THE SPACE OF PRINT AND PRINTED SPACES
IN RESTORATION LONDON 1660-1685

by

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Abstract

In his evocative account of walking through Restoration London, the seventeenth-century diarist Samuel Pepys conveys a vibrant city comprised of movement, exchange, and conflict. We follow Pepys, for example, into the coffee-house on his insatiable search for news and political argument. Within urban space he is equally persistent, noting the ritual demarcation of urban boundaries at moments of tension between London and the Crown, or describing how the city's spaces were alarmingly transformed by the presence of disease. This is hardly the London imagined by scholars of the Restoration, who have characterized this historical moment of the return of Charles II and restoration of monarchical government to England as a time of concord after the violent struggles resulting in civil war at mid-century. It is telling that one of the first strategies adopted by Charles II's government to stabilize a volatile situation in London was to assert control over print. At this moment, though, print culture served to open up urban space in new ways, becoming a mode of opportunity for individuals like Pepys. My dissertation considers precisely the interrelation between these spaces and forms of print.

Like Pepys, my thesis journeys through the city, stopping at the Restoration coffee-house. These spaces of congregation, where print was displayed and purchased, appeared in significant numbers around the Royal Exchange after 1660. The coffee-house has been given mythic proportions in the twentieth century as the foundation of a modern public sphere. However, as this thesis will show, instead of producing an abstract and universal realm of public opinion, the coffee-house was an actual space formed through contestation, and through a struggle taking place between an older form of subjectivity and a newer urban culture. Another site of urban contestation shaped through print was the street processions staged by Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis, a moment of increased City and Crown tensions.

Within these political struggles, the unexpected also had its part to play. The crisis brought on by bubonic plague in 1665 generated prints mediating all kinds of conflicts, but especially the social practices of flight and quarantine. The sudden destruction of the city within the walls by fire in 1666 was met by mapping and picturing the ruins that struggled to account for the void in the urban centre. My dissertation concludes with a series of unique prints which represent an ephemeral city built on the in-between space of the frozen Thames. This unexpected suspension of the everyday rhythms of London led to its festive re-imagining. In conclusion, I address the significance of the location of both print and the coffee-house at the very centre of this urban space.
Table of Contents

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii
List of Illustrations ........................................................................................................ iv
Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................... xi

INTRODUCTION
Preamble: a walk in the city with Pepys ........................................................................ 1
Restoration rearrangements ............................................................................................. 6
The space of print and printed spaces ........................................................................... 44

CHAPTER ONE
"A Thousand Monster Opinions": Producing the Space of the Coffee-House
An alternate polity? ........................................................................................................... 57
Exchanging subjects; excesses of speech ....................................................................... 73
An(other) space ............................................................................................................... 92
A new Babel .................................................................................................................... 99

CHAPTER TWO
Representing the Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope: the Liminal
Space of Print and the City
Marking the terrain ........................................................................................................ 120
Following traces ............................................................................................................. 122
Learning to read English and to see violence ............................................................... 138
Circumscribing the suffering community .................................................................... 146
The liminal space of print and the city .......................................................................... 163

CHAPTER THREE
Anatomizing the Social Body; or, Viewing the Striated Spaces
of the Diseased City
An anatomy of the diseased city ................................................................................... 202
Mapping by numbers ..................................................................................................... 215
London's charity, the country's cruelty: spatial tensions during the plague ............... 226
The plague broadside: picturing the city at its edges .................................................... 238
Modes of positioning: the broadside as urban map ..................................................... 245

CHAPTER FOUR
The "picture of Troy": Mapping the Trauma of London's Fire in 1666
Absence in the centre ..................................................................................................... 259
Walking in the ruins ...................................................................................................... 268
Restratiing space ........................................................................................................... 278
Pictures of Troy .............................................................................................................. 290

CHAPTER FIVE
The Frost Fair of 1683-4: Printing and the City Re-imagined
An ephemeral city on the threshold .............................................................................. 314
Smoothing the edges: questioning limits and boundaries ........................................... 325
The space/place of print in the re-imagined city .......................................................... 337

Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 348
Illustrations ....................................................................................................................... 379
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinalls, Iesuits, Fryers, &amp;c:</td>
<td>through ye City of London, November ye 17th, 1679. Broadside with text and engraving</td>
<td>London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion.</td>
<td>Broadside with etching by Wenceslaus Hollar and text by Henry Peacham, ca. (1641-2).</td>
<td>London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drawings.</td>
<td>Drawings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Frontispiece for Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, etching possibly by Hollar,</td>
<td>(1651).</td>
<td>London, British Library.</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us.</td>
<td>Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text printed for Thomas Lambert, (1636).</td>
<td>London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome</td>
<td>Drink Called Coffee. Broadside with woodcut and text printed for Paul Greenwood, (1674).</td>
<td>London, British Library.</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Solemne and Joviall Disputation, Theoreticke and Practicke; briefly Shadowing the Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of Drinking, (1617).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Map showing the location of coffee-houses around the Royal Exchange, ca</td>
<td>1748. Source: Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses.</td>
<td></td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water.</td>
<td>Broadside with engraving and text printed for George Croom, (1683/4).</td>
<td>London, British Museum, Dept. Prints and</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.8 The Quakers Dream. Title page with woodcut, printed for G. Holton, (1655). London, British Library, Thomason Tracts. 391

1.9 Seventeenth century Turkish miniature depicting a coffee-house scene. Source: Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures in the Chester Beatty Library (1958) 392

1.10 Scene in the Turk's Head (?) Coffee-house. Anonymous woodcut in John Hancock, Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco, (1672). San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library. 393


1.12 The Statue of King Charles II at the entrance of Cornhill. Anonymous print, (ca. 1672). London, Guildhall Library. 395


1.14 Illustration from John Wilkins, An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language, (1668). London, British Library. 397

1.15 The Elevation, Plan, and History of the Royal Exchange of London. Undated and anonymous 18th century print. London, Guildhall Library. 398


1.17 Print depicting the interior of the Royal Exchange, (1788). London, Guildhall Library. 400

1.18 Print depicting the facade of the Royal Exchange, (1788). London, Guildhall Library. 401


2.2 The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade. Engraving printed by Mary Clark for Henry Brome, (1680). London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings. 403

2.3 The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade. Second version, frontispiece for Roger L' Estrange, A Collection of Several Tracts in Quarto; Written Since the Discovery of the Popish Plot, (1681). London, British Library. 404
2.4 Woodcut of the "Burning of the Pope". From Benjamin Harris, The Protestant Tutor, (1679). London, British Library. 405
2.5 Woodcut of "a masecree" and "London in Flames" from Harris, The Protestant Tutor, (1679). London, British Library. 406
2.7 Popish plots from Moses Lane, The Protestant School, (1681). London, British Library. 408
2.10 Bonner beating his prisoners in his orchard at Fulham. Foxe, Actes and Monuments (1563). Source: Mozley, John Foxe and his Book. 411
2.12 The Attempting of the King in his Sedan. Engraved emblem XXIV from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680). London, British Library. 413
2.13 The Execution of the Conspirators. Engraved emblem XXX from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680), with text from XXIX. London, British Library. 414
2.14 The writings found in the Meal-tub. Engraved emblem XXIX from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680), with text from XXX. London, British Library. 415
2.15 Reading taking off Mr. Bedloes Evidence. Engraved emblem XXV from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680). London, British Library. 416
2.16 Langhorn in Newgate. Engraved emblem XX from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680). London, British Library. 417
2.18 Print of Papal procession from Angelo Rocca, De Sacrosancto Christi Corpore (1599). Source: Mitchell, 1598: A Year of Pageantry in late Renaissance Ferrara. 419

2.20 Photograph of Catherine Wheel Alley today. Source: author.

2.21 Detail of Fig. 2.1.


2.28 First pageant platform 1680. Detail of Fig. 2.33.

2.29 Last pageant platforms 1680. Detail of Fig. 2.33.


3.3 Title page Thomas Dekker, A Rod for Run-awayes; Gods Tokens (1625), with woodcut. London, British Library.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location &amp; Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Title page <em>Londons Lamentation; or a fit admonishment for City and Countrey</em> (1641), with woodcut. London, British Library.</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td><em>Welcome Home Brother.</em> Engraved print with text by John Goddard (1665). Oxford, Bodleian Library.</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td><em>A Looking-glasse for City and Countrey.</em> Broadside with woodcut and text printed for H. Gosson and E. Wright (ca. 1625). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td><em>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us.</em> Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text, printed for Thomas Lambert (1636). London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td><em>Londons Lord Have Mercy Upon Us.</em> Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text printed for Frances Coles, Thomas Vere, and John Wright (1665). London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td><em>The Mourning-Cross; or Englands Lord Have Mercy Upon Us.</em> Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text printed for Thomas Milbourn (1665). London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Wenceslaus Hollar, Parallel views of London before and after the fire of 1666. Etching with text key, (1666). London, British Museum, Dept of Prints and Drawings.</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Engraving depicting the sack of Troy. Executed by Pierre Lombart/Wenceslaus Hollar for John Ogilby's illustrated folio translation of the <em>Aeneid</em> (1663). London, British Library.</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Hermes leading Aenas and Creusa out of Troy. Engraving by Lombart/Hollar from Ogilby's <em>Aeneid</em> (1663). London, British Library.</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>View of London before the fire. Engraving published by Justus Danckerts. London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings.</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td><em>London Verbrandt.</em> Broadside with engraving and text in Dutch, printed for Nicolaes Visscher (1666/7). London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td><em>Afbeeldingh van de Stadt London.</em> Broadside with engraving and text in Dutch, printed for Jacob Venckel (1667). London, Guildhall Library.</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.16 Detail of Fig. 4.15.


5.4 *An Exact and Lively Mapp or Representation of Booths and all the Varieties of Shows and Humours Upon the Ice on the River of Thames by London.* Engraving (possibly by William Faithorne) with text key printed for William Warter (1683/4). London, Guildhall Library.

5.5 *Wonders on the Deep; or, the Most Exact Description of the Frozen River of Thames.* Broadside with woodcut and text printed for P. Brooksby (1683/4). London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings.
| 5.7 | Alternate version of Fig. 5.4, with addition of letterpress lines and Roman numerals. London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings. |
| 5.8 | *Frost Fair on the Ice of Thames by London*. Engraving printed for J. Lenthall (1716). Retooling of same plate used in Figs. 5.4 and 5.7. London, Guildhall Library. |
| 5.9 | *Erra Pater's Prophesy or Frost Faire 1683*. Broadside with engraving and text printed for James Norris (1683). London, Guildhall Library. |
| 5.11 | *The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water*. Broadside with engraving and text printed for George Croom, 1683/4. London, British Museum, Dept. Prints and Drawings. |
| 5.13 | View of the Frost Fair, 1740. Engraving with the name Miss Elizabeth Roberts added in letterpress, with the date February 4, 1740. London, Guildhall Library. |
| 5.15 | Frost Fair handbill for Mrs Elizabeth Harris, January 20th, 1715, with a short history of printing in England. London, Guildhall Library. |
| 5.16 | Frost Fair handbill for Mr. William Robins, January 17th, 1715, with the portraits of "Gottemburgh" and "W. Caxon". London, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings. |
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INTRODUCTION

At which moment does the city show us its face?  

Preamble: a walk in the city with Pepys.

No study dealing with Restoration London would be complete without the figure of Samuel Pepys — diarist, civil servant to the restored monarchy, City dweller, and print collector. Since this dissertation concerns the intersection between spatial practices, print culture, and the formation of urban identities within Restoration London, the figure of Pepys serves as an appropriate point of departure. Therefore, I want to begin by following him as he moves through the spaces of the city. On 10 December, 1660, Pepys makes one of his first visits to a social space relatively new to early modern London — a coffee-house. After meeting an individual named Colonel Bethel at an unidentified coffee-house near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, he records in his diary that “I find much pleasure in it through diversity of company — and discourse”. The number of these spaces of mixed company and pleasurable speech grew rapidly and consistently after the Restoration, particularly in the area of the Royal Exchange, and soon formed a regular part of our diarist’s itinerary: “Up betimes to my office — and there all morning doing business. At noon to the Change — and there met with several people; among others Captain Cox, and with him to a Coffee and drank with him and some other merchants. Good discourse”. The vehicle through which Pepys’s notations are conveyed to us across the centuries — the diary — has been seen by

2Samuel Pepys, Diary of Samuel Pepys (eds.) R. Latham and W. Matthews, (Berkeley, 1970), i, 10 December, 1660. All subsequent citations from the Diary are from this edition.
3Pepys, Diary, iv, 2 July, 1663.
Francis Barker as heralding a new form of early modern subjectivity. It is nothing less than the coalition of a set of complex and overdetermined relations that govern bourgeois subjectivity at a founding moment. For Barker this subjectivity — set into motion by the establishment of new sets of connections between subject and discourse, subject and social body, language and meaning as a result of civil war and rebellion in the 1640s — has a spatial aspect, predicated upon the production of a space for reading and writing that is "a private place". This place is circumscribed by dramatic levels of enclosure: the "I" is first surrounded by discourse, then by the domus, then the public world. However, spaces for reading and writing in early modern London were not always so private, quite the contrary as a matter of fact, and from the examples cited above as well as many others found in the Diaries in which Pepys resorts to the coffee-house for discourse as well as to purchase forms of

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4Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection* (London, 1984), pp. 3, 5, and 10. These transformations mark the dismantling of an older Elizabethan and Jacobean subjectivity and mode of representation, wherein the corporeal body and its representation were codeterminous — a body lying athwart the divide between subject and object, discourse and world. Pepys's *Diary* is an example of a new bourgeois discourse launched from the subject towards an object, from an inner place to a clarified outer world.

5Barker, pp. 3, 9, and 10. It is instructive to compare Barker to James Grantham Turner, “Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy”, *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, (ed.) Gerald MacLean, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 95-110. The disagreements generated on account of Pepys's subjectivity intersect with specific debates on the Restoration, and more generally, with the tracking of an 'early modern' subject through the landscape of British cultural studies. Turner has attacked Barker's construction of Pepys's sexuality and subjectivity as shot through with guilt, self-censorship and repression, and has thus called into question Barker's, as well as Keith Thomas's and Roger Chartier's reading from Pepys's *Diary* as a sacred text in the history of private life. For Turner, the fact that Pepys "glorifies sensuous delight throughout the diary" is largely propelled by the fact that "the construction of sexuality, under a priapic monarch, breaks down the dichotomy of private and public", and Pepys's guilty pleasures do not reveal "intrapsychic pressures but professional and national troubles". Christopher Hill, “Samuel Pepys (1633-1703)”, in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill: Writing and Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England*, I, pp. 259 and 265 indicates the problems with using a document presenting its author "readymade" in his late twenties, and emphasizes, rather, the *Diary* as presenting a personality that is "a broken bundle of mirrors", and "utterly inconsistent". For example, Pepys was from a family of Puritans with sectarian and even Quaker links, he was a strong parliamentarian through the Restoration, at seventeen he witnessed the execution of Charles I and thought it just, yet he circulated within the orbit of the King and court, desirous of their wealth, property, and mistresses, treating them with great respect all the while condemning them in the pages of his journal. It seems to me a crucial point, as indicated by Hill but passed over by both Barker and Turner, that diaries were a Puritan aid to godliness, "a spiritual profit and loss account" in which the diarist kept a careful record of sins and resolutions that was to serve as a form of restraint and a guide to moral comeliness.
print, we get the impression that the coffee-house offered up a new form of intersubjectivity through speech, reading, and the exchange of printed materials. Indeed, as I shall argue below, this new form of social space that seemed to create a network of speaking, reading, and viewing subjects was criticized as a dangerous site of indeterminate social mixing and excesses of speech. Such a space threatened to dissolve the boundaries of the social and political world, and consequently with this dissolution challenge an older form of subjectivity that the Restoration had so recently sought to reassert by the return of monarchical rule and all its trappings.

While the London coffee-house as a locale of speech and print potentially served to dissolve a number of older boundaries and hierarchies by mixing company, let us continue to follow Pepys and encounter spatial, and thus social, practices during the Restoration that attempted to reaffirm traditional boundaries in the City. On 29 May, 1666, Charles II’s birthday and Restoration day, Pepys and company spend a pleasant holiday afternoon and evening in the Spring garden at Foxhall (Vauxhall). They make the passage back to the urban centre by coach, much impeded in the streets by bonfires lit in celebration. However, for Pepys it is evident “to see the difference, how many there was on the other side, and so few our, the City side of Temple, would make one wonder the difference between the temper of one sort of people and the other — and the difference among all, between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monke came into the City”.

General Monck’s entry into London to force the Rump to recall the Long Parliament and suspend political differences was followed by much celebration in Westminster, London, and suburbs, for it was seen as the key event which ultimately led to the restoration of monarchy in 1660. By 1666, however, tensions between City and

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6Pepys, Diary, vii, 29 May, 1666.
Crown had arisen again, and thus Temple Bar, as the point marking the separation between the jurisdictions of London and Westminster, served as a ritual point within urban space at which difference could be articulated. Pepys, as a City dweller who knows the significance and history of the spaces he traverses and the boundaries he crosses, recognizes immediately the use of urban ritual to produce a space marking difference here, the reinforcement of a boundary in order to produce a civic identity over against what is its other, what is, as Pepys states, "on the other side" of Temple Bar — the Crown, Westminster, Whitehall. Later, in 1679, festivities of a different nature will take place entirely on the City side of the Bar, this site being chosen as the end point of an elaborate civic procession designed to garner support for the exclusion of the Catholic heir to the throne, James II. As I will argue in greater depth below, the relation between the spatial practice of procession in the City and the circulation of its graphic image through forms of print (Fig. I. 1) constitute a powerful and effective mode of producing political conflict between London and the Crown.

The point I want to make here is that moments of crisis seem to transform the spaces of Restoration London, and give rise to ways of using and representing space, and even using representations of space. Space then, as Henri Lefebvre has argued, is surely not a mental category or a thing, but is socially produced. It is a "practiced place", in which a delimited site is transformed into a space contingent on the ways users appropriate it. Uses of space and its representations are always more critical at specific moments of crisis, in which urban identities are produced, challenged, reinforced, or reworked. Such moments of crisis are not just limited to those of a predominantly political nature, as in 1679 with the perceived threat of popery and arbitrary power during the exclusion crisis. The occurrence of plague and fire in Restoration London also exacerbated spatial and social tensions in different

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ways. The fire of 1666 was a traumatic event that destroyed much of London and displaced a large proportion of its population into outlying regions. Pepys, one of the fortunate Londoners to the northeast, just inside the walls of the City, whose home was spared, transcribed his experiences of the fire in the *Diary*, from the conflagration's return to haunt him repeatedly in dreams, to his anxious passages through the ruins of the City and suburbs, where, for example, a temporary city was constructed in Moorfields north of the City walls. Pepys, a creature of regular habits and rhythms, made comfortable by things in their proper place, is disturbed by the sight of this 'new' city where he “did find houses built two stories high, and like to stand, and must become a place of great trade till the City be built, and the street is already paved as London streets used to be — which is strange, and to me an unpleasing sight”. Equally as disturbing as the displacement of the city and its trade to this open field outside the walls are the changes wrought to London by the plague, seen in the social transformations encountered at the very centre of the City. On a passage through London near the height of the epidemic Pepys enters the Royal Exchange where

> I did wonder to see the 'Change so full, I believe two hundred people; but not a Man or 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.”

The transformations in the courtyard strike Pepys with 'wonder' for a number of reasons. One, he is surprised that there are so many people in the Exchange, giving away his expectations that the presence of plague in the City should have altered the way this urban site was occupied and used. Secondly, those who have chosen to appropriate the Royal Exchange on this particular day are not those who were normally found there, no gentlemen or established City traders, just "plain men

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10Pepys, *Diary*, viii, 7 April, 1667.
11Pepys, *Diary*, vi, 14 September, 1665.
all". Even worse, these individuals might be contagious, since the methods taken by the authorities to control the sick are no longer being observed, and the Exchange — normally a space of discourse like the coffee-houses that surround it — is transformed into a site in which "converse" is potentially dangerous. During the plague the city, already a potent force of what Deleuze and Guattari have called the striation of space, undergoes increased striation by reinforcing the boundaries between sick and healthy through "shutting up houses". However, space is always in flux, and the striated is continually questioned by or transposed into its other, the "smooth". While these critical points of transition occur more often at the city's edges, as with the tent city in Moorfields that for Pepys was such an unpleasant sight, they can also be found at the centre of the city. During the plague the forces of increased order in the City are ultimately inverted when houses are no longer shut-up and the Exchange is turned into a smooth space, where an unexpected and potentially dangerous crowd fills Pepys with anxiety.

Restoration rearrangements

These extracts from the Diary offer a glimpse of how the contested spaces of Restoration London underwent both social and physical changes at times of crisis, and how one early modern urban subject experienced and traversed them. This initial walk with Pepys sets the stage for a deeper journey into the spaces and social practices of this seventeenth-century urban centre. It is the goal of this thesis to argue for the crucial role of print culture within these urban practices of producing space and identity in Restoration London. I will examine how the exchange of printed representations produced the controversial space of the coffee-house, and how the intersection between procession and its image in print was integral to the formulation of political conflict. In addition, I will ask what role the printed image

of the city had in mediating threats to urban space when the everyday rhythms of the city were interrupted by plague, fire, and frost. By exploring the connections between conflictual uses of space and the exchange of printed representations in the formation of urban identities, I endeavour to contribute to the reappraisal of the Restoration as an uninteresting historical moment suspended between two revolutions. The reign of Charles II is often seen as a period of settlement, or 'equilibrium' in which an older political, religious, and social order was simply reasserted between the civil wars of mid-century and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Despite an argument put forward earlier in this century by Max Beloff that the Restoration was one of the most unsettled periods in British history, the years between 1660-85 have often been characterized as uneventful due to a polarization of Whig and Tory views originating in the eighteenth-century. This construction has often been replicated in the work of later scholars. Historians adopting Whiggish tendencies have argued that the threat of conspiracy by religious and political radicals from the Civil War, Commonwealth, and Protectorate eras, and the

13As, for example, in recent works, Jerome Friedman, The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies: Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution, (New York, 1993), and Ronald Hutton, The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the Ritual Year 1400-1700, (Oxford, 1994). Friedman's study concerning the cheap print of the revolutionary years ends with the return of Charles II, and perpetuates the most basic Restoration trope — once a King was back on the throne in 1660 happiness, peace, and an overall easing of tensions were experienced in England, with strong ale and dancing in the streets again. Ronald Hutton's entitles his chapter on the Restoration "Merry Equilibrium".

14Max Beloff, Public Order and Popular Disturbances 1660-1714 (Oxford, 1938), pp. 2, 3, and 28. See also Andrew Browning’s introduction to English Historical Documents (London, 1953). As Beloff has argued, one cannot underestimate the burgeoning problems in a rapidly expanding London at this time — for him the single most important feature of the social history of the period — and from an economic point of view an imbalance of forces was even greater than at any other time in the century, with ruling elites increasing their wealth and legal power through a shift in taxation towards the poor and the lower middle classes, the granting of large scale protection to industry and agriculture resulting in enclosures, the reinforcement of the Act of Settlement restricting mobility of the labouring population

15Alan Marshall, Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685 (Cambridge, 1994), p. 11. Citing John Morrill’s famous statement about the Revolution being a type of Cheshire cat, vanishing and leaving only a scowl behind, Marshall asserts that the central element of Restoration historiography has been to discern the significance and danger of this scowl. Marshall, while stating that a clear separation between Tory and Whig histories of the Restoration is simply unproductive, seeks to replace this black and white divide with a more fluid in-between position, in the ‘grey’, as he calls it. Although it is a fine line, Marshall’s remarkable ‘fluidity’ of Restoration society seems to me to come dangerously close to evacuating a sense of the period’s conflicts and it serves as well to depoliticize both the Restoration and its historiography.
apparent constant threat of new rebellion, was in reality negligible during the Restoration. They maintain that the tales of plots and rebellions which continually surfaced during the Restoration were manufactured by the regime itself in order to stifle English liberties. In other words, political and religious nonconformists were persecuted as part of an overall scheme to establish absolutism. Tory historians, on the other hand, have argued for the serious and very real nature of the plots engineered by republicans and nonconformists continuing their quest to destroy monarchy and 'merry' England.

My view of the Restoration adopts the strategies of a group of political and cultural historians seeking to reappraise the above characterizations, among them Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie. Their work questions commonplace assumptions about the Restoration — the characterization of the period as 'unconstructive', and the belief that in the anticlimax after the revolutionary and commonwealth periods "all ideological passion was spent and politics became emptied of principal". Tim Harris in particular has outlined the problems influencing Restoration historiography. He argues against the notion that the reign of Charles II brought forth a new era of party politics in favor of a view of the Restoration that stresses more continuity with the Interregnum than has been previously acknowledged, most significantly in the survival of commonwealth ideas. Further, the assumption that there was a marked decline in domestic religious tensions — occasioned by the persecution and diaspora of the radical sects that had contributed so much to the turmoil in the previous decades — also needs to be questioned. Fundamental religious tensions remained in the 1660s, with fear for the basic survival of Protestantism, and arguments over the sort of church the reformed religion would embody. As the work of Harris and others indicates, there

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17 Harris, Seaward, and Goldie, Politics of Religion, preface, p. x.
18 Tim Harris, "Introduction: Revising the Restoration", in Politics of Religion, p. 3.
may have been a large degree of consensus to restore monarchy in 1660, but there was no consensus on religious issues. In fact, religious concerns influenced the consolidation of party politics in the 1670s with the Whigs strongly aligned with the causes of religious dissent and nonconformity. Finally, Restoration historiography's preoccupation with the political culture of the elite, limited to the machinations of court and parliament, produces a narrow perspective of an historical period characterized by, for example, highly politicized religious beliefs, practices, and conflicts which tended to defy social boundaries. Thus, historical tropes established to represent the Restoration as a moment of equilibrium between the conflicts of mid-century and their final working out in 1688 are untenable, and, along with recent studies, I will be viewing the period as one that is "multi-vocal, contingent, uncertain," and one in which social, political, and religious groups interacted in ways that were "variable and various", particularly in the urban areas. My own contribution to this debate will be to consider how, within these exchanges, some of the strategies and tactics adopted by Restoration London's many voices were tied to the uses of print and urban space.

So, then, what was restored after the return of the Stuart King Charles II in 1660 and the reintroduction of monarchical government to England after two decades of civil war, parliamentary government, and rule by Cromwell's protectorate? By 1659, following upon the death of Oliver and the passing of the leadership to Richard Cromwell, discord between parliament, army, and religious interests led to the collapse of the 'Puritan experiment'. Faced with confusion and a significant void created by an apparent absence of government — seen in the

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19Harris (1990), pp. 8, 9, and 23.
20N. H. Keeble, "Rewriting the Restoration" in The Historical Journal , 35/1 (1992), p. 223. See also Nicholas Jose, Ideas of Restoration in English Literature 1660-71 (Cambridge, MA, 1984), pp. 6, 26, where he argues that with many different images of the social order in circulation, at the core of the Restoration lies "an indeterminate quality" marked by the incommensurability of an event for which, incidentally, most support occurred after it had happened.
anxious writings of a contemporary like John Evelyn\textsuperscript{22}— aspirations began to be directed towards the restoration of monarchy as the only certain way to cure a disease wrought in both metropolis and nation. The fracturing of royal and church power and the violence caused by dissident political and religious communities had led to, as Charles II's Lord Chancellor Clarendon termed it, the most heinous crime of 'parricide', and were the cause of great wounds in a once healthy social body that was also the body of the King. These wounds, as cavaliers and even City interests felt in 1660, could only be healed by the return of the monarchical body.\textsuperscript{23}

At the beginning of 1660, the return of cavaliers to the Commons and peers to the House of Lords as a result of General Monck's march upon London, virtually assured the return of monarchy without any new legal restrictions on the King's prerogative.\textsuperscript{24} The readiness of London and nation to submit without conditions to the returning Charles II was repeatedly remarked upon by contemporaries. As Nicholas Jose has shown in his study on how the Restoration was viewed in contemporary literature and drama, this contributed to the Restoration being cast by its supporters and propagandists as an event of a privileged and fantastical nature, a representation that sought to hold time still, enforce stasis, and prevent change.\textsuperscript{25}

However, despite modifications to the representation of monarchical power along a quasi-religious theme of miraculous and violence free restoration, Susan Staves has argued that the old fictions of authority held up by the returning monarchy had

\textsuperscript{22}John Evelyn, \textit{The Diary of John Evelyn}, (ed.) E. S. De Beer, (Oxford, 1955), p. 107. All subsequent citations are from this edition. On 29 May 1659, Evelyn wrote: "The nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettl'd between the Armies and the sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things had overspread us", and on 11 October, the succinct "We had now no government in the nation; all in confusion".

\textsuperscript{23}Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon, \textit{The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England} (Oxford, 1849), VI, pp. 264-5. See also Pepys, \textit{Diary}, i, 21 May, 1660, where he writes that the City was "willing to submit to anything".


\textsuperscript{25}Jose, p. 35.
been irrevocably challenged by the secularization of power set in motion during the Interregnum.\textsuperscript{26} This type of continuity with the earlier period surely had a great deal to do with the seemingly irrational shifts in support for Restoration government. If treated as the symptoms of a neurosis, for example, the events of the Restoration reveal an excessive intensification of affection for the King, seen in the celebrations that Pepys found "a little too much" and which forced Charles II to issue an edict suppressing toasting to his health.\textsuperscript{27} The Venetian ambassador also stressed on 16 April 1660 that the inversion of sentiments in London was indeed "miraculous", and "the King’s name is now as much loved, revered and acclaimed as in past years it was detested and abused, and nothing is desired with greater fervour by the people ... The desire for the King is universal".\textsuperscript{28} Psychoanalysis, and especially Jacques Lacan, tells us that although there was a universal desire for a return to the rule of the father, desire always "bears on something other than the satisfaction which it calls for".\textsuperscript{29} Satisfying all the different interests at the Restoration — between old cavaliers, a restored Church of England with its bishops,

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  \item \textsuperscript{26}Susan Staves, \textit{Players’ Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration} (Lincoln and London, 1979), pp. 14, 45.
  \item \textsuperscript{27}Pepys, \textit{Diary}, I, p. 169, and \textit{A Proclamation Against Debauched and Profane Persons, who, on Pretence of Regard to the King, Revile and Threaten Others, or Spend their Time in Taverns and Tippling Houses, Drinking his Health}, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic (CSPD) 1660-61, p. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{28}The English Civil War. A Contemporary Account Volume 5: 1657-1675 (London, 1996), p. 231. This five volume series contains translations of the ambassadors’ weekly communiqués to the Venetian Senate, as well as some selections from the \textit{Relationi}. See also 28 May 1660: “The joy which greeted the proclamation of the King is matched by the scorn and contempt with which they are everywhere destroying all the last traces of the Republic. It is quite impossible to express the change that has taken place in this country in a moment and it may be called miraculous for having happened without bloodshed and from the King being restored without conditions, which at first seemed inevitable”. See also Clarendon, VI, p. 264. Charles II, as the object of these manifestations, was, as it seems from Clarendon’s account, more aware of the irony of these protestations: “In a word, the joy was so unexpressible and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, that he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return”. Even a materialist and Marxist historian such as Christopher Hill, \textit{Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution} (Madison, 1980), p. 13, is at a loss to explain the Restoration and seeks to attribute some of the reasons for the return of Charles II to the ‘magical aura’ of kingship still appealing particularly to the lower orders.
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and religious dissenters in London — was to prove impossible and the excessive love remarked upon by contemporary witnesses soon turned into bitterness. Nicholas Jose informs us that the Restoration has long been seen as a prime example “for considering the connexion between social and cultural ill-health,” and another Restoration historian has remarked that the reign of Charles II is indeed extraordinary since few governments “have fallen in the estimation of their subjects as dramatically as the restored monarchy did”. Therefore, I would suggest that the return of Charles II should be seen as the Restoration of a father that comes at the price of a plurality of losses, and that regaining the privilege of being a monarchical subject at this particular historical moment was the effect of multiple divisions, within both the individual and social bodies. And this despite the monarchy’s

30The saga of the Civil War and Restoration could be read in terms of a Freudian fairy tale, in which a community begins to feel that their King and patriarch, in a quest for absolute power, coveted too greatly what they felt rightly belonged to them. Sensing that the aims of their sovereign inhibited the advancement of their own gains and desires, and even though these individuals feared and loved this King, they banded together and denounced him, waged war on their ruler, and finally ritually executed him. After the monarch was dead and gone, his presence and power remained in memory. Indeed, satisfying the anger and hatred by violent action had driven their love for the King under, and after his death their need for him made itself felt in ever increasing amounts and different ways, filling these former subjects with remorse and guilt. As several years past, and the nation this former King governed became more and more fragmented, proving difficult to be governed by the united interests of the regicides, its citizens increasingly dissatisfied and riven by guilt, a miracle seemed to occur. Though this society could not bring back the patriarch they had forever lost, it became increasingly desirable that a substitute be put in place. This they found in his son who, after many years of violence and bitterness in the land, was brought home to this nation to the sounds of ecstatic celebration and declarations of love. All were eager to wipe away the memory of the terrible killing of the father, and with the installation of his substitute, peace and order were to reign over the cities and towns of the kingdom. However, this initial optimism was not to last, and the son’s popularity rapidly began to decay until ultimately he was held in less esteem than the father. This is, in fact, the story told by Sigmund Freud towards the end of Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics , (New York, 1950), pp. 140-148. All in all, the ritual of the totem is to disclaim responsibility for this parricide, and represents the “unlimited power of the primal father against whom they had once fought as well as their readiness to submit to him”. Freud’s work is metaphorical and suggestive, dealing with unconscious and deeply repressed desires and ambivalence towards the King/father. It is intriguing how they mirror tensions in play during the Restoration. I would not be the first to use this analogy in relation to revolutionary execution of a King and the subsequent void. See Lynn Hunt, The Family Romance of the French Revolution (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992). Hunt uses Totem and Taboo in relation to the execution of Louis XVI in 1793 as a consequence of the French Revolution in order to ask what model would be utilized to ensure the obedience of citizens once the father of the social body was eliminated.

attempt to cast a powerful spell of historical ‘forgetfulness’, as the Bill of Indemnity seemed to suggest in its stated desire to abolish “all notes of discord, separation and difference of parties” and then “conjure ... a perfect union” under the King’s protection.\footnote{An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion (1660) 12 Car. II, c. ii. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion is reproduced in (ed.)Browning, English Historical Documents 1660-1714, p. 164, and J. P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1986), p. 339. It was intended to absolve and protect from prosecution all those who had aided parliament or benefited from the sale of royalist or church properties — with the exception of the regicides.} As Derrida has explored in a different context, such a conjuration would mean taking an oath upon a unity which is only spectral, indeed, it is the bringing forth or convoking of a unity which is not there at the moment of appeal. To conjure also means to exorcise an evil spirit, in this case the discord and schism of the Puritan experiment, and Charles II’s government greatly desired to conjure away this "dreaded political adversary".\footnote{Jacques Derrida, Specters of Marx: the State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International (New York and London, 1994), pp. 40-41, and 47.} In this light we can view the Restoration as a failed exorcism, for while the perfect union sought by Charles II may have remained largely in the domain of the apparition, the legacy of radical discord and political resistance could not simply be conjured away.

For the new regime, the anarchy of the interregnum years derived predominantly from the material culture and social practices of the City, and a program that would produce a "perfect union" between London and Crown in order to maintain stability in political and religious life was required. While the Restoration could not have occurred without the support of moderates in London, many of them merchants, the diversity of interests within the City remained the monarchy’s greatest problem. When Charles II reached London on the way to his coronation, an allegorical figure of Monarchy at a triumphal arch in Cheapside banished Rebellion, and then invited the King to enter and purge London of discord and schism: “Enter our Sun, our Comfort, and our Life/ No more these Walls shall...
breed Intestine Strife".\textsuperscript{34} Indeed, much of the subsequent exertion of monarchical control was directed towards the urban spaces, practices, and processes of London. For this dissertation, the attempts by the reinstalled monarchy and the Cavalier Parliament to control the productions of the urban printing community are of paramount importance, and I will deal with this in more depth below. However, actions against Restoration print culture did not exist on their own, and must be seen in relation to a complex set of ordinances and government action designed to demarcate and circumscribe the political and religious life of Restoration London in particular.\textsuperscript{35} Very rapidly, the parliamentary power base established by Presbyterians and other religious sects centred in London was decisively overturned by the return of a vindictive conservative gentry to power.\textsuperscript{36} Legislation designed to circumscribe the body politic at this time was aimed at the urban areas of London and its immediate environs, where the religious and social practices of dissenting interests were often synonymous with the causes of urban independence.\textsuperscript{37} For example, an

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\item \textsuperscript{34}The procession is transcribed, complete with illustrations of the triumphal arches, in John Ogilby, \textit{The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestic Charles II, in His Passage through the City of London to his Coronation} (1662).
\item \textsuperscript{35}This Restoration legislation is well documented. See for example Hutton (1985) and Paul Seaward, \textit{The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime 1661-1667} (Cambridge, 1989) for the most extensive and recent study of the workings of the Cavalier Parliament.
\item \textsuperscript{36}Ogg, p. 197, also J. R. Jones (ed.), \textit{The Restored Monarchy 1660-1688} (London, 1979). As Ronald Hutton and Paul Seaward have argued, if there was a victor at the Restoration it was the country gentry, who welcomed back the monarch because with him came the forms and principles of a rigidly hierarchical social order. In fact, the gentry utilized their power in parliament to circumvent the potential for Charles II to gain absolute power by refusing to allow the reintroduction of the prerogative courts and the establishment of a large standing army. Further, the country gentry were also prime movers in the re-establishment of the traditional episcopal church of England, and vigorously behind persecution of nonconformists, despite Charles II's desire for oblivion and indemnity. Hutton (1985), p. 183, and Seaward, pp. 49 and 55. J. R. Jones, in \textit{Country and Court: England 1658-1714} (London, 1978) analyzes rural and urban, country and court tensions over a slightly longer period and resists the view that the rural gentry gained absolutely from the Restoration, arguing that the conservative reaction was part of a long term structural change marking the decay of the power of the lesser gentry and freeholders while mercantile and urban retailing interests gained in importance giving rise to a newly empowered social class.
\item \textsuperscript{37}Jones (1978), p. 37, and Ogg, p. 210: "...Charles's government regarded all concourses of men as dangerous — whether they were conventicles worshipping in cellar or on the hill-side; or London apprentices 'rambling' on an afternoon holiday; or talkative gatherings in coffee-houses; or dinners of city companies, where men might become heated by injudicious toasts". See also Valerie Pearl, \textit{London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City, Government, and National Politics, 1625-43} (London,
edict prohibited any petition being presented by more than twenty people in order to deal with the problem of large crowds gathering for political purposes in the public spaces of London. Religious dissenters were removed from positions of civic power by an act placing King and gentry in control of civic corporations. Additional legislation prohibited all unauthorized religious meetings. Another bill, brought in as plague in London raised the spectre of disorder and presented the possibility of rebellious nonconformist ministers assuming control over the pulpits of departed Anglican ecclesiastics, decreed that no excluded minister could come closer than five miles from any corporate town.38

My purpose here has been to indicate that the returning royal government's determination to police a wide variety of cultural forms and practices and thus produce conformity, social peace, and stability, led to alternate arrangements of social and political interests. However, as it will become apparent throughout this dissertation, the attempted magical return to an older form of social structure, though it might have served to displace tensions into other domains, could not stymie the persistent recurrence of conflicts between the Church of England and the dissenting sects, between parliament and the King, and the King and the City, upon

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38 An Act against Tumults and Disorders upon Pretence of Preparing or Presenting Public Petitions or other Addresses to His Majesty of the Parliament (1661) 13 Car. II, s.I, c.5, reprinted in English Historical Documents, p. 66, An Act for the Well-governing and Regulation of Corporations (1661) 13 Car. II, s.II, c.i, reprinted in Stuart Constitution, p. 351, An Act to Prevent and Suppress Seditious Conventicles (1664, renewed 1670) 22 Car. II, c. i, and An Act for Restraining Nonconformists from Inhabiting in Corporations (1665) 7 Car. II, c. ii, reprinted in Statutes of the Realm, V, p. 575. Further, the gentry's belief that religious conformity was an essential prerequisite to political stability saw the introduction of the Act of Uniformity. This act sought to impose religious harmony on all worship in the nation by ordering clergy to use only the Book of Common Prayer, and consent to everything it contained. Practicing ecclesiastics had to be ordained by an Anglican bishop, pledge non-resistance to royal authority, and disclaim the Covenant — now seen to be an unlawful oath. An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies (1662) 14 Car. II, c. iv, reprinted in Stuart Constitution, p. 353. See J. Spurr, The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689 (New Haven, 1991), I. M. Green, The Re-Establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978), and Douglas R. Lacey, Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England (Rutgers, 1969), which deal with the repercussions of this contentious Act and the Restoration religious 'settlement' in detail.
whom Charles II relied for financial support. These strictures enforced at the Restoration, however conservative and reactionary they might appear, did not represent the replacement of parliamentary rule by absolutist power. While a Stuart was returned to the throne, the monarchy of his father was not. Charles II was not a victor over parliament, for the latter’s achievements during the civil wars and commonwealth years had rendered it a permanent political force. In addition, while courtly behaviour returned and a hierarchical social order was reasserted at the Restoration, the overarching signs of an expansionist mercantile and consumer society with its roots in the Interregnum became increasingly visible.39 Despite attempts to purge the social body of religious and political dissent, new forces had been set in motion:

The edifice of the Restoration could only be upheld by pressures which would inevitably cause its collapse . . . Puritan attitudes could not be stamped out; consolidated social divisions aggravated inequity; the rapidly growing metropolis increasingly operated as a ‘Leveller’ an agent of ferment. If old religious and constitutional arrangements could be brought back, this was not the case with economic and foreign policies.40

It has been argued that the mythology of the sovereign was no longer possible once a new ‘capillary’ form of power was instituted in a net like organization through which individuals circulate, both subjected to this new form of power and capable of making use of it to varying degrees.41 As Jose indicates above, the urban spaces and

40Jose, pp. 25, 174, wherein Jose concludes his study with the following: “It is ironical that the Restoration of a King who claimed divine right should have so shaped men’s impulse to restore responsibility to themselves”.
41Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 (New York, 1980), pp. 39, 72, and 97. Foucault argues that “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”. While Foucault delineates these developments primarily in eighteenth-century France as a result of institutional transformations in bureaucratic administration, giving rise to a ‘synaptic’ organization exercising power within the social body rather than from above, he warns us that this is not entirely the case with early modern England. There, though a similar modification of
processes of London acted as a catalyst driving forward an overdetermined set of relationships, both on a local and international level.

London, the concern of all the above Restoration legislation, resists easy categorization, and the return of monarchy inevitably reintroduced many conflicts into urban space. Practical and discursive rearrangements of social authority indicated above — for instance, changes within the market structure — had to mesh with a larger milieu in which power was seemingly reinvested into the body of the King. Even the production of scientific knowledge, incorporated under the protection of Charles II with the Royal Society and thus serving to glorify the monarchy, was dedicated to the advancement of natural philosophy designed to turn London into a city of trade that would command Europe and the new world. Members of the Royal Society who met at Gresham College in the City, many of them with former radical and nonconformist links, argued that the regulated and corporately produced discourse of natural philosophy could in fact counter civil strife. Thus, it is clear that several disparate centres of interest were concentrated

power occurred, “the person of the King ... 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 centralized forms of the State”. The most concise expression of this is found in Thomas Sprat, History of the Royal Society (London, 1667). See also Thomas Birch, The History of the Royal Society (London, 1756-1757).

Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, Leviathan and the Air Pump (Princeton, 1985), p. 15, who argue that in this way, the example of communally produced knowledge (discourse) served as a microcosmic model of how social peace and stability might be put into practice at the Restoration. Michael Hunter, Establishing the New Science: the Experience of the Early Royal Society (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 6, sees the incorporation of the Royal Society as part of a more widespread “urge to organize” carried out in the years after the Restoration. Christopher Hill, in “Partial Historians and Total History”, The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill (Amherst, 1986), p. 8, writes: “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 the 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”. Richard Kroll, The Material Word: Literate Culture in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth-Century (Baltimore and London, 1991), pp. 39 and 44, argues that the institutionalization of the Royal Society at the Restoration should be seen as “part of a multiple discursive reorientation defined largely by ‘nonscientific motives’”, part of a moment in which culture became “organized and concrete”. As evidence of this Kroll cites a long list of objects and practices, including the plans for London after the Great Fire of 1666, Sprat’s frontispiece for his History of the Royal Society with Charles II pictured
in London — rural gentry, city merchants, court, parliament, high church supporters, nonconformists, and the forces of mercantile expansion versus the constraints of the guild structure and the freedom. As Lawrence Manley has suggested, Restoration London was to an even greater extent the focus of tensions which had reached a crisis point in the revolutionary years, leading to both the centrifugal and centripetal effects of the city on social, religious, economic, and political life. For example, civil war and rebellion were driven by urban interests that had ceased to identify with the community in the traditional sense and more with the centrifugal forces of diversification, mobility, and expansion. At the same time, however, revolutionary demands for individual autonomy and religious toleration “were conditioned by a regimen of increasingly differentiated and specialized functions for a growing urban populace”. Paradoxically, movements towards autonomy and liberty from the constraints of ‘locality’ were conditioned by a centripetal expansion of London’s influence.44

While the tensions within London and its immediate environs due to the specific political ramifications of the Restoration must be taken into account, there is also the longer history of conflicts between Crown and City over self government and economic autonomy. Indeed, there has been an ongoing historical debate about the stability (or instability) of early modern London. The focus of the connections between trades, Companies, civic, and royal government was ‘the City’, a square mile jurisdiction granted a certain autonomy and a series of privileges by royal charters. City crafts and retail trades were dominated by the more successful international merchants, all of whose Companies were established during the Renaissance, and from which London’s leaders were customarily chosen. An

executive governing body — Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen — was supplemented by a legislative assembly known as Common Council — elected by those given the ‘freedom’ to trade within the City’s jurisdiction — and an electoral congregation called the Court of Common Hall. The latter was comprised of guild liverymen who annually nominated candidates for Mayor, confirmed aldermen, as well as chose London’s two sheriffs and four Members of Parliament. Since aldermen held office for life, and the mayor and sheriffs were chosen from their ranks, the government of London “formed an oligarchic, self-perpetuating executive and judicial body” of a self-governing merchant community.  

London guilds controlled citizenship by granting the freedom of the City, which could be inherited by birth, purchased by redemption, or granted through a seven year apprenticeship. The City was further fragmented by a system of constabular precincts of 120 yards per side, and approximately 100 parishes controlled by their vestries. Valerie Pearl, Steven Rappaport, and Ian Archer have stressed the fundamentally stable conditions of early modern London, a community relatively open to advancement, though carefully regulated by the 3000 or so who could annually serve in some form of public office.  

While this is possibly the case within the walls and City jurisdiction, given that the systems and structures outlined above could reinforce stability, in the suburbs it was a different scenario. City jurisdiction, which at mid sixteenth-century covered a good 80% of the metropolis’ population, by the Restoration would control well less than half, creating more unstable

45 See Pearl’s London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, particularly chapter one, and Joseph Ward, Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London (Stanford, 1997), pp. 8-10.

conditions in a dangerously under policed and rapidly growing suburban area.\textsuperscript{47} Though the City supplied the Crown with loans and other revenues, and merchants relied on royal privileges and monopolies, gentry and city merchants both were involved in trade and the rapid economic transformation and urban growth taking place particularly outside of the City's jurisdiction. As we shall see, at various moments of crisis in the City, these 'skirts' or suburbs of London become visible.

Unrestrained print was a crucial issue for Charles II's regime from the moment of Restoration. While the Act of Uniformity sought to remove dissenting religious voices from public life, the Licensing Act of 1662 placed control over print in the hands of the highest offices of church and state, and encouraged the Stationers' Company to become self censors through a grant of monopoly on printed production within London.\textsuperscript{48} The Act stated that control over printers and their presses was "a matter of public care and 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".\textsuperscript{49} However, dissenting and controversial publications still continued to be published, particularly during the lapsing of the Act between 1679 and 1685.\textsuperscript{50} Despite virtually immediate legislation introduced by


\textsuperscript{48}Frederick Seaton Siebert, \textit{Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776} (Urbana, 1952), 257. Repressive Star Chamber legislation of 1637 was reintroduced at the Restoration requiring all mechanically reproduced publications to be licensed by the Secretaries of State, Bishop of London, or Archbishop of Canterbury, the number of master printers and apprentices was to be limited making both production and the profession easier to monitor. The Stationer's monopoly had been invalidated during the period of parliamentary rule, and was now reinstated by Restoration government in exchange for a program of self censorship. The Star Chamber itself could not be revived since its dissolution had received the assent of Charles I.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{49}An Act for Preventing the Frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious, Treasonable and Unlicensed Books and Pamphlets, and for Regulating of Printing and Printing-Presses (1662), reprinted in \textit{English Historical Documents}, p. 67.

\textsuperscript{50}Adrian Johns, \textit{The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making} (Chicago, 1998), p. 231. See also Richard Greaves, \textit{Deliver Us From Evil: the Radical Underground in Britain 1660 -1663} (Oxford, 1986), and \textit{Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain 1664-1677} (Stanford, 1990) which are wholly concerned to uncover the voices of dissent from beneath the
Charles II to control the dissemination of print, circumscribing a burgeoning print culture was to prove difficult, given the establishment of novel forms such as news sheets and sophisticated political satire utilizing visual imagery and text together in the broadside. In addition, the appearance of the coffee-house, an urban social space greatly facilitating the exchange of these printed objects, made effective control of print and its distributors difficult.

Print culture had become firmly entrenched as a vital tool in the formation of political and community identity during struggles between London and Charles I, for literacy in early modern England was enjoyed by a high percentage of the population. High literacy amongst Protestants was one of the results of the effectiveness of printed attacks on Catholicism during the Reformation, making it apparent that the medium had great political force. Different forms of print could be utilized to considerable effect in order to constitute identities, as well as shape opinions and social practices that ran counter to dominant beliefs.

In order to curb the powerful formation of urban strategies of opposition facilitated by the exchange of repressive structures of Restoration legislation. A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and Printers (1663), published by an anonymous ‘Society of Printers’ argued that it was in the financial interests of members of the Stationer’s Company, not necessarily themselves printers, to disseminate as much printed matter as possible, seditious, nonconforming, or otherwise.

David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge and New York, 1980). See also Elizabeth Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformation in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 1979) who explores the many effects of print in late Renaissance and early modern Europe, including how it helped implement the Protestant Reformation and reoriented Catholic religious practices, and contributed to the development of modern capitalism, as well as Marshal McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Making of Typographic Man (Toronto, 1962), and more recently Walter Ong, Orality and Literacy; the Technologizing of the Word (London and New York, 1982). The role of a burgeoning culture of print, particularly in urban centres, cannot be overemphasized in the events set in motion by the Protestant Reformation. Printed production of the Bible in vernacular tongues and the encouragement of its new readers to interpret scripture individually or in small community based groups without ‘clarification’ from an orthodoxy contributed to a substantial rise in literacy.

of print, Restoration royalists maintained that the basis of a King's power was synonymous with the word represented by scripture and law, a divine right granted by God, and then disseminated as a gift through the medium of print to his subjects.

This belief was reinforced at the time by Richard Atkyns in *The Original and Growth of Printing*. Atkyns felt that printed production should be entirely a matter of the royal prerogative, and called on the King to dispense with the cooperation of parliament required by the Licensing Act. What was said and circulated about public figures ought to be strictly controlled by the Privy Council, for liberty of the press led directly to the death of Charles I. Atkyns argues that, in the flurry of anti-monarchical pamphlets and images leading up to the conflicts at mid century,

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 own making: the Parliament finding the Faith of the deceived to be implicitly in them . . . so totally posset 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.53

Atkyns raises a crucial point here that I believe has been overlooked in histories of the Restoration and the prior events of mid-century. Atkyns makes it very clear, even though he is arguing against this, that the social exchanges allowed by the culture of print were the principal factors in organizing individual subjects into powerful political opposition to Charles I. Further, he links this use of print in the formulation of 'Parties' to 'low' forms of print such as the "Ballad". His anxiety over these forms — hard to monitor, ephemeral and associated with the street — is that they seem to have claims on 'truth' that are difficult to counter. In addition to Atkyns, Restoration Surveyor of the Press Roger L' Estrange was also concerned

with refuting the truth claims of these clamorous voices that drowned out the voice of the King. L' Estrange, given his official title in 1662 and with it wide ranging powers of search and seizure for seditious and unlicensed printed matter, believed that an excess of the printed word would lead directly to political violence. In *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press*, L' Estrange claimed that by the arts and practices of printing “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”.

What Atkyns and L' Estrange were all too aware of at the Restoration was that urban practices of print culture were instrumental in a shift both in social relations and subjectivity. Print culture calls up a different social body than the one royalists desired to restore in 1660, one seemingly incompatible with a view that seeks to equate 'truth' with the word and body of a King.

A broadside of 1641 with an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar and text by the cavalier Henry Peacham, although constructed entirely in negative terms, offers some idea of the subjects and social authority adumbrated by print culture. *(Fig. I. 2)* Entitled *The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion*, this broadside's image depicts a female personification representing Opinion perched rather clumsily in the branches of a large oak tree. A globe sits in her lap, and atop her hat, the brim of which blinds her, is a tower. Upon her outstretched left arm is a chameleon, and in her right hand she wields a baton as if she is beating the branches of the tree, in which we can see several forms of print. These objects — pamphlets and broadsides, several with images — hang from the tree like fruit, and some of them fall to the ground as a result of Opinion's baton striking the branches. On the ground below

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her a figure in jester's costume waters the base of the tree, while another dressed as a cavalier gestures as if speaking.

Peacham's text below the image is in the form of a dialogue between this figure, Viator, and Opinion. Viator, the traveler, is struck by the strange female figure who sits with "The Worldes whole Compasse" on her knee, and thus in an exchange of questions and answers we learn the significance of the image's iconography. Opinion's crown is the Tower of Babel, linking the "confused waie" of opinion and thus print to the biblical parable in which communication between rebellious men and women was rendered impossible by the creation of different languages. Her blindness impairs clear judgments, and the chameleon on her arm "That can assume all Cullors saving white" signifies how opinion can have many appearances except "TRUTH, the right". Thus far meaning is allegorical, but when Viator inquires as to the fruit in Opinion's tree that appears to be "Bookes and papers", Opinion responds and identifies these objects as "idle books and libells bee / In everie street, on everie stall you find". While allegory often functions to conceal the relation between representation and its historical context, at this point the broadside is contaminated by concrete social practices associated with print in the urban centre. Further, when we look again at the image, we see that the fruit of the tree of opinion are actual pamphlets and broadsides — including *Mercuries Message*, *Hellish Parliament*, and *A Swarm of Sectaries* — that circulated in the streets of London in 1641 after government control over the presses of London collapsed.55

What does this image say about print culture and changing social relations in the 1640s that will still resonate at the Restoration? Opinion — confused, blind, nursed by Folly — assumes many shapes but never that of truth. It is the domain of the "giddie Vulgar", and opinions can "propagate till infinite they bee" finding material expression through the production and circulation of print to the bookstalls and streets of the city. What is opinion but multitudinous representations, mechanically reproduced, that have the potential to conquer space and span the "Worldes whole Compasse". The forms of print pictured by Hollar are not religious, classical, or legal texts associated with the institutions of higher learning and worship, nor with the library of a gentleman. They are "idle bookes" associated with the bookseller's market stall or even worse, as it is mentioned twice in the text, with the movement and fluidity of the street. The books and papers are clearly not idle, rather, it is they that circulate and then make their readers idle. The danger of opinion giving fruit to such forms of print is that it threatens to decentre a structure making the word of a King and power equivalent. This structure grounded the monarch to speak in the first person and the majestic plural at the same time. In other words, it located the monarch in a structure that identified the singularity of the King's speech and his proper name with the legitimacy that exceeded it. This embodiment of social authority allowed the monarch to give order and place to an assemblage of speakers. The collapse of government control over printed production in 1641 was a loss of control over who could speak and from where. It left a void, a 'non-place', and in a sense gave speech to those who formerly had no place to speak.\textsuperscript{56} This was a non-place of excess speech, and print gave it a material form. As such, it indicates the presence of a new form of subjectivity, characterized by a displacement of the predicament of enunciation. With the collapse of a world organized by a speaker who regulates every possibility of enunciation and social

\textsuperscript{56}Jacques Rancière, \textit{The Names of History} (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 16 and 25.
place, "the problem of the speaker and of his [sic] identity became acute".\textsuperscript{57} Who speaks when this voice, the King's voice, as Richard Atkyns argued above, "could not be heard" because other voices totally "possest the Press"? Everyone, according to Peacham and Hollar — "all Humors utter what they please".\textsuperscript{58}

It is instructive indeed that Hollar's and Peacham's phobic conception of print precedes both the publication of Milton's defense of unlicensed printed production, \textit{Areopagitica} (1644), and Hobbes's attempts to resituate a lost totality in the sovereign's body with \textit{Leviathan} (1651).\textsuperscript{59} Milton's text was a response to the licensing regulations of the Long Parliament, itself frightened by the capacity of print to give place-less speech a material form. Milton argues that free exchange of speech and opinion is the most productive condition for both liberty and public safety.\textsuperscript{60}

Truth, for Milton, was once known absolutely when the son of God was given

\textsuperscript{57}De Certeau (1984), p. 156.
\textsuperscript{58}An increase in the unlicensed productions of London presses occurred in late 1640, leading to what historians usually call an 'explosion' of print. Perhaps more important than quantity, however, was that a significant change in the kinds of print available occurred. Many of these were small, quickly composed, relatively cheap, and with the 'news-books' in particular, unlike their close cousins the manuscript news-letter which relied on a more closed circle of transmission, available in greater quantities. Joad Raymond, \textit{Making the News: an Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660} (New York, 1993), pp. 5-6, argues that unlicensed print openly dealt with political and religious issues, and continually blurred the boundaries between truth and reality, between reporting the events of the conflicts between King and parliament and their fictionalized extrapolations. Raymond believes that "the availability of news itself was represented as a destabilizing force which exposed the workings of government, stripping it bare of its opaque privileges", thereby leading to misguided and rebellious behaviour by newly organizing political bodies. Although Raymond argues that a clear assault on truth by fiction was not construed as the real danger in these new forms of print, the technology of printing and its capacity to allow individuals and groups access to both forms already existing and the likelihood of creating new ones did open up novel possibilities for the exchange of conflicting representations regarding what constituted the 'reality' of the struggles in the 1640s.

\textsuperscript{59}It seems, in fact, the concept of the world ruled and governed by opinion appears in Hobbes' \textit{De Corpore Politico; or the Elements of Law, Moral and Politic} in 1650, several years after the Hollar and Peacham broadside.

material form, however, since the passing of the original church this absolute object of truth was dismembered and scattered. The free production and consumption of opinions was part of a process of doing "obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd saint". The social body torn apart by excesses of speech is none other than the decomposition of a mass into individual speakers and interpreters of scripture — "the sad friends of Truth". As long as truth is fragmented or remains masked, as Milton claims, its nature will be to reproduce itself in the form of contradiction. In this way an act of speech or words given material form through print cannot be simply affirmed as truth. Rather, as Lacan would argue, they introduce "the dimension of truth into the real". As Milton seems to suggest, the form of subjectivity and social authority which is formed through opinion and print culture constitutes reality as an effect of the exchange of representations. This model of culture, to which I am sympathetic, bears similarities to that outlined by Roger Chartier in his study of print culture in early modern France. Though I acknowledge the different intentions and contexts of Milton, Lacan, and Chartier, for the latter the mechanisms that regulate the workings of society and the structures determining relationships between individuals are understood as the result of an exchange of antagonistic representations of the social world.

Thomas Hobbes, on the other hand, argued that the civil wars in England were caused primarily by poorly used and defined words, by symbols that could not adequately recover the world of things. Opinion formed the opposite pole to

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science, and was equated by Hobbes with heresy, a form of excess speech in which words are taken on trust without knowledge of clear definitions. Opinion does not merely transgress order, it represents a loss of distinctions, and in *De Cive* Hobbes will use the word 'hermaphrodite' to describe it — "partly right and comely, partly brutall and wilde, the causes of all contentions and blood-sheds". This ambivalence towards opinion and its material manifestation, in that it is both an object of desire and apprehension, attraction and repulsion, will resurface in debates over the Restoration coffee-house.

In *Leviathan* Hobbes attempted to reconfigure an older form of sovereignty within a social body that was at the same time the body of the King, spectacularly visualized in perhaps the most famous printed image from the mid-seventeenth...
century. This image is the corrective to an early modern world ruled and
governed by excess speech and the urban practices of print culture in which a mass
of dispossessed mechanic tradesmen and preachers, religious sectarians and
tolerationists decompose into speaking subjects as they enter the symbolic realm. In
the world governed by printed opinions these subjects speak falsely by moving
outside of their place, beyond the boundary of the social/King's body. With the
Leviathan frontispiece, the doubled body of the sovereign encloses and emplaces all
social positions, as the figures of gentlemen, ecclesiastics, tradesmen, and soldiers
turn their backs on the viewer towards the body of the sovereign in reverence of a
power that has no equal on earth. This sovereign, who incidentally oversees an
idyllic balance between city and country, distills the collectivity of these gazes and
directs them back towards the viewer whose own vision is determined by the
sovereign's gaze. With the Hollar and Peacham broadside and the Leviathan
frontispiece we oscillate between the perceived dangers represented by the advent of
subjectivity, one could say the entrance into speech and communication — the
symbolic realm according to Lacan — and the captivation required of royal
subjection. The latter, since it relies on the fiction that viewers look at their own
image, embodies an aspect of narcissistic desire, with the self constituted on the basis
of an imaginary capture. Within this capture, the specular image of the other's form

67 Keith Brown, "The Artists of the Leviathan Title -Page", British Library Journal, IV/1 (Spring, 1978), pp. 24-36, argues that this image too is by Hollar. These conclusions are countered by Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown, The Comely Frontispiece: the Emblematic Title Page in England 1550-
1660 (London, 1979), pp. 219-230, who argue that the frontispiece for Leviathan was etched by Abraham Bosse supposedly under the direction of Hobbes himself, in Paris to escape from the mid-
century difficulties in England.

68 Ranciere, p. 18. For de Certeau (1984), p. 138, "it is because he loses his position that the individual comes into being as a subject. The place a cosmological language formerly assigned to him and which was understood as a 'vocation' and a placement in the order of the world, becomes a 'nothing', a sort of void, which drives the subject to make himself the master of a space and to set himself up as the producer of writing".

is assumed by a subject coming to recognize themselves as a body. For Lacan the imaginary is prior to entrance into the symbolic where the subject gains speech, language, and forms of communication like the culture of print. For Hobbes, at the point of narcissistic infatuation pictured in the *Leviathan* frontispiece, subjects are without the symbolic and are thus "like clean paper, fit to receive whatsoever by Publique Authority shall be imprinted in them." As Francis Barker has argued, this is a pre-bourgeois form of subjection that did not involve 'subjectivity' at all, but a condition of dependent membership in which social place and the space of articulation were defined not by interiorized self-recognition but by a theatrical incorporation in a body politic that was the King's body in its social form, and in which alterity of placement was unthinkable.

The tension between these two forces — an older form of subjectivity and social body and a new body politic drawing its strength from a publicity of discourse and print — has provided the informing structure of an historical metanarrative about the formation of an entity known as the public sphere. According to Jurgen Habermas, a public sphere grew out of the Restoration coffee-houses of seventeenth-century London, in which a public organized itself as a bearer of rational public opinion in a sphere mediating between society and the state. This public realm was produced over against a private sphere (the intimacy of family), and entry into the public sphere required leaving both this private sphere and the marketplace.

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72 Barker, pp. 31, 39. Thus, a divided subject seems to emerge at the Restoration, riven by guilt, conflict, and self censorship, separated from the exterior world and even from his or her own body. Post-Pepysian subjectivity, as we have seen, served to distance the external world in order to construct subjectivity as an imaginary property of inner selfhood.

behind. Once separated out from the domestic and the economic, the public sphere was the space in which freely ranging public debate could then occur. This debate occurs in the coffee-houses where discussion between private individuals is carried on by means of print culture. While I deal with this construction in greater depth in my first chapter on the coffee-house, here I will only say that the public sphere is a complex issue that historians continue to discuss and utilize as a conceptual framework for seventeenth and eighteenth century England, particularly in relation to the coffee-house. My view of the coffee-houses and print is informed by critiques of this Habermasian public sphere, in particular that of Alexandra Halasz, who, in her study on fifteenth and sixteenth century pamphlets, argues that there is "a constitutive ambivalence" to the notion of a public sphere following on "the increasingly widespread commodification of discourse" and the possibility of its broad access. As will be seen, print culture and the coffee-house do not conform to a generic idea of the public sphere.

Print is usually seen as an agent of democratization in twentieth century accounts of the rise of a public sphere. Within such a historical chronology, print eased exchange between Latin culture and learned men, and encouraged the development of a so-called republic of letters by allowing increased participation in public intellectual discussions. However, with the intervention of capital into the production and circulation of discourse, the decline of the public sphere was assured by the creation of mass consumer society in which public discussion was manipulated in the interests of capital and the state. For Halasz this notion of the public sphere is flawed because commercial interests were present at the very moment such a sphere became imaginable, and these interests were tied to the establishment of a boundary between "discourses that count and those that do not", that is, between the book and forms of cheap print — 'pamphlets'. Thus, in early

modern England, we have the establishment of two kinds of text. On the one hand an ephemeral one, linked to the street, opinion, and orality, with no other sanction than its appearance in the marketplace, as indicated by the Hollar and Peacham broadside. On the other hand, we have the book — authoritative, learned, associated with positions of high literacy, privilege, and power. Unlike the work of Elizabeth Eisenstein, who sees the printing press as the agent of change and democratization, Halasz suggests that it is the social exchanges brought into play by the increasingly widespread production of discourse as a commodity that disrupted existing patterns of production, circulation, and valorization of discourses: "Print permanently altered the discursive field not by bringing books to the marketplace (medieval scriptoria did that) but by enabling the marketplace to develop as a means of producing, disseminating, and mediating discourse independent of the sites and practices associated with and sanctioned by university, Crown, and Church".75

Institutions of power and privilege were thus challenged by the proliferation of pamphlets. However, there was no clear definition of what pamphlets were. As forms of print they were sometimes sold singly, or bound together with others in larger volumes to became more like books. A pamphlet could even be a single sheet, and so resemble Atkyns' ballad discussed above. For Halasz, the most important aspect of these forms of print is the way "they trouble categories within the discursive field and the distinctions between economic and cultural forms of value", and suggest a generalized access to the circulation and exchange of printed discourse. It is less difficult to tell what pamphlets do, than what they are. In this way, "the marketplace of print generates a heterogeneity that cannot be fully recuperated by a notion of the public sphere" and its universalizing claims to general interest and rational consensus. A public, and this is surely an urban public, is defined and contested within this heterogeneity, through the articulation of

75Halasz, p. 4.
intersecting and conflicting interests. Print culture, for example, the material forms that are the fruit of Opinion's tree in Hollar's image, marks positions of agency in the production and circulation of printed discourse but does not "serially or collectively account for the agency that gets attributed either to print itself or to the 'public opinion' it is said to generate".  

The following chapters focus on the uses of these ephemeral, fluid, and mobile types of print that move through the city just as Pepys does. I will explore how these pamphlets and broadsides, images and texts, are utilized to mark positions of individual and collective agency, to articulate moments of exchange, opportunity, conflict, and negotiation within contested and afflicted spaces of Restoration London. Walter Ong has argued that the first assembly line — a series of set steps producing identical complex objects consisting of replaceable parts — was the one that produced the printed object, and this suggested that words were things far more than writing ever could. However, did this in fact make the word finite, move it from a sound world to a world of visual space, lock it in that space, and "encourage a sense of closure"? This view of print culture needs to be reappraised, and my discussions of the coffee house as a space for the exchange of print and the connections between printed representations and the different crises in Restoration London will not view a pamphlet or broadside "as 'closed', set off from other works, a unit in itself". For example, it will become clear that the coffee-house functioned as a liminal space where readers and viewers of print interacted with these objects in various ways. The coffee-house was produced as a space where print and speech could be exchanged, and it also offered the possibility of several transgressions, in the sense of crossings: for example, it formed a chiasmus between orality and the written printed word, a place where the arena of spoken discourse interacted with

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76 Halasz, pp. 4 and 7.
77 Ong, pp. 121 and 132.
78 Ong, p. 133.
both manuscript culture and the culture of print. Forms of print that circulated in the Restoration coffee-house often addressed each other more directly than their readers, including the practice of reading within an elaborate and extended exchange between texts and an anonymous urban reading public. Further, the broadside as a form also challenges the notion of print as closed, since it often brings together different modes of representation. Broadsides combine the visual and textual, even numerical, and often demand the interaction of viewers, either by physical manipulation of the object or the addition of manuscript notations. This indeterminate and open nature of printed forms is echoed in the events central to the chapters that follow — the crises of plague or fire, an ephemeral fair built upon the frozen ice of the Thames, an equally ephemeral procession through the City of London; city re-imagined spatially, city as market and fair, city as spatial practice, in other words city as both use value and exchange value. Printed forms might be an attempt to fix these events in representation in some sense, but they also extend and modify the experience in ways that intersect with the formation of identity and subjectivity within an urban context.

Many recent works on print in early modern England end with the middle of the seventeenth century, choosing not to carry an analysis of print culture into the Restoration. By focusing specifically on print culture during the Restoration I hope to contribute to the reappraisal of the reign of Charles II as a period of equilibrium, particularly within London. Through an analysis of printed forms textually and visually representing coffee-houses, street processions, and the city under a series of crises, I seek to show the crucial importance of these printed

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79 As with Raymond’s Making the News and Watt’s Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640, as well as Natascha Wurzbach, The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650 (Cambridge and New York, 1990), and Frances Dolan, Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550-1700 (Ithaca and London, 1994). Despite the period bookends in the title, Dolan’s text effectively ends with the civil war era. It seems to me that these omissions help perpetuate the long standing opinion that the period between civil wars at mid-century and revolution again in 1688 is one of settlement and therefore historically uninteresting.
representations in relation to the tensions between spatial practices and the formation of urban identities. As a result, I will argue against some of the conclusions of Tessa Watt in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*. Watt argues that early modern print was a force to transform culture, interacting with older forms of communication. The one page broadside and the small octavo chapbook — 'cheap print' — are entities that can provide insight into both popular culture and popular religion. However, she is quick to point out that the nomination of this material as popular is misleading, for these forms of cheap print were not objects specific to one social group. With this argument Watt positions herself with a group of social historians who have questioned the model of a binary opposition between 'popular' and 'elite' in order to explore what may be described as 'shared values', 'widespread attitudes', and 'commonplace mentalities' not as parts of "a homogenous, articulated set of doctrines, but a mosaic made up of changing and often contradictory fragments".\(^8^0\) Watt seeks to move away from a view of popular culture as either class specific or simply a form of top down mediation by elite social groups. In contrast, she proposes to utilize Roger Chartier's notion of appropriation, wherein consumption of cultural forms is taken as a secondary form of production. Consumption itself manufactures no object, but constitutes representations that are never identical to those that the producers of a cultural commodity might have intended. Although, as Chartier cautions, it is impossible to recover the singularity of each instance of 'appropriation', each reaction of the individual buyer, we can nevertheless look at "how the collective responses of cheap print 'consumers' exercised an influence on what was printed, and especially what was reprinted".\(^8^1\)

\(^{80}\) Watt, pp. 1, 3. For instance, ballads were sold in alehouses and markets as well as performed in the houses of the nobility, and pictorial themes drawn from cheap woodcuts were also painted on the walls of manor houses. The historians she cites are Tim Harris, Martin Ingram, Roger Chartier, Peter Burke, and Bob Scribner.

Watt is careful to emphasize her desire to use the notion of 'cheap print' as a neutral category, not confined exclusively to an easily identifiable social group. Nevertheless, while resisting this elite-popular divide, she criticizes Chartier for setting up a new dichotomy which for Watt seems equally as rigid — that of city versus country. While much of her own evidence seems to suggest the predominately urban nature of a burgeoning print culture, Watt seeks to counter Chartier by arguing that print was familiar in all parts of England, largely on the evidence of rural subject matter in the ballads. Even if this were so, Watt misses an important part of Chartier's conclusions on the urban/rural question, and fails to suggest that the rural subject matter might represent the needs an urban culture has for a particular view of the countryside: for example, idyllic, backward, simple, and uncultured. Part of this problem comes from Watt's desire to see print as evidence of democratic inclusiveness, social cohesion, and even consensus, despite her intention to avoid seeing popular culture as a homogeneous entity.

82 Watt, p. 6. See pp. 142-3 for evidence of the urban concentration of printed objects. Watt's difficulties with Chartier's urban/rural dichotomy quite likely stem, in a large part, from a similar difficulty that a pioneering work in this field failed to acknowledge, Margaret Spufford's, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1981), particularly pp. 46-7. In her eagerness to understand the 'mental furniture' of the English peasantry, Spufford based her conclusions on a high literacy amongst Protestant lower orders in rural areas, and on the rural themes and contents of chapbooks that were peddled in the countryside. However, I think there is a fundamental problem in Spufford's text, and that stems from substantiating an analysis of the rural mindset solely on the works collected by an urban dweller who rarely left London or its immediate environs, in this case Samuel Pepys. Spufford even goes so far as to state that individuals of higher standing — educated, perhaps involved in local government or trying to gentrify — kept journals and diaries and were too well educated to read chapbooks or ballads with rural themes, all the while forgetting about her main source, Pepys. Spufford, whom I believe was Watt's doctoral supervisor and whose conclusions Watt accepts unchallenged, was very much influenced by Robert Mandrou's *De la culture populaire aux 17e et 18e siècles* (1964), and fell prey to some of the same problems. Spufford desperately wanted to see printed chapbooks permeating the countryside of early modern Britain, and skimmed over the weakest link of her argument, in the same manner as Mandrou did, in that there is no evidence of the chapmen who traveled to the rural areas, and there are next to no non-gentle wills that listed books. The majority of information about collections of popular literature came from elite wills and/or urban dwellers.
Cheap Print and Popular Piety is, nevertheless, a stimulating study and the extent of the research Watt undertook is remarkable in and of itself. In particular, her discussion of how Protestant 'practical iconophobia' (as opposed to iconoclasm) did not wipe out the trade in cheap pictures but in fact stimulated the production of woodcut imagery in different ways forces us to rethink many traditional historical assumptions about the Protestant Reformation and its effect on early modern England, wherein visuality and orality fall from grace and are replaced by the ascendancy of the word. Images were never totally repudiated, rather, there seems to have been a legacy of substitution within increasingly constrictive bounds. In this way, Watt is out to retrieve the power and presence of cheap print and the visual for this historical period — and rightly so. For example, in an analysis of the tradition of wall paintings, she concludes that a close relationship existed between printed pictures and wall paintings, in that the latter were often made to look like the former, down to the inclusion of black letter type and inscription. Thus, it seems that wall painting depended upon a printed source for its genesis, thus threatening the hierarchy between painted and printed forms.

However, in the end, despite her wish to emphasize change, flux, and contestation within the fragments of a cultural mosaic, as well as to be aware of instances of appropriation in relation to diverse cultural forms and how they interrelate with the culture of print, Watt ends up finding only consensus and homogeneity. By focusing, for instance, on visual themes such as 'the nine worthies', she tends to collapse the specifics of form and audience as if there were no difference between chapbooks, painted wall cloths, a characterization in a

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83 See for example, the review by Ann Hughes of Cheap Print and Popular Piety in The Historical Journal, 37/1 (1994), pp. 245-248. This text has apparently received a number of distinctions and prestigious awards.

84 Watt, pp. 131-140.

85 Watt, pp. 192 and 220. Watt argues that wall paintings based on printed texts were really extensions of the printing press, quite possibly "representing the first and most common form in which an 'illiterate' would encounter the written word" — thus they were a crucial element in the process of 'typographic acculturation' in England.
mummers' play or in Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*. Subsequently, Watt collapses the distinctions between rural/urban and popular/elite completely, stating that different representational forms were shared and appreciated equally by all groups in early modern British society:

The same stories recurred on the walls of the manor houses owned by the gentry and yeomanry, in the townhouses of substantial tradesmen, and in the lowly broadside ballad. The same iconographical universe was inhabited by 'elite' and 'popular' classes, both rural and urban. The medium of print may have been an instrument of this shared visual culture, as ballads, woodcut prints and engravings influenced the themes portrayed in other crafts, from the mural paintings at Hill Hall to the roughest painted cloth.\(^{86}\)

The long standing association between print and democracy rears its head here, and all social categories collapse into the notion of a single shared culture, with the disappearance of distinctions of use suggested by the term appropriation. I would argue that everything is surely not equal, and culture is not consensus but a process of exchange between conflictual social groups. Print itself is a key trace of these conflicts and the social practices they call up. One is tempted to suggest that Watt chose to end her study just before the events of mid century because it was a time when the cheap print of the previous decades evolved into forms of radical and political nature, and that print became inseparable from conflict, from social groups increasingly using print to position or consolidate themselves in opposition to other groups. I believe it is problematic to divide (or unite) city and country on the basis of iconography alone, rather, I focus on the function of particular genres of print and how forms of print culture facilitate or attempt to control the different types of exchange they suggest. For instance, Watt's discussion of a fascinating broadside produced during an outbreak of plague in London overlooks the indication of appropriation and/or use right upon the material surface of the print, in the manuscript additions by its owner to the columns of statistics drawn from the

\(^{86}\)Watt, pp. 212 and 216.
printed weekly Bills of Mortality. (Fig. I. 4) As I will argue more fully below, this type of broadside, which continues to appear during the plague of 1665, implicates the print in a mediation of tensions set into motion by social practices erected to combat or escape the plague in the city. Furthermore, the visual image which shows City, suburbs, and countryside surely states in a more direct manner what the text and statistics on the broadside infer: that there were very different and conflicting relations between city and country, tensions that were exacerbated by the crisis of the plague, and thus gave rise to the production of the print.87

So far there has only been one recent study dealing specifically with print culture during the Restoration, Harold Weber's *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II*. As a consequence of both growing interest in the Restoration and new historicist concerns with cultural politics and poetics, it should come as no surprise to see a specialist on the Restoration theatre write a book about print culture and kingship under Charles II. Weber seeks "to demonstrate the transformations occasioned in political rhetoric and royal identity by the printed word", bringing to light "the changes wrought in traditional images of monarchical power and authority when they became objects of industrial reproduction".88 Weber's text, however, seems to fall victim to several assumptions about the Restoration that we encountered above. For instance, behind the study lurk the three Restoration tropes cited by Tim Harris: that 1660 ushered in a new era and form of politics; that religion ceased to be an important issue due to this secularization of political conflict; and, thirdly, a preoccupation with high politics.

Using the work of Jurgen Habermas and others, Weber argues that at the time of the Restoration print helped create "a new political consciousness in the nation", aimed at and produced by a public having a marked effect on the intellectual and political

marketplace. This public was "concerned not simply with new forms of reading, but new forms of politics, [and] they confronted Charles almost from the moment of his return with a 'public opinion' that existed for no previous monarch". The Exclusion Crisis in particular "gave concrete form to this new politics, which, along with the new reading public, defines the uniqueness of Charles's reign".\textsuperscript{89} Weber scarcely mentions religion in the entire text, obviously assuming that religious tensions were no longer a significant force during the Restoration, and repeatedly discusses Charles II as if he were acting almost entirely on his own. For instance, the author desires to see print within a wide range of aesthetic, social, and cultural practices "that Charles employed to enforce his vision of monarchy", how "new strategies of control became available to the monarchy as it exploits the power of the printed word to constitute the subjectivity of its citizens", and how Charles II attempted "to impress his own image on the print trade and make it reproduce that image within the kingdom".\textsuperscript{90} In this way \textit{Paper Bullets} adopts a limited notion of the culture of print, implying that it is a singularly top down process of ideological and social control, despite Weber's wish to make use of the notion of 'cultural conversation' and 'negotiation and exchange' for the reproduction and transformation of cultural forms.\textsuperscript{91}

While Weber acknowledges the importance of print within politics, it is crucial to understand the specificities and distinctions within print culture and, for my purposes, in relation to urban space and conflict. My approach to print culture is derived from Roger Chartier, who argues that in addition to an analysis of objects, the study of print should concern itself with the social practices in which it is

\textsuperscript{89} Weber, pp. 9, 10.
\textsuperscript{90} Weber, pp. 9, 13, and 18.
\textsuperscript{91} Weber, pp. 5 and 12-13. In this study print culture seems to consist of only books, thereby limiting its circulation and its audience, and, though the visual image is a significant aspect to this culture and Weber reproduces a broadside ballad with a woodcut, and a pair of frontispieces, he scarcely mentions them in the text — they serve the purposes of illustration only. The notion of 'print' is pandemic, and comes to be a kind of ahistorical totalizing category that dictates everything, with nothing existing outside of it. Weber in fact quotes Richard Kroll on the printing trope as pandemic.
implicit. As Chartier argues, all social practices are articulated according to the representations (words, acts, rites) through which individuals and groups make sense of their existence. As I have discussed above, the mechanisms that regulate the workings of society and the structures determining relationships between individuals need to be understood as the result of continually conflictive and antagonistic representations of the social world. In this way, print culture is seen as a process of exchange of forms and representations that question traditional dichotomies between high and low culture, between oral and print, between intention and appropriation (consumption). For Chartier, printed works take on meaning within a complicated triad that includes the ideal abstract text intended by its author, the material support that enables it to be read (the forms in which it reaches the reader or viewer), and "the act that grasps it". However, the latter represents a 'gap', or an instability within this threesome, linked, amongst other things, to a "preknowledge" mobilized in order to produce comprehension of what was read or viewed, an appropriation creating uses or representations not reducible "to the wills or intentions of those who produce discourse and norms". Not on the outside, but like a stranger within, there exists a consumption as secondary production, a "desiring-production" that haunts the repressive structures seeking to organize and contain meaning, as Deleuze and Guattari have argued, "hence the product is something removed or deducted from the process of producing: between the act of producing and the product, something becomes detached, thus giving the vagabond, nomad subject a residuum". It is my hope that this dissertation will

93 Chartier (1978), p. 7. Chartier draws this notion of appropriation from Michel de Certeau, an historian greatly influenced by Freud and Lacan, yet is hesitant to acknowledge the potential psychoanalytic content of consumption as secondary production. I will deal with this more fully below.
96 Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, (Minneapolis, 1983), p. 26. The repressive structure for Deleuze and Guattari is, of course, the Oedipus Complex as
open up the complex dialectic between appropriation and intention, social practices and discourses, and between 'nomadic' spatial experiences and representations of space in Restoration London, that is between constantly shifting urban identities and allegiances, the production of space, and the social tensions indicated by the exchange of competing images of the city and its spaces.

Chartier aligns himself with a type of cultural history, and it is within this terrain that I position myself, liberated from traditional histories of mental structures and the inventories of objects specific to socio-professional grouping or class, in order to focus on connections between practices and representations. More to the point, Chartier adopts a methodological approach to cultural history that involves the relations between products of discourse and social practices, yet acknowledges that social practices are not entirely governed by the formations of discourse. Practice is neither more 'real' nor 'social' than discourse, but it is nevertheless a potentially dangerous political position to turn all aspects of the social world into that which can be thought through language. Chartier is particularly resistant to reduce social realities to discursive modes since, in assimilating the two, the radical difference separating "the formality of practices" and the tenets organizing the "positivity of discourses" is annulled. Thus, it is problematic to reduce the practices constituting the social world to the principles articulated by Freudian psychoanalysis and its followers. The latter constructs desire as based upon lack, also a deliberate construction of the market economy under capitalism, and linearizes, biunivocalizes, and suspends all chains of the unconscious from a despotic signifier, thus crushing all of desiring-production and subjecting it to Oedipal representation: "It is as if Freud had drawn back from this world of wild production and explosive desire, wanting at all costs to restore a little order there, an order made classical owing to the ancient Greek theater" (p. 54).

Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices* (Baltimore and London, 1997), pp. 3-4. What Chartier is particularly concerned with here, is that in the shift of cultural history away from *mentalités* and social history some problematic reformulations have occurred, specifically the (American) linguistic turn, "the dangerous reduction of the social world to a purely discursive construction and to pure language games".

that command the production of discourse, making pointless all attempts to
distinguish between image and text, text and context, social reality and symbolic
expression, and social practice and discourse itself.99 While print culture within
early modern London may have continually been the concern of the forces of social
control, as we have seen, generating discourses of suppression or the construction of
it as an aspect of the King's prerogative, we must remember that these discourses
developed as a result of the social practices propelled by print culture in formulating
a world governed by opinion, that is, a social reality mediated by the exchange of
representations. Therefore, it is important not to see print wholly in terms of its
discursive construction, but also in relation to its inventive manipulation. For
example, in chapter one the coffee-house emerges as a site for the circulation and
exchange of print that is not reducible to its discursive construction, for it is a space
in which there is a complex interface between attempts at government suppression
of both social space and forms of print, and the opportunities the latter offered an
individual according to his or her resources — social position, economic
opportunities, and access to information. Further, as my dissertation will indicate,
the exchange of printed imagery representing London and spatial practices within it
intersected with ways of forming identity tied to complex relationships between
religion, parish, neighbourhood, or trade, as well as more general conflicts between
city and court, urban and rural.

This attempt to complicate the tensions between discourse and practice raises
another point touched upon by Chartier, namely, that all productions cannot be
equated with textuality, and along with images, this would include ritual behaviour,
the production of space, and the practice of everyday life. Such an understanding
allows me to open up Restoration print to the visual as well as the textual, a key

99Chartier (1997), pp. 18-19. Chartier does acknowledge that past reality is only accessible through
representations intent on organizing or dominating it, but this is not the same thing as saying that the
logocentric and hermeneutic logic governing production of discourse is identical to practical logic ruling
conduct and actions.
union within early modern printed forms. Louis Marin has argued, in a formulation adopted by Chartier, that there is a failure of the visible in texts as if writing and its illuminating powers were excited and exalted by an object capable of eluding its grasp. In relation to the written/printed word the visual image is characterized by a "semiotic heterogeneity". Writing on or in relation to the visual (and what might this say for all of us who are historians of visual culture?) is in some ways an attempt to move outside of a language 'contaminated' by its other — the image. Within the present work, I maintain an interest in the broadside that utilizes the visual image, or a series of them, in conjunction with different forms of text — statistics, description, and, in many cases, verse. Like the Restoration itself, the broadside is characterized by its in-betweenness, lying athwart visual and discursive, oral and printed, and intersects with different forms of viewing, reading, and collecting (practices) in public or private domains. While some prints may be intended to have a longer shelf life, so to speak, being larger and of higher quality, perhaps suitable for an individual's collection, I will also explore those more ephemeral forms characterized by a certain quickness in responding to events or situations, which are interactive and intertextual, capable of being used both in relation to the negotiation of spaces in the city, or their control.

The space of print and printed spaces.

One of the threads running throughout this dissertation pertains to how space is not simply produced or reproduced by the objectification of London, but by the social relations that vie for how its spaces are utilized and contested. My first chapter will centre on print culture and the coffee-house, the space in which Pepys took pleasure for its mixed company and good discourse, and where forms of print

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could always be found. In these spaces pamphlets and broadsides were exchanged, discussed, and even purchased from the street hawkers and mercury women who constantly circulated through them. Restoration cultural historians have seen the theater as the most important and inclusive social space in which a multiplicity of English interests and identities were both represented and contested. As Halasz shows, early modern analogies linked print culture and the stage together because they both represented sites of marketplace situated discourse. However, the space produced by print and that of the theater were not the same, for the stage — subject to control by royal patent or other highly placed patron, physically enclosed and situated — was a positive example of discourse tamed by the marketplace, whereas print culture and the pamphlet were 'vagrant', hard to supervise, and through their potential ubiquity, hard to locate. I think we must reappraise the notion maintained by literary historians that the stage was the Restoration's most vital cultural form, for it was clearly more circumscribed than the coffee-house and print, both entities that, as we shall see, were interconnected in many ways to the uncertainties about identity and social relations explored on the Restoration stage. While the coffee-house certainly intersected with print and the theater, it was also intertwined with the marketplace in two ways. On one hand it was linked

101 The Restoration brought back the theatre, though under royal patronage, and thus the newly reopened stage at first reveled in contemporary panegyric more closely aligned with the likes of political pamphleteering and propagandistic display. However, by 1668 with Sir Robert Howard's The Great Favourite: or, the Duke of Lerma, a sustained and vitriolic critique of Charles II's administration could be publicly enjoyed. Paula R. Backscheider, Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England (Baltimore and London, 1993) argues that this was only possible because "conceptual and discursive frameworks [were] radically and permanently altered". Katherine Quinsey, in Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama (Lexington, 1996), p. 2, argues that the Restoration may have seen traditional order outwardly restored, but it was rendered unstable, contributing to the fabrication of the stage as a form that self consciously blurred and effaced boundaries between fiction and the social world of its audience. Restoration theatre became a form and a social space where questions about gender, identity, and sexuality received the "most telling popular expression of these radical uncertainties ... [the stage] probes, shifts, and juxtaposes frameworks of value, exposing the arbitrary nature of certain social structures even in the act of affirming them". See also Jose, pp. 120 and 137, Staves, pp. 114 and 170, and Laura J. Rosenthal, Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, and Literary Property (Ithaca, 1996).

102 Halasz, p. 181.
geographically, as the majority of coffee-houses surrounded the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. On the other hand, there was a conceptual association, as the marketplace was in the process of being dispersed and displaced from an older structure and customary practices. It was becoming, like the pamphlet itself, hard to locate at all. I will suggest how the opportunities offered by both print and the city led to the production of this new social space which seemed to offer some Londoners a certain 'advantage' over others, imbricated in the rearrangement of social authority due to these changing relations of the market. In this chapter, the role of print culture in the conflicts between parliament and King at mid-century must be taken into account, as a new world governed by that entity known as 'opinion', given a material support through print, at the Restoration contributes to the production of a social space in which it could be consumed and exchanged. However, this is not an idealized and imaginary public sphere of free, equal, and rational intersubjectivity but an actual space of exchange and contestation, of urban assemblies in conflict with other social bodies. Print culture seems to constitute a social body and a subjectivity feeding upon this entity 'opinion', and this will be the same body producing the space of the coffee-house. Since anxieties over speech, communication, and language seem to coalesce within the coffee-house, I at times stray into the terrain of psychoanalytic theory, finding within the writings of Jacques Lacan a way to approach issues of subjectivity in relation to the coffee-house. Lacan's symbolic order is the order of language through which a subject is constituted, and the seventeenth century appearance of an early modern Cartesian subject introduced a range of problems into this system of representation. I will approach the coffee-houses as sites produced by and for the exchange of ideas facilitated by a burgeoning market for print, but also in order to understand how the attraction and repulsion toward this space of print was cathexed into anxieties over excess speech, shifting identities, and even threats to Englishness. Thus, by analyzing the way
visual and textual representations of these spaces circulated through forms of print, a more complex and contested notion of these spaces will be developed.

The coffee-house is what I will call for the sake of brevity a space of print, and from it I move on to printed spaces, the connection between the representation of the city and spatial practices. In chapter two I focus on prints produced to be utilized in conjunction with a street procession organized by Whig factions in London to demonstrate their control of the city, and to garner support for moves to exclude the Catholic heir to the throne, James II. These processions originated in areas of nonconformist support in the eastern parts of the city, and traversed London past the Royal Exchange and through the areas where the greatest concentration of coffee-houses were located, to culminate in front of Temple Bar. Links between visual representation and the conflictual encounters that are at stake in definitions of urban identity, the ways the spaces of London are produced or disputed, are suggested by the broadside *The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope* (Fig. I. 1) The print depicts this satirical religious procession in its entirety, a viewpoint not possible as the event would have wound its way through the narrow streets of London. While the etching preserves the procession as a complete object, and as a representation of a coherent civic community during the Exclusion Crisis, the pageant’s destruction is also made permanent. In fact, it is this aspect that is seen first by the viewer, an act of ritual destruction taking place in an easily recognizable symbolic site in the city, the London side of Temple Bar. Here, ways of producing, utilizing, and representing urban space interact with the visual and print to question or intensify issues of identity at a boundary, for as Pepys indicates, Temple Bar marks the frontier between the jurisdiction of London and that of the crown, two entities whose conflicts reach a crucial stage during the Exclusion Crisis. The procession adopted the form of a mock Catholic religious procession, and utilized highly recognizable visual tropes derived from historical examples of anti-Catholic imagery, as well as references to very recent events, such as the supposed murder of
the city magistrate, Edmund bury Godfrey, by clandestine Catholics linked to the court party. Though the political events, key figures, and even the street crowds of the Exclusion Crisis have been thoroughly studied, printed production, and in particular the visual imagery of these tense years, has not been studied closely. Historians have not explored significant changes in these processions, held annually on November 17 from 1679-81 until Charles II succeeded in gaining control of the London sheriffs and had them suppressed. In particular, the replacement of the Pope as the last figure in the procession by a figure of the Protestant martyr, condemned and tortured by the Inquisition for “reading the Scriptures” in English, indicates the reconstitution of this figure and a historical lineage of violent imagery in print designed to raise fears of popery and potential violence to the Protestant individual and social body. In fact, several texts designed to teach children to read English are produced at this time illustrated by numerous scenes of Catholics massacring Protestants, owing a lot to the tradition of the illustrated Protestant hagiographical account, in particular that of John Foxe and his Acts and Monuments of the Elizabethan era. One of these even included an image of the mock Pope burning procession, combining spatial practices utilizing ritual violence to define boundaries between a community and its outside, with a powerful historical lineage of Protestant strategies of print. During the Restoration political crisis of 1679-81, spatial practice and print culture work together to articulate London as a site of resistance and opposition to the crown at a time when the traditional liberties were threatened by perceived arbitrary power and popery.

Chapter two and the following chapters are, in some sense, an attempt to argue for the importance of print culture within a formulation articulated by Michel de Certeau, in that spatial practices covertly structure the determining conditions of social life, and that there is no 'spatiality' that is not organized by the determination
of frontiers.\textsuperscript{103} The final three chapters of my dissertation will centre on images of a re-imagined London when boundaries and frontiers become critically important, bringing together the plague of 1665, the fire of 1666, and ending with the Frost Fair of 1683-4. In these chapters I intend to bring representations of the city of disease, of fire, and of ice together not because the poetic resonance of this tale of three cities is too hard to resist, but because these entities raised the spectre of the unpredictable and uncontrollable inside Restoration London, refashioning urban space and social relations within the city in practical and imaginary ways. A broadside of the Frost Fair, for example, \textit{A MAP of the River THAMES; Merrily cald BLANKET FAIR (Fig. I. 5)} is an unusual printed map intending to make tangible a city that could never be permanent. This city was built when the established patterns of daily life in London were disrupted by a paralyzing frost at the end of an extended attack on the City's charter by Charles II, initiated during the Exclusion Crisis in order to control the Whig opposition in London. This transitory Frost Fair was constructed on the frozen in-between space of the Thames and like all fairs, it brought the economic exchanges central to community identity together with more carnival like inversions, unsettling that identity by mixing social orders, centre and limit, high and low. This strange map, while a celebration of the disruption of the regular life of the city, attempted both to fix this indeterminate space, providing order and an unimpeded view of the fair and its entertainments, and 'emplace' it within a complete circuit linking London with its outside, center with edge, by representing the fair as a bridge paralleling London Bridge on the left of the engraving. In fact, the print operates not unlike a bridge itself, allowing a viewer access to the pleasurable experiences or unsettling encounters of this indeterminate carnival and market space yet always assuring a safe return to the comfort of the familiar. Significantly, the coffee-house is given pride of place in this new street where, as in London, it is

\textsuperscript{103}De Certeau (1984), pp. 96 and 123.
inconceivable without its relationship to the printing house, also depicted here a few booths down the street. I will argue that by the time of the Frost Fair and this creative re-imagining of the city as a market/fair, both the coffee-house as a space for the exchange of words and the printing trade are at the centre of shifting forms of exchange in the city, marking anxieties about transformations within the market process, and within language itself.

With these chapters in particular I make use of recent ways to theorize concepts of space, the boundary, and even the bridge. For instance, I make use of the dialectic established by Henri Lefebvre between spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation (or representational spaces). Spatial practices are the ways people generate, use, and perceive space; they embrace production and reproduction, as well as particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of the social formation in order to garner some degree of cohesion to social space and each subject’s relationship to it. Representations of space are conceived spaces, born of technical and rational knowledge, the spaces of social engineers and urban planners that identify what is perceived and lived with what is conceived, and tend toward a system of verbal (intellectual) signs. Representational spaces, on the other hand, are spaces as directly lived through associative images and symbols, the space of inhabitation and use, dominated space that imagination seeks to modify and appropriate. This space overlays physical space making symbolic use of its objects, and tends towards coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. Spatial practice is a constant in social life, yet Lefebvre argues for a crucial shift in the moments of conceived and lived space. Historically, space was lived before it was conceptualized, and practice generated and enveloped representation, whereas in

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the modern era representation precedes and is distinguishable from spatial practice — in fact it comes to be substituted for the lived. Representational spaces — the lived — are more local and less formal types of knowledge, geographically and historically contingent, and the result of socially specific spatial practices. It is from within these practices that resistance to the increasing dominance of representations of space will be found. Representations of space lead to the creation of readable (and reproducible) spaces and the hegemony of 'the logic of visualization', wherein readability aspires to reduce space to a transparent surface, self evident, without depth or history, and serving to obscure the political and economic struggles engendered by production of space.\textsuperscript{105} While it is certainly easier to say that the many plans and maps drawn up after the fire in 1666 are technical and rationalist representations of space, this is not the case with other printed forms. For example, with plague broadsides that utilize mathematical knowledge, textual commentary, and the visual image to represent London, efforts to conceptualize the city clash with lived experience, with the contingent, everyday spatial practices of negotiating the 'reality' of the city under the plague. In the case of the Frost Fair, an ephemeral entity constructed on the frozen Thames as the opportunity presented itself, this was surely a space that was 'lived' before it came to be conceptualized. The difficulties subsequently experienced in fixing this space in representations, or 'maps' as many broadsides announce themselves, will bring to a close the history of political struggles between London and Crown during the Restoration. As an older London ceases to exist, the re-imagining of a new city on the ice will place both the coffee-house and printing at its very centre.

This crucial shift in which representation comes to be substituted for the lived, and an older 'absolute' space is displaced by the production of an 'abstract'
space of accumulation, also usefully intersects with Gilles Deleuze’s and Félix Guattari’s tension between ‘smooth’ and ‘striated’ spaces. Smooth space is the space of the nomad, and sedentary space is striated, though the two always exist in mixture, in a state of translation. Striated spaces are bounded, fixed, and delimited, and they produce order and a succession of forms that organize matter. Smooth spaces, on the other hand, are spaces of entanglement, of amorphous pieces that can be joined in an infinite number of ways, directional rather than dimensional, constituted by events and local operations. Further, smooth spaces of ‘free action’ — akin to spatial practices — always intrude upon the ‘work’ of striation, and the smooth can always turn against the city as a potent force of deterritorialization, during the plague, the fire, and as it seems to happen during the cold weather of 1683-4, when a sprawling, temporary, and shifting city of nomads is constructed upon the frozen Thames. Frost descends on London, subjecting it to the ‘free action’ of this smooth carnival and market space, interrupting the ‘work’ of the city to striate space and time.

Spatial practices are often tactics of resistance, as in the case of the Pope burning processions. These attempted to elude discipline without being outside the field in which it was exercised. For de Certeau space, which is social practice or ‘practiced place’, is un-representable, and it is only ‘place’ that can be represented. ‘Place’ is a delimited field outlining a boundary enclosing what is proper to be situated within it, constituted by a system of signs and implying an indication of stability over against what is outside of it, and ‘space’ is composed of intersections.

106 Lefebvre (1991), p. 256. Lefebvre delineates a shift beginning around the twelfth century from what he calls absolute space to abstract space, from politico-religious space to the space of secular life, a space of accumulation and consumption produced over against an older “space of signs of death and of non-body”. This would be an urban centred production strengthening an authority grounded in reason, characterized by illumination and elevation, the ‘decrypting’ of an older mode in which thought, philosophy, and the ‘visual’ rise to the surface. For Lefebvre, this historical shift marked the beginning of a threatening gambit that would eventually lead to the subordination of space to the written word with the printing revolution or its surmounting as spectacle in the twentieth-century, beyond which realization becomes reification.

and mobile elements, an effect of the practices, often contradictory, that orient, situate, and temporalize it. By making this distinction de Certeau argues that space is the domain of ‘tactics’ produced by the manipulation of a particular ‘strategy’ of marking a place. For instance, the traces of the Pope burning procession can be represented on a broadside, its route through the city textually described and visually depicted, but the marks of this graphic representation can only refer “to the absence of what has passed by”; the marks themselves are visible, but they have “the effect of making invisible the operation that made [them] possible”.108 Nevertheless, I will seek to problematize this notion that graphic representation is always 'other' to spatial practice by linking print to specific modes of negotiating the spaces of London — the presence of manuscript additions charting the progress of plague, the signing of a broadside of the Pope burning procession with an ‘I saw this’ in a specific location in the City, or the names of individuals printed on tickets or prints purchased at the Frost Fair.

Plague, fire, and frost represent three moments of crisis in which the urban centre showed its face, and each time a different face was presented. Though contemporaries often referred to the images of London discussed here as portraits, as representations of place and location they were also referred to as maps. The map has been defined as a physical object embodying "a symbolized image of geographic reality ... designed for use when spatial relationships are of special relevance".109 Such a definition includes maps which possess rigorous 'scientific' cartographic components such as scale, legend, and grid reference, but also diverse "map-like objects" that make use of a variety of spatial representations containing different types of image of nature and the social world. Although I believe there is an incompatibility between the terms 'symbolized image' and 'reality', it will be seen

109Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn, Mapping: Ways of Representing the World (Harlow, 1997), p.3. This definition is derived from that issued in 1995 by the International Cartographic Association.
that the map-like objects discussed in these chapters employ a variety of strategies to represent the physical and social worlds of early modern London and its suburbs under the interventions of plague, fire, and frost. For example, the different prints encountered here may utilize entirely visual modes with figurative prospects, three dimensional ichnographical projections, as well as different forms of a scientific ordering structure — scale, legend, grid, and even numerical quantification.

David Woodward, Sarah Tyacke, and others have argued that in England the 'spirit' of the Restoration was well reflected in the development of cartography.\textsuperscript{110} The supremacy of the Netherlands on the seas being broken was closely tied to a flourishing of London map-makers and sellers. Technical improvements in surveying equipment were developed and popularized, along with an expansion of the market for printed maps. Print sellers became increasingly autonomous from the stationers and booksellers, since, due to the higher costs of production as a result of the process of engraving, many map engravers both published and vended their wares. In fact, Woodward shows that the majority of maps published in London between 1660 and the turn of the century came from the shops of a small group of publishers, often working from collectively owned plates.\textsuperscript{111} As we shall see, of this group John Seller, Robert Walton, Joseph Moxon, and John Overton, along with the name of perhaps the most well known engraver from this period, Wenceslas Hollar, were involved in the production of the views of early modern London discussed in my last three chapters.

My purpose here is not to provide a history of cartography, but to introduce some distinctions in modes of mapping that will be useful in the analysis of representations of London that follow. Reappraisals of the history of cartography


have convincingly argued that map representations are not merely objective information that mirrors the physical reality of a place, and that growing advances in science from the early modern era into the modern world did not necessarily bring a greater accuracy and clarity of truth to a map image. For Denis Wood, maps supplement reality with a 'reality' that exceeds our vision. Maps 'work' — they are productive, and the interests served by a map can be measured by its presences and absences. Maps do, in fact, serve social and political interests. Thus the material production of a map (the process of map-making) can not be separated from its social and political origins, and nor should the more subjective desires and needs to organize mental interpretations of place (a mapping impulse) be left unexplored.

Following P. D. A. Harvey's distinctions drawn from Ptolemy, the map-like objects I discuss in my final chapters are less geographic — an image of the entire world that delineates individual features by lines and dots — but chorographic, being a representation of a smaller area, more local, which makes use of pictorial elements. Often, however, the two modes become blurred, creating confusion between map and picture, as with several of the views of London discussed below. Utilizing different distinctions, Christine Boyer has come to some similar conclusions in arguing that the imagery of the early modern city is somewhat Janus-faced, fusing both "spectacular and descriptive modes of mapping". The spectacular

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113J. B. Harley, "Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography", (ed.) S. Tyacke, English Map-Making 1500-1650 (London, 1983), p. 31. For example, at the same time a map of London may utilize aspects of a symbolic discourse on antiquity, the ideal city, mercantile strength, as well as function on a social level — differentiating between urban and rural, even between differences within the same urban space, in political terms or in the interests of social order.
114J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power" in (ed.) D. Cosgrove, Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of the Past (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 278-9. In order to analyze the different levels upon which a map might signify J. B. Harley brought to the history of cartography a three tiered approach that saw maps as a form of language or discourse — and thus a social product — employing a persuasive rhetoric and manipulating codes of representation. Secondly, map-like representations are iconic and have a deeper level of meaning associated with their symbolic dimension, and finally, through Foucault, maps exhibit a will to power and knowledge.
or pictorial (even scenographic, as for Boyer the pictorial representation of city space is most strongly related to the theatre) presents views that are exceptional, supplementary, views that lie outside ordinary reality. The descriptive mode, on the other hand is tied to a disciplined observing eye that attempts to catalog the facts of everyday life. While the documentary techniques of scientific representation will eventually replace the former, in the historical roots of topographic views of the city we find a combination of visual and pictorial spectacle with documentation. Thus "the experience of an isolated viewer gazing upon the many fascinating things presented on the urban stage" is also "a gaze that classified, categorized, and judged the verisimilitude of the projected imagery". However, for Boyer both modes provide an exterior vantage point that effectively removes the viewer from the represented city view.

While I agree that one of the strategies of representing the city might be to make the viewer 'other' to its everyday physical reality, this necessarily depends upon which face the city is showing. Specific moments of crisis in London lead to the production of different ways of representing or mapping the city's urban spaces, inflected by the particular religious, economic, and political factors particular to the Restoration. As we shall see, for example, printed representations intending to make urban and social worlds transparent may have very practical uses for a local viewer completely immersed in the physical reality of London, and attempts to reassert order to 'disordered' urban spaces through processes of mapping might in fact allow counter discourses on space to emerge.

Chapter One

“A Thousand Monster Opinions”: Producing the Space of the Coffee-House

At these Houses (as at the Springs in Afric) meet all sorts of Animals, whence follows the production of a thousand Monster Opinions and Absurdities.\(^1\)

We will know nothing of this cumbersome mass of paper except its nonplace.\(^2\)

An alternate polity?

The close link between print culture and the coffee-house in Restoration London is apparent in a broadside of 1674 printed for the coffee-vendor Paul Greenwood, also keeper of a coffee-house at “the sign of the Coffee-Mill and Tobacco-Roll in Cloath-Fair near West-Smithfield”. (Fig. 1. 1) Here he professed to sell the best "Arabian Coffee-Powder and Chocolate" in cake or roll "after the Spanish Fashion". Remarkably, in addition to his trade as coffee-man, Greenwood was also a printseller, since this broadside, perhaps posted in the usual places where print could be publicly viewed — Temple Bar, the Royal Exchange, other coffee-houses — declared that it too was available for purchase at the same establishment. Entitled *A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome Drink Called Coffee*, the print made use of verse and image to extol the incomparable effects of a beverage relatively new to the metropolitan area.\(^3\) At the top a woodcut adopts the vocabulary of natural history illustration to depict two plants, a coffee shrub on the left and a grape vine to the right, both crowned like kings as if two different kinds of sovereign authority faced the viewer. Perhaps because a vine laden with grapes was a more readily recognizable image in the seventeenth-century, often utilized on signs for taverns, only the coffee plant is

\(^{1}\)The Women’s Petition against Coffee (1674).

\(^{2}\)Rancière, p. 18.

\(^{3}\)A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome Drink Called Coffee, and its Incomparable Effects in Preventing or Curing Most Diseases Incident to Humane Bodies (1674).
identified in the broadside by a caption that indicates its geographical origins to be "The Desarts of Arabia". While the broadside text indicates that this plant offers medicinal benefits for the individual body, it also seems to indicate that there are communal benefits to the drinking of coffee. In the lower part of the image, a young boy serves a group of individuals seated at a long table in a Restoration coffee-house, linking this product of the barren deserts to a thriving social space of early modern London. This assembly is pictured in group discussion while smoking tobacco, and drinking coffee out of small shallow white bowls. Care has been taken in this cut to depict the five seated figures as members of different social groups — some are dressed as gentlemen, one with his back to the viewer is in a plain jerkin, knickers and a floppy rounded hat, while at the end of the table drawing on a smoking pipe is what might be a woman, but is more likely an apprentice youth in the smock or apron of his trade.

In the text of the broadside, this visual representation of social exchange is given a particular political reading, and it is here too that the point of pairing the coffee plant with the grape vine becomes clear. Wine is derived from the "Treacherous Grape", the text explains, it is a "sweet Poison" that has enacted a form of violation of the human body by drowning both reason and soul. In the past, wine encouraged religious differences and rebellion, it was these things that "Made men so Mad", besieging the brains of early modern Londoners until recently their suffering was alleviated by a gift from heaven:

Then Heaven in Pity, to Effect our Cure,  
And stop the Ragings of that Calenture,  
First sent amongst us this All-healing-Berry,  
At once to make us both Sober and Merry.

It seems to me that words are very carefully chosen in this opening verse, with allusions to the recent mid-century civil wars and religious struggles that altered the very nature of the authority of Crown and Church of England. Here wine is not served in the economical flat white saucers pictured in the woodcut but in what are
described as "large o'reflowing bowls". Wine, and ale too, are directly associated with excess, treason, poison, the violation of both reason and the soul. Certain abstaining "New Philosophers" were relieved by a gift of coffee from heaven, giving rise to a new form of sociability serving to return the nation to a sober and merry state.

This broadside goes out of its way to position the coffee-house in opposition to a long tradition of representing the space of the tavern and ale-house in early modern England, for instance, through the much in demand Netherlandish genre scenes, or any number of British examples, such as the frontispiece for an early seventeenth century pamphlet showing The Lawes of Drinking. Though this pamphlet is mildly satirical towards social customs of the time, it is intended as a reader's aid in conceiving "how you may drinke without offence", and, if we are to understand the image, this means to keep to your place. An image like this reinforces class distinctions, betraying an anxiety over the possibilities of uncontrolled fluidity between the orders. For example, The Lawes of Drinking depicts the separate social spheres of the tavern, a place where urbane poets and gentlemen philosophers drink wine and seek inspiration from the classical gods, nourished by the sacred fountains of Aganippe and Hippocren, and the alehouse, positioned by the image below the tavern and admitting no interaction between them. Unlike the tavern, which in the image brings a mythical natural landscape within the confines of its artificial and homosocial space, the alehouse is located close to its own inspirational fount, a conduit in the open street called "Puddle-Wharf". This is a space for the sociability of the lower and even rural orders, drinking, dancing, mating, playing music, and rising up to fight. These figures are

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4 The engraving is by William Marshall, and is found in Blasius Multibibus (Richard Braithwait), A Solemne Joviall Disputation, Theoreticke and Practicke; briefly Shadowing the Law of Drinking (1617). A second engraving by Marshall fronts another tract by Multibibus in the same volume, The Smoaking Age: or the Life and Death of Tobacco. Other images of taverns and alehouses can be found in Peter Clark, The English Alehouse: a Social History 1200-1830 (London and New York, 1983).
depicted here like a less refined form of the species, with thick necks and legs, and unshaven faces — the profile of the gentleman in the lower left of the tavern image is the mirror opposite of the profile in the lower left of the alehouse, one a portrait of distinction, the other a hat-less, hirsute, animal like visage.

Unlike representations of the tavern and alehouse such as this, which assured a viewer that the orders were kept separate in an urban context, the coffee-house evoked by Greenwood’s broadside was imagined as an alternate social space raising the possibility of different forms of social interrelations. Indeed, a portion of its text is devoted to defining the rules and ‘civil-orders’ of the coffee-house, as if those who enter it become involved in a process by which the very boundaries of the socius are redrawn. These rules tell us why the image at the top of the broadside depicts individuals engaged in congenial and mutually respectful interchanges. Gentry, tradesmen, and others are all welcome, "And may without Affront sit down Together" with "Pre-eminence of Place" not given to anyone. Further, in the coffee-house swearing is to be met by a fine, quarrels punished by the antagonists supplying a dish of coffee to each person present, and games of chance prohibited. Most important, all are encouraged to discourse with each other irrespective of social standing, yet talk should not dwell too much "On Sacred things", it should not "Profane Scripture", and nor should an "Irreverant Tongue" comment on "Affairs of State".5

The space produced by this broadside, both sober and merry, seems to indicate the exhilaration of a certain kind of freedom, a dissolving of boundaries, and yet, simultaneously, a reining in. The coffee-house is proclaimed as instrumental in carving out an alternate polity, yet there is an anxious hedging at the excesses of conversation that might follow. The concern brought out in this Restoration broadside, I would propose, is not strictly about the intersubjectivity of oral

5 As Edward Robinson, The Early English Coffee House (London, 1893, reprinted Christchurch, 1972), pp. 113-114, points out, these rules are a close paraphrase of Ben Johnson’s rules for the Apollo.
exchange. Other than announcing that it is for sale in a coffee-house, the broadside is completely silent on the issue of print. It was, nevertheless, the printed word’s potential to be retained beyond the moment of utterance in the coffee-house that raised particular concerns during Charles II’s reign, for it allowed excess speech to move beyond its immediate environs and become ‘place-less’.

Another image of a Restoration London coffee-house points in this direction. In what seems a peaceful and easy from of sociability men discuss pictures, sit by the fire and drink coffee, and, most notably, encounter the events of an ever expanding world through a variety of printed forms. The coffee-house is here represented as a space of print and speech, with figures either reading alone in the midst of a crowd, like the rather intense looking individual in the dark cloak and hat at the end of the second table, or in groups, discussing and/or reading aloud to those who may not be able to, as the figure in the immediate right foreground seems to be doing. This image seeks to show how the relations called up by print, orality, and coffee unproblematically intersect in a ‘liminal’ site (in the sense of a threshold) between public and private, between the street and the hearth, and between print and oral culture.

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6 This small watercolour drawing is in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Practically all historians who have ever made use of this image date it to suit the purposes of their perspective, that is, it is usually given an early eighteenth-century date, even though the draughtsman inscribed the year 1668 upon it. I tend to believe that the date written upon it is correct, as it bears resemblance to other representations of the coffee-house from the Restoration. It is virtually identical, though in reverse, to the engraving in the Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford, reproduced by Johns, p. 112. Here it appears for an English audience as the seventeenth-century Parisian coffee-house of Monsieur Trolaria.

7 The complexities of this concept of ‘liminality’ will be developed later in this chapter and the next. While I am aware of Victor Turner’s use of the term to denote a site of political negotiation, in that the cultural limen is a concept that can be utilized to show how differences between alternative political jurisdictions, ways of life, and societal visions were negotiated through symbolic forms, I feel the notion that these forces are held in suspension through liminality has the potential to represent cultural negotiation as both static and normative. In the case of the coffee-house, this function of liminality could reproduce this space as a static thing, and not a social process. Turner articulates the various definitions of liminality in The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Ithaca, 1969), From Ritual to Theater: the Human Seriousness of Play (New York, 1982), and in “Liminality and the Performative Genres”, (ed.) J. MacAlloon, Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance (Philadelphia, 1984). Lawrence Manley, in Literature and Culture in
the visual and textual, the imaginary and the symbolic if you will, making this comfortable and comforting exchange of spoken and printed words into a specular image. Unlike the image of sovereign authority in the *Leviathan* frontispiece, what is pictured here is a social body comprised of individuals who have emerged from a diversity of places. This coffee-house clientele is a composite that does not look into the returning gaze of a King in a process of binding subjectivity, but produces a different kind of social authority and subjectivity by way of the papers they hold in their hands, and by inhabiting a world of others who speak.

The two visual images of the coffee-house with which I begin this chapter depict the space in a commendatory manner and in so doing are somewhat unusual. In fact, most surviving representations of the coffee-house are characterized by a phobic conception of the space and the exchanges taking place within it. The apprehension over the excesses of speech and the glaring omission of print in the coffee-house broadside of 1674 are, I would argue, not surprising in a representation produced for a coffee-man concerned to stay employed in the trade at a moment when the government of Charles II was considering suppressing the coffee-houses, not because the drink or even speech was particularly dangerous to the social body, but because forms of print that circulated in the coffee-houses were felt to represent a threat to secure government and peace. That there are different conceptions of the coffee-house indicates that it was a site of struggle, and that the space was produced through an exchange of conflictual representations — printed text and image, but also, for example, in the theatre — that more often than not explicitly articulated concerns over the site and the social relations it adumbrated. The coffee-houses were linked to excesses of speech similar to a Tower of Babel like confusion, and the unrestrained circulation and consumption of print within them to the rule of ‘opinion’ that had contributed to the defeat of monarchy in the 1640s.

*Early Modern London*, makes great use of these concepts of Turner’s, particularly in relation to civic and royal processions, which will be discussed in the next chapter.
This free market of words and the social practices associated with the exchange of print that came together in the production of this space exerted a peculiar fascination and/or repulsion on Restoration commentators. In the two decades after the Restoration of Charles II, the majority of broadsides, pamphlets, folios, and images locate in the coffee-house what was supposedly purged from city and nation with the return of monarchy, finding in its clientele traces of sectarian and political radicalism rooted in the time of the civil wars. Further, in close company with this suppressed underside threatening the Restoration socius from within, coffee and the coffee-house were time and again tied to a threat originating from the outside — the incommensurability of the social rituals of the Turk and the Moor, within whose cultural practices both the drink and the space had originated. And, as *The Women's Petition against Coffee* claimed, it led to the production of multitudinous "Monster Opinions and Absurdities" in a space that was the potentially disruptive locus of mistruths.

It is important to note that the coffee-house was produced in print (discursively), yet it was also an actual physical site where the forms of a rapidly growing print culture circulated and were exchanged in a local context (social practice). We assuredly can situate the coffee-house in Restoration London, since we have evidence of particular establishments — names, identities of proprietors, physical locations in the urban centre, all of these sometimes given on surviving coffee-house tokens. But then how do we reconstruct this space, and understand it socially and historically? For once we get inside it we won't know where we are, for contemporary representations are characterized by accounts of this space as one that is continually shifting, often in the blink of an eye, from chapel to brothel to music hall to gaming room to theatre to the Royal Exchange.

Much has been written on the coffee-houses of seventeenth century London as if they were a cradle of liberty and opposition to the misgovernment of the later Stuarts. Within a historical situation that witnessed the continual frustration of
parliamentary remonstrances, curtailed productions of the printing press, and the eventual surrender of London's charter to Charles II, several historians have found in the coffee-houses a space for the preservation of the most cherished liberties of free speech and critical discussion. The first coffee-house in London, according to virtually all accounts, opened very close to the Royal Exchange in St. Michael's Alley off Cornhill in 1652. Here, as an early handbill advertised, coffee, "a simple innocent thing" which "quickens the Spirits, and makes the Heart Lightsome", was made and sold by Pasqua Rosee — the servant of a merchant trading in the Levant — "at the signe of his own head". Many early claims about coffee were also asserted in this printed handbill, for example, its origins in the deserts of Arabia, and its popularity as a medicinal drink in Turkey. Several coffee-houses were subsequently established in the City, surely because they were conducive to the temperant Puritan sociability of the Interregnum, a place of congregation and discourse something like a tavern, yet without alcohol so that toasts and oaths could be avoided. Pasqua Rosee's was followed in the same year by the Rainbow at Temple Bar. Thus the establishment of the earliest coffee-houses has a particular geography in early modern London — through the surveys carried out as a result of the Great Fire and subsequent fires of lesser severity, by far the greatest number of coffee-houses were

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8 For example, G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History: a Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria (London and New York, 1942), p. 324, claimed that the "Universal liberty of speech of the English nation ... was the quintessence of Coffee House life". See also the preface to, and Aytoun Ellis, The Penny Universities: a History of the Coffee-Houses (London, 1956), p. xv, where the coffee-house is referred to as the first "truly democratic assembly", and the space where "the great struggle for political liberty was really fought and won". William Ukers, All About Coffee (New York, 1935), pp. 69-70, writes "In that critical time in English history when the people, tired of the misgovernment of the later Stuarts, were most in need of a forum where questions of great moment could be discussed, the coffee house became a sanctuary. Here matters of supreme political import were threshed out and decided for the good of Englishmen for all time. And because many of these questions were so well thought out then, there was no need to fight them out later. England's great struggle for political liberty was really fought and won in the coffee house".

9 The Vertue of the Coffee Drink (1652). This was preceded in 1650 as the first coffee-house in England by an establishment in Oxford, run by, according to Anthony à Wood, "Jacob, a Jew" at "the Angel in the Parish of St. Peter in the east". See Robinson, pp. 65 and 85, and Warren Dawson, "The London Coffee-Houses and the Beginnings of Lloyd's", Journal of the British Archaeological Association N.S. 40 (1934), p. 106, who sees behind the wording of the handbill the supervision of a vendor of quack medicines.
located in the streets and alleys of the City near the Royal Exchange. Even a quick glance turns up at least fifty coffee-houses encircling the Royal Exchange like a belt — in Cornhill, Ball Court, Exchange Alley, Finch Lane, Pope’s Head Alley, St. Michael’s Alley, Sweeting’s Rents, and Threadneedle Street.\textsuperscript{10} (\textbf{Fig. 1. 4}) The establishing of the Rainbow near Temple Bar locates the coffee-house in a centre of literate culture revolving around the lawyers at the Temple, printers, and the bookselling trade in Fleet Street, where at least a dozen coffee-houses thrived during the Restoration.\textsuperscript{11}

As Alexandra Halasz has noted, connections between print and market forces of capitalism are "commonplace" in Western European history, particularly in Habermas' account of the public sphere where print functions as an agent of democratization and increased participation in discourse until the interests of capitalism and the state coincide to close down the public sphere.\textsuperscript{12} If both print culture and the coffee-house are central to the notion of such a sphere, the urban geography of the Restoration coffee-houses — situated close to both the Exchange and the commercial production of print — tends to corroborate Halasz's argument that the interests of capital were implicated at the beginning in the shifts in subjectivity and social authority outlined by Habermas.

This is made more evident when we look at the way the city was re-imagined in images of the Frost Fair of 1683-4, when London was re-invented as a temporary market and a theatre of pleasure on the frozen Thames. (\textbf{Fig. 1. 5}) The frost descended on London, suspended its everyday rhythms and created novel opportunities for both leisure and commerce. The coffee-houses on the whole were


\textsuperscript{12}Halasz, p. 41.
situated around the Royal Exchange, the economic center of the City, but when the entire city is turned into an Exchange, the geographic location of the coffee-house shifts from the periphery of the market to its very centre, where it is inconceivable without the printing shop a few doors down. This intertwining of the social space in which opinions were expressed and the economic transactions of the marketplace were tied to the circulation and production of pamphlets — for Halasz ubiquitous forms of print culture that were exceedingly difficult to define or even locate — which implied a generalized access to the circulation of printed discourse. However, the possibility of wider access generated a certain amount of ambivalence over the losses of distinction a diversity of 'opinion' suggests, and such ambivalence is a major factor in the way the Restoration coffee-house was represented. Therefore, I believe it is important not to overstress the strategic or mythical benefit offered by the coffee-house, as works influenced by Habermas have done, wherein the history of the Restoration London coffee-house is idealized or flattened out in order to give it an almost mythical status as the originary locale of a form of utopian sociability for Western bourgeois culture free from the corrupting influences of capital.

In Habermas' public sphere an emergent and literate bourgeoisie supplant a realm in which state authority was represented before the people with one in which state authority is monitored by an informed and critical public exercising their reason.\(^{13}\) The public sphere as Habermas figures it is normative and historical at the same time. As critics have argued, the normative aspect is compromised by the historical, in that the public sphere is meant to be specifically bourgeois and is thus predicated on exclusions of gender, class, and race, as well as mystifications in claims

\(^{13}\)Habermas (1989), pp. 15-16. The weakening of the ancien regime and absolutist forms of government was set in motion by the very mechanisms that were designed to ensure its power, for the definition of the state as characterized by reason and the development of centralized administrations destroyed ideological consensus and allowed the constitution of a coherent opposition from within a body of monarchical subjects. A crucial aspect of this sphere was the institution of a literary domain, characterized by the elevation of certain works, authors, patrons, and censorship that intersected with an autonomous market for opinions creating a critical space that would become more sovereign than the sovereign. An example of this 'critical space' would be found in the coffee-house.
of universality and rationality.\textsuperscript{14} Habermas himself bases his discussion of the coffee-houses in Restoration London on a limited number of contemporary sources, citing only the Restoration pamphlet entitled \textit{The Women's Petition against Coffee} of 1674. From this he concludes that the coffee-houses and thus the public sphere excluded women who "abandoned every evening, waged a vigorous but vain struggle against the new institution". Further, while acknowledging that literacy was higher than ever in the seventeenth-century, Habermas underestimates the rise in literacy at the middle to lower levels of society encouraged by Protestantism, arguing that the lower orders were "so pauperized that they could not even pay for literature". The latter embodies an assumption that print culture is simply the ownership of books, and thus reinforces the notion that the coffee-house was exclusively a middle and upperclass institution.\textsuperscript{15} This would seem to belie Habermas' own argument that the coffee-house was a space for critical exchange, where individuals could engage with print in a number of ways, as the drawing discussed above suggests — silent, individual reading, reading out loud to those who cannot, and interacting with forms of print through circulation and exchange regardless of ownership. Roger Chartier has recently criticized \textit{Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere} for its lack of an empirical base, arguing that it is not a work to be read in a historical perspective but as a philosophical critique of modern society in which the public sphere is threatened with destruction.\textsuperscript{16} Further, the concept of the bourgeoisie, so central to Habermas' notion of the public sphere, is now deemed problematic in historical analyses of the early modern period. For Chartier, the category of the early modern bourgeoisie needs redefining.


\textsuperscript{15}Habermas (1989), pp. 33, 38, and 42.

\textsuperscript{16}Chartier (1997), p. 79.
If it is neither a social class nor an ideological qualification, it might then refer "to a specific modality of the critical relation to the absolutist state that supposed a place for debate outside the sphere of power and that was made up of a public that was neither the court nor the people".\(^{17}\)

Adopting the Habermasian notion of the public sphere has led historians of print culture and the coffee-houses in seventeenth century England to some debatable conclusions. David Zaret, for example, has argued that the most startling characteristic of *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* "as it applies to England is the omission of nearly all the seventeenth century".\(^{18}\) He then argues, in relation to a shift from religion to science — the manner in which public opinion achieved social authority, that a Habermasian public sphere did originate in seventeenth century England, but that Habermas himself failed to notice it.\(^{19}\) Zaret ends up by replicating Habermas' exclusiveness of the public sphere by arguing that "many of the inhabitants of early modern England ... had little contact with the activities that constitute the public sphere."\(^{20}\) While this is arguably the case for early modern science, it is a claim less easily substantiated in relation to seventeenth century religious practices and access to print culture. In fact, for a work devoted to an analysis of printing in early modern England, Zaret's discussion of printing is limited to the role of science in taming the religious public sphere by replacing personal revelation with public reason. Through the meeting of printing and experimental science, public opinion was given its social authority; science gave reason its positivism, secured it from corruption, and print was the vehicle. This is a distressingly limited account of print culture through the 1640s and into the

\(^{17}\)Chartier (1997), p. 80.

\(^{18}\)David Zaret, "Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England", in (ed.) C. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, pp. 216 and 213. This omission is particularly in relation to religion, "the predominant means by which individuals defined and debated issues in this [public] sphere".

\(^{19}\)Zaret, p.220: "... indeed, the public sphere appears to be larger and stronger in the last half of the seventeenth century than in the next century".

\(^{20}\)Zaret, p. 213.
Restoration, and I would suggest, rather, that public opinion had social authority much before the institutionalization of science at the Restoration, and as the etching by Hollar intimates, it came from printing.

We can surely critique Habermas for leaving out the particularly messy situation of seventeenth century British history, as Zaret is right to do. However, in contrast to the latter, Habermas at least makes mention of the coffee-houses and issues of censorship. Granted, in his desire to link the London coffee-houses of the Restoration to the French salons of the pre-revolutionary years a century later, a site where 'literature' had to legitimize itself within ongoing discussions between intellectuals and aristocrats, Habermas overlooks the links of London coffee-houses to seventeenth century concerns: religious dissent, Puritan temperance, and the social 'leveling' of the revolutionary project. Public opinion, though Habermas asserts that it only became a transformative force in the eighteenth century, was in fact a crucial factor in civil war, regicide, Commonwealth, Protectorate, and Restoration events through the development of democratic patterns of debate and dissent, public petitioning, remonstrances, and the publication of Commons debates. The Protestant Reformation itself had a privatizing effect on religion, in that it allowed for a subject position in which each individual had the capacity for reason, yet faith and reason were defined, debated, and defended through arguments appealing to public opinion. It was this so-called empowerment that led to the explosion of sectarian activity in mid-seventeenth century England, a social radicalism leading to a challenge of institutional power — church, law, universities, and monarchy and, though Zaret does not mention it, to a rise in the production and social practices of the culture of print.21

21Zaret, pp. 221 and 224. The advocation of a universally valid reason could legitimate popular participation for a variety of social groups, as the "emphasis on inward faith precluded intersubjective controls on judgments of conscience".
In a study specifically devoted to the contribution of the coffee-houses to Restoration political culture, Steve Pincus argues that this site constitutes an originary locus for a Habermasian social space of public rational discussion and criticism of the state. Indeed, the coffee-house as an entity flourished in Restoration England "precisely because it provided the architecture for the emergence of the public sphere". While Pincus makes use of Habermas' notion of the public sphere, he states he is not concerned with the "actual existence" of this idealized sphere, and whether critical and rational discourse ever occurred, but "with his [Habermas] historical account" of the transformation of the public and the acceptance of such a sphere "as essential for the functioning of civil society". Further, he is "interested in delineating and locating ideologically this function". Pincus is not in the least troubled by the possible incompatibility of the ideological (normative) aspect of the Habermasian public sphere with the historical. He argues against both the early Whig historians' and Habermas' representation of the coffee-house, for example, saying that the spaces were not confined to the metropolis, and at one point he almost seems to deny their 'urban' status entirely. Moreover, the coffee-houses were not just Whig political institutions, and access was not limited solely to upper and middle class men but that the establishments welcomed women and lower orders. Against all earlier interpretations, Pincus argues "that coffee-houses were ubiquitous and widely patronized in Restoration England, Scotland, and Ireland". Both they and the public sphere were defended by Whigs as well as religious and political moderates, radicals and centrists, nonconformists and moderate Anglicans, former roundheads and former cavaliers, who were "unanimous" on the benefits of public discussion. By finding such sameness in the coffee-houses, making them inclusive instead of exclusive, Pincus perpetuates a different strain of mythic and

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23 Pincus, p. 808.
24 Pincus, pp. 811 and 832.
normative universalism that compromises his own historical account. For example, if public opinion and news are so central to Pincus' account of the architecture of the public sphere, how can they be discussed without taking into account the role of print culture? Lawrence Klein, in another piece on the early modern English coffee-house, similarly avoids the absolutely crucial role of print in these spaces. Klein argues, and with this I agree, that the coffee-house had a complex identity from the beginning because sociability was viewed as its predominant characteristic. This sociability was enabled by printed communication, and thus "as a specifically discursive institution, the coffeehouse should be viewed in the context of the history of discourse and communicative practices in society". Nevertheless, Klein seeks to view a shift in the way the coffee-house was viewed in the early eighteenth-century in relation to the notion of a "polite public", and reads the space through Norbert Elias' study of politeness and civility in courtly France. The coffee-houses become the locus wherein attempts were made to organize culture without the oversight of a royal court, giving rise to a sphere in which identity was constructed less through traditional structures of religion and monarchy and more through new political and intellectual disciplines governed by polite discourse. Again, despite his intentions to view the space in relation to a history of communicative practices, Klein concludes the coffee-house was a "specifically discursive" site, and so the exchanges allowed by print culture, and the production of the coffee-house as primarily an urban space tied both to city/crown conflicts and the market are not discussed. My own view of the coffee-houses will not attempt to make them into abstract and homogeneous discursive spaces, but will instead see them as spaces in which 'difference' was constituted through the ambivalence associated with the

26 Klein, pp. 50-51: "[... ] coffeehouse civility was part of the larger process by which an elite cultural regime centred on a court was transmuted into a post-courtly one". The coffee-house becomes an originary point for the creation of a new kind of culture in England "defined by its politeness, a term conveying ideas of the urbane, the refined, the sociable, the amateur, and the gentlemanly".
unlimited circulation of discourse in print, thus, as Halasz argues, creating a heterogeneity out of which the notion of a public could be constituted.

Sadly, even Peter Stallybrass' and Allon White’s remarkable *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* establishes a history of the coffee-houses that now seems marred by an uncritical adoption of the notion of a Habermasian public sphere. For Stallybrass and White, drawing from both Habermas and Foucault, the coffee-house represents one of the 'planes of emergence' of the bourgeois public sphere, and is a site — like the theatre and pleasure gardens — crucial in the formation of a refined public "coerced with a mixture of satire and example, into the ways of tolerance and good manners", even serving "to regulate body and crowd behaviour".\(^{27}\) The Restoration stage, for example, "became one of the principal places in which a host of writers took up the task of transforming the mixed and unruly public body inherited from the Renaissance into attentive citizens"; it was "an idealized space of consciousness ... being systematically scoured". In the same way the coffee-houses were places "of assembly for the rational creature", examples of "the will to refinement" which so marked the struggle to establish the public sphere in the period:

The importance of the coffee-house was that it provided a radically new kind of social space, at once free from the 'grotesque bodies' of the alehouse and yet (initially at least) democratically accessible to all kinds of men — though not, significantly, to women.\(^{28}\)

Stallybrass and White rely on Habermas and Aytoun Ellis for these constructions of the coffee-house, representations that are troubled by many of the pamphlet descriptions, both critical and celebratory, from the seventeenth century. For example, the coffee-house may have been constructed in opposition to the tavern by the broadside I began with, but this does not mean the two spaces were unconnected. Taverns, alehouses, and coffee-houses shared much of the same clientele, with the


\(^{28}\)Stallybrass and White, pp. 93-95.
latter often the place to go and sober up after a visit to the former. Stallybrass and White argue that discursive space never exists apart from social place, and that crystallization of new kinds of speech can be tracked through the advent of new public sites of discourse as well as the transformation of old ones. With this I agree, but what kind of speech was being formulated in the coffee-house? Was it really "a cleansed discursive environment"? Were intoxication, rhythmic and unpredictable movements, sexual reference and symbolism, as well as bodily pleasures exorcised from the "de-libidinized" coffee-houses so that a serious, productive and rational public sphere could emerge? As we shall see, the space of the coffee-house and the drink itself were discussed in terms of the body, even the grotesque body. Moreover, coffee's effect on discourse was seen as somatic, and the coffee-house was sometimes pictured as a space of male virility. In fact, the coffee-house was 'de-libidinized' not by its supporters, but by its court party detractors, those who would conceivably be most against the emergence of a 'public sphere'.

*Exchanging subjects; excesses of speech.*

I have already alluded to the fact that the government of Charles II considered suppressing the coffeehouses, and in fact did, although for under two weeks. For Pincus as well as Stallybrass and White this is an indication of the strength and breadth of a public sphere that could defy the power of the King "in defense of its own territory". The suppression of this sphere was "totally ineffectual, and the coffee-house went from strength to strength". This normative, positivistic and aleatory view needs to be tested against the evidence. As early as 1666 Lord High Chancellor Clarendon favoured complete suppression of the coffee-houses, though he was opposed by Sir William Coventry who argued that they were a source of

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29See the pamphlet *The Ale-Wives Complaint Against the Coffee-Houses* (1675), where a coffee-man and a victuallers wife discuss how to divvy up their customers.

30Stallybrass and White, p. 95.

31Pincus, p. 831, Stallybrass and White, p. 98.
government revenue through a tax on coffee, and, most importantly, the King himself owed something of his restoration to these spaces, since during the collapse of the Protectorate “the King's friends had used more liberty of speech in those places than they durst do in any other”.

In other words, these spaces were useful to Crown as well as bourgeoisie, and were an ideal site in which the government could place spies. Further, as I will address more fully in the next chapter, the King's surveyor of the press, Roger L'Estrange — later chief Tory publicist during the exclusion crisis, was referred to as "a New-fashioned Court-made Citt" in one pamphlet. L'Estrange is given this sobriquet because he utilized strategies of print circulation and dissemination developed in dissenting coffee-houses against the Whigs in those very same coffee-houses.

In 1672 the Lord Keeper and Judges were again asked for their advice on how to lawfully proceed with the closing of the coffee-houses due to concern over sedition and the circulation of libels in these spaces. However, no action ensued, as the Attorney General, Sir William Jones was supposedly “attached to the faction” that used the coffee-houses to garner support for parliamentary opposition to the crown. Influenced by his Commissioner of Customs, Dudley North, who related upon his return from Constantinople how the coffee-houses there were put down by the Sultan on account of sedition, the government of Charles II issued a proclamation against the distribution of false news in 1673, and finally, under the influence of Danby, the coffee-houses were suppressed by royal decree in 1675. They were described as “the great resort of Idle and disaffected persons”, places where

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32Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), Fifth Report, p. 158. Robinson, p. 161, and Ellis (1956), p. 90. Charles was voted one half of the excise on "outlandish drinks" including beer, ale and coffee for life in 1660.

33As discussed in Marshall's Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II.

34Crackfart and Tony; or a Knave and a Fool in a Dialogue over a Dish of Coffee, concerning Matters of Religion and Government (1680). L'Estrange is described as character inverting Whig inversions of the truth and disseminating them in coffee-houses.

35Roger North, Examen: or, an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History (1740), p. 139.
tradesmen and apprentices wasted too much time, and sites where “divers false, malicious and scandalous reports are devised and spread abrod to the Defamation of his Majestie’s Government”. This proclamation was in force for only eleven days until, after much petitioning by coffee-sellers and other supporters, a modified edict was published. The altered ruling argued that Charles II intended to be benevolent towards those in the trade with stock left to sell, and if they agreed to police the spaces under their control more effectively, he would allow them to remain open until the following June. Like the initial proclamation, concerned with the coffee-houses as sites where suspicious individuals might congregate and others remain idle while consuming coffee, the second went out of its way to address the exchange of print in these spaces, and it included an extensive series of conditions towards this end that are worth quoting at length:

The Condition of the Recognizance is such, That if the above-bound A.B. shall at times hereafter, so long as he shall be Permitted or Licensed to Sell and Retail Coffee, Chocolate, and Tea, use his utmost endeavour to prevent and hinder all Scandalous Papers, Books, or Libels concerning the Government, or the Publick Ministers thereof, from being brought into his House, or there to be Read, Perus’d or Divulg’d; And to prevent and hinder all and every person and persons from declaring, uttering, and divulging in his said House, all manner of False and Scandalous Reports of the Government, or any the Ministers thereof: And in case any such Papers, Books or Libels, shall be brought into this said House, and there openly Read, Perus’d or Divulg’d, or in case any such false and Scandalous reports shall be there openly declared, utter’d or divulg’d, if the said A.B. shall within Two days respectively next ensuing, give Information thereof to one of His Majesties Principal Secretaries of State, or to one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, then his Recognizance to be void, &c.

In addition to going after the producers of seditious print and speech, often a difficult task, the government was inspired to try and make the proprietors of the coffee-houses into state censors by turning them into a commercial group that


37An Additional Proclamation Concerning Coffee-Houses, in A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations, no. 3625.
remained in business through a rigorous program of self censorship, quite like the Stationers' Company itself. Several coffee-men were indicted under this proclamation, for example, in 1677 Secretary of State Williamson issued warrants for Edmund Chillingden, proprietor of a coffee-house in Leadenhall Street, and an individual with the name of Kidd who ran the Amsterdam Coffee-House near the Royal Exchange, about which more below.38

The above cited histories of the coffee-house prove deterministic, teleological, and idealized. What is missing, I think, is the fundamental ambivalence towards the increasingly broad access that the marketplace of print generated, a process accelerated by the coffee-house. The exchange of print in the coffee-house, and thus the space itself, threatened to dissolve boundaries and hierarchies, and it is this, for example, which propels Roger North's phobic conception of the space. For North the coffee-house was a confused and incomprehensible space, "where Rooms are peculiar, and Tables, for Irreligion, like the Rota for politics".39 North is here referring to the Coffee Club of the Rota, organized around republican principles by James Harrington and Henry Nevill, which met at Mile's Coffee House in New Palace Yard. The peculiar space that North speaks of is no doubt due to the fact that in Mile's "was made purposely a large ovall-table, with a passage in the middle for Miles to deliver his Coffee", around which sat the debaters, occasionally making use of "a Ballotting-Box" to decide an argument.40 This type of public discourse on government contributed to his fears about the growing pervasiveness of misrepresentation, lies, and the loss of truth:

About this time the faction began to form a method of propagating seditious lyes, and misrepresentations of all the government did; and it was ordered by certain clubs where the lyes, wherever at first invented, were delivered out to be dispersed abroad, among all sorts of people, by

38See Lillywhite, pp. 80, 323, 634, 746-7.
39North, p. 141.
the means of the coffee-houses; and in the chief of them, talkers *leidger* were appointed to attend, and vend the commodity to all commers *gratis* : And, by that means, the coffee-houses began to be direct seminaries of sedition, and offices for the dispatch of lying, and carried on to such a degree of inconvenience to the public as scarce any government in the world would have endured.\textsuperscript{41}

A thread flows from the inception of seditious thoughts in the minds and clubs of political dissenters, it is born out of the mouth and into print, a "commodity" which then crosses the threshold of the coffee-house — the gateway to "all sorts of people" — into the marketplace which is its only justification. In this space any kind of control over discourse is lost, for from here the "dispatch of lying", like the infinite expansion of opinion, becomes an unquantifiable entity. This apprehension of the coffee-house as a form of threshold space was particularly heightened during the exclusion crisis, when, by way of the coffee-house "Faction spreads her wings" and carries the printed commodity opinion through the city and beyond "as fast as she can home unto too many of the Gentlemen and Farmer's Houses: From whence it comes to be Chewed over again at every Conventicle or Congregation Meeting, and repeated at every Market or Country meetings". In this effusive Tory pamphlet, the "wild headed *Opinion-Mongers* " both produced by the coffee-house and who make use of the exchanges of print it enabled, manufacture "an Extravagant and incertain *Ephemeris* ... and make themselves the *Conduit-Pipes* to convey their Follies to the more Ignorant part of the People".\textsuperscript{42}

Despite Roger North's claim that the coffee-house was such a confused space that in it one could even sell a commodity for free, print was not just given away in these spaces, and its exchange was a commercial transaction. What North indicates is that for him (and other Tories) the forms of print circulating in the coffee-houses were value-less, ephemeral, linked to orality, and no different from cheap

\textsuperscript{41}North, pp. 138-9.
\textsuperscript{42}Ursa Major and Minor: or a Sober and Impartial Enquiry into those pretended fears and Jealousies of Popery and Arbitrary Power (1681), pp. 47-50.
pamphlets and broadside ballads. An early pamphlet critical of coffee-house sociability reinforced a similar characterization of what was for purchase in these spaces, at the same time turning the house into a colonial space and the countryside. Both distant new world and rural spaces are populated by ignorant and less civilized beings to whom a cunning merchant interested in trade brings only objects of little value:

To this Coast, as to the West-Indies, you carry not rich Merchandises to Trade with, but only Beads, Looking-glasses, Knives, and such like, nor shall the Merchant make returns of any other Commodities, than such as are fit for the Pedlars box.43

As Halasz argues, such commodity designation is a form of dismissal, part of a phobic construction of print culture and an uncontrollable, undifferentiated audience that challenges positions of high literacy and privilege.44 This 'merchandise' had very specific and material ways of getting into the coffee-houses, and Restoration government sought vainly to control every aspect of the production and distribution of printed matter, from the Licensing Act, proclamations against false news, the policing of the coffee-house proprietors, and even those most difficult to keep under surveillance, individual readers and the hawkers who moved both through the streets and the coffee-houses.45 For example, at the height of the Exclusion Crisis, under pressure from Charles II, no doubt anxious to bring London under his control, the Court of Aldermen and Mayor prohibited the vending of print in the City’s streets. This proclamation singled out a few areas of particular concern, not surprisingly as we shall see in a moment, “especially the street of Cornhill and passages about the Royal Exchange, and Coffee-Houses, are much pestered with a sort of loose and Idle People called Hawkers, who do daily publish, cry, and sell Seditious Books, Scurrilous Pamphlets, and

44Halasz, p. 4.
45See Spufford, p. 45, on the problem of the invisibility of itinerant vendors of print such as chapmen.
Scandalous printed Papers, contrary to Law”. Processes of circulation (hawkers) and acts of consumption (reading) could be made to disappear for those caught in the coffee-house with seditious print on their person. A seemingly effective defense was to erase the social and commercial transactions of print in the coffee-house and assert that printed forms found their way into these spaces not by human hands, and once there, did not find readers. For example, this was the fascinating strategy of denial, deferral, and distance adopted by Thomas Addison when seized with seditious printed material during the Exclusion Crisis. His defense under interrogation by Roger L’ Estrange reads as follows:

he never saw this paper or heard it read or ever heard any man say he had it, or could get it, or knew who had it, but he heard a person, wholly unknown to him, say that he had heard it read ... he says he found it yesterday under a table at the Amsterdam coffee-house, and put it in his pocket, but that he never read it till after the seizure thereof, nor knew anything of its contents, nor knows how it came to be there, nor who wrote it.

By saying he found this object under a table in the Amsterdam coffee-house, a gateway to all sorts of people where the thread linking a specific group or speaker to their 'lies' is lost, print is severed from its community of readers as a strategy of defense. This 'paper' Addison speaks of almost seems to have occult powers, like a witch's familiar capable of surreptitious and undetected movement.

I want to approach the coffee-house less as a space of freedom, and more as a contradictory space that might “look two ways and neither of them true nor understood”. It was a principle locus of Restoration anxieties about the

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46 London; Court of Aldermen; Pritchard, Mayor, broadside proclamation dated 21 November, 1682. If we can believe a later pamphlet The School of Politics; or the Humours of a Coffee House (1690), p. 12, the networks of circulation were rapid and efficient, since a town wit is made to call for a gazette and then complain when it has not arrived yet "Pox take you, fetch it, for it has been seen at Jonathan's two hours ago".

47 CSPD, 1679-1680, p. 528.

48 The frontispiece for the pamphlet Matthew Hopkins Witch Finder Generall (1647) in fact did visually depict "Newes" as a witch's familiar, and A New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times (1679) specifically equated hawkers of print with demons who await the presses so that opinions can be dispersed through the spaces of London.

49 Cited in Robinson, p. 171.
inaccessibility of truth, constantly masked by rumors and the uncontrolled wagging of tongues. It was the kind of space that produced the many versions of the whereabouts of the Duke of Buckingham after his fall from the King's grace, as Pepys comments, "which makes me mightily reflect on the uncertainty of all history, when in a business of this moment and of this day's growth we cannot tell the truth". The coffee-house simply cannot provide the architecture for a universal and rational public sphere if such irrationality and uncertainty of discourse are so central to it. Rather, the coffee-house seemed to raise anxieties about openness and transparency within London and surrounding Westminster, where several social bodies overlapped and conflicted at the Restoration — court and city, cavalier and merchant or 'mechanick', nonconformist conventicles and Church of England. The notion of openness and/or social leveling hinted at in the broadside and image with which I began was, of course, not entirely inclusive, and the coffee-house opened up certain novel forms of exchange and closed others down. As we shall see below, through contradictory forms of printed representations — that either critique this new space or laud it — some of the disturbing contradictions involved with transformations in consumption and the market were also brought out. For example, the anxiety generated by this space of opinions for the forces of Restoration social order ironically lead to the critique of this site of print within print itself. It is surely a contradiction that printed forms which are themselves an example of changing commodity relations critique the very site where they are exchanged and consumed. Thus, the coffee-house and its connection to the print culture of seventeenth century London is an opportunity to examine ways of generating space and different forms of social exchange, particularly through the practices associated with print. In short, the coffee-house was a space produced

50Pepys, Diary, entries for 23 July, 1665, and 6 March, 1667.
through the social practices called up by print — it was a ‘practiced place’, a place of negotiation, and the danger is to make it static.

In this light, the coffee-house can be seen not just as a plane of emergence but as a more contradictory mixture of utopia — non-place, imaginary perfection or inversion of the social — and heterotopia — counter-site. As Foucault might have argued, it was a ‘strange’ space related to other sites in a way that made them suspect, neutralized them, or inverted the sets of relations they might designate.\(^{51}\) I think of the coffee-house as an extertopia, an outside place on the inside, an ‘enacted’ utopia in which the real sites of a society are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. In this way, it takes on some of the characteristics of the Restoration stage. While Stallybrass and White argue that the coffee-house and the theatre were discursive spaces in which a refined public was formed, the connections between the two are not explored and the sites remain separate in their account. This was not the case during the Restoration, however, and one broadside specifically equated the coffee-house with the theatre, where players represented the vices of the age. The print was the substitute for a play, so "that people may see in Stage looking-Glasses, / Fools of all sorts, and these pollitick Asses".\(^{52}\) For me, it is striking what a pivotal role the theatre had in imagining the coffee-house in the early years of the Restoration. For instance, satires of coffee-house sociability appear in John Tatham’s *Knavery in All Trades: or, The Coffee-House*, and Thomas St. Serfe’s *Tarrugo’s Wiles: or, The Coffee House*.\(^{53}\) *Knavery in All Trades*, as its published version relates, was performed by a group of apprentices in the City and centres on the financial troubles of an arch-rogue Hunt-Cliffe and his three lovers, all the wives of London merchants who are being robbed blind by their apprentice. This was appropriate subject matter for Tatham, very much a City writer who provided

\(^{52}\)A *New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times* (1679).
\(^{53}\)John Tatham, *Knavery in All trades: or, the Coffee House* (1664), and Thomas St. Serfe, *Tarrugo’s Wiles: or, The Coffee House* (1668).
material for guild pageants and Lord Mayor's shows. Tarrugo's Wiles, on the other hand, was a courtly comedy of manners in which an eminent character, Don Patricio, attempts to prove that a woman's will is easily restrained by carrying out a cruel experiment on his unsuspecting sister Lavinia. These comedies are peculiar in that they are both subtitled The Coffee-House, and lengthy coffee-house scenes and dialogue are central to each play, almost relegating the principal action to the status of a sub-plot. The most obvious aspect of this representation of the coffee-house is its linkage to print, for the space and the objects that circulate there seem to be the central aspects of the performance, receiving the most set and scene attention in both plays. For instance, in the third act of Knavery in All Trades, two gentlemen in a tavern engage in an extended mockery of a third who will not drink with them since he has just come from a coffee-house. This third gentleman is not even allowed to speak as the pair attack the coffee drink and the space in which it is consumed. In contrast with wine, associated with reason, light, and love for one's sovereign, the drinking of coffee is everything from "a currish cynicall Drink", a gift made to the Turk by the devil to commemorate the slaughter of Christians, and it is associated with disorder, pamphlet culture, and regicide: "tis most pernicious unto the brain, it fires the Pericranium, disorders all the faculties, presents Ideas most delusive; Treason, Murder ... Brutus ('tis thought) drank heartily of it when he design'd the death of Royal Ceasar." Included in the printed version of the play is

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54 Tatham was City Poet from 1657-1664, and also supplied texts for the pageants during the coronation procession of Charles II. See the Dramatic Works of John Tatham, (ed.) James Maidment, (London, 1878), and Backscheider, pp. 5 and 25.

55 Robert D. Hume, The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1976), p. 257, mentions Tarrugo's Wiles as an example of a romantic comedy on the Spanish model, and Staves, p. 121, focuses on the gender and family constructions emphasized in the play, arguing that it represents an example of how justification for patriarchal authority was weaker after the Restoration, in that it became difficult to subjugate inferiors.

56 Pepys, for that matter, referred to Tarrugo's Wiles simply as The Coffee House, viii, 5 October and 15 October, 1667. Hume, p. 257, notes that in Act III, the coffee-house scene, "there is extended foolery and verbal joking perfectly unrelated to the plot".

57 Tatham, D2.
a set description of the physical space of the coffee-house and its activities, the only site in the play that receives this kind of attention:

The Coffee-House discovered; three or four Tables set forth, on which are placed small Wax-Lights, Pipes, and Diurnalls.
Enter Mahoone trimming up the Tables, his Man ordering Fire-Pots and China Cups, his Wife in the Barr, his Maid employed about the Chocolet.58

Within this set description are included several elements that will serve to make the coffee-house 'other' for its critics: Mahoone, the Turkish coffee-man who speaks in broken and vulgar English mixed with French, Spanish, and Italian, tobacco, cups from 'China', and the exotic chocolate, all of which, importantly, represent links to the expanding colonial trade of England at this time. Included in this description too is print, which in the subsequent scene appears as if it were another character in the play. After "The several Tables take notice of the Diurnalls" a figure asks as if questioning an oracle "What speaks the Diurnall?".59 It is this absent presence that enables discourse in the coffee-house, but it is the inversion of discourse — nonsensical, irrational — and ends in the accidental outbreak of physical violence in the midst of a Babel like confusion.

In Tarrugo’s Wiles, the coffee-house is intended to be represented as a space “where is presented a mixture of all kind of people”, and it is even listed on the same page with the other ‘Dramatis Personae.’ It dominates the play’s longest scene, in which print appears following a stage direction in the margin of the text, “Enter Coffee-Master with a Gazette”. Again, discourse is set into motion by the interaction of the coffee-house patrons and diverse forms of print. But coffee-house sociability enabled by the culture of print is satirized by association with the ‘pragmatick’ commonwealthsmen who seized power from the King, and the religious sects, particularly City Presbyterians. The patrons greedily read the gazette and exchange comical and absurd opinions, in a spoof of what many coffee-house news sheets

58 Tatham, D3.
59 Tatham, E1.
contained: foreign news, news of trade, and advertisements for books. Further game is played with the failure of the news sheet writer to uncover any state secrets, and in this pastiche of print and the socially leveling space of print, the multiplicity of opinion is finally feminized, as well as made into the domain of the lower orders or the insane. Included in this coffee-house scene, which bears a striking resemblance to the drawing from 1668 discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a pair of aesthetes argue over some paintings on the wall until interrupted by the coffee-man, who interjects that rude words are not becoming of the gravity of the house which is itself a painting “like the School of Athens, where all things are debated with reason”. The latter, however, is contradicted by the next table where, as in Tatham’s play, a discussion generated by the absent but present voice of the diurnal leads to violence as one patron throws a dish of coffee in another’s face. An early eighteenth century image serving to illustrate Ned Ward’s continuance of Hudibras, a picaresque narrative of the civil wars and Restoration, depicted an almost identical scene. (Fig. 1. 6) This etching, based quite clearly on the earlier drawing, depicts two gentlemen rising in anger, one throwing his coffee in the other’s face, while the pamphlet or broadside they have been discussing lies on the table before them.

Aside from the importance of print in this theatrical imagining of the space of the coffee-house, there are two more aspects brought out in these plays that I would like to stress. Firstly, it is clear that the coffee-houses satirized in these two plays are located in the City, given their critique of City types and their emphasis on the mix of people moving through them. Secondly, Tarrugo, the protagonist in one of the

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60 St. Serfe, p. 21.
61 The Coffeehouse Mob (1710), Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum; Personal and Political Satires, II, 1539. The image was the frontispiece for Edward (Ned) Ward, The Fourth Part of Vulgus Britannicus or the British Hudibras. In this text Ward refers to the coffee-house as a bedlam, and equates the culture of print with the telling of falsehoods.
62 In a later play by James Miller, The Coffee-House: A Dramatic Piece (1737), the author is forced to include a preface defending himself against the charge that he was seeking to represent a specific coffee-house in the play, notably Dick’s in Fleet Street. In so doing, by arguing that he chose the area of Temple Bar because it is “the Center of the Town, and the most likely Place for so many different Characters to meet at a time”, he indicates that a shift in the social geography is occurring in London,
plays, in the coffee-house to take his leisure, is there pursued by a tailor and two of the sergeant’s men on account of a debt. He changes clothes and identity with Will, the proprietor’s man, and performs the latter’s job in the coffee-house, giving the play the reason to expose the follies of the house as Tarrugo (become Will) moves from a table of scholars discussing philosophy, to a table where customers discuss the disappearance of political dissent in the removal of James Harrington’s Rota club that met at Miles’ Coffee-House in Westminster, and finally to the discussion on painting. It is surely no accident that the coffee-house was chosen at this time as the most fitting site for Tarrugo to easily switch personalities, after all, for it is here that notions of the coffee-house and the theatre mesh. The coffee-house can even extend the unease over shifting identities and uncontrollable exchanges into other terrains, outside of ‘Englishness’, for example, since in the theatre coffee-house proprietors were frequently cast as Moors or Turks, even though, despite Pasqua Rosee, most owners were British.

What are we to make of this production of the space of the coffee-house, where identities can be transposed as easily as clothing, a place that links exchange of print to the production of absurd opinions, tied to radical and treasonable politics, a place, too, where the social body is feminized or contaminated by a Turkish otherness? Aside from the theatre at the Restoration, which tries to situate and contain the coffee-house for its audience, the coffee-house as a site for a kind of play acting that questions identity and the authenticity of intentions was articulated in numerous broadsides and pamphlets. In these forms of representation, it was much more difficult to locate. The pamphlet entitled *The Womens Petition Against Coffee* stated that by spending so much time in a coffee-house, men will become women and “usurp our Prerogative of Tatling, and soon learn to excel us in Talkativeness”. They will “out-babble an equal number of us at Gossipping, talking all at once in

away from the City and toward Westminster. Temple Bar, during the Restoration a boundary marking the margin of the City, is becoming the center in the early eighteenth-century.
Confusion”, just like the seventeenth-century woodcut Coffee House Jests depicts in its picture of coffee-house orality. The discursive networks of the coffee-house are here characterized by gossip, mutable, multiple, and irrational, like 'opinion' in the Hollar and Peacham broadside. The allusion to the feminization of men due to the excess speech of the coffee-house was also taken up in other pamphlets, such as The Maidens Complaint against Coffee and The Ale-Wives Complaint Against the Coffee-Houses in order to critique its supposed homosocial aspects. Coffee was suspected of being enfeebling and causing sexual impotence, or worse, of contributing to homosexual practices as in the Turkish coffee-house. These pamphlets have been used as evidence that women were not present in the coffee-houses and did not participate in the institution of a 'public sphere'. Therefore, the coffee-house contributed to the establishment of clearer boundaries.

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64 The Ale-Wives Complaint Against the Coffee-Houses, in a Dialogue between a Victuallers Wife and A Coffee-Man (1675), The Women's Petition Against Coffee, p. 2, and The Maidens Complaint against Coffee or, the CoffeeHouse Discovered, Besieged, Stormed, Taken, Untyled and Laid Open to Publick View (1663), unpag.
65 The 1663 publication of The Vertues of Coffee brought together extracts from the works of Bacon, Parkinson, and Howell, and Sandys on the origins and history of coffee in Turkey and the Middle East. A passage extracted from George Sandys’ Sandy's Travels, which went through several editions itself during the seventeenth century, described a certain practice of the Turkish coffee-house in this way: “Many of the Coffa-men keeping beautiful boyes, who serve as stales to procure them customers”. As Ralph Hattox, Coffee and Coffeehouses: the Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East (Seattle, 1985), p. 109, remarks, Sandys was a poet and therefore chose his words carefully, so the use of the word 'stale' which refers to a low class prostitute suggests another range of activities within the coffeehouse, and the sixteenth-century author of Risala fi ahkam al-qahwa described these boys as “earmarked for the gratification of one's lusts”. John Chamberlayne, The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco (1682), cited a variety of sources that claimed coffee was thought to cause impotence, it was used by the Persians as a form of birth control, and that one Persian King, Sultan Mahomet Caswin drank so much coffee “that he had an unconceivable aversion to Women”. It is indeed possible that there was an early aspect to a gay subculture within the space of the early coffee-house, for the reasons I have mentioned above. Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London, 1982), Christopher Hill, “Male Homosexuality in 17th-Century England”, The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill, III, pp. 226-235 (review of Bray’s book), and Rictor Norton, Mother Clap’s Molly House: the Gay Subculture in England, 1700-1830 (East Haven, 1992), all argue for the appearance of a series of ‘molly houses’ in London in the late seventeenth century that were not gentlemen’s clubs but spaces where social classes mixed. In this sense, and the fact that they raised concern as sites where men were ‘effeminized’, and as sites linked to the meeting houses of the dissenting sects and certain ‘abominable’ social practices, they bear a similarity to the coffee-house, though this is not a direct link made by any of these authors.
between a gendered (male) public arena of political discourse and trade, and a more private, feminized domestic space. Although there is some evidence that the coffee-house was predominantly a male environment, for instance in Pepys' many documented visits to the coffee-houses in the area of the Exchange it is always to meet merchants and discourse about business, or just to discourse, never to meet a woman. For the latter a tavern or ale-house is always chosen, since one can get a private box or room. But this is not necessarily to say that women were not in the coffee-houses, as some coffee-house proprietors were women, and figures of women appear in visual representations and in the theatre. Indeed, Tarrugo's Wiles depicts men and women meeting in the space of the coffee-house, and printed responses to the attacks by women languishing in want try very hard to revirilize the space of the coffee-house by turning it into an exotic brothel. It is perhaps slightly later, with the advent of the social aspects of tea drinking that a separate domestic sphere for women paralleling that of the coffee-house could be asserted, as it was in a satirical broadside of the early eighteenth-century entitled The Tea Table. This print informed a reader that scandal, now too base for the male sex, located its empire in the "Female Race", the "Source of blakning Falshoods, Mint of Lies". In this space truth is as "rare as Silence; or a Negro Swan", and women are out to destroy each other by the circulation of vicious rumors.

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66 Habermas (1989), p. 33, makes two rather specious assumptions on the basis of The Women's Petition against Coffee, for instance, that it was indeed written by a group of women jealous of their supposed exclusion from this space, and the second that it was in fact for the danger to the virility of the nation that the coffee-houses were almost suppressed in 1675.  
67 The coffee-houses established on the European continent were clearly frequented by both men and women, as pointed out by Ukers, p. 66.  
68 For example, The Mens Answer to the Womens Petition Against Coffee (1674), p. 3, represents the coffee-house as a site of rampant masculine vitality, a nursery to promote (heterosexual) prostitution, "there being scarce a Coffee-Hut but affords a Tawdry Woman, a Wanton Daughter, or Buxome Maide, to accomodate Customers". Likewise, in The Grand Concern of England Explained (1673), the coffee-house is referred to as a "Bawdy House....more expensive that other houses".  
69 The Tea Table (1710), described in Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum; Personal and Political Satires, II, 1555. In this inversion of the space of the coffee-house a domestic interior is depicted with several women of quality seated around table, upon which lies a book of 'Chit Chat'. In the background a group of children in costume portray the driving of Truth and Justice out of the room by Envy.
By extending the unrestrained freedom of speech and address extolled by coffee-house supporters into a caricature, coffee-house dialogue could be de-valued, rendered nonsensical and nonthreatening speech. In an appropriately titled pamphlet *A Coffee-House Dialogue*, a young barrister of the Middle Temple enters an unspecified coffee-house in London where he is engaged by one Captain Y— in a discussion. The latter, because he "so greatly desires the Public Good", embarks on an extended speech to the lawyer outlining how he can help the nation. The lawyer, however, cannot understand a word as this discourse is complete nonsense, with Captain Y— explaining how to beat the Dutch without fighting, pay debts without money, and make the streets of London into navigable rivers. The Captain, as the lawyer complains, does not speak "clearly" and pretends to be wise by hiding behind "signs". To further emphasize the inaccessibility of the Captain's speech, he is made to be a writer as well, carrying a pamphlet entitled "A Word without Doors". This sort of corrupt communication within which people talk and write as they please had become an "Epidemical Disease" and was the cause of all dangerous divisions in the social body. Another pamphlet, issued during the exclusion crisis, intended to be a "Curb to Evil Discourse" and was directed on the whole at the dangerous exchanges in coffee-houses. Adopting a religious argument that God ordained speech to increase His glory and benefit mankind, contributing to the making of good Christians and loyal subjects, thus locating the production of discourse under the sanction of church and state, it sought to show that "Corrupt Communication" was also plague like, an "Epidemical Evil", and that reforming the way we communicate would be a means to purge the land of social spaces like the coffee-houses. The latter were the only "incendiaries of all Divisions" in neighbourhood, parish, and nation, and functioned like a hidden market for the exchange of illicit

70 *A Coffee-House Dialogue; or a Discourse between Captain Y— and a Young Barrester of the Middle Temple* (n.d.).

71 *A New Satyrical Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times* (1679).
and vagrant words. Without the coffee-houses, corrupt communication would find no market, "As Thieves and Vagabonds would have little encouragement to steal, if there were no persons ready to receive their stollen wares".72

Like the plays, the kind of corrupt communication in the coffee-house attacked in many of the pamphlets and broadsides threatened to dissolve distinctions and trouble categories within the discursive field. In the coffee-house

a man too late will be taught that the most excellent Jewels, to wit, the Noblest Speculation, the Divinest Truths, the most Exquisite Fancies, the most Meritorious Actions, and the most Complacential Humours prodigally thrown away amongst a mixt number of persons, become as common as Gold was once in Jerusalem, that is, as common as stones.73

Here is a realm of unlimited opinion — "the place for Dialogues"— in which there are no clear boundaries to the social order, just a mixed quality of persons, without any supporting structure of church, state, or university to be able to judge or support the worth of an utterance.74 As we have seen, this was a central aspect to the coffee-house, a place where social distinctions were lost, confusion reigned, and it was impossible to distinguish even the most basic antinomies: a person cannot distinguish truth from falsehood, "he cannot prefer even Light before Darkness, not being here separated or distinguishable one from another, amidst confusion itself".75 Man mixed with woman, Turk with Christian, black with white, lies with truths, the coffee-house generated anxieties as a counter-site that troubled the discourses of reason or power. During the exclusion crisis, the danger of the coffee-house to invert truth and government was located very clearly in specific coffee-houses in the City, such as the Amsterdam Coffee-House near the Exchange in Bartholemew Lane. In a satirical broadside in the form of a handbill advertising an

72 A Bridle for the Tongue; or a Curb to Evil Discourse: Published to Regulate the Great Abuses in Coffee-Houses, Taverns, Ale-Houses &c. (1678). From the title page it is evident that coffee-houses are the main concern, since it is the largest word on the page and is entirely capitalized.
74 Crackfart and Tony, p. 1.
75 M.P., p. 10.
auction of printed books, at the Amsterdam Coffee-House one could find amongst the works of the "Protestant-Pamphleteers" a treatise entitled "The True Protestant Translator", which serves to turn everything upside down: "Order into Confusion, Unity into Schisme, Gospel into Sedition, Light into Darkness, Truth into Falshood, Subjects into Soveraigns".\(^{76}\)

Such motifs permeate coffee-house literature and imagery, and these references to confusion and chaos were politically charged in the years immediately following the Restoration, often associated with the 'enthusiasm' and misguided reason of the religious sects.\(^{77}\) Darkness, as in Marvell's \textit{Last Instructions to a Painter}, like coffee and the skin of the Moor, could easily be associated with the treason of the parliamentarians.\(^{78}\) The coffee-house was often referred to as if it were akin to a religious conventicle, a Quaker or Rant meeting place where all speak at once and in different tongues, again like the parable of Babel, without the possibility of communication. Indeed, the visual representations of the coffee-house that adopt the depiction of temperant table sociability take on a particular political aspect when viewed alongside the imagery of Ranters and Quakers. Particularly during the Presbyterian backlash against the radical sects in London during the 1650s, visual imagery accompanying tracts such as \textit{The Ranters Ranting} and \textit{The Quakers Dream} often included a scene of table-talk quite similar to the coffee-house scenes of a few years later.\(^{79}\) The frontispiece for \textit{The Quakers Dream}, (Fig. 1. 8) published in 1655, incidentally the year after the first coffee-house appeared in London, included in its woodcut frontispiece a depiction of three men at a table engaged in discourse. On the table in between them is a candle, tobacco pipes, and a flat saucer of the kind used to serve coffee. With the voice balloon, in which one

\(^{76}\) \textit{Amsterdammable Coffee-House} (London, 1683-4?).

\(^{77}\) Jose, p. 15.

\(^{78}\) Andrew Marvell, \textit{Last Instructions to a Painter}, in Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714 (POAS), (New Haven, 1963), I, pp. 99-139.

\(^{79}\) \textit{The Ranters Ranting} (1650), and \textit{The Quakers Dream: or, the Devils Pilgrimmage in England} (1655).
gentleman bids the others “be thou merry”, an explicit link is made to the broadside of 1674 (Fig. 1. 1) with which I began, whose verse text extolled coffee as a drink brought in to make individuals “sober and merry” when the late rebellious times had driven Londoners to lose their reason. While coffee-house detractors imagined the space at the Restoration equal to a religious conventicle with “Shriekings, Shakings, Quakings, Roarings, Yellings, Howlings”, it was also Janus-faced, and produced as a space in Greenwood’s broadside that tempered excesses of speech on religious and political issues.

The coffee-house seemed to question the very possibility of distinguishing truth from falsehood. It was where “Lies mixt with truth”, a place where the "idle Vulgar" come and go" circulating "a thousand Rumors". The site was "the Rendezvous of idle Pamphlets, and persons more idly imployed to read them", an essential part of a process in which “the spacious World enquires for News”.

This culture of print led to the production of a thousand monstrous opinions, ‘undoing’ many of the King’s subjects. Since coffee-house speech allowed each individual an opinion, all elements of the social body were characterized by constant contention: "Infinite are the Contests, irreconcilable the Differences here". Within a culture of consensus where a plurality of wills is theoretically united into a single will, there would simply be no room for a space like the coffee-house: “For should all agree, and be of one Judgement, they would as it were become but one Person, the house would be Solitary, and at last one or two persons would be the whole Company”.

This achievement of a sole judgment within the coffee-house, countering its

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80 The Character of A Coffee-House with the Symptomes of a Town-Wit (1673), p. 2. Another pamphlet, Don Bollicosgo Armuthaz, The Coffee-Mans Granado Discharged Upon the Maidens Complaint Against Coffee (1663), portrayed a close connection between Black-Burnt, a coffee-man, and Democritus, a "scribbler" who would sing the praises of the house for a cut of the profits. In Charles Johnson, The Generous Husband; or the Coffee-House Politician (1713), the close connection between print and the space is again stressed, as a character in the play called Postscript, a writer of intelligences, is "begot between a Coffee-Boy, and a running Stationer".


82 M.P., p. 7.
heterogeneity through the many subjectivities collapsing into a unified social body, echoes the kind of sovereignty envisioned by Hobbes in *Leviathan*.

*An(other) space.*

Much concern was raised in these pamphlets and broadsides over the unhinging of identity due to the adoption of such a foreign custom, in that both rich and poor Englishmen would so easily allow themselves to be ‘displaced’, to become like the Turk, and even lose one’s Christian faith. In their desire to unearth an ideal and originary form of the public sphere in western Europe, virtually all studies of the coffee-houses after Habermas repress the presence of, and indebtedness to, this ‘other’ within one of the very institutions described as its basis. As Ralph Hattox has argued, “the coffeehouse, like coffee, must be considered an institution of Arab origin.” While I do not want to argue for origins here, there are some interesting correspondences between the Islamic coffee-house and that of early modern London. Coffee was first utilized by Sufi religious groups in the Yemen in the fifteenth century to keep them awake for the purposes of worship. Interestingly, the Sufis were an urban order, drawing from a broad range of social groups — tradesmen, artisans, as well as merchants — in the same way as the dissenting religious sects did in England in the 1640s. In addition, Sufi prayer meetings where coffee was sold and consumed were not limited to members of the sect, as others could meet there and drink, thus introducing an aspect of social leveling to coffee ritual in Arab countries. Coffee-houses quickly became established adjacent to market and commercial areas, and the drink became an aspect of business practices.

The introduction of coffee into Islamic culture, however, was not without its problems. Many detractors believed it to be an intoxicant as well as a modern innovation, and thus in violation of Islamic law. Additionally, the political

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83 Many other histories of the coffee-houses, including the earlier Whig histories of Robinson and Ellis, acknowledge its Islamic origins.
84 Hattox, p. 76.
activities associated with the space of the coffee-house became a danger to government, and the sites were notorious for their immorality — primarily gambling and 'unorthodox' homosexual situations. As in early modern London, the coffee-house in Islamic culture was a liminal space — unlike the tavern, which was always outside of Islamic law and culture, the coffee-house was in a murky space on the boundaries between legal/illegal, moral/immoral, and public/private. It was also the nodal point between oral and literate cultures, frequented by orators and writers. Public affairs were much commented on and criticized through the coffee-house, and though the print element evident in the London spaces was lacking in the Islamic coffee-houses, manuscripts were in circulation there. An image of a Turkish coffee-house exists in a sixteenth century miniature that depicts the varied activities this space was known for. (Fig. 1.9) In this miniature a doorway to the street is open in the upper left corner, where several individuals entering are greeted by what could be the proprietor. From here the eye is led around the relatively flat pictorial space in a clockwise direction ending up back at the street entrance/exit, past the more cultivated activities at the top of the image and the less moral activities and shady characters at the bottom. At the very top a noble presides over a scene surrounded by his entourage, while to the right a coffee-boy fills several flat white saucers. In the center, in between the illustrious and the immoral are the literati engaged in discussion while exchanging books and manuscripts. At the bottom are scenes of gambling and music making, a mix of young men exchanging flirtatious looks, and armed soldiers engaged in backgammon.

Within this well-ordered image, exempting tobacco smoking, there are many similarities to Restoration representations of the coffee-house: the coffee-boys, flat white saucers, the mingling of diverse social groups in a single space, the presence of literature and discussion, even the health benefits of the drink, seen in the offering

85Hattox, pp. 78-79.
of a cup of the black drink by a young boy to an ailing elder in the bottom left of the miniature. This is a threshold space, open to the street, fraught with the pleasures and dangers of social intermixing and the exchange of information. D'Ohsson Mouradgea, writing in the eighteenth century, made the claim that more than one coup d'etat had been launched from a Turkish coffee-house, particularly during the sultanate of Murat IV (1623-40) who suppressed the coffee-houses in Istanbul, where they remained closed until the 1670s. Murat, or 'Morat', ironically enough, was one of the figures who appeared on several London coffee-house tokens, indicating that coffee-house proprietors and patrons were well aware of the history of these spaces in the Near East. Murat was not alone in taking action against the coffee-houses, as Paul Rycaut, Charles II's ambassador to the Turkish emperor stated in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. Rycaut was perhaps influenced by his own government's anxiety over these spaces in early modern London, and cited the Ottoman coffee-houses as the frequent of disrespectful and irreligious individuals:

> These men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into discourses of State matters, censure the actions and pass Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; ... And this was the reason why the great Visier Kupriuli put down the Coffee-houses in Constantinople, and yet privileged the Taverns; because the first were melancholy places where seditions were vented, where reflections were made on all occurrences of State, and discontents published and aggravated.

Rycaut may here be subconsciously evoking the empowering of subjectivity through the interface between print and orality in his home country, for the word 'publish' is unusual in the Turkish context, as I indicated above. Nevertheless, there are many similarities between the coffee-houses in Islamic culture and those of Restoration London, as if the latter drew inspiration from the former when the returning monarchy of Charles II began to purge London of radical politics and religious dissenters.

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86 Hattox, p. 102.
In point of fact, this closeness to the Turkish ‘other’ was often utilized to critique the Restoration coffee-house, a space that appeared in the City during the Protectorate, a time when government was off its hinges, and so was English identity. Coffee appeared at a time that English palates “were as Fanatical as their Brains”, a time when a cohesive identity for the nation had been lost and the English would even submit to “the customes of Turky and India” like “slaves”: “The English-man, might he himself misplace/ Sure to be crosse, would shift both feet and face”.88 One pamphlet described the hypothetical proprietor of a Restoration coffee-house as a former Roundhead who merely switched headgear, “formerly notorious for his ill-favor’d Cap, that Ap’d a Turbant, and in conjunction with his anti-Christian face, made his appear Turk”.89 A broadside with the revealing title *A Cup of Coffee in its Colours* echoed the claim that coffee and the coffee-house had some magical properties capable of causing Christian men “to turn Turks” and lose their faith: “Though in the power of this Turkish Spell/ I’m faithless as a Jew or Infidel”.90 Further, the blackness of coffee was associated with the skin colour of the Turk and Moor, it was “the Sweat of Negroes, Blood of Moores”, and the ingestion of such a potion “makes a Christian blacker far within,/ Than ever was the Negars outward skin”.91 *A Broad-Side against Coffee; or the Marriage of the Turk*, compared the drink to a wedding night match between the Christian water of the Thames and the Turkish renegade coffee, and imagined the coffee-house as a confused underworld commingling where “Confusion huddles all into one Scene/ Like Noah’s Ark, the clean and the unclean”.92

This broadside, unillustrated at its first printing, was included in a collation of anti-tobacco and anti-coffee literature in 1672, and placed next to an anonymous

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89*The Character of a Coffee-House with the Symptomes of a Town-Wit*, p. 2.
90*A Cup of Coffee in its Colours* (1663).
91*A Satyr against Coffee* (1674), and *The Maidens Complaint against Coffee*.
92*A Broadside against Coffee; or the Marriage of the Turk* (1672).
woodcut that imagines this sort of intermixing.\(^{93}\) (Fig. 1. 10) In this rough but striking image an older man on the right is seated at a rectangular table, drawing from a pipe of tobacco and exhaling a psychedelic puff of smoke into the air while holding a cup of black coffee in his left hand. On the table is an array of coffee and tobacco paraphernalia. To this figure’s right are two young fair skinned boys clumsily taking pipes of tobacco, with the youth in the centre reaching for a cup of black coffee from a semi-naked dark skinned figure. Above this scene, in the corners are images of a lit candle and a dark coil of tobacco, and on the right surrounding a coffee urn are half a dozen cups full of coffee. In the centre, sandwiched in between the coil of tobacco and the coffee urn, floats an escutcheon made from tobacco pipes, coffee urns, and swirls of smoke, that displays a smoking black head on top of a white one.

These tracts were republished in 1676, and the image acquired an inscription identifying the elements of the cut as the "Tobacconists Armes and Turks Coffee-House".\(^{94}\) The former is no doubt based upon an illustrated satirical broadside from 1630, whose woodcut presents an almost identical image. (Fig. 1. 11) The broadside includes a verse description of the strange heraldry, in which the lower figure of "A Man reverst proper improperly" with tobacco pipes coming out of his mouth "at his backe side, very freely vents" the "sweet" smell of tobacco. Above is "a Mores head gardant on a wreath" perched upon a mug of ale, "a full Taverne looking-glasse". In the moral of the print, tobacco is associated with the fire and stink of hell, with the pagan Moor, and it turns men into beasts, making them idle with "vaine excess" and drunkenness. Much of this repertoire was adopted in the later woodcut of the coffee-house with the tobacconists arms, but here the grotesque inversion is put to use more clearly to touch upon anxieties over the shifting of identities within a

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93 John Hancock, *Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco* (1672). The latter contains an expurgated version of the previous broadside. The image is found on p. 63, and forms a coda to the collation, appearing before Hancock’s own postscript.

94 *The Touchstone; or Trial of Tobacco* (1676).
specific kind of social space. Tobacco has shifted from the idleness and drunkenness of the tavern, to be associated with the mutability of the "Turks Coffee-House". Are we to infer that the coffee-house scene pictured here and given a named location refers to a specific site? The house of Pasqua Rosee in St. Michael's Alley, the first coffee-house in London, and Miles' Coffee-House, a short lived establishment in Westminster near Waterman's Stairs where James Harrington's and Henry Nevill's Rota Club met, were both known as the Turk's Head because of their signs. In fact, there were at least fifty coffee-houses in London known as the Turk's Head since they used the head of a Moor or Turk on their signs and tokens which, as a pamphlet of 1665 put it, show "both where and how to find this house". Thus, it seems probable that by 1676 and the naming of the space pictured in the above woodcut with the very similar sounding 'Turks Coffee-House', but without a specific street location, the image could come to stand as a generic name for all coffee-houses in London, where the exchanges representing an irreparable loss of truth encountered here, those that could potentially turn men into women through excess speech, were also given the power to turn the world upside down, placing a black head on top of white one.

But this image represents more than a simple inversion of hierarchies, despite this escutcheon and the inclusion of this woodcut in such a grouping of texts designed to demonstrate that the social body was menaced by a dangerous exterior threat. As much as this volume attempts to ascertain where that risk is coming from, by clearly establishing the boundaries between this social body and a threatening other, the image paradoxically cannot avoid emphasizing the hybrid 'in-

95 The Character of a Coffee-House (1665), A2, and Lillywhite, pp. 366 and 602. The head of a Turk was first adopted by rural gentry on crests in their coats of arms to signify involvement in the long conflict between Christians and Mohammedans in the medieval period, and from here passed into use on the signs of inns and taverns in London and provincial towns. The coffee-houses often utilized the figure of Solyman the Magnificent, fourth emperor of the Turks, or Amurath IV.
betweenness' of the coffee-house. It is interesting to consider the conflicts over shifting identities within the theatre in light of this woodcut, which itself registers contradictions around shifting notions of Englishness. Unlike the escutcheon inversion above, in the scene below we see-saw back and forth through the 'fixity' of black, and white, to a confused, mixed identity represented by the Englishman on the right, who has 'turned Turk' shall we say. The forging of a place (the coffee-house) out of a nonplace (the decomposition of individual speakers into subjects) is in some sense the construction of a place that is not simply transgressive or an inversion of hierarchies, but is a site in which one can disappear, emphasizing a loss of distinction in a (non) place where identities shift to and fro. The coffee-pourer's presence intimates disorder and degeneracy; for example, he stands in front of the table to wait on the seated figures like a good servant, but this same gesture — the coffee urn poised suggestively in his groin area — is wrought with the potential corruption of the two English youths who wait for the bitter black drink. The young boy in the very center of the image reaches for a cup of coffee from this figure, an action that sutures them together. This exchange paradoxically hints at a process of splitting and the possibility for multiple or contradictory identities at the point of subjectivity. For the viewer, this visual presence of 'difference' might allow fetishistic identification leading to the construction of discriminatory knowledge, yet there remains a certain confusion in the image that resists this attempted closure. The contrasting of distinct differences raised by the black head on top of the white, and implied by many of the critiques of the coffee-house, is problematized by the woodcut that oscillates between repulsion and pleasure at the shifting of identities the space potentially allows. This is the same kind of ambivalence seen earlier in

96 This is also seen in Hancock's own condemnation of coffee and print, while at the same time condemning drunkenness in the area of the Royal Exchange, where the greatest concentration of 'sober' coffee houses would have been.


98 This formulation is derived from Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question" in The Location of Culture (London and New York, 1994), p. 80.
Hobbes' definition of opinion as hermaphrodite — partly comely and partly brutal — an entity seemingly absolved from clearly defined differences. It is almost as if the very decision to accept a cup of coffee from this figure is an acknowledgment of an ever present, interiorized difference that might cause one's insides to turn black. Is one to read into the woodcutter's overly pronounced shadow on the left cheek of the boy who reaches for a cup of the dark liquid an external signification of this internal process? The end result of this process represented by the gentleman on the right, as the woodcut seems to suggest, just might be the liberty to enjoy this hybrid form of identity, his anti-Christian face turned Turk by the inclusion of a rakish moustache and a grandiose coiled turban, almost like a Medusa's head. Indeed, this play with identity potentially extended further than the 'lowly' coffee-house and the marginally 'higher' theatre, into the homes of the courtiers themselves, as Pepys indicates upon a morning visit to Sir Philip Howard "whom I find dressing himself in his nightgown and Turban like a Turke; but one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life". Himself a frequenter of the coffee-house and the theatre, Pepys' "but" nevertheless seems to hedge at finding such a person of quality and privilege shifting feet and face in this way.

A new Babel.

The unsettling of identity tied to the hybrid social space of the coffee-house was not just a question of an internalized, shifting subjectivity, but situated in the recent history of upheavals and the uncertain terrain of Restoration politics. The link forged between Christians turning Turks as a result of the coffee-house, an association that was also interpreted as loyalists turning radical dissenters or 'Commonwealthsmen,' could mean, in a bizarre way, that Charles II's return to depose the Cromwell led Protectorate was also a defeat of a 'Turkish' like infidel. And this was exactly what was portrayed on an equestrian statue of Charles II erected in Stocks Market at the entrance to Cornhill in 1672. Prints from the time show the
King in military armor riding over the barefooted, robed, and turbaned Oliver Cromwell, who raises a fist as if to deliver a feeble punch to the mid section of the steed. (Fig. 1. 12) The oscillation between the poles of attraction and repulsion encountered in the imagining of subjectivity portrayed by the previous woodcut was inscribed here in a public space as a clear divide. This marble statue, paid for by the successful goldsmith Sir Robert Viner, had originally been produced for the King of Poland to commemorate a victory over the Turks, but was left on the sculptor’s hands. Viner purchased it and paid for its installation, but not before changing the face of the mounted figure to that of Charles II, and that of the trampled Turk to Oliver Cromwell.\textsuperscript{99} In the tradition of Roman talking statues, an anonymous satire of 1675, \textit{A Dialogue Between the Two Horses}, written in the form of a verbal exchange between the horse below Charles II and another beneath a statue of his father at Charing Cross, bitterly attacked both monarchs, arguing that England will be able to rejoice only when “the line of the Stuarts is ended” and a commonwealth returns. The most striking thing about this dialogue, is that the conclusion specifically criticizes the endeavors of Charles II’s government in late 1675 to trample on the ‘Turkish’ threat a second time, by attempting to close down the coffee-houses:

\begin{quote}
Let the City drink coffee and quietly groan; 
They that conquer’d the father wont be slaves to the son.
It is wine and strong drink make tumults increase;
Choc’late, tea, and coffee are the liquors of peace:
No quarrels nor oaths amongst those that drink ‘em;
’Tis Bacchus and brewers swear, damn ‘em and sink ‘em!
Then, Charles, thy edicts against coffee recall:
There’s ten times more treason in brandy and ale.
\end{quote}

Notably, this satire locates coffee-drinking in “the City,” and indicates that passers by of the statue at the entrance to Cornhill, where the Salmon or Latine Coffee-Houses

\textsuperscript{99}POAS, II, p. 266. The conversion was apparently rather poorly executed, and drew much comment. Marvell, in a poem of 1675, claimed that Viner had purposefully made Charles II look “a monster more than a King” because Viner sought revenge for the King’s closing of the Exchequer in 1672, an action that stopped the interest payments on moneys loaned by Viner and others to the Crown.
were located,\textsuperscript{100} and also very close to the Royal Exchange where the greatest concentration of coffee-houses were, would read in the statue the continuing story of conflict between the interests of the Corporation of London — where “they that conquer ‘d the father” exercised their influence — and those of the crown. Aside from a place to purchase print, Pepys's visits to the coffee-houses almost always coincided with the time of trading on the Royal Exchange, where he met merchants in his capacity as victualling agent for the Navy, and with them resorted to a coffee-house to conduct business, or be entertained with discourse on trade and political affairs. These merchants of the City who, according to the satire above, were to drink coffee and "quietly groan", were also Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace, and it was through them in Pepys's capacity as a mediator between these mercantile interests and the Crown that “a man may know the temper of the City”.\textsuperscript{101}

It is clear, despite what Habermas and others have argued, that the space of the coffee-house was where the bourgeoisie would begin to ‘rationalize’ both the aristocracy and monarchical government out of existence, that within Restoration London there was a much more complicated exchange between conflicting spaces. Courtiers, government employees that lived in the City, and urban merchants all had their own uses for the space of the coffee-house. For instance, Man's Coffee-House and Sam’s Coffee-House were known as Tory meeting places, the latter frequented by Roger L' Estrange, the King's surveyor of the press.\textsuperscript{102} These establishments were, however, away from the centre of the City: Man’s being near Charing Cross and Whitehall, thus acquired the sobriquet the Royal Coffee-House, and Sam’s was in Ludgate Street distant from the area of the Royal Exchange, where

\textsuperscript{100}The Coffee Scuffle, Occasioned by a Contest between a Learned Knight and a Pitifull Pedagogue; with the Character of a Coffee House (1662), was "to be sold at the Latine Coffee House near the Stocks". Ellis (1956), and Lillywhite name the Salmon and the Latine as the same house, though the latter is certain it did not survive after the fire of 1666.

\textsuperscript{101}Pepys, Diary, i, 10 November 1662, also iii, 2 July 1663 and 13 October 1663.

coffee-houses were most numerous. That these coffee-houses near the 'Change seemed more often than not to represent the political interests of the City is confirmed by another pamphlet published at the height of the Exclusion Crisis. This pamphlet purported to record a dialogue between a City apprentice and a courtier to whom the former was serving a Bill of Exchange. These characters begin an argument in which the courtier accuses the apprentice of being falsely Protestant and falsely loyal to the King, a charge to which the apprentice replies that being a 'Dissenter' from some imposed ceremonies of the Church of England does not make him disloyal to the King. This dialogue, which crystallizes some of the key issues of the exclusion crisis, is initiated on the courtyard within the Royal Exchange. Interestingly enough, the apprentice suggests that the 'Change is no place for such a discussion, and offers an alternative space across Cornhill in Exchange Alley, specifically Garraway's Coffee-House. Here they debate further the contentious issues of this period, including the rights of the City to retain its Charter and to choose its own governors annually in Common Hall, as well as the topics of the latest news-sheets and pamphlets. What appears to come out of this discussion is the importance of print as a tool for both groups to control certain spatial areas, as the apprentice complains that only Tory voices can be had outside the City, for instance in Westminster, and the courtier, in suggesting they change their location to a tavern away from the Royal Exchange area, exclaims "Dam 'e Coffee-houses,

103 A Dialogue between an Exchange, and an Exchange-Alley; or a Court and City Apprentice (1681). This small printed work was published in 1681 by the decidedly non-conformist Richard Janeway, member of the dissenting Green Ribbon Club, about which more in the next chapter. Janeway was a London dweller and Whig purveyor of print during the exclusion crisis and popish plot, who also published the news sheets Impartial Protestant Mercury and The New News Book. Roger L' Estrange, as we have seen, with the aid of the Stationer's Company was responsible for searching out unlicensed printed production and presses, and it is not at all surprising to discover that Janeway was one of the surveyor's victims, bringing an action of assault against a group of other stationers acting upon L' Estrange's orders in 1681 when his shop in Paternoster Row was raided. See James Sutherland, The Restoration Newspaper and its Development (Cambridge, 1986), p. 202, Harris (1990), p. 11, and Henry Plomer, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668 to 1725 (Oxford, 1922), p. 170.
they are not for our turn, being all, if not most Whiggified hereabouts”. This pamphlet throws a wrench into standard dichotomies between court/city and Tory/Whig, for it situates both factions as competing social bodies overlapping within a particular site in the City. The argument represented in the text begins in the space of institutionalized trade and is dictated by its rhythms, for the pair end their discussion upon the hearing of the noon hour peal of the bells from the Exchange indicating “Change time”, or when trading is allowed to begin again. Individual political and religious differences are laid aside at the moment when, paradoxically, though neither of these figure can be termed bourgeoisie, common economic rhythms of the City potentially reunite them.

With the Restoration, the heterogeneous nature of opinion, an unfixed entity absolved from clearly defined differences, comes to be associated with the social space of the coffee-house. The statue of Charles II, placed in an area close to the Exchange by a city financier, and linked to the struggles over the coffee-houses, brings the issues of identity central to the social relations articulated through the theatrical representation of the coffee-house, back into close contact with the relations central to the market. This discussion so far has shown that the corrupted communication of the Tower of Babel, a confusion of opinions where all spoke at once without the possibility of communication, was visually and textually linked to both the coffee-house and to print culture. These forms of print raised concerns over

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104 A Dialogue between an Exchange and Exchange Alley, p. 2. These distinctions also intersect with the constructions already alluded to above in which the drinking of ale and canary is associated with loyalty to King and royal government, for one does not then care to question his or her social place and political affairs, or pass judgment on persons of higher standing. See for example, from the same time, The Claret Drinker’s Song; or the Good Fellows Design (1680). Further, in many works of the time, for example the pindaric poem The Progress of Honesty; or a View of a Court and City (London, 1681), a contrast is established between urban and rural ‘subjectivities’ of a courtier father and city living son. The father is associated with loyalty to the crown “a wondrous man born of Celestial Race” and scarred by battles fought for King and country, humble, modest, with plain thoughts but who could nevertheless understand the depths of nature’s mystery, and show the way to truth through instruction in morals and philosophy. The son, on the other hand, is vicious and vain, strayed from the truth, his pockets “swell’d with Challenges and News, Lascivious pamphlets, Billet Doux”. He is of the city and rebellion, his clothes stuffed with the idle fruits of Opinion’s tree, estranged from truth by the dual afflictions of urban living and access to the culture of print.
the dissolving of hierarchies and the commodification of discourse — removed from traditional forms of control — validated only in a marketplace of opinion. Thus, it is not surprising that Babel described not only the coffee-house for seventeenth century writers, but also stood as a metaphor for the market place itself, another worrisome site of uncontrollable exchange.105 The connection between the two is made explicit in a pamphlet from the early Restoration that describes how, in a similar manner to A Dialogue between an Exchange and Exchange Alley, the servant of a usurer, Snapshort, is sent to the Royal Exchange to collect moneys for his master. At the Exchange Snapshort is confused by the sound of too many languages, and retires to a coffee-house nearby in Lothbury to “settle his brain”, but here the confusion and noise of discourse is even greater than at the 'Change.106 Both spaces, the Exchange and the coffee-house, are here significantly linked to the exchange of discourse and news, and to the confusion of languages impeding communication.

It is striking, indeed, to note the number of texts published during the decade and a half after the appearance of the coffee-house in London concerned with the reform of language and the effect of corrupt communication on trade. The excesses of speech, poorly defined words, and the impossibility of communication due to the confusion of different languages are reiterated again and again in these published works, many of which attempt to derive a universal language based upon numbers or even non verbal and non mathematical symbols. For instance, Francis Lodowyck desired to frame a new and perfect language during the Commonwealth, as well as a form of ‘Commonwriting’, since language was no longer doing its job as the true description of things, and should act more like a gate in order to “admit easie and

106Merc. Democ., The Maidens Complaint against Coffee; or, the CoffeeHouse Discovered, Besieged, Stormed, Taken, Untyled, and Laid Open to Publick View (1663), unpag.
quick entrance to the things themselves”. The goal to clarify the object in this manner was explicitly linked to the market in Cave Beck’s *The Universal Character*, which draws links between the “tongues confusion at Babel’s rout” and trade:

> When common thoughts of private gain, might be  
> A means to help us senses to unite  
> Into one tongue, again at least to write  
> The same; that divers Languages no longer may.  
> Upon our trading such Embargoes lay  
> Sure if the world do but its profit mind.

The Royal Society also concerned itself with these impediments generated by the confusions of speech, having published John Wilkins’ *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, seen as a remedy against “the Curse of Confusion” and a great facilitation towards “mutual commerce” amongst nations. Wilkins argued that “as things are better than words, as real knowledge is beyond elegancy of speech” it was his aim to find a system capable of making “the distinct expression of all things and notions that fall under discourse” by utilizing non mathematical and non verbal symbols:

> If to everything and notion there were assigned a distinct Mark,  
> together with some provision to express Grammatical Derivations and Inflections, this might suffice as to one great end of a Real Character, namely, the expression of our Conceptions by Marks which should signifie Things, and not Words.

Wilkins felt that somewhere beyond the world of the symbol in which the subject was imprisoned there was attainable a real knowledge of objects, and in the tradition of Comenius sought to associate a visible sign with every aspect of the natural

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107 Francis Lodowycx, *The Ground-Work, or Foundation Laid, (or so intended) For the Framing of a New Perfect Language: And an Universal or Commonswriting* (1652), A3.
108 Cave Beck, *The Universal Character, by which all Nations in the World may understand one anothers Conceptions, Reading out of one Common Writing their own Mother Tongues* (1657), unpag. Beck was concerned at this time with the slippery relation between the object and the word or image that was supposed to represent it, since an image might show one thing to the eye but have a different sense imposed upon it by a word. Therefore, as Beck claims, a painter could be justified “who drew a mishapen Cock upon a Sign-board, and wrote under it *this is a Bull*.”
109 John Wilkins, *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), preface.
110 Wilkins, p. 21.
However unlike Comenius and precursors such as Robert Fludd, who sought to picture the subject's place within a natural, physical, and metaphysical world held together by a tight chain binding man, nature, and God, Wilkins included an image in *An Essay Towards a Real Character* intended to clarify the speaking subject's place within a universe made up only of language. (Fig. 1.14) In this image the subject appears separated from a universe of words that seem to centre upon an absent object, over which the speaking subject apparently wields mastery through his knowledge of local propositions. This was to sidestep the fact that the subject inhabited a world of others who traded in similar symbols, both in discourse and the material forms of print, so aptly crystallized in the social exchanges that produced the space of the coffee-house. Indeed, other texts published during the Restoration touched more directly upon anxieties that the world of symbols may be insufficient to recover the world of things. For instance, in the translation of de Cordemoy's *A Philosophical Discourse Concerning Speech*, even though the author claimed to conform to Cartesian principles, he acknowledged that speech and language did not concern the self-knowledge of a subject established over and against a world of objects, but that speech was intersubjective: "the Means to know others, and to be known by them." However, speech and writing were not quite the same signifying systems, for the latter and its associative aspects of

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111 See Joannes Amos Comenius, *Orbus Sensualium Pictus* (Sydney, 1967). This is a facsimile of the third English and Latin edition produced in London in 1672. This edition translated the Latin title as *Visible World: or, A Picture and Nomenclature of all the chief Things that are in the World; and of Mens Employment therein, and A World of Things Obvious to the Senses Drawn in Pictures*.

112 The image is from Robert Fludd's *Utriusque cosmi ... Historia* (History of the Macrocsm) of 1617. See *Robert Fludd and his Philosophical Key* (ed.) A. G. Debus, (New York, 1979), and William Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London and New York, 1988).

113 Gérard de Cordemoy, *A Philosophical Discourse Concerning Speech Conformable to the Cartesian Principles* (1668). That there is a gap between the thing and its sign is brought out when de Cordemoy argues that individuals often know in one instant the signification of a word, but know it no more in another; and yet they will remember the word; and they have also the image of the thing, which it is to represent to them; but they have not yet so well joined the one to the other, that the image returns to their mind, when the word is pronoun'd which signifieth it", p. 41.
printing and engraving were what William Holder called "language in counterfeit", designed to make speech remain visible to the eye:

Swift, and ready, and familiar Communication is made by Speech, and when animated by Elocution, it acquires a greater life, and energie, ravishing and captivating the Hearers. But then, speech is confined to the living, and imparted to onely those that are in presence, and is transient and gone. Written Language, as it is more Operous, so it is more digested, and is permanent, and it reacheth the absent, and posterity, and by it we speak after we are dead.\textsuperscript{114}

While the spoken word is limited to the presence of those who are able to hear it, and is transient and fleeting, the written and printed word is "operous" — a word that characterizes it in the sense of an object requiring labour to produce, a product that has rendered the separation of the signifier from presence and allowed, through printing, "an indefinite reproduction of the same products".\textsuperscript{115} For Michel de Certeau, the 'island' of the printed page is a transitional site, accumulating the past and making alterity conform to its models — "it is capitalist and conquering".\textsuperscript{116} Speech, which comes out of the mouth and goes toward the other, once it is rendered a visual object through its 'counterfeiting' can come back to be eaten and digested by an eye that has become a mouth, and will require continual feeding. In the seventeenth-century, aided by writing and printing, this eye will consume the earth, turning subjects into objects, and the world into a picture.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{114}William Holder, \textit{Elements of Speech: an Essay of Inquiry into the Natural Production of Letters} (1669), pp. 8-9. The work of Wilkins, Cordemoy, and Holder were printed by John Martyn, printer to the Royal Society. Pepys mentions in the \textit{Diary}, ix, 1668-9, 2 and 6 December reading both Wilkins' and de Cordemoy's books. He was also present when Wilkins delivered his discourse before the Royal Society. The 1670s saw at least two more works in this vein, Edward Brerewood, \textit{Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions Through the Chief Parts of the World} (1674), and Henry Rose, \textit{A Philosophical Essay for the Reunion of the Languages} (1675).

\textsuperscript{115}De Certeau, \textit{The Writing of History} (New York, 1988), p. 216. For de Certeau writing's expansionism is colonial at heart; for its power can be extended indefinitely without being altered, protected against any difference that might seek to transform or resist it: "It can be taken as the play of a double reproduction which, as history and orthodoxy, preserves the past and which, as mission, conquers space by multiplying the same signs",

\textsuperscript{116}De Certeau (1984), p. 135.

\textsuperscript{117}De Certeau (1988), p. 234.
If speech was the means to know others and be known by them, then print transformed the means to know these others into a commodity. In early modern England, a great deal of printed production was devoted to both articulating new definitions of the self and producing knowledge above the ordinary about society’s others, seen by Jean-Christophe Agnew as part of a “national, if not global, crisis of representation, one wherein traditional social signs and symbols had metamorphosed into detached and manipulable commodities”. Agnew has argued that early modern England, and London in particular, experienced a shift in which residual boundaries separating the market from other types of exchange were dissolving, giving rise to anxieties over shifting identities, and ethical questions about an “increasingly placeless and timeless market process”, imbued with detached and impersonal abstractions such as exchange value and the commodity form. For Agnew, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century theatre in England acted as a laboratory for the new social relations of agricultural and commercial capitalism, and it provided a way of working through the enmity at the heart of the market, being that gain can only be achieved as long as an antagonistic attitude is maintained between partners in trade. Though I would not disagree with Agnew’s argument, it is interesting, nevertheless, that at the time when the contractual relationships of parliamentary politics, mercantile trade, Protestant orthodoxy and non-conformity were most rigorously formalized and implemented, that is, during the time of Cromwell, the theatre was suppressed. It is surely not coincidental, then, that in the two decades in which the stage was silenced, the coffee-houses appeared. If the theatre can be seen as a “physiognomic metaphor” for the mobile and polymorphous features of a market that has its own constraints, and where anxiety over the crossing of a number of boundaries was worked through, the same could be

118 Agnew, p. 97.
119 Agnew, p. x. Halasz, p. 164, also concurs that the early modern market had become neither a specific place nor a series of identifiable transactions.
said for the coffee-house — a hybrid space imagined at the center of the exchanges being articulated in the theatre and the market. And though it was a such a social space, despite what, paradoxically, both critiques and panegyrics claimed in that it was a place from where everyone could have a voice, it was less a site of liberty and more a space of continual contradiction and tension. The theatre, as an image of enclosure, its boundaries between stage and audience clearly demarcated, with discourse tamed by the operations of the marketplace, cannot contain coffee-house heterogeneity. The coffee-house is a different space, vagrant, place-less, in which the circulation of people and print is potentially unlimited and difficult to locate, troubling categories, boundaries, and identities.

Within the transition from Medieval to early modern London, trading exchange between merchants that had formerly been socially and geographically marginalized since it involved the crossing of boundaries, or took place in the interstitial place of the boundary itself, was moved with the marketplace to the center of the city.\(^{120}\) This transformation can be seen in light of the shift defined by Henri Lefebvre from absolute politico-religious space to the abstract space of secular life, a space of accumulation and consumption.\(^{121}\) This would be an urban centred production of space strengthening an authority grounded in reason — characterized by illumination and elevation — that would 'decrypt' the older mode and cause thought, philosophy, and the visual to rise to the surface. For Lefebvre, this historical shift marks the beginning of a threatening gambit that would eventually see the subordination of space to the written word through abstract modes of thought (geometry and logic) and the printing revolution. Eventually, realization becomes reification as the social production of space is surmounted by spectacle in the twentieth-century.

\(^{120}\) Lefebvre (1991), p. 265

\(^{121}\) Lefebvre (1991), p. 256. Lefebvre argues that this shift occurred in the late Medieval period.
The centre of abstract space in the early modern city was the town’s marketplace and market hall. Economic movement of goods had formerly required ritual rehearsal, for example, the ceremonial limits of the Medieval marketplace carnival had served to protect the celebrants from the threatening consequences of a brief immersion in a world without boundaries. Consequently, the marketplace in the early modern period still retained an ambivalent status as a threshold, defined by the movement of people and goods as a permanent possibility. This status can sometimes be detected in images of the Royal Exchange from the seventeenth-century, for example, in plans of the Exchange rebuilt after the fire of 1666 by London’s Aldermen and the Mercer’s Company, which preserved the notion of fluid boundaries, (Fig. 1.15) maintaining an open space characterized by access and egress on each side, with the interior courtyard loosely situating merchants by geographical location, race, or even commodity. In an etching by Hollar from 1644, (Fig. 1.16) the Royal Exchange is shown crowded with traders from all countries. In this space the otherness and difference at the center of the City’s life are accepted and displayed, they ‘belong’ here. Though many images of the Exchange from the seventeenth-century depict it empty and as a self contained architectural object severed from the surrounding City, Hollar’s image asserts that this is a space defined by its use, by the passage of individuals through the urban centre and even the world, collecting here for the purposes of exchange. Even the name given to the spaces inside this building where trading is carried out denotes continual movement, being called ‘walks.’ A heterotopy of the margins is celebrated in this image that frames the trading world like a theatre, surrounded by a proscenium arch.

However, does this place of permanent movement and transgression, ironically characterized by the stillness of its visual representation, betray a residual

anxiety that seeks to keep these ‘others’ apart from the rest of the city? Does it make clear a view of the boundaries it seeks to transgress? It is striking, indeed, that this image is the only print I have seen that specifically articulates its intention to enfold the viewer within the image. Hollar's print announces that the viewer does not witness this scene from a privileged and secure position apart from these figures and outside of the space represented, for the stage that encloses these traders also encloses the viewer. At the bottom of the image is a very small band of text announcing that the viewer is situated inside the Exchange itself, his or her viewing position “understood for the fourth walke”, identical to the other three pictured, “All of which could not be conveniently expressed”.

This viewer called up here is not a simple Cartesian subject clearly separated from an exterior world, not merely the punctiform being located at the geometrical point from which the perspective of this image is grasped, but is an eye brought into being within the gaze of others. This distinction between the eye and the gaze, according to Lacan shows “how the subject who concerns us is caught, manipulated, captured in the field of vision”. In this way Hollar's image of the Royal Exchange makes the viewer become part of the object and be enclosed within its representational framework, subject to the picture and therefore subject to the gaze emanating from the image of these ‘others’. For Pepys the Royal Exchange was exactly this kind of place, a place on his itineraries through the city to see and be seen. Indeed, it is striking that of the two sites Pepys specifically referred to in this way as he recorded his movements through London

123 A later, post-fire version of this image omitted this text, perhaps because it was felt to be impossible to locate the viewer within the representation after the represented object ceased to exist.

124 Lacan (1981), pp. 80 and 84: “The gaze I encounter [...] is not a seen gaze, but a gaze imagined by me in the field of the Other”.

125 Lacan (1981), pp. 92, 100, and 106: “in the scopic field the gaze is outside, I am looked at, that is to say, I am a picture. [...] What determines me, at the most profound level, in the visible, is the gaze that is outside”. The function within which a subject has to map itself is referred to by Lacan as a picture, in that the human subject makes a picture of him or herself and puts into operation something that has as its centre the gaze.

126 According to Freud and Lacan, this desire to see and be seen is a partial drive exhibiting the mechanics of voyeurism in which what is fundamental “is the movement outwards and back in which it is structured”. Lacan (1981), pp. 177 and 182.
and suburbs, one was the Royal Exchange, the other the theatre: for example, "All the morning at the office by myself, about setting things in order there; and so at noon to the Exchange to see and be seen;" and later, on another occasion, after his wife has gone abroad in the town "I out also, to and fro to see and be seen". What I am trying to get at here, if we go back for a moment to Hollar's image of the Royal Exchange that adopts the unusual conceit of specifically identifying the viewer's position as within the represented object and therefore both traps the gaze and turns him or her into a picture, is that in seventeenth-century London certain specific areas of the city were experienced as places where the subject of vision became confused with the object of sight. These sites were not just concerned with satisfying the to and fro of the voyeuristic drive, but the invocatory as well, for the Exchange more than the theatre was where one went to speak as well as "hear a bit here and a bit there". However, from Pepys' movements through London we can see that the coffee-house was becoming as much if not more important than the Royal Exchange to see and be seen, hear and be heard, even read and be read, as one pamphlet during the Restoration chose to put it. In the coffee-house discourse is the means by which

we come to know Men better than by their Physiognomys, *Loquere utte videam* speak that I may see thee, was the Phylosophers Adage, To read Men is acknowledged more useful than Books, but where is there a better Library for that study generally than Here, amongst such a variety of Humours all expressing themselves on divers subjects according to their respective Abilities?

The exchange of discourse that occurs within the marketplace is turned, within the coffee-house, into a library where one benefits not by position of privilege or wealth,

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127 Pepys, *Diary*, iii, 17 March 1662, and vii, 1 May 1666. It is clear he thought of a trip to church in the same way, but the latter was a place much less frequented by Pepys. Within the scopic drive, where the gaze is lost and suddenly refound by the introduction of the other, there is an element of shame in which the self sees oneself being caught by the other in the act of looking. For Pepys, there are many times recorded in the *Diary* where he expresses anxiety that he might be seen by others in public, usually when he is with company of 'questionable' repute, i.e., singers and actresses.

128 Pepys, *Diary*, iii, 16 March 1662.

but by gaining knowledge through a common denominator — books — representing a diverse group of individuals with equally diverse abilities.

By the Restoration, the Exchange had already become a place where trading of actual physical commodities rarely occurred. Instead, it was more important as a place for discourse, for the exchange of words, news, information, and, in Pepys case, verbal contracts for victualling. Such a transformation is indicated in Hollar's image of the Exchange, for there is only a single commodity shown for sale in the etching, and it is print. Despite its attempts to contain the viewing subject and viewed object within its representational framework, Hollar's print is all about movement. Movement of traders, but also movement of print itself, for it was one of the particular advantages of print that, like these traders, it could cross boundaries and suggest infinite movement and expansion. In fact, Hollar's print of the 'Change is like a ritual object that mediates the crossing of boundaries between inside and outside, between difference and the same, between observer and the image even, for the first figure that the eye of the viewer falls upon in Hollar's image of the Royal Exchange is the female hawker of broadsides in the immediate foreground who represents a clear link between this theatre of the world and the streets that connect it to the city outside. Out of all the merchants pictured here, this is the only commodity and type of exchange specifically alluded to.

What I want to suggest here is that print culture and the coffee-houses surrounding the Royal Exchange, by the Restoration were instrumental in 'displacing' the marketplace. The Sun, known as both a tavern and a coffee-house and situated behind the Exchange on Threadneedle Street, was constructed this way in a laudatory broadside of 1672. Decorated in a 'Turkish' mode, this space was "where many Quarrels are, but not a Fray", and as a space of discourse and print was "the Worlds Eye" which gave vision and light like its namesake. Most important, though, was that the new social exchanges in this coffee-house enabled by the 'eye' of printed representations were capable of drawing off all the activity of the Royal
Exchange and shifting it permanently to within its walls: "thus the Sun, as with invisible Ropes, Draws all the Change, and makes 'em Heliotropes".\textsuperscript{130} In another Restoration pamphlet coffee-house patrons are drawn to these houses not only because of the multitudinous points of view expressed or encountered there, but because the coffee-house also provided a viewpoint from which a patron could survey both individuals and know the 'temper' of the city. The physical space — unlike the ale-house which forces you into a closed off box like a foxtrap — with its long, sometimes oval, tables and open spaces, combined with the consumption and exchange of forms of print confers upon a coffee-house patron a privileged position of seeing:

\begin{verse}
But as from th' top of Pauls high steeple'  
Th' whole City's view'd, even so all people  
May here be seen; no secrets are...
\end{verse}\textsuperscript{131}

By way of a carnival like inversion, the coffee-house, often related to the lower stratum in the printed critiques mentioned above, moves to the highest point in the city. No longer is the coffee-house within the space of the theatre, where anxieties over shifting social identities can be explored, rather, it is now the audience for the theatre that represents the world outside of the coffee-house, as if it were viewed in a map or a topographical scene, with its dream of rendering transparent the social structure of all of London. But the kind of knowledge gained in the coffee-house from excess speech and forms of print is not concerned with the production of truth, and this seems to be its particular advantage. Interestingly enough, truth is produced in the ale-house, where men speak their minds more quickly and without thinking. Due to sober and rational discussion in the coffee-house, in this case meaning the consumption and exchange of antagonistic representations, this pamphlet locates a kind of freedom within continual conflict, the forging of a social body out of

\textsuperscript{130}The Glory of the Sun-Tavern behind the Exchange (London, 1672).
\textsuperscript{131}The Character of a Coffee-House,(1665), p. 4
heterogeneity. The possibility of truth seems to collapse when enunciation becomes tied to such an unstable location.

Clearly, the coffee-houses near the Royal Exchange were beginning to serve certain needs and provide forms of social and material exchange that the 'Change no longer could. Indeed, Samuel Butler, author of the highly popular Restoration novel *Hudibras*, totally conflated the coffee-house and the market into

a coffee-market, where people of all qualities and conditions meet to trade in foreign drinks and newes, [it] admits of no distinction of persons, but gentleman, mechanic, lord, and scoundrel mix, and are all of a piece, as if they were resolved into their first principles. By the time of the Restoration the market no longer meant simply a particular geographical locus or a 'thing', but was beginning to be thought of in a different way, more as a process. The sobriety associated with coffee and the reasoned discourse in the coffee-house were both good for business, since coffee kept "Apprentices and Clerks away from Ale in the morning," so that they may "go out more sprightly about their affairs than before". Their affairs, however, were increasingly conducted within a market that, like the coffee-house itself, was placeless — a 'non-place' — as middlemen and merchants refused to be restrained by the spatial and temporal limits of the marketplace and coveted the possibility of commercial exchanges at all times and places. Middlemen and speculators away from the market could better exploit information about commodities to their own advantage, as well as introduce new ventures such as stocks and insurance investments. For example, the very first fire and marine insurance schemes in England originated in

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132 Cited in Robinson, p. 126.
133 *The Vertues of Coffee* (1663), containing extracts from several writers, this quote from James Howell. See also *Coffee-houses Vindicated*, p. 4.
134 Alan Jenkins, *The Stock Exchange Story* (London, 1973), pp. 19-20. The appearance of the words broker and stockjobber occurred circa 1670, and between 1673-93 there was an increasing abstraction of the market to brokerage of stocks and shares. By 1684, according to member of the Royal Society John Houghton, there already existed a fully developed stock broking market centred around Garraway's and Jonathan's Coffee-Houses. Jenkins writes: "Clearly stock broking began, like insurance and almost all the institutions of the modern commercial city of London, in coffee houses".
the Restoration coffee-houses of Lloyd’s and the Rainbow. Contrary to what might appear in *A Dialogue between an Exchange and an Exchange Alley*, in that the movements of those individuals in the orbit of the Exchange were dictated by its rhythms alone, a prohibition against some rather new figures — ‘brokers’ and ‘stockjobbers’ — from agitating “any business between merchant and merchant” just after the Restoration specifically prohibited their crowding and blocking of Exchange Alley, a locale crowded with coffee-houses, and, as I indicated earlier, also the focus of prohibitions against the vending of print in the streets during the Exclusion Crisis. I would argue that print in these coffee-houses had a varied role, not the least of which was to supply the information needs of traders expanding the process of commodity exchange into a market existing as much on paper as in a specific urban site, and to continually test the boundaries of urban subjectivity, increasingly hidden behind many different masks.

By the eighteenth-century, some images of the Royal Exchange look more and more like coffee-houses with print plastered on the walls and columns, and scarce an individual who is not reading or discussing with others the contents of a broadside or news sheet, indicating forms of circulation and exchange no longer confined to the regulations and customs of this site. (Fig. 1. 17) Other spaces in the city will fill the requirements of these new needs, as a related image suggests, in its representation of the facade of the Exchange in the busy street of Cornhill. (Fig. 1. 18) On the immediate right margin is represented a more recent utilitarian brick structure, of which the lower two floors are taken up by John’s Coffee-House. In the image, this space has clearly adopted the threshold once symbolized by the Royal Exchange, emphasized by a figure in the lower right corner who passes through an open doorway into the coffee-house, one foot in the street, the other inside John’s.

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The coffee-house is also the only space the viewer can see into from the street, where in a second floor window two men examine and discourse upon a printed sheet of paper. Indeed, while this space seems to argue for an openness and transparency to market relations, both for the viewer and those who occupy this space, the inclusion of a porter overburdened by a huge packet directly below the open window indicates that the coffee-house has its exclusions as well. Is it going too far to see in the depiction of these two figures who come together over this ‘island’ of paper in the open window as those in the process of turning both the packet being carried below their window and the carrier himself into abstract marks through the representational mode they hold in their hands. Here is represented the dynamics of the burgeoning power of the representational technology of print, that can turn living beings into signs, and society into a text. In this sense, the culture of print and the coffee-house were inextricably linked to a marketplace supposedly capable of erasing all boundaries and burying distinctions of use value beneath exchange value, a process that would make an object of everything.\footnote{Lefebvre (1996), pp. 66 and 101. Prior to industrialization the city could be viewed much like a creative product, an oeuvre, in which the recently absorbed quasi-nomadic and fringe dwelling merchants unproductively invested a large portion of their wealth on civic pageantry, architecture, and monuments, as Thomas Gresham did with the Royal Exchange. However, though the city was animated and dominated by merchants and bankers who promoted and extended exchange value, “for them the city was much more use value than exchange value”. In the transition from the Medieval corporate and guild structure, with its reliance on landed property and agriculture, to the city of manufacturing and industry, there was tension between the seemingly irreversible tendency towards the exchange value of money, commerce, and commodities, and this oeuvre, or use value associated with the city and urban ‘reality’.}

As I have shown, like the market, the coffee-houses of Restoration London enabled the transgression of social boundaries and the multiplication of identities. Also like the market, the coffee-house was imagined as a Babel-like confusion where words, both printed and spoken, were the relevant currency and selves the object of exchange.\footnote{See The Maiden’s Complaint against Coffee, and Agnew, p. 71.} Apprehension over some of the effects, and affects, of this ‘trading’ come to the fore in the early printed pamphlets, images, and broadsides.
The phobic conception of the coffee-house in the seventeenth-century, as an entity that dissolved social differences and a space in which distinctions were lost, was tied to the circulation of forms of print — ephemeral, value-less, somewhere between books and broadside ballads — that had no other sanction than that of the marketplace. As Halasz has argued, the increased production of discourse as a commodity enabled by print disrupted traditional patterns of its circulation and consumption, and it was in the economic interests of the marketplace not to control the dissemination of this excess speech.\textsuperscript{138} As the coffee-house itself shifts both feet and face, a space seemingly impossible to define clearly because of its confused mixing of elements, these apprehensions always seem to come back to this connection to the marketplace, a conceptual link that echoes the physical proximity of the majority of coffee-houses in Restoration London to the Royal Exchange. Ultimately, I resist taking a final view of the coffee-house and concluding that the space was one thing or another — inclusive, exclusive, foundation of the public sphere, universal, rational — and thus invariably flatten out the history of this heterogeneous space. I don't claim to have a higher wisdom than writers at the time who had similar difficulties, for example, the anonymous author of \textit{The Character of a Coffee-House} whom, at the end of this pamphlet decided that "To take a farewell view of the House will be difficult, since tis always shifting Scenes and like O Brazile (the Inchanted Island) seldome appears twice in a posture". The space shifts from appearing to be a church with its low whispers and candles, to a music room, to a gaming house because of its tables, and then "on a sudden it turns Exchange, or a Warehouse for all sorts of Commodities".\textsuperscript{139}

Clearly, the most troubling commodities stored and vended in this warehouse were a great variety of forms of print, and I would suggest that it was social exchanges and practices allowed by the culture of print that created the

\textsuperscript{138}Halasz, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{139}The Character of a Coffee-House (1673), p. 6.
opportunity for the coffee-house to emerge at this moment in seventeenth-century London. However, the space of the coffee-house did not, despite claims in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, confer the 'advantage' of rising to the top of Paul's steeple upon everyone. If we think back to the location of the majority of coffee-houses in Restoration London, this supposed transparency is conferred through the relation of the coffee-house to the market. Who is seeing and what is being seen depends on where you sit, in the space of irrational truths spoken without thinking, or in the non-place of excess speech and its material form that can traverse boundaries and conquer space, fluid enough to raise the question of shifting identities, but constrained by the antagonistic exchanges of the market. The coffee-house was a space of printed exchanges generating a heterogeneity which cannot be circumscribed by Habermasian assumptions of free discursive exchange. Further, by showing that the coffee-house itself was produced through antagonistic representations, it is not just that excess speech given a material form in print and a space in which it is exchanged and consumed shapes public opinion, but that the coffee-house was instrumental in creating an urban subjectivity that recognized itself as belonging to a public brought together through consumption of forms of print. However, there was no singular public, or public sphere, but rather publics defined and contested within this space of difference created by print.\footnote{As Nancy Fraser argues in \textit{Justice Interruptus}, pp. 75-76, a plurality of publics has always been a crucial aspect of any notion of the democratic public sphere. For example, "the bourgeois public was never the public", and from the moment it was conceived it was met by "a host of competing counterpublics". The relations between these distinct publics "were always conflictual". Therefore, "the exclusions and conflicts that appeared as accidental trappings from his [Habermas] perspective, in the revisionists' view become constitutive".} It is to some very specific strategies of using print and the City to define difference that I now turn.
Chapter Two

Representing the Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope: the Liminal Space of Print and the City.

It was very dark, but we could perceive the street to fill, and the hum of the crowd grew louder and louder, and, at length, with the help of some lights below, we could discern, not only upwards towards the Bar, where the squib war was maintained, but downwards towards Fleet-Bridge, the whole street was crowded with people, which made that, which followed, seem very strange.¹

Marking the terrain.

During the elaborate Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, an effigy of the pontiff was carried through the winding streets of Restoration London and then burned with great ceremony in front of a large crowd at Temple Bar. (Fig. 2.1) These events were held annually on the evening of November 17 from 1679 to 1681, organized by the Whig Green Ribbon Club during the height of the campaign to force the exclusion of the Roman Catholic James II from succession to the throne. At first glance, the intentions of the mock Pope burnings seem oriented towards the constitution of religious differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism on the basis of a fear of popery and arbitrary government, and to do this they made use of older forms of social production and reproduction. For example, the pageants adopted elements of religious, civic, and guild processions, aspects of charivari, rough music, and street theatre, as well as ritual performances at traditional boundary markers. In fact, looking at this elaborate image, the argument could be made that the whole procession was an elaborate charivari, embodying all the expected elements — the form of a parade with rough music, costumes, mockery, and even symbolic violence. Following this, one would have to view the procession as a demarcation of urban space that was very different from the new social space of the coffee-house. However, in this chapter and those that follow, I offer a series of arguments about the way exchanges prompted by print culture were integral in the

¹North, p. 577.
visual production and reproduction of the city's spaces at different moments of
crisis in Restoration London. At these moments different re-imaginings of London
— representations of space — converge with more local forms of knowledge and
socially specific spatial practices. Hence it is my belief that the procession, and the
image of the procession, were in many ways conditional upon the space of print
opened up by the coffee-house, a heterogeneous 'publicity' in which print was
instrumental in creating new social pressures, exacerbating existing ones, as well as
forcing social and spatial boundaries to be redrawn, reinforced, or contested. Like the
coffee-house, then, these Restoration processions would be incomprehensible
without their relation to print — the extended and abstract community of
consumers print culture calls up in the coffee-houses and even beyond these
gateways to "all sorts of people", through which representations of the procession
passed just as the actual event passed through London's streets.

In order to fully explore the intrinsic connections between the printed
broadside and the Pope burning pageantry, like the winding image of the procession
itself, this chapter will take a circuitous route and visit a diversity of sites before it
too reaches a termination point. Indeed, to take us ultimately to the printed images,
I will analyze in some depth below the details of this procession, its route, and the
significance of its conclusion in front of Temple Bar. We must also understand
more about the civic processional form in early modern London and the way it
negotiated or articulated differing sets of interests. In marking this terrain, we shall
be able to see how the actual procession made use of long established spatial
boundaries and sites in the City, important for their ritualized civic and even sacred
significance. Paradoxically, however, I shall argue that the printed representation
was part of a process making those real physical and symbolic boundaries less
important than the wholly imaginary ones it assisted in creating. To explore the
latter contradiction we must understand the history of Protestant uses of print
culture in order to constitute a circumscribed community of the true faith over
against a threatening Catholic other. It is only then that we will be able to comprehend the complexity of how, in the case of the Solemn and Mock Processions, forms of print were used to represent an object (the procession) that moved through urban space, in which explicit reference was also made to other forms of print (contemporary news sheets and even historical sources of violent martyrdom imagery such as John Foxe), as well as to a social space (the coffee-house) through which print itself moved and was exchanged by a community of users. As I have shown in the previous chapter, it was through the social exchanges enabled by print and the coffee-houses that traditional social and even spatial hierarchies were challenged, and it was largely through print culture and the coffee-house that different, even more abstract, boundaries such as those between Whig and Tory were created. When Roger North, supporter of monarchy and high church interests during the exclusion crisis, speaks in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter about the strangeness of the procession he witnessed at Temple Bar, he surely means this in two ways. On the one hand he marvels at it because it is a spectacle organized for that very purpose, making use of darkness, torch light, the murmuring and pressing of the crowd. On the other hand, the spectacle seemed strange for him since he could not fully comprehend what he was viewing. I would suggest that his incomprehension of the procession, dealt with more fully below, derived from the fact that he was not a part of that public created through print in the Whig coffee-houses, a community that would be capable of recognizing the meaning and even history of the iconography, the speeches and songs, and even the significance behind the order of the procession.

Following traces.

No other civic procession ever took the same route as the mock Pope burnings, visiting four gates in the north and east of the old Roman wall of London before traversing the City to terminate at another one, Temple Bar. In this light, the
procession was about articulating boundaries, but in traversing the City from Leadenhall Street to Temple Bar, presumably through St. Paul's churchyard, the procession also passed through the City's main ceremonial spaces. This section of the City between the standard at the intersection of Leadenhall Street, past the conduit in Cornhill, the great conduit in Cheapside, and the Cheapside Cross to St. Paul's was both the major east-west axis of London and the principal ritual spaces of the two major mobile civic pageants — the royal entry and the annual Lord Mayor's Show. However, both of these rituals were in decline in the latter part of the seventeenth century: Charles II's royal entry was the last of its kind in London, with the Lord Mayor's Show nonexistent by 1702. As Lawrence Manley has argued, the royal entry and mayoral inaugural show elaborated in symbiotic and ceremonial terms the complicated relationship between two different but interconnected political domains, the City and the Crown. Indeed, it was increasingly tangled City and Crown relations, in part due to the rise of merchant capitalism, that initially led to an escalation of London civic pageantry in the sixteenth century. Given this history, we note an interesting parallel with the Restoration, in that the elaborately programmed Pope burning processions appeared at a moment of increased tension between London and Westminster during the years of the exclusion crisis. While the royal entry served to reinforce the domination of City by Crown, polity by neo-feudal tenets, and social order by aristocratic lineage, the Lord Mayor's shows indicated that London's civic rulers increasingly found grounds for self definition in the "bourgeois alternatives" of the annual pageants. For Manley, making use of the work of Victor Turner, the negotiation of the differences between two different jurisdictions and their cultural values in the same central space of London through these ritualized processions suspended everyday norms and produced the anti-

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structural condition of 'liminality'.

The liminal logic of these ceremonies dissolved the particular divisions and ranks of society in a ritual 'communitas', "a quasi-sacred condition of solidarity expressing the deepest and most basic values of the collectivity". The Lord Mayor's Shows and the royal entry were cultural 'limens', phenomena of political negotiation that focused on a climactic ceremonial space at the end of Cheapside in the centre of the City, producing new concepts and effecting historical change. Differences between City and Crown were here held in suspension, "the potentially divisive structures that organized different modes of politico-legal-economic life were transformed by a spirit of communitas into a basis for dialogical reflection on social unity, on the ideals and desiderata of the nation".

That the power of communitas is predominantly placed in the service of a culture of consensus has been a criticism leveled at the work of Turner. We should be careful not to equate the ritual space and time of procession with the production of a normative 'communitas', particularly in the case of phenomena like the Pope burning processions which seem to be concerned with articulating 'difference'. To be fair to Turner, conflict and exchange are as central as consensus to his notion of the performative aspects of social rituals, and I think it is problematic to approach Restoration culture with a view to finding consensus rather than disagreements.

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4 Manley, p. 214. Manley uses Turner's notion of liminality to argue for early modern London as both a site of social negotiation and a threshold of historic change, linking its literary culture with social and material processes. Manley sees the work of social anthropologists like Turner on the structural changes effected by cultural practices useful, since the logic of liminality "integrates the mechanisms of cultural transition both with the residuation-dominance-emergence of literary forms and with the systematically overdetermined nature of the historic process" (p. 13).

5 Manley, p. 214.

6 Manley, p. 257.

7 See, for example, the critique of liminality and the work of Turner in Caroline Walker Bynum, Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion (New York and Cambridge, MA, 1991).

8 For a study of civic pageantry during the Restoration that utilizes an uncritical and limited notion of 'consensus' see John Patrick Montano, "The Quest for Consensus: the Lord Mayor's Day Shows in the 1670s", in MacLean (ed.), Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration, pp. 31-51. Montano's totalitarian view of the restored monarchy's attempt to consolidate a 'national consensus' — "By participating in civic pageantry, the government of the 1670s revealed its interest in using all forms of culture — both elite and popular — to propagate the ideology of consensus" (p. 52) — completely effaces
Social dramas, for Turner sustained public actions, are always propelled by dichotomous factions manipulating "symbols of exclusivity and inclusivity". These dramas are ritual performances that seek either to resolve conflict or, if impossible, to create divisions within the social body. In this way a social crisis, for instance, the breaching of an already tenuous relationship between monarchy, parliament, and City leading to the crisis over exclusion, is met by remedial procedures of a highly reflexive nature — a Whig propaganda campaign which included the Pope burning processions. This social drama does contribute to the formation of a political group's identity but not to cultural consensus, for at this point, as Turner maintained, there is either reconciliation or recognition of social schism, the latter usually followed by spatial separation. Clearly, spatial demarcation between City and crown — an attempt to delineate difference between a political community and its outside — was a crucial aspect of the Pope burning processions.

The Pope burning processions made use of the spaces of the city to great effect, but they also made use of the space of print. I will argue that it was crucial for this ritual demarcation of political boundaries to be reinforced by its representation in forms of print. With these Pope burning processions, the strategies and tactics of spatial practices converge with practices of print, as forms of print are paramount in this process of political identity formation during the exclusion crisis, comprising a large part of what numerous historians have referred to as the first effective campaign of 'mass propaganda' against popery, Catholicism, and absolutism. Indeed, new fears about popery and arbitrary government in England structured political opposition in the 1670s. Catholic rule was associated with absolutism,
particularly because of Louis XIV in France, and when Charles II abandoned the 
Protestant Triple Alliance in 1672 for an alliance with the French King in order to 
invade the United Provinces and hopefully rule without parliament, the threat of 
popery and its corollary, despotic government, was raised again.11 City and court 
were no strangers to such crises over the return of Catholic style absolutism, having 
experienced one that contributed to the civil wars already in 1637-42, and they would 
experience another one leading to the revolution in 1687-9. These troubles were 
implicitly linked to a wider religious polarity structuring most of Europe in these 
years, between the forces of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Although 
Protestantism in England seemed relatively secure — English Catholics made up 
only two percent of the national population but contributed inordinately to its 
anxiety — on the continent it appeared to be under great threat. As Jonathan Scott 
points out, the century from 1590 to 1690 saw Protestantism extirpated through 
religious wars from one half to one fifth of the European continent, and England, 
with Ireland on its flank, found itself surrounded by threatening forces.12

The security of Protestantism in England was threatened when the heir to the 
throne, James II, Duke of York, publicly confirmed his Catholicism by not complying 
with the Test Act of 1673, giving rise to a powerful opposition movement intent on 
excluding the Duke from the succession. To counter this discord the Earl of Danby, 
Thomas Osborne, attempted to orchestrate the seemingly impossible vision of an 
Anglican and Protestant nation ruled by a Catholic King. To this end Danby made 
great use of the Anglican bishops to counter dissenting forces, as Mark Goldie has 
shown, in order both to protect the church from schismatics and papists and the 
state from commonwealthsmen and rebels.13 By enforcing the laws against popery

11Ogg, p. 555. See also W. M. Spellman, The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700 
12Jonathan Scott, "England’s Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot", in The Politics of Religion in 
13Mark Goldie, "Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs", in The Politics of Religion in Restoration 
England , p. 81.
and dissent with equal vigor — removing Catholic priests from court, fining Catholic worshippers, withdrawing the licenses for dissenting conventicles, purging Presbyterian dissenters from county commissions — Danby provoked great debate about the role of the bishops in Restoration government. The Earl of Shaftesbury and the Duke of Buckingham, whom we will encounter again below as leaders of the Whigs, were figures who had strong links to dissenting religious groups and thus resisted the return of pre-1642 powers to the bishops.14 The King himself, in his desire for tolerance, often seemed to lean too closely to Presbyterians and former commonwealthsmen in his associations with Buckingham and Shaftesbury, action that garnered fear and resentment of a ‘Presbyterian monarchy’ from loyalists. The cavaliers sometimes seemed more of a church party than a King’s party, for in their desire to defend and uphold episcopacy, prayer book uniformity, and erase the traces of the civil wars, they could campaign against Charles II’s moves towards reconciliation.15

This unstable political terrain led to the so-called ‘popish plot’, an important driving force behind the exclusion crisis. The plot was driven by a long and complicated story related by Titus Oates in 1678. Oates reworked a series of themes much utilized in England during the seventeenth-century, for example, that the papists, and in particular the Jesuits, were responsible for the civil wars, the regicide of Charles I, and trying to make Cromwell King. Jesuits disguised as Presbyterians were to cause revolt in Scotland, and French troops were to help a rebellion in Ireland. In England, amongst other things, the Jesuits were responsible for the fire in London in 1666, and they were also behind a current plot to assassinate Charles II, after which several thousand papists were to rise and cut the throats of a hundred thousand Protestants while burning the city a second time.16 Apparently, Oates had

15Goldie, “Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs”, pp. 76-77.
originally tailored this fantastic plot for high church supporters at court, being careful to exonerate James II from any wrongdoing, and his references to covenanters, conventicles, and the bishops exhibited a bias against dissenters. After ruining his credibility with the King, Oates shifted to the opposition, dropping a few details, modifying his tale slightly, and bringing it into a wider realm by having it published in 1679. Where belief could not be found by way of testimony in front of a Justice of the Peace, or even then in front of the ultimate authority, the King, it was found in a different place, through different means. Three versions of Oates' narrative were published and entered a more public discursive arena, along with several later stories that built upon the former. Once the story changed form, that is, once the narrative became an object with its publication as a pamphlet, it entered a different economy of exchanges, particularly in London where it circulated to great effect in the coffee-houses. The plot in printed form established a different relationship with its audience, and, judging from its effects in the urban centre, a much more dangerous one. The greatest fears of popery were felt in England through the winter of 1678-9, with belief in the plot being reinforced by the strange murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate who had taken Oates's first deposition, and the discovery of letters soliciting French and papal money during the trial of one of the conspirators named by Oates, Edward Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, and therefore much too close to the successor.

The expression of popish plot and exclusion crisis fears tend to portray Catholicism as the greatest threat to English stability at this time. While this may certainly have been justified given the inclinations of James II, recent historians have argued that this tendency obfuscates the more complicated internal tensions

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17 Miller, p. 155 and 157.
18 On the political discussions in the coffee-houses during the exclusion crisis see Mark Knights, Politics and Opinion in the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-81 (Cambridge, 1994).
between Presbyterian and high Church of England interests, in other words, between the enemies of prelacy and supporters of conformity.\textsuperscript{20} In March of 1677, the Commons had defeated a plan for conditions upon a Catholic successor, because it veiled the limitations of James II’s prerogative with a strengthening of church authority and the power of the archbishops by designing to give them jurisdiction over the selection of bishops.\textsuperscript{21} The church party backed the succession of James, but wanted the power to protect the church from the sovereign. The Whigs, against the lordliness, political ambitions, and persecutions of the ‘prelates’ in the Church of England, paradoxically came to defend the royal prerogative against the court party trying to limit it. While anti-popery has often been associated with the Whig faction in these years, an impression given off by Whig propaganda itself, in the Danby years anti-popery was also generated by the church party in order to defeat desires for toleration. The plot did force the government of Charles II to take certain actions against Catholics in Britain, if only to safeguard James II’s succession. Laws against papists were enforced, requiring them to be spatially distanced from the urban centre, Catholic priests were to be apprehended, and a second Test Act (1678) prohibited Catholics from either House. Other measures were proposed, including a bill to exclude papists from any association with trades linked to printing or weapons manufacture, bringing concern over the tools of violence and the tools for its representation into a close relationship.\textsuperscript{22}

During the Danby treason trial in 1679, the Earl of Shaftesbury’s challenge against the right of the bishops to sit on treason trials deadlocked both Houses, leading to the prorogation and dissolving of parliament by Charles II, an action that also led to the lapsing of the bill for exclusion.\textsuperscript{23} At this point, with the failure of attempts to assure a Protestant successor and the disappearance of parliamentary

\textsuperscript{20}Spurr, p. 77.  
\textsuperscript{21}Goldie, pp. 80 and 84.  
\textsuperscript{22}Miller, p. 163.  
\textsuperscript{23}Ogg, p. 578.
recourse, more effort was directed by the London Whigs towards printed production and street activities designed to summon mass support. Historians have shown that by mid-December of 1678 fears of a popish threat were on the decline in most of England, except for London where they lasted much longer. Thus, for example, John Miller and J. P. Kenyon agree that the popish plot was primarily an urban phenomenon. Not only was London the centre of printed production, but the city also provided the greatest potential for conspirators to hide due to the anonymity urban life offered, and this same freedom served to exacerbate fears of a hidden enemy. Numerous daggers were sold — inscribed with Justice Godfrey’s name — as families armed themselves, and the trained bands in larger than usual strength patrolled the streets at night. The strength and unity of London Whig and radical movements at this time was further aided by an already large group of London citizens who supported a democratic interpretation of the Corporation’s constitution. This constitution spoke for Londoners of many social ranks, contributing to the formation of an early London Whig opposition that was not a class oriented movement, but united by a history of religious dissent and a democratic understanding of the community’s charter — a London citizen could more easily conceive of him or herself separate from the Church of England than from the civic corporation.

Most historians hold a somewhat reserved attitude to the way in which the popish plot and anti-Catholicism were shamefully manipulated by Whig propagandists. For John Miller, it was “brutally simple”, and “unedifying”: “they [the Whigs] harped on the dangers of Popery and arbitrary government ... uncritically asserted the reality of the Plot, insisted that exclusion was the only practicable solution to the problem of a Popish successor and branded everyone who

24 Miller, p. 161, Kenyon, p. 239.
disagreed with them as a Papist or favourer of Popery". For J. P. Kenyon, by late 1679 and early 1680, the plot had "degenerated into a tool of the party managers", the opposition employing a series of propaganda devices such as the Pope burning processions "on which a great deal of time was wasted, and has been wasted by historians since". Most recently, Alan Marshall has exerted considerable effort to expose the fabricators of the plot such as Oates and Bedloe, and by association the "extreme" Whigs who believed or made use of them, as unsavory characters of few principles:

The purveyors of the imaginary Popish and sham plots were invariably drawn from a sinister underclass in London about whom we still know relatively little. From the poverty-stricken environment of the city's slums emerged the discharged soldiers, crazed ex-ministers, beggars, footpads, thieves, pimps, vagrants and tricksters who were to further tarnish Whitehall and Westminster, and who were to dominate the political scene with their lies and malice. It is often difficult to uncover the exact truth about such people in the dark and infernal world of London they inhabited. The doors through which we gain admittance to it are mainly via the newspapers and pamphlet literature of the period. They often lead into a maze of lies, counterfeits, sham plots and counterplots, where reality was often tenuous to say the least.

This passage is worth quoting at such length for a number of reasons. Marshall seems to fall victim to a series of stereotypical and long-standing Durkheimian presumptions about the power of an urban setting to corrupt individuals, how the "city's slums" create criminals, and how London's growing anonymity offered these individuals a place where they could remain dangerously unobserved. Late Restoration London was a place not of 'truth', but of lies that would emerge out of the desecrated urban environment to tarnish the name and space of the King, Whitehall, or the home of parliament at Westminster. Further, Marshall exhibits a phobic view of the role of print culture in these events that echoes the beliefs of many of its seventeenth-century Tory detractors, that the voices given expression by

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26 Miller, p. 169.
27 Kenyon, p. 187.
28 Marshall, p. 207.
print lead into a labyrinth of mendacity and false representations in which 'reality' was a thread difficult to grasp. Indeed, even for historians more sympathetic to the Whigs, the production in quantity of various forms of print during these crises — broadsides with images, news sheets, and pamphlets have received only limited analysis as either documentary illustrations of events, or as examples of a top down program of political propaganda organized by a burgeoning political opposition. For O. W. Furley, for example, the Pope burning processions were the "strangest manifestations of early party rivalry" in Great Britain, and he views them on the one hand as rather passive reflections of a pervasive anti-Catholic feeling in seventeenth century London, and the brain child of an individual "genius for political propaganda", the Earl of Shaftesbury.29 While the notion of a single, organized, campaign of Whig propaganda led by a political 'genius' such as Shaftesbury has been recently discounted by historians, the notion of print culture during this historical moment and the processions themselves as 'propaganda' — uni-directional, systematically organized — remains a problematic issue. Tim Harris's excellent London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, for example, is occasionally hampered by a theoretical framework seeking to utilize the notion of these strategies as propaganda, sometimes with contradictory conclusions. On the one hand, Harris seems to argue against the very idea of Whig propaganda by showing convincingly "that much of the exclusionist literature came from writers and publishers who were working on their own initiative". On the other hand, his desire to keep the word as a convenient organizing category sometimes results in confusion. The Pope burning processions satirized the Catholic faith, narrated the popish plot, and critiqued those opposed to the Whigs, thus serving to 'politicize' a crowd, but they were also participatory. The propagandist was not merely imparting a message to an audience, but "the dichotomy between cause and effect was

29 Furley (1959), p. 16.
overcome, for people were being propagandized by expressing the propaganda themselves". Propaganda is a word that entered the English language late, acquiring its modern connotations only in the nineteenth century, when it began to be used in relation to the insidious and systematic propagation of a belief or doctrine. It seems to me there are words that were in use in the seventeenth century that allow us to get a better sense of the more active exchange or clash of ideas and/or beliefs, and even the anxieties over their appearance in material form — here I am thinking of both the constructive and phobic representations of 'opinion' discussed in the previous chapter. I would argue that the material production of increasingly sophisticated forms of printed text and imagery along with the establishment of specific spaces of exchange and circulation, as well as a variety of ways in which print could be used and interpreted, register strategies and tactics within a changing urban environment characterized by the increased production of discourse as a commodity, a world governed by opinion wherein groups no longer defended truth but 'produced' it. The processions through London in which an effigy of the Pope was burnt, and representations in print of such an event, are central to understanding crucial issues about early modern life in an increasingly urbanized environment of politicized representations and practices. Within such a milieu there can be no simple dichotomy between a 'real' and its printed representation in the news sheet or broadside, as Marshall seems to suggest when he argues that forms of cheap print get in the way of our access to truth as historians, and nor can we simply apply retroactively a term such as propaganda to a historical period characterized by different forms, forums, and ideas about the exchange of opinions. It seems to me more useful to approach questions of reality and representation as suggested by cultural historian Roger Chartier, who argues that all social practices are articulated according to the representations by which individuals

30 Harris (1987), pp. 101 and 106.
make sense of their existence, and this sense is inscribed within their words, acts, and rites. Mechanisms that regulate the working of society and the structures that determine the relations between individuals should be understood as the result of conflictive representations of the social world.⁴¹ For example, when John Miller writes that "the great pope-burnings, spectacular as they were, represented only the intensification of a traditional practice; their immediate political impact was small ... [for] they took place on only two days a year"⁴², he does not acknowledge that print transformed this traditional practice, improving and extending the viewing of the procession indefinitely, even to those who were not there. Odai Johnson, in an informative recent article on the Pope burning pageants, sees them as Whig street theatre that "confronted images of authority in ways the patent theatres could not, thereby offering a highly popular, highly propagandistic performance of Exclusion politics". The illustrated broadsides and pamphlets, he goes on to surmise, were "part programs and part prompt books", thus indicating his belief that they were produced only to be used by viewers and participants in the actual procession.⁴³ I believe this is only part of it, and that printed representations of the procession intersect with the 'real' procession, to be sure, but they also interact with other forms of print during the exclusion crisis, allowing for different types of exchanges in the formation of conflicting 'social, communal, and political identities in Restoration London.

We must surely reappraise the significance of print culture during the exclusion crisis, for City and Crown tensions during these years did not lead to a 'print war' between Whigs and Tories, but cause and effect seem almost inverted, as the medium of print was used both to produce and sustain these conflicts. Indeed, Whig strategies of using print to define difference and consolidate political

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⁴¹Chartier (1978), pp. 11-12.
⁴²Miller, pp. 183 and 187. They also took place on November 5.
opposition led to a Tory counter-attack, not just occurring in the patent theatres, as Johnson argues, but through forms of print and ultimately against the City's legal autonomy by Charles II's calling in of London's charter. In the first edition of his loyalist Observator, L’Estrange announced that the constitution of a political community engineered by the opposing Whig faction during the exclusion crisis needed to be contested. By arguing in the Observator that “there's no way in the World, but by Printing, to convey the Remedy to the Disease”, L’Estrange appeared to overturn his own arguments about the dangers of unchecked printing and the supremacy of the King's prerogative set out at the Restoration in his 1663 Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press. After attempts to control dissenting printed production failed in spite of licensing, taxes on news sheets, the attempt to suppress the coffee-houses, and prosecutions for seditious libel of several key opposition printers, booksellers, and writers including Henry Care, Benjamin Harris, Francis Smith, and Jane Curtis, L’Estrange decided that it was time to step up the engagement with his adversaries through the forum they had utilized so effectively for the Whig cause, and, incidentally, against L’Estrange himself. Paradoxically, for the court party the remedy to the disease became the disease itself.

As Tim Harris and other historians have indicated, Whig exploitation of the popish plot and the exclusion crisis made use of long established apprehension about popery and arbitrary government that could not easily be countered, leaving the court with little alternative but to rework the same anxieties. One key was to identify the Whigs as nonconformists and republicans, along with comparing them

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34Quoted in Harris (1987), p. 131. See also L' Estrange (1663), pp. A3-A4
35L' Estrange's aspersions on Whigs and dissenters are denounced, for example, in John Phillips (?), A Pleasant Conference upon the Observator, and Heraclitus: together with a Brief Relation of the Present Posture of the French Affairs (1682). That the Surveyor of the Press sought to make use of the coffee-houses to circulate print is indicated by the following: "The Observator is one that Strangele thirsts and panteth after Adoration in Coffee-houses, and is the very Adonis of Sam's in Ludgate-Street, where because he takes no Tobacco, he talks nothing but smoak" (p. 14).
to Presbyterians of the 1640s who had destroyed the Church of England and committed regicide. This institutional destruction and parricide were, ironically, also the supposed goals of papal plots in England. For instance, using the example of an etching more than likely produced under the direction of L’ Estrange entitled *The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade*, (Fig. 2.2) Tim Harris argues that the print represents a paradigm of the Tory case against the Whigs since it seeks to identify them as nonconformist, factious, King killing, rabble-rousing, tyrants sworn to destroy the Church of England and the legitimation of monarchy.\(^{37}\) The print seeks to show how political radicalism and popular anarchy were linked to the Whigs and then to the papists by way of the dissenting religious sects of the 1640s. A figure identified as a Presbyterian vainly presides over a table made up of arguing and gesticulating caricatures of Muggletonians, Ranters, Quakers, and even a naked Adamite. This image also shows the Whig opposition allied with the Catholic cause by including an image of the Pope in the upper right corner who gives encouragement to his “children”. Thrown to the floor in front of a ‘scribe’ seated below the central Presbyterian is a pile of books including the Magna Carta and the bible in Latin. This Whig hack jots down some of the stock subjects of his trade in hatching plots, for instance he is shown working on ‘narratives of fires’ that were often attributed to popish conspiracies.\(^{38}\) Immediately in front of his small table is an agreeable symmetry of popular support for this nonconformist committee. An “Elders Mayd” accompanied by a talking dog named Swash and a Quaker united with his horse in an obscure reference to a “Colchester Wedding”, petition the

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\(^{37}\) *The Committee; or Popery in Masquerade*, printed by Mary Clark for Henry Brome, (1680) BM. 1080, and Harris (1987), p. 139.

\(^{38}\) According to manuscript additions to the copy in the British Museum, this figure and the monkey beside him referred to Henry Care, one of the writers of Janeway’s *Impartial Protestant Mercury*. See F. G. Stephens and M. D. George (eds.), *Catalogue of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London, 1870-1954), II, p. 625, and Sutherland, p. 204.
committee for neither bishops, service book, popish lords, nor evil councilors. Interestingly, this elder's maid might want no service book, as she is made to demand of the committee, but a printed text of a different kind is nevertheless strapped to her hip. Entitled "The Protestutor", this is a direct reference to a small text published in 1679 by opposition stationer Benjamin Harris, The Protestant Tutor. The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade was published as a large broadside with a corresponding text key in 1680 by Mary Clark for L' Estrange's printer Henry Brome. It also appeared the following year at the beginning of a folio collection of several tracts written by L' Estrange against popery and Presbyterianism since the crisis over the popish plot began. Here though, the print had to be unfolded about six times before it could be viewed as a whole. Aside from the change in format from single sheet broadside to the inclusion in a book and, subsequently, the possibility for different arenas of viewing, there has been a small alteration to the image. The prior reference to Harris's Protestant Tutor is gone, violently scratched off the plate leaving a darkened rectangle on the maid's hip. (Fig. 2. 3) Where once a book was strapped to this petitioner's hip, slung low like a pistol in a holster, now she is disarmed. No service book for this maid, and now no book at all, for that matter.

The complex iconography and visual symbolism of The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade makes it an image rife with possibilities for analysis, and this seems to drive Tim Harris' interest in this print. However, I believe this seeming act of self censorship from one version to the next by the crown's chief censor is at least as, if not more, intriguing. L' Estrange was in fact criticized by the opposition for the supposed inaccuracy of this image, on the basis that he included several religious

39The reference to a Colchester wedding no doubt derives from a satirical account of a Quaker colonel accused of buggering a horse by John Denham, News from Colchester: or a Proper New Ballad of Certain Carnal Passages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt. See POAS, II, 1678-1681, p. 315.
40Roger L' Estrange, A Collection of Several Tracts in Quarto; Written Most Since the Discovery of the Popish Plot (London, 1681).
sects around the table that had not existed when "Jack Presbyter was chairman". L' Estrange defended himself on the basis that, although these groups had yet to be christened in the 1640s, their principles were nevertheless latent. His reasons to include them all in consult was "first to suggest the schisms that flow from Presbytery; secondly, to represent the impossibility of uniting these schisms, and thirdly, the danger of permitting them". 41 In order to further his defense of The Committee, L' Estrange directed the viewer's attention to the figure of the maid and Quaker, current petitioners who were absolved by his commentary from the "bestialities" attributed to the sects of old, those enemies to law and religion intent on usurping power in the state. While it is possible that the removal of any reference to The Protestant Tutor may have helped distance L' Estrange from further criticism for a poor understanding of the history of religious dissent in England and the contemporary situation of the exclusion crisis, I would argue that there is more at stake here, particularly because The Protestant Tutor includes what is possibly the earliest extant image of the Pope burning processions from these years. (Fig. 2. 4) In order to suggest what might be some of the reasons behind the erasure of an image of one form of print from within the allegory of another, and how this relates to the processions, one needs to look more closely at Benjamin Harris' The Protestant Tutor and what it represented.

Learning to read English and to see violence.

Compared to the larger and more expensive copperplate production of L' Estrange's broadside, Harris' book was a very small, cheaply produced letterpress text interspersed with several rough woodcuts. The lone copy remaining in the British Library is in rough shape, with several pages obliterated by poor printing. Nevertheless, some of the images show traces of hand colouring, suggesting that it was a well used and valued object. On the title page one of the intended purposes of

41 Stephens and George, II, p. 627.
The Protestant Tutor is announced: “Instructing Children to Spel and read English, and Grounding them in the True Protestant Religio[n] and Discovering the Errors and Deceits of the Papists”. Harris indicates the book was produced to counter the many Catholic primers and catechisms confiscated and burnt by civic authorities with the discovery of the popish plot, and thus it has become imperative that young Protestants be armed with literacy against the “cursed and continual Practices of our Romish Adversaries, who designed not only the murder and destruction of the bodies, but the ruin and damnation of the souls of our poore Children also”. The practices of papist plotters threaten to do violence to both the material flesh and the inner spirit of the Protestant subject. For Harris, the written and printed word will simultaneously provide the protective armor for the Protestant body and a weapon to be used against a relentless enemy.

The author's intentions to counter a Catholic and papist threat are understandable, given what we know about Benjamin Harris in the years of the exclusion crisis. Harris was an Anabaptist bookseller who operated at the sign of the Stationer's Arms in the piazza of the Royal Exchange, and publisher of the first issue of the news sheet Domestic Intelligence written by Titus Oates and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. He was made to stand in the pillory in sight of his book stall for publishing the infamous Appeal from the Country to the City before Monmouth’s ‘illegal’ return to London in 1679. By the accession of James II, after being in and out of prison on account of seditious print, Harris was managing a coffee-house in the area of the Exchange, before fleeing to New England where he apparently set up the first coffee-house in Boston and produced the first news sheet in the colony.43

42 Benjamin Harris, The Protestant Tutor (1679), B1.
43 James Muddiman, 'Benjamin Harris, the First American Journalist', Notes and Queries 163 (1932), pp. 129-133, 147-150, and 166-170, also Lillywhite, pp. 258 and 263.
Surely then, for L’Estrange, the inclusion of Harris’ *Protestant Tutor* in his visual satire could only further attempts to portray the Whigs and non-conformists as seditious, dangerous, and intent on the destruction of monarchical authority. In this light, its removal from *The Committee* with republication in the volume of collected tracts remains even more puzzling. Consequently, we must look elsewhere for the reasons this printed form might make the chief censor in the nation censor himself. After many pages of vowel exercises and simple prayers designed to improve reading skills, Harris begins a history of popish cruelties in England since the time of Queen Mary, as well as in other parts of Europe up until the present moment. Several rough woodcuts intersperse these sections, though they only depict events pertaining to England. Included, for example, are images of the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Treason, and the burning of London in 1666. (Fig. 2.5) Significantly, each woodcut of an event in the nation’s history is accompanied by an indelicate image depicting a massacre of Protestants by Catholics. Protestants are stripped naked and burnt like heretics, as Catholics toss them on the flames; women are hung upside down and babies torn from their wombs while papists watch; Protestants are burnt in their homes, fed to the dogs, their eyes are drilled out, they are even hung by their hair from trees. From exterior invasions to interior threats, each moment in which the nation as a commonwealth or the city as a social body confronts a great enemy is visually linked to an image of the most excessive and inhuman violence done to the individual body. This is a violence so incommensurable that the woodcuts seem unable to give it a place in the real world, for in contrast to the historical images, these acts of violence occur in an ungrounded white surface which seems as irrational as what is pictured. An accompanying textual supplement goes into great description of this type of violence, exhibiting extended fascination with the limitless creativity of this “Variety of Torments”, later also including a “Short Account of the Varieties of Popish Tortures” numbered one through twenty five with such horrific things as
mass drownings, drums made from flayed skin, and worms allowed to grow in wounds. In what might further jar our modern sensibilities, these two sections are broken up by a table of words separated into syllables in order to practice reading and pronunciation. Though this small printed book seeks to encourage its users towards literacy and claims in part to be a historical account of Protestant persecutions, I must stress that these goals seem intrinsically linked to visual and textual representations of extreme violence.

As Harris' preface states, these images of the violence against the Protestant body show what is to be expected from the papist threat, "therefore nothing can be thought more necessary than to teach [children] to Spell and Read English, and to create in them an Abhorrence of Romish Idolatry at the same time". In contrast to accounts of the Protestant negation of the visual in order to embrace the printed word, in early modern England the violent image seems to be inseparable from the power given by literacy to the Protestant cause. In fact, it almost seems to be the visual representation of violence that propels literacy. Indeed, during this period of tensions and fears set into motion by belief in yet another popish plot, Harris' Protestant Tutor was not the only text of this type to be printed. Several other similar illustrated books were printed in the next few years, with comparable titles, such as Edward Clark's The Protestant School-Master and Moses Lane’s reworking of Bishop Usher in The Protestant School. Like Harris' Protestant Tutor, Clark's version could also be purchased near the Royal Exchange, in this case at the print shop of John How in Sweetings Alley, also locale of the infamous Whig meeting place the Amsterdam Coffee-House. The Protestant School-Master contained

44 Harris (1679), p. 77, 131.
45 Harris (1679), epistle dedicatory.
46 An argument, with slight variations, informing the work Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England (London, 1988), and Margaret Aston, England's Iconoclasts (Oxford, 1988), and others. Watt, pp. 131-140, offers a valuable critique of this position.
47 Edward Clark, The Protestant School-Master (1680,), and Moses Lane, The Protestant School (1681, 1682).
simple directions for spelling and reading English, as well as a "Brief and True" account of persecutions, massacres, and tortures committed by papists on Protestants in all of Europe for the last six hundred years, with an account of the current popish plot supposedly written by a parliamentary clerk named John Brown. As The Protestant School-Master states, since Catholics make such an ill use of pictures Clark has sought to counter this by endeavoring "to draw in picture some short strokes of the variety of their Tortures", these then "curiously Engraven upon Copper Plates". Engraving allows for greater detailing in a smaller space than the woodcut, as well as more images per page, and Clark and his printer have made use of this to include engravings delineating a historic teleology of plotting by the anti-Christ Pope against the kingdoms of Europe from Bohemia through Germany, France, Spain, and the Low Countries, ending with Scotland, Ireland, and England. A great many more gruesome images of tortured bodies than the number found in The Protestant Tutor appear in Clark's The Protestant School-Master, for, after the first set of images dealing with the anti-Christ Pope and his usurping of wealth and power from numerous European rulers, the text is interspersed with many pages of imagery depicting the burning, breaking, flaying, frying, cannibalized, immersing and impaling of the usually naked body of a passive Protestant male, female, elder or child. (Fig. 2. 6) In addition, just as the physical body of the Protestant is an object to be destroyed, so too is the mass produced Protestant bible, and one image shows a defenseless woman being executed in front of a pyre of these burning books. More historical references begin to appear in the visual images towards the end of the book — the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the murder of the Prince of Orange — until the last set of images dealing exclusively with England. Like The Protestant Tutor, Clark's small book depicts the Spanish Armada, Gunpowder Treason, burning of London in 1666, and the more recent murder of Justice Godfrey. Interspersed with these images and their descriptive accounts throughout the volume are "Rules for teaching young people to read English", with tables of the
alphabet and vowels, lists of words broken down into syllables, and short psalms and prayers. As Clark argues, the improvement in reading skills combined with such imagery will allow the user of this printed book to simultaneously "reap profit and Delight".48

The reworking of Bishop Usher in *The Protestant School* by Moses Lane, a schoolmaster in the City, was a method for grounding both children and elders in the Protestant religion. In a similar format to Harris and Clark, Lane included short prayers, psalms, and lessons, as well as a catalogue of English words from one syllable to eight. The author also felt it was important to supplement this information and instruction with

An Historical Account of several Plots and remarkable Passages, from Queen *Elizabeth* to this present Time, Lively Represented in Copper Plates; with an explanation to every Figure, with Copies of Several Hands which are used in *England*, and many other things which are Useful for so necessary a Work.

Lane indicates that there was something 'useful' about these forms of print, like Clark's "profit and delight", in that they could help fortify the Protestant individual and social body against an exterior threat. Indeed, one of the short prayers included in order to practice reading beseeches God to keep the boundaries of the social body and state intact, free from infiltration: "keep our Country from Invasion, our Church from Dissension, our Houses from Infection, our State from Alteration, and People from the cruel Mercies of the *Italian* Popedom".49 The images in Lane's *The Protestant School* echo these hopes, dealing specifically with popish plots in England since the time of Elizabeth, and are comprised of four pages of twelve engravings, each individual engraving accompanied by a very abbreviated textual description on the image, and a fuller descriptive key in the text. (Fig. 2.7) The engraver of these images has surely succeeded in supplying an incredible amount of

48Clark (1680), epistle dedicatory.
49Lane, A3.
detail, and the focus here has shifted slightly, away from an emphasis on the gratuitous violence of the previous texts, to a visual narrative focusing predominantly on the events and assassinations of the more recent popish plot.

All three of these descriptive accounts and corresponding imagery were produced during the exclusion crisis in the guise of educational primers and point towards a kind of textual and visual literacy with roots in two historical sources — illustrated Protestant martyrologies on the one hand, and on the other, a way of seeing and learning advocated by Comenius in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. That Harris' *Protestant Tutor* includes an image of the Pope burning processions seems to indicate that the procession and its representation in print are tied to the production of religious difference based upon earlier Protestant strategies of utilizing print culture. Comenius' text, first published in Latin and German in 1658, then in English and Latin by 1659 with the titles *Visible World* and *A World of Things Obvious to the Senses Drawn in Pictures*, was the first printed book with illustrations produced for educational intent that sought to combine vernacular languages, Latin, and numerous illustrations within an encyclopedic structure of subject matter.°° *Orbis Pictus*, as it has become known, was written towards the end of Comenius' long career of advocating Protestant reform for an educational system that fostered corruption through what he and other dissenting pedagogues felt to be an abuse of learning. Comenius developed a philosophy of education in opposition to that advocated by the Jesuits, and believed that learning was a way to understand the underlying unity of all human experience. This program would be founded upon the child learning the names of objects he or she could perceive with the

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°°Joannes Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* Facsimile of the third London edition 1672, introduction by James Bowen, (Sydney, 1967), p. 4. Comenius was an Anabaptist divine and teacher from Moravia who had suffered religious persecution at the hands of the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years War. At this time, under the Archduke Ferdinand, schools operated by the dissenting sects of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia had been suppressed and placed under the control of Jesuits. The latter's goal, according to Comenius and other pedagogue divines, was the eradication of Protestantism.
senses, in this case predominantly based upon the faculties of the visual. The reality of the perceptual world was a given truth and obvious to the senses — there was, however, far too much disagreement over its interpretation. Protestantism advocated a single unified world design that was a production of God, and it should consequently exhibit a unity. All disunity, violence, social and political disharmony stemmed from faulty understanding which could be remedied by proper education and experiment beginning at a young age. Children could be led to know God as the author of unity, and then to know themselves as part of this natural unity, through the cultivation of the senses and the adequate relation of language to experience.

Comenius was greatly influenced by Francis Bacon's notion of a great house comprised of a series of laboratories devoted to different areas of experimental research. As a result, his ideas were well received in seventeenth-century England, where he had been invited by Samuel Hartlib to address the Long Parliament on behalf of a group of divines and thinkers interested in forming a scientific society undertaking research for the public welfare. One of these patrons was none other than James Ussher, Bishop of Armagh, whose own educational text was adapted by Moses Lane in the above discussed Protestant School of 1681. Though he did not get to present his proposals for a pansophic college of universal science — the College of Light — to the Long Parliament in 1641 as this assembly had more pressing problems to deal with, his ideas that knowledge should be organized in such a manner that it would be accessible to a wide range of people were influential in the formation of the Royal Society after the Restoration. *Orbis Pictus* shows the influence of these ideas in compiling encyclopedic aspects of the various branches of human knowledge and industry. It is a small book that would have easily fit in the

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51 Bowen, introduction to *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, p. 7-8.
53 Young, pp. 6-7 and 43, and Bowen, introduction to *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, p. 21. Incidentally, one of the projects Comenius was involved with in England was plans for the establishment and maintenance of a group of scholars on the grounds of Chelsea College, a site endowed by its founder Matthew Sutcliffe in 1607 with the express purpose of refuting the papists.
palm of a hand, organized around the premise that "sensual objects be rightly presented to the senses" in the form of a picture ("the Representations of all visible things") with nomenclature ("the Inscriptions ... expressing the whole thing by its own general term") and description ("the Explications of the Parts of the Picture"). This commingling of different modes of representation in order to 'reap profit and delight' — as the frontispiece to Edward Clark's Protestant School-Master suggests — in fortifying the Protestant individual and social body against popery and a potential Catholic and absolutist monarch was a force that could not easily be dismissed. On a very basic level, more so than because of L' Estrange's supposed historical inaccuracies, Harris's Protestant Tutor could have been removed from the second version of The Committee because it represented a component of the successful uses of print in laying the foundations for an educated and literate political opposition. This was an aspect of the Whig use of print culture most dangerous to the successful formulation of a Tory counter-response. It would be hard for L' Estrange to satirize the 'elder's maid' in The Committee as ignorant and no danger to the Tory cause if he linked her in any way with this historical tradition of Protestant literacy.

Circumscribing the suffering community.

However, perhaps another and even greater problem for the court and church party embodied by The Protestant Tutor was that it bound the importance of literacy — both textual and visual — and print culture together with the image of violent Protestant martyrdom, an even greater historical union in consolidating a dissenting community. A nexus of literacy in the English tongue, access to printed material in the vernacular, and opposition to papal power manifested an established and powerful historical union in England, particularly in London. This can be traced back through texts illustrated with violent imagery such as those printed in London

54 Comenius, pp. A3 and D1.
for Thomas Jenner in 1655 and “Illustrated with Pictures, that the eye may affect the heart”, through the often reprinted seventeenth century martyrologies of Samuel Clarke, to John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* of the Elizabethan period.\(^{55}\) (Fig. 2. 9) Indeed, it is worth going back to Foxe in order to help our understanding of the production and exchange of this type of printed imagery during the crises of mid-seventeenth-century England and the later reign of Charles II, not the least because Clark’s *The Protestant School-Master* lifts some images almost verbatim from *Actes and Monuments*. Further, it is significant that Foxe’s book was both republished in 1641, having a not imperceptible effect on the political outlook of the interregnum, and the end of the exclusion crisis saw the final edition produced by the Stationer’s Company when a Catholic succession seemed inevitable.

Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* originated while the English dissenting community that had chosen exile over almost certain persecution under Mary had relocated to safe Protestant havens in Germany and Switzerland. This group of about eight hundred was predominantly made up, as William Haller has shown, of a new type of cleric rising in the Church of England at this time “since the invention of printing, the advance of a vernacular reading public, and the rise of the book trade”.\(^{56}\) These ecclesiastics were educated in traditional dialectics at Cambridge and Oxford, but nevertheless had been exposed to humanist ideas from the continent and were committed to making the bible more accessible in a common tongue through translation, preaching, and its dissemination through the medium of print. Not coincidentally, many of these exiles either settled in the Rhine Valley or in Switzerland in centres of the reformed religion that were also centres of the printing and book trade. John Foxe himself was employed as a proof reader in the well

\(^{55}\) Thomas Jenner, *The Barbarous and Inhumane Proceedings Against the Professors of the Reformed Religion within the Dominion of the Duke of Savoy* (1655), Samuel Clarke, *A General Martyrologie; Containing a Collection of all the Greatest Persecutions which have befallen the Church of Christ* (1651), and John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1563).

established printing house of Opornius in Basle, where Matthias Flacius' *Catalogue of Witnesses for the Truth* was published.⁵⁷ Of the two key texts produced by the exiles on the continent, one was a Bible in English based upon Tyndale and Coverdale and produced by Whitingham in Geneva, a small cheap quarto complete with maps and woodcuts, and the other a book of martyrs in Latin with three of four woodcuts.⁵⁸ Here, distanced from his home, but informed through a network that circulated print and manuscript accounts of the burnings of Protestants as heretics in England to the exiles on the continent, Foxe began to work on the project for a English martyrology that would equate the history of Christianity with the suppression and subsequent rise of Protestantism, specifically English Protestantism.⁵⁹ A Latin version was published in 1554, and a first English version of *Actes and Monuments* in 1563, after the ascension of Elizabeth I and the return of most of the group of exiles to England.

This is necessarily a brief account of the history of Foxe's book, however, some important points must be raised. With *Actes and Monuments* a history of the English church was put forth along with claims for a nationalistic origin to the Christian faith in order to oppose Catholic claims for authority derived from a divine founder through an apostolic priesthood. Further, Foxe's history was constructed both upon a turn to scripture for the 'facts' of history as well as upon 'documentary' proof of recent martyrdoms derived from episcopal registers, private manuscripts, and vivid narratives written by friends of the martyrs and witnesses to their persecutions.⁶⁰ *Actes and Monuments* seemed to be almost a collective process of writing history, an ongoing process of exchange that made use of the

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⁵⁸Haller, p. 54.
⁵⁹See, for example, the detailed study by David Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997).
medium of print to create its own discursive arena. It was continually being edited, rewritten, and added to, and Foxe specifically solicited readers to communicate to him any errors they feel he might have made, or indicate where further information could be obtained. *Actes and Monuments* gave the stories of the martyrs and other "antient documents" to the world as the printer and his compiler gathered together scattered pieces from various witnesses to the truth.61

Indeed, Foxe seemed to have more faith in the culture of print than in the church itself, continually eschewing advancement in the latter in order to devote the majority of his time to the former.62 For Foxe the importance of literacy and printing in the conflict with the papacy and Catholicism was considerable, and he repeatedly extolled the powers given to the written word by this still relatively new art. In *Actes and Monuments*, he gave a historical account of the invention and perfection of printing by Faustus and Gutenburg, equating the art with another gift from God, that of speech. The timing of the gift of printing was propitious, however, for it came at a moment when the power of Rome had "all the World at their Will", and the true God began to work for his church "not with Sword and target, to subdue his exalted Adversary, but with Printing, Writing, and Reading, to Convince Darkness by Light, Error by Truth, Ignorance by Learning". Printing gave "Eyes to See, and Heads to Judge", and stood directly in the way of Catholic violence to the Protestant body. Violence and force may have caused tongues to be silent, but it was one of the benefits of the invention of printing that it could still speak and instruct without a tongue. Nothing made the Pope more strong in times past than the lack of knowledge and ignorance of Christians, "so contrariwise now nothing doth debilitate, and shake the high Spire of his Papacy so much as Reading, Preaching,

62 Johns, p. 329, argues that after Foxe "no English Protestant could doubt the providential import of printing. To Foxe's millenial nation, the origin of printing was a pivotal moment in a vast, predestined scheme of doom and salvation".
Knowledge and Judgement; that is to say, the Fruit of Printing". In the end, Foxe argues that it is printing itself which will usurp the power of the Pope: "Whereas I suppose, that either the Pope must abolish Printing, or he must seek a new World to reign over; For else as this World standeth, Printing doubtless will abolish him".\textsuperscript{63}

*Actes and Monuments* culminates with great detail on the persecutions of the Marian regime from 1553 to 1558, which many of Foxe's readers would have witnessed or experienced on some level, a period when two hundred seventy five people were burned as heretics. The majority of those persecuted were artisans, tradesmen, and labourers from the metropolitan area.\textsuperscript{64} Therefore, as the greatest concentration of this spectacular state violence occurred in and about London, the history of this violence is also the history of the city, a lineage of persecution by a monarch against the liberties and rights granted to London. This is an important point, as the figure of the Protestant martyr will be later reconstituted during the exclusion crisis by Harris, Lane, and Clark, as we have seen, but it also appears in a significant role in the Pope burning processions. Further, the religion for which the martyrs died in *Actes and Monuments* was the religion of the Word, of the English word, and of literacy and printing, for the Holy Spirit was to speak directly to the Protestant individual from the pages of the bible, a process of interpretation that was to replace the ritual of the mass and its illusionistic act of representation in the transubstantiation. This direct encounter with the Holy Spirit "in the familiar language of men on the printed page of the sacred text" was, though, in the dialect of the city, for English was primarily the language of the London region, and became a national language only with the creation of a national culture and economy during


\textsuperscript{64}Haller, p. 44. Haller lists seven bishops, seventeen lesser clergy, fifty five women. The remaining two hundred or so were artisans, husbandmen, and labourers from the metropolitan of whom little is known except their names, occupations, and date and place of execution.
the reign of Elizabeth I.\textsuperscript{65} Not coincidentally, in 1570, with revolt in the northern counties and a papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth, the convocation meeting at Canterbury ordered the second edition of \textit{Acts and Monuments} to be placed in all cathedrals and other church owned public spaces, articulating the text as an expression of 'national faith'.\textsuperscript{66} Many of the smaller parish churches followed suit, interestingly enough, one of the first being St. Michael's Cornhill in the City, close to the Royal Exchange. This was a parish frequented by civic minded Puritan merchants, and, as we have seen, in the next century where the first coffee-house in London was located, right beside the church in St. Michael's Alley.

I have already raised the imperatives of literacy in the English tongue expressed by the Protestant reformers, but it is equally certain that Foxe and his printer John Day felt visual literacy to be an absolutely crucial component when \textit{Acts and Monuments} came to be published in England. While the Latin version of the text published on the continent included three or four woodcuts, it is significant that the first English edition had more than fifty, and the second edition, which had grown to two volumes and over two thousand pages had near one hundred fifty images.\textsuperscript{67} A detailed frontispiece to this edition opposed Catholic and Protestant forms of worship and salvation — for the latter a combination of reading, preaching, and martyrdom will lead to knowledge of God, whereas for Catholics, shown clutching their rosary beads, taking part in idolatrous processions, and bowing before the illusion of the transubstantiation, these superstitions lead directly to the underworld. From this fantastic scene, the remaining images comprise three general groups: small conventional engravings of martyrs, larger images that combine realistic aspects with allegory, and finally engravings of actual individuals and events derived from eyewitness reports of the martyrdoms of English

\textsuperscript{65}Haller, pp. 50-52.
\textsuperscript{66}Haller, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{67}Mozley, pp. 130 and 139.
Protestants. \(^{68}\) Most historians of Foxe's work all but pass over these images, or briefly mention them as aids for the unlearned and illiterate, almost as if they are troubled that such an important historical text — second in importance only to the bible in sixteenth century England — would include images of such violence. \(^{69}\)

Pictured are the public burnings of Protestants, sometimes even the more macabre burning of their recently excavated bones, hangings, the racking of Stimson in the Tower, and a most bizarre woodcut of the Bishop of London, Bonner, scourging prisoners in his private orchard. (Fig. 2.10) This seemingly homoerotic and sadomasochistic image depicts the Bishop with an obscenely large codpiece excitedly flailing the bared and bleeding back and buttocks of a bearded Protestant whose head is jammed between the legs of one of Bonner's pages. \(^{70}\) On one hand, this compiler of violent stories and images claimed to abhor physical violence, writing once to Elizabeth I on behalf of some Flemish Anabaptists condemned for heresy, arguing that public burning was horrible and a fit practice only for the barbaric Romish church. Foxe even expressed to the Queen that he would go all queasy merely at the site of violence done to animals, "for such is my disposition...that I can scarce pass the shambles where beasts are slaughtered, but that my mind secretly recoils with a feeling of pain". On the other hand, Foxe the Protestant reformer and advocate of literacy and printing seemed to exhibit a certain amount of fascination with the awfulness of Catholic slaughter in his choice of words and images. For instance, in a preface to 'the papists' from Acts and Monuments, he indicates that what is to be found inside the beautiful object of the book is "the pitiful slaughter of your butchery!...[the] blood you have sought and sucked; whose lives you have vexed;

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\(^{68}\)Wooden, p. 49.

\(^{69}\)Wooden, p. 49, does at least acknowledge the importance of the visual images in Actes and Monuments and how they function within the text, but nevertheless argues that they are for those who cannot read, being "a potent nonverbal argument accessible even to the illiterate."

\(^{70}\)Mozley, p. 131, states that this image was allegedly shown to Bishop Bonner in order to 'vex' him, but the Bishop was amused and pleased with the picture, saying it was a good likeness. Wooden, p. 49, on the other hand claims that Bonner complained that the likeness was too good.
whose bodies you have slain, racked and tormented; some also you have cast on
dunghills, to be devoured of fowls and dogs...the heaps of slain bodies, of so many
men and women...". Clearly, while abhorring actual physical violence, Foxe and
his printer felt more ambivalent about its image, no doubt coming to a growing
understanding that there was something productive and potentially useful about its
representation.

How does this figure of the Protestant martyr operate to help establish a
dissenting community? Luther conceived of the Protestant church as a ‘suffering
community’, and persecution was the ‘mark’ or sacrament of the true
congregation. Protestants looked to medieval heretics as precursors to their own
mission of reform and anti-Roman dissent, and utilized this history of martyrdom
not to argue for doctrinal purity, but to emphasize difference, in the most basic
terms, in that reformers were better Christians than their persecutors who would
rather exterminate and torture than educate and convert. In this way, a violent
death turned into a martyrdom was to make this death into a significant marker or
sign of otherness, serving to establish the identity of an opposing group. The
Protestant martyr as a sign of otherness would be put to use during the exclusion
crisis and the Pope burning processions in order to strengthen or protect the
psychological, theological, and even spatial boundaries that separated one
community from another, not just Catholic from Protestant, but more importantly,
Whig from Tory. Within ephemeral ritual representations, and more lasting
printed images with a greater degree of circulation, the martyred body returned as a

Footnotes:
71 Foxe cited in Mozley, pp. 87 and 135.
72 David Bagchi, 'Luther and the Problem of Martyrdom', Martyrs and Martyrologies, p. 209. Wooden,
p. 33, argues that "each martyr is then an individual witness while collectively they keep alive the
traditions and beliefs of the church of the elect...".
73 Cameron, p. 194.
74 Miri Ruben, 'Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in late Medieval Europe', Martyrs and
Martyrologies, pp. 153 and 163.
productive symbolic object which conceivably brought health and preservation to a social body.

For Michel de Certeau, the martyrrology is a hagiographic text existing as an alternate discourse on the outer edge of historiography, where ‘acts’ (things) take on the character of ‘signifiers’ (words) in the service of a truth which makes use of them to edify its own manifestation.\(^7^5\) Deeds of martyrdom, for Foxe words sealed by acts, clarify through exemplarity and become monuments. These achievements of signification allow the representation of the death of the martyr to be inscribed within the life of a collectivity that already has an existence — the time and place of a group. They also serve to connect two apparently contradictory movements: the martyrrological text assures a distance with respect to origins — a long established community is distanced from its past through the deviation that the very representation of this past constitutes, and secondly, this return to origins allows unity to be reestablished at a time when the group most runs the risk of being dispersed, for martyrlogies are prevalent within threatened communities.\(^7^6\) For de Certeau, in this way “memory, whose construction is linked to the disappearance of beginnings, is combined with the productive ‘edification’ of an image intended to protect the group from dispersion.”\(^7^7\) In this light, for example, a Protestant martyrrology such as Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, whose production had its origins in the diaspora caused by the Marian persecution, uses the very events set into motion by this threat to the Protestant individual and social body as signs with which to reinforce a representation of community. The printed representation of the Protestant martyr will come back repeatedly throughout the seventeenth century, particularly during moments of tension like the exclusion crisis, where it becomes a site for the articulation of identity and difference between groups in

\(^7^6\)Compare to Wooden, p. 32, where he discusses Foxe’s claim that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel, and the more a sect is cut down, the more it will grow.
conflict. The edification of such images depicting the destruction or dismemberment of the body are the very means utilized to reinforce unity and bring the social body together.

Yet, how is one to come to terms with the profit and delight invoked by the infinite variety of violent representations within these texts? Christian martyrrologies celebrate the peace and joy of martyrs undergoing a painful death, oblivious to their surroundings as they communicate directly with the divine.78 Indeed, John Knott has noted the "celebratory mood" of the majority of Foxe's stories of the martyrs, their "fascination with the torments of the body", and the way their narrator has struggled with a "paradox at the heart of the Christian understanding of martyrdom" — that one can suffer bodily but rejoice in spirit.79 But perhaps this paradox highlights another slippage as well. According to de Certeau, a displacement separating religion from politics occurred in the early modern period creating difficulties for believers to locate social landmarks for their faith. Religious behaviour that once manifested a Christian meaning within social practice began to be more and more isolated within speech, and less compatible with practices — "the social logic of doing".80 Social practices, 'the need to do', were increasingly taken up by civil and political tasks, and this schism between religious behaviour and civil or state practices separated the place of meaning (the possibility

78Ruben, pp. 164 and 169, David Morris, The Culture of Pain (Berkeley, 1991) and (eds.) Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timia Szell, Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe (Ithaca, 1991). Theological discourses on the question of martyrs, particularly within Catholicism, insisted upon the element of choice or intention in martyrdom, arguing that once an individual was willing to die, death itself was no longer important, it merely sealed a perfection already attained. This conscious decision supposedly allowed an individual to undergo terrible tortures without suffering bodily injury or feeling pain, a standard convention in martyrdom imagery of either Catholic or Protestant origin, in which figures are often depicted as if they were oblivious to their sufferings. While the martyr body seems to be the passive object receiving various actions of torture or execution in these types of visual representation, this figure that does not act but instead is acted upon is paradoxically the agent in control of the ordeal. The martyr has already selected death, and controls the martyrdom ordeal by choosing when to die in a direct communication with an omnipotent God, oblivious to his or her torturers.


of finding a place for enunciation) from the work of social production. For de Certeau, this displacement led to a variety of religious practices becoming fetishized.\(^{81}\) The fetish, in psychoanalytic terms an object allowing a subject to oscillate between poles of attraction and repulsion in both the recognition and disavowal of difference, may be a useful way of thinking about the success of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and its hybrid forms from the Restoration that utilize representations of Protestant martyrdom and massacre.\(^{82}\) The rupture between social production and religious meaning after the Reformation and through the seventeenth century was characterized by what de Certeau calls 'marks', the objective combination of practice and sign: "a crossing point between the language of society and the enunciation of a faith — in sum, an effective way of surmounting the rupture between one and the other".\(^{83}\) The martyrology, I would argue, forms a chiasmus between a social practice of production, indeed, one that will produce society through writing and printing, with the religious sign of the martyr/fetish — "the public mark of a social elimination".\(^{84}\) By the Restoration, religious conflicts articulated by the Pope burning processions are predominantly expressing civic and political differences, and the figure of the martyr is more effective at contributing to the formation of political opposition and identity than religious place.

In this way, the image of martyrdom reconciles productivity with delight, for the hagiographic text is situated in a kind of festive space, 'a place set aside' for pleasure (the non-place again).\(^{85}\) These printed books and images functioned outside of everyday time and rule, intersecting with reading practices as leisure opposed to reading as work (in the exercise of practice or belief). Nevertheless, I tend to differ from de Certeau when he argues that martyrologies "do not belong in the

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\(^{82}\)This formulation of the ambivalence of the fetish derives from Bhabha, p. 74.
\(^{85}\)De Certeau (1988), p. 273. See my first chapter where I explore the implications of the non-place in relation to print culture and the space of the coffee-house.
realm of instruction, pedagogical norms, or dogma", for there is clearly a link between the printed martyrlogy, visual and textual literacy, and Protestant pedagogy running through John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* to Benjamin Harris's *Protestant Tutor*.86 The acquisition of knowledge through the culture of print became for English Protestants a means of self definition, even a way to promote national unity. The displacement between faith and practice gave rise to a tradition of Christian radicalism in which the prophetic beginnings of a suffering community were transformed into sociopolitical opposition.87

In light of the tensions between London and Westminster exacerbated during the exclusion crisis, both anxieties over the possible extirpation of a threatened Protestant community, and the promotion of its greatest weapon in literacy, are understandable and help set the stage for the appearance in the urban centre of relatively cheap illustrated books such as *The Protestant Tutor*, *The Protestant School*, and *The Protestant School-Master*. As I have argued above, these forms of print drew from the tradition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and, as the martyrlogy often embodied an intrinsic spatialisation, reading like a composition of places directing one to a particular tomb or site of execution/massacre, these Restoration texts likewise seem to have an itinerary of their own, seen most clearly in the visual images. For example, in Harris' *The Protestant Tutor* and Clark's *The Protestant School-Master* crude scenes of massacre acted out upon the Protestant body are depicted in the groundless space of a 'non-place', a 'no-where', yet they are always paired with images locating the viewer in an historical past of specific Catholic aggression against the English nation, its governing structures, or its principle city — invasion from the outside by the Spanish Armada, interior

86De Certeau (1988), p. 127. In fact, de Certeau seems to contradict himself when he then argues for a seventeenth-century turn to education within western churches as an instrument of cohesion in a campaign to maintain or restore lost totality, the latter also a function of the martyrological genre.

87De Certeau (1988), p. 168, where he uses the Puritans in England during the seventeenth century as an example in which "the enunciation of meaning becomes a resistance to royal power or to ecclesiastical hierarchy (another form of power)".
infiltrations in the Gunpowder Treason, and burning of London in 1666. From scenes of violent martyrdom in a groundless non-place of a distant past, the last set of images in these texts conduct the visual itinerary forward to the present, for example, as in The Protestant Tutor’s depiction of the two ‘witnesses’ of the truth, Oates and Bedloe, with a scene of murder differing from the previous images of violence done to the anonymous individual body by depicting a historically specific social elimination, the murder in London of Justice Godfrey.  

During the exclusion crisis years a similar itinerary was taken up by other illustrated texts as well, such as the emblem book The Protestants Vade Mecum. Here thirty full page engravings, each accompanied by a nomenclature and corresponding descriptive verse in the tradition of Comenius’ Orbis Pictus, present images of Jesuits plotting from the time of Henry VIII, the latter monarch kicking the triple crown off the Pope’s head — an image drawn from Actes and Monuments, through the Armada, Gunpowder Treason, and Great Fire. In the end we are led to the murder of Godfrey and the popish plotting to assassinate Charles II, complete with the depiction of an attempt on the King’s life while he is carried through the narrow streets of London in his sedan. (Fig. 2.12) The final image of this text intended to depict the mass execution of the conspirators, complete with a stomach turning disembowelment and castration in the immediate foreground. (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14) Below the image a rhyming couplet was to inform the viewer that what he or she has been led through the emblem book to see is “the Centre, where the Traytors come” to receive justice, “a shameful Death, call’d Martyrdome”. With this reversal, martyrdom suddenly becomes shameful when

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88 Godfrey was clearly thought of as a good Protestant and a loyal citizen of London martyred at the hands of Catholics intent on the extirpation of Protestantism. He even appeared as the most important figure in a Whig martyrology for the years 1678-1689 printed by John Dunton entitled A New Martyrology: or, the Bloody Assizes (1690).

89 The Protestants Vade Mecum: or, Popery Display’d in its Proper Colours (1680).

90 I must point out that it was the intention of this text to end with this image paired with its appropriate inscription, however, there seems to have been some confusion in the printing process, and the last two images in the text ended up on the wrong pages. The execution was switched with the
it is Catholic conspirators who die. But is this 'centre' solely the site of capital punishment and the enactment of the final moments of the processes of justice? If we look at the accompanying verse, the plots to commit violence against London and the surrounding metropolitan area are as important as the conspiracy to destroy the royal body of Charles II. This centre is also the city, a space that is marked out by instances of spectacular violence, as many of the other images in The Protestant's Vade Mecum show. For example, an engraving representing the deposition of Bedloe's evidence makes use of a visual device common to many seventeenth-century images set in interior scenes, wherein drapery is pulled away from the background to expose an open window leading the eye to an idealized urban or pastoral setting. (Fig. 2.15) In this view a background figure pulls back the drapery to reveal an urban scene of a different kind, a gibbeted individual on a public stage in the shadow of the Tower of London. In the twentieth emblem, representing Langhorn in Newgate, (Fig. 2.16) the viewer's eye is led out through this prison gate in the ancient wall of the city past a Catholic on his knees in an act of self flagellation, to a distant view of spectacular public punishment. With this image, the dovetailing of a London gate that was also a prison, utilized by people passing daily from the urban centre to the suburbs and vice versa, with theatrical acts of punishment makes an implicit connection here between printing, symbolic violence, and the demarcation of urban boundaries. It is this aspect, urban boundaries of a physical and even psychological nature reinforced by acts of ritual violence, that I want to turn to now. This route will bring us closer to an understanding of the relation between print and procession in 1679-81.

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image intended to be just before it, and so we have the depiction of execution described as "The Writings found in the Meal-tub", with "The Execution of the Conspirators" printed above an image of Dame Celliers being confronted by the authorities upon their discovery of the secret writings she supposedly hid in meal tub. More than likely the text was printed on the sheets first, in letterpress, then they were sent to another press for the images, as they are done in the copper plate process. It is possible that in the latter process an apprentice or labourer was encountered that could not read all that well.
The illustrated Restoration primers mentioned above encourage textual and visual literacy, and display links to a history and typology of martyrdom representations, particularly to that of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* of the Elizabethan period. As I have shown, they adopt a form of spatialisation not unlike a procession with a route, taking up an itinerary that leads to the vision of a place — the urban 'centre' of London. These correlations introduce another important aspect of the tradition of martyrdom representation from medieval Christianity: the conflation of the meanings of the Latin *peregrinatio* and *martyrium*, between pilgrimage and martyrdom.  

91 *Pereginatio*, or to peregrinate and its other related words in English, has the sense of movement — usually in reference to a pilgrimage, or movement on foot — a perambulation. Further, the Latin root of *peregrinatio* denotes a foreigner, and thus the notion of both travel and foreignness are pertinent to pilgrimage, linking movement through space to the potential physical dangers of being a stranger in a foreign land, and also to more psychological tensions associated with the recognition of difference between the self and others.  

92 I would argue that the production of spatial and psychic boundaries between City and Crown during the exclusion crisis through procession and its printed representation bear the traces of these ancient links with processes uniting travel by foot — *peregrinatio* — and the edification of representations of violence — *martyrium*. If we were to push this connection a bit further, we would also discover annual perambulation rituals occurring in Restoration England and London deriving from medieval and even Roman times in which groups made use of ritual

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91 Rubin, p. 164.
92 For Lacan (1988), pp. 170-171, the mirror stage is when the subject begins to take on the functions of an ego. This self is however based upon an imaginary relation that the image of the other's form is assumed by the subject who comes to know him or herself as body. Each time the subject apprehends him or herself as form and ego, desire is projected outside in aggressive competition with this other. It is only upon entry into the symbolic that this destructive tendency is mediated, and without communication, in which desire learns to recognize itself through the symbol and not solely in the other, "every human function would simply exhaust itself in the unspecified wish for the destruction of the other as such".
acts of violence to define the limits of territory. Known as Rogationtide, from the Latin *rogare*, 'to ask', these processions occurred in the days immediately preceding the feast of Ascension on the sixth Thursday after Easter. Individual communities would process bearing crosses and banners around to the boundary markers of the parish, blessing them, or painting and repairing them if needed, followed by a communal feast. One could argue that Rogationtide processions contributed to the stability of a community, since the rite was widely observed and even made compulsory under medieval English ecclesiastical law. As a result of the Reformation in England, the processions fell out of favour due to their 'popish' trappings, for instance it was banned in London in 1548, and during the time of Elizabeth, rogation was allowed if it was done without crosses or banners and led by a priest in secular garb. The processions were revived under the Stuarts despite opposition from dissenting Protestants, and they even survived the Puritan revolutions of the seventeenth-century that abolished the traditional religious calendar.

Though rural Rogationtide events could bring neighbours together and affirm the mutual links that bound the social world to the world of nature, urban processions were often marred by violence between neighbouring groups. In areas where boundaries were not easily visible, particularly towns and cities where several parishes bordered on each other, processing neighbourhoods often clashed with each other in disputes over territory. Symbolic violence was also part of this ritual territorial demarcation, for instance in London, young boys were taken around the boundaries of the parish after being given white rods with which they

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93 Hutton (1994), pp. 35-36. The processions may have originated in the Roman festival Ambarvalia, in which rural fields were blessed and the gods asked to protect the crops during growing season. They were also referred to as Gang Days in the sense of 'going around'.


beat the boundaries in order to commit them to memory — thus the processions were sometimes known as Beating the Bounds. In several instances, the boys themselves were ritually beaten with the rods at the markers. 

(Fig. 2.17) Pepys mentions Rogationtide as "procession day", and remarks how, at the annual feast following the perambulations, he questions the parson Mr. Mills "about the meaning of this day and the good uses of it; and how heretofore, and yet in several places, they do whip a boy at every place they stop at in their procession". Violence on the borders, and remarkably, violence to the borders themselves — the Rogation perambulations made use of ritual violence as part of a spatial practice that defined difference and marked out a place, as well as the socius bounded by it. Using Henri Lefebvre's terms, 'beating the bounds' embraced both the production and reproduction of space, ensuring a degree of continuity and cohesion to both the social and physical space of each individual community within a larger whole, and to each individual of that society. It was a spatial practice that enveloped representational space — the perception of the community boundaries was overlaid by their annual symbolic reinforcement in the processional activities. Rogationtide perambulations would cease to be necessary with more accurate mapping and the nationwide Ordnance Survey, making space into a system of intellectual signs, readable, depthless, without history or practice. The ludic representational space of the procession would be superseded by the conceptualized space of engineers and planners, a kind of space that would become dominant in the modern era.

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97 Pepys, Diary ix, 30 April, 1669.
98 Wright (1936), p. 130.
The liminal space of print and the city.

Benjamin Harris's *Protestant Tutor* is a text that fetishizes religious violence, producing both delight and profit in order to help establish the identity of a threatened community. By including a full page woodcut of the solemn and mock Pope burning procession in 1679, the *Protestant Tutor* thus also intersects with a perambulation ritual intimately bound up with the formation of political identity and control over the spaces of the City during the exclusion crisis. With this woodcut of the procession, (Fig. 2.4) accompanied by "An Account of the Burning the Pope at Temple-Bar in London, November 17, 1679", the eye follows a procession of friars, priests, cardinals, and bishops upwards as it curves within the space of the page. A second image offset in the corner depicts a large gathering for the bonfire at Temple Bar. November 17, we are told in the commentary — the anniversary of the death of Mary and the ascension of the great Protestant defender Elizabeth — was chosen as a day suitable to express the "just indignation in the breast of every Good Christian and True Englishman" at the continued attempts by papal intrigues to invade "their Religion and Civil Liberties." Here the continued violence enacted by Roman Catholic powers on the Protestant social and individual body is not only linked to religious issues of an ecumenical nature, but threatens 'Englishness' and civil liberties. These are issues tied to local conflicts between Whigs and Tories, for example, the perceived danger to parliamentary rule and the 'freedom' of the city, since at this time the spectre of a Catholic King and absolutism threatened the autonomy of London and the dissenting religious practices of its citizens.

Popes had been burnt on Guy Fawkes Night in 1673 by the "young fry" in Cheapside and at various bonfires, which Hooke heard about in discussion at Garraway's Coffee-House. Hooke also mentions seeing a "mock Pope carryd in

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100 Harris (1679), p. 1
procession" the night of 5 November, 1675. Effigies of the pontiff were also burnt in 1677 at the monument to the fire of 1666 in Fish Street. Also in 1677, a Pope worth as much as 40 shillings was burnt by a small procession at Temple Bar on November 17, a day on which celebrations not unconnected to religious prejudices were traditionally held, as noted above, being the anniversary of the coronation of the great Protestant defender Elizabeth I.\textsuperscript{101} What makes the years 1679-81 so different is that the processions were larger, more organized, and they sought to make use of the wider communicative potential of print. These years saw the events orchestrated by one of the Whiggish clubs in London during this time, the Green Ribbon Club, who during the exclusion crisis were "responsible for organizing visual propaganda".\textsuperscript{102} The Green Ribbon Club were behind the exclusion bill and supportive of Charles II's illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth as rightful heir to the throne. Members included such illustrious personages as Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Halifax.\textsuperscript{103} For these London Whigs the timing of the processions, particularly in 1680 and 1681, was crucial, for not only was 17 November the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, but in 1680 the second exclusion bill had been defeated just two days before, and in 1681 the procession occurred just before Shaftesbury's acquittal by a City jury from a charge of high treason.

The first large scale procession of 1679 was organized in just over two weeks by a committee of five, one of whom was supposedly the writer and dramatist Elkanah Settle who often produced work for Shaftesbury. Other members of the club, such as the sheriff, William Waller, supplied priestly garments, crosses, and


\textsuperscript{102}Harris (1987), p. 101.

Catholic trinkets supposedly seized in raids upon clandestine Catholics. Tories argued that Stephen College, the 'Protestant joiner' arrested in Oxford with the intention of assassinating the King and also associated with the infamous Raree Show broadside, was the carpenter who constructed the effigies of the Pope even though he was not a member of the Green Ribbon Club.\textsuperscript{104} I have been unable to trace a direct association between the printers and publishers of broadsides representing these processions and the Green Ribbon Club, however, Benjamin Harris certainly had connections to nonconformists in the City, and, as we shall see below, so too did some of the other producers of these prints.

The image included in Harris' small printed volume bears a striking similarity to the larger, more elaborate, etching on a broadside produced in London for Jonathan Wilkins entitled \textit{The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers, \\&c: through ye City of London, November ye 17th, 1679}.\textsuperscript{105} (Fig. 2. 1) Many copies, or pirated copies, of this broadside are extant today, leading one to conjecture that it was both produced in quantity and worth preserving by its seventeenth-century viewers for a variety of reasons. The juxtaposition of the opposing terms 'solemn' and 'mock' in the title of this broadside would surely alert a viewer that this is a contradictory procession, seemingly a formal religious rite or observance performed with due reverence and dignity, framed to evoke serious thought or reflection, and at the same time a mocking charivari characterized by scorn and derision. With this etching the procession is depicted like the woodcut in \textit{The Protestant Tutor}, as two separate images, and in traditional broadside format

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\textsuperscript{105}The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers, \\&c: through ye City of London, November ye 17th, 1679 , printed for Jonathan Wilkins, (1680). I would not discount the possibility that the woodcut in Harris's text may have led to the larger broadside, since \textit{The Protestant Tutor} is dated 1679 and the broadside 1680. I have not located an extant version of the broadside dated 1679, but it is assumed that broadsides and pamphlets were available for sale prior to and during the processions. See Williams (1958), p. 105, and Johnson (1996), p. 43.
\end{flushright}
includes a corresponding textual description in the lower half. Again, as with the small woodcut in Harris’ text, in three horizontal layers curving twice to fit on the broadside, the entire procession is visible to the viewer. This folding almost gives the representation an illusion of movement and depth as it traverses upward to the next level, as if it were negotiating the sharp twists of the narrow streets of London. The feet of those who carry the pageant stage are just visible in mid step beneath the fabric that surrounds it; figures in the procession walk and talk— one even looks back at the remainder of the procession as he is about to cross from the lowest level to the middle, as if to make sure those following know the way. Torch bearing link boys surge up from the central level, arms raised in gesture of greeting or antagonism, while the bell ringer is poised in the no man’s land between the two images. Lightly etched into the background is a torch bearing crowd that echoes the movement of the whole parade. These are the one hundred fifty flambeaus ordered by the procession organizers, as the text tells us, “but so many more came in Voluntiers as made them up some thousands”. In an exponential escalation from one hundred fifty, to thousands, to two hundred thousand, and finally to “innumerable’ spectators”, this audience is not static — it does not remain stationary in order to watch the procession pass by, for most of these shadowy background figures are shown in profile and in mid step as well. In this way, the procession ‘moves’, and with it its audience; in fact, the spectators seem as much part of the procession as the costumed figures are, for together “with a slow and solemn state they proceeded to Temple Bar, where with the innumerable swarms, the houses seemed converted into heaps of men, Women, and Children”. In the play of gazes delineated here, figures in the procession look at each other as they speak and gesture, members of the audience in the background look at the pageant, and, in a few instances, members of the procession look out to exchange glances directly with the viewer as do the two mock Jesuits in the middle band of the image who look out startled, as if they’ve just noticed the viewer and are surprised at the
encompassing power of his or her gaze, a gaze that is given the ability to erase the difficulties presented by urban specificity.

Included on the broadside is a second representation of a different aspect of this event, taking up much of the uppermost section. A tumultuous crowd is gathered around a massive bonfire in Fleet Street in front of Temple Bar, and in the center, the personification of the Pope is being toppled from his chair into the flames. The absence of urban reality in the lower etching is returned in the separate top scene, an image that arrests the movement of the perambulation by focusing on its culminating moment. The procession folds and unfolds in order to display a truth which is a place; its itinerary inscribes a narrative on the spaces of the city that fixes the destructive termination of this ephemeral process in a specific, highly recognizable, urban site, so clearly emphasized in the broadsides juxtaposition of two separate images. This site is the west side of Temple Bar, an architectural marker depicted at the very margin of the etching, through the gate of which we see, interestingly enough, nothing. An empty white space exists on the other side of this structure, as if the City simply stops at this point, which in a sense it does, as we shall see below. The part of the city pictured in the upper left image of the broadside is also, not coincidentally, the point at which the fire of 1666 — another popish plot to destroy London — stopped after three days of burning. What the viewer sees is Temple Bar and to the east, a two block stretch of Fleet Street, interrupted by the north running Chancery Lane, with the church of St. Dunstan’s West marking the boundary between this image and that of the approaching link boys. This image even shows us the fireworks, seemingly attached to a cord fixed to the roof of St. Dunstan’s West and stretching across Fleet Street directly above the bonfire. In this street scene the viewer is fixed by the etching in another ‘ideal’ viewing position, only this time, unlike the lower image, one that uses and emphasizes urban specificity, placing the viewer on the south side of Fleet Street directly in front of the Inner Temple Gate, with the bonfire in the immediate centre.
How does one read this broadside, though? After a depiction of the final stage of the event, the second image starts at the beginning, an incongruity further supplemented below, in which the text does not describe this first (final) scene until near the end of the commentary. While the visual image of the procession oscillates between what came before and after, working on the boundaries between participation and viewing, movement and detached observation, the text adds details, chronology, history, and ‘colour’ that the visual image cannot. The opening paragraph of the broadside’s text, possibly written by Elkanah Settle who also may have written a similar quarto narrative, informs us that the people of the English nation enjoy a great hatred of the tyranny and superstition of the ‘Popish Religion’, especially since the discovery of the popish plot, in which Charles II was supposed to be assassinated by Catholic conspirators, his brother James II, an avowed Catholic, to be installed on the throne, and Roman Catholicism introduced as the state religion. Again, the 17th of November was specifically chosen for this serious and satirical procession as it was the anniversary of the death of “the Unfortunate Queen Mary” and the ascension of the true Protestant Queen Elizabeth I. Therefore, in commemoration, “some Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen, both in London, and at the Temple ... were pleased to be at the Charge of an extraordinary Triumph upon the day aforesaid, to confront the Insolence of the Romish Faction”, who still maintained designs to enslave the British nation.

From this historical grounding of a battle between opposing interpretive systems, paid for by groups linked to the City and the Temple, the text moves to a verbal map and chronology of the itinerary, naming the spaces of the city traversed by the procession, but not pictured in the lower imagery. At approximately five o’clock in the evening on November 17th, after church bells had been ringing since

106 *Londons Defiance to Rome, A Perfect Narrative of the Magnificent Procession, and Solemn Burning of the Pope at Temple-Barr, Nov. 17th, 1679* (1679). Johnson (1996), p. 43, argues that Settle was the author of all the broadsides and pamphlets between 1679-81. Of this I remain unconvinced.
three in the morning, "the Solemn Procession began, setting forth from More-Gate, and so proceeded to Bishops-Gate, and down Houndsditch to Ald-Gate, and thence through Leaden-Hall Street, the Royal Exchange, Cheapside, and so to Temple Bar". Thus, before traversing London, the procession visited four boundary markers of the City. With this itinerary comes a numerical listing and brief description of each part of the pageant: after the link boys "to clear the way", comes a bell man — complete with voice balloon in the etching — announcing "with a Loud and Dolesom voice" to remember Justice Godfrey. On a horse behind this figure, is a simulacra of the dead body of Sir Edmund bury Godfrey, mysteriously murdered after learning far too much about the supposed intrigues of the Catholic conspirators, and, as we have seen, quickly elevated to the status of a Protestant and Whig martyr. For this gruesome tableau, the effigy of Godfrey was dressed "in the Habit he usually wore, the Cravat wherewith he was murdered about his Neck, with spots of Blood on his Wrists, Shirt, and white Gloves that were on his hands, his Face pale and wan, riding on a White Horse, and one of his Murderers behind him to keep him from falling". Following this, as the text informs us, are various priests in surplices — Carmelite and Grey Friars, Jesuits with bloody daggers, popish bishops in "Purple and Lawn Sleeves", some with their heads topped by golden mitres, several cardinals, the doctor who was supposed to poison Charles II "with Jesuites Powder in one hand, and an Urinal in the other". Finally, as seen in the bottom right corner of the image, the Pope is carried in on a platform, seated in "a Chair of State", with "Scarlet" fabric draped around this stage. His 'Holiness' is also bedecked in scarlet, "Lined through with Ermin, and adorned with Gold and Silver Lace, on his Head a Triple Crown of Gold, and a Glorious Collar of gold and precious stones, St. Peters Keys, a number of Beads, Agnus Dei's, and other Catholick Trumpery". Just visible behind the figure of the Pope, in the shadow of the arched shelter that protects this illustrious figure, is the 'Devil', engaged in "frequently caressing, hugging, and whispering" to the pontiff. The crown of a King sits at the
Pope's feet, and at the front of the pageant, with a pot of incense between them, sit two boys holding banners decorated with a cross and several "bloody Daggers". In front of Temple Bar, reminiscent of a pageant stop during a royal entry, after an exchange between a figure known as Cardinal Howard, a representative of the Pope, and the "People", in which they pledge their allegiance both to Charles II and in defense of the Protestant faith, "his Holiness, after some Complement and Reluctancy, was decently tumbled from all his Grandeur into the Impartial Flames". Yet, not even the Protestants can get rid of the devil, for in the end, as the etching of this final moment shows, the Pope's "Chief Minister" escapes from the flames into the air.

Through its use of moving actors and wax figures borne on platforms, the Pope burning events adopt the form of a civic procession. For example, as a 'religious' procession, it refers to the mobile and processional medieval cycle plays sponsored by the City guilds. Significantly, these urban religious pageants were precursors of the Lord mayor's show and other trade pageants that almost always took the form of portable structures carried in procession, making them distinct from the static tableaux and fixed arches of a royal entry. Paradoxically, however, this was the procession of a Pope who, like a King during a royal entry, normally made a progress — the 'possesso' — to claim Rome after he was consecrated. It is clear that the manner of representing the solemn and mock procession in London, showing the entire cavalcade folded into an 's' curve on a single sheet of paper, is remarkably similar to sixteenth and seventeenth century printed images of papal processions like those included with Angelo Rocca's *De Sacrosancto Christi Corpore* (1599) representing the entry of Pope Clement VIII into Ferrara to reclaim that city, and the 'possessos' of Alexander VII (1655) and Innocent XI (1676). (Figs. 2. 18 and 2.

In the latter, Popes are depicted leaving St. Peter's in one of the lower corners of the print to the termination point of San Giovanni in Laterno in the upper left. Royal and papal entries often made use of Advent type symbolism, equating the ruler with the second coming and manifestation of Christ as a representative of God embraced by his city. Indeed, the 'possesso' began with the consecrated host and ended with the new Pope, making the representation of Christ and the vicar of Christ equal focal points of the procession. However, with the Pope burning procession and its printed representation, we do not have the acceptance by London of the Pope as a sovereign lord but a symbolic inversion, the 'turning of the 'possesso' upside down. The Pope is not an agent who parades through the streets as a type of Christ figure come to take his rightful place as a ruler, but is paraded through London as the anti-Christ and ritually destroyed.

Aspects of symbolic inversion, the suspension of everyday life, as well as the reclamation, purification and delimitation of a specific urban area were contained in these Pope burning processions. Thus, one can characterize them as manifestations of 'festival', the performance of ritual acts within exceptional time and space whose meaning goes beyond their literal and explicit aspects. As Louis Marin has argued, the terms parade, cortege, and procession imply an indispensable collectivity, a totality that "takes shape" and has a complex and diversified structure.

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109 Portions of this text and images reproduced facsimile in Bonner Mitchell, 1598: A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara (Binghampton, 1990). For images of the 'possesso', see Maurizio Fagiolo dell' Arco, La festa barocca (Rome, 1997). Prints of funeral processions also adopt a similar formal structure. See Rose Marie San Juan, 'Entrances and Departures: the Procession Prints of Queen Christina of Sweden', (eds.) M. L. Roden and B. Magnussen, Politics and Culture in the Age of Queen Christina (Stockholm and Rome, 1996), and to a lesser extent "The Cadaver's Desire: the Masks and Bodies of Queen Christina of Sweden", L' Image (1996), pp. 35-49. This manner of depicting an urban procession also has precedents in the depiction of Medici royal entries during the Renaissance, for instance that of Marie de Medici into Lyon in 1600, and Maria Maddelana's 1608 entry into Florence. See Roy Strong, Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power, (Boston, 1973), pp. 203-204.

110 Kipling, p. 15, and Stinger, p. 53.

at the same time real and symbolic, axial and teleological. These link boys and participants, with their effigies of cardinals, friars, and the Pope, moved through space with a certain orientation and order, both manipulating space and producing it. They also generated their own temporality, structuring time according to a specific chronology. The route of the Pope burning procession gave a series of London spaces a meaningful structure — a use value. As Marin argues, the route is a "'sentence' of a spatial discourse": both start and finish are important, yet distinct from the places the route connects. Tim Harris has shown that the chosen route of the Pope burning processions — beginning and passing through the northern and eastern parts of London, areas heavily populated by religious dissenters — exhibited a deliberate slant towards a nonconformist audience. In contrast to the printed images of the papal 'possesso', which clearly show start and end points of the procession, the Pope burning processions were more concerned to emphasize only the termination point. Indeed, the assembly point seems to have been different every year. According to other printed accounts and the broadsides themselves, in 1679 the procession came out of Green Yard and through Moorgate, in 1680 it came out of George's Yard "without White-Chappel Bars", and in 1681 it originated in Catherine Wheel Alley. Before passing through the most important sites of civic ritual in London, this procession mustered near the boundary markers or in the back alleys of eastern London. George's Yard and Catherine Wheel Alley, which still

112 Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach to Parade, Cortege, and Procession", in Time Out of Time, p. 222.
115 Letter of John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney, HMCSeventh Report, p. 477, The Solemn Mock Procession (1679), The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Jesuits, Fryers, Nuns &c, Exactly taken as they marcht through the City of London, November ye 17th, 1680, printed for I. Oliver, L. (Langley) Curtis, and T. Fox (London, 1680), BM. 1084, The True Protestant Mercury, or Occurrences Foreign and Domestick (November 16 to November 19, 1681). There is, nevertheless, some confusion, as Benjamin Harris's news sheet The Domestic Intelligence, or News both from City and Country, 39 (November 18, 1679), lists the assembly point in 1679 as "Morefields", and a ballad London's Drollery: or the Love and Kindness between the Pope and the Devil (1680), mentions "Algate" as that years starting point.
exists today and is about as wide as a sidewalk, (Fig. 2. 20) were noted as locales for nonconformist meeting houses. These areas of narrow and dark passageways were all interlinked, making them convenient places to remain invisible and assemble in secret.

The end point at Temple Bar was where the procession disappeared as it reached finality. This was a place where Crown and City met, a boundary only recently clarified under the Stuart Kings, and where civic rights had ritualistically been asserted by the chief magistrate and recognized by the sovereign. The culminating moment of the procession at Temple Bar is surely important for the boundaries between London and Westminster delineated at this site, but what more can be made of this? It is not at all unrelated that this ritual site between civic space and the jurisdiction of the crown was also the historic center of the book-selling and printing trades. Temple Bar and the area around it was important as a ritual space, but it was also a site tied to the everyday rhythms and social exchanges of economic life in the city. Wynken de Worde, who succeeded to Caxton's business was located in Fleet Street in approximately 1500, as was another apprentice of Caxton's, Richard Pynson. In fact, Pynson's print shop was apparently in

116 Bishopsgate Ward was a known Whig stronghold in the years just prior to 1682, and the Duke of Monmouth had taken a house here behind the Excise Office. See CSPD (1680-1681), pp. 62 and 597. William Maitland, The History of London from its Foundation to the Present Time (London, 1775) p. 452, cites nonconformist meeting houses in Fisher's Folly and Hand Alley, close by and connected to Catherine Wheel Alley. John Stow, A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, enlarged by John Strype, (London, 1720), II, pp. 91 (map) and 96, cites the lanes and alleys here as "mean", and "of no great account". Catherine (or Katherine) Wheel Alley itself is "very narrow, and without Houses, having only back Yards; it hath one passage into Hand Alley, and another into Petticoat Lane". Walter Besant, London in the Time of the Stuarts (London, 1903), p. 156, lists London conventicles in 1680, the largest being in Hand Alley, with a congregation of 800.

117 J. Bonel (John Bedford Leno), The History of Temple Bar, the City Golgota (London, 1874), p. 3, and Henry Johnson, Temple Bar and State Pageants: An Historical Record of the State Processions to the City of London (London, 1897), p. 4.

118 Johnson (1996), p. 46, calls Temple bar "the juridical heart of the city". While I do not necessarily disagree with this, in the case of the procession I think the bar as a meeting of boundaries between jurisdictions and not as a centre is much more important.

119 T. C. Noble, Memorials of Temple Bar; with some Account of Fleet Street and the Parishes of St. Dunstan and St. Bride (London, 1869), p. 128. In his preface Noble is surprised that a history of Temple Bar and Fleet Street had not yet been written, since "nearly four centuries ago, lived, printed, died, and
chambers above an early structure marking the 'Barres', the limit of the town watch in the medieval period. It seems printing in England was historically a cultural 'limen' itself, on the threshold between two kinds of authority, close to crown and bishops whom it served and who also watched over it, but equally as close to City, with its trade and market 'freedoms' granted by the crown, generating an autonomy that could quickly turn into opposition, and a marketplace for print that challenged church and crown control over the commodification of discourse. The built structure that marked Temple Bar was apparently the business site of many successive printers, and then by 1663 the location of another associated liminal site, Munday's Coffee-House. However, as we have seen, the coffee-house historically was a social space located 'within' and 'around' the culture of print, and Munday's was not the first such establishment in this area, for the Rainbow just inside the Bar was established by 1657. As the final point of this mock Pope burning, Temple Bar was a location fraught with the dangers associated with points of assembly and dispersion, representing the "borders between the law of 'normal' everyday spaces and places and the law of the parade and its route". The singular direction of the mock Pope burnings implied an irreversible movement, for "the end point of a one way march represents a symbolic victory over those ideas or persons defied by the march". Catholicism may have been the predominant object of ridicule in this procession, but the terminus of this walking collectivity and destruction of its wax effigies at the boundary separating the jurisdictions of City and Crown indicate a stance of opposition against a potential Catholic monarchy under James II, a stance of opposition more than ever produced and maintained by the power of the discursive nature of the print medium in the City.

was buried, the second printer in the Metropolis, and that in Fleet Street, the Printing Press has flourished ever since." (i).


Returning to the upper view of the Wilkins broadside, encompassing Temple Bar to St. Dunstan's West, the viewer is situated as already noted — approximately in front of the Inner Temple Gate. (Fig. 2. 21, detail of 2. 1) The text claims that this spectacular destruction opening up before the viewer was paid for by both Templars and a group of worthy gentleman in London. Given the location of the viewer in this etching, he or she is thus located not only in the historic centre of the printing trade and at the border of London and Westminster, but at the nexus of three borders, since the Temple comprised territory with ambiguous jurisdiction. In 1679 the Temple was predominantly Whiggish, and thus threw its support behind the mock Pope burnings. However, the political landscape of exclusion era London was extremely unstable, and by 1681 the majority of loyalties in the Temple had grown hostile towards nonconformity. As a result, the procession that year, while utilizing Temple Bar as a symbolic stopping point on the route, was forced to have the large final bonfire in Smithfield, the locale of many Protestant martyrdoms under the Marian regime. Interestingly enough, the viewer's encompassing position in this panorama of Fleet Street and the great bonfire is between the Temple, and directly on the other side of the fire, the King's Head Tavern at the corner of Chancery Lane. This was the meeting place of the those other 'worthy gentlemen' of London that produced and orchestrated this space for the finale of the procession, the Green Ribbon Club, as we have seen, many of whom were freemen of the City or tied to civic politics in some way with connections to important Whigs such as Shaftesbury and Monmouth. Pictured just behind the toppling figure of the Pope, this tavern is

122 The Impartial Protestant Mercury (November 15 to November 18, 1681), published by the Whig Richard Janeway, claims the procession stopped at Temple Bar, then went up Chancery Lane and down Holborn to Newgate, where the Pope gave a mock blessing to the papists imprisoned there, and then to Smithfield. Nat Thompson, one of the main Tory counter propagandists wrote in his The True Domestick Intelligence (November 19, 1681), that on November 17 he had been attacked in Fleet Street near Temple Bar by a supporter of the "good old cause" who then retreated into some "common-wealth coffee-house", probably the Rainbow. He was then attacked again, a group threatening to carry him to Smithfield and burn him with the Pope. See also Harris (1987), p. 121. Harris also points out that Temple Bar marks the dividing line between two high church parishes, St. Martin's in the Fields and St. Dunstan West, neither of which were supportive of the Whigs.
shown with its overcrowded two balconies. Roger North, surely no friend to the Whig cause, related that the Pope was burnt "over-against the Club Windows", and described the King's Head as "double balconied in the Front ... for the Clubsters to issue forth in fresco with Hats and no Peruques; Pipes in their Mouths, merry Faces, and diluted Throats, for vocal encouragement of the Canaglia below". Just as the viewer of the print is given an ideal viewing point in front of Inner Temple Gate, so too are the figures on these balconies, further emphasizing that this final moment in front of Temple Bar was a crucially important point of viewing. The print helps produce this space as politically important, extending the resonance of the final moment of the procession by helping to both demarcate and blur the domains of spectators and actors. It is equally as important that the spectators of the Green Ribbon Club are visible to the actors in the procession and to other spectators, a nexus of gazes, I would argue, that are clarified far more effectively for the viewer of the print than for those jostling for position in the actual labyrinth of Temple Bar on that evening.

If we understand Protestantism and unproductive excess to be antithetical, then in a very uncharacteristically Protestant way all the fruits of this labour of construction and organization were sent to the flames in front of Temple Bar, accompanied by fireworks and squibs. This investment of time, materials, and labour, 400 shillings alone for torch bearers, 45 shillings for the Pope's face of wax — produced only to be destroyed — seems to embody a contradictory element at its very heart. The procession was surely an object of spectacular beauty, one might even say of Catholic style worship, designed to dazzle spectator and participant alike, and the prints of these events try to reproduce something of the lush and rich

123 North, pp. 572 and 574.
125 John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney, HMC, Seventh Report, p. 477. However, as Verney states, not all was destroyed, as the figures were disrobed and then burnt, thus saving the fabrics for the next year.
pageantry in the detailed etching and barely concealed excitement of the text over its scarlet and purple fabrics, and the brilliancy of its gold crosses and mitres. This emphasis in the text on rich fabrics and colours, even morbid details such as bloody daggers, urinals, murdered corpses, and spots of blood on white cuffs, almost seems to suggest a writer bewitched by the specularity of the image of the procession, but it is also a focus on the actual material of the procession, emphasizing the communal labour and artisanship that went into its fabrication. Comparing the 1679 broadside by Wilkins with a print from the next year by Oliver, Curtis, and Fox will serve to make this more evident. The latter has many formal similarities to its precedent, including two separate engravings of the procession as a whole and the final conflagration at Temple Bar. There is less commentary with this view of the procession, more than likely due to the fact that the text is engraved directly onto the plate, with corresponding numbers placed above each pageant stage. In the 1679 Wilkins broadside the letterpress was utilized, indicating that image and text were printed at different times onto the single sheet. It could be argued that parts of the later image are less detailed than the earlier manifestation, particularly in the upper view of urban London, and less emphasis is placed on depicting an audience accompanying the procession in the curving view of the entire cortege as only a few link boys are included throughout in order to emphasize continuity and movement. However, the procession has grown in size, including a fourth level of pageants, and a great deal of care has been taken to highlight the fabricated nature of the event. Unlike the earlier procession and image, in which, apparently, only the figure of the Pope was a mannequin borne on a moving stage, here more than half of the figures in the procession are carried. They are mounted on what appear to be rather simply built rectangular boxes carried by four walkers in the manner of a mobile guild or trade pageant. We are even shown how they were able to negotiate

126 The Solemn Mock Procession (Oliver, Curtis, and Fox version, 1680),
the streets of London, as windows covered by some sort of transparent screen cut into the front and sides allowed the bearers to see. At the far right, one of these boxes catches the light just the right way as it is turned and carried to the next level of the image, allowing us to see right through these screens and make out the edge of a porter's hat brim and the top of another's staff. Great differences in the scale of the figures on this engraving exist as well. For example, the priest (numbered fourteen) is more than twice the size of the figures above, jarring any easy viewing of the printed procession, making it more like the way one might see it in the urban spaces of the city with some figures appearing closer and others farther away. Surely, one might be able to attribute these disjunctions to the engraver's lack of skill, but I would argue that these disparities serve to emphasize the material construction of this solemn and mock procession, for on the whole the larger figures seem to represent living beings and the smaller figures on the pageants can be taken as effigies. This is further stressed in the static and rigid appearance of these fabrications compared to the fluidity and movement given the lads in pioneer caps at the head of the procession, and those who struggle to support the large banner. In addition, certain figures on the platforms bear banners with 'mottoes' and 'inscriptions' to help identify their significance, contrasted by some of the marchers who are given voice balloons, who 'speak' and 'say'. In the same way that this engraving reveals its construction as a visual representation, by pairing two images of the same event, folding the procession back on itself to fit it onto the sheet, by contrasting the scale of the figures, by letting us see *through* it, literally, in exposing the hat brim and staff through the one platform's screen, it is also self consciously revealing the very constructed nature of the ritual itself, a synthetic and contrived form of social interaction. As Lawrence Manley has argued, it was precisely the 'inventedness' of the mayoral shows emphasized through the discursive nature of
the print medium that differentiated civic from royal ritual. This interest in the productions of urban labour and history, the link between artifice and everyday life in the city, comes through in the surface awkwardness of the Oliver, Curtis, and Fox broadside. The contrived pageant and the production of print itself become metaphors for the 'profit' and 'delight' of the political community represented by urban London.

However, procession and its printed representation do not produce this community in the same way. The actual procession that wound its way through the difficult streets of London dragging along its audience, even for the stationary viewer who watched it pass by in the street before him or her, could never be seen in its entirety. The broadside, on the other hand, condenses the procession and allows everything to be seen at once and with ease, without the impediments of urban reality. As a representation of the event, the broadside with etching and text improves the 'real' procession in a number of ways, for example, where darkness of night and torch light were an important spectacular aspect of the procession, the printed representation provides transparency. It gave the viewer an ideal and perfect prospect. We see the whole crowd, procession and community, actors and viewers, as a whole fused within a specific urban location in the panorama of the final moment, the very moment the Pope's chair was tipped into the fire and the devil's escape, the moment that the crowd shouted at the justice of this event and threw their caps into the air. In a paradoxical way, the broadside preserves the event and preserves its destruction, upper and lower images suturing together the procession in its entirety, and its near complete annihilation.

While the procession seemingly has the power to turn the city into a stage for these pageants, the print can relocate both this pageant and its spectatorship indefinitely, reaching a viewer or community of viewers potentially different from

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127 Manley, pp. 252 and 268.
the one etched into the background of the broadsides that witnessed this parade as it occurred. For the viewer of the print, the representation of the procession is at the same time the equivalent of the event and its substitute. It re-creates the event, but also offers something other. The broadside repeats the procession faithfully, with an emphasis on colours, fabrics, materials, songs and shouts, creating the impression of participation for a viewer and reader, yet the print doubles the pageant as well, offering another procession in amended and perfected form. With this other procession, the viewer achieves a totality of vision — seeing the entire procession and its culminating moment at Temple Bar — that makes contemplation and detached observation possible. These prints make the procession available in a form, a commodity form as Halasz would argue, that makes this performance of community available in a configuration that belies procession's spatio-temporal specificity, its ephemerality, its 'unrepresentability' as spatial practice. Print thus transforms the Pope burning pageantry into an abstraction removed from identifiable coordinates of urban space, capable of being reproduced at multiple, simultaneous, and successive sites, for example, the long tables of the coffee-houses and beyond.128

Consequently, while we are able to locate the procession temporally and spatially to a certain extent, it is much more difficult to locate the wider community of viewers and readers called up by the broadsides. Nevertheless, in at least one case, despite the emphasis on Temple Bar in the procession and its printed representation, we have tactile, material evidence of the interaction between the print and its consumer in Cheapside. At the bottom right hand corner of the Wilkins broadside in the British Museum is the signed manuscript addition: "This I saw in Cheapside. Sam: Sheafe." (Fig. 2. 1) Although it is no doubt vitally important that the Pope burning processions utilized the most important civic ritual space of

128Halasz, p. 187. This abstraction is inherent in the commodity form, dispersed by circulation and consumption.
the Lord Mayor's Shows and the royal entries, these rites were becoming less meaningful for Restoration Londoners and we have noted their decline. This urban area passing the Royal Exchange, along Cornhill and Cheapside, might have been becoming less remarked as the symbolic centre of the city where ritual practices articulating the symbiotic relationship between civic and monarchical rulers were performed, but it was becoming more noted as a locale associated with a different set of social practices — the exchange and circulation of printed matter. By the Restoration, this crucial east/west access of London passing near the Royal Exchange was noted for its spaces of print, since it was here that the greatest concentrations of London coffee-houses could be found. I would argue that it is surely both the procession and the print which Samuel Sheafe saw in Cheapside, the print likely encountered in one of the many 'Whiggish' coffee-houses along and just off this thoroughfare. Indeed, this version of the broadside has other manuscript additions in different hands and from different times, such as the comments "There was ye like. 1680. 1681.", suggesting that it may indeed have been accessible in a public arena catering to the exchange of print, hanging on a coffee-house wall or remaining in a particular coffee-house's collection of news sheets, political prints and tracts. This becomes even more likely when we note that the longest manuscript addendum, describing a Tory 'presbyter burning' held by the supporters of the high church party on 5 November, 1681 at Westminster refers the reader to another form of print for further reference — *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*, an opposition news sheet no less, published by Nat Thompson.

Louis Marin, following Mona Ozouf, argues that it is impossible to view a procession in its entirety from a privileged position along its route. The procession

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129 This is made even more plausible given the little we know about Samuel Sheafe. According to J. R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London 1660-1689* (London, 1965), Sheafe, or Sheaff, was a woolendraper living in Great Eastcheap. He was also a non-conformist, having failed to take the sacrament after 1660, as well as a Whig Common Councilman in 1680, when his election was declared void.
is an art of time as well as space and thus belies simultaneity, forcing a spectator to choose an observation point and thus limit his or her vision. While this may be true for the individual immersed in the physical reality of the urban environment, for the viewer of the printed image of the procession it is not. Some contemporary accounts from viewers of the actual procession confuse beginning and end, for example, maintaining that the Pope was the first figure and not the last, as Thompson's *True Domestick Intelligence* reported on the day after the event in 1679. Roger North, who watched the finale from the Green Dragon Tavern in Fleet Street near Temple Bar, also thought the first pageant was bearing the Pope's effigy. That both of these misreadings of the narrative logic of the procession are from Tory supporters is surely not coincidental. As spectator of the actual procession Sheafe, like North and Thompson, would be unable to dominate its temporal unfolding in space, experiencing its episodes only in succession as they came down the street, and even then potentially confusing them. As viewer of the print, however, the intended meaning of the procession could be clarified as he was lifted out of the spatial and temporal constraints of his position in the physical urban reality of Cheapside into the space and time of the printed representation. While the procession sought to reaffirm older ritualized physical boundaries between City and Crown, more abstract boundaries were in the process of being created between Whig and Tory that would ultimately serve to make the older physical boundaries reinforced by the Pope burning processions less important. These boundaries between political parties were on the whole produced and maintained through the discursive arena created by an exchange of print. Thus the procession, which might seem to call up City dwelling actors and spectators, paradoxically could serve as the rallying point for Whig supporters who came from the other side of the boundary.

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131 *The True Domestick Intelligence; or News from both City and Country* (November 18, 1679).
132 North, p. 578.
emphasized in the processions and prints. This was made explicit in a pamphlet expressing satisfaction at the election of the four Whiggish MPs from London for the 1681 Oxford Parliament entitled Thanks upon Thanks: or, the Suburb's Joy for the City's Election. \(^{133}\) This two page text argued that suburbs and City were like minded — "You burn the Pope, We come to see him Burn'd/Our wrath, like yours, against his Tribe is turn'd" — and not so physically separated as the broadside's imagery seeks to reinforce. What I am arguing here is that the Pope burning procession as a spatial practice could serve to envelope and reinforce boundaries of the local community, but the printed image paradoxically, by its very nature, implies a community of users far greater than the limits of the City. Lawrence Manley has shown how the revolution in London in the 1640s was driven by individuals whose sense of identity and purpose was no longer linked to the local limits and boundaries of the established community but to the centrifugal forces of diversification, mobility, and expansion of which London was the centre: "As a result of these social circumstances, the political implications of Christian liberty were developed in tandem with a psychological disinvestment in the social and physical place of the established community."\(^{134}\) The Pope burning processions of the Restoration were organized by the Green Ribbon Club, a group that had many links to the radicals of the 1640s, and while they served to consolidate the power of the centre against what it perceived as a threatening force on the other side of Temple Bar, its printed representations called up and engaged in a discursive arena that diffused the power of this very centre. The broadside could turn the Whig image of community into part of a process of political communication and identity formation that transposed the local into the more abstract regional and even national.

\(^{133}\)J. B., Thanks Upon Thanks: or the Suburb's Joy for the City's Election (1680).
\(^{134}\)Manley, p. 539.
What this leads me to propose, given the evidence in the details of the procession and its printed representations, is that these events were produced with a conscious awareness of how to extend the resonance of the procession much further than the moment of its actual occurrence in the streets of the city in order to connect more efficiently with a community and network of print users. Print and procession were clearly conceived of as a unit, in that the broadsides dictated what a viewer could expect to see at this November event. Further, the processions, in their articulation of communal identity, themselves drew a great deal from subject matter offered by the martyrological genre epitomized through Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, such as the public *auto da fé* and the image of a Pope trodding on Kings. As I discussed above, these motifs were also taken up by Restoration primers such as *The Protestant Tutor*, within a spatial itinerary of violence leading to the city. In sum, akin to Rogationtide perambulations, the procession and its representations were designed to produce a sense of political identity and mark out difference within the city based upon a symbolic act of destructive violence. These solemn and mock processions of the Pope negotiated the streets of London both in pageantry and in print, and the procession made use of a series of images and symbols drawn from a history of Protestant strategies of print in London, as well as more current emblems in the process of being worked up in other broadsides dealing with the crises of these years.

In other words, the procession draws material from other printed sources in order to create a recognizable iconography. Let's take the murder of Sir Edmund bury Godfrey for example. In all the major Pope burning processions of the exclusion years, this figure was always found at the very beginning of the cavalcade. Godfrey was the justice of the peace who took the deposition of Oates and Tonge regarding the popish plot to assassinate Charles II, and was subsequently murdered.

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135 North, p. 575, claims that the 1681 procession drew a dangerously large 'mob' because "the discourse ran high of mighty things to be seen".
under mysterious circumstances in October, 1678. Godfrey had very strong ties to both the merchant class in the City and to the court, and, as I have indicated above he very quickly became a martyr for forces in favour of exclusion. One cannot underestimate the way in which this murder was utilized in Whig and Tory, City and Crown confrontations. Many textual and visual representations dealing with the murder of Godfrey were produced, particularly as stories came to light during the trial of the supposed murderers, Robert Green, Lawrence Hill, and Henry Berry. For example, in 1679, Thomas Dawks printed a broadside on the popish plot centering on the murder of Godfrey, complete with a textual account and a very detailed woodcut. This broadside, dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, intended to act as a memorial to the discovery and defeat of the plot, but its most important task was "Sir Edmund burie Godfrey's Murder made Visible", and this was achieved through a series of "emblemes" designed by Dawks himself. In the center above an image of Charles II surrounded on all side by his supposed assassins Conyers, Pickering, the queen's physician Wakeman, and the mysterious four Irish 'ruffians', is a portrait of Godfrey, his ever present and important cravat around his neck. Text above his head and an additional oval frame with text set him off from the background and twice identify him as a Protestant martyr. Violence against Godfrey is specifically seen in relation to violence against the city, as just visible behind him is the burning of London and Southwark, and a scene of a uncontrolled massacre. The remaining images form a narrative of discovery, murder, and state execution. Here is pictured the important actions associated with the Godfrey martyrdom, his taking of the Oates and Tonge deposition, how he was lured away from a crowded street by a mock quarrel between Berry and Kelly to be strangled

137Pollock, p. 75.
138Thomas Dawks, England's Grand Memorial: the Unparall'd Plot to destroy His Majesty, Subvert the Protestant Religion; and Sir Edmund burie Godfrey's Murder Made Visible (1679), BM 1064.
from behind with his own scarf, the hiding and viewing of the body, its transport to Primrose Hill, and how Godfrey's body was run through after death by his own sword. Once a series of visual scenes of the murder were formulated they became emblems and were repeated many times in different forms of print, part of the establishment of a typology of imagery from which to visually represent the key events of the plot. For example, Robert Greene's single sheet print with twenty nine figures and accompanying text pictured several similar events as Dawks' did, some of them virtually identical, including the strangulation of Godfrey, the transport of the body out of Somerset House in a sedan chair, and the carrying of the corpse to Primrose Hill on a horse.¹³⁹ (Fig. 2. 24) Greene's print itself was based on a series of playing cards representing the plot.¹⁴⁰ What I am indicating here is that representations of key visual emblems of the plot could be had in a variety of printed forms, indicating their circulation within of community of readers and print users targeted as supporters or potential supporters of exclusion. Certainly the coffee-houses were places where a variety of print could be found and/or successfully circulated, and they were also known as places where card games were played.¹⁴¹ The coffee-house was more than likely the kind of place Dawks had in mind when he included at the bottom of his broadside that "this MONUMENT of Papistical Treachery and Cruelty is to be kept as well in Publick Places, as Private Houses". What I want to suggest here, is that when the organizers of the solemn and mock destruction of the Pope began to formulate the details of the procession,

¹³⁹ Robert Greene, A Representation of the Popish Plott in 29 figures, as the Manner of Killing Sir Edmond bury Godfry, and their horrid designs to kill the King, and the manner of the Plotters Execution (n.d.), BM 1067.

¹⁴⁰ This series of cards is known by the title The Popish Plot and has the shelf mark E58 (3636 915-1-52) in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings. While many of the series of exclusion era playing cards are reproduced in Lady Charlotte Schreiber, Playing Cards of Various Ages and Countries 3 vols., (London, 1892), and William Willshire, A Descriptive Catalogue of Playing and Other Cards in the British Museum (London, 1876), these and at least one other set are worth looking at in person since the reproductions do not capture the complete hand colouring of the sets. Further, one set is enclosed in a book like case of embroidered silk, and then bound with a multi-coloured fabric.

¹⁴¹ Willshire, p. 52.
they included visual devices already highly recognizable to a prospective audience through their encounters with forms of print culture. The strange figure of Godfrey’s dead body supported on a steed, hardly need be preceded by a bell ringer shouting in a ‘dolesome voice’ to “Remember Justice Godfrey” in order to be recognized. Certainly, the processions were designed to be reproduced in print and the use of such a well recognized image in representations of the procession would link these broadsides to other prints that utilized similar emblems.

Medals were also struck commemorating the so-called martyrdom of Godfrey, and these used similar designs: many of them included a small icon of Godfrey’s body run through with his own sword or supported on a horse, as well as a figure of the Pope with his councilor the devil — all elements which appeared in the Pope burning procession and its printed representations.142 (Fig. 2. 25) The most striking thing about the Godfrey and popish plot medals, however, is the confusion of genres they seem to embody, as they adopt representational strategies more suited to forms of print culture than to medallic illustrations of history. The majority of medals issued in early modern England celebrated the deeds of the sovereign or his family, and as Louis Marin has argued, the medal was traditionally the most perfect means to represent a royal figure by uniting two forms of representation in the portrait —drawing and writing. The medal produced the power of the sovereign contingent upon his absence. It created a living tomb within a representational object that related the royal figure’s glory by displaying an image of his exploits, while at the same time inscribing his name, therefore both showing and reciting his history.143 The medal was a kind of currency, retaining the public circulation of money, and this was precisely from where it derived its power.

142 Reproduced in John Pinkerton, Medallie History of England (London, 1790) plate XXXV, and British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II, commentary by Edward Hawkins, (London, 1904-1911), VI, plate LIX.
143 Louis Marin, Portrait of the King (Minneapolis, 1988), p. 125. The medal is "perfect" representation, "complete without lack or fault, because it is entirely inscription, portrait and name."
the medal is representation-power in the primitive sense that — carrying in its matter (and not on its surface like layers of paint or traces of ink) by imprint, engraving, and inscription the mark of a sovereign authority, indicating by that the legitimate presence of that authority and authorizing that authority — medal money founds and authorizes itself: it is in itself truth and law.\textsuperscript{144}

It has been my contention throughout that print culture plays a crucial role in the changing nature of social authority in seventeenth century England, an irreversible movement serving to dismantle older forms of sovereignty and relocate social power in new forces and spaces, for example, in the link between print, opinion, and the coffee-house. It is surely no coincidence either that 'paper' money will shortly appear in England. Medals of Godfrey's murder and the popish plot read like prints and not medallions, confusing the genres and deriving their authority not from their matter but precisely from their surface, their 'traces' of ink that cover over the form of the medal. Some of these medals read just like broadsides in their titles, using vernacular English, adopting strategies of satire, using the conjunctive 'or' to join a short alliterative ballad-like title with a second explanatory title to locate subject matter historically, even breaking up the representational space of the medal into layers with unfolding events to portray a narrative. This entrance of the 'low' into the 'high' form of the medallic illustration has troubled historians. For example, in discussing a medal entitled \textit{Romes Revenge; or Sr. Edmundbery Godfrey Murdered in the Popes Slaughterhouse}, the British Museum must qualify this piece by saying it is "of rude design and workmanship", and another medal commemorating Titus Oates is "thin, in low relief, and of poor workmanship".\textsuperscript{145}

For this historian issues of quality in this case are moot, and I believe it is more important to note how both procession and medal are made to look like print. Within a political terrain coming more and more to be comprised of an exchange of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[145] Edward Hawkins, commentary on plate LIX in \textit{Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain}, VI.
\end{footnotes}
representations within a discursive arena, for Whig supporters in the late 1670s the world was becoming an aspect of the scriptural operation, in which forms of print will eventually multiply around images which are "the empty centers, the pure signifiers of social communication", a dynamic leading to living beings becoming signs, "to find in a discourse the means of transforming themselves into a unit of meaning, into an identity".\(^{146}\)

Another broadside of the solemn and mock procession printed for Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee does not include an additional image of the final moment of the burning of the Pope in front of Temple Bar.\(^{147}\) Rather, a view of the procession as a whole begins rather abruptly, cutting off the leading figure on horseback. (Fig. 2.26) What is first seen in this image of the procession is a large "painted Cloth" banner born by a group of "pioneers" in red caps, the same figures that in the Oliver broadside come after Godfrey's body. (Fig. 2.22) In the Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee broadside we can see that this was a double sided banner, probably rotated during the procession to enable viewers on different side of the street to see both halves. With the Oliver broadside the viewer only sees one side of the banner, entitled "Romes trechery and hell-bred Cruelty", on which, according to the numbered key below, "is represented Dame Celliers, and, other Plot makers, under the mask of Protestants". With the Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee broadside this banner comes first in the image even though the textual description below places it later, in the same position in the cortege as the Oliver broadside. The former, though, displays both sides of the banner at once, as if the print enables some type of doubled viewing subject who can be on both sides of the street at the same time. Along with the image of Madame Celliers the banner portrayed "the Wild-House Consulters, viz, the Popish Clergy Plotters, all hanging on a Gallows; among 'em are some other pretended Protestants,

\(^{146}\)De Certeau (1984), pp. 145 and 149.
\(^{147}\)The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope Cardinalls Jesuits Fryers &c. through the City of London November the 17th. 1680 , printed for Nathaniel Ponder, Jonathan Wilkins, and Samuel Lee, (1680), BM. 1085.
Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties”, all of which we can discern only with great difficulty. But a clear view of this banner is not the intention of showing both of its sides simultaneously in this print, nor is it the intention behind having it come first in the image of the procession. These confusions between text and image are not the chance miscommunication between engraver and letterpress printer who did the typeset, but seem to be a market strategy. The cut-off beginning, I would suggest, does not depict the procession as a self contained whole as other broadsides do, but is designed to give the impression that the thread of this mobile pageant continues on beyond the borders of the image. Where it leads to is not a scene of ritual destruction in front of Temple Bar, but to another broadside.

This broadside was also printed for Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee, (Fig. 2. 27) and whereas the first argued in the lower right corner that there would be "no other true Representation of this Procession but this", the second made it clear that this device of bisecting the leading figure was, as I suggested, for the purposes of connecting the two representations: "This is the Continuation of the Former Procession lately published and there is no other true Copy but these".148 The second broadside of the procession for this trio of printers depicts only the painted images of the banner, save for two figures who unfurl it at either end, with the shoulders and heads of a staff bearing multitude etched into a dark background below the edge of the banner, some of whom wave and shout towards the viewer. On one side of this banner is a scene of “Successfull Villany”, the supposed Jesuit plotters Blundell and Conyers — the latter supposed to have consecrated a dagger two feet long with which to kill the King — both hang by the neck from gallows while each holding the end of another rope from which is strung an entire crowd of Catholic and Jesuit plotters from the infamous meeting at Wild-House.149 Above them on the painted banner is a

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148 Roomes Trechery & Hell Bred Cruellty, and Englands Misery , printed for Ponder, Lee, and Wilkins, (1680).
149 Narcissus Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714 (Oxford, 1857), I, p. 153, records that a Jesuit with the last name of Blundell had been apprehended at
depiction of the burning of London, as we have seen long attributed to the hands of Roman Catholic arsons. On the other side is what seems to be a procession within the procession "containing the more particular Instances" of Rome's cruelty and plotting, leading from the "Grand Devil himself" through various plotters to an image of the Pope, with scenes of Godfrey's murder in the background. The textual description of the third "Monster" on this side of the banner indicates that these Whig representations of the plots were not the only forms of print circulating in the streets of London at this time. Here is a pamphlet writer who "was preparing the World with a Scandalous Pamphlet" that sought to expose evidence of the plot against the King as false, attacking parliament and ridiculing public justice, turning the popish plot into a Protestant conspiracy to cut their own throats. This figure is surely intended to represent Roger L' Estrange, whose occult powers were so strong he bewitched the people and, "for a while, Playes and Romances were laid aside".

Printed exchanges between Whigs and Tories poured "forth such a Storm of Answers, Vindications, Dialogues, Odes, Ballads, &c. So thick, that several thought Hell was turned to Printing-House; and that the Legions that entred the Swines of the Gaderines of old, were come to walk abroad the World again in Print".

For more examples of the interlinked nature between the processions and a larger community of print users, we must continue to look at the processions of 1680 and 1681. In the broadside printed for Oliver, Curtis, and Fox, (Fig. 2. 22) the first pageant platform displays a female figure standing by a tub, beside whom is a male figure playing a fiddle. Behind the pair are four figures in half light and half dark surplices. According to the textual description, this pageant represents "Dame Celliers and the Meal Tub, with one playing on a fiddle, with some Protestants in Masquerade". The inclusion of Madame Celliers and the infamous tub refer to an affair known as the Meal Tub Plot, wherein accusations leveled against dissenting

the end of June in Lambeth for secretly communicating with Jesuits on the continent. It is unclear whether there is any relation to the Roman Catholic Blundell's cited by Miller, pp. 60 and 193. On Conyers see Kenyon, p. 65.
and Presbyterian interests attempted to turn the popish plot into a Presbyterian plot. Though this broadside does not identify the fiddle playing figure, he was easily recognized in 1680 and 1681 as yet another reference to the King’s surveyor of the press, and court party publicist, Roger L’Estrange, an avowed high churchman and anti-parliamentarian. The association of L’Estrange as a fiddle player was made quite clear in many other pamphlets, news sheets, playing cards and broadsides. For example, in a deck of playing cards known as the Meal Tub or Presbyterian Plot from 1679-80, one card shows a figure leaving a building carrying a fiddle, the caption reading “Nolls fiddler runns StrangeLe from ye Parliament”. In the Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee broadside depicting the procession of 1680 the first pageant platform represents Madame Celliers and L’Estrange with more detail, so that a viewer could not fail to recognize them. (Fig. 2.28, detail of Fig. 2.26) Celliers is shown placing papers inscribed “Sham Plot” that were used to incriminate Colonel Mansell in the “Meal Tub”, and an effigy of the King’s surveyor of the press has a bib hung around his neck identifying him as “Touzer old Nol’s Fidler”. Written text below adds even more than the etching makes visible: “On the foremost Angle of it [the pageant] is one in Black, playing on a fiddle, with Pen, Ink, and Papers under his girdle”. ‘Touzer’ was an acknowledged sobriquet of L’Estrange, given to the dog he was often represented as — with a broom for a tail, a fiddle strapped to its back, and a cross planted in the middle of its forehead — for example, in the satirical prints A Prospect of A Popish Successor, and Strange’s Case, Strangly Altered. Several accounts also placed the dog ‘Touzer’ in the lap of the Pope in 1680 and 1681, in order to protect the antichrist from the Presbyterian faction. Janeway’s Impartial Protestant Mercury, for example, stated that Touzer the lap dog had “an observator

151 The Meal Tub or Presbyterian Plot, (BM E187.3).
152 This print includes manuscript addition of L’Estrange’s name right on the dog’s body, and comments on L’Estrange’s ‘Tory’ character. Briefly discussed by Harris (1987), p. 125.
in his mouth and a pen in his ear".\footnote{The Impartial Protestant Mercury, 60, (November 15 to November 18, 1681). See also William Goble, The Procession: or, the Burning of the Pope in Effigie, at Temple-Bar, or in Smithfield, on the 17th of November 1681, (1681), p. 2.} As discussed above, the many satirical references to L’Estrange in the processions were meant to be understood by Whig supporters along the route through London. However, these attacks on the chief Tory publicist were targeted at opposition viewers as well, for they were meant to be clearly understood by viewers of the procession in the locale of the Tory meeting place along the route, Sam’s Coffee-House in Ludgate Street, the known haunt of L’Estrange and other supporters of monarchy and high church interests.\footnote{POAS, II, 1678-1681, (ed.) E. F. Mengel (1963), p. 369. Both the broadside Strange’s Case, Strangely Altered (1680) and another satire The Observator cite L’Estrange as holding court at Sam’s Coffee-House. See also Harris (1987), p. 132, and George Kitchin, Sir Roger L’Estrange: a Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1913).} Not only did the processions intend to appeal to an audience supportive of the Whig cause and familiar with its powerful emblems manipulated in print, but elements of the processions mocked Tory viewers and print users as well, for the ‘Observator’ referred to above was, like the ‘Heraclitus’, a Tory news sheet that continually attacked City Whigs and religious nonconformists.\footnote{Nat Thompson, in his True Domestic Intelligence, 80, (November 22, 1681) acknowledged that the Whigs burnt this year, along with the Pope, the Observator, Heraclitus, and Thompson’s news sheet as well. That the associations made through the processions and its printed representations had lasting resonance amongst a community of readers is suggested by a pamphlet published the following year entitled Horseflesh for the Observator: being a comment upon Gusman., Ch.4 V.5; Held forth at Sam’s Coffee-House (1682) by the anonymous Chaplain to the Inferiour Clergies Guide. This pamphlet is ostensibly a satirical view upon L’Estrange’s comments in his news sheet, the Observator, that the discoverer of Godfrey’s murderers, Miles Prance, was not to be believed because he made brass screws instead of silver ones for the queen’s chapel. What is really at issue are L’Estrange’s claims to speak for the interests of the Church of England, seen by the author as scandalous, and when Touzer is pressed he recoils under the protection of loyalty, and, in an image that owes a lot to the Pope burning processions, cries “Treason’ Lies, rebellions, Covenants, Associations, &c. like a Dog that snarles between his Master’s legs.”} 

In addition, we can be reasonably certain that in 1680 and 1681, between this first pair of the many mobile pageants, a viewer would see a male figure seated backwards on a horse, a paper attached to his back identifying him as “An Abhorer”, and described further in the text of the Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee version as “An Abhorer of Petitions: Riding with his face to the Horses tale”. This ‘abhorrer’ on a
skimmington ride was also understood by many to represent the surveyor of the press, as indicated in Janeway’s *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, wherein a description of the procession included with the week’s news identified this figure as the “Pope’s Herald on horse-back properly habited, being all over apparell’d with a Coat made up of Printed papers, intituled Observators and Heraclitus”\(^{156}\). According to another Whig weekly, *The True Protestant Mercury*, in serving the interests of popery and absolutism these news sheets were “far more servicable than St. Peters Keys”.\(^{157}\) Interestingly, William Goble’s folio account *The Procession: or, the Burning of the Pope in Effigie* described this charivari as if its satire might be viewed differently depending both upon a viewing public’s political sympathies and where that public was physically located in the City when the procession passed by. For example, this ‘rough’ ride was either “the Effigies of a monstrous Animal with his face reverst, making Observations upon the Horse-tail; or an amphibious Creature made up of Ribaldry, having a Paper pinn’d upon his Sleeve to be better known when he comes neer Sam’s Coffee-house, inscribed I am an Observator”.\(^{158}\) An old association of riding backwards with evil and witchcraft could still be found here, turning L’ Estrange and his printed 'familiars' into the tools of the papal antichrist.\(^{159}\) This skimmington ride, used for centuries as a form of public humiliation, speaks a great deal about the confidence and power dissenting groups enjoyed in London at the time of the exclusion crisis, in that a figure as powerful as L’ Estrange could be mocked through the streets of the City, paraded past the Tory coffee-house in Ludgate Street, and burnt in effigy with the Pope at Temple Bar. It is significant, however, that the riding backwards included as a component of this procession has

\(^{156}\) *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, printed for Richard Janeway, 60 (November 15 to November 18, 1681).

\(^{157}\) *The True Protestant Mercury, or Occurances Foreign and Domestick*, printed for Langley Curtis, (November 16 to November 19, 1681).

\(^{158}\) Goble, p. 2.

shifted from its traditional focus on a married couple, either the beaten husband or domineering wife, away from a satirical attack on marital behaviour, sexuality, and the domestic home in order to set things right within a political community. While charivari always sought to reconcile 'aberrant' behaviour with the interests of a collectivity, Natalie Zemon Davis has pointed out that these mixtures of playfulness and cruelty could have very different inflections in a rural or urban milieu.\textsuperscript{160} Within an early modern urban context charivari often turned into political satire, and with these 'solemn' and 'mock' processions the political satire of urban charivari was taken up by Whig publicists the Green Ribbon Club during the exclusion crisis as a way of demarcating a political space. Practices of space can help articulate the boundaries of one community from another, and the procession does seek to form the image of a unified and Whiggish London against an exterior Tory and even international threat.

I am inclined to believe that the increasing success of Tory counter propaganda spearheaded by L' Estrange led to the above changes and additions to the processions of 1680 and 1681. The crown on which the Pope treads was replaced by the body of a King, the large double sided banner was introduced, there are more figures on horseback, and several additional pageant platforms. Though it has gone largely unmarked by historians, it seems to me that the most significant change in these years was that the Pope was no longer the final figure in the procession. In 1680, the symbolic destruction of the pontiff was still an important ritual act, it was the 'reason' for this cortege through the streets of the city to occur, but the concluding focus of the procession fell on a figure we have encountered before, the Protestant martyr. Successes of the Tory counter attack against the Whigs likely helps explain the shifting of the pontiff to the penultimate spot, and his replacement by this martyr — so clearly drawn from Foxe's \textit{Actes and Monuments}

— who serves to argue for the truth of Protestant print against its historic opponents. Indeed, in a quarto pamphlet describing the procession published collaboratively by printers associated with two different broadsides, the platform stage depicting the Protestant martyr is described as “the main scene of the Antichrist’s Cruelties against Christians and Martyrs that dare speak against his Errors”. This final pageant, even somewhat set off in the Oliver broadside by the inclusion of two link boys on either end of it, formed a denouement to the event and displayed a bishop seated between two Jesuits at one end of the platform, and a lone figure tied to a stake at the other, his feet hidden by a bundle of kindling. And what was his crime? For what did he deserve so horrible a torture and death? The written key provides us with a brief answer: “Ninth Pag: Represents ye fathers of ye Inquisition, Condemning a Martyr to the stake, for reading the Scriptures”. That this figure and what he represents delineates an equally important subtext in the exchanges with Catholic heresy gains further credence when we examine the view of the culminating moment of the event at Temple Bar in the Oliver broadside. (Fig. 2. 22) In this scene, copied almost exactly from the Wilkins broadside of a year earlier, the most significant difference is, in behind and to our right of the dethroned Pope, and immediately below the escaping devil, is the inclusion of the ninth pageant platform with the Protestant martyr condemned by the Inquisition. The eye of the viewer is so focused on the cathartic destruction of the mock Pope that it almost misses this alternate focal point. What I would like to reaffirm here is the significance of this figure within the larger history of print culture in early modern England, for we have seen how the utilization of printed images of violence and Protestant martyrdom had a long history in the religious and political struggles between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Protestant martyr articulates

161 The Solemn Mock-Procession: or the Tryal and Execution of the Pope and of his Ministers, on the 17th of November at Temple Bar, printed for Nathaniel Ponder, Langley Curtis, Jonathan Wilkins, and Samuel Lee, (1680), p. 6.
a sub-plot in the narrative of the mock procession and destruction of the Pope, emphasizing historic continuity with Protestant political strategies of print culture since what separates the martyr from his executioners is an act of reading, a social practice associated with the dissemination of forms of print. Protestantism, as a set of religious beliefs that encouraged literacy, individual interpretation of the bible, and communal discussion of the latter, utilized print culture as a weapon against absolutism, Catholicism and the power of the Pope. Indeed, according to Foxe, printing was Protestantism's strongest weapon, and it was for this reason that the simple act of reading seemed to be worthy of death and torture.

I want to further explore this issue of the martyr for a moment. The Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee broadside goes into significantly greater detail than that of the Oliver broadside, including additional bands of rhyming text printed on the sides of the pageants. The final pageant stage, that depicting the execution of the Protestant martyr, has some other interesting additions over the Oliver broadside image. (Fig. 2.29, detail of Fig. 2.26) Again, like the latter, the numbered description below states that this figure is to be executed for an act of reading, for pursuing truth individually by way of the Bible printed in the vernacular. After seeing the fineries and hearing the seductive voice of the popish whores on the preceding stage, "now you have her Cruelties in this Pageant, representing the Fathers of the Inquisition, condemning a Martyr to the Stake for reading the Scripture, or judging by that Word of their new Forgeries." Individual access to the printed scriptures is what will allow the Protestant subject to see through the fictitious inventions of Catholic interpreters. Though we have a much more limited use of the word today, it is noteworthy that the early modern connotations of the word 'forgery' have in this use the reproachful sense of a fraudulent artifice or fiction with regard to scripture. By extension, it seems there could be a non-fraudulent invention, that is to say a true representation, which, as we have seen, the broadside announces itself to be in the bottom right corner. Such a claim could serve the practical end of convincing a
consumer which print to purchase in an economy of competing representations, but it is a greater marker than that. While it is through individual access to scripture and communal discussion that the Protestant subject will be able to assemble as many pieces of the scattered 'truth' — in Milton's sense — without the impendence of false interpreters, it is a logical extension to the exchanges allowed by other forms of print culture as well, in that the representations circulated through forms of print can be 'true' in the sense that truth is a fractured totality and a human product, and it is the exchanges of representations that are constitutive of this real.

Catholic control, or forgery, of the scriptures has enacted violence against the truth, and it has also enacted violence against the subject. In the Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee image of the procession's final pageant, the martyr is in the process of being dragged to the stake in front of the Inquisition by two soldiers. The verse on the platform reads

A Hell on Earth as well as that below
Wee ye worst Devills are and will out doe
Bring the Wretch to the Strapado & ye Trough
Wertue and Wealth are Haerisy enough.
When he has Rotted yeares in stinking Den
Wee out of Charity will Burn him then.

On his way to the stake in this image, the martyr negotiates a terrain scattered with various weapons of torture, whose threatening points and pincers seem to be coming off the edge of the platform. In their pamphlet the publishers of the broadside further describe this pageant as a stage where "all the Theatre round about is strewed and hemm'd with racks and Instruments of Cruelty".\(^{162}\) This scene of martyrdom is engineered very effectively for the viewer of the print, since these threatening devices almost seem to be coming unhinged from the surface of the image to fly dangerously at the viewer. This incommensurable violence committed by a Catholic other on the Protestant subject is an ambivalent experience, one that

\(^{162}\)The Solemn Mock-Procession: or the Tryal, p. 6.
turns the threat of Catholic persecution into the profit and delight of its representation and festive reenactment. This was a powerful strategy of producing a Whig opposition during the exclusion crisis, and it shows how the procession could at the same demarcate and reaffirm traditional boundaries in the City, while making use of historic strategies of print to extend the procession beyond those boundaries to a more abstract space in which political difference was coming to be more effectively constituted.

The fact that such an event as the solemn and mock Pope burning processions, so offensive to the court party, could occur in London at the time of the popish plot and exclusion crisis, have a brief existence and then disappear by 1682, indicates a great deal about the relationship between London, the stronghold of Whig support, and the crown at this volatile moment. However, by 1681 political sympathies in the City were shifting, for example, with some younger gentlemen of the Temple — co-sponsors of the 1679 procession — attacking the King's Head Tavern and meeting place of former allies Green Ribbon Club. What had happened? Even though the monarchy failed to suppress print culture and the coffee-houses, it still had methods to strike at the public life and spaces of early modern London. Indeed, Charles II succeeded in gaining control over the City and having the processions silenced through manipulating London's Common Council. This corporate body, made up of the twenty four aldermen and 234 others chosen from the wardmotes, became the site of struggles between Whigs and Tories over the City's constitution. By the end of 1681, Charles II had a warrant delivered to the sheriffs threatening to call in London's charter. Tories took up the position that the Lord Mayor had ultimate civic authority, whereas Whigs claimed that authority

163De Certeau (1984), p. 140. The law of a society, of a group, constantly writes itself on bodies, and "every printed text repeats this ambivalent experience of the body written by the law of the other"
164Luttrell, I, p. 17
165De Krey, p. 143.
rested in Common Hall, a meeting in which the City's 8,000 liverymen could sit and elect London's four MPs, and two sheriffs for London and Westminster. Since the mayor was not freely elected in Common Hall but nominated by City aldermen, Whigs saw the sheriffs as the principal spokespersons for the citizenry. Conflict grew as the Crown sought to gain control of a Whig dominated London by asserting the ultimate authority of the mayor, and reinvoking an ancient prerogative that allowed the mayor himself to select a sheriff. As Gary De Krey has concluded, the 1682 orchestration of shrieval elections by Tory Lord Mayor John Moore was really the climax of the exclusion crisis, as Common Hall autonomy was lost "to a ministry determined to undermine the parliamentary opposition by striking at the city".166 This 'fight for the city' over the elections of the sheriffs was to put power in the city in the hands of court aligned individuals, who then, under the authority of a Tory mayor and sheriffs, began prosecuting dissenters and reinforcing a ban on bonfires and processions.167 Roger North relates how Tory sheriffs commanding the City trained bands patrolled the streets of London on the night of 17 November, 1682 when, about three in the morning, acting on a tip that some pageants had been located in a "back building without Bishopsgate", the sheriffs discovered a series of half built effigies, "embrios" and the "mangled beginnings of human resemblances". As he was with the procession itself, North is both fascinated and repulsed by this discovery, and his account reads like a crime scene description. Searchers "found a parcel of equivocal monsters, half formed ... Legs and arms lay scattered about, heads undressed, and bodies unheaded, with the wardrobe and timber work wherewith". While North on the one hand tries to make these embryos supernatural and

166De Krey, p. 144. See also Gilbert Burnet, History of His Own Time , (ed.) M. J. Routh, (Oxford, 1833), p. 247 (479), where he explains that London's charter allowed it to choose sheriffs for the City and Middlesex. Sheriffs chose the juries, or there undersheriffs did, and since they were generally attorneys they could be easily brought under the management of the court party.
167See North, p. 579, who relates how Charles II had called the Lord Mayor before him in 1681 to halt the procession to no effect, but in 1682 the Tory mayor Sir John Moor and his sheriffs Dudley North and Peter Rich agreed to quash the demonstration.
demonic — completely other — even he cannot but help emphasize that it is their constructed and artificial nature that gives them any power. For the urban ritual of the Pope burning processions this fabrication was part of a process of forming a communal identity against that which was, symbolically anyway, on the outside, on the other side of Temple Bar.

In conclusion, I have argued that these processions sought to delimit London as a physical site of political opposition for the Whigs against Crown, Westminster, and high church party by reaffirming borders and emphasizing physical boundaries at a symbolic space, Temple Bar, where differences between the jurisdictions of City and Crown had been traditionally expressed. This threshold was reaffirmed in visual imagery of the procession printed on a series of broadsides. However, I have also suggested that these processions were envisioned from the start to be represented in printed form and to connect with other forms of print circulating amongst a community of print users in social spaces like the coffee-houses, and thus through its constant references to printed exchanges between oppositional groups and even its attempts to address both Whigs and Tories, contributed to the creation of more abstract boundaries between political parties. Managing this discursive arena would eventually come to be more important than affirming older, physically visible and definable boundaries.
Chapter Three

Anatomizing the Social Body; or, Viewing the Striated Spaces of the Diseased City

During that Plague, not one night, all the while,
Remov'd I thence, the distance of one Mile,
Or shunned either person, place, or sight.¹

Go, leave the City; do, and Post ye hence,
From the Sad Centre to th' Circumference.²

An anatomy of the diseased city.

An intriguing and unprecedented configuration of visual, textual, and statistical elements were brought together on a broadside printed in London as bubonic plague began to subside near the end of 1665. (Fig. 3.1) This broadside is slightly damaged and has possibly been trimmed, consequently we know neither its full title nor the stationer or bookseller who more than likely was behind its overall conception. Nevertheless, we can see that it claims to represent three previous notable years of plague for London and adjacent parishes, "being a True ACCOUNT how many Persons died Weekly in every of those YEARS", while exhibiting the "Figures of the Greatness of the CALAMITY, and the Violence of the DISTEMPER in the Last Year, 1665". Further, below this declaration and anchored by a textual account in the bottom right hand corner, is a set of nine numbered images by the engraver John Dunstall, predominantly made up of topographical views of London in which the various social practices set into motion by the presence of plague in the city are foregrounded. Underneath this visual narrative of the effects of pestilence on the city, and comprising more than half of the broadside is an impressive array of statistical information compiled by the mapmaker John Sellers from the yearly Bills

¹George Wither, A Memorandum to London (1665), p. 2.
²Londini Lachrymae; or Londons Complaint Against her Fugitives (1665).
of Mortality. Why would the intervention of plague into the fabric of Restoration London necessitate the deployment on the same broadside of diverse forms of representation that were not commonly seen together — the practical and useful statistics drawn from the weekly and yearly Bills of Mortality, and the contemplative aspects of visual representation and narrative? Dunstall’s and Sellers’ print is, on the one hand, an example of a seventeenth century tradition of plague broadsides utilizing visual, textual, and numerical representation to produce a chorographic image of London stricken by this disease. On the other hand, this Restoration print is extraordinary because it is both the most extensive and developed example of this type of printed representation, and the last of its kind, since bubonic plague in catastrophic proportions ceased in England after 1665. When the threat of plague vanished, and with it a series of procedures set into motion to control the stricken spaces of the city, so too disappeared these forms of print culture. Thus, it seems quite certain that the image of the city and the social practices of its inhabitants produced by these representations no longer served the particular needs of the urban dwellers who purchased, collected, and made use of these types of print.

What, then, is the image of the city constructed by this broadside? The visual sequence seems to produce a chronological and spatial narrative of the progress of pestilence through London’s parishes and its immediate environs. To put it another way, a chronology of viewing is dictated by the numbered images and text that

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3These statistics stop with December 19 for the year 1665, leading me to suggest a production date for the broadside of late December, 1665. A version of this broadside is kept in the Museum of London. The British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum have a small number of prints and portraits by John Dunstall, including a text entitled Geometrical Plates, wherein the author is identified as "John Dunstall, School-master in Blacfriers, London, since removed into Ludgate Street". Alexander Globe, in Peter Stent: London Printseller Circa 1642-1665 (Vancouver, 1985), identifies Dunstall as one of the four etchers who supplied Stent on a regular basis. The Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708 (London, 1914) contains a number of titles entered by Sellers, mapmaker and hydrographer to the King. John Sellers achieved the status of Master in the Company of Stationers by 1683.

4The two modes correspond to what Boyer, p. 204, sees as the scenographic (pictorial, theatrical) that visually depicts the exceptional, and the descriptive, disciplined eye of science seeking to catalogue the minutiae of everyday life.
duplicates the chronology of the epidemic. For example, the sick social body undergoes the same process as the body of an afflicted individual — plague attacks the individual and then progresses into the social body and the spaces of the city. From the spacious domestic interior of the first image where plague's threat to the human body is met by medical care, one is led into the public spaces of the city where the measures taken by civic officials to control the disease's malignancy are carefully delineated. For example, the second scene includes fires lit in the streets in front of every sixth house during the worst of the mortality in September, residences are shown shut-up with, as the text below tells us, 'Lord Have Mercy Upon Us' and red crosses marked on the doors, and we see the readily recognizable figures of the watchmen, as well as the searchers and bearers of the dead. Behind the doors of the shut-up houses, individual bodies are cared for by nurses, and in the streets the social body is monitored by the actions of the searchers and watchmen. Here also, as the description informs us, is a dog killer in action, and a sedan chair carrying the sick to a civic pesthouse. All this activity takes place in a wide, commodious high street in front of what appear to be the houses of the more prosperous. I will return to this below, yet I think it is important to note here that plague is thus not pictured where it was the worst, as indicated by the yearly Bill below, in the overcrowded yards and alleys of the poorer parishes.5

The third frame is the only image of the nine brought together on this print that shows the conventional long distance view of the city from the Southwark side, with the Thames and its shipping foregrounded.6 By the Restoration this mode of

5See M.J. Power, "The Social Topography of Restoration London", in (eds.) A. L. Beier and R. Findlay, London 1500-1700: the Making of the Metropolis, p. 210. Dwellings that fronted onto high streets in early modern London, as Power has convincingly shown, were consistently of the wealthier and merchant populations, with a full third having seven or more hearths, and approximately half 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.

6Virtually all the topographic views of London from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries foreground the Thames with the old St. Paul's in the background. See, for example, Ralph Hyde, Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575-1900 (New Haven, 1985),
representing the city already had a long history, and served to construct a mutual relationship between natural forces and cultural production — the Thames providing the nurturing and timeless locus for the city, while at the same time the flourishing of London required the harnessing of this natural force by human labour in order to allow the to and fro of individuals and merchandise on a national and increasingly global scale. However, this traditional viewpoint adopted by Dunstall begins to strike us as unusual when we realize that there is no 'to and fro', there is only 'fro' as all these boats are going in the same direction: downriver, towards Greenwich and Woolwich, using the current of the Thames to get away from the city as quickly as possible. This oddity is furthered by the description of the image below, showing "how multitudes fly from London by Water in Boate, and Barges and Lighters laden with Goods", thus turning the Thames into an escape route with these 'multitudes' not conveying merchandise for the purposes of increasing the city's prosperity, but moving their persons and property into the countryside in the interests of self-preservation. Interestingly enough, following this image the city is pictured from several unusual viewpoints — that is, London is seen predominantly from the north, from the country. In these subsequent etchings the countryside is rendered as open, unbuilt space clearly separated from the urban centre whose boundaries seem so clearly demarcated. Like the Thames in the third image, this open space is what Deleuze and Guattari might call a smooth space that calls into question the striated space of the city we see behind. It is an area of passage for the flow of the living to cross, or conversely, it is the space in which the dead are interred. The recurrent motif of these open spaces is surely significant, and as we shall see, raises questions about the relationship between city and its surrounding areas during the plague of 1665. What type of relationship this might be is made clearer by the fourth etching, depicting an exodus into the north on foot, horseback,
or in coach, with a distant London in the background. In this scene a city individual brandishes a piece of paper while approaching two watchmen from an outlying village. As the text states, this represents "the Countrey people stopping them to shew their Certificates", from which we can surmise that the latter must refer to some type of official document allowing these individuals from the city some right of safe passage into outlying regions. This countryside is indeed, as Raymond Williams argued in his study of country and city, historically a space of movement, of nomadism, of flight from bad land, famine, and from the terror of roving warlords. This countryside is also the space into which one flees from the city during the plague, and judging from the fact that the certificate bearing figure is approaching a group of country people who are armed to the teeth with halberds and pikes, this movement from "the Sad Centre to th' Circumference" is the brushing up of city against country marked by a great deal of anxiety.

So far the imagery has shown us steps taken to insure the health of the individual and social body, and that means were available for individuals to escape from the city. The following four etchings show that London also had the manpower and equipment to dispose of the dead in 1665, depicting 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, the plague pits themselves, and a public funeral. With the last scene, which "sheweth their Return to the City" closure is provided for the visual narrative, and a viewer would be led to believe that palliative measures taken by authorities and depicted in the previous images were both unproblematically instituted and ultimately effective in relieving this afflicted urban community. The plague, which brings inversion and paralysis to the city, interrupting its everyday rhythms, is given a rhythm of its own in this visual narrative. Here, London under the plague has not been turned upside down

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but, on the contrary, the social body is depicted as an organized and effective assemblage rising up to combat the disease, with the struggles of the city against the epidemic ultimately resolved in the final image.

Moving on to the remainder of the broadside, below these images are statistical tabulations that compare total yearly deaths from all diseases with those from plague alone for the alphabetically arranged ninety-seven parishes within the City, sixteen out parishes, nine out parishes of Middlesex and Surrey, and an additional group including a few northern communities and the civic pesthouse. These figures refer to the current year, 1665, as well as 1625 and 1636, two previous years in which significant numbers of people died from pestilence. What this comparison shows is that in 1665, as in previous years, the coming of plague gave rise to sick individual bodies and a diseased social body, and then it abated, allowing the city to return to health. This useful 'political arithmetic', as statistics came to be called after the Restoration, provides proof that plague was part of a cyclical and natural process.

This information that Sellers compiled from the yearly Bills of Mortality served as a statistical map of the City and its surrounding parishes, and, like all maps with their claims to cover over the tangible with symbolic representations, substitutes the ordering structure of language and quantification for the potentially unpredictable and dangerous physical reality of the urban center. In this way, the broadside achieves close to what Louis Marin would call "a miracle of perfect representation", in that its totalization of a multitude of observations supported and regulated by scientific rationalization allows representation to take over the experience of the city.\textsuperscript{8} Representation and the real become coextensive, in fact, the former becomes more 'real' than the latter by being aligned with the truth of rational knowledge. The closure of Dunstall's visual narrative and Sellers' ordering

\textsuperscript{8}Marin (1988), p. 171.
mathematics anatomize the diseased urban centre on the single sheet of paper, and make its spaces capable of being grasped conceptually by a viewer. The visual paired with the numerical and textual allows the body that is viewed to become the body that is known: the city as an organization of spaces, networks, and flows is converted into an object of knowledge — social space and practices are turned into vocabulary. With a gaze that encapsulates London in its entirety, the viewer of this broadside is allowed to be disentangled from the social practices and potential dangers within the plague stricken city and made 'other' to them. It is important to note that this broadside was produced at the very end of 1665, when plague had subsided with the colder weather. Pestilence was fully expected to return with the same destructive ferocity in the spring and summer of that year, and so this broadside is not just a commemorative memento mori of a singularly fatal year, but constructs a particular vision of how the city encountered and should encounter plague in the coming months. It will be revealing to explore in what ways did the emphasis in this broadside on a cyclical rise and fall to plague help argue that repressive attempts undertaken by civic and monarchical government to control the disease, those afflicted with it, and the city's urban spaces, were as natural as the plague. What is at stake in Restoration London if the broadside seemingly seeks to offer proof that both movement in and out of the city (flight of the healthy and containment of the sick) were uncontentious issues, and that programs taken by civic and royal government to control the disease were as inevitable as the plague itself? As I shall argue below, these social practices were highly controversial, and therefore it was imperative that they be represented as 'natural' undertakings in

9De Certeau (1988), p. 3, 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".

10De Certeau (1984), p. 93. Virilio, p. 18, would call this an aspect of the 'irruption phenomenon' in which the city allows itself to be seen thoroughly and completely.
order to return the city and its population to a state of well being.\textsuperscript{11}

However, despite the commingling of the visual, numerical, and textual on this broadside at a specific historical moment, I would suggest that its full implications could not be foreseen. These representational modes together make up one picture of the city, but they also have the potential to function differently and apart — they rub together and connect, and they also contradict each other in ways that would have been resonant to the broadside’s contemporary viewers. For example, what happens to this conflation of the real city and its representation when internal conflicts articulated in other forms of print at the time— between London and suburbs, London and country, amongst different groups in the city itself — those who stayed and those who fled — are taken into account? Dunstall’s and Sellers’ print can be linked to a tradition of plague broadsides, as indicated above, but also to diverse forms of representation which mapped out or 'anatomized' the social body of the urban community during the epidemic. For example, William Austin’s \textit{The Anatomy of the Pestilence} (1666), a small book of verse, offered the reader a step by step critique of the behaviour of the city’s various social groups during the height of the epidemic.\textsuperscript{12} In a preface to this volume, the printer included the following caution:

\begin{quote}
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,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11}Giulia Calvi, in \textit{Histories of a Plague Year: the Social and the Imaginary in Baroque Florence} (Berkeley, 1989) has pointed out a similar process at work in an official account of an epidemic in Florence wherein the body of the city follows the same parabola of physiological decline and renewal experienced by the individual bodies of the citizens. The emphasis is on cyclical and natural processes, and the imposition of a naturalistic reading upon events assimilates the course of the city’s history to that of the inevitable trajectory of the illness. This "memoir to order" emphasizes 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” (p. 2).

\textsuperscript{12}William Austin, \textit{The Anatomy of the Pestilence; A poem, in three Parts, Describing the deplorable Condition of the City of London under its merciless dominion} (1666), p. 12.
with some hundreds over and above.\textsuperscript{13} Austin's anatomy, his "Map of this sad place" with its descriptions of the streets and abandoned "richly furnisht buildings"\textsuperscript{14}, seems to have been motivated by a desire to problematize the behaviour of various groups in the urban centre, and bring to light social conflicts over flight from the city, strict quarantine, and the consequent destruction of trade and commerce as a result of the suspension of everyday life. Austin is most critical of public figures who abandoned the city: doctors, lawyers, and court, as well as tradesmen and artisans who followed them. He reserves particular invective for the clergy: "They leave us; and we well do know the matter, / That shepherds, when the sheep are smitten scatter".\textsuperscript{15} Several key issues are brought out in Austin's verse work — escape, containment, the tensions exacerbated between 'Countrey' and city, and as the larger passage above indicates, the acknowledged circulation of potentially conflicting representations of the plague, of which Austin's text was itself one. Though they are very differently inflected, these are the same concerns that emerge in Dunstall's and Sellers' broadside.

It is important to note here that the threat of plague, more than any other social disruption, always raised for London's ruling authorities the spectre of a potential breakdown of social order. The infected could not be allowed free circulation, and were therefore shunned by the healthy and quarantined in their homes. Plague was a potent force that deterritorialized the socius, threatening the quotidian 'work' of striated space with the potential 'free action' of the smooth that it incurred. This interruption of everyday rhythms of the city caused by an outbreak was countered by strict spatial partitioning and a desire for greater surveillance of urban areas — a reterritorialization instituted by the state apparatus consisting of

\textsuperscript{13}Austin, preface.  
\textsuperscript{14}Austin, B1 and p. 16.  
\textsuperscript{15}Austin, p. 12.
increased striation to make space even more sedentary. Official power attempted
to counter the social inversion sickness threatened to bring with it by fixing
individuals in place, a segmented, frozen, and immobile space in which the
individual plague body and the entire social body had to remain visible to the
representatives of order. However, striated and smooth spaces are in constant flux,
and the imposition of this dream of the disciplined society carried with it an
alternate vision. As Foucault has suggested, this inverted dream of the disciplined
society was a carnivalesque transposition that offered a critique of social hierarchies
and institutions. It always threatened to break out and contaminate increased order,
with, "suspended laws, lifted prohibitions, the frenzy of passing time, bodies
mingling without respect, individuals unmasked, abandoning their statutory
identity and the figure under which they had been recognized, allowing quite a
different truth to appear".

As I have shown, the broadside reveals an attempt to smooth over tensions
exacerbated by the presence of pestilence in the urban community, a situation that
heightened many social problems already existing within the fabric of the
Restoration city. For example, bodies mingling without respect and motivated by a
different 'truth' in 1665, five years after Charles II was restored to the throne of
England, would call up images of the last great social upheaval in London — civil
wars and rebellion when the social order was inverted on an even greater basis.
Indeed, constant rumors of rebellions and uprisings by commonwealthsmen and
religious dissenters resonated through the plague stricken spaces of London and the
outparishes in 1665. Dissenting ministers such as Thomas Vincent took over the
pulpits and what was left of the congregations of departed clergy, and religious
services in St. Paul's Cathedral, the symbolic theological centre of London, were
more than once interrupted by angry mobs of religious dissenters who declared

openly to the gathered congregation that the city's sufferings were the direct cause of religious conformity and the return of monarchy. Restoration authorities did their best to watch the city carefully, since these dissenting interests were often identified with the causes of urban independence, and these concerns became heightened during the epidemic when the urban region was lacking in judicial authority. By early July the courts had been suspended, thereby depriving the city of the machinery of justice. The City within the walls still had the mayor and a few remaining aldermen to exercise executive power, but the out-parishes were beyond civic control, a lack quickly noted by government. Fear of uprisings and rebellion drove the government to introduce two acts of legislation during the plague to help counter such concerns: the Five Mile Act, which decreed the removal of dissenting clergy to within five miles of any corporate town, and an edict 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.

Significantly, it was never exclusively the sick or those remaining behind to

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18 Thomas Vincent, *God's Terrible Voice in the City* (1667), p. 56, *A Pulpit to be Let* (1665), and *The Shepherds Lasher Lash'd; or a Confutation of the Fugitives Vindication* (1665), in which the author equates the divine with an eye that should be vigilant in order to see the danger and counsel the people. If the divine leaves, as many had, “tis as the Eye should leap out of the Head”. See also Walter G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (London, 1924), p. 223, and Watson Nicholson, *The Historical Sources of Defoe’s Journal of the Plague Year* (Boston, 1919), p. 144.


20 Bell (1924), p. 34, and Slack (1985), p. 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, "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" (p. 34).

foment rebellion in the city that menaced the overall well being of the body politic during the plague. In fact, the threat to the city in 1665 seems to have derived to a large extent from the healthy too — from 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 vitality. For example, as 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 red crosses.\(^22\) Followed by many members of the clergy, professionals, and wealthier merchants, the King and court abandoned Whitehall in early July, and both Houses prorogued until August, when they convened at Oxford.\(^23\) In September *The Newes* reported that the Lord Mayor and aldermen had decreed that all departed citizens must notify their church wardens where they wished to receive notice of due Poor Rate payments, nonchalantly adding 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."\(^24\) It was almost as if flight, not plague, had become epidemic, causing tensions between city and country to rise, and as a consequence 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. Once a guarantee of unrestricted passage during plague times, these certificates were being forged in great numbers and consequently disregarded by authorities outside

\(^22\)Vincent, p. 31.

\(^23\)Letter of Capt. Stewart, 13 June, 1665, HMC, 10th report, p. 111: "The plague increaseth so much that all the gentry are eather gon or agoeing out of Towne, the King and Queen are for Hampton Court next weeke". See also *The Prophecie of one of his Maiesties Chaplains, concerning the Plague and Black Patches* (1665), p. 2, an astrological text that nevertheless makes the following observation: black patches and beauty spots, popular at court "were the Fore runners of other Spots, and Marks of the Plague; and presently within a very little while after, the Plague broke out among them, and all those persons that did wear them, fled the Town".

\(^24\)The Newes, September 7, 1665.
London. In late August and September, household segregation apparently collapsed. People refused to stay quarantined and broke out of their homes, attacking watchers and even aldermen. Watchmen themselves evidently took part in civil disobedience as well, joining neighbours in knocking locks off the entrances of shut-up houses, and erasing the red cross and "Lord Have Mercy On Us" from the doors. A group apparently even tried to shut-up the Lord Mayor's house. Pepys mentions infected individuals in Westminster leaning out windows and breathing in the faces of passersby, and others who would throw rags that had covered their plague sores at persons in the streets. Public funerals, and any kind of public concourse including "tipling in Taverns and Ale-houses or Coffee-houses" after 9 at night were barred by royal prohibition, since crowds threatened order and were deemed responsible for increased infection during the 'visitation' of the plague. As this evidence suggests, steps undertaken by civic and monarchical authorities to control the epidemic were not without snags, disruptions, and contestation, nor were they accepted unanimously by a passive population.

However, the London that Dunstall and Sellers represent is marked neither by conflict nor tension. The broadside offers a clean orderly plague — compartmentalized, anatomized — and it achieves in visual representation the same kind of exertion of order that the statistics aspire to, and that the policies adopted by civic and royal government sought to realize. Furthermore, as I indicated

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25Bell (1924), pp. 94 and 137.
26Pepys, Diary, 14 September, 1665, and Vincent, p. 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, Vincent 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". There seems to have been a similar pattern in the assertion of order and its breakdown in the city during the plague of 1625, mentioned in Richard Milton, Londons Miserie, the Countrys Crueltie; with Gods Mercie (1625), p. 21. In August of that year, "The shunning now of sicke is not respected, For who doth know whose house is not infected, They are not now pent up, doores are open, No coy there is with any to be spoken".
28Pepys, Diary, 12 February, 1666.
29Corporation of London, Lord Mayor, Orders Conceived and Published ... concerning the Infection of the Plague (1665).
above, the fusion in this representation of a natural cycle to plague with programs erected to combat it allowed the contentious social practices of quarantine and flight to be delineated as activities beneficial to the health of the community. The imaginary totalization effected by the visual images and statistical comparisons, then, mask the unpredictable and often contradictory experience of plague within London.

Mapping by numbers.

I wish to turn now to the relationship between the visual narrative and the statistics in order to explore in detail questions of viewership and function. I begin with a different, but closely related, form of print which Sellers utilized as his primary source of information — the Bills of Mortality. The production of Bills of Mortality in manuscript form had emerged in early modern England as a direct response to plague in the early sixteenth century. The collection and subsequent publication by the early seventeenth century of detailed empirical knowledge about the disease’s progress through London was intended to facilitate attempts by royal government to preserve order and maintain social control in times of great affliction. But the insights allowed by the Bills were also inextricably linked to social tensions irritated by the consequences of flight and strict household quarantine. In fact, I would argue that the broadside form combining image, text, and statistics, of which the Dunstall and Sellers print is an example, more than likely appeared as a result of social conflicts over these issues. In order to better understand the way statistical ‘truth’ was being fused with visual ‘truth’ in our plague broadside of 1665, it is important to locate Dunstall’s and Sellers’s manifestation within the history of the Bills of Mortality and the shifts in the aims of statistical knowledge itself during the Restoration.

For most of the sixteenth century, the audience for the Bills was limited: King and Queen, Lord Chancellor, Lord Mayor, and aldermen. By 1665, what had once been delivered in manuscript form to this relatively closed circle, could be had in print by any interested party for the price of a penny every Thursday, or four shillings for a yearly subscription. On one side of a weekly Bill 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. 3.2) On the other side, below the seal of the Company of Parish Clerks who published the Bills on their own press, 'the Diseases and Casualties this Week' were calculated. As further indication of the public circulation of the Bills, the Assize regulation of the weight of bread was printed at the bottom, wherein civic authorities decreed the size and weight of the most basic of food stocks.

There seems to have been a strong link between the information compiled in the Bills and the preservation of order in the city, particularly during occasions when plague deaths began to rise dramatically. Plague in a parish could be devastating — disrupting trade and commerce by instigating both flight and the practice of shutting up houses, in addition to straining social relations between different classes of people working in close proximity. Therefore, within three hours after a plague death was reported, Parish Clerks were required to notify the deputy of the ward or an alderman, though there is some evidence that false returns were submitted, perhaps in order to avoid evacuation of a parish or the introduction of disciplinary measures. It was also necessary to issue an edict as early as 1607 against the possibility that a member of Council or a Parish Clerk might leak information before it was seen by the Mayor, and then authorized for print. As Brett-James

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32 Milton (1625), p. 14: "Each weeke with longing we desire to see/ Whither the bills increast or lessened be,/ But where the figures set for hundreds were,/ Now thousands three and more there do appeare,/ By hundreds three, foure score five in number,/ Due time it is for us to leave of slumber".
33 See, for example, Pepys Diary, 30 August, 1665.
34 Wilson, pp. 203-204.
shows, throughout the seventeenth century more and more of the urban areas outside the walls were ordered to be included in the Bills by the Stuart sovereigns, with the year 1636 being particularly important. It was only at this time that Charles I ordered the City parishes and outparishes that appear on the Dunstall and Sellers broadside be permanently added to the weekly Bill, thus giving rise to the abstract conception of the urban region denoted by the phrase "within the Bills", even though it encompassed areas governed by different jurisdictions.\textsuperscript{35} The task of keeping such a large area under observation presented great difficulties for the Parish Clerks, particularly at the Restoration due to the number of unlicensed ministers and congregations who sent in no returns, the practice of shunting dead bodies across parish boundaries, the use of private burial grounds, and the lack of trained searchers. Slack methods of documentation and recording, it was believed, allowed lewd behaviour and crime to increase, as well as the promotion of political "faction".\textsuperscript{36} The decision to include this wider region was of course due to the fact that in 1636 a terrible outbreak of plague struck the city, but not coincidentally, this was also a moment of crisis during the personal rule of Charles I between the monarch and City over the imposition of ship money. The King was determined to control the City and give the fast developing suburbs some "ordered government", where plots and plague were more likely than the regulated City wards. Thus the inclusion of the suburbs in the Bills was accompanied by an incorporation of some of these outlying regions and continual attempts to control building. It should be noted here that this served to increase tensions between Crown and City, since Charles I in attempts to introduce more effective government in the suburbs had offered control of these outlying regions to the City. The City, however, jealous of its 'freedom' and the great numbers of traders and craftsmen — many of them aliens — living in the suburbs who took trade from London without contributing to

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Brett-James}, p. 253.
\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Brett-James}, pp. 252 and 258.
Companies, charities, and civic government, resisted these moves towards incorporation desired by the King. The suburbs were, of course, organized along different lines under the Commonwealth, and then offered back to the City again with the Restoration. At this time, the rulers of London saw a new opportunity to reduce the size of its 'freedom', and the incorporation of the suburbs as either distinct from the City or as part of it was defeated and disappeared for two centuries.\(^{37}\)

I am unable to discern the quantities in which the Bills were published, yet they could surely be had at the many coffee-houses where diverse forms of print continually circulated, posted in public places, and delivered through the post, for they were readily and quickly available to individuals inside and outside of the city during the plague.\(^{38}\) In 1665 the King and court still received them, and Pepys managed to get them at Woolwich in 1665, as did the Venetian Ambassador Alvise Sagredo in Tunbridge Wells, though he doubted their accuracy.\(^{39}\) These Bills were utilized by people in different ways. For example, in Thomas Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (1608) the playwright included a London broker who informed his business during the plague by consulting with a Bill of Mortality, rejecting pawn from one client because the Bill informed him the client's parish was infected, while accepting pawn from another customer whose parish the Bill showed clear of plague.\(^{40}\) In 1665 Pepys used them as a kind of map of the urban centre during times of plague in order to enable safe travel through the city on official business and pleasure, and to monitor the mortality rates in his own parish, moving to

\(^{37}\)Brett-James, pp. 224-245.

\(^{38}\)Thomas Dekker, *Gods Tokens; or a Rod for Run-awayes* (1625), C1, relates many tales of ill treatment Londoners received in the put-lying regions after the country people received the bills showing an increase of plague in London which made them fear all those coming from the city.


\(^{40}\)Cited by Wilson, p. 109-110.
Woolwich when it became too dangerous to stay in London.\footnote{For example, Pepys Diary, 30 November, 1665 wrote 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",. Pepys also makes it clear that he is watching the Bills and planning his movements accordingly in the diary entries for 27 July, 10 and 30 August, 7, 14, 16, 20 September, 3 and 4 October, 8, 9, 24, 26 November, and 13 December, 1665.} John Allin, a minister ejected from his lodgings after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, corresponded regularly with friends he had left in the port town of Rye, and mapped the progress of the plague through the use of the Bills.\footnote{Cited in Bell (1924), p. 258.} These individuals are characterized by the way they use the Bills to gain knowledge of the spaces of the city in order to enable free movement, and to obtain a mental picture of the status, character, and health of various parishes when desired. As these examples illustrate, the tabulation and printing of Bills of Mortality evolved as a practice to ease the social and economic problems caused by the plague in the city. They functioned as a kind of anatomy of the social body, a type of mapping of the urban that potentially allowed the state of the entire city to be conceptualized and visualized on a single sheet of paper. Thus, the uncertainties and unpredictability of urban life and the plague could be countered by the translation of spaces into readable, delimited, and quantifiable places.

The Bills of Mortality, as they gain a wider currency and circulation through the seventeenth century, represent what Henri Lefebvre would see as a nodal point between representations of space and spaces of representation. As we have seen, Lefebvre argues for a shift in the early modern period from the 'lived' spaces embodied in representational spaces where space was experienced before it was conceptualized, to the dominance of representations of space in which conceptions of space come to be substituted for the lived.\footnote{Lefebvre (1991), pp. 38-39.} One result of the increasing domination of representations of space was the creation of readable and reproducible spaces propelled by a "logic of visualization" serving, as Dunstall's and
Sellers’ broadside apparently does, to reduce space to transparent surface, without the social conflicts and history which penetrate its depths. This type of representation was achieved through the production of space as a ‘mental thing’, a theoretical space generated by a scientific attitude that, according to Lefebvre, does not succeed in generating a science of space but in producing description, "inventories of what exists in space". That Dunstall’s and Sellers’ broadside represents the most sophisticated and extensive use of both visual imagery and statistical compilation is surely related to the fact that, with the return of Charles II to the throne at the Restoration, the science of mathematical analysis assumed an even greater importance as part of the discourse of natural philosophy. Within this community, statistical knowledge gathered from the Bills was theorized to perform a variety of functions related to the cataloguing of entire social bodies, from the population of London to that of the whole of England. Robert Boyle and others associated with the Royal Society, which received its royal charter in 1662, argued that natural philosophy, driven by scientific experiment, could produce objective knowledge inasmuch as it was achieved by a group of individuals consenting to clearly defined working methods within the public space of the laboratory. By countering unregulated knowledge with a form of consensus, this intellectual community believed their methods had repercussions in a much wider cultural field by potentially contributing to a peaceful and structurally stable social order.

For example, John Graunt, in Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality (1662), and fellow

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44 Lefebvre (1991), pp. 76 and 98.
46 Shapin and Schaffer, p. 39. 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: “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”.
member of the Royal Society, William Petty, who published *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'. Petty in particular argued for the replacement of all traditional forms of comparative analysis in favor of reasoning that could be expressed in terms of quantification alone, garnered from instruments of measure that appeared to possess their own objectivity and thus served to reify social relations. As a result of his work in *Natural and Political Observations*, Graunt was accepted into the Royal Society through the petition of Charles II himself. Graunt stated that the "lowly Bills" of Mortality had usually been utilized 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.

In this passage, Graunt tells us quite simply that the wealthy used the Bills to enable flight from the city, and, consequently, that tradesmen were all too dependent on the mobility of the rich during the plague. Graunt suggests further that the information contained in the Bills could and should be utilized in a way that would

48 John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a Following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality*, (1662). Graunt was a practicing tradesman, a London draper and haberdasher, as well as a Captain in the City Militia. For details on the author, 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*, (Cambridge, 1899). As Buck, p. 67 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".

49 See for example, Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1991), pp. 48-49, who argues that Petty is the founder of political economy for these reasons, and that only such reasoning could make profit from the labour of the poor by introducing quantification into the analysis of class relations.

50 Graunt, B1.
have a much more significant social and economic function. For example, political arithmetic could show the necessity of reorganizing the city into 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".\(^5\) Political arithmetic could provide knowledge of the size, shape, content, situation, and productivity of all the lands and towns of the kingdom. It could also be effective in providing detailed knowledge about the inner components of the social body — the number of persons of different sex in a parish, types of trades, even how much they might consume.\(^5\)

In effect, Graunt argued that mathematical quantification could be a way of anatomizing the social body. By providing knowledge free from controversy and conflict political arithmetic could contribute to the construction of consensus and social harmony proposed by natural philosophy.\(^5\) The two most eagerly sought after goals of the Restoration — secure trade and enduring, stable, government — could be encouraged by utilizing Graunt's methods of analyzing the Bills of Mortality. Political arithmetic could thus be put to use in the interests of social control and stability, and Graunt claims that his methods of working from the Bills would counter invisible and uncontrollable threats to the social body, from the unknown quantities of beggars and vagrants entering London to the threat of the plague. It is significant that political arithmetic seems to have sparked interest in a growing reading public, as *Natural and Political Observations* was issued in two editions during 1662, and during the plague of 1665 an edition was published in early summer, and a fourth edition in November.\(^5\) This is clear indication of a reading public becoming aware of, and receptive to, the possibilities offered by 'the lowly Bills'. In addition, it is not all that surprising to find that the John Seller who

\(^{51}\)Graunt, p. 58.
\(^{52}\)Graunt, p. 73.
\(^{53}\)Graunt, p. 74.
\(^{54}\)See the Laslett introduction to *The Earliest Classics*, unpag.
produced a broadside in 1691 attempting to compute down to the minute how much money is spent on commodities in London for an entire year, is more than likely the same John Sellers who was quite clearly an early advocate of Graunt's political arithmetic and the same individual who compiled the yearly Bills for our plague broadside. In point of fact, the broadside of 1665 might represent a very early indication of Sellers' activities within the printed medium, as this compass and mathematical instrument maker who had at one time or another shops in Wapping by the Tower and near the Royal Exchange, is generally known to have made his first foray into publishing only in 1668 with his book of nautical charts The English Pilot, Northern.

The development of a reading public of significant depth and range, due to a great increase in literacy during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, also helps explain what distinguishes the plague of 1665 from other plagues that struck the city during the same century. City dwellers had much greater access to printed information about the disease. Many medical tracts were produced, as well as analyses of past and present Bills of Mortality, including the compilation of all the weekly Bills with a yearly Bill in one volume published by the Company of Parish Clerks, under the title London's Dreadful Visitation. To this point, I have been arguing that during the plague in London in 1665, political arithmetic and visual representation intersected on a broadside formulating an anatomy of the city that

55John Seller, 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 (1691).
57London's Dreadful Visitation: or a Collection of all the Bills of Mortality For this Present Year (1665), also Reflections on the Weekly Bills of Mortality for the Cities of London and Westminster ... as it relates to the Plague (1665), provided a history of the Bills, their uses, and inaccuracies for a Restoration reader, as well as a comparison of 1665 with four previous years of great affliction. See also Slack (1985), pp. 244-248, and Bell (1924), pp. 219-223.
served as a map of the diseased urban center and its population. These forms worked in tandem to impose a conceptual order on the stricken city that did not challenge the policies enacted by civic authority to combat the disorder and unpredictability of plague in the city.

As outlined above, the Bills of Mortality represent one strategy to protect public health in early modern England, and they were very closely tied to the two most contentious social practices during the plague: flight, and household quarantine. A full forty day quarantine, the central plank in the civic government's attempts to control the infection, was on the whole condemned by members of the medical profession not attached to the official College of Physicians, and by other social and political critics.\(^{58}\)

Interestingly enough, attempts to revise a series of plague orders occurred in 1665, and the Privy Council was 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.\(^{59}\) The Council of 1665 had not the same powers as that of 1630, for example, and ultimately this bill stalled due to opposition from the House of Lords as peers wanted to be exempt from the practice of shutting-up, and refused to have a pesthouse or graveyard in the proximity of their residences. The failure of this 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, it was clearly not enacted on houses in all neighbourhoods, or on all classes of people. This helps explain Pepys's diary comments on a visit to the Exchange that I discussed in my introduction, where in finding London's largest centre of trading

\(^{58}\)Orders Conceived and Published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, Concerning the Infection of the Plague, 1665 (1665). See also Slack (1985), p. 200, and William Boghurst, Loimographia; An Account of the Great Plague of London in the Year 1665 (1666), p. 55 and p. 57. Boghurst, an independent apothecary, includes 'shutting up houses' in his list of ineffectual remedies and things to be avoided. George Thomson, a physician unaffiliated with the College of Physicians, in Loimologia; a Consolatory Advice, and Some Brief Observations Concerning the Present Pest (1665), p. 9, also condemns the policy of household quarantine.

activity and news gathering crowded with people after the shutting of houses has collapsed there is "not a Man or a Merchant of any fashion" to be found, but "plain men all". For Pepys the epidemic gives rise to a frightening world turned upside down in which social and spatial hierarchies are collapsed, where areas in the city evacuated by 'men' and 'merchants' become filled with potentially dangerous 'plain men' who have broken out of their shut-up houses.

Nonconformist groups like the Quakers held to a vision of the social community in times of plague at odds with the one presented in the Dunstall and Sellers broadside too, as the policy of strict separation of the sick from the healthy went against their notions of charity in times of sickness, and, since plague was divine punishment, it was also irrelevant whether one fled the city or not. Generally, it was the official institutional bodies of the Church of England and the College of Physicians that supported the program of strict quarantine for the sick, and most critiques of this policy were from dissenting religious sects. Interestingly enough, official responses to the latter critiques often made use of an unsubstantiated argument stating that voices in opposition to quarantine were voices encouraging forms of popular resistance. Civic authorities argued that fatalistic attitudes towards plague, in other words dissenting ones, were held by a rude multitude — that portion of the population against whom public health

60Pepys, Diary, 14 September, 1665.
61For example, the broadside by George Elliot, Londons Lamentation; or Godly sorrow and submission (1665) argues against flight and quarantine by emphasizing that we must accept what God has in store for us.
62As far back as James Godskall, The Arke of Noah (1603), a very early printed plague tract, we are told that the College of Physicians were influenced by Galenist doctrines which prescribed separation of the sick from the healthy and flight as the best cure for the plague. In order to be healthy the body needed good air, and plague was thought to be transmitted through airborne contamination, so the best prescription was Citò longè tardè : depart quickly, go far off, and return slowly. See also the official publication of the College of Physicians, entitled Necessary Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague in 1665, which comes out in support of household quarantine. The latter is published in (ed.) Roland Bartel, London in Plague and Fire 1665-1666 (Boston, 1957), pp. 52-55.
63For example, Corporation of London, Lord Mayor, Proclamation by the Mayor (1625) expressed concern over the plague stricken who did not stay in their houses, saying they went against "humane Civility" and sought the destruction of the city.
measures were directed in the first place — whose behaviour was responsible for outbreaks of the disease.\textsuperscript{64} The policy of strict household segregation was the government's trump card in the struggle to preserve order in the city, and if this official program could be shown to be a failure, in that the number of infected increased rather than subsided, or that it was inconsistent and broke down at the height of the epidemic, then government's repeated confidence in the program would have been unjustified.\textsuperscript{65} In a text critical of official plague policies, an anonymous writer could find in the information supplied by the Bills of Mortality the potential for a criticism of the official practice of quarantine, arguing that it encouraged flight from the city, and that statistical information drawn from the yearly bill for 1625 indicated that infection actually decreased when the shut-up houses were reopened.\textsuperscript{66} Thus this anonymous and unlicensed printed text indicates that there was an official use for the kind of statistical information found in Bills of Mortality, one that meshed more appropriately with the aims of the ruling authorities.

\textit{London's charity; the country's cruelty: spatial tensions during the plague.}

In order to fully understand the growing need for printed broadsides and Bills of Mortality conceptualizing London under the plague in the seventeenth century, we need to comprehend the tensions produced in the City as a result of the spatial practices of flight and quarantine. Thus, it is absolutely crucial to highlight that flight from plague was not a practice open to all social groups and only became a

\textsuperscript{64}Slack (1985), p. 309. Henry Morley, \textit{The Cleansing of the Leper} (1609), equated plague with leprosy in order to argue for the enforced separation of sick from healthy, and Gideon Harvey, \textit{A Discourse of the Plague} (1665) advised the reader to avoid public concourse and discourse with "nasty folks" and beggars in "close" and dirty places.


\textsuperscript{66}The \textit{Shutting Up of the Infected Houses as it is Practiced in England Soberly Debated} (1665), p. 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 (1665). Milton (1625), p. 24, argued as well that freedom of discourse and circulation after quarantine collapsed led to a decrease in the Bills.
common recourse in the seventeenth century, particularly in 1625, 1636, and 1665. A large proportion of the gentry and court who had country homes could and did leave the city, as well as wealthier merchants and civil servants who could afford to temporarily relocate and not suffer financially. Many different justifications were put to use in support of flight: biblical arguments about the correctness and acceptability of escape from life threatening danger were often cited, as well as medical arguments about the need for good air. Various 'public persons' — such as magistrates and ministers — could argue that their self preservation was vital for the commonwealth, therefore avoiding danger if a substitute was found. Both the practice of shutting up houses and flight destroyed the city's economy during the plague for, along with government bans on public markets and fairs, the closing of dwellings quarantined a large portion of the labor force, and flight removed the more successful merchants and traders.

It is important to take a close look at these earlier representations of city and country as they relate to the issue of flight during the plague. While the Bills of Mortality certainly served individuals as an aid in knowing when to flee the city, and the Dunstall and Sellers broadside does articulate flight as a part of its natural cycle, there were many other forms of print that tried to convince citizens to remain in London, or criticized them once they became run-aways. What I am concerned with here is the way print intervened to alter the manner in which these tensions were articulated, and in the process constructed a series of representations of centre and circumference that impinged directly upon spatial practice in London during the crisis of the plague. Many of the earliest printed plague tracts discussed the conflicts between those who fled and those who chose to stay in the city as if they

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67 Extensive and convoluted arguments in favor of flight are found in I. D., Salomons Pest-House, or Towre Royall (1630), Richard Kephale, Medula Pestilentiae; or Theological Queries Concerning the Plague (1665), and Boghurst, pp. 58-61. See also Slack (1985), p. 43, and Bell (1924), pp. 56-60 and pp. 91-96.
already had a very long history. Early seventeenth-century tract writers such as William Muggins and Thomas Dekker argued that the wealthy citizens of London "to the Countrey flye like swarmes of Bees" when plague pitches its tent in the "mighty blemish to faire Londons eye", those "sinfully polluted Suburbes". When these "skirts" of the City were trimmed, "pitifully pared off" by the plague, the runaways took to their heels. These texts are mildly critical of the run-aways and more concerned to construct an image of a healthy City within the walls surrounded by the afflicted suburbs, more than likely in the hopes of convincing readers in the City to remain in their homes. By 1625, however, quarantine and flight from the City seem much greater social problems, and a decidedly different tone emerges in these pamphlets, some of them apparently even written by individuals who were shut-up in their homes. William Chibald, a minister quarantined in his house, kept from preaching to his congregation and visiting his neighbours and friends, though he was silenced felt he could still write and express his anger at the multitudes that "runne away from the Citie, and carry their sinnes with them into the Countrey", spending time in merriment and leisure while leaving nothing behind to maintain the poor. Further, economic and social hardships were profound, in that neighbouring communities would not supply victuals or even bury the dead of those that died outside the City. With these 1625 pamphlets, three contrasting representations emerge: the behaviour of the run-aways in the country, the manner in which the country treated these removed city-dwellers, and the suffering of

68See for example William Bullein, Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence (1564), reprinted by the Early English Text Society, extra series, LII, (London, 1888). In this work Bullein establishes a dialogue between various professional and social groups who discuss their obligations when plague strikes the city. A key figure is the archetypal citizen "Civis" who agonizes over flight from London, finally deciding to flee making use of biblical arguments about the appropriateness of flight from danger.

69William Muggins, Londons Mourning Garment; or Funerall Teares (1603), C4 and D2, and Thomas Dekker, The Wonderfull Yeare 1603 (1603), D1.

70Indeed, a character in Muggins, D1, discusses with his wife the difficulties of getting provisions in London due to the decline of trade. Nevertheless, movement in the city is not restricted, nor is trade completely at a standstill, since the man advises his wife to "goe without Algate" in Houndsditch to pawn some of their things in order to buy food.

London due to the actions of both run-aways and country-dwellers. But who were these representations for? In Thomas Dekker's tract from this year, *Gods Tokens; or a Rod for Run-awayes*, a preface argued in favor of a diversity of readership for the pamphlet, since it was addressed to "the Reader that flyes, the Reader that stayes, the Reader lying in a Haycocke, the hard-hearted Country-Reader, and the broken-hearted City-Reader". Nevertheless, it quickly becomes clear that Dekker's picture of the diseased city "as through a Perspective-Glasse" was intended as a critique of wealthy City dwellers and persons of quality in the country. Dekker wants these individuals to see what London endures: "I need not write this to you, my fellow Sufferers in London", but to the many selfish and un-civic minded "that are merry in your Country houses, and sit safe (as you Thinke) in your Orchards-pleasant Gardens; into your hand doe I deliver this sad Discourse". Dekker believed that the number of run-aways, many of whom paid a coachman 30-40 shillings to be jolted six miles from London, is greater than the number quarantined in the urban centre. What Dekker is up to, it seems, is to construct a series of images of how badly these run-aways were treated in the country, where "your entertainment a far off cannot be courteous, when even not two miles from us, there is nothing but churlishnesse". He relates many accounts of ill treatment of city dwellers at the hands of the 'churlish', for the country always hates a Londoner, especially at times of sickness in the City.

Dekker's pamphlet included a woodcut on the frontispiece that provided a visual precursor to the arguments of the text. (Fig. 3.3) Depicted in the background of this image is a view of London from the north, with a dark cloud poised in the sky above the city, where the words "Lord, have Mercy on London" appear. This

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72 Thomas Dekker, *Gods Tokens; or a Rod for Run-awayes* (1625), preface, A2, B1v, B4. Alluding to the social make up of these run-aways Dekker claims that "to see a Rapier or Feather wore in London now, is as strange as to meet a Low-countrey Souldier with Money in his Purse". Further, it is not just courtiers and gentry that have fled but City types: "The walkes in Pauls are empty; the walkes in London too wide (theres no iustling) but the best is, Cheapside is a comfortable Garden".
built area of the urban centre in the upper third of the image is offset by the lower two thirds of open country. In the middle of this smooth space of flight an angel of death presides, poised upon a group of foreboding dark coffins. This angel announces "I follow" and wields two arrows of the plague, one directed at scattered groups who have collapsed beside 'haycockes', while a mother with tokens upon her breast and a child look out at the viewer and announce "Wee dye". The second arrow is directed to the other side of the cut at a large group of runaways — "Wee fly" who are met at the borders of the image by an armed group of country dwellers warning them to "Keepe out". This woodcut constructs both an image of the runaways cut loose from community and family to wander and die in the open fields, and a corresponding image of how the run-aways will be treated at the hands of the country dwellers. These images become conventions in representations of the plague, taken up in Londons Lamentation of 1641, as well as in accounts of 1665, which I will develop more fully below. Londons Lamentation, for example, with its image of "Londons Charitie" and "the Conntries Crueltie", (Fig. 3. 4) contrasts the death of one who remained at home in London during the plague, complete with public funeral procession and burial in sacred ground within the walls of a parish church, with death in the open fields below, where bodies are hooked by halberds or dragged on sleds to be dumped in a river by what appears to be a pair of rustic country people dressed in grass skirts.\footnote{Londons Lamentation; or a Fit Admonishment for City and Country (1641).}

Many of the representations put forward by Dekker are taken up in other texts from 1625, such as John Taylor's The Fearefull Sommer, which included an identical woodcut, although minus the textual inscriptions. Taylor addressed the run-aways by asking whether those in the country think only Londoners remaining in the city will die from the plague: "did you thinke that none but Citizens were marked for death, that onely a blacke or civill suit of apparell, with a Ruffe-band,
was onely the Plagues liverie?"\(^{74}\) One of the most sustained critiques of these runaways came with Henry Petowe's *The Country Ague* of the same year, with its frontispiece visualization of the boundaries the runaways would have to cross before their return to London. (Fig. 3.5) Here, in front of the old St. Paul's, a female personification of the City stands on the banks of the Thames to welcome back those who fled. But this is a guarded welcome, and her outstretched arms act as a barrier and boundary marker like the city wall behind her and its seven identified gates. This figure has a message, and "London speake[s]" to limit entrance into the City only to those who "have made your peace with God my father in the Country", all others "enter not my Gates". What follows in Petowe's text is a particularly fascinating account of the social and spatial practices involved in these complex tensions, in which those that abandoned "Foster Mother London" for "Mother Rus (like Rusticals)" had to face even "within the sound of my night Ninth houre warner" ill treatment at the hands of "illiterated Peasants" and "Hobnayled Clownes" with "rustick Weapons".\(^{75}\) Once, however, the plague has been carried into the country both 'cits' and 'rusticals' rush back towards the City. Charity is one of a London dweller's civic duties, and to make the poor reception of a Londoner by the country more telling, Petowe encourages his urban readers not to censure them, but give them every courtesy and entertainment. He counsels his fellow citizens who remained in London to refrain from lodging these runaways "in Barnes and Hovels at the Townes end" but to welcome them at the very centre in the best beds and inns.

Much of this is surely tied to the fact that there was an economics of the

\(^{74}\)John Taylor, *The Fearefull Summer; or Londons Calamitie, the Countries Discourtesie, and both their Miserie* (1625), reprinted as *The Fearefull Sommer*, (1636), C1 and C3. My references are to the 1636 edition. Taylor also expresses the irony of those in the country monitoring the Bills of Mortality who, though they fled the city when less than a hundred died, were quick to return when deaths dropped to below two thousand, "so that those that fled for fear at the death of 100. were glad and fearelesse when there dyed 1500".

\(^{75}\)Henry Petowe, *The Countrie Ague; or London her Welcome Home to her Retired Children* (1625), p. 2.
plague, and that a majority of runaways were of the wealthier citizens with higher social standing. Indeed, one pamphlet even argued that plague came into the city as a direct result of the crossing of boundaries and movement of commodities that trade generated: the city was a body into which plague entered from its extremities, the "viler parts" of the suburbs, with the gates acting like a throat, letting people from the outside in to the stomach — the marketplace — where as in a Trojan horse plague was set free to spread through the whole city. Petowe's *The Countrie Ague* ends with an entreaty to returning landlords and creditors to have mercy on their "inferiour Brethren" who stayed. Though they may have been treated poorly in the country, London suffered a great deal more and it is hoped they will not be overhasty with "your poore Tenants, for your Rents: Nor you that are Creditors, oh be not harsh nor severe to your weake and impoverished Debtors" who have undergone extraordinary expenses with "no means to get a penny". Flight from the city, which removed many merchants and successful traders, and subsequently increased fears in the country, led to great economic hardship in London that was further exacerbated by the practice of shutting up houses. The writer of *Lachrymae Londinensis* expressed these concerns in outlining four critical problems facing those who stay: once they are quarantined they are shut-up and can take no money; those not shut-up can do no trade anyway since no one will buy from them or sell to them out of fear of contamination; butchers were not allowed to leave the city to fetch cattle for meat; and market folk from outside London were prohibited to trade with the city by their own communities. Some pamphlets addressed to the runaways sought to correct rumors of how badly the city suffered, disproving claims that grass grew in the streets "for want of trading", and suggesting that, in fact, that

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77Petowe, p. 23.
78*Lachrymae Londinensis, or Londons Teares and Lamentations* (1626), p. 4.
those who stayed "have done well, whilst you have been away".\textsuperscript{79}

We should not underestimate the importance of these social tensions set into motion by the crisis of the plague. Those who remained in the City seemed to preserve the integrity of London as a community against those acting entirely out of self interest. Thus, this community would call those individuals to account when they returned, a confrontation that many run-aways sought to avoid if at all possible. Petowe tells us that many tried to sneak back into London under cover of darkness "for feare the small remainder of your poore afflicted Brethren should call you in question for your flight, and upbraied yee with the title of Run-awayes?" What the above remark alerts us to is that those Londoners who were left behind to experience the physical and economic sufferings of plague in the City had ways to monitor their fellow citizen's return. Remarkably, in 1625 it seems as if groups gathered at the City gates to publicly vocalize their critiques of the runaways, waiting for fully laden coaches driven by those with "their backes towards the Countrey, and they facing the Citie", greeting them with chants of "Welcome Home Run-Awayes".\textsuperscript{80}

In addition, we must not underestimate how print culture also inflected these conflicts, particularly in 1665. For example, it seems the return of those who fled this year generated an unusually large number of pamphlets, broadsides, and printed images. These attacked the behaviour of the 'run-aways', ridiculing them for wandering about the countryside aimlessly to die in the open air since they were shunned from peripheral communities, or satirizing them for being destitute upon returning to the city. John Goddard's stinging print \textit{Welcome Home Brother}. (Fig.

\textsuperscript{79}Milton (1625), p. 29. It is also part of Petowe's strategy, p. 23, to counter rumors that London was so depopulated it didn't have enough citizens to bury its dead. Thus he includes a full description of the funeral cortege of Capt. Richard Robyns of the City trained bands with 250 marchers and 10,000 spectators who lined the route up Fish Street Hill, through Gracious Street, Cornhill, the Poultry, and Cheapside, the latter to show any country people that might be at the market that the rumors were untrue.

\textsuperscript{80}Petowe, p. 4, in fact counsels the 'lesser' sort remaining in London not to assume that everyone entering the City is a runaway.
3. 6) utilized a traditional visual image of the fool with a biting verse to criticize those who left their homes in the city for barns, stables, and "Hayrickes". Upon the runaways return to the city their "honest Cooze" will provide for them even though the runaway's "Coyne and Credit scanted bee". One can only speculate as to how a print like this would be put to use, for it is unlikely that it would be given an estimable position within a seventeenth century Londoner's print collection. Given that its specific form of address — "Welcome Home Brother" — echoes the shouts directed at those runaways passing through London's gates in 1625, it seems likely that such a print was purchased to perform a similar function: thrown in a returning coach, posted in public places, even tacked to the door of a runaways house like the dreaded cross and "Lord Have Mercy On Us".

Like Goddard's print, other critiques are consistently marked by references to the destruction of trade and commerce in the city. For example, in *London's Bitter Sweet Cup of Tears*, John Crouch complained that

The like destructive and unequal Fate  
Left London Streets too Wide and desolate;  
Threw out the wealthy int' th'open Aire  
And leaves the Needy to Heavens angry care!  
Trade interrupted, and the royal burse,  
Quitted and Empty as the Cities Purse.  

A broadside entitled *The Run-Awayes Return* also criticized the runaways along similar lines, by targeting individuals opting to return to the city now the infection had 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...  

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82 *The Run-Awayes Return; or, the Poor Penniless Pilgrim* (1665). See also *Lamentio Civitas; London's Complaint Against her Children in the Country* (London, 1665), and *Londini Lachrymae; or London's Complaint Against her Fugitives* (1665).
The representation of the runaways returning to London like bees to a hive utilizes the same image, though in reverse, of Richard Muggins' *Londons Mourning Garment* of 1603, and is remarkably similar to the last engraving in Dunstall's visual narrative. What is striking is that 1665 saw the first, and possibly the only, printed response to one of these satires by a so-called 'run-away' 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 broadside by making use of the growing discursive arena being carved out by print culture to "bring out Matters Publique Face to Face". The anonymous author argued that those who fled were in fact well treated in the country, and, most interestingly, this broadside seems to indicate that those who left London were in some sense the 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".83

These social and spatial tensions exacerbated by the presence of plague in London force us to reappraise the simple connections between plague and poverty made by traditional historiography. J. A. I. Champion has argued that epidemiological factors — the vectors of rats and fleas — has been made out to be more important than the social and economic dynamics of metropolitan life in having an effect on the patterns of plague in early modern London. Plague appeared simultaneously in widely separated parishes in 1665, inside and outside the City walls, therefore each parish had its own localized "epidemiological and environmental regime".84 Champion argues that plague afflicted poorer and more crowded parishes to a greater extent because the poor were less mobile than the rich.

83 *The Run Awayes Safe Refuge: or the Poor Penniless Pilgrims Answer to Their Miserable Comforters their Fellow Citizens in London* (1665). This broadside was in turn was answered by *The Run-Awayes Routed; or a Whip for Momus* (1665).

without really discussing the social practices of flight and quarantine. As I have delineated above, I believe it is crucial to stress the connection between forms of print that sought to represent the plague, and social practices that intersected with the needs and desires of an urban population. Early modern Londoners knew well enough how the plague jumped around from parish to parish due to the social and economic dynamics of urban life, and this unpredictability of the disease led to the production of forms of print with which to read the city, as Benjamin Spenser tells us, when the plague takes "at the beginning one heere, and another halfe a mile off, then leape thither againe, where it was first, and take them away, which at first it left (as the weekly Bills testifie)".\textsuperscript{85} Further, this erratic nature of the plague could even be seen as an argument against the practices of quarantine used in London, as John Gadbury articulated in 1666, since "there are divers persons that have had (and yet have) the Sickness, the very next door unto them; or both sides of them; before and behind them, and yet their Persons, Houses, and Families, not so much concerned in it, or touched with it".\textsuperscript{86}

It is surely not coincidental that grossly unequal mortality rates between parishes coincided with the growth of the science of statistics and the circulation of this knowledge through print culture. The view that plague struck the city as a homogeneous totality, as indicated by Dunstall's visual narrative, is contradicted by other accounts and ironically even by the conclusions hinted at in the statistics printed at the bottom of the broadside. The social geography of London remained essentially unchanged from the sixteenth into the seventeenth centuries, with the central area of the city being wealthier and beyond the walls less so. Though this still held true during the plague of 1665, significant contrasts are to be found in the mortality rates for different parishes. Although rich and poor parishes seem to have

\textsuperscript{85}Benjamin Spenser, \textit{Vox Civitatis, or Londons Complaint against her Children in the Countrey} (1625), p. 8.
been afflicted with greater equality during earlier plagues, some central parishes had less plague deaths in 1665 than in 1625, despite the doubling of total mortality. The opposite is the case for a handful of parishes inside the city walls, and most drastically so for the out parishes.\(^{87}\) Surely, this has much to do with spatial tensions exacerbated by the attempts of London authorities to limit the physical growth of the city, a program deemed by some historians to be responsible for a large number of deaths during the plague due to overcrowding.\(^{88}\) Nevertheless, hearth tax records show that the majority of central residents were involved in some form of profession or business, and that these vocations tended to cluster in specific parishes.\(^{89}\) On the whole, deaths from plague increase as one moves from the wealthier central parishes occupied by the most successful merchants and professionals to those inhabited by smaller merchants, craftsmen, and the semi-skilled, particularly outside the walls.\(^{90}\) This, I would maintain, demonstrates that

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\(^{87}\) Slack (1985), p. 157, Bell (1924), p. 123, and Power, p. 204. 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 Honey Lane 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. As 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, with a slight rise closer to the river where the less wealthy made up 5.2% of residents. Outside the walls, the numbers of poorer residents increased dramatically to 45.3% of the whole.


\(^{89}\) Power, p. 214. Power finds 216 different occupations listed in the hearth taxes for this central area, divided into three distinct groups: dealers, victuallers, and professions; craftsmen; and the semi-skilled. The primary selling groups had the largest homes, that is, those with the most hearths, with craftsmen living in lesser dwellings, and the semi-skilled in the smallest. In the parishes of St. Stephen Walbrook and St. Benet Sherehag, for example, two parishes where many doctors, apothecaries, and the wealthiest merchants lived, with an average of 6.5 and 5.1 hearths per dwelling respectively, the former parish had 17 recorded plague deaths for the entire year, and the latter had 1. Moving into the less wealthy parishes of St. Magnus Fish Street, St. Margaret New Fish Street, and St. Michael Royal, home of more mixed 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. Michael Royal, which had a 3.6 hearths per dwelling average.

\(^{90}\) For example, the parishes St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Martin Ironmonger were both occupied by metal workers, yet the former had a sum total of 38 deaths from plague, while the latter had only 11. The answer surely lies in the fact that St. Martin Ironmonger was occupied by the elite of the metal workers, the goldsmiths, who also acted as bankers, and who more than likely found it more expedient to follow their rich clients out of town. Most striking, are 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
central neighbourhoods seem to have been even more depopulated during the plague of 1665 than in previous epidemics, indicating parishioners eagerly scanning the Bills of Mortality for any sign of rising mortality, and taking prompt action in order to remove themselves to the country. Even taking into account the minor inaccuracies and misreportings in the Bills, flight from the London’s central parishes seems to have occurred on a much greater scale in 1665 than in any other plague year. In this light, it is not surprising that 1665 witnessed such a large increase in printed critiques of these runaways.

*The plague broadside: picturing the city at its edges.*

Now, it is my contention that the growing readership for the weekly Bills of Mortality in the seventeenth-century contributed to the appearance of broadsides like Dunstall’s and Sellers’ in years of significant mortality from plague. The first broadside incorporating information from the Bills but not published by the Company of Parish Clerks appeared in 1603, and it included statistics from mid July, usually the period of plague’s greatest affliction, as well a history of great plagues back to 81 A. D. in Rome.91 Plague broadsides appeared in 1625 as well, such as *A Looking-glasse for City and Country* and *London Soundes a Trumpet that Country May Hear It*, that deal very specifically with the relation between the diseased urban centre and its surrounding area.92 (Fig. 3. 7) Both of these broadsides utilized a large woodcut showing an exodus from London, depicting mostly the open space of the countryside bounded by portions of architectural structures representing settlement: on the far right, a portion of what is surely a London gate, and on the far left a thatched roof structure which in this case we have to read as rural safety. In between

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hearth 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. Walter Bell. p. 216, 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.

91 *A True Bill of the Whole Number that hath Died in the City of London* (1603).

92 *A Looking-glasse for City and Countrey* (1625) and *London Sounds a Trumpet that Country May Hear It* (1625).
these examples, there are no roads or tracks, and a disordered stream of city dwellers flee in the direction of rural safety in great carriages, on foot, or on horseback. Some emphasis on choosing to stay or flee is raised by this woodcut depiction — a man takes another's hand and touches his shoulder in a gesture of farewell outside the gate and another pair, one inside the carriage and the other beside it, doff hats. However, once the choice is made the countryside does not offer the safety expected by those who flee, as the angel of death follows from the city, arrow and hourglass in hand, and as the figure on the lower left shows, death will strike an individual down in the country as easily as in the city. The inclusion of a tree stump above this corpse acts as a metaphor for the sudden loss of life experienced by this woman in the supposed safety of the country. While individual figures and groups head towards rural safety represented by the thatched cottage at the upper left, it is important to note that none of them have reached its sanctuary yet. Though a band of text underneath the title claims that the broadside is specifically meant both as "an admonition to our Londoners flying from the City" and an attempt to persuade the countryside to have more pity on them, in the text below it is clearly admonishment of departing city dwellers that is stressed. It is striking indeed that the only statistic recorded with this broadside is not the number of plague deaths, but the number of those who have fled London: "16000 of thy ablest Inhabitants are departed into the Countrey'. Furthermore, singled out are some specific groups who have fled: merchants of the better sort, certain industrious tradesmen, and "all the Gentry". Thus the written portion is more in line with the tone of the visual imagery, perhaps in hopes of convincing those considering flight to remain in the city. There is no safety in the country, the text argues, for "is not God as strong there as here, doth not his servant death as soone strike you in the Country, as in the Citie"? To flight as an aspect of losing faith in God's preordained judgment for the individual, so popular amongst the Protestant sects, there is added the equally destructive spread of fear into the regions surrounding London. Even greater
hardships will be experienced in the metropolis when flight and country prejudice "makes London now almost a forsaken City, for her Markets are greatly decayed, and grow barren, for the Country-woman dares not bring up her butter, cheese, egges and such like things."

For the pamphlets discussed earlier, as well as this broadside critique of flight, written, printed, and published in the city — note the 'here' and 'there' utilized by the author — plague acts as a force that invades country from the city, and its reterritorialization of the rural allows image and text to invert the traditional stereotypes of wicked town and innocent country. As Raymond Williams has shown, the concepts of country and city are based on a series of contrasts that have a long history of development in early modern England, between country as the locus of a natural way of life tied to rhythms of nature, a place of peace, innocence, simple virtue, even ignorance, and the urban as civilized, the centre of learning, communication, and worldliness. England is a very particular case, he argues, for there transformations occurred quite early — moves towards agrarian capitalism and enclosure — that led to an urban dwelling population in need of an idyllic representation of country life.\(^\text{93}\) Beginning with Virgil, which had great currency in early modern England, the landscape became more distant and separated from the city, even more abstracted from the notion of 'working' country life to become the artificial and idealized pastoral of the gentry and wealthier merchants, speculating in land and the driving force behind enclosure and agrarian capitalism. In this light, critiques of flight during the plague such as A Looking-Glass for City and Countrey and the pamphlets which specifically single out the more successful merchants and gentry as those groups leaving city for country, invert the myth of the pastoral maintained by these social groups. Those fixed in place in the city, or those Londoner's choosing to stay for reasons of conscience and civic duty, make use of

\(^{93}\text{Williams (1973), pp. 2, 17.}\)
the contradictions embodied in the constructions of city and country: the pastoral country walk becomes a runaway wandering in the country, shunned by fearful rural communities, living on the fringes in barns, stables, and haystacks. Selfish greed and calculation often isolated and condemned in the city within the pastoral tradition, flow back into the countryside with the runaways.

In conjunction with the latter broadsides, a very different, but even more successful form of plague broadside developed, since a number of these remain extant. Like the Bills of Mortality themselves, these seem to serve as an adjunct to practices of flight, and they encourage consumers to monitor the state of the city. Most of these broadsides were produced during the height of contagion, with statistics included up to the time of printing, leaving space blank for individuals to tabulate the subsequent weekly totals.\(^94\) It is to the relation these broadsides have with the Bills of Mortality that the writer of Londons Vacation, and the Countries Tearme surely refers in telling us that on Thursday, "This day the weekly Bils come out,/ To put the people out of doubt/ How many of the plague do dye,/ We summe them up most carefully".\(^95\) A significant number of these single sheet prints survive from 1636, consisting of border imagery representing shovels, bones, winding sheets, and skeletons, sometimes even personifications of the virtues, surrounded by columns of statistics from past and present plagues, often with a prayer or medicinal preparation.\(^96\) One of the more intriguing of these entitled Lord Have Mercy Upon Us included an image of the city seemingly influenced by Dekker's Gods Tokens of 1625.\(^97\) (Fig. 3. 8) There were several broadsides that

\(^94\)The Red-Crosse; or Englands Lord Have Mercy (1625). I have seen two versions of this broadside for 1625, one with statistics printed up until July 28, the other until August 4. There are also versions of this broadside with manuscript additions from 1636.

\(^95\)H. C., Londons Vacation, and the Countries Tearme (1637).

\(^96\)As, for example, with the different versions from 1636 entitled Lord Have Mercy Upon Us in the collection of the Guildhall Library.

\(^97\)Lord Have Mercy Upon Us (1636). This is the broadside discussed by Tessa Watt in Cheap Print and Popular Piety.
utilized this model in 1665 as well, such as *Londons Lord have Mercy Upon Us*. 98 (Fig. 3. 9) Both of these examples utilize very similar woodcuts depicting, in the immediate foreground, Londoners fleeing the city on foot, horse, or in carriages, sometime stopping to supplicate themselves amongst coffins and body bags that are carelessly strewn on the ground. Presiding over all is a familiar skeletal figure who faces the city, while an angel of death in a black cloud hovers above London next to the spire of St. Paul's. As in the majority of Dunstall’s imagery, the city is pictured from the north, from the country. London is shown as an entity tightly circumscribed by its walls, and quite clearly separated from the surrounding landscape. Even the ‘parishes adjacent to the same’ of the broadside’s title are represented as closely hugging the outer perimeter of the city’s walls. London’s built aspect is contrasted to the smooth and empty space of the countryside — an in-between space of transition and flight. In the 1636 version of the image, which is the more detailed of the pair, two of the urban centre’s gates are depicted, showing people entering and departing the city as if London still enabled egress and access during the epidemic. On the one hand, plague in this image of the city does not seem to reinforce boundaries between inside/outside, urban/rural, and healthy/sick, for the city and its gates remain open to travelers and traders. On the other hand, passage from urban to rural is not unrestricted or without tension: in the top left two citizens carrying disproportionately large certificates of health approach watchmen guarding passage to the country beyond. In the 1665 version of the image, watchmen guard the right hand border of the image, and are similarly approached by figures on foot and horseback. In a similar way to Dunstall’s fourth etching, these woodcuts were being very careful to demonstrate that official powers were taking proper measures to protect the rest of the country from the diseased urban centre.

98 *Londons 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* (1665).
It was surely one thing to have the symbolic cross and the dreaded 'Lord, have mercy on us' painted on one's door, and another thing entirely to have it printed on a broadside, as with another example from 1665, *The Mourning-Cross; or England's Lord Have Mercy upon Us*, that substituted the powerful graphic formula of this stark cross for an image of the diseased city. (Fig. 3.10) As mentioned above, crosses were painted on the doors of quarantined houses, and sometimes printed versions were utilized as well that actually took the form of broadsides, with a large cross and the words 'Lord have mercy upon us' printed below. However, they were very different from the broadsides I have been discussing so far. These printed crosses were clearly meant for the street side of the door of a shut-up house: in the four corners created by the arms of the cross were instructions for the watchmen on managing the quarantined, regulations on doctor's visits, as well as information on the supply of food, medicine, and water.99 Intended for the other side of the door, so to speak, *The Mourning-Cross* extends the threat of plague outward from the urban community to the rest of the nation, and this grim graphic mark that serves as an abbreviated symbol of a quarantined house in the city places full blame for the plague on disordered and licentious urban behaviour. Plague is brought on by pride, "fulness of bread", contempt for the poor, "uncleanly and unwholesome keeping of dwelling" where many are crowded together, "drinking," "lying in company", and even "that unnamable sin of Sodomy [which] is used in too many places of the City"—in other words, mostly on the living conditions and social practices of the poor, the degenerate, and the proud. London and the urban is here equated with that site of perverted love Sodom, and plague represents God's anger towards the city. That the print itself is intended for a reader and viewer not fixed in place in a quarantined house in the city is made clear by its address to an audience outside the boundaries of the city. The broadside's text ends by stating "Let the Country people

99 *Notes and Queries*, ii, 2nd series, p. 108, and Bell (1924), p. 129. This print was apparently in the Guildhall Library, but disappeared sometime in the nineteenth century.
especially,...*Note the work of God*, the two phrases neatly separated by the figure of a hand with a pointing finger. Such complete knowledge of the state of the city, and a grim graphic reminder of its consequences, may yet save the country as well as those who have fled London to find sanctuary there.

Though these early broadsides had strong religious elements, these were gradually displaced by ever increasing amounts of statistics culled from the Bills of Mortality. With this substitution, the moral dilemma over flight and the damage it does to the community which seems to be so central to *A Looking-Glass for City and Countrey* came to be de-emphasized. Thus, broadsides ceased to be 'humble petitions' with 'lamentable lists' of plague deaths as in 1636-1637, and came to align themselves with a more scientific truth, as a 'true Relation' showing 'the certain causes of Pestilential Diseases', or a 'true Account', as Dunstall's and Sellers's print proclaimed. Notably, the broadsides began to hint that the way they could be used had changed as well, from being critical of flight into objects utilized both to assist flight and make it a less contentious social practice. For example, versions of the broadside with the woodcut of the city in both 1636 and 1665 appeared with a verse stating that it was acceptable for the rich to flee as long as they left behind the means to maintain the poor. After quickly dispensing with these moral exhortations, the text remarkably advises the reader to note the number of infected houses, calculated every Thursday from the Bills of Mortality and then carefully tabulated on the broadside, and then cautions: "Let all infected houses be thy Text / And make this Use, that thine may be the next". For a Londoner during the plague, a totality of the stricken city could literally be made legible through the anatomy offered by this type of broadside. In fact, if a viewer did not engage with the social practice of utilizing the printed form in the prescribed way, he or she ran the risk of having their house transformed into an infected text — a static mark or number read by others as they continued to negotiate the spaces of the city.
Modes of positioning: the broadside as urban map.

The argument can be made that these broadsides which bring together diverse forms of representation in order to picture the city under the plague function as a type of urban map. Indeed, printing has always been closely tied with a mapping impulse bent on producing representations of space. More than one historian of cartography has noted three crucial factors contributing to the proliferation of maps in early modern Europe: the discovery and exploration of the new world, the translation and transmission of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and early Renaissance advances in printing.\(^{100}\) To a greater extent than the former, printing contributed to the growth of cheaper maps of diverse kinds and in greater quantities for an audience not limited to navigators and political rulers. This mapping impulse empowered by the culture of print, although initially driven by the discovery and exploration of new lands, was quickly shifted toward the urban spaces of European cities, as seen by the encompassing urban mapping brought together in Ortelius' *Civitates orbis terrarum*, printed by Braun and Hogenberg in Cologne between 1572 and 1618.\(^{101}\) More pictographic city views than ground plans, *Civitates orbis* attempted a visual delineation of cities influenced by Renaissance humanism. It stressed the universal and timeless aspects of physical and social space shared by European cities, as well as developing a generalized typology of signs in order to emphasize differences between urban and rural, settlement and site. In addition, through the use of local dress, *Civitates orbis* sought to produce distinctions between the social aspects of individual communities.

This emergence of cities as distinct entities during the Renaissance has been linked by Henri Lefebvre to a moment of 'equipoise' between a declining


countryside and a burgeoning town. It is at this moment that the city came to be conceptualized, when representations of space derived from sea voyages (techniques of mapping) were applied to urban reality. When city space came to be depicted in plans and bird’s eye views, it emerged as a harmonious whole, as a subject. Drawing from Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau has argued that the sixteenth-century inaugurated the transformation of urban fact into the concept of the city, a transformation that would no doubt enable the production of the kind of knowledge about London given in the Bills of Mortality and the plague broadsides. One operation of this transformation was the creation of a universal and anonymous subject that was the city itself: “‘the city’, like a proper name, thus provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable, and interconnected properties.”102 While London thus acquires a subjecthood, an entity composed of its marked and bounded individual parishes, it has at the same time become a complete object mastered by a subject, a printed object as a matter of fact, always already visually present and distinct from a spectator who views or reads its spaces as one might read a text or behold a map.103 For Louis Marin and Michel de Certeau such a cartographic operation allows an overview of the city that one simply cannot experience while immersed in the "inextricable labyrinth of reality."104 Dunstall’s and Sellers’ map, as an anatomy of the social body, aspires to a representation of the city made clear through the truth of rational knowledge. It offers closure and orders the unpredictable, which is both the plague stricken city and its afflicted bodies. De Certeau argues that the networks of moving subjects through a city, "shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces," remain in some sense unrepresentable — they are tactics always other to the graphic

102De Certeau (1984), p. 94.
103Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 66, and Lefebvre (1991), pp. 274 and 278. Ironically though, at this moment in which the city assumes its own identity and becomes a harmonious œuvre characterized by use value, the reign of the product begins, threatening to contaminate everything, including space, with exchange value.
strategies of the delimitation of place. But are things really so black and white? Is the everyday really always 'other' to the imaginary totalizations produced by the theoretical eye that seeks to represent the city? The single image broadsides from 1665 and earlier plagues, while influential precursors to the Dunstall and Sellers example, were clearly printed in the midst of the plague, and, as mentioned above, they often included week-ending dates for the Bills of Mortality with the spaces for the totals left blank. Many of the surviving examples bear the traces of handwritten tabulations in these areas. Here, scientific strategies are not always other to the tactics of users who take advantage of opportunities, and these plague broadsides intersect with ways to actually make use of the city’s spaces since the Bills were important in aiding passage through the city when a chance journey might become dangerous. Further, as I indicated above, individuals not only used them in order to map out their own movements but also to track the progression of plague towards their own homes and parishes. Though the plague brought further striation of space to London, itself already a potent force of striation, closing off surfaces, producing order and succession, it was never without its other. The smooth space of entanglement, of local operations filled by events and opportunities was in continual tension with the homogenous effects of striation. These broadsides, with their caution to read the city like a text and provisions to calculate the rise and fall of the disease by way of information gathered from other print sources, seem to form a chiasmus between the everyday world of bodies and the imaginary totalizations of science. In this important link between urban practice and printed representation, we should not remain content with understanding just how the city comes to be viewed as a book or a map, distinct from its reader and viewer. Moments of crisis in early modern London such as plague force us to rethink the urban less as a static map or text that serves to keep these boundaries between subject and object clearly demarcated, and

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more like language, an object which individuals and groups receive as a structure, something which they occupy, and yet modify continually with use.\textsuperscript{107}

In this way, a clear separation between a detached, contemplative, viewing subject and a representation of London begins to break down. Historians, theorists, and cultural geographers have recently begun to explore this connection between the production of space and the production of a subject, extending the idea of mapping in order to both 'map' a form of subjectivity emerging in the early modern period, and to understand the unprecedented growth of map production in this same period.\textsuperscript{108} For Tom Conley, with the usual causes attributed by historians of

\textsuperscript{107}De Certeau (1984), pp. 33 and 117. For de Certeau, appropriation is derived from a problematics of enunciation whereby “the speech act is at the same time a use of language and an operation performed \textit{on} it”, in other words it is a production of meaning difficult to quantify within a totalizing and rationalist structure that contains it. Urban semiotics cautions us that the city is perhaps a text because it resembles a narrative, but it is not a story because it is by nature a text. The city is not used by its inhabitants in the same way we use (or produce) a book or some other object, it is rather “an environment formed by the interaction and integration of different practices”. See Raymond Ledrut, “Speech and the Silence of the City”, in (eds.) M. Gottdiener and A. Lagopoulos, \textit{The City and the Sign: an Introduction to Urban Semiotics} (New York, 1986), p. 122, and M. Gottdiener, “Culture, Ideology, and the Sign of the City”, in \textit{The City and the Sign}, p. 206. These writers resist a semiotics derived directly from the study of linguistic systems, arguing that it is unworkable in relation to the city and urban space since changes of meaning in a city derive not from changes in an ‘urban language’ but in ways of ‘inhabiting’ collective space. Meaning in the city is therefore multi-coded, as each social group possesses its own conception of urban space; gender, age, different status groups, as well as classes hold to different images of the city and base the organization of everyday life on differently conceived symbols.

\textsuperscript{108}Kathleen Kirby "Re: Mapping Subjectivity: Cartographic Vision and the Limits of Politics", (ed.) Nancy Duncan, \textit{Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality} (New York, 1996), p. 45. For Kirby, cartography, as a science developed in the Renaissance and standardized during the Enlightenment, ‘is both an expression of the new form of subjectivity and a technology allowing (or causing) the new subjectivity to coalesce’. Steve Pile, in \textit{The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity} (London and New York, 1996), pp. 147 and 174, has sought to articulate productive connections between psychoanalysis, particularly Freud and Lacan, and the analyses of space provided by Henri Lefebvre in order to bring out the tensions between subjectivity, spatiality, and power. In this way Pile argues for a resonance between the space of the city and the space of the body in the way political power is constituted — "either both the spaces of the body that sees and recognizes and of the city that is conceptualized visually and spatially were brought into alignment through political power; or their alignment (for other reasons, such as advances in science) enabled a particular kind of political power to be effected". Pile's book is, however, problematic for a number of reasons, not the least is the evacuation of a crucial sense of history and historical transformation central to Lefebvre's work, for example, that 'abstract' space emerges with both capitalism and the 'self'. Further, Lefebvre has reasons for problematizing psychoanalysis, particularly for an account of production based upon prohibition (Freud) and the reduction of all signification to language and verbal signs (Lacan). Pile seems to raid Lefebvre's \textit{The Production of Space} to unearth psychoanalytically informed content, and relies on a confusing and forced triangulation that ends up merely equating spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation with Lacan’s Real, Symbolic, and Imaginary realms.
cartography to the proliferation of maps and mapping in the seventeenth century — Renaissance interest in Ptolemy, rise of printing, development of techniques of quantification and measurement, refinements in modes of visual representation (realism and perspective), definition of private property, political unification — must be added the new importance located in an emerging notion of the 'self'. In the early modern period this self was theatricalized, and acquired an autonomous self consciousness through "modes of positioning" that develop into "textual and gridded representations of reality":

Like the plotted tract of land, the topographical view, or even the coextensive design of lettering and of image in a woodcut or copperplate engraving, the self would acquire its identity through the creation of a space that bears the presence or the reminder of the mapping of its signature.109

These plague broadsides plot the city through numbers, picture London in the topographic image, write it and the behaviour of its occupants in their textual accounts. However, this extensive commingling of representational strategies in order to produce knowledge of the city — a textual and gridded representation of reality — is incomplete without the everyday practice of tabulating the weekly total of deaths — a mode of positioning. However, to Conley's argument that the reminder or signature trace of the production of a self is always present within a production of space, I would add that different historical moments produce different spaces and subjects. And those subjects have very specific uses for the different representations of space that they produce. Thus, in moments of crisis such as the plague in Restoration London, the image of the city produced in these printed forms is contingent upon negotiating the specific tensions between sick and healthy, city and country.

I want to stress the useful interrogations of boundaries that recent work such as Conley's on space and subjectivity has set into motion. If the early modern subject

already represents a destabilization of an older form of subjectivity in which social place was seemingly as fixed as the natural, physical, and super-natural worlds, and was a new form of subjectivity that relied on strategies of mapping in order to become consolidated, what happens to this subject and the type of mapping it produces when the spaces which it occupies suffer the onslaught of destructive or paralyzing forces of the plague, and as we shall in the next chapters, of fire, and frost? Challenges to physical and social space are thus also challenges to the fixity of the subject. Space that is mapped and the mapping subject are thus linked through the production of boundaries between self and other, subject and object. However, though the mapping impulse is constitutive of boundaries between subject and space, this boundary itself is a meeting point fraught with tensions and anxieties. A 'scientific' discourse like cartography historically worked to define the concept of a boundary as a 'limiting surface', as the 'terminus' of a material, whereas new definitions see the notion of a boundary as an 'osmotic membrane' "ruled by a constant activity in the form of an exchange between the two substances placed into contact with one another".¹¹⁰ Consequently, the plague broadsides discussed here may attempt to map the diseased city not in order to establish a clear separation between subject and space, but to enable the constant negotiation of a shifting and dangerous urban terrain. Further, instructions to use this type of broadside and its statistics in order to open up the infected city like a book may have helped to define flight from the city as acceptable, and, as a result, the print must also mediate tensions between country and city.

These early modern broadsides, interweaving textual, visual, and statistical elements, seem to have been involved in a process of exchange whereby the all too present social tensions exacerbated as a result of the sickness in the urban centre were articulated, worked out, even smoothed over. However, the ability of such

¹¹⁰Virilio, p.17.
printed forms to control the representation of the plague in this way, and even to shape individual or collective beliefs about certain social practices, such as flight and quarantine, could never be entirely effective or complete. Dunstall's and Sellers' print, as we have seen, being quite possibly the last of its kind and offering the most sophisticated and complete depiction of London under an epidemic, goes out of its way to include quarantine, flight, and the return of the 'run-aways' as part of its visual narrative. It is my contention that to keep such an image of the city in balance with the totalizations wrought by the statistics below, and together produce a natural and unproblematic waxing and waning of the plague was an exceedingly difficult task in 1665. In fact, the more we look at the juxtaposition between imagery and statistics in Dunstall's and Sellers's broadside, the more the consensus created by the broadside starts to fall apart and allow for alternate modes of positioning. I want to turn now to a visual analysis of the geography of the city presented in the last six images in order to suggest that a viewer of Dunstall's scenes at the time might see another truth start to appear.

First, I must point out that Dunstall's images refer to a London that pretty much disappeared the following year with the Great Fire. Nevertheless, through consulting maps, topographic views, and reconstructions of pre-fire London, certain sites and locations of London and its immediate northern environs seem to be specifically referred to in the separate etchings. These can be tentatively deciphered, even though spaces and sites are sometimes conflated or collapsed in Dunstall's imagery, in a kind of cryptographic abbreviation, and boundaries that were not so visible at the time are clearly articulated in the engravings. This was done, I believe, surely in the interests of brevity given the size limitations he was working with, but also, as we shall see, to allow a contemporary viewer to draw a series of conclusions about the social consequences of plague in the city in 1665.

111 Particularly the etched long view of London in 1647 taken from the steeple of 'S. Marie Overs' on the Southwark Bank by Hollar.
To begin, the fourth image in the series, showing the "Country people" stopping Londoners fleeing from the city in order to see their certificates of health is, judging from where St. Paul's church is situated, taking place to the northwest of the city. A significant feature of this image is what appears to be a ditch curving in a right angle in the foreground and running into London, entering the city just to the north and west of the cathedral. This is more than likely the Fleet River, or Fleet Ditch, at the point below the joining of the two arms from Hampstead and Highgate ponds where it once made its right angled turn towards Clerkenwell Green. This area was more built up than this in 1665, nevertheless what we see is a clear break between the striated spaces of the urban, and the smooth space of the countryside as an open space of passage to the villages northwest of the city. Dunstall has included here what looks like a toll gate crossing the ditch, and a gate house in front of which the watchmen with halberds stand. This leads me to suggest that the image marks the passage to Highgate specifically, as in the late fourteenth century a road had been constructed to Highgate through the then Bishop of London's park, and this road had a toll gate at its entrance across from a gatehouse. Thus, these individuals with certificates of health are quite possibly leaving the plague stricken metropolis for Highgate, known in the sixteenth century as a pleasant rural village with air so healthy it could cure sickness not cured by 'physicke'. This would agree with William Boghurst's comment in 1665 that "The Best way to fly is thought to be Northward not Southward". Furthermore, at the Restoration several members of Charles II's court resided in Highgate — the King even installed his mistress Nell Gwynne at Lauderdale House, and several wealthy city merchants had homes there. This is an important point, as migration out of the city when plague deaths

112 Boghurst, p. 60.
began to rise was from the western end of town and location of the court first, according to all accounts, followed by the wealthier merchants in the City. Individuals fleeing east and northeast London, the location of the more crowded and poorer populations, is almost never mentioned.

As we follow Dunstall’s narrative of the plague, we move further east. And as we do, we no longer see runaways but images of the transporting and mass burial of the dead. Scenes five and six, showing bearers of the dead with "red Staves in their hands, so that people might shun them" and carts bearing corpses while birds fall dead from the sky, both display a similar looking pre fire church steeple in the background. This is not necessarily the same church in both scenes, as St. John Zachary, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Stephens Coleman Street, and St. Margaret all had similar steeples. However, all of these parish churches had a north central location, close to the fields north of the walls where unconsecrated plague pits for mass burials were dug. There was a plague pit in Aldermanbury parish, and Bunhill Fields, for example, which might be represented in the sixth image, was known as a burial ground for religious dissenters.

The seventh etching shows the burial of the dead in an actual churchyard and thus in consecrated ground. It is unclear which church this represents, however, but it seems to be located just outside the City walls. The recognizable church steeples in the background locate this scene even further east than the previous image: the tall tower with four corner spires is almost certainly that of the outparish St. Botolph Aldgate, the more distant slender spire immediately to the right of the church in the foreground is probably St. Andrew Hubbard, and the other four spired steeple at right more than likely St. Michael Cornhill. The siting of this churchyard in relation to these other churches might mean that Dunstall was seeking to represent St. Giles

Cripplegate, located just outside the City walls.\textsuperscript{114} St. Giles Cripplegate and St. Botolph Aldgate, incidentally, were two of the parishes suffering the greatest number of plague casualties.\textsuperscript{115}

I now turn to the broadside’s final images, as Dunstall himself seems to invite a closer visual comparison of the two through the inclusion of a hill in the foreground that joins the scenes. This pair — the public funeral and the return of those who fled — form a final contrast that rubs against the overall visual narrative and historical chronology of plague in the city. One of the most surprising components in the first of the two images is the public funeral procession, given that they were expressly forbidden by royal and civic proclamations under the threat of imprisonment. It is possible that this image was included to counter critiques of an inhumane policy that refused public funerals for the dead, and to indicate that the epidemic never threatened the social body enough to deprive its members of the most basic human needs. Seen in relation to the larger pictorial narrative, the depiction 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, the description tells us that this is a Quaker funeral — "The Eighth sheweth the manner of burying the dead with their Friends accompanying them" — and when viewed in light of this accompanying text, the image seems to raise the issue of the disorder of the plague. The Quakers, also known as the Religious Society of Friends, were one of the dissenting sects charged with contributing to the anarchy of the previous two decades, and one of those groups forcefully excluded from the religious life of the nation with the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Consequently, the

\textsuperscript{114}There is a small print in the collection of the Guildhall Library which shows a similar scene of burial in an almost identical churchyard which is identified as St. Giles Cripplegate.

\textsuperscript{115}James Peller Malcolm, \textit{Londinium Redivivum; or an Ancient History and a Modern Description of London} (London, 1802), III, p. 273, records that the parish clerk of St. Giles Cripplegate died of the plague, while the vicar, Dr. Pritchett, was a runaway into the country.
'Friends' represented in this broadside are outside 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. To be sure, the location of this scene is the farthest east yet, with a portion of the old wall of London again visible, and the tall spire close to the middle quite possibly meant to be Allhallows Barking. If so, this would definitely be Quaker territory in 1665.

Dissenting groups like the Quakers, though they are pictured here, are not included as part of the consensual community represented 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 were not counted in the Bills of Mortality, a fact that was common knowledge to anyone in seventeenth century London who followed the Bills and had any sense of the religious life of the city. Excluded from the statistical anatomy of the city, the 'Friends' were included in the visual one, and possibly represented as a threat to the social body. In this way, plague could become 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 in open defiance of authority, disharmony has surely returned to the social body.

Yet, this depiction of the funeral procession retains a great deal of ambiguity, and striving to make it fit too neatly into the overall narrative risks underestimating the possibility of different readings in 1665 in light of specific experiences of the plague and local religious conflicts. As we can see from the

116 Bell (1924), p. 179, and Nicholson, p. 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 for some weekes, 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, 31 August, 1665.

117 A Table of the Funerals in the Several Parishes within the Bills of Mortality in the City of London (1665), although a further extension of the encompassing gaze of statistical knowledge, ends with the unknown, for at the bottom of the broadside is printed "Besides many, of which no Account was given by the Parish Clerks, and who were privately buried".
geography of the city chosen by Dunstall in his scenes, escape is to Greenwich and Woolwich, and more specifically from the western part of town to villages like Highgate. It is death and burial in the northeastern parishes, and in the parishes of dissenters and nonconformists. It is at the borders of the city and the open space of the country, I would suggest, that these tensions became visible for an attentive urban viewer. We cannot overlook the selection of these sites by the engraver, who, interestingly enough, included his signature on this eighth image, raising the question of whether something was at stake here for the printmaker. Perhaps Dunstall himself was a member of, or a sympathizer with, one of the dissenting sects. Though we have no evidence in the case of the engraver, for our compiler of statistics and future map-maker it is a different story. As Coolie Verner has shown, John Sellers was a Baptist, and even had been arrested with other nonconformist conspirators in the 1662 Tonge plot. At this time known as a compass maker, Sellers was actually convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. Innocent of treason but guilty by personal association with the nonconformist conspirators, Sellers did escape execution but was confined in Newgate until spring of 1663, when he was released after petitioning both the Duke of York and Charles II.\textsuperscript{118} Within the harsh constraints established by government for print culture and religious practice, Dunstall and Sellers produced a series of visual and mathematical representations that did not overtly challenge the picture of the plague demanded by their Restoration context. Yet, at the same time, despite all the contradictions and internal conflicts that are smoothed over in the broadside, Dunstall inserted a visual geography of London during the plague that remains enigmatic and resists any easy mesh within the overall narrative construction. More than likely Dunstall and Sellers would have been aware of the increased persecution of Quakers and other dissenting groups while the plague raged in London. Fifty-two Quakers died in

\textsuperscript{118}Verner, pp. 133-4.
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. This eighth image seems to suggest that, even though attempts were being made to impose conformity on public religious life and the space for nonconformists within Restoration society was growing more limited everyday, these communities were still present. For some Friends, in fact, the flow of runaways out of the city was reversed, as many Quakers came from the country to the city in order to help their stricken community. Indeed, despite intensified persecution and imprisonment during the epidemic in London, out of the controlled disorder of the plague pictured in this broadside 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, one that might even be able to absent itself from the totalizing view of the city and suburbs represented by the statistical tabulations.

Dunstall's last image applies a form of closure over this representation of the disruption of plague, showing the return of the 'runaways' from northwest of the city to a revived urban centre. For viewers of the broadside, this image of the flow of the runaways from the in-between space of the country towards the distant topography of the familiar city was the unproblematic end to the event of the diseased city. As I have shown, Dunstall's and Sellers's broadside seems to support the means taken by civic authority to further striate space in order to control the disease and preserve the wholeness of the social body (household quarantine), while at the same time depicting flight as an unproblematic component of the visual and numerical representation offered up by the print. Within the natural cycle constructed by the coming together of these diverse forms of representation both quarantine and flight could be articulated as essential operations in the preservation

\[119\] See the Quaker plague pamphlets by Thomas Greene, *A Lamentation Taken Up for London* (1665), and W. D., *This for Dear Friends in London* (1665). Hutton (1985), p. 231, writes, "the soldiers acted all the more willingly in that they blamed the meetings of nonconformists for the spread of the epidemic". \[120\] Bell (1924), p. 118.
and restoration of health to London. In this way, the broadside does not overtly challenge the 'official' representation of the disease in the city. At the same time, however, the spaces constructed by Dunstall for this visual narrative and Sellers, as a nonconformist, absenting himself from the statistical map of the city are revealing. The contrasts between built city and open country — from the western environs country means safety, for overpopulated eastern parishes the ultimate reality of the open fields north of the city walls were the plague pits — would potentially have alerted another kind of viewer who traversed the spaces of the city and was familiar with its social geography. When the city is placed under stress and the threat of plague, when the centre of striated space is threatened by the smooth, it is at this point that the boundaries between the two become critical. I mean this in two ways: for it is at the edges between city and country that the social tensions over quarantine and flight become visible, and in the second sense, it is in picturing the edges of the city that Dunstall allowed for the possibility of an alternate, critical, reading of the official history of plague in London in 1665. For this viewer, the very boundaries of city and country articulated in the etchings would have alerted him or her to the social tensions otherwise masked in this anatomy of the urban community threatened by the plague.
Chapter Four
The "picture of Troy":
Mapping the Trauma of London's Fire in 1666

We have lately known a Plague, that laid thousands of Citizens under ground, but who
dreamt of a Fire that would lay the City it self upon the ground? 1

Absence in the centre.

Unlike the images of London under the plague, visual prospects of the city
produced after the Great Fire adopt the traditional viewpoint from the Southwark
Bank. As I briefly outlined in the previous chapter, such a viewpoint looks
northward towards London with the Thames in the foreground. Although clearly
not terra firma, in this type of imagery the river nevertheless acts as a base on
which the city rises, providing concurrently an advantageous natural site as well as
convenient access to the seas beyond. The symbiotic relationship established here
tells the viewer that it is the harnessing of this river, the taming of nature by
settlement and human labour, that allows the culture of the city to flourish. With
the fire, however, natural forces have turned an awesome and destructive power
against the thriving city, a contrast brought out in a pair of views etched by
Wenceslaus Hollar depicting London before and after the disaster. (Fig. 4.1) These
two parallel views do not only represent the same city, they are also part of the same
print, etched on two separate plates, yet intended to be viewed in tandem. What
does the viewer gather from these complimentary, but diametrically opposed
representations? Above, as the banner of text states, is a "true and exact prospect" of
London, physically locating the viewer as if gazing out from the steeple of "S. Marie
Overs" in Southwark. What we see is truly just the City, for the left and right sides
of the image stop at the east and west limits of the City's jurisdiction, Temple Bar
and the Tower. This is a perfect view, from an ideal position, in which London is

1Samuel Rolle, The Burning of London in the Year 1666 (1667), p. 22.
grasped as a totality, as a complete object. What is presented to the viewer in this upper image is London in "its flourishing condition" before the fire which began on 2 September, 1666. What characterizes the picture of London in its flourishing state? This is a city of movement, of people, goods, and ships. The larger ocean worthy vessels appear below the bridge, and many smaller craft above traverse the river to and from the numerous stairs and landing points on the London bank. On the latter, individuals can be seen, gathered to contribute to the activities that make up this city. This is city as a process of exchange, but also as a work of art, faithfully reproduced by the etcher's needle, showing the many beautiful civic buildings and church steeples, with the cathedral of St. Paul's towering above the rest. London is a clearly demarcated and bounded 'place', its magnificent civic and religious sites are clearly marked, and its citizens who pilot the river's craft and crowd its quays are united by common interests of trade and habitation. Economic, civic, and religious life are all held in perfect balance, providing both London and its citizens with their identity.

The image below is identical in viewpoint and east/west coverage, but there the similarities end. The 'before' of the upper image is replaced by "another prospect" of London, in which the timeless truth and exactitude of the first image is defeated by the intervention of a specific temporally locatable event "in the yeare M. DC. LXVI". What Hollar's etching faithfully reproduces here is absence, lack, void, the City's loss of identity; this is London turned inside out, uprooted, its boundaries have been collapsed into chaos, its structures rendered into nearly indistinguishable ruins. Almost like the coffee-house, the burning of London acts as a great leveler, rendering all matter into its first principles, bringing high down to low with indiscriminate mixing of the "lofty Turret and the lowly base". The upper city flourishes in the parallel views, but after the "calamitie and destruction" of the fire,

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2 *London Undone; or a Reflection Upon the Late Disastrous Fire* (1666).
the emotional qualifier "sad" is introduced, as if the viewer is to feel some kind of loss, as if something in and of the world was now missing.

Like the image of Restoration London under plague in the previous year, representations of the fire give us access to shifts in the way London was both perceived and conceived, quantified or occupied, at a specific historical moment. Hollar's parallel views represent the results of a most disruptive passage from one kind of space to another, from fullness to emptiness, from striated to smooth. Hollar has turned his often noted penchant for minute detail towards the production of this contrast between a prospering city and a post-fire space that, as Elkanah Settle remarked, was "left an Open Field" of destruction and ruins. Why, though, are more people depicted in this void of smooth space than in the upper image of a flourishing London? While nearly impossible for us to see in reproduction, which is the way most of us today would be familiar with an image like this, for the seventeenth-century viewer of the large two part etching these figures are clearly discernible. We know that the figures in the upper prospect await the docking of ships or smaller boats, and we surmise that they are engaged in economic or social transactions of the everyday life of London. In the lower image of the destroyed City, however, what are these pedestrians doing in this open field? They almost certainly do not live in the City, since it has ceased to be, nor are they engaged in trade, given the marked absence of ship traffic in the lower image. If, according to Michel de Certeau, walkers in the city write a text that they themselves cannot read, is it possible for us — given this ideal long-distance viewpoint provided by the prospect of the ruins — to see what they are writing there? Further, is not the pairing of flourishing city and sad calamity of destruction in some sense the utilization of a

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3De Certeau (1984), p. 93. Compare with Edward S Casey, "The Production of Space or the Heterogeneity of Place" in (eds.) A. Light and J. M. Smith, Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space (Lanham, 1998), p. 74: "The lived body is the agent of lived places, and its role in the production of space ... is compounded and deepened by its even closer collaboration with the genesis of lived places, places whose historicity and sociality are conveyed by the bodies that inhabit or traverse them".
representational framework to mask the loss of London? In trying to answer these questions, I will suggest ways in which images of London after the fire—prospects like Hollar's parallel views, but also maps of the city—were instrumental in working through the sudden trauma of the city's disappearance in 1666.

Of the three events propelling the different re-imaginings of London discussed in this thesis, the greatest displacement of the city's population within the walls occurred as a result of the fire lasting from September 2 to September 5. This conflagration, as we have seen from Hollar's image, "Whose eager and devouring heat/Into the heart of th'City eat", completely razed most of medieval and Elizabethan London within the walls, destroying in its path countless homes, shops, St. Paul's, the Guildhall, the halls of the City Companies, and the Royal Exchange.4 Indeed, as one contemporary commentator put it, "Had the Citizens gone in Procession, or had the Lord Mayor and his Brethren took a Survey of the Bounds and Limits of their Jurisdiction, they could not have kept much more within compass than the Fire did".5 Indeed, the fire's destruction of central London erased all parish boundary markers, streets, fences, and buried foundations so that the only spatial marker left was the old City wall itself: London had been "Resolv'd to know no limits now, less than a City wall".6 While the fire destroyed private dwellings and public buildings, it also interrupted the social and economic processes of Restoration London: the "fire stops all trade & traffique & posts, the sad consequences of which may easily be ghessed att".7 For this Londoner, these processes of exchange and circulation had grown almost more important than the city's structures and physical attributes of place. Even though the fire was contained

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5Rolle (1667), p. 141.
largely within the walls, it suspended the most indispensable processes of an urban centre expanding beyond the limitations that this older boundary dictated: new forms of economic exchange, transit of people and goods, and movement of the written and printed word.

As with plague in the urban centre, the crisis of fire exacerbated unease by forcing people to traverse boundaries between centre and periphery, and drove the production of printed representations that reconceptualized these boundaries in order to mediate the tensions involved in passage from one to the other. For example, the destruction of the heart of the City within the walls thus made differences between Restoration London and suburbs more visible. In the seventeenth-century uncontrolled growth in these suburbs, areas outside of City jurisdiction, continually threatened the power of civic authorities and the privileges of London's economic 'freedom'. By the time of plague and fire, the City no longer controlled the majority of the metropolitan area's population, leading to increased conceptual distinctions between City centre and suburban periphery driven by both an ever more jealous guarding of the freedom and limits on London's growth. That tensions between City and suburbs required some 'managing' during the Restoration can be seen, for example, in the pamphlet *Flagellum Dei*, a chronological account of great fires and plagues in London from the time of William the Conqueror to Charles II. It is telling that in its history of these crises the pamphlet only makes distinctions between City and its 'skirts' when it arrives at plague and fire in 1665 and 1666. However, these very different moments are then rationalized under a notion of contrasting but equal divine punishments: "It is observable, that the Suburbs, where the Plague reigned most, was in a great measure spared by the Fire, and the City itself, where the Fire was most active, suffered little by the Pestilence; As if it were design'd by Divine Providence, that each part should have its punishment, and none a double one".8 Another pamphlet on the fire,

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8*Flagellum Dei* (1668), p. 10.
Londons Lamentation, made an attempt to rationalize the differences between the two crises in the city, noting that while plague attacked the body, the fire consumed property: "Our houses, not ourselves, consumed be / The City's burnt, the Suburbs are not so, / The Daughters yet do stand, though Mother low". While there are clearly similarities between the two, and the timing of the events surely contributed to such comparisons, the intervention of fire into urban space and social relations troubled boundaries in a different way than plague, and therefore we need to understand what distinguished one event from the other.

Fire in 1666 was a much more sudden and spectacular catastrophe than plague in the previous year, and traces of it remained part of London's landscape for years. The destruction of property was much more visible than quarantined sick bodies or the night time burials during plague time. As Simon Ford wrote in 1667, "The fire is out. But dismal marks are seen,/To tell succeeding Ages where't hath been". In addition to the very concrete destruction of the city and subsequent disruption of social and economic life, it seems clear that the fire was also internalized in different ways by its citizens. A letter from Sir Nathaniel Hobart to Sir Ralph Verney relates that the fire "has made such an impression in the soules of every one of us, that it will not be effaced while we live". The conflagration and destruction of the city has passed, but it has nevertheless left an interior trace, an indelible memory of the event has been impressed somewhere in the body. Sir Hobart was not alone in being left with intangible mental impressions of the fire's presence in London, for Pepys' eye witness description is supplemented by the naval clerk's repeated mention of the image of fire returning again and again in the context of his dreams. In answer to Samuel Rolle's question — who would dream of a fire that was to lay the city on the ground? — Pepys would, but only after the event. He is first tormented by dreams of the burning city later in the month on

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10Verney, p. 142.
September 25 and 27, and then into the following year on February 28 and March 24. Almost a full seven months after the fire Pepys would still write in his diary that he was "mightily troubled the most of the night with fears of Fire, which I cannot get out of my head to this day since the last great fire".11 Pepys, one of the few lucky ones who escaped from the fire apparently unharmed, tells us that there was a form of latency within the experience of the fire that returns to make claims on the present. This delayed response to an overwhelming experience of a sudden catastrophic event, characterized by uncontrolled and repetitive occurrence of hallucination or dream imagery would seem to suggest that Pepys was suffering from the experience of trauma.12 Indeed, as Cathy Caruth has argued, the traumatic event is not fully assimilated at the time, but belatedly in its repeated possession of one who experienced the event: "To be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event".13 For Pepys and other Londoners like Sir Hobart who could not get free of an internalized image of the fire, the experience seems to be composed of two contradictory elements: on one hand the fire is registered on some level, but not fully experienced, something has bypassed perception and consciousness; on the other, there is uncontrollable memory of the event that returns with exceptional presence in the form of dream traces and flashback imagery.14 Pepys deals with the

11Pepys, Diary, entries for 25 and 27 September, 1666, 28 February, and 24 March, 1667.
12Pepys' diary account of the fire has in fact been used by one psychiatrist, R. J. Daly, "Samuel Pepys and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder", British Journal of Psychiatry, 143 (1983), pp. 64-68, to show that post-traumatic stress disorder, even though it was only entered officially into American Psychiatric association's Dictionary and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders in 1978, has a long history of existence and Pepys was a victim of it. But compare Martin Stein, "A Psychoanalytic View of Mental Health: Samuel Pepys and his Diary", Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 46 (1974), pp. 82-115, who uses the diary to prove that Pepys' mental state, and his reaction to the fire, was in fact normal and healthy.
14B. A. Van Der Kolk and Onno Van Der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: the Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma", American Imago 48/4 (1991), pp. 427 and 442. They argue that "Under extreme conditions, existing meaning schemes may be entirely unable to accommodate frightening experiences, which causes the 'memory' of these experiences to be stored differently, and not available for retrieval under ordinary conditions". The experience cannot be organized on a linguistic and narrative level using words and symbols, and it returns on an iconic or somatosensory level — flashbacks, behavioural reenactments, and dreams. See also Geoffrey Hartman, "On Traumatic Knowledge and Literary Studies", New Literary History 26 (1995), p. 537, and Roberta Culbertson, "Embodied Memory, Transcendence, and Telling: Recounting Trauma, Re-establishing the Self", New Literary History, 26
trauma of the fire by transforming the experience into the narrative language of the Diary. As Michael Roth has argued, narrative memory necessarily forgets in order to remember, and that recounting (representing) trauma is forgetting — assimilating, filtering, reconfiguring. Once represented and relativized trauma can be let go, it can assume a place in relation to other aspects of the past as history, as part of a continuous narrative.\textsuperscript{15} For Cathy Caruth "the historical power of trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all".\textsuperscript{16}

If, for many Londoners in 1666; the fire was not fully perceived, this must mean that they were 'somewhere else' when it occurred. Unlike the plague, which caused a gradual physical dislocation by forcing many city dwellers into the country, the suddenness of fire seemed to cause initially a more abstract mental dislocation. As fantastic as this might sound, this is exactly what Thomas Vincent articulates in the preface to God's Terrible Voice in the City, wherein he outlined the reasons for delaying his work on the plague and fire until 1667. While a discourse concerning the plague would have been more seasonable at the time of the sickness "when People who were generally taken off from their Trading, had room and time for retirement and consideration", this was not the case with the fire. The latter "did engage them unto more laborious works than ever they had", providing "so much distraction" that they had no time to read about the crisis to the city as it occurred.\textsuperscript{17}

It will be seen later how crucial this element of "distraction" is in 1666. It is found in almost every single account of the fire, indicating a population not experiencing the trauma of the fire as it occurs. As we shall see, this distraction also highlights a

\textsuperscript{15}Michael Roth, The Ironist’s Cage: Memory, Trauma, and the Construction of History (New York, 1995), pp. 13 and 208.


\textsuperscript{17}Vincent, preface.
breakdown of public interests in favor of personal preservation, and in this way intersects with debates over fleeing the city during the plague. A distracted person is one who is 'somewhere else', in 'another space', and not cognizant of the episode of fire. Though we can never know the 'real' experience of the fire, we do have these different representations, and in this chapter I look at the various ways in which the trauma of the fire was recounted in 1666 and the following few years, in diary and letter accounts meant for a limited readership, but also in printed public forms such as poetry, visual images, and maps. In the previous chapters we have already seen the important links between print culture and spatial practices, for example, with the mock pope burning processions, as well as the uses of print to negotiate the spaces of London and its social conflicts during a moment of crisis such as the plague. The burning of London, like the plague, exacerbated tensions within both space and the subject, and it too was met by acts of narrating, picturing, and mapping the city under the crisis. The fire left an almost total void in the centre of London, and this 'chaos', as many contemporary accounts put it, had to be recounted and assimilated by verbal and visual signification, or met by strategies of order. The city had to be mapped, and, in fact, the desire to see London extensively mapped and surveyed was, I would argue, a function of its vanishing in the fire. This shift towards a conception of London's urban spaces also generated different utopian ideas for an imaginary city. If we see these objects as memento moris, as part of a process of communal mourning, and by this I mean as part of a process of disconnecting from a traumatic loss in the past, representing the fire or its aftermath becomes a way of maintaining a productive attachment to the catastrophic event in which mourning takes on a form of aesthetic pleasure.¹⁸

¹⁸I am adopting some of the extrapolations on melancholy and mourning in Roth, pp. 193-194. Interestingly enough, as Roth points out, Freud used the event of the fire and a reaction to its reminder in the Monument as an illustration of neurosis in the Clark University lectures of 1909, wherein the example of a Londoner shedding tears before the Monument on Fish Street hill was used to show how one cannot get free of the past, to which one clings emotionally and causes a neglect of what is real and immediate. For Freud this was impractical, for these Londoners 'were cultivating their pain as a
Walking in the ruins.

I do not want to give the impression here, however, that all representations of the fire do the same work. Visual and verbal images perform differently, and there is a useful tension between the two that I must establish at the outset. Perhaps it is best to let a Londoner with poetic pretensions who apparently witnessed the events of the fire and its consequences state it for me. Simon Ford, author of the poem *Conflagratio Londinensis*, included a long verse from "The Author to the Graver" at the end of this printed text, explaining why he had "forborn upon second thoughts" to include a visual image of London in flames as a frontispiece. The producer of text tells the producer of visual image that in vain the latter would engage "to crowd the Book into the Title-page" and that this imaginary "plate too much beneath thy Project falls". This impossible project is the production of an engraved frontispiece that would include a long list of prescribed ingredients: it should be a night scene with onlookers, obviously taken from the Southwark bank as the Thames is to be the foreground, flames and a huge black cloud above the City, a personification of the east wind that drove the flames through London for four days, the hand of God coming out of the sky holding a flaming rod, ruins, St. Paul's burning with a phoenix emerging from the roof, different groups throwing buckets of water on the flames, pulling down and blowing up of houses to stop the fire's advance, and finally a concealed Jesuit laughing into his sleeve with a voice scroll announcing "this hits better than the Powder-plot".

Further, the engraved image might show us flames and tottering walls in a general overview, but this would only function as a background "scene' for a stage upon which the more important "tragedy" takes place. For Ford the visual image separates body from object, because sight is a non-tactile form of sensual

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Ford, pp. 28-32.
apperception. According to the poet the verbal mode, on the other hand, overcomes the limitations of the senses and brings them together, making us "feel" the flames as well as "see" them: "Th'eye's not the onely Glass that burns the mind". As a poet Ford is surely interested in arguing that words are a more effective expressive mode than visual picturing in creating a representation of the calamity. He doubts whether an engraving would be able to express the bodily and tactile sensations he felt as he moved through the city's spaces, such as the shrieks and cries of "Babels Voyces", the heat of the flames and the pressure of rushing air. The poetic mode can even "reach the Horrors of distracted minds", make accessible the thoughts of Londoners who were traumatized by the event. There is more at stake, however, in the distinctions established by Ford between verbal and visual modes of representing the fire. If trauma generates a form of knowledge that cannot be made entirely conscious, the post-traumatic narration or representation is therefore an externalization of an internal state. In trauma the mind is severed from the body, and as Hartman argues, perhaps the only way to overcome this severance "is to come back to mind through the body". Imagined destruction demands to be verified. Thus imagination pursues the body, and the verbal narration of trauma often begins by recovering "visceral sensations" and somatic feelings. Ford's poem thus reads like a walk through the city in which the trauma of fire and destruction is written, and in this vanished city the poet must find something tactile to temper the chaos of the 'real', to mediate the production of lack instigated by the disappearance of London.

Ford was not the only Londoner driven to transcribe the traumatic experience of the fire in 1666, and there are numerous surviving accounts of walking in the ruins that bring out further the tensions between the visual and verbal, or the disembodied overview and the tactile encounter. In a little known letter of September 8, 1666, John Rushworth wrote to an unidentified recipient:

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20Hartman, p. 541.
My last by tuesday post gave you an accompt of London beeing Laid in ashes from gate to gate, even to the waters syde ... and to satisfy my self of the certainty therof I went yesterday morneing at Five of the Clock from Saint Dunstones Church in Fleet street ... to the Tower of London; and as I went over heapes of rubbish and smoake, not one howse standing nor church but all Burnt [here following a listing of streets, buildings and churches seen] People are now beginning to bring in their goods into the Strand, and Holborne, and parts thereabouts, but those that are Fledd out of the Citty within the walles are to seek their habitac'ons. I shall say nothing at p'sent at the multitude of observac'ons, which I have made whilst I was a spectator of this sade Callamity ... and when Cheapsyde was on Fire, not tenn men stood by helping or calling for helpe, I have been an eye witness and cann verify this and 100 tymes more.21

From the singular comprehensive image — gate to gate and to the edge of the Thames — the account moves into the city where a multitude of specific observations are compiled: place names, mounds of rubbish, descriptions of social movements, or immobilities, as in those (including the author himself) who remained a distracted 'spectator' while Cheapside burned. Rushworth's immersion into the spaces of the city on foot brings before him distinct scenes that can potentially be multiplied a hundred times more. Yet, strangely, it is at this point that the author holds back, deciding to "say nothing", as if the very task of enunciating the innumerable scenes his eye fixed upon during his walk in the City contradicts the comprehensive image he set out "to satisfy" himself with at the beginning.

While Rushworth potentially has the mobility to multiply scenes made available to him by a hundred times or more, the movements of Lady Hobart, on the other hand, are slightly more circumscribed. Gender very clearly does impinge upon a woman's movements in Restoration London, as it still does in urban centres today, but we can see from her account that it does not foreclose entirely upon the need both for practical mobility within the City, and a desire to 'view' the spatial and social transformations of the crisis. Lady Hobart, while clearly confined more to

her house in Chancery Lane near the Temple, where news of the fire is brought regularly to her as she arranges the difficult task of hiring carts to remove her and her husband's property to Highgate and Kensington, has seen "cars & drays run[ning] about night and day, & thousens of men and women carrying burdens". She too has also walked parts of the city, such as Fleet Street, where "thar is nothing left in any hous thar, nor in the Tempell, thar was never so sad a sight, nor so dolefull a cry hard, my hart is not abell to express the tenth nay the thousenth part of it". Like Rushworth, for Lady Hobart the transcription of the experience of London burning can only represent the smallest fraction of that experience of space, as if unquantifiable aspects of the trauma remain hidden. Thus, the representations of their walks in the city form an abbreviated text in which much remains invisible in the act of writing.

The diarists Pepys and Evelyn were also driven to verify the destruction by a perambulation of the ruins. The former walked through the City on September 5 only hours after the fire was checked. As with Rushworth, for the Navy Clerk too the walk was preceded by a desire to view the urban centre as a whole: "I up to the top of Barkeing steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw". Armed with this grasp of the scope of the destruction, Pepys and associates descend into London from the steeple of his parish church and pass through the city on foot finding "Fan-church-street, Gracious-street, and Lumbard-street all in dust", and the Royal Exchange destroyed. Making a circuit out to Moorfields — "our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coles" — they witness throngs of people and their goods scattered about, and then return home through Cheapside and Newgate Market. Evelyn's walk too is characterized by a succession of visual verification and tactile experiences:

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22 Verney, p. 137.
24 Pepys, Diary, 5 September, 1666. The Navy Office and Pepys' home survived the fire.
I went this morning on foote from White hall as far as London bridge, thro the Late fleete streete, Ludgate hill, by St. Paules, Cheape side, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, & out to Morefields, thence thro Cornehill, &c: with extraordinary difficulty, clambring over mountains of yet smoking rubbish, & frequently mistaking where I was, the ground under my feete so hott, as made me not onely Sweate, but burnt the soles of my shoes, & put me all over in Sweate.25

Evelyn walked the ruins of London on 7 September, but even before that he had made several trips to view the burning city as a whole from the Southwark bank. On September 2, after dinner and prayers at home (he lived in Deptford) "with my Wife and Sonn took Coach & went to the bank side in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacacle, the whole Citty in dreadful flames"; and the next day "I went on foote to the same place, when I saw the whole South part of the Citty burning".26

This time the spectacle presents to him at once boats laden with goods on the Thames — though I'm not sure how it would be possible for him to actually see all this27 — and the fields outside the city strewn with tents and movable property. Evelyn closes his description of these trips to the Southwark Bank in order to view the whole of London aflame with a string of powerful biblical and classical analogies: "Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodome, or the last day: It call'd to mind that of 4 Heb: non enim hic habemus stabilem Civitatem : the ruines resembling the picture of Troy : London was, but is no more".28

According to Evelyn's contemporary Simon Ford, as a form of retelling the visual image of the fire is impoverished by what it cannot represent, whereas language "makes Spectators where it finds no Eyes". Of course, no visual image of the fire exists that includes even a fraction of all the aspects Ford demands of it above, real or imaginary, and we know that the written account of the fire is just as impoverished in capturing the 'real' event as the visual. However, I think a crucial

25Evelyn, Diary, 7 September, 1666.
26Evelyn, Diary, 2 and 3 September, 1666.
27Interestingly, enough, Evelyn's diary account of the fire is rife with imaginative embellishments and inaccuracies, judging from the footnote corrections by his twentieth century editor E. S. de Beer.
28Evelyn, Diary, 3 September, 1666.
point brought out here is that the visual images of the fire — particularly scene-like prospects such as those by Hollar — are seemingly incompatible with the mobile, tactile, tangible, fragmented, and discontinuous experiences of the spaces of the city during the crisis seemingly brought out through the walker's eye witness tour of London. Put simply, there was a difference between viewing the city 'up close' — being immersed within it — and from a distance, as if it were something like a painted scene for the stage. For Evelyn it was not at all unusual to view the urban as if it were a painted set for the theatre. For example, in a description of Paris in which he compares the development of the suburbs in the latter with those of London, the arrangement of fair houses and uniform streets seen in the former seem to displace the viewer — "you would imagine your self rather in some Italian Opera, where the diversity of Scenes surprise the beholder, then beleev your self to be in a reall Citie". Viewing the burning of London sets in motion a chain of associations and graphic descriptions of the destruction of cities from biblical and classical texts, but also as if Evelyn were watching a tragedy unfold on the stage. In one sentence he moves from Sodom, a city destroyed by God as a punishment for the sins of its citizens, to an apocalyptic vision of the last judgment, to the quoting of a Latin verse fragment from a letter of Paul to a group of Jewish Christians in the process of questioning their faith — "There is no permanent city for us here". Evelyn's chain of signification ends with Troy, a city whose sacking and burning by the Greeks enjoyed a long history of symbolic manipulation in poetry and tragedy from Homer to Euripides. In this case Evelyn, antiquarian and scholar, paraphrases Virgil.

29Evelyn's description of Paris is from The State of France (1652), and is included as an appendix in the de Beer edition of 1955, III, pp. 637-639.
30It was not unusual to make the connection between London burning and Sodom and Gomorra. See, for example, Rege Sincera, Observations both Historical and Moral upon the Burning of London, September 1666 (1667).
32Mark Fittipaldi, The Fall of the City of Troy and its Significance in Greek Poetry from Homer to Euripides (Ann Arbor and London, 1979).
reading this passage I am intrigued by Evelyn's choice of the words 'resemblance' and 'picture'. His allusions seem explicitly visual ones. What could he mean by this? Indeed, Evelyn could very well be thinking of pictures of Troy seen in John Ogilby's recent editions of Virgil, images in part etched by Hollar. Evelyn, as an antiquarian with an interest in classical texts, knew both Ogilby and Hollar, and it is almost certain that he would have shown an interest in Ogilby's new illustrated editions of Virgil. The Latin and English versions contained two images showing the burning of Troy: the first depicting a violent and graphic battle in the foreground while in the middle ground Ajax drags Cassandra from a burning temple. In the background soldiers descend from the Wooden Horse in an almost deserted city square, framed by examples of classical architecture engulfed in flames and smoke. In the second image, again burning classical architecture frames a foreground drama showing Hermes leading Aeneas, his son, and Creusa out of Troy. (Figs. 4. 2 and 4. 3) Resemblance of Sodom, picture of Troy: Evelyn, though he walks in the ruins of London and experiences the tactile and discontinuous space of the catastrophe, also seems to be viewing the city as if it were a stage set for an ancient drama. In his diary the city slips from a fragmented and disjointed space of movement and tangible experience into an entirely visual representation of London viewed from a distant point across the Thames, as if he were a member of a theater audience or a viewer standing before a picture.

33According to E. S. de Beer, editor of the Diary, Evelyn is apparently paraphrasing "Ilium fuit" from the Aeneid, ii, 325.


36Pennington, p. 44 (no. 304). Interestingly enough, these images seem to be based upon accounts of lost ancient pictures by Polygnotus and the Tabula Iliaca by Stesichorus. See Fittipaldi, pp. 295-296.
What kind of stage set is this 'picture of Troy'? According to the Oxford English Dictionary, in early modern England the word Troy had a figurative sense of a 'scene' of disorder or confusion, often used in the combination 'Troy-town'. The picture of London that Evelyn sees and Hollar would etch shortly thereafter should be seen as an image of 'Troy-town' — a visual representation of disorder, a picture of a city with no centre. For the individual subject, such a process of de-centering might constitute a formidable challenge to the 'stability' of identity, and one could argue that this is no less true in the case of London, for there was often a conflation between the individual body and the social body of the city in early modern England. For example, in the early seventeenth-century, Anthony Munday argued that London's rise and growth was inexplicably tied to its achievement of political autonomy, as if it gained a cohesive identity at the same time it achieved its independence from the Crown. Incorporation and self-rule granted by wise sovereigns was what "cast off the yoke of strange confusion".37 Such sudden and near complete destruction of the City within the walls, causing London to become once again "cloathed with Confusion",38 was a frightening loss of the City's autonomy and a potential return of confusion and disorder.

One could argue that the striated urban space of London, homogeneous Euclidean space, quantifiable and observable from a point exterior to it, the so called 'long-distance' vision of optical space, was reterritorialized by the smooth with the destruction wrought by the fire.39 Such a disruptive passage between the striated space of the built City, as a contemporary witness claimed, to "Terr' del foego " and then to "Incognita ", demonstrates how London was perceived not only to have changed its state, but also its place, moving from the land of fire to the unknown,

37Anthony Munday, Briefe Chronicle, of the Successe of Times, from the Creation of the World to This Instant (1611), quoted in Manley, p. 157.
38Edward Waterhouse, A Short Narrative of the Late Dreadful Fire in London (1667), p. 81.
unlocatable, and unmapped.\textsuperscript{40} For our Restoration commentators above this newly created smooth space seemed to have been a space of contact requiring exploration by legwork, by walking amid the ruins. Their accounts are characterized by tactile experiences and bodily sensations, by choking smoke, crawling over mounds of rubbish, and burning feet — even the reserved gentleman Evelyn is forced to break a sweat. This smooth space, the domain of 'close-range' vision, is a 'haptic space' having neither landmark nor center, threatening with heterogeneity and disorder, transforming the city into "that Chaos which we now call London".\textsuperscript{41} Samuel Rolle laments that individuals imbued with a lifetime of local knowledge of the City's spaces — like Evelyn and Pepys — could lose themselves on a walk in the ruins: "Methinks it is sad to hear men, that knew London well enough before, as they walk along the Ruins, asking at every turn, which is the way to such a place? and, what street is this? and, what street is that?". Lady Hobart writes on 7 September to a potential visitor, "when you com to us you will not know whar you ar".\textsuperscript{42} I would suggest that this haptic space of the burned city is the space in which the trauma of the fire pursues the body. To come back to mind through the body after being 'distracted' by the fire is to mediate the chaotic smooth space of the ruins, a mangled terrain of lost objects in both a material and psychological sense. It is my contention that picturing and plotting the burnt City functioned to a large extent to contain this scene of disorder, to veil the absence of the city by representing its disappearance. The function of the image of the burned city here would be, as Lacan has argued in relation to the picture, as a screen that wards off the threatening loss of distinction in the real.\textsuperscript{43} This real is encountered in a world of death feelings, lost objects and drives, an unknowable 'chaos', to use Hartman's term. The symbolic realm of verbal and visual signification is what limits this chaos, but the real flows back with

\textsuperscript{40}Elkanah Settle, \textit{An Elegie on the Late Fire and Ruines of London} (1667), p. 6.
\textsuperscript{41}Samuel Rolle, \textit{London’s Resurrection, or the Rebuilding of London} (London, 1668), p. 2
\textsuperscript{42}Verney, p. 142, and Rolle, \textit{The Burning of London}, p. 190.
certain effects or symptoms "including a repetitious imagery that veils without effacing object-loss".\textsuperscript{44}

As with the plague, the crisis of fire in the city elicits the desire to know London completely. This need seems to drive first the walk in the city, and then the production of a panorama of the city — a theoretical picture whose condition of possibility is a forgetting and incomprehension of spatial, and thus social, practices.\textsuperscript{45} What I want to stress here is that different modes of articulating space in seventeenth century London encountered in the above diary accounts and Hollar's before and after prospects create a useful tension that will help us explore the different ways the city was re-imagined after the fire. The walks in the city recorded by Rushworth, Pepys, Evelyn, and Hobart are, to use de Certeau's distinctions, 'tours': like an enunciation, they are a speech act about movement, a spatializing action that organizes movements. Another mode of articulating space is the 'map', which is about seeing, and is tied to the production of visual knowledge about the order of places through the creation of a \textit{tableau}. Within the above textual and visual accounts we find overlap of both languages of space, one tied to discursive serial operations — the itinerary, the multitude of observations — and thus immersed in the everyday life and spatial practice of the city, and another mode which desires a plane projection of totalizing observations, the requirements of long-distance vision. As de Certeau argues, in the early modern period the map becomes disengaged from the tour which was the condition of its possibility. It is the map that allows for the aspirations of de Certeau's 'voyeur-god', and for the ascendancy of Henri Lefebvre's representations of space, in which space is abstracted and comes to be conceived before it is lived. I would suggest that the burning of London in 1666 forced different conceptions of the city and space to surface at a moment when the everyday rhythms of the city were interrupted. As we shall see,

\textsuperscript{44}Hartman, p. 539.
\textsuperscript{45}De Certeau (1984), p. 92.
older issues about centre and periphery, city and suburb were exacerbated, changing the way the idea of London was conceived, and altering the way images of the city looked. Further, in their attempts to construct a view of London as a cohesive whole, truthful prospects and accurate maps obliterated the varied social consequences of the crisis, consequences brought out in a variety of different representations.

_Re-striating space._

John Evelyn cited only half of the verse from _Hebrews_ in his diary account of the fire. In full it reads "There is no permanent city for us here, we are looking for the one which is yet to be", and it served as an epigram for the beginning of his discourse on the rebuilding of London.\(^{46}\) Evelyn was not the only individual in pursuit of the London which was yet to be, and it will be instructive to take a look at these plans since they make up a series of different representations of how contemporaries felt post-fire London should look. Though rebuilding was allowed on old foundations by September 13, the "sad calamitie" of the fire initiated a series of conceptual cities that treated the ruins as if they were an "open field", a smooth space to be productively restriated by a modern city leaving all of medieval London's problems behind. Before the flames had even ceased on 6 September Christopher Wren, then a young professor of astronomy, submitted plans for a new city to Charles II. John Evelyn followed him two days later. Robert Hooke, curator of experiments to the Royal Society and professor of geometry at the London's Gresham College submitted a plan to the Royal Society on the nineteenth. There are two other extant plans, that submitted by City surveyor and sometime map-maker Richard Newcourt, and one produced by Valentine Knight, a captain in the King's guards. Sir William Petty, whom we have encountered in the previous chapter, also

devoted some attention in the 1670s to solving Restoration spatial and social tensions with a new design for London.

With the exception of Petty, these diverse plans for a new London have been much discussed. Nevertheless, a few points must be made here. Christopher Wren began, as Sydney Perks has stated, by sweeping "away the entire city within the fire boundary, and regarding it as a vacant site". Parochial and ward boundaries were erased, as were all the old streets. The Guildhall and the Royal Exchange were moved to new sites, and St. Paul's was to be placed in the angle formed by an elongated triangular piazza similar to the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. It is clear from this that Wren envisioned approach to the cathedral from the west, from the locale of King and court, for nothing of the new cathedral would be seen from eastern points of the city along his new main roads. Indeed, as one historian has remarked about Wren's plan, "it is the town planning of Absolutism" that would effectively suppress the vital functions of organic development of the city, as well as eradicating common green areas and displacing poorer and more populous neighbourhoods into the suburbs.

John Evelyn was an incisive critic of the problems of urban London. In several ways Evelyn's plan was similar to Wren's, taking up continental ideas he had seen on his travels in the Netherlands, France, and Italy. Utilizing large and

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48 Perks, p. 71.


50 This is surely not in the interests of design alone, since in the London that was these eastern parishes were the strongholds of religious dissent, nonconformity, and parliamentary support.

51 Rasmussen, p. 112.


53 E. S. De Beer, introduction to Evelyn (1938), pp. 13-14. As E. S. De Beer has noted, Evelyn was influenced in his ideas on urban planning through his travels in the Rome of Sixtus V and Domenico
regular squares, all the while attempting to preserve the location of many of London's important civic and religious sites, Evelyn designed a city for commerce and intercourse, but also for "cheerfulness and state": a visitor should not "pass through the city all in one tenor without varieties, useful breakings, and enlargements into piazzas at competent distances, which ought to be built exactly uniform, strong, and with beautiful fronts". Parochial boundaries were completely realigned in the interests of public health and social stability, placing parish churches — all in a uniform style — on piazzas, around which Company Halls, public markets, and even the stationers would arrange themselves. Evelyn's new London was predicated upon regularity, uniformity, and architectural discipline, qualities which he felt possessed a kind of moral beauty indicative of civic self respect. However, this moral beauty was more attached to aristocratic nobility than to civic self respect, and thus both Wren's and Evelyn's re-imagining of London's urban spaces seem to anticipate a central power embodied in Charles II: the city develops in their plans as an outgrowth of the location of the King's residence and court in the west. It is only from here, as one moves out into their ideal cities, that points begin to resonate, as in Evelyn's description: sites of commerce and intercourse, but also sights, a variety of pleasurable long vistas anchored by squares decorated with beautiful facades. This is a vertical striation of space in which centralized power is not, ironically, in the centre but on top. It is hierarchical, and makes the points that it isolates resonate through subordination.

That there was this potential for the King to exert control over London is demonstrated by the plan of Valentine Knight. Of all these plans this was the only

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Fontana, where the use of straight streets to link monuments and public spaces to emphasize the virtues of the ruler were utilized to great effect.

54Evelyn (1938), p. 37. Public health would be promoted by ease of movement and aesthetic delight in these spaces, and this is perhaps one of the reasons that brewers, bakers, dyers, and slaughterhouses, all the "necessary evils" were removed to the suburbs.


one printed at the time as a broadside, dated 20 September, 1666, and therefore submitted to public scrutiny before being seen by King or civic leaders. The broadside exists in at least five editions, thus indicating it had an extended readership, and Knight also kept a drawing in his home for perusal by interested individuals.\textsuperscript{57} Print allowed Knight, a professional soldier by trade, to have a voice in how the spaces of the city in which he lived should be arranged, for he was surely not one of the "experienced men" Charles intended to consult with in his proclamation on rebuilding of September 13.\textsuperscript{58} Knight's plan, however, has been variously described by historians as "the world of farce", and as "a curious design" with "a ludicrous result".\textsuperscript{59} Knight went too far with this plan by suggesting that Charles II, always in short supply and now with the wealthy merchants destroyed and the possibility of their loans to the Crown dried up, as well as the loss of London's custom and excise revenues, could turn the building of a new city to profit. He was apparently arrested after the broadside's publication, and the London Gazette informed its readership of Charles II's affront, "as if his Majesty would draw a benefit to himself from so public a calamity.\textsuperscript{60}

What Knight's plan raises, however, is the issue of tensions between City and Crown. Throughout this thesis, we have been dealing with two different jurisdictions vying for control over London's urban spaces. The City, a corporate entity referring to the authority of the Court of Aldermen, Common Hall, and the Lord Mayor, which controlled the square mile within the old Roman walls of London and several liberties outside the walls, was surrounded by the suburbs and

\textsuperscript{57}Valentine Knight, Proposals of a New Modell for Re-building the City of London (1666).
\textsuperscript{58}CSPD, VI, (1666/1667), p. 121.
\textsuperscript{59}John Bedford, London's Burning, (London, 1966), p. 208, Reddaway, p. 53, and Bell (1951), p. 241. I cannot help but feel that there is a certain amount of irony involved with the plan, which rejects scale, geometry, and proportion in favor of a combination of rough notional drawing and scattered pictorial elements rendered in bird's-eye perspective. An overly repressive block structure of 500' x 70' is adopted throughout. Further, Knight draws a new canal from the Thames up the Fleet and around the City walls, thus turning London into an island separated from the suburbs by a moat.
\textsuperscript{60}London Gazette, September 27-October 1, (1666). According to Knight (1666) almost £400,000 could be derived immediately from fines, and a further £223, 517 could be derived annually.
Westminster, areas under the jurisdiction of the Crown. Although historians of the plans for rebuilding London have so far been unconcerned with this aspect, I find it striking that two very different conceptions of re-striating space emerged in the designs for a 'modern' city: one based on continental models for the cities of absolutist rulers and another favored by City government, an entity historically opposed to monarchical intervention into its jurisdiction. For example, nothing could be more different from the plans of Wren and Evelyn than those produced by Hooke and Newcourt who lived and worked within the compass of the City. Indeed, Hooke presented his plan to the Royal Society on September 19, and this plan drew the support of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. While the plan is now lost, it is generally accepted that Hooke's conception was printed on several Dutch broadsides in 1666. (See Figs. 4.7 and 4. 9) Hooke, a professor of geometry, utilized a square, orthogonal gridiron punctuated by a number of large open spaces for markets and conduits. This grid of square blocks is pursued relentlessly, and St. Paul's and the Guildhall are located within two parallel blocks forming large rectangular islands in the heart of the City. Newcourt's plan, accompanied by a manuscript account of terrible living conditions and overcrowding in seventeenth century London, also striated city space into square blocks, each one an entire parish, leaving the centre of the City a large open space around which public buildings would be arranged. Newcourt thus established public life around the open square at the centre of the City, while individual neighbourhoods and parish communities were clarified and given identifiable and clearly demarcated spatial domains. In contradistinction to the encompassing and hierarchic vertical striation offered by Wren and Evelyn, City authorities clearly favored an isotropic striation of space — segmented and egalitarian — in which power was indeed at the civic centre, and radiated outwards equally to smaller parish centres.

In the end, the diverse interests entangled in the ruins forced all these representations of space to remain in the paper state. Underneath the ruins which
burnt the soles of Pepys' feet and caused the gentlemen Evelyn to sweat, many troublesome issues were intertwined. In 1666 there was no accurate map of the City for these 'planners' to work from, and the fire destroyed title deeds and plans showing the dimensions of each property.\textsuperscript{61} Thus tied up in the ruins were the myriad interests of private citizens (tenants and landowners) and the public (the City's streets, the Royal Exchange, and the Guildhall). The committees instructed by City authorities and Privy Council to discuss the rebuilding of London debated for six months before much of anything was done in the ruins, and while they attempted to extricate the various interests and consider whether a new plan should be adopted, the ever present urban problems of London entered the discussion. As Sydney Perks has convincingly shown, Charles II seemed initially to favor Wren's plan, for on 10 September Privy Councilor Sir William Morice wrote to the Lord Mayor instructing him to prohibit any new building since the King had before him "certaine modells and Draughts for re-edifying the Citty".\textsuperscript{62} One of these representations of space actually came to cover over the reality of the ruins, as Wren's planned new streets were apparently staked out in the burnt area for Londoners to see.\textsuperscript{63} At this time three different parties formed in the Commons, one for Wren's design, one for rebuilding on the old foundations but of fire-proof brick and stone, and the third for a mixture of the two.\textsuperscript{64} However, within three days, the idea of a new city had been abandoned, and permission was forthcoming for

\textsuperscript{61}Rolle (1667), p. 17: "Who can estimate how great a damage and confusion will arise first and last from one branch of this losse, viz. the burning of Bills, Bonds, Leases, Conveiances, Books of Debts, and Accompts, and other Writings of great consequence, which was all that many men had to shew for the greatest part of their Estates".

\textsuperscript{62}Letter cited in Perks, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{63}A point raised by Professor Richardson in response to Perks article cited above, \textit{Journal of the RIBA}, 3rd Ser., XXVII, no. 4, (1919), p. 81. Discussed also by Bell (1951), p. 241, who argues that there is no evidence for this.

\textsuperscript{64}Reddaway, p. 54.
building on the old foundations. None of the official plans had even reached parliament or City authorities for deliberation.65

One thing both crown and civic committees understood was that London needed to be re-made in a 'modern' way, "a la Moderna" as one broadside phrased it,66 and this meant much more than an ideal humanist city with the co-ordinated beauty of its architecture. The City was clearly outgrowing its layout, control was needed over the types of buildings constructed and the material used, and London needed planning to render it free from plague and fire.67 The subsequent Rebuilding Act dictated the look of a city very different from that envisioned by all the plans, legislating the disappearance of timber structures in favor of those entirely made with brick and stone. Though following the old ground plan, high streets were to consist of brick or stone structures of four stories, secondary streets with buildings of three stories, by-streets and alleys the locale of smaller houses of two stories, all connected by party walls.68 In keeping with Restoration desires to purge the City of all forms of religious and political dissent, one broadside went so far as to praise the Rebuilding Act for generating homogeneity of structure and soul, since it "plainly doth impart / Conformity of Building and of Heart".69

In the first week after the fire it became clear to the different City and Crown committees that they were faced not only with enormous difficulties regarding the practicalities of rebuilding London but also in accommodating the interests of private citizens.70 To aid in both of these goals, a survey of the City was required,

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65Rasmussen, p. 112. This contrasts with the long-standing myth established by Wren's grandson in Parentalia (1750) that Wren's plan was a missed opportunity defeated by the ignorance of 'faction' in the City.
66New Englands Lamentation for the Late Firing of the City of London (n.d.).
67Reddaway, p. 31.
68Bell (1951), pp. 249-252.
70William Petty, The Petty Papers: some unpublished writings of Sir William Petty (ed.) Marquis of Landsdowne, (London, 1927), I, p. 28, in his conceptualization of a new post-fire London began by "supposeinge all the ground and Rubish were some one man's who had ready money enough to carry on the worke, together with the legislative power to cut all Knots".
and ordered to be undertaken by the King's proclamation of 13 September. Entrusted with this task were three appointees of the crown, Christopher Wren, no doubt included because of his model for a new London, Hugh May, paymaster of the King's works, and Roger Pratt, a friend of Evelyn's who had studied architecture on the continent. The City also had three appointees to the survey: Robert Hooke, included because of his plan favorably received by London government, and two skilled builders of public buildings with years of local practice and knowledge, Peter Mills and Edward Jerman. Now, there is an important distinction to be made here, as this survey — intended to provide building regulations and house types, as well as survey the individual interests tied up in property, is often confused with another survey of the streets and ground plan of London and suburbs ordered by the King four days after the fire from Wenceslaus Hollar and Francis Sandford, about which more below. The reason for this is more than likely that, while the survey of interests in land by the six civic and crown appointees proved far too difficult and time consuming, and thus never completed, Hollar's and Sandford's survey for the King was carried out and subsequently printed in at least two forms.

However, more than a conceptualized homogeneity of well regulated space and ordered physical structure would alleviate Restoration London's pressing social problems. Always a crucial factor in these urban problems was the expansion of the suburbs, driven by increased world and colonial trade, the influx of religious refugees, and craftsmen operating in the suburbs to avoid the control of the City Companies. This de-territorialization of the traditional economic advantages of the City by newer modes in the suburbs heralded the increasingly abstract

71The most extensive discussion of this survey and its consequences is in Reddaway, pp. 53-56.
72CSPD, VI, p. 111. Charles II instructed the mayor, aldermen, and magistrates to assist Hollar and Sandford "whom he has appointed to take an exact plan and survey of the city, as it now stands after the calamity of the late fire". See also Reginald Sharpe, London and the Kingdom (London, 1894), II, p. 427.
73Indeed, Evelyn changed his plan for a new London several times after seeing Hollar's print. See Evelyn (1938), pp. 2 and 30.
74Brett-James, pp. 302-303
commodity and labor relations of a placeless capitalist market. Not surprisingly, the refusal by the City to incorporate the suburbs during the reign of Charles I really came back to haunt civic authorities after the fire, when these centrifugal tendencies became exacerbated and near absolute, as one contemporary commented: "Its greatest part without the Walls bestow'd./London's not now within, but gone abroad".75 Those dislocated by the fire into outlying regions might simply not return, for Charles II had granted permission for 'temporary' building on open spaces north of the City walls, and by decree allowed refugees from the fire the privilege of practicing their trades in other towns, as well as tradesmen from outside London the 'freedom' to trade in the City.76 On 8 September the City, in an attempt to preserve trade in London, gave permission for any freemen to erect a tent or a shed for the purposes of trade in the artillery ground and Smithfield, or on the borders of the City's liberties "outside London wall between the postern near Broad Street and Moorgate, or within the wall between the said postern and Coleman Street".77 The open areas north of the city — some of them recently mass graves during the plague — became a vexatious new city after the fire, equated with the impermanent sheds and booths of a "year long" Bartholemew Fair.78 Evelyn's interest in looking for the city which was yet to be ironically propelled him to reassert the importance of place by conceptually erasing an older London. For others, the disappearance of the continuing city read through the same piece of scripture could be seen in another way, as a divestment of interest in the traditional community which had links to radical Puritan tenets of the 1640s. Pamphlets and

75Ford, p. 26. Walter Besant, London in the Time of the Stuarts (London, 1903), p. 88, points out that after the fire many London merchants withdrew from the City and took up residence in the suburbs permanently, particularly in the north and east.
76Reddaway, pp. 27 and 44. Petty, II, p. 230, wrote in the 1680s that "New built housing to the westward of Temple Bar are well tenanted; but to the eastward, within the liberties of the City, not so. Because these latter can be lett only to freemen, and such Tradesmen who have stocks, and are provided to set up their Trade and are not already fitted elsewhere; whereas the others are free to all the world".
77Sharpe, II, p. 423.
78Rolle (1667), p. 211.
printed poems took up the theme from Hebrews as well, for example the author of *Londons Lamentation* wrote "See no continuing City we have here; / One therefore that's to come let's seeke elsewhere".\(^{79}\) For this writer, however, the city sought elsewhere does not refer to a representation of space as with Evelyn, but to the temporary tent city constructed on London's borders. Similarly, in *London Undone* we find

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Places were lost where Coach and Cart might meet,
A half burnt steeple was the Sign o' th' Street.
A dumb deformity could nothing say,
No, not so much as give ye time o' th' day:
Houses lay topsie turvy, Farewell Rents;
For now like Isra'ites, we dwell in Tents.\(^{80}\)
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In this printed poem we find a reworking of the revolutionary cry "To your Tents, O Israel", the invocation of Jeroboam's rebellion against Rehoboam which became a rallying cry for London's urban militia in the wars against Charles I. According to Lawrence Manley, this biblical reference "epitomized the condition of a people whose new sense of moral enlargement and mobility had outgrown the limits of sedentarism".\(^{81}\) Radical ideas of religious independency overlapped at multiple points with secular movements to enlarge and distribute liberties, privileges, and economic franchises formerly attributed to residence in London. The revolutionary years created a new type of Londoner, one whose identity was no longer tied so much to local limits and the corporate body of the established community, as it was to centrifugal forces of diversification, mobility, and expansion of which the City itself was the centre. For Manley, such processes led to a "psychological disinvestment in social and physical 'place' of the established community",

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\(^{80}\) *London Undone; or a reflection Upon the Late Disastrous Fire.*

\(^{81}\) Manley, pp. 541-542. In January, 1642, following on Charles I's failure to arrest the five dissenting MPs hiding out in Colemanstreet ward, large popular demonstrations of support for Parliament ensued. One demonstrator near Clarendon's coach was heard to shout "To your tents, O Israel!". Another account states that a seditious pamphlet with the slogan as its title was thrown into his coach.
processes that created a certain ambivalence since anti-sedentary forces appeared to
dissolve the very centre whose power they were actually consolidating. Particularly during the later 1640s, Presbyterian counter-revolutionaries felt that these centrifugal effects of the revolution were dissolving the integrity of the urban community, and that widening of liberties and active participation in society were instrumental in eroding traditional communities and social organizations with their local interests and franchises.

Certainly the fact that all of London was "gone abroad" as a result of the fire, and that special dispensations had to be introduced suspending the limitations of apprenticeship and the 'freedom' of the City in order to rejuvenate trade, raised anxieties over this psychological disinvestment anew. And this is perhaps why the creation of a new city on the borders of what was formerly London made Pepys so uneasy. The fire returned to trouble Pepys in his dreams, as we have seen, but its reterritorialization of physical space vexes him too. For instance, in April 1667, hoping for a stroll in Moorfields north of the walls he "did find houses built two storeys high, and like to stand". The fire had generated a shift of centre to periphery, and this former field was now a place of great trade, with streets already paved "as London streets used to be". However, this walk through the city/fields presents a view which was "strange, and to me an unpleasing sight". Memory returns like a flood that hides its source, generating anxious and unpleasant feelings. For Pepys something in the present disturbingly resembles something forgotten, with an uncanny sense of repetition and correspondence.

Pepys's anxious encounter with the spatial transformation in Moorfields tells us that, in a similar manner to the plague, the boundaries or limits of London, both actual and imaginary, became crucial sites —and sights — when faced with crisis at the City's centre. With the fire, once again London had been emptied out, and the

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82 Manley, p. 538.
83 Pepys, Diary, 7 April, 1667.
"soul" of the city shifted into the "body" of the suburbs: "What are the Suburbs now becom but as it were the in-side of the late-Famous City, carried and placed without the Walls?" The different projects of conceptualizing the city anew put forward by Wren, Evelyn, Hooke, and others were no doubt urged forward by very practical purposes, however, I would suggest that they were also motivated by fascination, fear, and even anxiety in regards to the consequences of this smooth space newly created in the centre of London. One cannot underestimate the visual and psychological effect of the entire City laid to waste for an extended period — up to a year before all the streets were cleared, even longer for the pulling down of structural fragments and rebuilding. Thieves and vagabonds moved into the virtually unpoliced ruins from the suburbs and outlying areas in search of hiding places and property that lay buried in cellars. Two months after the fire, and these were surely the first public structures constructed in the new London, the Lord Mayor ordered the Aldermen to set up in each ward a 'substantial' pair of stocks and a whipping post. As the striated space par excellence, the city normally encounters the smooth at its borders, for example, where country or open fields north of the city interrogate the centre and call the social and political effects of the plague's increased striation to account, as I strove to demonstrate in my previous discussion of the Dunstall and Sellers broadside. As a result of the fire, the effects of smooth space dramatically and suddenly were felt at the very centre of London, giving immediate rise to the utopian conceptions of urban space we have discussed above. However, it is my contention that, as it became clear that none of the imaginary cities could be constructed due to the many interests collapsed into the ruins, and the longer the ruins lay untouched and uninhabited, except by thieves, 'pictures of Troy' such as printed surveys like that produced by Hollar, maps, and visual prospects of the fire

84 Rolle (1667), p. 145.
85 Sharpe, II, p. 433.
86 Bell (1951), pp. 189-190.
which represent the event became more important in both simultaneously remembering and forgetting the suspension of everyday life in the City.\footnote{Roth, p. 211, argues that "The most powerful form of forgetting is narrative memory itself, for it is narrative memory that assimilates (filters, reconfigures) the past into a form that can be 'integrated' into the present".} These \textit{memento moris} became ways of maintaining a productive attachment to the past, in which the trauma of loss and violent destruction was transmuted into a form of aesthetic pleasure.

\textit{Pictures of Troy.}

How might the different "pictures of Troy" achieve this? Let's return to the example of Hollar's parallel views of London, produced within two months of the fire, an image in which the etcher provided a visual rendition of Evelyn's diary comment "\textit{London was, but is no more}".\footnote{Probably in November, 1666, as Pepys records seeing a new Hollar print of the city in the \textit{Diary} on 22 November, 1666. In contrast to Katherine van Eerde, \textit{Wenceslaus Hollar: Delineator of His Time} (Charlottesville, 1980) p. 82, I think it more likely that Pepys is referring to this print rather than the \textit{Map, or Groundplot} sold by Overton, discussed below, since Pepys writes that the image, shown to him by Lord Brouncker, is "a print of the City, with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt". It seems as if the print has two images, of the City as it was, with a subsequent view of the burnt portion. It seems unlikely that Pepys would refer to a groundplan as 'pretty', but this is purely speculation.} (Fig. 4. 1) These views contrast a city that was and its mirror image below, characterized by mounds of rubbish and areas of entire city blocks in which nothing stands except a single chimney. To reiterate, both of these prospects situate the viewer above the Southwark bank in the ideal position from which view London, in this case from the steeple of St. Marie Overs, picturing the city from the Temple to the Tower. Indeed, as we have seen from his \textit{Diary}, it was to this point that Evelyn repeatedly came to view the spectacle of the fire. Further, Charles II's declaration of 13 September indicated that this profile of London was the ideal face of the City to be emphasized after the fire as well, singling out the Thames bank for "fair structures" serving "for ornament", even though the proclamation paved the way for rebuilding on old foundations\footnote{CSPD, VII, p. 121.} I would suggest that visual representations of London actually \textit{produced} this way of seeing the city,
that images of the city viewed from this ideal point led to actual social practices such as Evelyn's traveling to the Southbank to view London, as well as to Charles II's desire to have the Thames bank of London singled out for ornament.

While it is clear that London was to be viewed from this perspective locally, this was in fact a way of viewing the city created for Londoners by outsiders. There is a lengthy history of images from this viewpoint produced by foreign travelers, from Visscher (1616), to Merian (1638), and the so-called Long Bird's-Eye View of Hollar himself, published by Cornelius Danckerts in Amsterdam in 1647. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the emphasis on viewing London from this perspective posits a reciprocity between nature and culture — the natural site supplied by the river Thames is advantageous to trade and allows the culture of the city to rise to its "flourishing condition", as Hollar's banner above the upper image of the parallel views states. Visual images of London from this viewpoint helped produce an expansive yet unified urban totality without any of the city's discontinuous spaces and uneven historical development. In these images London's very buildings are the means by which time is rendered visible, a way in which to picture how past generations of citizens have contributed as an aggregate to the city's heritage. Visual prospects of London adopting this viewpoint often construct a situation in which the viewer views London and also views others gazing upon the city from an imaginary hill in the foreground that replaces the steeple of St. Marie Overs. In this way the city is articulated as an object to be viewed in the context of contemplation and leisure, like a theatrical spectacle, for instance,
as in a pre-fire engraving published by Justus Danckerts in which men of leisure, respectable family units, travelers, and possibly even the lower orders with rumpled hats and shoulder staffs—a variety of social types nevertheless—take the time away from the everyday life of the city to enjoy the perspective it shows them. (Fig. 4.4) These figures who view the city from within the image are representatives of the viewer of the print who marvels at the scene from the outside. Thus the city, seen as a unified social entity through an emphasis on its significant public buildings, is also constituted by the individual perspectives of these separate viewers, whose singular interests contribute to London's public welfare. In this way, the city seen (scene) from this traditional perspective is able to incorporate both time and the local within its manipulation of a series of codes based upon the conception of the 'mythic' and 'ideal' Renaissance city. As J. B. Harley notes, part of the meaning conveyed by London views and plans was related to the use of naturalistic image of cities by Renaissance cartographers to demonstrate the way urban centres of Europe shared antiquity as well as civilized and humanist values. Urban images were often intended to be visual metaphors for certain ideal qualities perceived inherent in a humanist Universal City, such as the beauty of a natural site, proportion, aesthetic qualities of individual buildings and its prospect as a whole, as well as the virtuous drama of its civic life.

The relation between such urban views in perspective and a notion of theatricality has been argued convincingly by Hubert Damisch, wherein the very nature of the perspective configuration in these cases is to construct a scene in which the main focus of the image can be clearly represented. Danckerts produced

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93 See Marin (1988), p. 178, where in a discussion of Gomboust's map of Paris which includes foreground viewers of the city within the representation, Marin argues "we are figured by our most noble representatives, delegates of our theoretical power as subjects and effects of the representation."


95 Hubert Damisch, The Origin of Perspective (Cambridge, MA. and London, 1994), pp. 212 - 226: "the power of the perspective configuration, and its primary characteristic, is such as to confer a scenic value on every action ... unfolding in its theater". However, as Damisch argues, we should be aware of the differences between the perspective of scenography and that of painting, for in the former scenic
a second image almost identical to the one discussed above, in which flames and towering billows of smoke were simply added to the previous plate, along with the inclusion of a numbered key.\(^{96}\) (Fig. 4. 5) Whereas the previous prospect identified only a few physical sites, and even then only those bordering the City centre — Whitehall, London Bridge, the Tower, Southwark — the second print uses a key to identify sites within the City that are in the process of being destroyed. Nicolaes Visscher used an identical image on a broadside, with a textual account of the fire in Dutch. (Fig. 4. 6) In these prints an impression of theatricality is reinforced by the disposition of foreground viewers and surrounding architecture which frame a space in which the significant drama of the conflagration is occurring. The inclusion of the specific event of the fire into visual prospects taken from this traditional position above the Southwark Bank functions to temporally situate both the viewers within the landscape, and the viewer of the print. What I would like to suggest here is that even though the fire could introduce a greater degree of historical and local specificity to the image for its viewer, the prospect of London as a universal city type contributed to the dissemination and production of representations of London on fire for an international market of print purchasers and collectors. Of all the material discussed in this dissertation, only images and accounts of the burning of London were produced in other cities and countries — the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and even Spain. Not surprisingly, given that the Netherlands was at war with its despised economic rival England, and that Roman Catholic Italy and Spain were its religious rivals, humanist celebration of cities as bound up in the topographical view — their antiquity, mercantile power and civilizing forces — could here be turned towards the pleasurable demise of an

\(^{96}\)Danckerts’ print and several others like it can be found in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, Crace Collection, Views of London, Portfolio II, London on Fire.
enemy. The city retains its theatrical aspect, but with the fire the stage has clearly become that of a tragedy, upon which the main character, an overly proud feminine personification no less, receives justice or divine retribution, as an account printed in Italy in 1666 proclaimed: "London was once the proud theatre of the universe; now (almost an incinerated corpse) amidst the ruins she bewails alike her own calamities and those of her citizens; she serves only as a wretched stage for the representation of most unhappy tragedies". As if to situate the readers of this text at a safe distance from the city and give them a totalizing viewpoint remarkably akin to that supplied for a viewer of a prospect of the city aflame from St. Marie Overs, the account later argues that "To one who watched, as from the top of a tower, the spectacle of the city burning, the miseries of this people were appalling". A Spanish account related the burning of the city to its Catholic readers in apocalyptic terms, also comparing the destruction of London to the ruined Troy, and acclaming the fire as God's punishment against the 'false faith' — capable of rendering "marvellous" buildings, the work of a number of generations, into "a smoking mass of lamentable ruins" in a matter of hours. In Paris, Gazette purchasers read that "the conflagration has turned into a dreadful spectacle one of the most powerful and flourishing cities".97

Significantly, Hollar's pairing does not show the event of the fire, the cause of the effect rendered in the lower image. Rather, the viewer is presented a portrait of London above, a beautiful face characterized by order, symmetry, with everything in its proper place; below, a faceless corpse. That the view of London was seen in exactly these terms is verified by contemporaries like Samuel Rolle. The face is the most beautiful part of the body, he wrote in his account of the fire, with London being the fairest face of the kingdom: "and look how men reckon it a great prejudice to their bodies when their faces are marred by any great deformity, so it is to the

97These extracts taken from an appendix of foreign accounts compiled by Bell (1951).
whole land ... when scarce anything of that is left which was the very face of it".98 Others viewed the city not just as if it were a deformed lineament but as if it were a dead body, a "Sceleton of fleshless Bones". London's churches and buildings that, at one time were full of life and made "such a fair show", were now seen by walkers in the city with their "insides ... gone ... fit for no use".99 Hollar's image, though, is not simply that of a dead body, for the two views are provided with a numbered key allowing a viewer to compare sites in the once flourishing city with their ruins. This corpse, like in an illustrated anatomy, is mapped.

In this way, the contrast between emptiness and fullness is put to use. The viewer jumps back and forth from absence to presence, from flourishing condition to sad state, and in so doing is involved in a process of lamentation, wherein "the confrontation with and turning away from absence in mourning is a repetitive task, prolonging the existence of the lost object". Viewing the ruins of the city is the equivalent of viewing a mausoleum, "The City-now is the once-City's Tomb", at the same time "Urne , Funeral , and Monument ".100 By contrasting an image of the once flourishing London with its present state, an "is no more", the viewer is forced to confront and ultimately turn away from the absence rendered below. The before and after creates a narrative that relativizes the missing event of the fire, and the visual representation acts as a screen which mediates the chaos of the collective trauma pictured below. The printed image of a thriving city above is the representation of the lost object that the viewer searches for in vain in the image below. The viewer looks at the world that is (no more) and finds it empty. Empty except for ruins, the traces of the past, and those figures walking here whom, like the viewer, work to reconfigure the trauma of the fire into something that can be told. This trauma propels a Londoner into the ruins, as with Pepys, Evelyn,

98Rolle (1667), p. 7.
Rushworth, and Hobart, and through the body's confrontation with the tangible experiences of this haptic smooth space, traumatic memory is transformed into visual and verbal signification. This scene of disorder must become an image, a monument, before it can be useful, for it is only then, as a form of retelling and representing can the collective trauma be integrated into the present.

I want to turn now to some other forms of mapping the aftermath of the fire in 1666, prints that combine different representational modes — text, picture, and map — in order to offer a viewer several different paths with which to negotiate London's post-fire terrain. Numerous broadsides combining prospect, map and textual accounts of the fire were produced by leading publishing houses in Amsterdam. Both the Venckel and Doornick firms produced narrations of the fire in Dutch, with prospects of the city burning seen from St. Marie Overs and a plan of a new city, supposedly that of Hooke, both of which overlaid a larger ground plan of London showing the burned portion in relation to the rest of the urban area. (Figs. 4. 7 and 4. 8) Many of these were printed with accounts in different languages, usually Dutch, French, and English, all of which related a slightly modified version of the events depending upon the projected expectations of readers in different locales.  

These were available for purchasers in London as well as continental Europe, for, as Scouloudi shows, the Danckerts, Doornick and De Wit firms, all of whom produced prints of the fire, had London agents. While these prints verged on being news sheets, it is clear that they were intended for print collectors, and thus remained in circulation longer than other printed ephemera. Indeed, some of these large broadsides were even available with hand colouring, such as the elaborate Doornick example in the Guildhall Library, which includes Hooke's plan, a ground plot, and a

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101 For example, the Doornick firm used the same Dutch, French, and English text on their broadsides, while changing the visual component. The Dutch and English texts offer more of a chronology of the fire and quantitative description of the destruction, whereas the French text includes the exploits of Charles II and the Duke of York in rallying London citizens to save the City.

102 Scouloudi, p. 5. For example, the De Wit firm's London agent was Christopher Brown at the Globe in St. Paul's Churchyard.
view of the city burning as if on a tapestry hung from the surface of the map. (Fig. 4. 9) Hand colouring is used effectively in the latter image to simulate dramatic effects of light, representing London in the night as a glowing red and yellow apocalyptic inferno.

In a similar vein to these Dutch examples, and in addition to the parallel views, within three months of the fire Hollar also produced several maps and groundplots of London. For John Overton the etcher produced a pair of prints including *A Map or Groundplot of the City of London and the Suburbs*, based upon the survey he conducted after the commission from Charles II. (Fig. 4. 10) Hollar would still be reworking this formula as late as 1669 with *An Exact Surveigh of the Streets Lanes and Churches contained Within the Ruins of the City of London*, prepared for Nathaniel Brooke. (Fig. 4. 11) As a result of the fire and his subsequent commission from the King, Hollar was actively petitioning Charles II for a royal appointment. He had been engaged since the Restoration on a large subscription map of London — Pepys states that it was to be the equivalent of Gomboust's map of Paris — but had so far been unsuccessful in acquiring royal support. After his commission for the ground plot of the city, Hollar petitioned the King on 31 October desiring the official title of "His Majesty's Scenographer", and asking that the privilege provide him with protection from other publishers copying his work. This petition argued that Charles had for a number of years evidence of Hollar's skill "in designing prospects, landscapes, cities, castles, and

103See Hind, and van Eerde, p. 82, who argues that the fire stimulated one of Hollar's most productive periods, and his "pictorial sense was stimulated by the disaster of the Fire".
104Pepys, *Diary*, 22 November, 1666. Hollar had been planning the large map of London since 1660, issuing a prospectus with the intention of attracting subscribers. This prospectus, of which only one copy remains, is in the collection of the Folger Library, and is reproduced in Doggett, Biggs, and Brobeck, p. 48. The large map was never completed, though plates etched by Hollar appear in the large map of London issued by Ogilby and Morgan in 1677.
105In fact, Hollar's ground plot for Overton was pirated almost immediately by Robert Pricke and retitled as *An Exact Map representing the condition of the late famous and flourishing City of London as it lyeth in ruins* (ca. 1666-7).
other things of that nature". Hollar was sworn in with the official title in November, but does not seem to have derived much benefit from it, since the following year in August he was once again petitioning Charles II for support to finish the large map in which he had invested seven years labour and £100. Now, "the city being destroyed, no man living can leave such a record to posterity of how it was as himself". In addition, Hollar wrote to his friend, the King's confidante John Evelyn, to beg for support, arguing that he had made numerous plans of places in Europe, as well as representations of monuments and ceremonies "to illustrate history", for which he was sworn "ichnographer" to the King.107

This is all familiar ground for Hollar scholars, but what has not been examined are the distinct ways of representing space 'scenography' and 'ichnography' call up. Since both methods are intermixed in Hollar's maps and the Dutch broadsides, I think it will be useful at this point to take a closer look at the different connotations of the two modes. On the most basic level, scenography indicates the representation of a building or other object in perspective, and ichnography, literally 'trace-writing', refers to a ground plan or horizontal section. The Restoration etcher and printer Joseph Moxon, for example, in *Practical Perspective; or Perspective Made Easy*, identified ichnography as the "true Geometric Bottom or Base of any Body or Building; as a Circle is the Base of a Column, and a Square of four equal sides is the Base of a Pedestal". Ichnography, which reduces objects to geometric outline without depth, is not seen pictorially in section "or through a Glass", unless the glass — more than likely a drawing machine with a gridded screen — lies parallel to the base of the represented object. Scenography, on the other hand, is figurative, and makes use of linear perspective, a horizon line and vanishing point, as well as deploying shadow to model depth and produce a 'realistic' or 'naturalistic' representation. According to Moxon, it "is the

106 *CSPD*, VII, p. 228. The petition also mentions that Charles II has seen a portion of the large subscription map.
107 *CSPD*, VII, p. 230, August 1667.
appearance of the same Base in Section, or through a Glass erected perpendicularly on the Plain whereon it stands". Moxon's definition of these terms is accompanied by an illustration in the text which shows these operations in action. (Fig. 4. 12) A circle rendered ichnographically lies on the same ground plane as a young male scholar and draughtsman. Between the ichnographic image and this individual, two glasses of different sizes render the circle in scenographic perspective. What could better illustrate Hollar's two roles as scenographer and ichnographer in seventeenth century London than this image? His use of the glass to represent space perfects human vision and lifts it out of an earthly realm into the vision of a 'voyeur-god', like the bird's eye view of the cherub above.

According to James Elkins, while both scenography and ichnography are aspects of projective geometry, the latter is an affine transformation preserving collinearity through the use of parallel and orthographic lines. Scenography, on the other hand, because it makes use of linear perspective is a nonaffine transformation, and thus utilizes multiple planes and even several vanishing points. Perspective is conceived of as a threefold unity in modern thought, in that it incorporates a unity of pictorial space, a single historical origin, and an unchanging core of mathematical procedures. However, Elkins argues that such a unity is imbued with contradictions revolving around the problems raised by formal mathematics in perspective systems, in that Euclidean and Cartesian geometry — reduced to equations, points, lines, and angles — is supposedly scientific, objective, and thus 'meaningless', whereas perspective is also viewed as a metaphor of how we see the world and objects in space. Perspective is therefore at the same time imbued with

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108Joseph Moxon, Practical Perspective; or Perspective Made Easy (1670). It wasn't just painters, engravers, and architects who would benefit from an understanding of these ways of representing space, as Moxon indicates, but "all others that are any waies inclined to Speculatory Ingenuity".

109Moxon freely admits his cannibalization of these images from a variety of sixteenth and seventeenth century sources, including Durer, Nectar, Gosin, Desargues, and above all his contemporary Hondius "who took them from Marolois".

meaning about how we constitute ourselves as viewing subjects.\textsuperscript{111} Elkins argues that while perspective has been fossilized into a unitary entity by our modern conceptions, in the early modern period it was multivalent, and producers of images believed a variety of incommensurable perspectives could be incorporated within a single image.\textsuperscript{112} In this way, there is nothing so striking about Hollar’s movement of self identification between scenographer and ichnographer, for it allows the mode of representing the city on a theatrical and spectacular plane to commingle with 'scientific' documentation associated with a disciplined observing eye.

Hollar’s maps and groundplots of London after the fire bring together different modes of representing the space of the city — prospect and bird’s-eye view, both scenographic, and ichnographic ground plan. How do these modes work together to reconfigure the event of the fire? I would like to open up this question initially by a comparison of Hollar’s Map or Groundplot with a map of London from before the fire to show the difference in the way the city was represented after 1666. Most of the earlier print, published for Peter Stent in 1653 and based upon John Norden’s bird’s eye view of the late sixteenth century, shows the built area of London scenographically in three dimensions, complete with a numbered key corresponding to civic buildings, churches, and streets. (Fig. 4. 13) Intended as a "guide for Cuntrey men ... by the helpe of wich plot they shall be able to know how farr it is to any street" and how to get there without "forder troble", the print nevertheless underlines the economic and political importance of the City, depicting as built area virtually only what lay within the City’s jurisdiction and freedom. Further, bordering this 'guide' to the City, are displayed the arms of the Corporation’s twelve most important trading companies, and so this map further emphasizes London as the space in which members of these Companies enjoyed the

\textsuperscript{111}Elkins, p. 6. For Elkins this conception derives from the Enlightenment.
\textsuperscript{112}Elkins, p. 53.
'freedom' to trade and towards whose civic life they contributed. Outside the jurisdiction of London government, it is open country, barely if at all delimited. This boundary established within the representation between city and country helps to produce London as a clearly defined entity. London maps of this type are not uncommon, and further the interests of the members of the depicted trading companies who formed their mercantile and civic identities on the basis of being able to both recognize and reaffirm the boundaries between centre and periphery. Anything outside of the jurisdiction of London is country, and anyone from there is a country person. Thus the map helps establish a divide between the members of this community who were entitled to its privileges, and those who were outside it.

Hollar's *Map or Groundplot* inverts this relationship. It suggests that what was now the reality of the city borders a blank space at the centre of the image, an empty core that parallels almost exactly the built space of the previous image. A text in the top corner explains the difference between center and periphery in this context: "The blanke space signifieing the burnt part & where the houses are exprest those places yet standig". Though its centre has disappeared in the fire — blank space has become the 'sign' for this — London's edges have been filled in and given depth since, as some of the accounts of the fire stated, the insides of the City had been displaced into the suburbs. Remarkably, on both the Overton and Brooke maps etched by Hollar the viewer is given enough information to locate the new shops of both print sellers: John Overton can be found "in little Brittaine next door to little S. Bartholemew gate", the latter seen on his map at number 98 which marks "S. Bartholemew the lesse", close by Aldersgate and right on the boundary between the blank space of the burnt area and the fully rendered spaces where the "houses are exprest". Nathaniel Brooke, the publisher of the second map, can be found "in the second yard of Gresham College leading from Bishopsgate street" easily seen on his map at 167, and again, a few small steps from the burnt out area. I cannot help but feel that it is particularly resonant at this point to find the purveyors of print, which
dissolves social boundaries through the exchanges it sets into motion in the coffee-houses and is utilized to reinforce or question other kinds of physical and spatial boundaries in the urban centre, displaced to a liminal area between the old city and the new.

In these maps most of what made and even signified London, such as the coats of arms of the City Companies, bordering the Stent print and symbolically asserting their presence as contributors to the establishment of the thriving metropolis, are gone from the Hollar maps, just as the Companies’ actual halls are gone from the City. Other signs of what used to be London are there, delineated as traces. Trace-written, or ichnographically rendered, are the cross hatched outline of St. Paul’s Cathedral and the Guildhall, where the old wall of the City and its ever important gates lay, all of these vestiges marked and cross referenced with the obligatory key. Is it not ironic, though, that the more we look at this "blanke space" of the City, this haptic space in which Evelyn lost his way, we realize that more of London is actually ‘visible’ than in Stent’s guide? Hollar, known to be shortsighted and with one bad eye, has used a "glass" to clarify defective human vision and present an overview simply not possible for an earth bound spectator. The destruction of London paradoxically allows the viewer to see more streets named and their courses clearly marked, and the locations of all the important buildings are more easily noted than ever before. On one hand the urban centre is now emptiness: the striated space of the city has been reterritorialized by the smooth, *polis* has reverted to *nomos*, and the graphic marks of this central part of the map

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113 Aubrey, p. 324: “He was very short-sighted, and did worke so curiously that the curiosity of his Worke is not to judged without a magnifying-glasse. When he tooke his Landskapes, he, then, had a glasse to helpe his Sight.” Hollar’s use of a tool to help his vision is rarely, if at all, discussed in the Hollar literature. See Doggett, Biggs, and Brobeck, pp. 33-36, and John Orrell, *The Quest for Shakespeare’s Globe* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 26, who discuss the possibility that Hollar may have used a drawing frame to compose his *Long Bird’s-Eye View*. Hind, p. 9, and Katherine van Eerde, p. 59 quote from the engraver Francis Place’s letter to George Vertue, used as the basis for the discussion of Hollar’s life in Vertue (1759), that “he had a defect in one of his eyes, which was the left, so that he always held his hand before it when he wrought, he never used spectacles…”, thus contradicting Aubrey’s mention of the use of a “glass”. Place’s letter is also reproduced in *Walpole Society Annual*, 18, (1929-30).
can only represent the remnant of what has passed. On the other hand, the destruction of London has to a large extent made it more visible, for it gives rise to ambitious surveying projects which can show us all at once the locations of buildings, streets, and churches that we could never see in other maps, and certainly never experience while immersed in the everyday life of London.

Hollar's *Exact Survey* of 1669 for Brooke is remarkably similar to the map etched for Overton. This is often referred to as Leake's survey, since the title claims it is a reduction of a survey originally done in 1666 on six plates by John Leake under orders from the City. However, no trace of Leake or this original survey exist. Regardless, the central portion of this later ground plot aligns some major buildings and streets differently than the earlier one printed for Overton, particularly around the area of St. Paul's and the Guildhall, and adds the ward boundaries, surely an important aspect in a map such as this if it was indeed commissioned by civic authorities. The coats of arms of the great Companies appear in this later print, poised on the map over "the places where the Halls stood". In this view of London, as in the Overton map and the Dutch examples, ichnographic and scenographic elements are conflated. In the central area buildings and streets are described by a flat and two dimensional ichnographic rendering. This is contrasted with three dimensional renderings of the actual appearance of buildings as if viewed from above and at an oblique angle in the unburnt area of the city. Thus the print is almost the combination of a bird's eye view and a map, but not quite, since the features that appear here pictorially, from the Tower to Gresham College to "Moore Fields" and the suburbs, are not drawn to a single overall perspective. There is no foreshortening with increasing distance from the viewer, no single horizon, but the buildings depicted are a multitude of separate pictures each with their own vanishing points. These distinct images have then been placed on a ground plan that maintains a uniform scale throughout.

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114Hind, p. 40.
In a similar manner to the parallel views, this contrast between fullness and emptiness, present and past, accentuates the disruptive passage between two different kinds of space. Further, we have not only two different kinds of space, but two different modes of representation, each of which calls up a different theoretical eye. The condition of London after the "sad calamitie" is that it now exists only as an ichnographic map, and the "flourishing" city has migrated to the suburbs rendered scenographically. At this point I want to turn to another illustration from Moxon's *Practical Perspective*, a text printed the year following this view of the city by Hollar, for it appropriately delineates the differences in representing the city through the different methods. *(Fig. 4. 14)* The top image shows a scenographic rendering in bird's-eye view of a group of houses. This could be any one of a number of clusters of houses in the suburbs rendered by Hollar. Each structure has its own vanishing point, as is clearly seen by the lines receding from each house to a separate point on a horizon line. A disembodied eye floats on this horizon line, but this eye does not represent the meeting point of any of the vanishing lines shown. It seems to be mobile, and can shift to take up any position on this horizon line. As Hubert Damisch has argued, Brunelleschi's historic initial experiments with the apparatus of perspective showed that point of view coincided in perspectival projection with that other point known as the vanishing point, thus situating viewer and vanishing point at the intersection of a perpendicular sight line and the picture plane. In a way, the vanishing point is the mirrored reflection of the viewing subject's eye, and Damisch invokes in this regard the mirror stage of representation, arguing that the subject is implicated in the eye, and this eye is reduced to a 'natural' point occupying a certain surface. Thus the subject is accommodated within the perspective apparatus and reflected in the image (mirror).115

Brunelleschi's experiments with perspective in front of the Baptistry in Florence have led many historians to argue that the perspective apparatus requires a

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115Damisch, pp. 120 and 124.
rigid and motionless eye fixed upon its corresponding punctum in the vanishing point. However, perspective configurations such as that illustrated in Moxon's text and made use of by Hollar in *An Exact Surveigh* to represent the unburnt portion of the city have multiple vanishing points. These manifold points, according to Damisch, are potentially "the different perspectives of different subjects", or as Elkins poetically puts it, the "Argus eyes" of divers spectators looking at the same image. Thus, this mobile eye capable of assuming any one of the multiple viewing points upon a single horizon line can constitute a network of intersubjectivity, and scenographic perspective is thus a representative imago of an ideal community in the very process of its historical production. However, this notion of a social body with multiple viewpoints is the way London was before the fire, as Elkanah Settle remarked in 1667, but the crisis of the fire broke this unity down: the destructive force in the city was so great that "Argus Eyes, joined with Briareus hands / Are too too weak to countermand". The one hundred eyes and one hundred hands of the social body of London were apparently powerless to stem the crisis afflicting the city.

Though ichnography and scenography seem to unproblematically coexist on Hollar's maps from the 1660s, and for historians ever since, we can, in fact, see that they are heading in different directions. The bird's-eye view — scenography — which can use the social practice of perspective to call up an intersubjective community of viewers, is contradicted by the abstracted space achieved through ichnography. As a result of exploring this divergence in modes of representing space, I feel we must qualify Henri Lefebvre's definition of perspective which, within the dialectic of spatial terms, is a representation of space. As we have seen, representations of space are associated with the conceptualized space of scientists and urbanists. They are cognitive and ideological entities that play a role in the deployment of knowledge and power. In 1666, however, I would like to suggest that

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116 Damisch, pp. 131-132.
117 Settle, p. 4.
scenographic perspective could still be connected to lived space and social practice, if it can call up a community of viewers always already in the process of its historical production. Scenography could be seen then as an aspect of social practice embodied in the modalities through which human beings live in space and produce and reproduce themselves within it. Ichnography, on the other hand, as 'trace-writing', with all the implications of tracing — mechanical, scientific, and unmediated by the 'glass' — erases the social and spatial practice imbricated in scenography by the abstraction of a purely geometrical formant. Like Petty and Graunt's 'political arithmetic' in the previous chapter, ichnography reifies the social and makes it quantifiable. Although it creates the illusion of transparency, it is particularly effective in not seeing the social body. This type of abstraction of space, like the fire, cannot be warded off by an intersubjective community of Argus eyes and Briareus hands, and is a substantive aspect of the formation of a capitalist space of accumulation, which makes space appear homogeneous, two-dimensional, crushing differences of localities, and guaranteeing the social and political utility of space. Eventually, virtually all maps of London will be rendered ichnographically.

Like the centrifugal force of the fire, driving Londoners into the suburbs, these many vanishing points added by Hollar's painstaking etching of the individual buildings of the 'skirts' have a magnetic pull, they tug at the eye, and make it go for a walk in the suburbs. For the local viewer of this print in 1669, these areas traditionally viewed as the fringes of the city, areas whose incorporation under the City's jurisdiction was repeatedly resisted, were the present physical reality of the urban centre. The center of London, on the other hand does not signify presence, but absence: it does not articulate a community always already in the present and in the process of producing and practicing space, it represents only the destroyed city, the traces of the past. For if this was to be an accurate map and exact survey, where were

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119Elkins, p. 176.
the new buildings and houses? In 1667 there were approximately 650 buildings under construction in the ruins, and by summer of 1669, the year in which Hollar's print appeared, there were 1600 houses in the process of being built. Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor in 1668-1669, and to whom Hollar's map is dedicated in a small box just above Moorfields, was apparently so active and successful in encouraging rebuilding that London citizens desired he stay on for a second term as mayor.\textsuperscript{120}

Interestingly enough, in the case of this ground plan showing the extent of the great fire in the center of the etching, the eye of the viewer is immobilized. As in the lower image from Moxon's manual on perspective, the ichnography used by Hollar to render the burnt portion of the City is based upon the collinearity between picture plane, the course of the major streets, and the foundations of the most important public buildings. This ichnographic rendering posits a stationary eye that floats in a position perfectly centered above and parallel to the flat surface below. Who was to occupy the position of this theoretical fixed eye that looks down upon the ground plan of the city? Hollar, a royalist, was originally producing this map at the request of Charles II. But is this single and immobile eye poised above London simply the eye of the King? Or another kind of social and political authority? Certainly Charles II aspired to a such a position of power over the City, given its history of opposition to his father and its significant role in his execution. In fact, the King would achieve almost absolute control over the city in the years immediately following the exclusion crisis by calling in the Corporation's charter, as we shall see in the following chapter. Many royal concessions were expected from the City at the Restoration, as previously noted, including religious conformity and the purging of political radicals from civic and trading companies. When Charles II viewed Hollar's original survey of 1666, printed for Overton in that year, he would be

\textsuperscript{120}\textit{See Litterae Consolatoriae; from the authour to the dejected place of his Nativity, the Honourable City of London} (1669), which refers to Turner as the midwife aiding in the delivery of a new London, also the Turner panegyric, \textit{Rebuilding the City; the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and the Noble Company of Batchelours Dining with Him} (1669), and Bell (1951), pp. 275-276. Turner's pretensions are mocked in \textit{On the Second Entertainment of the Batchelours} (1669).
looking down upon what he surely felt was a space of opportunity, as did Wren and Evelyn, whose initial re-imaginings of the city Charles supported. For the King, the fire was the opportunity to achieve some of the unrealized dreams of the previous Stuart monarchs, as T. F. Reddaway has stated, "calamity had made possible what their edicts could never enforce". At a much greater cost and investment of time, legislation forced the City to be rebuilt with brick and stone, limiting the number of poorly planned and constructed buildings or hovels. In addition, another kind of centralized authority rose out of the ruins to share in the political dream of the fixed overview of the City, turning it into transparent flatness. A crucial administrative reform brought authority over drains and sewers, street paving and leveling, as well as street cleaning under the purview of a single group of officials appointed by the City. Given the power to impose taxes and fines, these commissioners, while still working within the old parish and ward boundaries, had the power to overcome "unneighbourly jealousies and local conservatism, transcending parochial divisions in the interests of a wider project or of general uniformity". Out of the difficulties in untangling the interests between tenants, property owners, civic institutions and authorities as a result of the fire, came this early idea of 'modern' London in which individual interests in the city's spaces were brought into line by the notion of a wider reaching public good. I would suggest that the ichnographic representation of the City like that produced by Hollar depicting the space of the ruins, is a crucial precursor of this representation.

Hollar's map of London for Brooke also includes a "Prospect of this Citty as it appeared from the opposite Southwarke side in the fire time" in the upper left, thus bringing together on the surface of the same print ichnography, scenography, and prospect of London from the Southwark Bank. Hollar finally does picture the city in flames, but only within the context of the map. This prospect provides a visual

121Reddaway, p. 285.
representation of the past event that explains the absence in the center of the City. Once again, the viewer becomes involved in a process of 'work', shifting between modes of representation. The present is the scenographically rendered suburbs, into which the economic and social life of the City flowed. What is 'absent' requires the map, and what is the 'past' demands the prospect. While the larger portion of this map-like object can be described as the intersection of picture and groundplan, the representation of the past trauma, the event that ties together the narration of what happened, what was there, what we have lost — is slipped in by the inclusion of an inset prospect. This combination of three different modes of representing space underlines the fire as an event locatable in time and ultimately quantifiable. However, the sum total of knowledge about the fire of London, and the present state of the city produced by this broadside, is not entirely scientific, even though by mapping the void at the centre of London, the destruction is verified and space is restricted. Nor is it 'realistic' even though the use of figurative prospect and bird's eye representation of the city's buildings produces a naturalistic visual image. The point is that the broadside map makes use of different forms of representing space to reconfigure the trauma of the fire into a form in which it can be told. In so doing, like all forms of narration, it violates the past by emphasizing certain aspects and leaving others out. It remembers in order to forget.

But what, if anything, was to be forgotten by a Londoner who had experienced the fire and its destruction? One of the prints produced in Amsterdam by the de Wit firm points in this direction. This print, not intended for an English reading audience as the textual account is only in Dutch and French, also included a prospect of the city burning within a larger map of the urban centre. (Fig. 4.15) The engraver has created the illusion that the prospect rests on the surface of a thick stone slab, not unlike a tombstone, upon whose broken corner a weeping Thames waterman rests his weary elbow. Unlike maps and prints produced more for the local viewer, in the gap between prospect and ground plan this Dutch print relates some of the
social consequences of the catastrophe. Here, sandwiched between the image of London burning and the map, just behind the weeping waterman is a scene depicting a type of social and commercial transaction caused by the fire. (Fig. 4. 16, detail of Fig. 4.15) More often than not this print has been misread by historians of maps and views of London. For example, Felix Barker and Peter Jackson describe the scene taking place behind this figure as if it were a "husband leading a cart is met by a country gentleman who appears to be giving him money". Scouloudi refers to the scene as "a group of peasants". On what appears to be a small hill, the operator of a dray takes payment for the delivery of a well dressed citizen's personal property to the open fields outside the City. Practically all of the published narratives, diary accounts, and letters from Londoners in the City at this time comment on these types of transactions. For instance, Lady Hobart, whom we have heard from before, after packing up her and her husband's goods in their home in Chancery Lane "cannot get a cart for money, they give 5 & 10 pounds for carts", and, in the same letter, "we have sent to se for carts to send to higat [Highgate] & cannot get one [for] twenty pound to go out of town". Samuel Rolle indulged in a long meditation on the practices of the "dishonest carters", and others reflected upon how "the Porter makes his Markets in the Wrack" since "the Rates of Portage with the danger rise". Often mentioned in direct correlation with these porters and carters are the "distracted" and "astonished" citizens who will pay any amount to preserve their private interests. This 'distraction' which "deluded people, and deprived them of the use of their reason" led to a breakdown of corporate and civic unity. The use

123Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, The History of London in Maps (London, 1990), p. 33, and Scouloudi, p. 5. Warner, p. 112, correctly identifies the transaction since he, at least, read the textual account below the image which states it quite clearly.

124Verney, p. 138. Vincent, p. 63, claims the price went as high as £30, and Edward Waterhouse, A Short Narrative of the Late Dreadful Fire in London (1667), p. 28, goes even higher saying that £40 per load was charged for property owners to cart their goods out of the City, and some needed ten loads. See also Samuel Wiseman, A Short and Serious Narrative of London's Fatal Fire (1667), pp. 4-5. Rolle (1667), pp. 28-35, and Ford, p 12. Petty, I, p. 27, even factored in "the Extraordinary gaine of porters, labourers, Carmen &c" in his computation of losses due to the late fire.
value of public property, in this case what the City meant to its inhabitants as an oeuvre, was rendered subservient to the exchange value of private property, as the anonymous writer of a broadside argued in 1666, for the fire "made the amazed and distracted people take care only to preserve their own goods, and secure every man his particular concerns, making but slender attempts to extinguish the Flame". From Pepys account in the Diary we also see that threat to life and limb was secondary to the potential loss of one's estate in the trauma rendered by the fire. Now, according to Van der Kolk and Van der Hart, trauma is dissociative: one is automatically removed from the scene of trauma to 'another place'. This place, I would suggest, in the case of the fire was not a public space but a private one. A frightening experience cannot be accommodated within the mental constructs which people normally use to make sense of experience, which for Van der Kolk and Van der Hart is narrative memory. Traumatic memories, in which fragments of unintegrated experiences return like Pepys's dreams of the fire, re-place the one who experiences trauma in a difficult situation in which he or she has not been able to perform a satisfactory role. The difference between traumatic memory and narrative memory is that the former is not adaptive or capable of being integrated, it is inflexible and invariable, even 'anti-social' in that it is a solitary and self-interested activity with no social component. Narrative memory, on the other hand, is a social act. Many Londoners were 'distracted' by the fire, and, like the plague's 'run-aways', these distracted citizens scattered into the country, "some charg'd with others Goods, some with their own" but "each hinders other, and obstructs his way". Indeed, it seems that the printed representation of the fire of

126 Christopher Flower, Mercy in the Midst of Judgement (1669), and A True and Exact Relation of the Most Dreadful and Remarkable Fires (1666). Pepys, Diary, 2 September, 1666, records seeking out the Lord Mayor Thomas Bludworth — an individual generally vilified for his ineffectiveness during the crisis but more than likely a convenient scapegoat — with orders from the King to pull down houses, to which the mayor responded "People will not obey me". Leaving the Lord Mayor for home, Pepys sees "people all almost distracted and no manner of means used to quench the fire".


128 Ford, p. 12.
1666, a social act of communal ‘narration’ was haunted by the return of such antisocial behaviour. This collapse of corporate behaviour — the Argus eyes of London — into naked self-interest was seen by at least two writers as more fitting behaviour for the suburbs, the "Out-parts" where "single persons" and "Gamesters" who live under "a loose Shire Government" came into the City during the fire not with the intention of saving it but plundering it.\footnote{Waterhouse, pp. 10 and 26. During the fire, "in that mist and fog of danger and inconsideration, wherein every one's particular concern becomes a neglect of the publick".} For Samuel Rolle, commenting on the rebuilding of the City in 1668, London's center now even looked like these out-parts, with sporadic and unconnected building. In suburbs and country we are distant from our neighbours and divided from our community, he wrote, and thus "insecure do our divisions render us". The particular self-interests of the suburbs threatened the corporate and public welfare of the City even more than through the physical destruction of the fire, for it was "Divisions, and the decay of Trade [which] began together".\footnote{Samuel Rolle, \textit{London's Resurrection} (1668), pp. 94-95.} Any visual reference to the breakdown of the fragile balance between public and private inside the City during the crisis, such as that which makes its way onto the Dutch print in the gap between prospect and map, is not surprisingly omitted from Hollar's representations of space and reconfiguration of trauma into a form which a local audience could live with.

What we are witnessing here is a transformation in the way London was viewed and conceptualized in the early modern period, a shift made more abrupt in the disruptive passage between the smooth and striated spaces of the City as a result of the fire. For the fire did give birth to 'modern' London,\footnote{Warner, p. 12.} and an aspect of this modern city was that it could be more easily conceived of as an object, a picture, a text, opened up before the geometral point of the Cartesian subject. Although Pepys was not happy with Dean Hardy's equation between London and a printed book...
after the fire, finding it a "bad poor sermon" in which the latter argued that "at this time the City is reduced from a large Folio to a Decimotertio", Hardy was not alone in comprehending the destruction to London in terms of the city changing its state from one form of print to another.\footnote{Pepys, \textit{Diary}, VII, entry for 9 September, 1666. See also Rolle (1667) p. 20, also claimed that London was an abridgment, like a folio turned into "a smal Manual or Pocket-Book" as if London had been re-written "in short-hand, such as might contain the Decalogue within the compasse of a single penny", that is, within a broadside or ballad. It is interesting here how the collapse of distinctions caused by the fire is equated with the passing of a text from the realms of high culture (the folio) into the world of cheap print.} Pepys' minister equates London after the fire with a severely edited book, but he doesn't tell us what kind. This would be left for Samuel Rolle, who in surveying the ruins two years after the fire, interspersed here and there with new building, stated that

\begin{quote}
London now looks like \textit{Euclid}’s Elements, or some such books, in which are all sorts of schemes and figures, as straight lines, crooked lines, triangles, quadrangles, hexangles, and what not? or like a book of Anatomy, full of cuts representing in one page the shape of the head, in another of an arm, in the third of a legg, &c. So in one place there is at it were the head, or beginning of a street, in another place the feet (or end thereof) by its self, elsewhere the arm, or breast, or belly of a street, (the middle I mean) standing all alone.\footnote{Rolle (1668), p. 92.}
\end{quote}

Rolle's conception of the urban as dismembered body parts or fragmented lines and shapes seen through a Euclidean viewpoint depersonalizes the history of the fire and its consequences, enabling a removal from the social trauma. The city is an object seen as either abstracted geometrical elements, or as a lifeless body waiting to be anatomized. Both of these modes of seeing space, the geometrical and the anatomical, aspects of the scientific gaze serving to represent space in the sense argued by Lefebvre, organize themselves around the social body of the city in order not to see it — its conflicts, discontinuities, contingencies. As the abstracting gaze turns the city into a representation of space, this 'reality' of the city will disappear.
Chapter Five

The Frost Fair of 1683-4: Printing and the City Re-imagined

The frost still continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was planted with bothes in formal streetes, as in a Citty, or Continual faire, all sorts of Trades & shops furnished, & full of Commodities, even to a Printing presse where the people & Ladies took a fansy to have their names Printed & the day & yeare set downe, when Printed on the Thames: This humour tooke so universally, that 'twas estimated the Printer gained five pound a day, for printing a line onely, at six-pence a Name, besides what he gott by Ballads &c.¹

An ephemeral city on the threshold.

What happens to the image of the city when the Thames that animates and supports London's identity is threatened, when the paradoxical movement of the river that helps to fix the image of the city is itself immobilized? In December of 1683, the Thames upriver from London Bridge froze due to the unusually cold weather of that winter. Since ship traffic was paralyzed, and because the river facilitated the greatest proportion of the economic fortunes of London, the everyday rhythms of trading and urban life were temporarily suspended. This interruption of the 'continuing city' once again drove Londoners to seek a city elsewhere, and thus, on the frozen portion of the river in front of Temple Stairs, where the rate of flow was sufficiently slowed by the narrow arches of London Bridge just down river, London was rebuilt as both a market and "Frost Fair". This re-imagined city was constructed at the close of the Restoration, when Charles II succeeded in gaining control of rebellious London. It also brings together in a particularly apt way the connections between print and the production of space, as well as the centrality of print culture and the coffee-house to transformations in urban subjectivity and sociability. Thus, this image of the city acts not unlike a 'freeze-frame' in a film, arresting mobile and ephemeral forms of exchange, and crystalizing in this site several of my arguments in order to conclude this dissertation. However, while I

¹Evelyn, Diary, IV, pp. 361-362, entry for January 24, 1683/4.
seek to explore these issues with regard to the image of the frost fair, there remains something incommensurable about this carnival and market city, specifically in the relationship between print culture and the individual fairgoer. I cannot entirely explain away this strangeness, nor do I want to, and so I hope this final chapter preserves some of this uniqueness, as well as my own sense of marvel at this phenomenon.

The new city on the Thames was portrayed in cold and muted colours on a pair of oil paintings by Jan Griffier and Abraham Hondius, in which we clearly see that the hiatus of everyday life has led to the construction of a space for winter leisure.¹ (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2) On Griffier’s canvas, what looks like a street stretches down river away from a viewer situated somewhere between the Horse Ferry on the Westminster side and Lambeth Bridge on the other. In the foreground children skate and sled, and finely dressed men and ladies visit booths to purchase food and drink. Like all fairs, this Frost Fair brought the economic exchanges central to community identity together with more carnival like inversions, unsettling that identity by mixing social orders, centre and periphery, high and low. Frost fair inverts normal usage of the river, as a coach with wheels passes over the river, and it is where high and low are intermixed, the space of carnivalesque indulgence and the grotesque body, for one person defecates and another urinates against the wall of a make shift structure — probably a tavern of some sorts — at front and centre of the painting. Unusually, for Griffier the frost fair seems to be in a different place than where almost all other images from this winter situated it, as if it were mobile and capable of appearing anywhere, fluid like the river whose banks it parallels. Hondius, in marked contrast to Griffier, physically situates the fair in a manner

¹Both of these paintings are in the collection of the Museum of London. The Dutch painter Griffier spent much of his career in London producing landscapes and cityscapes, and apparently lived in a yacht on the Thames with his family. Hondius was a native of Rotterdam and a specialist in sporting subjects. Both of these painters came to London after the Restoration. See Warner, pp. 115 and 118. About the Hondius painting, the latter has this to say: “London is as cheerful when visited by ice as it was wretched when visited by fire”.

more in keeping with other images from 1683-4, as we shall see, placing it at the foot of Temple Stairs on the London side of the river. This second painting includes similar elements as the Griffier image, children's games, coaches and boats with wheels on the ice, but significantly orders the disorder of the fair, turning it into a space of leisure predominantly for the cultured, complete with family entertainments and forms of polite address, as seen with the elaborate greeting of the two courtiers represented at front and centre. The two disorderly bodies that one might find on the streets of London that do appear in Hondius' painting, one crippled beggar in the lower right and a lone organ grinder near the children playing 'nine pins', are more than offset by the elaborate and orderly military exercises in the background. In fact, even the booths make the scene appear more like a military camp than a carnival, stretching away from the viewer in a graceful and regular curve. Unlike with the Griffier painting, this point of view situates the spectator at the Old King's Barge House in Southwark, and from this position we can see from the Temple, its gardens and ancient turreted chapel on the right, to Essex Stairs and Arundel House on the left. In this location the fair is situated at the confluence of three different jurisdictions — Westminster, the Temple, and the City of London who, after all, was responsible for the conservancy of the Thames. In this way the fair resembles less the river upon whose surface it is constructed, and is more like a bridge, through which the viewer on the south bank passes to reach London on the other side. This image of the fair, giving the viewer an overview of its straight streets and orderly booths, acts as a bridge that emplaces the fair within a circuit linking London with its other, centre with edge, allowing viewer access to the pleasurable experiences of an immersion in this border space, and yet always

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3According to the accounts from manuscript newsletters sent to Richard Newdigate in the seventeenth-century compiled by Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts* (London, 1901), p. 235, this would no doubt be the London trained bands led in exercises on the ice by one Captain Edwards in late January.
assuring a safe return to the comforts of the familiar, the known and recognized attributes of place.

In this chapter I make use of recent ways to theorize the concepts of space, the boundary, and the bridge to reveal some of the tensions and strategies involved in visualizing the frost fair. I argue that as the city was rebuilt on the frozen river, representations of space intending to make this space readable and knowable, to mark its boundaries, clashed with the contingency and ephemerality of the fair. I began with a comparison of two oil paintings of the fair to draw out some of the issues involved with representing this space, but the overview provided by the painted prospect of the city achieves the requirements of long distance vision and makes this space quantifiable and distant from the viewer. With these images painting is a bridge that bypasses the problems raised by this indeterminate space, whereas it is only in the relationship between the fair and print culture that the historical complexity of this phenomena can be broached. Frosts had come to London before, and small fairs had been established on the ice for almost a century. What is significant about 1683-4 is that it was the most extensive ephemeral city yet constructed, and that this fair generated a significant number of printed representations and maps that attempted to make permanent this somewhat precarious market fair. Analogous with the plague of 1665 and fire in 1666, the frost was a phenomenon that descended upon the city and changed its face, an intervention that raised the spectre of the unpredictable and uncontrollable inside London and gave rise to reimaginings of urban space and social relations. In the previous chapters we have seen that these moments of crisis in the urban centre encouraged the production of printed images of the city in which we have been able to discern important clues about the way spaces were produced and disputed in Restoration London. This suggests a crucial link between visual representation and

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the conflictual encounters at stake in definitions of urban identity. These encounters are heightened at the city's boundaries during these moments of crisis, for instance, at the boundary between city and country during the plague, and between destroyed city and flourishing suburb after the fire. Forms of print are exceedingly important in negotiating these spaces, mediating the social tensions involved in such transactions or making them more visible. The very strange relationship between the frost fair and printing, in contrast with Griffier's and Hondius' prospects, brings out both the pleasures and anxieties a Restoration Londoner had in traversing the spaces of this re-imagined city that was at the same time market and carnival. As Evelyn indicates above, and in further contradistinction to the painted image, it was printing that served to locate the individual fairgoer within this space, ironically, within the centre of this edge city.

For example, Joseph Moxon, author of *Practical Perspective* and *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole of Printing*, published *A Map of the River Thames. Merrily Cald Blanket Fair* during the frost of 1683-4, in which an engraving by his partner attempted in a very different way to make tangible a city that could never be permanent.5 (Fig. 5.3) In a similar manner to Hollar's prints of the fire and the Dutch examples discussed above, James Moxon made use of ichnography and scenography to map this unusual city. In describing "the Booths, Foot-paths, Coaches, Sledges, Bull-Baitings, and other Remarks upon that famous River", the engraver traversed the print with an outline ground plan of the Thames, delineating by two curving lines the opposing banks of the river. Included on this map of the river are all the major landing stairs for boat traffic from London Bridge on the left to Foxhall on the upper right. Spanning the river in the exact centre of the print, clearly made to mirror London Bridge to its left, is the frost fair. From this ephemeral city condensed into a single street, named "Temple streete", the trace of roads and paths

5Joseph and James Moxon, *A Map of the River Thames. Merrily Cald Blanket Fair as it was Frozen in the Memorable Year 1683-4* (1683-4). The only surviving copy of this map is in the Gough Collection of maps at the Bodleian Library.
branch out to connect with each other and then to terminate at the numerous stairs on the river's banks. We see many walkers on the frozen surface of this river, some following the delineated paths, others wandering off into the blank nothingness of smooth space. The fair itself is surrounded by "whirl sledges" and "bull baiting". Remarkably, in addition to these aspects of carnival entertainments, only three sites on this street are identified, the location of the "Rowling Press", "Letter Founding house", and "Printing house" — all associated with the production of forms of print. At this printing house, and I will deal with this in greater depth below, small bills with individual fairgoers' names printed upon them were available for purchase, and these played with the contradictions of the impermanence of this space and the permanence of printing in preserving it for posterity. There is certainly something of self interest in this focus on print culture on the Moxons' part, for when we turn our gaze to the remainder of the print, ichnography shifts to a larger bird's eye perspective of "Temple streete", showing — with the whirl sleds and bear baitings — the tools for the production of print. Moxon even adds a pair of images of different printing presses in the upper right, one of which is being operated by a pair of labourers. But to leave this focus on printing as solely an expression of the Moxon's self interest would be to miss the significance of the other identified sites in this ephemeral city: aside from one tavern, "the Halfe way house", we find the "Duke of Yorks Coffee House", the "Lottery", and the "Booth Insurde", all sites that, as explored in chapter one, were linked to spatial, social, and economic transformations in Restoration London. The coffee house as a space of print raised anxieties about the dissolving of social boundaries and the dangers of heterogeneous and uncontrolled opinion — a marketplace of print. The lottery and insurance were both speculative economic schemes that had roots in the social exchanges allowed by the coffee houses of the city. In like manner to a similar entity, 'stock-jobbing', they had a corrosive effect on older forms of economic exchange. Thus the fair seems to be poised on a liminal point where traditional forms of social production
and reproduction in carnival entertainments — bull baitings, horse and coach races, "Puppet-plays" and "lewder places" — are intermixed with social and economic processes at the centre of transforming London into a 'modern' city with sophisticated networks of communication and economic transactions in which goods were only abstract representations. As Evelyn writes, the 'continual fair' that later in the same passage he calls "a bacchanalia, Triumph or Carnoval on the Water" is also a city with formal streets, trades and shops full of commodities, at the center of which is the exchange of forms of print.6

The frost fair as a liminal site between older social practices and newer cultural forms at the centre of urban transformations is brought out in another large print of 1683, William Warter's An Exact and Lively Mapp , possibly etched by William Faithorne.7 (Fig. 5. 4). Though identified in its title as a map, it utilizes only bird's eye perspective to enable a comprehensive view of the festival. In this image, the viewer's line of sight is situated in some imaginary elevated position above the ice and perpendicular to both the temporary structures of the fair and the permanent London Bridge in the background, a structure which, as in the Moxon map, the fair is clearly made to mirror. On the left we are shown the London bank, from the large trees of the Temple gardens, the recently rebuilt St. Mary le Bow with its discernible brass dragon atop the spire, the fire monument, to the Tower. On the right we see the Southwark bank, including the church of St. Marie Overs from whose steeple Hollar viewed flourishing London and its corresponding sad demise after the fire of 1666. Warter's representation is accompanied by a textual key below, identifying individual booths along this crowded single street, from the "Duke of Yorke's Coffee house", first to the right for those descending the plank placed against Temple Stairs, the music booth, "Roast Beefe Booth", and half way house, to

7William Warter, An Exact and Lively Mapp or Representation of Booths and all the varieties of showes and Humours upon the Ice on the River of Thames by London (1683). It is identified in the catalogue for the Crace Collection of the British Library as executed by Faithorne.
the "Printing Booth", halfway down the same side of the street and distinguishable further by what appears to be a broadside tacked to its rear wall. In foreground and background carnival entertainments and inversions are represented — a boat drawn by a horse, a boat with wheels, hackney coaches on the ice, bull baiting and games of chance. In the immediate foreground we even find a traditional street crier, and quite unlike what is usually found with this genre of imagery, in that street criers and tradesmen are rarely ever depicted within an urban scene, this figure is as much a part of this city as any other element. This street tradesman is also unique in the engraving as the only body provided with a voice balloon, in which the oral cry "Knives or Comes" seeks to attach the sounds of the street to this silent representation.

What would drive Londoners to revel so in this discontinuous city after the freezing of the 'continuing' one? I would suggest that an answer to this must first be sought in relation to the urban politics played out as a result of the exclusion crisis, for it is at this time that London, in some sense, lost its corporate autonomy after Charles II revoked its charter. I have alluded to this fight for control of the City in chapter two, when the court party sought to influence the election of sheriffs as far back as 1680. During the exclusion crisis Common Hall votes repeatedly elected sheriffs of republican political character in opposition to those candidates put forward by the court party. In September of 1681 the court party succeeded in getting a mayor elected who was subject to the King's control, Sir John Moore. Shortly thereafter, Charles II sought to revoke the singular privilege enjoyed by Londoners in electing their own sheriffs, since all other sheriffs in the kingdom were

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8 Roy Porter, in his "Vision for London" lecture of 1995, as it was reported by Luke Blair in "Call for London to re-create Thames frost fairs", Evening Standard, June 23 (1995), lamented the loss of London's early modern festive life, and expressed a desire to bring back street spectacles and great public events of which the frost fair was one. However, the frost fair was not an annual event, as it is reported here, and I don't believe that re-creating them with artificial islands and ice will in any way reproduce a sense of what the frost fair meant to Londoners as it occurred intermittently until the early nineteenth century. The way Porter's speech is reported here makes it sound like he desires the creation of a shopping mall on the Thames every year "for local and tourists alike".
nominated by the monarch. Using the imposition of taxes by City government on imports and market traders in order to raise funds for the rebuilding of London after the fire as a starting point, these extra fees were cited by the crown as an invasion of the liberty of the subject. Hence a writ of Quo Warranto was issued against the City early in the new year, summoning its elected representatives to answer in the court of King’s Bench by what warrant they claimed their diverse liberties and privileges, including the right to be an autonomous body corporate and politic.  

This conflict over the charter was sustained by the publication in the City of many anonymous tracts, pamphlets, and broadsides defending London’s rights, several of them by the City’s leading Whig publishers. Common Council remained convinced of their lawful duty to maintain the rights of the City, and instructed legal council to prepare a defense of London’s charter. While this defense was in preparation — it took longer than a year — another struggle over the election of sheriffs occurred. According to Reginald Sharpe this election is the most remarkable one in the City’s annals, with the Whigs under the leadership of outgoing sheriff Pilkington and the Tories under John Moore the mayor. The latter attempted to exert a mayoral custom of nominating one of the sheriffs, and this was resisted by the Whigs in Common Hall, the end result being the confinement on Charles IPs orders of former sheriffs Pilkington and Shute to the Tower. Nevertheless, Whig favored candidates were elected sheriff again this year, while Lord Mayor Moore employed a variety of strategies of adjournment and succeeded in getting Charles’ order for a re-election. Thus, the election was manipulated into a

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10For example, The City of Londons plea to the Quo Warranto (1682), The City of Londons rejoinder to Mr. Attorney General’s replication in the Quo Warranto brought by him against their Charter (1682), Londons Liberties (1682), The Forfeitures of Londons Charter (1682), and The Case of the Charter of London Stated (1683).
complete victory for the court party, as was the subsequent mayoral election of 1682.\textsuperscript{12}

In December of that year Charles II also took steps to make Common Council subservient by instructing the mayor to enforce upon electors the obligation to elect only men who had conformed with the requirements of the Corporation Act. This failed in encouraging Common Council to surrender the City's charter, and so the matter went to trial at King's Bench on 7 February, 1683. Despite arguments of the Attorney General on Charles II's behalf that it was not the King's intention "to demolish at once all their liberties and to lay waste and open the City of London", judgment went against the City and in June the franchise was seized into the King's hands.\textsuperscript{13} From this point on Charles had power to approve or disapprove selection of mayor, sheriff, recorder, common sergeant, town clerk, coroner and steward of the borough of Southwark. If he was not happy with a mayoral nomination, a second election was to be called, and if this failed he would choose the mayor himself. The City was again on the verge of rebellion over these decisions, and a plot was discovered a few days after the decision was handed down, known as the Rye House Plot, to assassinate Charles and the Duke of York. After Common Council debates in September, in October 1683 judgment was entered against the City, leading to a purge of the recorder and eight aldermen to be replaced by the King's choices. Charles also selected Henry Tulse as mayor, sworn in on October 29. After reducing the Corporation to submission, and with Tulse as mayor, the King struck at the livery companies, "at which 'tis said many in the city are not a little surprised", as Luttrell wryly comments.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12}Luttrell, I, p. 242, relates how vigorous prosecution of religious dissenters began in London in December, 1682, with churchwardens presenting them to ecclesiastical courts for excommunication. The real goal, he writes, was to prevent dissenters from having the vote to elect Common Councilmen at the approaching St. Thomas Day meeting. In this way, Tories could secure Common Council, as they already had the mayor and majority of aldermen.

\textsuperscript{13}Sharpe, II, p. 496-498.

\textsuperscript{14}Luttrell, I, p. 303.
Thus, since the political cleansing of City companies was still in full effect during the frost fair, it is particularly resonant to note that Warter's *Exact and Lively Map* of the frost fair was supposedly commissioned by Charles II, and that, in a cartouche surmounted by the City arms on the left of their map, the Moxons' dedicate the representation of this new city on the Thames to the recently imposed mayor Tulse. At this time Whigs were swept out of City companies, particularly the Grocers, Skinners, Merchant Tailors, and Vintners, as well as other corporate assemblies such as hospital boards when charters were called in and the King assumed control over the appointment and dismissal of governing bodies. Charles II finally prevailed in gaining control over City politics, severely checking urban independence formerly guaranteed by London's charter. In the words of Walter Besant, Charles had succeeded where his predecessors had failed in reducing the City to "a loose collection of men and women without rights, liberties, or government, other than what the King might allow". Consequently, the rights of London as an independent, self-governing entity capable of choosing its leaders and even controlling its own markets in many ways disappeared in the autumn and winter of 1683. It is not surprising, then, that a new city of trade and leisure was reimagined on the ice in that same year, in a kind of wishful dream of freedom and excess celebrated repeatedly in printed text and image. Amongst the many wonders and

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15 Newdigate, p. 235: "'Tis said his Majesty hath ordered a 'Landskip' to be drawn of the Thames as at present frozen over". Also Robert A. Beddard, "The London Frost Fair of 1683-84", *The Guildhall Miscellany* IV/2, April (1972), p. 70, and Luttrell, I, p. 295.
16 Besant, p. 91. Besant argues that the attack on the charter shows that London was treated worse during the Restoration by Charles II than by his father or even Richard II, and that "an absence of resistance is at first sight most remarkable". Ogg, II, p. 634, who entitles his account of the years 1681-5 as "the Stuart revenge", argues that this was not just limited to London but "almost every franchise in the country was subjected to the scrutiny of lawyers prepared to find pretexts for their forfeiture. Most of the lords lieutenant and country gentry lent their aid to this campaign, and in the years 1682-3 compulsion and influence were freely used to produce the surrender or forfeiture of civic rights".
17 Indeed, the loss of the City's autonomy was seen as a kind of death of the social body, along similar lines to the threat of the plague and fire. Several publications appeared in the style of the memento mori used for plague and fire when the verdict on the Quo Warranto was reached, such as *The Last Will and Testament of the Charter of London* (1683), *Londons Lamentation for the loss of their Charter* (1683), even a ballad, *Londons Lamentation, or, an excellent new song on the loss of Londons Charter* (1683).
remarkable things depicted and described in this city turned upside down, there is surely a sense of irony to be had in the "Loyal Printing House", and the "Duke of Yorks Coffee House", for both the culture of print and the coffee house had been used to a great extent to produce and sustain Whig calls for the exclusion of James II, as well as encourage urban independence. Indeed, some printed accounts of the fair blamed City Whigs directly for the frost, stating that it was the Thames that brought them plenty of pride and hardened their hearts with silver and gold. Thus it was truly a fitting vengeance to see a great river transformed into a mere "town". The so-called loyal printers also produced broadsides and ballads while established on the ice mocking the Whigs and claiming that the frost, which paralyzes London, was, like the plague and fire, a form of divine punishment for a City who dared oppose the King.18

**Smoothing the edges: questioning limits and boundaries.**

I am arguing that the paralyzing frost of 1683-4 suddenly brought the unexpected — the free action of smooth space — into conflict with the monarchy's work throughout the Restoration to produce in London a transparent and visible social order purged of unstable and undesirable elements, from disease, religious dissenters, narrow and crooked streets, to a willfully independent civic government. In this light it is not surprising that Warter's map finds only harmony and stability in its visual representation of the fair if it was intended to fulfill the stated or unstated demands of a royal commission. The image encloses the fair and its visitors within a view that sees only order, that must make the effect of frost within Restoration London into something known. Another representation of the frost fair, on a broadside entitled *Wonders on the Deep; or the most Exact Description of*

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18The Whigs Hard Heart for the Cause of the Hard Frost (1684), reprinted in (ed.) E. F. Rimbault, "Old Ballads Illustrating the Great Frost of 1683-4", *Early English Poetry, Ballads., and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages* (Percy Society, 1843), IX, p. 15  The 'loyal printers' were E. and A. Milbourn, S. Hinch, and J. Mason. They produced and sold such items as *Wonderful News from the River of Thames*, "Printed on the Frozen-Thames", a song that ends with an oath of loyalty to Charles II and James II, and beseeching God to protect the latter from his foes "that no Allegiance knows".
the frozen River of Thames embodies this uneasy mixture in its very title, claiming to render the unfamiliarity of wonder into exact description.\textsuperscript{19} (Fig. 5. 5) This it does by utilizing a woodcut derived from Warter's engraved view, combined with verse description and an historical account of past remarkable frosts. The strangeness of the "wonders of almighty God" which turns the "hardened waves" of the Thames into "a Trading Mart" where "on its Glass-glib-face strange Buildings stand", is incorporated into a history of memorable frosts reaching back to the second year of William the Conqueror's reign. Arriving at the present frost, "the most Remarkable, and almost Intolerable", which began about the 16th of November, the reader is given a day by day development of the event complete with natural philosophical observations of shifts in wind and temperature. In this way the print transforms the wonderfully unfamiliar into both the cyclical and predictable, metamorphosing the dangers of chance and contingency into the comfort of certain knowledge and its containment within coherent narratives.

However, while the city condensed into a single street in Warter's etching for the King seems on the whole to contain this large crowd and dictate its movements, throughout foreground and background the space of the frozen river is dotted by individual figures seeming to wander aimlessly in all directions. I find it striking, furthermore, that there is yet a regularity to their distribution, as if the engraver, afraid of what this smooth white nothingness might represent, utilized an invisible grid with which to order these nomadic figures. The contradiction of locating such a transitory space and the figures within it is also brought out in Moxon's attempts to map the frost fair in the hopes of pleasing Mayor Tulse. With Moxon's map though, the fair cannot be striated like normal city space, it seems to resist being quantified and betraying its 'real' location. The exact survey implied by ichnography, though its intentions might be to bring order to this transitory space, achieves only disorientation. Again, I find it useful to employ Deleuze's and Guattari's notions of

\textsuperscript{19}Wonders on the Deep; or, the most Exact Description of the Frozen River of Thames (1684).
the smooth and striated to view these tensions. To reiterate briefly, striated space is sedentary space instituted by a state or civic apparatus, delimited, producing order and a succession of distinct forms that organize matter. It is where the line is subordinated to the point. Smooth space, on the other hand, is nomad space — entangled and unlimited in direction, an amorphous collection of pieces that can be joined in an infinite number of ways. Smooth space is where points are subordinated to the line rather than to dimension, wherein line is conceived as trajectory. The smooth is the space of events rather than formed and perceived things, where one locates affects and not properties.\textsuperscript{20} For Deleuze and Guattari it is the sea and the river that are the smooth spaces \textit{par excellence}, though they are also the first to encounter the demands of striation in the development of arts of navigation. In contrast to ocean and river, the city is the exemplar of striated space, an engine that reimparts the smooth and puts it back into operation. These spaces are in constant tension, always in a process of translation, with, for example, the smooth surfacing to trouble the striated, suspending its 'work' with 'free action'. Deleuze and Guattari use the example of patchwork, liminal, and impermanent edge cities of nomads to illustrate this encounter, and I find this a particularly useful example to think about the frost fair. Like the sea that becomes subject to navigation, Moxon's map attempts to inscribe the paths taken by walkers and hackney coaches upon the frozen river, though some of them lead nowhere and peter out inconclusively into blank space. Further, akin to the individuals whose errant trajectories drift in the smooth space of the ice, the booths themselves seem unfixed, mobile, transient. The closer we look traces of this nomadism permeate Moxon's map, and it is simply impossible for a viewer to get a fix on this location. Moxon uses no uniformity of direction in this map, and, in contrast to all maps of London, in the lower ichnographic rendering he turns the world upside down — literally — by placing north towards the bottom edge of the print, east to the left, south towards

\textsuperscript{20}Deleuze and Guattari (1987), pp. 474-490.
the top, and west to the right. He then reverses this for the bird's eye view, where we find the sites marked in the lower portion on opposite sides of Temple street above.

It seems to me that Moxon's representation, as we tease these contradictions out, begins to reveal the tensions between the production of knowledge about space, its representation through strategies of mapping and other forms of quantification, and use of space, social practices and tactics of occupation incommensurate with the former. Here I want to suggest that it is also worthwhile to view the frost fair in light of de Certeau's distinctions between space and place, definitions that also bear a productive affinity to the smooth and striated. In this way what Moxon represents is not a 'place', in the sense argued by Michel de Certeau, mastered by sight, an indicator of stability through the known positions of entities laid out beside one another, triumphing over the contingency of time, even though the map attempts to place each element in its own proper and distinct location. Space is always in flux, and to represent it is an attempt to stabilize it, to turn against its very mobility, to turn it into a place. Moxon's printed map fails to transform the uncertainties of the fair into readable spaces, and becomes the trace of a 'space', composed of the intersection of mobile elements, "actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it".21 The construction of the frost fair embodies the appropriation and use of an unstable site, an opportunity seized on the fly. In some sense this new city on the ice is an inversion of the current situation of London, a city without a charter, its companies and other corporate bodies subject to royal purge, in which a chimerical city renders obsolete all that came before. Is it not remarkably similar to Lefebvre's dream of an ideal city, which would be an ephemeral entity, "the perpetual oeuvre of the inhabitants, themselves mobile and mobilized for and by this oeuvre" in which time comes before place?22 The frost fair's contingency jars with attempts to

21 De Certeau (1984), pp. 36 and 117.
22 Lefebvre (1996), p. 173. For Lefebvre time-spaces become works of art uniting praxis and poetics on a social scale, leading to "the art of living in the city as a work of art".
define its limits, with Moxon's attempts to articulate boundaries that we can rely on to distinguish it as a visible totality. It is as if it were the very border itself, as we read in *Wonders on the Deep* "Making throughout but one continu'd Shore", a space of contact in which association and division, city and anti-city are inseparable, an in-between space which moves according to its own laws and even against the rhythms dictated by nature, by the laws (or lack thereof) of carnival and market. As one printed text put it, adopting the voice of the Thames and its regular denizens, its fish,

> Over our heads a Colony is come,
> That dispossess us both of house and home,
> Who cross to Natures laws have left the land,
> And on my liquid surface firmly stand.23

This handbill represented the fair as if it were a colonial deterritorializing force, uprooting the fixity of settlement and going against the laws of nature by allowing such an entity to be erected on a liquid foundation.

The representations of the frost fair discussed so far work hard to make the space of the fair into readable place, yet reveal anxieties over how this moment of crisis — the suspension of the everyday rhythms of the city — calls into question boundaries and limits. The frost fair, like the coffee-house discussed in chapter one, was a heterogeneous space, difficult to define, and the celebration of the wonders of the fair cannot help but accentuate its hybridity: the transmuting of river into road, river into city, frost fair into bridge. We have seen how in *Wonders on the Deep* the frost fair was a street that erased boundaries between river and shore, between London, the Temple, Westminster, and Southwark, making one continual shore. Within this broadside itself, the fair shifts from street, to shore, to bridge, since "Thrugh Bridge Men walk'd, whilst the strong Ice below / As that above, could numerous Buildings show". This connection drawn between frost fair and bridge, a connection also made visually in several of the different images by picturing the fair

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23 *News from the Thames; or the Frozen Thames in Tears* (1684).
in relation to London Bridge paralleling it in the background, is worth pursuing a little bit further. Indeed, in a very early image of a frost fair, from the frontispiece of a pamphlet published in 1608 by the Gosson printing house in London entitled *The Great Frost*, the movement of people and entertainments to the frozen Thames is seen in relation to the bridge. (Fig. 5.6) In this rough woodcut London Bridge appears at the left border, thus situating the viewer on the London side of the river looking towards the south bank. To the right of the bridge, on the frozen expanse of the ice, we see a mixture of city and fair: again, a beggar, an example of the urban's problematic 'other', as well as a porter with full basket of buns, and even a woman seated in a chair receiving some form of treatment bring the everyday social and economic interactions of the city into contact with carnival games and license, epitomized by the tavern tent outside of which men drink, and then fall down, though it is not clear whether this accident is due to drink or the slippery surface upon which the scene takes place. In the text which takes the form of a dialogue between a citizen and a countryman, the suspension of life in the city is driven home by the equation made between the frosted arches of London Bridge and the shut-up gates of the city. The city has been cut-off from all commerce in this "Dead Terme", turning everyone in the city into gentlemen by making them "idle". Both city and London Bridge are momentarily rendered 'use-less' by the new "artificiall bridge" of the fair. This bridge is concurrently a highway that seems to go in several directions at once, serving at the same time as "the roadway between London and Westminster, and between South-warke and London".24

John Taylor, the waterman poet without whom no account of doings upon the Thames would be complete, also marveled at the strange and hybrid space the freezing of the river would produce. When it froze earlier in the seventeenth-century, he questioned whether it was part of London or not. In light of Taylor, the inclusion of the beggar in the frontispiece of *The Great Frost*, and in later images

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24 *The Great Frost: Cold doings in London, except it be at the Lotterie* (1608).
such as the Hondius painting from 1683-4, should be read in relation to this production of a space in some sense outside the laws of both City and Crown. In this in-between space where jurisdiction was confused the beggar and vagrant were free to operate without fear of the law:

The beggers follow'd men in troupes and flockes,
And never fear'd the Constable or Stockes,
The Cage, and whipping-post were idle bables,
And lawes they count no more than Esops fables.25

Desires to build a carnival on the surface of the river were no doubt driven by the suspension to the quotidian life of the city, but also encouraged by prior representations of the river as a space of mixing and hybridity. Taylor described the Thames, or Thamasis, as the conjoining of two rivers — the male Tame and female Isis. They embrace and kiss, becoming joined into one: "Isis like Salmacis becomes with Tame, / Hermaphrodite in nature and in name".26 Thus the river Thames is produced as a space of transition, as a meeting of boundaries and frontiers, and an entity which is capable of incorporating its other.

Taylor was also to muse upon how to situate London Bridge in relation to this hybridity, ultimately being unable to resolve whether it was more of the river or of the City.27 Like London Bridge, the frost fair was itself a bridge that established,

25John Taylor, The Cold Tearme; or the Frozen Age; or the Metamorphosis of the River of Thames (1621)
26John Taylor, Taylor on Thame Isis (1632), p. 11. Also reprinted in Works of John Taylor the Water Poet not included in the Folio Volume of 1630 , (Spenser Society, 1870).
27This notion of the frost fair as a bridge seems to cross different media, appearing as a motif in poetry, printed image, and painting. From these early examples of developing a vocabulary to represent both the river and the frost fair to more than likely one of the last, a painting of 1739 by Jan Griffier the younger in the collection of the Guildhall, the fair is still seen in relation to the bridge. In Griffier's work, which echoes the cold and muted colours of the earlier canvases by Hondius and Griffier the elder, the frozen expanse of the Thames in the foreground is bordered on the left by the makeshift structures of a frost fair, again in which we can see traces of both urban economic and leisure activities, as well as carnival indulgences. This time though, the fair has moved a little upriver, perhaps echoing the early eighteenth-century shift away from the importance of central London to Westminster — the 'town' — and loosely forms a street reaching from Whitehall to Lambeth. A thin trail of pedestrians marches towards the fair from the City in the background, but also passes through the fair laterally across the ice, as if on a pilgrimage, to a pair of monolithic objects on the right. These are none other than the recently built central piers of the new Westminster Bridge, and ladders have been placed against the structures so that fairgoers can surmount them and get a view of the fair, the river, and the city from their summits. Behind them, as if a future trace of Westminster Bridge itself, another smaller
displaced, or transcended frontiers and shores, a spatial story that served to question boundaries. Thus, the ambivalent characterization of frost fair as concurrently bridge, road, and shore activates a tension found in all representations of spatiality organized by the determination of frontiers, the relationship between a legitimate place marked by the delineation of frontier and the alien exteriority to which it is tied by the bridge. Like the bridge, the frost fair is an entity that "has a mediating role", it "alternately welds together and opposes insularities".  

The fair as bridge transgresses the boundary, disobeying the law of place, allowing for the experience of the bewildering exteriority of the fair, but it also allows to re-emerge and be represented the 'other' hidden and controlled inside the limits.

Even though the Restoration encouraged a marked return of festive ritual after Puritan suppression, it has been noted that there was a shift away from religious festivals to those of a more civic nature. Festive life in Restoration England was becoming less attached to a religious or seasonal calendar and more associated with the histories of individual urban centres. However, though the frost fair was an urban festival, it was unlike other celebrations related to political and administrative occasions, such as urban processions associated with shrieval elections, mayoral shows, and royal entries. Despite the fact that some of the printed representations situate it within a historical chronology, the frost fair was not part of a ritual calendar serving to emphasize urban stability through cyclical renewal. Nor was it a regular and regulated urban market. As we have seen above in the debates over the legality of London's charter, markets in London were normally tightly controlled by City government. Authorities dictated the days of the week that specific commodities were vended in different locations, and even set the hours of the day suitable for commercial exchange. Market spaces themselves were often

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line of booths extend towards Lambeth and returns this long line of pilgrims from city through the smooth space of the river and fair back to the comforts of settlement. The painting is reproduced and briefly discussed in Warner, pp. 24 and 120.


controlled by leaseholders who rented stalls to traders. The frost fair, it seems, was subject to none of these stipulations. It was given birth by the unexpected, a fortuity that presented opportunities and challenged boundaries. Many broadsides marvel at the fair as a space "Where Shop-Rents were so cheap, and Goods so Dear", or that these makeshift booths seem to have no landlords, and "sit at no ground Rent".

Once frozen the river clearly became a different space, and gave rise to different tactics of appropriation. According to most accounts, it was members of the Watermen's Company, rendered idle by the freezing of the Thames, who turned their sail cloths and oars — clearly seen in the Warter representation — into structures from which to vend alcoholic beverages. Once this hybrid space solidified into a *terra firma* that could support several structures and different trades, a tricky legal question surfaced: who owned it, or, more importantly, who had the right to set up a commercial enterprise on this site? For the river was, as the poet who was also a waterman articulated, a public space that belonged to the City, not to any individual. According to Taylor, the Thames, like all important rivers was one of the "Cherishing veines of the body of every Countrey, Kingdome, and Nation", which, just as "the veines of man doth distill supporting sustinence, to every part and member of his Body", so does a river "convey all manner of commodities from place to place, to the benefit of all and every place in every Countrey and Territorie".

However, in spite of these words, the Thames seemed to belong more to the City of London than the kingdom, since Taylor tells us it was under "the care and providence of the Lord Mayor" for forty miles up to Stanes. Indeed, for six and a

30Linebaugh, pp. 192-197, contains a particularly useful account of the transformations of London's markets in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of the reasons that urban markets were carefully regulated by municipalities was to temper city and country conflicts.
31A Wonderfull Fair, or a Fair of Wonders (1683/4), George Croom, The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water (1683/4), and Charles Corbett, Blanket-Fair, or the History of Temple Street (1683/4).
32Beddard, p. 75.
half centuries prior to 1857, the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of London were Cons ervators of the River Thames. The Mayor held Courts of Conservancy eight times a year, two times each for the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex, thus extending City jurisdiction and influence far into the country. In contradistinction to the City walls and gates, which presented a physical and psychological boundary limiting and controlling contact with the country, the river made clear boundaries difficult to discern. I believe it is crucially important how Taylor argued for the river as a public space, perhaps one of the first spaces conceived of in this way in early modern England, in which private interests propelled by exchange value threatened communal use of the river and consequently would harm the City:

Shall private persons for their gainfull use'  
Ingross the water and the land abuse,  
Shall that which God and nature gives us free,  
For use and profit in community  
Be barr'd from men, and damb'd up as in Thames,  
(A shamelesse avarice surpassing shames).  

Taylor is even more specific than this when, in raising problems about the condition of the river, the Thames is not in need of "repaire" below London towards the Medway or within the bounds of the Conservancy. Outside of the latter, beyond Stanes Bridge, is a different story: from Oxford down to Stanes the river is all blocked with stakes and piles, stagnant, hardly moving. He particularly attacks the construction of a new middle class leisure spa near Wallingford "Whose water (cleare as Chrystall, sweet as hony) /Cures all diseases (except want of mony)". Here where this water is packaged as a commodity and "farre fetch'd in many a bottle", weirs have been constructed that almost span the entire river and block it. Taylor ends his critique of private interests intervening in the public space of the river by asking

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35 Taylor (1632), p. 16.
Shall Thames be barr'd its course with stops and locks,
With Mils, and hils, with gravell beds, and rocks:
With weares, and weeds, and forced Ilands made,
To spoil a publike for a private Trade?\textsuperscript{36}

Taylor's future brethren, the watermen in 1683-4, felt they should have a monopoly over trade at the frost fair since they were most directly affected by the frost. Their right of way on the river, and principle means of livelihood, were put in jeopardy by the transformation of liquid into solid. According to one contemporary newsletter, the watermen claimed a prerogative over others to erect booths on the Thames

but many tradesmen take the liberty to build them stalls where the streets are more crowded than Bartholomew fair, and the Roads as passable for Carts and Coaches as on firm land. But Mr. Water Bailiff extracts of them Toll and Ice Rent and forces them to pay. But the Watermen opposed it as being free of the River, saying though they could not Row thereon, they might build or Ride thereon, and it is adjudged for them.\textsuperscript{37}

It would be interesting to ponder, if the frost had continued, how far the watermen could have extended their prerogative on the river, and whether Taylor's argument that the river was public space and thus for the use of a community may have worked against them in their desires to see the fair serve the interests of one group alone. After their success in avoiding 'Toll and Ice Rent', the watermen went after their greatest enemy, seeking an injunction of sorts from the Court of Aldermen against hackney coach traffic on the ice.\textsuperscript{38} This conflict over jurisdiction, and any others, disappeared along with the ephemeral city after the thaw in February.

The extraction of Toll and Ice Rent must have proved difficult anyway, as booths changed locations daily, with as many new booths appearing as those which changed their spots on the ice. A comparison of the Warter and Moxon maps, and the introduction of other images of the frost fair that aspire to locate it, taken as a

\textsuperscript{36}Taylor (1632), p. 26.
\textsuperscript{37}Newdigate, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{38}Beddard, p. 76.
whole, convincingly reveal a similar quality of the unfixed and mobile. The printing booth, although often distinguished by its wooden structure as opposed to canvas or sailcloth, is found in several different places in these prints. In fact, few booths are found in the same place on the different representations, as if the ephemeral city of the fair was dismantled and put back together in a different way every day. We do know, in fact, from contemporary accounts that this did occur at least three times in January. On the 5th, 10th and 11th, thaws threatened to sink the whole enterprise, forcing the fair to be dismantled and removed, but increasing cold returned the makeshift collection of booths to the surface of the river. The chronological narrative of *Wonders on the Deep* informs us this city on the ice was disturbed by a small thaw which "made then desist for two days", but a shift in the wind bringing even colder temperatures sent them back out on the ice to re-erect their booths. In the end, another broadside tells us, "in Six Hours this great and Rary show, / Of Booths and Pass-times, all away did go". Remarkably, a version of Warter's engraving exists with subsequent letterpress additions dividing the image up into playing cards, so that the print itself could be cut up and used in a game, thereby recombining the pieces of the frost fair into any number of different combinations. (Fig. 5.7) As far as I have been able to discover, the dividing of a topographical image up into cards in this manner is unprecedented in early modern England, and exists in no other example except a reworking of the same plate on the

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39Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 359-362, Luttrell, I, p. 294, and Newdigate, p. 234. A pamphlet produced during an early eighteenth century frost fair by the so-called Icedore Frostiface, *An Account of all the Principal Frosts for above an Hundred Years Past; with Political remarks and Poetical Descriptions* (1740), makes use of the same citation from Hebrews as Evelyn did in his diary account of the fire of London in 1666 to describe the lack of fixity and permanence in the frost fair of that year. The author does not attempt to give an exact or comprehensive survey of the different trades and booths on the ice "because it may justly be said, that here we have no continuing City; our situation being so precarious, and the Form of Things here so liable to Change, that a Day, nay an Hour, may dissolve our Whole Community, and make the merriest of us all look grave".

40*Wonders on the Deep*, and Croom, *The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water*. 
occasion of another frost fair in the early eighteenth-century.\footnote{There are at least two of these prints extant, one in the Crace Collection of the British Museum, the other in the Ashmolean Museum’s Sutherland Collection. The broadside is divided to make up forty cards, thus the court cards would have to come from another deck. The later print is by John Lenthall, \textit{Frost Fair on the River of Thames by London} (1716), who used the same plate, changing the location of the booths, and adding to the scene a rolling press in addition to a letterpress. John Lenthall was Warter’s apprentice, and took over his business in 1709. Virginia and Harold Wayland, “Frost Fair Cards; Lenthall Pack No. XIX”, \textit{The Journal of the Playing-Card Society} , VII/2, November (1978), pp. 47-50, claim that frost fair cards originated with this 1716 print, but they are clearly wrong given the two surviving alterations of Warter’s image from 1683/4. Lenthall’s print includes text informing the viewer and purchaser that the print “makes a Compleat View of Frost Fair on the River of Thames and you have as well the Diversion of Playing with them as any Comon Cards”. Directions for a card game are also included.} (Fig. 5.8) With this topographical view — a strategy of place — turned into playing cards, the rules of the game have changed, so to speak, and the very way the print is intended to be used is a tactic that seems to preserve something of the flux and mobility of this ephemeral in-between space. If Warter’s engraving was indeed the ‘landskip’ produced at the behest of Charles II, is this perhaps not an ironic comment on the impossibility of gaining control over this space in the same way the King had with London by revoking its charter? One view for the King that deceives the viewer with its encompassing long distance vision, another view that resists this, cuts it up, violates it, and reconstructs this city in a different way every time.

\textit{The space/place of print in the re-imagined city.}

Returning to Evelyn and the diary citation with which I began this chapter, we see that the frost fair is an unexpected mix of a city laid out with formal streets, complete with all types of trades and commodities, while, at the same time, all of the following: “Continual faire”, bacchanalia, carnival, camp. This unsettling element of difference, for example, the way the city (permanence, settlement, culture) can at the same time be fair (temporary, shifting, vulgar and low) stems from the traditional collapsing of boundaries, divisions, and hierarchies within the space of the marketplace. As discussed in chapter one, the early modern marketplace was a site of permanent movement — of both people and of goods — dictated by a set of laws distinct from what controlled other aspects of the socius. For Bakhtin,
"the marketplace/fair was the center of all that is unofficial; it enjoyed a certain extra territoriality in a world of official order and official ideology", a "popular" aspect especially apparent on feast days.\(^\text{42}\) However, the representation of the frost fair as a bridge, as an entity where boundaries meet, suggests that market and fair is a more ambivalent space, both outside and inside, like the frontier itself. In their reappraisal of Bakhtin's formulation of carnival, Stallybrass and White have argued against the early modern market/fair as purely outside, a "place-beyond-place". For the latter the market was at once a bounded enclosure and site of open commerce. It was central to community identity and comforting by its "phenomenological presence", yet it was always a hybrid space, "only ever an intersection, a crossing of ways". As commingling of both market and fair, bridge and shore, the frost fair intensifies issues of identity found at the heart of ambivalent feelings towards the early modern market where "'inside' and 'outside' (and hence identity itself) are persistently mystified", a locus wherein "limit, centre, and boundary are confirmed and yet also put in jeopardy".\(^\text{43}\)

Further, Stallybrass and White, as well as Jean-Christophe Agnew, link carnival to the exchanges of the market and the theatre. Thus it is not surprising to find at least two broadsides referring to the fair in this way. *Erra Pater's Prophesy* marvels at the "Ice-bound Thames / Should prove a Theatre for Sports and Games", (Fig. 5. 9) as does *Great Britains Wonder*: "Behold the Wonders of this present Age, / A Famous River now become a Stage". (Fig. 5. 10) Agnew's view of the relationship between stage and market I have dealt with more fully in chapter one, in relation to my discussion of the coffee-house as a space of print. To reiterate briefly, Agnew argues that the early modern theatre and market were bound together by peculiar experiential properties that set them apart from other types of exchange. The market acted as an engine driving the detached and impersonal

\(^{43}\)Stallybrass and White, pp. 27-28.
abstractions of exchange value — formulated by new agrarian and commercial capitalism — to erode traditional reference points. Market exchanges were troublesome because they necessitated the crossing of boundaries, and thus it was always a threshold space, even when the marketplace made the transition from the margins of the city to the centre. As a threshold space, it was also associated with rituals of the fair and carnival which mediated an individual’s immersion in a boundary-less space: rituals of masking, androgyny, transgression of social boundaries, and the multiplication of identities. Thus, Agnew argues, the legitimacy of the marketplace was inseparable from its theatricality, which, by the seventeenth-century made the market a place of abstract exchanges where vision became obscured, a locus of concealment and misrepresentation, of "self-fashioning".

These aspects of the frost fair are more than brought out by the anonymous writer of *An Historical Account of the Late Great Frost*, who offered a representation of the fair as if it were a city on the ice with crowded streets and shops, where hackney coachmen "found better custom" than if they had remained in London streets. The fair slides, however, from market to theatre in the same sentence, from the place of business "to the only Scene of Pleasure in and about London", drawing people from city and suburbs — those sites of urban leisure outside of City control where playhouses and prostitution proliferated — to the Thames: "the Fields were deserted, and the River full". This text goes on to describe in detail anxious encounters on the ice and the consequences of extremes of social mixing. For example, a tale of deception is included in which two squires from the Temple are separated from each other at the fair. A prostitute in clever

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44Agnew, pp. 8 and 14. For Agnew, the dissolution of the structure of medieval estates led to a reappraisal of the character of exchange that bound British society together. Ritual, kin, and prescriptive bonds were moving towards contractual, commutable, and convertible forms of compensation multiplied by occasions for exploitation. See also Christopher Hill, "Covenant Theology and the Concept of 'A Public Person'", *Collected Essays*, III, pp. 300-324.

45*An Historical Account of the late Great Frost, In which are Discovered, in several Comical relations, the various Humours, Loves, Cheats, and Intreagues of the Town, as the same were managed upon the River of Thames during that Season* (1683/4), p.4.
disguise — a "Lady of the Town" — seduces one of them, getting him into a bawdy house where he is swindled in a confidence game. The second gentlemen, after searching in vain for his companion, takes a glass of wine in one of the booths where he too is drawn into a swindle, ending up the victim of robbery and violent assault on the ice after a card game. By far the most fascinating is a long tale of gender inversions that take place as a result of the frost fair, in which two women dress as men and go skating on the frozen river, but, having been overheard in their plans by a young male neighbour and sexual predator, are accosted on the ice by the neighbour and a friend dressed as women. The two women dressed as men are seduced by the two men made up as women, ultimately losing their "Maidenheads".

For Agnew the theatre is a space separate from the market but nevertheless connected to it as a kind of laboratory for exploring the new social relations of capitalism, raising questions about the instability of identity and the dissolving of boundaries within these processes. We have seen, however, that the connection between these two 'public' spaces of theatre and market is problematized by the intervention of the culture of print. The frost fair in 1683-4 does conflate theatre and market in this new city, but as it does a third entity emerges as worthy of note. In another pamphlet producing the space of the fair, Modest Observations on the Present Extraordinary Frost, the author known only as T.T. gives us this description: when the ice was frozen hard and thick enough to carry the lawyers from Temple Stairs to Westminster, then "whole Streets of shedds everywhere were built on the Thames, Thousands Passing, Buying, Selling, Drinking, and Revelling ... and most sorts of Trades-Shops on the Ice (and amongst the rest a Printing-house there erected)". In describing the fair, this citation moves from processes of settlement to those of market and carnival, as Evelyn's does, and within the bounty of the different trades established there finds one worthy of being singled out: the

printing house. The different textual accounts and visual images we have seen so far show traditional fair entertainments and include a range of identifiable booths and trades from chop houses and taverns to toy shops and gaming stalls. However, as with Moxon's map, several of these images identify only the printing house and another, troublesome, entity at the centre of Restoration London, the coffee-house. For example, Croom's *True and Exact Representation of the Wonders Upon the Water* identifies six booths, and amongst the tavern, "Oxfoord Booth", "Wiltshire Booth", and the "Weavers", the printing booth and "Loyal Coffee house" face each other across "Freezeland Street". (Fig. 5.11) Another broadside image, *A Wonderful Fair, or a Fair of Wonders*, identifies only the printing booth on this main street. (Fig. 5.12) Just to the left, amid a smaller cluster of booths, the "Booth with A Phoenix on it and Insured soe long as the Foundation stand" — probably a coffee-house — is indicated, and way to the left, on both the margin of the image and the fair, "A Show Booth", as if the theatre is much less central to this re-imagination of urban space than print culture. Eighteenth century images of frost fairs often replicate this, for example a print from 1740 shows a frost fair of eleven booths, with the only four identified being two coffee-houses and two printing establishments, as if this utopic city contained nothing worthy of note except print and the spaces in which it finds its greatest circulation. (Fig. 5.13) It is to this peculiar connection between printing and the frost fair that I turn for the remainder of this chapter.

What was printed and sold on the frozen Thames in 1683-4? We have already seen that the so-called Loyal Printers produced broadsides and songs such as *Wonderful News from the River of Thames*, a celebratory representation of the fair that ends by casting aspersions on the Whigs and acclaiming Charles II and the Duke of York. Now, there were at least two identifiable printers on the ice in 1683-4, the second being George Croom, who was involved in the production of a different type
of print. Croom enjoyed a lucrative trade printing hand bills for individuals or small groups of fairgoers with their names and the dates that they visited the fair. Croom is almost certainly the printer Evelyn referred to above as making up to five pounds a day by printing one line for six pence at a time, a significant amount of printed production. The surviving bills from this frost fair, or tickets as they are often catalogued, are quite small, usually with only a decorative black border surrounding a name or group of names: for instance, extant tickets commemorate the visit of Charles II, the heir James II, and entourage to the fair on 31 January, "Monsr. et Madm Justel" on 5 February, and the Earl and Countess of Clarendon, and Lord Cornbury on 2 February. (Fig. 5.14) Many of the broadsides and pamphlets marvel at this formerly mysterious and arcane art of printing made public in the space of the fair. For example, Wonders on the Deep singled out "Printing, an Art before ne're publick shown / Upon the Frozen-Flood, to Thousands known", A True Description of Blanket Fair extolled "The Art of Printing there was to be seen / Which in no former Age had ever been". The Thames Uncas'd, a large broadside of eighteen verses, gives the printers their due in the last:

Let the printers have their due,
Who printed your Names
On the River Thames,
While their hands with the cold look'd blue:
There's mine, there's thine,
Will for all Ages shine.

47 Luttrell, I, p. 297, in his entry for 4 February, 1683/4, claims that there were "three of four printing houses" on the ice, thus significantly outnumbering any other concentration of trades.
48 These are all in the Crace Collection of the British Museum. Two are by Croom, the ticket printed for the Justels has no printer's name on it, and thus indicates the possibility of another printer on the ice providing visitors with these mementos. There are several of these tickets in the Bodleian Library's collection of printed ephemera as well. Croom's work on the ice briefly discussed by Beddard, p. 76.
49 The Thames Uncas'd; or the Watermans Song Upon the Thaw (1684), A True Description of Blanket Fair upon the River of Thames, in the Time of the Great Frost in the year of our Lord 1683 (1683/4), and Wonders on the Deep. Croom, in his illustrated broadside after the fair was over, The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water, identified his own printing booth "of wondrous Fame".
In *A Wonderful Fair*, the broadside whose visual depiction of the fair identified only the printing booth, the contrast of the ephemerality of the fair and life itself to the ability of print to defeat time is raised as well. Individuals went to the printing house on the ice "to have their names recorded" in order "to satisfie their children after death".

One must keep in mind that prior to the Restoration, printing was, like other trades in early modern England, still a mystery, a repertoire of arcane knowledge transmitted orally and by example through tightly governed apprenticeship.\(^{50}\) However, during the Restoration, conflicts between the Stationer's Company and individuals who claimed that printing was tied to the royal prerogative and patent grants, forced the practices of printing and its historiography into the very same public arena that print culture had itself generated.\(^{51}\) Joseph Moxon, for example, publisher of the map of the frost fair and Thames discussed above, also began to publish in 1683 his influential *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, the first complete description of printing house practices.\(^{52}\) In fact, the small images of printing presses engraved by James Moxon in the upper right of this map are taken from the illustrations in *Mechanick Exercises*. In this light, it is significant that, according to all the extant representations of the fair, that there is no 'bookseller' on the ice. According to Adrian Johns, Moxon's making public of the skills of the master printer and print's history was to "propound a positive account of a certain culture of handicraft labor" in opposition to the Stationers' Company domination by booksellers.\(^{53}\) By the Restoration, booksellers in the Company controlled more 'copy' than printers, and the idea was tossed around of forming a

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\(^{50}\)Halasz, p. 20.

\(^{51}\)Johns, pp. 266-379. I cite here chapters four and five of this work — the former on the printer John Streater and patent holder/ historiographer Richard Atkyns, whom we have met before, and the latter concerns the seventeenth century English historiography of printing — for they deal specifically with these issues.


\(^{53}\)Johns, p. 107.
separate company in order to restrict the power of the bookseller. However, Moxon and other printers who were not members of the Company themselves but who nevertheless challenged the Stationers', such as the former republican John Streater, supported prerogative control over printing and the granting of royal patents. This turn backwards at the Restoration, in order to attack Company control over print, necessitated the circulation of images of printing and the re-writing of its history. For Johns, Streater's attack on Stationers' Company monopoly, even if it was couched in terms of increasing the power of the restored monarchy, "marks the genesis of a fundamental change in political culture". This shift was rooted in Streater's republicanism and belief in a "reading commonwealth", and it succeeds, though Johns does not specifically use the term public sphere, in "epitomizing the 'public reason' of the ensuing century".54

The rarity of having printing presses in public space upon the ice, and Croom's entrepreneurial idea of printing the names of fairgoers and date of the visit on a printed object, stressed the uniqueness of the fair and initiated a tradition of printing at frost fairs that surprisingly sought to inscribe individuals both within the space of the fair and within the history of printing. Frost fairs in the early eighteenth century, which picture printing and the coffee-house as the most central aspects of the fair, saw the production of much more elaborate individualized prints with verse and image. Several of these, such as that printed for Mrs. Elizabeth Harris on 20 January, 1715, underneath the arms of King George, made use of a verse inviting the individual fairgoer — "You that walk here" — to commemorate the singularity of the year that gave rise to such wonders of the fair. (Fig. 5. 15) Curving around this verse and the fairgoer/print purchaser's name, following the border and forcing the viewer to turn the card in one's hands to read it, is a one sentence history of printing in England: "The Noble Art and Mystery of Printing was first invented by

54Johns, p. 321. Johns does use the term public sphere in a footnote reference here to Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", and thus we have come full circle back to the coffee-house.
John Gurtenbrugh, 1440, and brought into Great Britain by John Islip, in the Year of our Lord, 1471. Another print of 17 January, 1715, this one for Mr. William Robins, floats the purchaser’s name within a decorative field which includes the oval portraits of "Gottemburgh" and "W. Caxon". (Fig. 5. 16) These cards emphasize the remarkable disruption that allowed such marvels as printing to be performed on the ice, as well as subtly advocating the superiority and durability of print over writing— "Here you may print your name, tho’ cannot write, / Cause num’d with Cold". Further, they seem to indicate that printing can be used to transmit knowledge of the individual’s experiences to future generations merely through the inscription of a name, a sign of identity, upon the surface of a vendible commodity.55

Ironically, out of the fair, which threatens to collapse boundaries between individuals through its carnival excesses and social mixing, printing maintains traces of the individual subject who negotiated the space of the fair. These walkers in the ephemeral city enjoyed the rare sights of what both the fair and printing offered, the latter preserving the evanescent, and fixing the name of the subject within the movement of individual memory and collective history. It is almost as if the name is a kind of protection, a substitute thrown in front of oneself as a shield between the inside/outside, self/other conflation in the space of market and fair.56 Printing seems to belie itself here, since as a trade distinguished by the mass production of identical objects — the first capitalist form of production according to

55As Dean MacCannell argued in The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York, 1976), pp. 147-155, "the dividing line between structure genuine and spurious is the realm of the commercial ". The spurious social structure of modernity, of which processes of tourism are the marker, is composed out of information, memories, images, and other representations which become detached from ‘genuine’ cultural elements and are circulated and accumulated in everyday life. Thus everywhere within the material culture of modernity "we encounter reminders of the availability of authentic experiences at other times and in other places". I find it suggestive to think of the relation between the frost fair and printing as giving rise to a very early form of individualized ‘souvenir’ production, and consequently as part of a process of alienation — furthered by the historical specifics of the loss of London’s charter — in which the individual fairgoer becomes detached from place. This alienation is "accompanied by the double movement of the individual into new and foreign situations, and by moving attractions out of their original contexts". I am troubled, however, by the contrast between the spurious and the genuine or authentic, and I feel that shifts in social structure are in fact shifts within the predominance of different forms of representation.

56Jacques Derrida, Aporias (Stanford, 1993), pp. 11-12, and On the Name (Stanford, 1995), p. 10.
Walter Ong\textsuperscript{57} — in the space of the fair it nevertheless makes each object unique. Paradoxically, printing allows the proper name to be given back to the subject in the 'commonplace' of market and fair, as a reconfirmation of identity when the individual is most opened up to the multiplicities of the carnivalesque. As Stallybrass and White have argued, the marketplace gives the illusion of being a separate, enclosed, and self sustaining totality, and 'thinking' the marketplace is akin to 'thinking' the body. The illusion of separateness and enclosure correlates to the notion of the individual subject, the boundaries of whom imply closure and stability but obscure a dependence upon its outside, its others.\textsuperscript{58} While the fair itself is represented in several prints as a bridge, printing too acts as a type of bridge within this space, allowing access to the ambivalent experiences of market and fair in which boundaries are collapsed, but offering a safe return to the comforts of the familiar by reasserting identity through imprinting of the individual name. Given that London's autonomy and corporate identity were effectively stripped away by Charles II in the proceedings of the \textit{Quo Warranto}, are we witnessing a shift for a dweller of London away from the formation of individual identity through attachment to place — intricate community links based upon neighbourhood, parish, trade guild and participation in civic politics — to that produced in the open space of the market, where identity is confirmed through the objects one is able to purchase? Thus, it is not just that the individual is produced within the marketplace, for example in the distillation of authorship out of the common repertoire of market/fair and theatre for Stallybrass and White, but, more importantly, this individual seems to be produced within the heterogeneous marketplace of print. I don't believe it is too much to suggest here that identity within early modernity — a 'fall into subjectivity' which led to the production of the space of the coffee-house — does not occur as a result of the rise of the liberal public sphere, but is in the process

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{57}Ong, p. 118. \textsuperscript{58}Stallybrass and White, p. 28.}
of being constructed as a by product of the marketplace of printed representations. It is only when the boundaries, rights, and freedoms of an older London were dissolved, that the individual could then be 'located' within the abstract space of this market. In this way, the strange connection between the frost fair and printing becomes important for it shows us how print culture during the Restoration was instrumental in creating an urban subjectivity that recognized itself as belonging to a public in which membership was confirmed through consumption of printed objects.

59 Is it too much to suggest that this may be what the Bishop of Oxford was hinting at when, in a letter to Lady Hatton of 25 January, 1684, he wrote about the frost fair that "this new city upon the river is a lively embleme of the designes and business of this world, where the foundation is water and the first thaw drowns the whole fabric". See Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, II, p. 45.
News sheets

(In my research for this dissertation, I consulted the following Restoration news sheets. They are all from the Burney Collection of news sheets and newspapers held by British Library)

*The London Gazette.*

*The Newes.*

*The True Protestant Mercury, or Occurances Foreign and Domestick.*

*The Domestic Intelligence, or News both from City and Country.*

*The Impartial Protestant Mercury.*

*The True Domestick Intelligence; or News from both City and Country.*

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*The Benefit and Invention of Printing, by John Fox, that Famous Martyrologist.* (1704).

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A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome Drink Called Coffee, and its Incomparable Effects in Preventing or Curing Most Diseases Incident to Humane Bodies. (1674).

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The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion.


I.2 The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion. Broadside with etching by Wenceslaus Hollar and text by Henry Peacham, ca. 1641-2.
I4

Lord Have Mercy Upon Us. Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text

printed for Thomas Lambert, 1636.
A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome Drink Called Coffee.

The famous drink of the Turkish Empire, which in the hands of the General, was described as a remedy for many ailments. The drink, when made from the best materials, is described as a wholesome and beneficial beverage. It is said to prevent disease, heal the stomach, and improve the complexion.

When the first United States Congress met, the members were known to drink coffee. The drink was described as a rich cordial to purify and beneficial to many people. It was said to move the drost, give ease to the gout, and drive away diseases. It was also said to help digestion and improve appetite.

In the winter months, when raw fruits breed and the weather is too cold to purge or bleed, coffee was said to be a rare and precious drink. It was described as a friend of the heart, the liver, and the brain, and a preventative of melancholy.

The coffee-house was a place where people gathered to enjoy the drink and socialize. It was described as a place where gentlemen, trade men, and all were welcome. The coffee-house was said to be a place where people could come and enjoy the drink without the risk of disease or injury.
1.4 Map showing the location of coffee-houses around the Royal Exchange, ca 1748.
The TRUE and EXACT REPRESENTATION OF THE Wonders upon the Water, DURING THE LAST UNPARALLELED FROST UPON THE RIVER of THAMES, 1684.

A PROSPECT of the FROZEN Thames Feb 20. 1684.

The various Sports beheld here in this Piece, Which for Six weeks were then upon the Water, the true and exact representation of the Wonders upon the Water, During the Last Unparalleled Frost upon the River of Thames, 1684.

1. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
2. The Band, one here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
3. The Reel of Silke, and how much there is made, The Turtle dove is off, without the aid Of Horse or Horse, he works at a Hunger.
4. The Dutch men here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
5. The Band, one here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
6. The Dutch men here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
7. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
8. The Band, one here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
9. The Dutch men here in a Captivating Scene, To guide the Conductors their Tracks and Train.
10. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
11. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
12. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
13. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
14. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
15. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
16. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
17. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
18. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.
19. Here Men well mourned do on Horseback, A Postilion, drags his Load, and Heavy one in front.

1.5 The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water. Broadside with engraving and text printed for George Croom, 1683/4.
1.6  *The Coffeehous Mob*. Engraved frontispiece for Ned Ward, *The fourth Part of Vulgus Britanicus or the British Hudibras*, 1710.
THE QUAKERS DREAM:

OR,

The Devil’s Pilgrimage in England:

BEING

An infallible Relation of their several Meetings,

Shriekings, Shakings, Quakings, Roarings, Yellings, Howlings, Tremblings in the Bodies, and Rumbling in the Bellies: With a Narrative of their several Arguments, Tenets, Principles, and Strange Devices: The strange and wonderful Satanical Apparitions, and the appearing of the Devil unto them in the likeness of a black Boar, a Dog with flaming eyes, and a black man without a head, causing the Dogs to bark, the Swine to cry, and the Cattle to run, to the great admiration of all that shall read the same.

London, printed for G. Holton, and are to be sold at the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1655.

1.8 The Quakers Dream. Title page with woodcut, printed for G. Holton, 1655.
1.9 Seventeenth century Turkish miniature depicting a coffee-house scene.
1.10 Scene in the Turk's Head (?) Coffee-house. Anonymous woodcut in John Hancock, Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco, 1672.
The Statue of King Charles II at the entrance of Cornhill. Anonymous print, ca. 1672.
In the intermediate space unto two other things, or opposite to one of them.

§ III. For the clearer explication of these Local Prepositions, I shall refer to this following Diagram. In which by the Oval Figures are represented the Prepositions determined to Motion, wherein the Acuter part doth point out the tendency of that motion. The Squares are intended to signify Rest or the Term of Motion. And by the round figures are represented such relative Prepositions, as may indifferently refer either to Motion or Rest.

Illustration from John Wilkins, *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, 1668.
1.15 The Elevation, Plan, and History of the Royal Exchange of London. Undated and anonymous 18th century print.
1.16 *Byrsa Londinensis* / The Royal Exchange of London. Etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1644.
Print depicting the interior of the Royal Exchange, 1768.
1.18 Print depicting the facade of the Royal Exchange, 1788.
2.1 The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers, &c: through ye City of London, November ye 17th, 1679. Broadside with engraving and text printed for Jonathan Wilkins, 1679.
The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade. Engraving printed by Mary Clark for Henry Brome, 1680.
The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade. Second version, frontispiece for Roger L’Estrange, *A Collection of Several Tracts in Quarto; Written Since the Discovery of the Popish Plot, 1681.*
2.4 Woodcut of the "Burning of the Pope". From Benjamin Harris, *The Protestant Tutor*, 1679.
2.5 Woodcut of "a masecree" and "London in Flames" from Harris, The Protestant Tutor, 1679.
2.6 Images of popish violence from Edward Clark, *The Protestant School-Master*, 1680.
2.7 Popish plots from Moses Lane, *The Protestant School*, 1681.
The tormenting of Malefactors.

Malefactors are brought from the Prison, 1. (where they are wont to be kept.) by the Sergeant, 2. (god) to the place of Execution. Theives 4. are bound by the Hangman, 6. on the Gallows; 5. Where matters are beheaded; 7. Malefactors are either laid upon a Wheel, 8. (ken, having their legs broken,) or upon a stake. Witches are burnt in a great Fire. 10. Some before they be executed have their tongues cut out. 11. Their hands are cut off. 12. They are burnt with Pincers. 14.

Murthers, and Robbers are burnt in a great Fire. 10. Some before they are executed have their tongues cut out. 11. They have their hands cut off. 12. They are burnt with Pincers. 14.

Malefactors are put into the Pillory, are whipped, 20. (19.) are hanged, are beheaded, are condemned to the galleys, (formel, to perpetual in pi.-) Traitors are pulled in pieces with 4 horses.
2.11 Sir Edmondbury Godfrey strangled. Woodcut from Harris, *The Protestant Tutor* (1679).
2.12 The Attempting of the King in his Sedan. Engraved emblem XXIV from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680).

**EMBLEM XXIV.**

The Attempting of the King in his Sedan.

Can in no place Majestick Man go free,
But he must still be dog'd by villany?
But though approach'd, and he drawn near the sting,
They stagger at the glories of the King.

WARD. 23. v. 14.

Woe unto you, Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore shall ye be receive the greater damnation.

Is this the way,
O Rome!
Thou dost affay,
And hop't to overcome?
Are you not yet convinced the Cause
Is far from good;
So far,
The very laws
If God and Man declare gainst Human blood,
Such more to dabble in th' Imperial flood,
If you do still
Run on in ill,
And take a pride in hopes to kill,
All will defiers be,
And leave th' See,
'Gainst you prome, such cruelty.
But why do I,
Expostulate,
Or talk to the most stubborn of Mankind ?
For he must dye,
And fall accordingly the fate,
Which in Eternity
Such Souls do find,
How ere on earth
Whilist he draws breath,
I would have this great man forsee,
He sways against the stream in Treachery,
Look from your fear,
* Religious Cheat,
And view what Confusions them around
The very hand that was to give the wound: *Twas
2.13 The Execution of the Conspirators. Engraved emblem XXX from The Protestants Vade Mecum (1680), with text from XXIX.

EMBLEM XXX.

Ezek. Chap. 8. v. 18.

Therefore will I also deal in my fury, my eyes shall not spare, neither will I have pity; and though they cry in my ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

There was a day when from the holy See,
A grand Commission sign'd for villany,
Was sent to Britain: at the strange debate,
Were all the Cheats of Rome, to nominate
Able Conspirators to drive on the Trade,
Whilst he another prompt to invade.
Not doubting the effects, they onwards fisier,
And find, or send a Crown of Traitors here.
After the scourge of Heav'n, the Plague, had swept
The City clean, the Vipers hither crept;
Got Salamander-like to near the Crown,
They quickly burnt its Royal City down:
With this great Mischief they not yet comens,
Promote a way to alter Government;
Brought Slaves to Plot against the Sov'reignty,
That the dull fools might rule by Anarchy,
But the Egg's found the Cockatrice had laid,
And all the Plot's unravel'd and betray'd.
The miled Traitors to their Deaths are hurl'd,
Poor, cafe Fools, and popp'd out of the world.
This device blasted, Rome a while lay still,
Thought 'twas not safe as yet to treat us ill.
But the huge Cramour and the Hubbub done,
She falls again into Projection;
Concludes to lay our Suburbs waste by Fire,
That they in flames, like London, might expire.
And 'twas not long after the train was laid,
But Southwark to their fury was betray'd.

When once your Plots in Woman's lap are thrown,
'Tis the last Gap Rome fetches for a Crown.

St. Ka-
The writings found in the Meal-tub. Engraved emblem XXIX from *The Protestants Vade Mecum* (1680), with text from XXX.
EMBLEM XXV.

Reading taking off Mr. Bedloe's Evidence.

New Plots require new Measures, these new Men,
Who move in hopes to leave it up again;
And though more silently they full design,
We've yet an Engineer to find the Mine.

JOB, Chap. 15. v. 5.

For thy mouth uttereth thine Iniquity, and thou choosest the tongue of the crafty.

What shrub is this that Rome hath lent?
To undermine the Government?
A lump of Aches, Cramps, and Gout,
A thing so ram'd
And doubly ram'd
With ill,
Death will not find him out,
Nor cares to kill.
A kisk just fitted up for boys,
A thing that only makes a noise
To please the Babe, who thinks its force destroys.
He's so unworthy of the name of man,
'Twould to the Race
Bring such disgrace,
All will deny themselves that can.
Has Rome which kept this pudding, has Rome Father
Sent us an empty bladder, bubble rather;
Composed of Soap and water forced to fly,
And strives to reach the Region of the sky?
But the first gust it meets
I th' first career,
The empty nothing greets,
And sends it here,
Where to its being nothing it retires,
And glorious nothing, nothing much admires.
Such is the paltry thing that Rome
So lately lent,
To circumvent
And keep her Ministers from doom.
This is that picture drawn on each mans dore,
That hopes the Conquest of th'insulting Whore.
Scourge his rebellious outside here on earth,
Forgive all sins committed since his birth,
With holy water wash his crimes away,
For upon earth he has not long to stay.

How vile and loathsome is thy fatal place,
This gaping womb, this Chamber of Disgrace!
Look on the dismal comforts of this Cave,
And then compare 'em to a loathsome grave;
Then view thy fear'd and blacker Soul within,
And then if possible repent thy sin:
Think on the tender mercies of thy King,
And let his goodness some Confession bring;
Think on the Nation, and thy native fear,
And there (although condemn'd) do something great.
Let not thy loaded Soul opprest with care,
Sink, nor its burden load thee to despair.
Nor let the smooth delusive Jesuits tale
(That flatters till 's hang'd thee) yet prevail.
Think he but preaches to procure his own,
Left thou dispairing, he might too be known.
Be not so blind to think you ever can
Have (when condemn'd by God as well as man)
Equivocating Refervations there,
That staff of your Religion more then pray'r.
There's no defending, all's too plainly known,
And your black crime before the Bar is thrown;
No, rather purge thy Soul, and let it be
Made light, to soar up to Eternity.
It will not move; he is obturate still,
And turns his Reason off, to serve his Will.
He mask'd in zeal, the beaten path doth move,
In acting Crimes to merit Heav'n above.
Has been a Rebel to his God and King,
Which will without disputé Salvation bring!'
2.17. Rogationtide symbolic violence in the 20th century.
2.18 Print of Papal procession from Angelo Rocca, *De Sacrosancto Christi Corpore* (1599).
2.19 Print of the *possesso* of Innocent XI (1676).
2.20 Photograph of Catherine Wheel Alley today.
2.21. Detail of Fig. 2.1.
A Representation of the Popish Plott in 29 figures. Broadside with engraving and text printed for Robert Greene (n.d.).
2.25 Medals illustrating the death of Godfrey.
The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers, &c. through the City of London, November the 17th, 1680. Broadside with engraving and text printed for Nathaniel Ponder, Jonathan Wilkins, and Samuel Lee, (1680).
2.27 Roomes' Trechery & Hell bred Cruelty and Englands Misery. Broadside with engraving and text printed for Ponder, Wilkins, and Lee, (1680).
First pageant platform, 1680. Detail of Fig. 2.26.
2.29 Last pageant platforms 1680. Detail of Fig. 2.26.
Print depicting the plague in London. Engraving by John Dunstall, with text and statistics collected by John Sellers (1665).
| London 39 | Bill of Mortality for London and suburbs August 15-22, 1665, with verso recording of the diseases and casualties of the week. |
A Rod for Run-awayes.

Gods Tokens.

Of his fearful Judgements, sundry ways pronounced upon this City, and on seuerall persons, both flying from it, and staying in it.

Expressed in many dreadful Examples of sudden Death, fallen upon both young and old, within this City, and the Suburbs, in the Fields, and open Streets, to the terror of all those who live, and to the warning of those who are to dye; so be ready when God Almighty shall bee pleased to call them.

By T h o. D.

Lord, have mercy on London.

Painted at London for John Treffile, and are to be sold at his Shop in Smithfield. 1645.
LONDON'S LAMENTATION.
Or a fit admonishment for City and Countrey.

Wherein is described certaine causes of this affliction and visitation of the Plague, yeare 1641, which the Lord hath been pleased to inflict upon us, and withall what means must be used to the Lord, to gaine his mercy and favor, with an excellent spiritual medicine to be used for the preservative both of Body and Soule.

London, Printed by E. P. for John Wright Junior. 1641.
THE COUNTRY AGUE
OR, LONDON her Welcome home to her retired Children.

TOGETHER,

With a true Relation of the Warlike Funerall of Captaine RICHARD
ROBYNE, one of the Twentie Captaines of the trayned Bands
of the Citie of London., which was performed the 24. day of
September last, 1625, in Armes, in the time of this Visitation,
when the Rumour in the Country went current,
That London had not people enough left alue to bury her Dead.

Planxerunt Britades resorat plagensibus Echos.

By HENRY PETOWE, Mathew of the Artillerie Garden, London.

Printed for Robert Allde, and are to be sold at the Greyhound in
Fanta Church-gate.
Welcome Home Brother. Engraved print with text by John Goddard (1665).
3.7 *A Looking-glasse for City and Countrey*. Broadside with woodcut and text printed for H. Gosson and E. Wright (ca. 1625).
Lord Have Mercy Upon Us.

This is the humble Petition of England unto Almighty God, most earnestly imploring His Divine bounty for the cessation of this Mortality of Pestilence now reigning amongst us: With a lamentable Lift of Deaths Triumphs in the weekly Burials of the City of London, and the Parishes adjacent to the same.

We see wicked men, that they can not not come.

Afflicted! O the wrath of God!

Is that can not be quench'd with tears?

The faithful fear of (indeed) for many years,

We comfort it, upon our repentance,

Pray and work thy dreadful chastisement;

O mercy still, for we are cry.

In God have mercy, or we dye.

They had plagued with the Pestilence,

Stay thy hand upon our preservation.

Miserable (good God!) that we are dust and clay.

From thee we were, for we are pray.

In thy trouble, we are unable.

We pray to do any good without thy aid.

They then, for their patience must.

Invoke from thy supernatural throne,

Our misery be thy favour shown.

To account for we have filmed all.

For the earth and the sky, we are able.

I shall be to thee, and with our cries

To ask, O let thy great eyes

Our suffrers reflect, of blessed

Both in soul and body, we appeal

That thy mercy, Richard! harken we.

What can we say, but, Lord have mercy upon us.

A Prayer to be used in this time of sickness or mortality.

Lord have mercy, and have mercy upon us.

For the earth and the sky, we are able.
3.9 Londons Lord Have Mercy Upon Us. Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text printed for Frances Coles, Thomas Vere, and John Wright (1665).
3.10 *The Mourning-Cross; or England's Lord Have Mercy Upon Us*. Broadside with woodcut, statistics, and text printed for Thomas Milbourn (1665).
4.1 Wenceslaus Hollar, Parallel views of London before and after the fire of 1666. Etching with text key, (1666).
Virgil's Aeneid.

And once again in the known belly hide.
Ah! whom on hope, when Heaven hath Help deny'd!
Here we behold, from Pallas' Temple, fair
Cassandra drag'd by the dishevell'd Hair,
Her sparkling Eyes lift to Heaven in vain;
Her eyes, for Cords her tender Hands restrain.
As this sad sight Choruses much inrag'd,
Amongst the Thickets desperately engag'd;
We follow, and break through an armed Throng,
Her safety by Darts from the high Temple flung.
Our own destroy'd us, and sad Slaughter make,
A change of Arms, and Grecian Helms mistake.
Thrice Cursed Grecians from all parts recruit,
And sharply for the recou'd Maid dispute;
Then both their Arides all their Men draw up,
Fierce 'Ares charg'd, and the Dolopian Troop.
So winds to Basea bring up all their Force,
Zeus' and Jove's, Eurus Eastern Horse;
The wind refund, incensed 'Ares raves,
And with his Trident flies up dreadful Waves.
Thus we by Pharaoh's overthrow'd,
And by night's help clas'd round about the Town,
Again appear; their Fellow Wars they know,
And by our mantling of the Word, the Foe.
One-pow'd Choruses, Peneclus flew,
And Pallas Altars did with Blood imbue.
No 'Ares fell, most faithful to his truth,
Nor all Troy none knew a man more just,
Though it please Heaven that he should suffer two.
Their own Friends Hyppas and Deyas flew;
Nor they great Piety could save from Death,
The Penates, nor Apollo's sacred Wreath.
Troy's after wishes, and last Flames of moan,
If in your fall I Danger did decline.
Virgil's Aeneid.

[Engraving of Hermes leading Aeneas and Creusa out of Troy. Engraving by Lombart/Hollar from Oigiby's Aeneid (1663).]
4.4 View of London before the fire. Engraving published by Justus Danckerts.
4.6 London Verbrandt. Broadside with engraving and text in Dutch, printed for Nicolaes Visscher (1666/7).
4.7 *Afbeelding van de Stadt London.* Broadside with engraving and text in Dutch, printed for Jacob Venckel (1667).
Platte Grondt der Verbrande Stadt London. Broadside with hand coloured engraving and text in Dutch, French, and English printed for Marcus Doornick (1667).
Wenceslaus Hollar, *An Exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes, and Churches Contained within the Ruines of the City of London*. Etching with inset prospect of the city burning and text key printed for Nathaniel Brooke (1669).
Practical Perspective.

DEFINITION III.

By Practical Perspective, is meant the Art Dissecting, which is considered, the breaking of beams, whether they be seen through a Glass or Otherwise, cut up into several Plains, or Plains.

This Art or Science is by curious wits brought into Theory and Practice. The Theory is defined, beforehand. And

DEFINITION V.

The Practice may define to be an Art Manual, wherein the Theory is reduced to Acts. This Manual Art is compounded of Descriptive, Orthographic, and Stereographic.

DEFINITION VI.

Descriptive is the State or Bottom, wherein any Body or Building is erected. And therefore the Object of Stereographic is to describe the Bottom or State of any Body, or Building.

There be two sorts of Stereographic named in this Book, viz: the Stereometric Stereographic and the Scenographic Stereographic.

DEFINITION VII.

By the Scenographic Stereographic is meant the true Geometric Bottom or State of any Body or Building. As, Ordinarily, the State of a Column, and in any other Figure equally is the State of a Column. This Scenographic Stereographic is not to be considered or looked a Glass, but seen to be in a Glass, and seen to be by a Glass, or by a Glass; or by a Plane parallel to the Plane, and therefore the State be below with it. But the opposite.

DEFINITION VIII.

The Scenographic Stereographic is the appearance of the same Body in Section, or through a Glass erected perpendicularly on the Plain whereon it stands. As allowing the Circle a to be the Geometric Stereographic of a Column, the Scenographic Circles b c d shall be the Shortened Stereographic of the same Column.
4.13 Map of London. Engraving published by Peter Stent (1653) and based upon original view by John Norden.
Illustration of scenography and ichnography from Moxon, *Practical Perspective* (1670).
4.15  *Platte Grondt der Stadt London*. Broadside with engraving and text printed for Frederik de Wit (1667).
4.16  Detail of Fig. 4.15.
5.1 Jan Griffier, *Frost Fair on the Thames*. Oil painting 1683/4.
5.4 *An Exact and Lively Mapp or Representation of Booths and all the Varieties of Shows and Humours Upon the Ice on the River of Thames by London.* Engraving (possibly by William Faithorne) with text key printed for William Warter (1683/4).
Wonders on the Deep; or, the Most Exact Description of the Frozen River of Thames. Broadside with woodcut and text printed for P. Brooksby (1683/4).
5.6 Title page The Great Frost (1608), with woodcut, printed for H. Gosson.
5.7 Alternate version of Fig. 5.4, with addition of letterpress lines and Roman numerals.
5.8 *Frost Fair on the Ice of Thames by London*. Engraving printed for J. Lenthall (1716). Retooling of same plate used in Figs. 5.4 and 5.7.
Erra Pater's Prophesy or Frost Faire 1683. Broadside with engraving and text printed for James Norris (1683).
Great BRITAINS WONDER: LONDON'S Admiration.
Being a True Representation of a Prodigious FROST, which began about the beginning of December, 1683, and continued all the Fourth of January, 1684, and described in the frontispiece of this Broadsid, with an accurateod of Great London: every River, Street, Temple, Church, Park, Grove, Field, and the like, as they were in the said season together with an exact representation of every specie.
The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water.

5.11 The True and Exact Representation of the Wonders upon the Water.
Broadsie with engraving and text printed for George Croom, 1683/4.
5.12 *A Wonderfull Fair, or a Fair of Wonders.* Broadside with engraving and text printed for George Croom (1683/4).
5.13 View of the Frost Fair, 1740. Engraving with the name Miss Elizabeth Roberts added in letterpress, with the date February 4, 1740.
5.14 Frost Fair handbills with names and dates of individual visitors 1683/4.
The Noble Art and Mystery of Printing was first invented

Mrs. Elizabeth Harris.

You that walk here, and do design to tell
Your Children's Children what this Year beheld,
Come, print your Names, and take a Dram within;
For such a Year as this, has seldom been.

Printed on the Ice in the River Thames, Jan. 20, 1715.

and brought into Town by John Fry, in the Year

5.15 Frost Fair handbill for Mrs Elizabeth Harris, January 20th, 1715, with a short history of printing in England.
5.16 Frost Fair handbill for Mr. William Robins, January 17th, 1715, with the portraits of "Gottemburgh" and "W. Caxon".