the cases of John Graunt and Dr. George
Thomson, author of \textit{Loimotomia; or the Pest Anatomized}. Graunt, a tradesman
and City militiaman, and Thomson, an independent medical practitioner, point out
that the dissemination of the ideology of natural philosophy in the early
Restoration, that matters of fact discovered through observation and tactile, sensual
experience in the flesh of the world produced indisputable and powerful truth,
found willing and active recipients from the middling and lower middle classes of
the population. Thomson, much more marginalized than Royal Society inductee
Graunt, claimed in his preface that \textit{Loimotomia} was practical and representative of
empirical truth: "...I have here laid open what I visibly and experimentally have
found to be true, what I have handled with these hands, and seen with these
eyes".\textsuperscript{145} Thomson's search for truth was, as he said so himself, compulsive: "yea, I
was so eager in the pursuit of therapeutical Truth, that I was restless till I had full
view of the inward parts of a Pestilential Body".\textsuperscript{146} The disorder wrought by the
plague to the individual body encouraged Thomson's anatomy, bringing a corpse's
invisible and unknown parts under the gaze of the natural philosopher and his

\textsuperscript{144}Graunt, A6.
\textsuperscript{145}Thomson, \textit{Loimotomia}, A4.
\textsuperscript{146}Thomson, \textit{Loimotomia}, A5
virtual witnesses, for his own satisfaction and the "fascination of all inquisitive Persons", in order to counter the diseases threat with therapeutic truth. Graunt as well wished to bring into view the unknown and therefore threatening parts of a different body, on a more macrocosmic scale, and statistical analysis would enable such an operation. For instance, political arithmetic could show the necessity of dividing the City into different, more equally distributed parishes in order to counter the problem of the growing suburbs, where "many viscious persons get the liberty to live as they please, for want of some heedful Eye to overlook them".147

The Bills of Mortality would be the vehicle to aid such a process, and natural philosophy would provide the methodology — the social and political technology — to allow the collective body of the City to be anatomized. Graunt placed the matters of fact produced through his analysis of the Bills of Mortality at the service of social control and stability, thereby making trade and government more secure, the two most eagerly sought after goals of the Restoration. Political arithmetic could offer assistance to government for the purposes of policy making, Graunt informed a reader at the time, "to understand the Land, and the hands of the Territory to be governed, according to all their intrinsic, and accidental differences". It would provide knowledge of the size, shape, content, situation, and productivity of all the lands and towns of the kingdom, how much hay an acre of meadow would produce, the number of cattle that could be reared on the same hay, and how much that acre of land would be worth in purely monetary value. In addition to such empirical information on the material and physical properties of what encompassed the kingdom, Graunt claimed it would be equally as important to have detailed knowledge about the inner components of the social body:

147Graunt, 58.
It is no less necessary to know how many People there be of each Sex, State, Age, Religion, Trade, Rank, Or Degree, & c. by the Knowledge whereof Trade and Government may be made more certain and Regular; for, if men knew the People as aforesaid, they might know the consumption they would make, so as Trade might not be hoped for where it is impossible.\textsuperscript{148}

This anatomy of the body politic occasioned through scientific knowledge and the methodology of natural philosophy became, for Graunt, the mediator to balance government and maintain consensus and conformity in the context of the Restoration, as he states in the concluding paragraph to \textit{Natural and Political Observations}:

\begin{quote}
I conclude, That a clear knowledge of all these particulars, and many more, whereat I have shot but at rovers, is necessary in order to good, certain, and easie Government, and even to balance Parties, and factions both in Church and State. But whether the knowledge thereof be necessary to many, or fit for others, then the Sovereign, and his chief Ministers, I leave to consideration.\textsuperscript{149}
\end{quote}

Certainly, it became apparent to Charles II that what Graunt proposed could only in the end buttress the power of the state in the early years of the Restoration, judging from Graunt's induction into the Royal Society at the express wish of the monarch himself. This knowledge was also deemed fit for others, as well, for to involve individuals in the process of political arithmetic was to involve them in a consensual community producing uncontested matters of scientific fact. Graunt's text was published in two editions during 1662, and the plague of 1665 saw the publication of an edition in early summer, and a fourth edition in November.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{148}Graunt, 73.
\textsuperscript{149}Graunt, 74.
\textsuperscript{150}See the Laslett introduction to \textit{The Earliest Classics} (1973), unpag.
This is clear indication of a reading public becoming aware of, and receptive to, the possibilities offered by political arithmetic.

The establishment of a reading public of significant depth and range, and a substantial rise in the amount of printed material available to the population of early modern London was the result of a substantial rise in literacy witnessed in England during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. These gains also help explain what distinguishes the plague of 1665 from other plagues that struck London in the same century, in that the amount of printed information about the disease available to a reading public at the time was much higher. Many medical tracts were produced, as well as many analyses of past and present Bills of Mortality.\textsuperscript{151} This outbreak of the disease cultivated a much greater interest in statistical analysis than any other year, perhaps due to the popularity of Graunt's \textit{Natural and Political Observations}. For example, as far as I have been able to discern, 1665 was the first and last year that all the weekly Bills for the entire year were compiled with a yearly Bill in one volume published by the printer E. Cotes, for the Company of Parish Clerks, under the title \textit{London's Dreadful Visitation}. The title page of this text was bordered by an assembly of images associated with the plague — picks and shovels, winding sheets, hourglasses and skeletons — in a style similar to the memento mori (FIG.6, FIG.7). \textit{London's Dreadful Visitation}, though, was not a memento mori for a single individual, but now referred to the social body in its entirety. Information from the Bills could also be garnered from other sources, such as L'Estrange's news sheets, and even showed up in some unusual places that year, such as the shaft of a commemorative spoon, now in the Museum of London, that bears an inscription of the yearly total of deaths on one side of its shaft, and the total from the plague on the reverse (FIG.8).

\textsuperscript{151} Slack (1985), 244-248, and Bell (1924), 219-223.
How could such material function in the culture of the Restoration? The printer, E. Cotes, in his preface to *London's Dreadful Visitation*, stated that individuals following the Bills had suffered from the lack of opportunity to compare them with Bills from previous years, and therefore offers his text to posterity and the nation to counter this problem. In so doing, Cotes contributes to the construction of consensus through the public service he performs in offering a book containing a year of statistical information. This collection of Mortality Bills would serve "to confer upon us, such a uniform and cordial Repentance, that everyone of us may search out the Plague of his own Heart and Brain", and restore the City to health.  

Clearly, the statistical anatomy of the body social and politic functioned as an integral cog in Restoration attempts to impose conformity and uniformity, and to ensure social peace and order.

A growing public for this form of print culture had other practical uses for the Bills of Mortality. Individuals could use them as a kind of map of the urban centre during times of plague, gathering information on which parishes to avoid due to heavy infection, or discerning when to leave the City. Navy Clerk Samuel Pepys used the Bills to enable safe travel through the City on official business, and to monitor the mortality rates in his own parish, moving to Woolwich when it became too dangerous to stay in London. For example, Pepys wrote in his diary on November 30 from Woolwich, after the plague had begun to subside in the City, that "great joy we have this week in the weekly Bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but 333 of the plague — so that we are encouraged to get to London as soon as we can".

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152 *London's Dreadful Visitation: or a Collection of all the Bills of Mortality For this Present Year* (London, 1665).
153 Slack, 252.
154 Pepys also makes it clear that he is watching the Bills and planning his movements accordingly in the diary entries for July 27, August 10 and 30, September 7, 14, 16, 20, October 3 and 4, November 8, 9, 24,
Blessed be the lord I got to London safe on Wensday by eleven of the clock: and there is but very little notice tooke of the sicknesse here in London though the bills are very great there dyed threescore and 18 in st giles in the fields since the bill; and 5 in one hour, in our parish since, it spreads very much.  

For some, the Bills could show other things, such as human incompetence. A certain J. Heydon, pharmacist to the College of Physicians, replied to Dr. Thomson's anatomy of the College, cited at the beginning of this chapter, and his criticisms of members of the medical profession who had left the City during the plague by stating that no more medical men left the City in the summer of 1665 than in any other summer. For Heydon, Thomson's remaining in the City was indicative of his station in life and his clientele, and for proof enough that he was a disreputable

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26, and December 13, 1665. Perhaps, in addition, it was thanks to careful attention paid to the Bills that Pepys could, without any sense of irony, write to Lady Cartaret:

I have stayed in the City till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them above six-thousand of the Plague, and little noise heard day or night but tolling of bells; till I could walk Lumber [Lombard] Street and not meet twenty persons from one end to the other, and not above fifty upon the Exchange; till whole families, ten or twelve together, have been swept away; till my very physician, Dr. Burnett, who undertook to secure me against the infection, having survived the month of his own house being shut up, died himself of the Plague; till the nights though much lengthened, are grown too short to conceal the burials of those that died the day before, people being thereby constrained to borrow daylight for that service; lastly till I could find neither meat nor drink safe, the butcheries being everywhere visited, my brewers house shut up, and my baker with his whole family dead of the Plague. Yet, Madam, through God's blessing, your poor servant is in a perfect state of health (emphasis mine, cited in Bell (1924), 230.

This text illustrates quite well that plague infected different classes of people unequally. Pepys, himself in perfect health, becomes truly concerned when he can no longer enjoy the quality of life he has grown accustomed to, for all the trades and small merchants he is used to enjoy in a service capacity are either dead or quarantined.

155Cited in Bell (1924), 80.
character and an incompetent doctor, Heydon called upon his readers to consult the Bills of Mortality. Heydon wrote that Dr. Thomson, having no where else to go during the epidemic,

was forced to tarry in his Garret neer Aldgate, cracking of Nuts in his two-penny Crucible, and venting his malice against those worthy persons, many of which would scorn him for their Groom: perhaps his abode there was one main reason that the Bills of that Parish increased to so vast numbers.\textsuperscript{156}

John Allin, an excluded minister, corresponded regularly with friends he had left in the port town of Rye, and scarcely a day went by that he did not mention the Bills in great detail. For example, on August 11, 1665, he wrote to his friend Philip Fryth in Rye, who had advised him to leave London:

I shall not think myselfe safer there then here, whilst my call is to stay here; yet I am troubled at the approach of the sicknesse neerer every weeke, and at a new burying place which they have made neere us, and with some piece of indiscretion used in not shutting up, but rather makeing greate funeralls for such as dye of the distemper; which yet I thinke God will not putt an end to till sin be left and suppressed more than it is: but God seemes to pursue a designe which doubtlesse Hee will efect before Hee hath done. 4,030 in all; 2,817 Plague. 142 in all, 64 Plague, in our parish.\textsuperscript{157}

Allin represents an interesting figure, for, as an excluded minister he believed plague to be God's punishment for humankind's sins, and, consequently, no preventative measure was of any importance when God chose to take a life. On the other hand, in the above citation he seems unsure of what to do, and is looking for assurance in the supposed truth and accuracy of statistical knowledge garnered from

\textsuperscript{156}J. Heydon, \textit{A Quintuple Rosie-crucian Scourge For the due Correction of that Pseudo-chymist and Scurrilous Emperick, Geo. Thomson. Being in part a Vindication of the Learned Society of Physicians} (London, 1665), unpag.

\textsuperscript{157}Cited in Bell (1924), 258.
the Bills of Mortality. All of these writers are characterized by the way they use the Bills to conceptualize the spaces of the City in order to enable free movement through its urban geography, or to obtain a mental picture of the status, character, and quality of various parishes at particular times.

IV) THE PLAGUE BROADSHEET AND THE SOCIAL BODY

It is coincident with the growing readership for the weekly Bills of Mortality in the seventeenth-century that a yearly bill in broadsheet form was produced in years of great mortality. Originally licensed by the Company of Parish Clerks to an individual printer, after 1629 it appears that yearly bills in various forms were licensed, and they drew freely from information printed in the weekly Bills. The most common type of these sheets — examples exist from the plague years of 1636-1637 — contained a small, simple image, surrounded by columns of statistics from past and present plagues, including sometimes a prayer and a medicinal preparation for the prevention of the plague. For example, a sheet from 1636 entitled Lord Have Mercy Upon Us. This is the humble Petition of England unto Almighty God, meekly imploring his Divine bounty for the cessation of this Mortality of the Pestilence now rainging amongst us: With a lamentable List of deaths Triumphs in the weekly Burials of the City of LONDON, and the Parishes adjacent to the same (FIG.9) is of this type. The edges of these sheets were often rimmed with a black border in a style derived from the memento mori, sometimes including on the border similar figures of skeletons, skulls, shovels, and bodies in winding sheets. That these broadsheets were printed and distributed during an outbreak of the plague is confirmed by the fact that columns of statistics for the current plague year have the week-ending dates for the Bills of Mortality printed, and the space for the numbers left blank. The owner of the sheet could then fill in the blank columns

158See Wilson, 199.
him or herself as the information was gathered from the Bills proper, or an alternate source.

The small image derives, as far as I can tell, from the broadsheet of 1636. There were several sheets that used a rendition of this same image and style in 1665, such as London's Lord have Mercy Upon Us. A true Relation of Seven Modern Plagues or Visitations in London, with the number of those that were Buried of all Diseases (FIG.10). Despite the loss of some detail from the first version, the small picture would have been loaded with signification for a contemporary viewer. The City was viewed from the outside, represented as a contained, tightly packed entity circumscribed by its walls, clearly separated from the country surrounding it. The old cathedral of St. Paul's was easily discernible, so that even a viewer unable to read would be able to clearly locate the scene in London. The 'parishes adjacent to the same' of the sheet's title were represented as closely hugging the outer perimeter of the City's walls. In the 1636 version of the image, two of the urban centre's gates were depicted, showing individuals entering and departing the City, presumably to give the impression to a viewer that London was still an open city during the epidemic, and functioning normally. But the City could not be completely open during the plague, allowing free circulation of persons infected and those not, and had to be represented as under the control of civic and royal authority. These official powers were taking effective measures to protect the inhabitants of the rest of the country, for in the top left corner two citizens approach three watchmen guarding passage into the country beyond, and carry large sheets of paper. These can only be certificates of health issued by the office of the Lord Mayor to persons declared free of the disease by a physician, the same certificates highlighted in Dunstall's fourth image. In the immediate foreground of the image, individuals flee or supplicate themselves, with coffins and body bags strewn on the ground. Presiding over all is a symbolic figure of death with its back to the viewer. Arms raised, this skeletal figure
holds a large 'plague arrow' in one hand, and an hourglass representing the
temporal aspect of human life in the other. Above, another figure depicting an
angel of death hovers in a black cloud above the City, holding in one hand the
sword of sacrifice, and in the other a three tailed whip for the purposes of penance,
symbolically urging viewers to repent for their sins, as plague had long been viewed
as a punishment delivered from an angry God for the sins of humankind.

The strong religious element of these broadsheets gradually shifted through
the seventeenth century, as religious poems and prayers slowly disappeared and
were replaced by ever increasing amounts of statistics culled from the Bills of
Mortality. In addition, taking into account the Restoration cultural context and the
promotion of the discourse of natural philosophy articulated in the first chapter of
this thesis, one of the more interesting changes was in the titles of the sheets. No
longer 'humble petitions' with a 'lamentable lists' of plague deaths as in 1636-1637,
the sheets now avowed to embody a form of truth in the public realm, and actively
encouraged whomever was in possession of the sheet to literally partake in the
construction of that truth, by tabulating the ratios of plague deaths and deaths by
other causes. The broadsheets announced themselves as either being a 'true
Relation', a 'true Account' as Dunstall's and Sellers' sheet proclaimed, or as capable
of transmitting sure knowledge, showing 'the certain causes of Pestilential Diseases'
as did another sheet from 1665 entitled The Mourning Cross: or, England's Lord
have Mercy upon Us (FIG.11). Surrounded by a thick black border, this sheet
condensed all visual imagery into the direct and simple heavy black cross, alluding
to the red cross painted upon the doors of infected houses.

In 1637, a version of the sheet with the single image picturing the City had
appeared with a poem calling upon the viewer/reader to repent for their sins in the
hope that such an action would quell or prevent the plague.\textsuperscript{159} This poem also appeared on the 1665 version of the broadsheet reproduced here (FIG.10). This theme of repentance was not new, as indicated above, but the long poetic text of 1637 contained some novel additions. The poem addressed the question of behaviour of the City's social groups, and tried to minimize the problems caused by the issue of flight. The text, situated under a version of the small image described above, began by addressing the reader — "whatever thou art, rich or poor" — to rouse themselves for death stood at their door. For the first time, as far as is possible to assess, the issue of flight from the City was invoked in written terms on this form of sheet, in the description of God's anger over the City's sins:

\begin{verbatim}
He is the Rich-man's terrour, makes him flye,
And bear away his baggs, as loath to die.
What shall the Poor do that behind do stay?
Death makes them rich, by taking them away.
But what shall Poor men do, that here do live,
Tis surely fit the Rich should comfort give,
And weekly Means unto them still afford:
Oh such Rich men shall be rich in the Lord!
\end{verbatim}

Here the contentious issue of flight from the City was simplified and made unproblematic, for those that fled simply left behind the means to support the disadvantaged throughout the length of the outbreak. Death from the plague made the poor rich in the Lord anyhow, as repentance and payment for one's sins reunited the sufferer with God. This sheet hinted at its function by advocating proper behaviour for the reader in times of plague, and therefore served a therapeutic or preventive purpose for the social body. In promoting this mode of religious behaviour, the broadside also promoted the preservation of social order.

\textsuperscript{159} This sheet is located in the British Library. It is virtually identical to the 1665 version illustrated and discussed in this analysis.
during the infection. By cautioning the reader that God has given his angels charge to strike at will, an affliction prevented only through repentance, the sheet then advises the reader to note the number of infected houses, either seen in the City by the marked and inscribed doors, or potentially inferred from the statistics included on the sheet and in the Bills of Mortality. The broadside instructs the viewer to read the infected City as a text, and interpret the marked doors as textual reminders of the benefits of proper behaviour:

Let all infected houses be thy Text,
And make this Use, that thine may be the next.
The Red Crosse still is us'd, as it hath bin,
To shew they Christians are that are within:
And Lord have mercy on us on the door,
Puts thee in mind, to pray for them therefore.
The Watchman that attends the house of sorrow,
He may attend upon thy house to morrow.

Proper social behaviour in this case, must have meant more than mere repentance. Instructions to use this broadsheet and its statistics in order to open up the infected City like a book may have helped to define flight from the City as appropriate in order to avoid having one's own house quarantined. This process indicates that statistics enabled a definition of the plague as a more limited social problem than heretofore believed, for the play between the religious and the statistic created a tension that called into question the blanket notion that plague was a universal divine threat. In this way, then, the information culled from the Bills, and these broadsides themselves, could be used to support policies of public order and segregation of the sick enacted unequally upon different classes and groups in the City, as well as smooth over the guilt associated with flight.

These intentions, I would argue, are also central to the image of the social body pictured by John Dunstall, and extrapolated from John Seller's statistical
comparisons. Yet, as I demonstrated earlier on, the broadsheet is laced with internal contradictions. I want now to focus more on the last two images designed by John Dunstall, the public funeral and the return of those who fled. Dunstall himself seemed to invite a closer comparison of these two by linking them visually through the inclusion of a hill in the foreground that joins the scenes. This pair form a subtext in the overall visual narrative and historical chronology of the plague in the City. One of the largest discrepancies, when revealed, seriously challenges the overall homogeneity and consensual community called up in the pictures, and the truth interpellated by political arithmetic and its claims to produce detailed knowledge about the entire social body. Dunstall's pictures are strangely lacking in religious symbolism when compared to other sheets of this type, especially considering the era of religious tension during the Restoration, outlined in the first chapter of this thesis. But in the eighth scene, a public funeral procession is depicted. Such public concourses were expressly forbidden by royal and civic proclamations under the threat of imprisonment, yet they occurred anyway. This being the case, then, the image could have been read as depicting an effect of the disorder of the plague, in that it portrays an example of civil disobedience. It is possible, too, that the image was included in the sheet's chronology of plague in the City to do the opposite — to counter critiques of the inhumanity of a policy that refused public funerals for the dead, or to indicate that the outbreak never threatened the social body enough to destroy any of what were constructed as the most basic human needs and considerations. The image could also have helped to construct the notion that plague afflicted a wide variety of social groups: those piled into anonymous mass graves, and those commanding a coffin and a large funeral procession.

Yet, as the text in the lower right hand corner informs us, this is a Quaker funeral: "The Eighth sheweth the manner of burying the dead with their Friends accompanying them". At the Restoration, the Quakers, whose official name was the
Religious Society of Friends, represented one of the dissenting religious groups charged with contributing to the anarchy of the previous two decades, and one of those groups excluded from the religious life of the nation with the passing of the Act of Uniformity. By consequence, the eight image represents the Quakers outside of the sanction of the recently reinstated Church of England, and also, more importantly, in open defiance of the Plague Orders proclaimed by civic and royal authority. Therefore, this group of individuals depicted in the eighth illustration could have been seen as a threat to the safety of the rest of the public.

Though they are pictured, dissenting religious groups like the Quakers were not represented as part of the consensual community called up by the statistical dissection of London and the out parishes, for they kept their own graveyards, and did not report their dead to the Parish Clerks. Consequently, their deceased did not make up part of the numbers on the Bills of Mortality. This fact would have been common knowledge to anyone in seventeenth century London who followed the Bills and had any sense of the religious life of the City, of which, clearly, a large proportion did. Excluded from the statistical anatomy of the City, the 'Friends' were included in the visual one, and represented as a threat to the social body. In turn, the plague becomes a metaphor for the disorder of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, for when dissenting religious groups can once again enjoy the freedom of public ritual, disharmony has returned to the social body.

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160 Bell (1924), 179, and Nicholson, 70, wherein a letter is reproduced from John Tillison, cathedral staff, to Dean of St. Paul's, William Sancroft. In this letter Tillison writes: "The Quakers (as we are informed) have buryed in their peece of ground 1000 fro some weeke, together last part. Many are dead in Ludgate, Newgate, and Christian Church hospital & many other places about the towne which are not included in the bill of mortality". See also Pepys diary, (Latham and Matthews eds.) entry for August 31, 1665, where Pepys, after discussing the current weekly bill, writes: "But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them". Church bells were rung when a death was reported to the parish clerk.
But still the eighth image does not quite fit into the construction of the ordered representation of this plague, and making it do so hazards the risk of denying any autonomy to the individual viewer and reader of this broadsheet, who brought with them their own experiences of plague and the recent political conflicts. Nor can we deny the presence of the artist, who, in fact, chose this image to sign his name to: 'John Dunstall fecit'. Who was John Dunstall? It is impossible to know, other than schoolteacher and drawing tutor, he is virtually anonymous, despite these images. To me, it almost seems possible that Dunstall was himself a member or a sympathizer of one of the dissenting sects: Presbyterian, or even Quaker. Within the harsh constraints established by government for print culture and religious freedom, Dunstall produced a series of representations that did not overtly challenge the picture of the plague demanded by the Restoration context. Yet, at the same time, despite all the contradictions and internal conflicts that are smoothed over, Dunstall inserted a piece that didn't quite fit, that remained ambiguous and resisted any easy interpretation within the overall narrative construction. More than likely Dunstall would have been aware of the increased persecution of the Quakers while the plague raged in London, perhaps he even felt it personally on some level. Fifty-two Quakers died in Newgate during the summer of 1665, as did half of the fifty-five held in the hold of ship awaiting deportation for violating the Conventicle Act.\footnote{Hutton, 231} When Charles II fled the City in July, he left George Monck, Duke of Albermarle, to preserve order. Monck commanded a large group of soldiers stationed in Hyde Park to preserve them from infection, and he directed these soldiers on a continuous series of searches and seizures. Monck was incensed when, after capturing a group of dissenters planning an uprising in September while the plague was nearing its height, the leader of the group, Robert Danvers, was spirited
away by supporters while his guards had a drink in a local tavern. This prompted mass arrests and persecution, with more than fifty Quakers confined.\textsuperscript{162} It is almost as if the image implies that despite all this — the plague, persecution, imprisonment — and the fact that the space for nonconformists within Restoration society was growing smaller and more uncomfortable everyday, they were still there, and absolute conformity imposed on public religious life was impossible. In fact, out of the controlled disorder of the plague represented here in the print, this is the largest and most orderly group, hinting at the presence of an autonomous and solidified community within the greater social body of Restoration London.

The image of an ordered and consensual community offered in the broadsheet becomes even more destabilized when it is considered together with other representations, both visual and textual, of the plague of 1665. Ironically, along with some members of the medical profession\textsuperscript{163}, it was the Quakers and other dissenting religious groups who had a vision of the social community in times of sickness that was at odds with the one presented in this broadsheet. The policy of strict separation of the sick from the healthy went against dissenting sects notions of charity, involving caring for friends and neighbours in times of sickness, and their ideas that plague was divine punishment, meaning that it was irrelevant whether one fled from the City, or visited one's afflicted neighbours and family members. If God chose to take a life, there was nothing one could do to prevent it. In addition to the view of the official College of Physicians, it was, generally, the Anglican Church of England that supported the program of shutting up of the houses, and most

\textsuperscript{162}Hutton, 231. As Hutton writes, "the soldiers acted all the more willingly in that they blamed the meetings of nonconformists for the spread of the epidemic".

\textsuperscript{163} In Nathaniel Hodges’ account he expressed doubts that the practice of household quarantine was effective, and acknowledged that it was highly disputed (Bartel, 34).
critiques of this policy were from the dissenting and independent religious sects.\textsuperscript{164} Interestingly enough, counters to criticisms of established policies often were structured around an unsubstantiated argument that voices in opposition to official plague policy were voices encouraging popular resistance. These official responses argued that fatalistic attitudes towards plague, in other words dissenting ones, were held by the rude multitude, the ignorant sort, whose behaviour was responsible in the first place for the outbreaks of the disease, and who represented that part of the social body against whom public health measures were directed. Such a view was in opposition to visions of public order and the social body articulated by religious dissenters such as Benjamin Spenser, in his \textit{Vox Civitas} (1625), wherein he opposed household segregation with the following metaphor: "A commonwealth is a body, and one member methinks should nourish another".\textsuperscript{165}

Dissenters to official plague policies, such as the anonymous author of \textit{Golgotha, or a Looking-Glass for London}, proposed locking up four or five members of the College of Physicians in a shut-up house in order to experience the horror of it, and to recognize that the practice increases the plague. The author explains that the sick need the care and kindness of their neighbours, or else "the Family, so dismally exposed, shall sink by degrees, one after another, in the den of this dismal likeness to Hell, contrived by the Advice of the English-College of Doctors". Another unlicensed, anonymous text published in 1665 argued that strict household quarantine would lead to civil disobedience, in that those shut off from friends and neighbours would break out of their homes and spread the sickness into the surrounding areas. The writer even saw in the information supplied by the Bills of Mortality the potential for a criticism of official plague policy, and argued that

\textsuperscript{164}Slack (1985), 231. See also the official publication of the College of Physicians, entitled \textit{Necessary Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague in 1665}, which comes out in support of household quarantine, (published in Bartel, 52-55).

\textsuperscript{165}Cited in Slack (1985), 309.
statistical information drawn from the yearly bill for 1625 clearly showed that infection decreased when the shut-up houses were reopened.\textsuperscript{166} That this text was anonymous and unlicensed indicates that there was an official, permitted use for statistical information and the Bills of Mortality, one that dovetailed with the aims and desires of the ruling authorities.

Also tied in with the contrasting views held by dissenting religious sects in regard to acceptable behaviour during the plague, was the question of flight. Non-conformists generally believed that plague was punishment for one's sins, and consequently it was useless to flee, for the arrows of God would always be capable of finding an individual. In addition to the constraints placed on the machinery of charity, flight from the City was also held responsible for the financial strains underwent by all those unable to leave the City. The last image in Dunstall's visual narrative pictures a varied crowd returning to the City on foot and horseback, as well as in covered and private coach. Represented here in this exodus back to the urban centre was a heterogeneity of social groups delineated by the various means of transportation, denying the fact that not such a mixed assembly evacuated the City in the first place. Predominantly, those who fled London were the wealthier merchant classes, the court, and a large part of the clergy — those who had the material means to effect such a change of location. Pepys, before he too evacuated the City, wrote in his diary on September 14, 1665, that on a visit to the Royal Exchange, traditionally the center of trading and merchant activity in London, he was surprised to find there a large number of people. The Navy Clerk was quickly

\textsuperscript{166}The Shutting Up of the Infected Houses as it is Practiced in England Soberly Debated (London, 1665), 6. See also Golgotha; or a Looking Glass for London; With an humble Witness against the Cruel Advice and Practice of Shutting up unto Oppression; by J.V., grieved for the Poor, who perish daily hereby (London, 1665). One cannot resist, in this case, to link the looking glass as producer of unseen truths metaphor to the publication by the Royal Society, in the same year, of Robert Hooke's Micrographia: or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses (London, 1665).
appalled, though, when he found out this crowd was not the usual one occupying this space:

I did wonder to see the 'Change so full, I believe two hundred people; but not a Man or a Merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. And Lord! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them.167

The plague brings with it an inversion, breaking down social and spatial hierarchies, and the City's urban areas evacuated by 'men' and 'merchants' are now filled with those not normally found there.

Dunstall's last image applies a form of closure over the disruption of the outbreak, showing the return of the 'runaways' to a now healthy City. For the viewers of this broadsheet, such was the unproblematic end to the event of the plague. Yet, the return of these individuals was greeted by numerous pamphlets and broadsheets that attacked the behaviour of the 'run-aways' on moral grounds. They were also ridiculed for wandering about the countryside, shunned from peripheral communities while plague raged in London, and now destitute on their return.168

The attack on the runaways also received visual expression in prints such as John Goddard's stinging critique utilizing a mocking carnivalesque fool above a few lines of verse beginning with the ironic "Welcome Home Brother" (FIG.12):

You that of late have left your habitation

167Pepys diary, Latham and Matthews ed., entry for September 14, 1665.
168I have discovered many of these critiques for 1665 in the Museum of London, Guildhall Library, and the British Library. For example, John Crouch's poem *London's Bitter Sweet Cup of Tears* is highly critical of the runaways, as are *Lamentio Civitas; London's Complaint Against her Children in the Country*, *Londini Lachrymae; or London's Complaint Against her Fugitives*, and the long broadsheet poem entitled *The Run-Awayes Return; or, the Poor Penniless Pilgrim*. This broadside poem was answered by a similar broadsheet entitled *The Run Awayes Safe Refuge: or the Poor Penniless Pilgrims Answer to Their Miserable Comforters their Fellow Citizens in London*. 110
And in Barnes Stables Hayrickes, tooke your station:
With scornes and taunts though other men doe meete you
At your returne the Foole doth kindly Greeete you,
And though your Coyne and Credit scanted bee,
Your honest Cooze will keepe you Company.\textsuperscript{169}

Goddard's print satirizes those individuals who left the metropolis during the epidemic in terms of the financial burden they imposed on themselves, and those who stayed, by the destruction of trade and commerce. In 1665, those that left Restoration London during the plague imposed another kind of conformity or uniformity on the social body, that of fiscal impoverishment, and Goddard's poem ends by stating that the runaways may have made destitute by their flight, but such actions also served to put similar strains on the honest citizens who stayed.

These critiques of the runaways are consistently marked by references to the destruction of trade and commerce in the City. For example, in \textit{London's Bitter Sweet Cup of Tears},, John Crouch complained that the rich left the poor behind to die, and that

\begin{quote}
The like destructive and unequal Fate
Left London Streets too Wide and desolate;
Throw out the wealthy int’th’open Aire
And leaves the Needy to Heavens angry care!
Trade interrupted, and the royal burse,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{169}The artist John Goddard is another figure of whom there is very little record or information available. The British Museum Print Room has a series of the seven deadly sins with virtually identical typography and verse style, and similar type of image, as the print concerning the runaways. The seven deadly sins seem to be mocking critiques of overdressed court figures or aristocrats. There is also, in the Museum’s collection, a frontispiece for Cicero’s \textit{Book of Old Age}, translated by a William Austin, quite possibly the author of \textit{The Anatomy of the Pestilence}, and a frontispiece for a work by Ralph Austin, entitled \textit{The Spiritual Uses of an Orchard or Garden of Fruit Trees} (1653). \textit{Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers} contains the following entry: "Goddard, John, was an English engraver of the seventeenth-century. He engraved some frontispieces, maps, and other subjects, for the booksellers. One of his best prints is the portrait of Martin Billingsley, a writing master, dated 1651, which is prefixed to his copy-book. Stratt mentions a small upright print of a woman standing, under which is inscribed Vetura, and another its companion".
Quitted and Empty as the Cities Purse. 170

The broadsheet The Run-Awayes Return begins by asking those who fled about the rare sights they might have seen in the country, and whether they spent their fortunes in search of entertainment and lodgings. In addition, this long anonymous poem, criticizes the runaways for turning away from God by fleeing their just punishment for sin, and now deciding to return to the City once the infection has died down:

With Empty Pockets turne back again
So that it seems in London those might stay
Who had no money, you might Run-Away:
But now your Purse is Penniless, you drive
Into our City, as Bees to their Hive;
You may be gone the same way that you went,
Unto the Country Loobies, where you spent
Your Money, and your Credit, Go be gone,
And eat your Christmas Pye with Dull Sir John;
With Sir John Lack Latin, who ran away,
And left his Sheep for to be made a Prey.
It was your Duties to have Nourished
The bodies of the Poor; the other Fed
Their Souls with Food, and not to go away,
But in their Troubles by them for to stay.
Now if your Purse or Credit will hold out,
You may go Wander all the World about;
We are as glad your Backside to see,
As for to have your Paltrey Company:
Return, Return, unto your Countrey-Jone,
For little Kindness here you shall have shown.

The runaways returning to London like bees to a hive is a particularly apt description of the last image in Dunstall’s visual narrative. The writer of this text

must have been close to the mark with this rather harsh critique, for it elicited a broadsheet response in the same style. Entitled *The Run-Awayes Safe Refuge; or the Poor Penniless Pilgrims Answer to their Miserable Comforters their fellow Citizens in London*, this broadside sought to correct the 'errors' of the first broadsheet, "And bring out Matters Publique Face to Face". The author refutes the claims of the first text by saying that country people were honorable and treated them well in their travels, and they never saw houses rifled or men gambling while the dead lay all around as they would have in the City. Most interesting, this broadside seems to argue that those who fled the City were in some sense the financial controllers of the economic life of the urban centre: "You say our Credit's lost, it may be so;/ And so likewise is yours, for ought we to know".

It may be worthwhile to turn to the information supplied by the yearly bill printed on Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside to get a clearer picture of such internal conflicts. Since the City within the walls was, on the whole, the commercial centre, and these critiques of the runaways are mostly couched in terms of trade and economic hardship, I want to see if the statistics for some of the individual parishes can tell us anything more about who might have made use of the Bills of Mortality, and would find the picture of the social body as mapped out by this broadsheet an acceptable representation of the 'reality' of the plague of 1665. As M.J. Power has ascertained, only 1.5% of the residents inside the walls of the City were described as poor in the hearth taxes of the early years of the Restoration. Close to the river the poor made up 5.2% of residents, while outside the walls the ratio increased dramatically to 45.3%.\(^{171}\) What emerges from Power's study is that the majority of residents inside the City walls were involved in some form of profession or business. Power finds 216 different occupations listed in the hearth taxes for this

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\(^{171}\) Power, 204.
central area, divided into three distinct groups: dealers, victuallers, and professions, those involved in the primary selling of commodities and services, and including the specific occupations of the likes of merchants, brokers, grocers, bakers, tobacconists, vintners, apothecaries, doctors, and scriveners; second are craftsmen, being those producers of commodities who also may be involved in selling, and including individuals working in wood, metal, textiles, and leather to name a few; and thirdly, the semi-skilled, those who generally travel to work, including builders and carriers.\textsuperscript{172} The primary selling groups have the largest homes, those with the most hearths, with the craftsmen living in smaller dwellings, and the semi-skilled in the smallest.

Using Power's analysis, and it is limited by the small number of parishes that list occupations in the hearth taxes, one sees that vocations tended to cluster in specific parishes, with the professions grouping the most. From this one can then extrapolate, with the help of the yearly bill printed on Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside, which occupations abandoned the City during the plague. In the parishes of St. Stephen Walbrook and St. Benet Sherehog, home to doctors, including Nathaniel Hodges, apothecaries, and the wealthiest merchants with an average of 6.5 and 5.1 hearths per dwelling respectively, Stephen Walbrook had 17 recorded plague deaths for the entire year, and Benet Sherehog had one. These parishes seem to have been predominantly empty during the plague of 1665, indicating a public eagerly scanning the Bills of Mortality for any sign of a sick metropolis, and taking prompt action in removing themselves. Moving into the less wealthy parishes of St. Magnus Fish Street, St. Margaret New Fish Street, and St. Michael Royal, home of a more mixed bag of occupations including dealers, victuallers, woodworkers and builders, plague deaths for the year begin to rise from 60, to 66, and then to 116 for St.

\textsuperscript{172}Power, 214.
Michael Royal, which had a 3.6 hearths per dwelling average. Deaths from plague increase as one moves from the wealthier parishes occupied by the most successful merchants and professionals to those inhabited by smaller merchants and craftsmen, indicating parishes more populated while the sickness was in London, but this is by no means consistent. For example, the parishes St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Martin Ironmonger were both occupied by metal workers, and yet the former had a sum of 38 deaths from plague, while the latter had only 11. The answer surely lies in the fact that Martin Ironmonger was occupied by the elite of the metal workers, the goldsmiths, who probably found it more expedient to follow their rich clients out of town. Most striking, is the numbers for a relatively wealthy parish just outside the City walls to the north, St. Botolph Aldersgate. This parish, with an average of 5.1 hearths per dwelling, was occupied by a large majority of printers and binders, and counted the highest number of plague deaths amongst the parishes compared here — 753.\(^{173}\) Even though the population of London had without a doubt risen during the seventeenth century, the parish of Benet Sherehog had more plague deaths in 1625 than 1665, despite the fact that the total plague deaths for the years were 35,417 and 68,596 respectively. For Botolph Aldersgate the opposite is the case, for the parish counted 307 plague deaths in 1625, and 753, as mentioned above, in 1665. Clearly, then, accounting for the minor inaccuracies and misreportings in the Bills, flight from the City's central parishes occurred on a much greater scale in 1665.\(^{174}\)

The picture that emerges of the City during the plague, is a metropolis in which some vital members of the economic life of the City are absent, while others remain. A significant number of trades that group in a parish might remain, while

\(^{173}\text{Bell (1924) cites a letter from Sir Roger L'Estrange to Lord Arlington of October 19, in which the former states that eighty members of the printing trade had died of the plague up to that point (216).}\)

\(^{174}\text{For an account of the runaways during the plagues of 1625 and 1636, see Wilson, 155-160, and 162-163.}\)
the majority of members of the same trade from another parish decide to flee. There can be no simple blanket statement that the rich fled and the poor were forced to stay, for when one comes to analyze the printed representations emerging as a result of the plague, a much more complicated picture begins to appear involving conflicts between merchants who stayed and took over the clients of others, craftsmen angered over the loss of their major markets and the handlers of their goods, and conflicts within similar trades themselves. While it was certainly in the interests of official power to allow the production an image of the social body that supported its programs to control the plague and the City, such as Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet, at the same time this representation could incorporate the individual interests of those citizens of the City opting for flight as an option, by making the action unproblematic in the closure of Dunstall's visual images, and legitimizing it scientifically through its manipulation of statistics as part of the cycle that returns the City to health.

Though there were competing visions of the social order during the London plague of 1665, one based on the policy of strict household segregation would have been the government's trump card in the struggle to preserve order in the City. At the same time, making flight from the urban centre unproblematic would aid in having the wealthier and more influential merchants and professionals identify with and support this view. If the official program could be shown to be a failure, in that the number of infected increased rather than subsided, or inconsistent, in that it broke down at the height of the epidemic as I have shown, then government's repeated confidence in the program would have been unjustified.\footnote{See Slack (1985), 252.} Dunstall's and Sellers' broadsheet naturalizes this program of household segregation as part of its cycle from sickness to health. The plague as a disrupting force could not be denied,
yet the forces of social order and restraint had to be shown as effective in minimizing the disruption to the social life of the City. The picture of the social body created through the use of visual representation and the statistical map of the urban center in this broadsheet, notwithstanding the discontinuity of the plague, emphasized order, rationality and methodical exactitude. Despite the presence of competing views within the print culture of London at this historic moment, the broadsheet supported the means taken by civic authority to control the disease and preserve the wholeness of the social body. At the same time, it diffused the issue of individuals looking out for their own interests — interests potentially harmful to the community — in the images of flight, by making this activity unproblematic in the visual and numerical representation offered up by the sheet. In the end, both issues were represented as essential operations in the preservation and restoration of health to the City.

It has been the intention of this thesis to explore how a particular broadsheet form produced in London during the plague anatomized the social body of the City afflicted by the epidemic. The plague brought with it its imagined and real threat to social order and stability, and in 1665, the outbreak of epidemic proportions occurred in the cultural context of the Restoration, a historical moment exceedingly concerned with the problems of political and religious peace. The broadsheet produced by Dunstall and Sellers, being the most sophisticated example of a cultural form having developed in response to the plague, offered the contemporary viewer a visual narrative of the infection through the City in 1665. In addition, it offered a statistical narrative for the City through the present plague and through historical memory by way of the inclusion of statistical information from two previous epidemics for each of the urban centre's parishes within and without the walls. In its narrative and visual constructions, the broadside imposed an order on the social
effects of the disease and the spaces of the City contrasted by other accounts from the same period. The City and the plague were corrected, classified, catalogued, and ordered. They were made visible in text, picture, and statistic at a time when making something visible meant producing truth and uncontested knowledge about certain objects and phenomena.

Dunstall's pictures proclaimed their truth by association with Sellers' statistics. This thesis has shown that the origins of statistical knowledge lie in their connection to the problem of the preservation of social order during the plague, and to their use by individuals in a plague stricken City to plan or justify their behaviour during an epidemic. During the Restoration, statistical knowledge received its most rigorous theorization as part of the discourse of natural philosophy, proclaiming itself capable of aiding the production and preservation of social peace through a methodological platform advocating a communal, and therefore consensual, production of knowledge in a historical context recently besieged by two decades of instability. With the Restoration, statistics, or 'political arithmetic' as it was called then, came to be implicated in the production of detailed knowledge about the social body with proposed uses for trade and government. Political arithmetic also, through the use of the print medium, itself tightly constrained during the Restoration, called up an audience receptive to its political and ideological underpinnings. With the breakdown of order in the City as a result of the epidemic of bubonic disease, this kind of knowledge could be mobilized in a representational project that attempted to assert a conceptual order on the infection and the city. In doing so, for example, Dunstall's and Sellers' version of the plague could function to erase social tensions exacerbated by the disease, and to naturalize severe and repressive attempts by government to control the infection and the City's urban spaces. But this erasure of social tensions could not be complete, and the broadsheet's internal contradictions allow for the potential of disparate readings.
The previous pages have examined attempts to construct consensus through a potentially widely based print culture and literate society during the specific moment of the plague, with its threat to the individual and social body. In undertaking such an investigation, printed ephemera originating within the realm of popular culture have been reappraised and shown to be implicated in sophisticated representational strategies tied to discourses of political and scientific resonance. Plagues of epidemic proportions ceased to appear in England after 1665-1666, and consequently, the form of print culture at the center of this analysis disappeared as well. Though the plague broadsheet disappeared, the function it served perhaps being no longer necessary, statistical knowledge did not. The same John Sellers, furthering Graunt's dream of the uses of statistical inquiry, came out with a broadsheet a few decades later that claimed to provide the total amounts spent on provisions for all the parishes within the range of the bills of Mortality for a year, month, week, even down to the minute. Statistical knowledge still professes to represent a truthful view inside the opinions, beliefs, tastes and behaviour of the social body, and claims to represent consensus, though it is no longer so blatantly referred to as 'political arithmetic'.

176 John Seller[s] A Moderate Computation of the Expenses in Provisions spent in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the places within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, for a Year, Month, Week, Day, Hour, and Minute, founded upon this modest Supposition, that there may be but a Million of People within the said Cities and Weekly Bills of Mortality, observed by a scrutinious Enquiry in most of the Particulars (London, 1691).
FIG. 1: Plague broadsheet by John Dunstall and John Sellers, (1665-1666).
FIG. 2: Frontispiece for Richard Atkyns' *The Original and Growth of Printing* (1664)
In the following particulars, Fig. 3.

The Manner of Dissecting the Pestilent Body.

FIG. 4: Scenes of the plague in London, anonymous print (1665)
FIG. 5: London Bill of Mortality, August 15-22, 1665
LONDON'S Dreadful Visitation:
On a Collection of All the
Bills of Mortality
For this Present Year:
Beginning the 17th of December 1664, and
ending the 19th of December following:
As also, The GENERAL or whole years BILL:
According to the Report made to the
King's Most Excellent Majesty,
By the Company of Parish-Clerks of London, &c

LONDON:
Printed and are to be sold by S. Cox, Living in Aldersgate-street,
Printer to the Said Company 1665.

FIG. 6: Title page to London's Dreadful Visitation (1665)
FIG. 7: A memento mori from an earlier plague

It is appointed for all men once to die, Hab: 1:27.

And as I am, so must you be, Therefore prepare to follow me.
FIG. 8: Spoon commemorating the plague of 1665
FIG. 9: Plague broadsheet, 'Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' (1636)
FIG. 10: Plague broadsheet, 'London's Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' (1665)
FIG. 11: Plague broadsheet, The Mourning Cross; or Englands Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' (1665)
FIG. 12: 'Welcome Home Brother', satirical print greeting the 'runaways' (1665)
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The Catterpillars of this Nation Anatomized, In a Brief yet Notable Discovery of House Breakers, Pick Pockets, &C., Together with the life of a Penitent highwayman, discovering the mystery of that Infernal Society, to which is added the manner of hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the city of London (London, 1659).


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