A ‘Deluge of Libertinism’ swept through England in the turbulent seventeenth century: class and gender relations went into deep crisis, and sexually explicit literature took the blame. Bridging periods often kept apart, Libertines and Radicals analyses English sexual culture between the Civil Wars and the death of Charles II in unprecedented detail. James Grantham Turner examines a broad range of Civil War and Restoration texts, from sex-crime records to Milton’s epics and Rochester’s ‘mannerly obscene’ lyrics. Turner places special emphasis on women’s writing and on pornographic texts like *The Wandering Whore* and *The Parliament of Women*, flavoured with cockney humour or ‘Puritan’ indignation. Throughout, Turner reads satirical texts, whether political or pornographic, as an attempt to neutralize women’s efforts to establish their own institutions and their own voice. This exhaustive study will be of interest to cultural historians as well as literary scholars.

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Non si può mantenere superiore chi non si fa bestia.

We cannot keep ourselves superior if we don’t know how to make ourselves into beasts.

(Giordano Bruno)
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2a After Marcellus Laroon the Elder, 'London Courtesan', *The Cryes of the City of London*, 3rd edn, ed. Pierce Tempest (?1680), engraving. Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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3 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *La vita infelice della meretrice* (1692), etching (detail). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

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7 William Hogarth, *Hudibras and the Skimmington*, small-format illustration to *Hudibras* (1726), etching and engraving (detail). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

8 Claude Deruet, *Barbe de Saint-Baslemont on Horseback* (1643), oil on canvas. Copyright Musée Lorrain, Nancy/photo G. Raugin

For the poet and novelist Jane Barker, writing in the early 1680s, gender-relations seemed to be in deep trouble – and she lays the blame firmly on literature. Changes in fiction wreak havoc on the social fabric. The novel, promoting ‘Interest and loose Gallantry’, triumphs over the romance, loyal to ‘Heroick Love’; modish readers dislike narratives that ‘confine the Subject to such strict Rules of Virtue and Honour’. For Barker, such shifts in taste create ‘an Inlet to that Deluge of Libertinism which has overflow’d the Age’, with direct and disastrous consequences in ‘many unhappy Marriages and unkind Separations’.


‘Deluge’ seems an appropriate metaphor for what seemed a universal liquefaction, a dissolving or sweeping away of norms and boundaries, a chaos in which, as Barker puts it, ‘Interest and loose Gallantry’ replace ‘Heroick Love’. In this new world moistened and loosened by libertinism, generic preferences have immediate consequences in actual behaviour: marriages collapse because romance is neglected. When the fashionable ‘Sparks’ and libertines of Restoration England complain about ‘confining the Subject to such strict Rules’ of morality, we inevitably hear a double meaning: both the literary topic and the individual are confined by romance and liberated – so the implication runs – by the new ‘free’ sexual discourse. Like many critics of the period I challenge the
liberationist claim of libertinism, since its doctrine of sexual freedom is always complicated by the politics of class and gender. But I do take seriously the theory shared by Jane Barker and her libertine opponents: that in the troubled area of sexuality texts provoke actions, that literary effects are inextricably linked to questions of attitude and behaviour, which in turn take on the nature of an erotic artefact. Hence the subject calls for the interaction of what Barker might call books and manners, or in academic terms a synthesis of literary and social history.

The word ‘libertine’ in early modern Europe could denote a challenge to orthodox religion, an attempt to construct an authentic self on the basis of the passions, a loosening of family bonds and respect for maternal authority, or a deliberate celebration of what Barker called ‘loose Gallantry’; these separate strands of meaning are often woven together in a single work. The Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner, executed for armed rebellion in 1661, is labelled ‘Seducer and Captain of the Libertines’ (fig. 9 below). Many commentators felt that the revolutionary puritanism of the 1640s and 1650s (radical in the religious or political sense) had much in common with the libertinism of the 1660s and 1670s (radical in its social attitude and contempt for conventional morality); one ‘Tunbridge lampoon’, for example, laments that the ‘Free conversation’ made possible by the resort has been destroyed by two equal but opposite forms of extremism, ‘crush betweene / The starch’t fanaticke and wild Libertine’. In fiction, the ‘London Jilt’ traces her own ‘Libertinism’ to boarding school, where she learned upper-class accomplishments rather than traditional female skills, and the ‘London Bully’, similarly corrupted at Westminster, explains that his ‘Libertine Humor’ prevented him from weeping when his parents die. In studies of Restoration England ‘libertinism’ generally denotes the kind of sexual behaviour manifested by the Court Wits of Charles II and the seducer-heroes of drama, buttressed by an attempt to apply philosophical principles to ‘free’ or extramarital sexuality; by the end of the century, Edward Ward can refer unambiguously to the ‘Fashionable Libertine’ who defines his entire purpose in life as ‘a hot pursuit of Vice without any Cessation’ (chapter 4, section 4 below). But libertinism was not so much a philosophy as a set of performances, and its defining ‘properties’ (as I suggest in an earlier article) are better understood as theatrical props than as precise attributes. Attacks on Restoration comedy recognize its seductive attempt to shift elite male sexuality from the realm of ethics to the realm of style and manner: one contemporary of Jane Barker claims that ‘Some of our Late Comedies have given the greatest Countenance to Libertinism that can be, by
setting forth the extravagant Debauches of the Age as the True Character of a Gentleman, . . . sett[ing] off Whoring with all the Delicacy of Expression and most obliging Character they could invent.\textsuperscript{3} Libertines and Radicals substantiates this complaint and explores the class-confusion it laments, showing how the two cultures of sexual transgression intermingle and define one another: the gross material substratum of ‘whoring’, reconstituted in court records and ‘porno-political’ pamphlets, meets the upper-class gallantry that ‘gives the greatest Countenance to Libertinism’.

As the moralist’s hint about ‘Delicacy of Expression’ suggests, ‘libertine’ (like the French libertin) could be used in a light and neutral way, referring to all kinds of playful transgressions set loose from the sense of religious and sexual scandal. Shakespeare associates the ‘puff’d and recklesse Libertine’ with the young man’s sexual adventures (\textit{Hamlet} I.i.49), but calls the air itself a ‘charter’d Libertine’ – a dense phrase that places libertinism simultaneously within and outside the institution. The ‘chartered’ is at once free and bound by an official utterance, at once licensed and licentious; when the charismatic king speaks, ‘The Ayre, a charter’d Libertine, is still’ (\textit{Henry V} I.448). As a stylistic description libertine denotes letters written without a ‘subject’, dramas that break away from the Unities, loose translations and imitations that catch the spirit rather than the letter, indeed any improvised and impudent text; John Evelyn uses the term ‘Libertine Libells’ for the mocking whore’s petitions of 1668 (chapter 5 below), even though they protest against the sexual freedom and political influence of Charles II’s mistress. (The parallel words in French could refer to the little mischiefs permitted when a carnival atmosphere breaks out at home, or they could define a more disturbing pleasure; the commander of the French army in the Rhineland explains that he could not prevent his soldiers from indulging in the ‘libertinage’ of burning down every town they captured.\textsuperscript{4} Applied to sexuality, then, ‘libertinism’ could evoke all these contradictory extremes – reckless hedonism, pleasurable freedom, ‘hot pursuit’, carnivalesque indulgence, unruly conflagration, obliterating deluge.

The particular focus of this book is defined by another phrase of Evelyn’s, the ‘popular Libertinism’ that he finds rampant in the streets of London. Speaking through the persona of a French visitor, he finds this lower-stratum libertinism in the rough behaviour of the crowds (blamed on ‘parity’ and ‘Insulary manners’), and in the adoption of plebeian tavern culture by the children of the dispossessed elite.\textsuperscript{5} (Chapter 4 will set Evelyn’s account of their ritualized sex and violence into the context of
pornographic publication and aristocratic ‘riot’. Significantly, he made these observations not in the unbridled Restoration but during the closing years of the ‘Puritan’ Interregnum. Taking my cue from Evelyn’s ‘popular Libertinism’ and from Milton’s depiction of the Sons of Belial, I study transgressive behaviours and texts in the decades of Civil War and revolution (chapters 2 and 3) rather than concentrating on the Restoration in isolation. Milton in fact defines my historical and social trajectory: his comments on the ribald ‘brood of Belial’ in 1644 (cited as the epigraph to chapter 2) place them in the lower dregs of society, but by the time he published his denunciations of the ‘Sons of Belial’ in Paradise Lost (the epigraph to chapter 5) they have migrated to the ‘Courts and Palaces’ of ‘luxurious Cities’. ‘Vagabond lust’ (in Milton’s memorable phrase) saunters across the boundaries that separate the undeserving poor from the dissolute aristocrat.

Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London provides a detailed analysis of English sexual culture from the Civil Wars to the death of Charles II (c. 1640–85), interpreting a broad range of representations from lampoons and pamphlets to Utopian political theories, from street defamations to Whitehall comedies, from aristocratic ‘riots’ to popular expressive rituals like the charivari or ‘rough music’. I focus on the seething subcultures of the capital city – on what a recent collection of essays calls ‘material London’ – but I treat the metropolis and its liberties or ‘zones of misrule’ as a permeable space, open to shaming-rituals imported from the villages and illicit texts translated from the wickedness of Europe. Drawing on Italian and French libertine literature (disseminated in English publications like The Wandering Whore and The Whores Rhetorick), I use the Italianate figure of the ‘puttana errante’ and the ‘honourable courtesan’ to trace analogies between high and low libertinism, picaresque bawdy and gentlemanly transgression. The core subject is ‘pornography’ in the literal sense, the sexually explicit discourse of prostitution and its application to social institutions and political events; for this I coin the faux-Renaissance term pornographia, to distance it from modern debates and to emphasize its etymological roots in the lower-class ‘whore’ and her ‘graphic’ or punitive marking (chapter 1 below). The abject pornē and the sublime cortigiana honesta or royal mistress – more like the ancient Greek hetaira – between them define all sexual transgression, gendered female even when the wild libertines are ostensibly male.6

Chapter 1, which serves as an introduction, establishes the main paradigms that run through the book, drawing parallels between
English legal and fictional texts and those Continental sources that for English readers defined the splendours and miseries of the courtesan. I show the importance of the disorderly substratum – the ribalds or Sons of Belial who defy ‘Christian discipline’ and turn the authorities into figures of fun – and the intimate connection of sex, violence, carnival play, and political anxiety in narratives of ‘whoring’ uncannily similar in Rome, Paris, and London. Successive chapters explore the carnivalesque dimension of the social upheavals of 1640–60, anticipated in the riots and charivaris of earlier decades; the fusion of political and sexual themes in both anti-Puritan and anti-royalist satire; the correspondences between scurrilous pamphlet representations of the ‘parliament of women’ and more serious interventions in the public sphere, like women’s petitions and contributions to the literature of the ideal commonwealth; the revival of pornographic publication at the Restoration, and the growing sense that the twin extremes of society, the court and the brothel, mirrored each other disturbingly; the expropriation of lewd and riotous behaviour by the newly empowered aristocracy, and its resumption in popular insurrections protesting against ‘the great bawdy-house at White hall’. Chapter 6, moving finally into high literary culture, pursues the spectacle of cultivated rudeness in Wycherley, Rochester, Behn, and their contemporaries – an aristocratic simulation of ‘popular Libertinism’ in words and gestures, praised by Rochester as ‘mannerly Obscene’, which radically influenced literary conceptions of decorum and wit. A brief Epilogue defines the ‘terminal condition’ of pornographia at the close of Charles II’s priapic reign, bringing all the subthemes of the book – sexuality, politics, and literary culture – to a conclusion with the extraordinary book-length Parliament of Women of 1684. My goal throughout is to reveal common ‘porno-political’ preoccupations across widely different decades, and to embed illicit sexual discourse in the material life and rituals of the metropolis, relating them to the ambivalent mixture of festivity and violence expressed in charivari, carnival, and apprentice riots. Throughout, I read pornographic satire as a deliberate attempt to confront and neutralize women’s efforts to establish their own institutions – an attempt that frequently unravels, either by paying an unintended tribute to women’s achievement, or by feminizing the norms that supposedly serve as a touchstone.

The post-Foucauldian decades have seen a surge of interest in the ‘discourse of sexuality’ and its poor relation ‘pornography’ – once dismissed as an insignificant bore. This interest is shared by social historians seeking light on the family and the sexual underworld, by feminists exposing the
politics of masculinity or defining ‘performative’ alternatives to orthodox gender roles, by theorists trying to confirm or deny Foucault’s ‘history of sexuality’, and by literary scholars wanting to put ‘the body’ back into their reading. The essays in Lynn Hunt’s *Invention of Pornography*, or the many studies of gendered abuse and ‘porno-political’ propaganda in the English revolution, show how earnestly historians now look to the sexual subculture to solve political questions – particularly, why rulers and institutions lose their aura of authority. *Libertines and Radicals* contributes to this new discipline by embedding *pornographia* and ‘pornotropic’ satire in the specific historic context of disorderly ‘popular Libertinism’ at either end of the social spectrum. The ‘new cultural studies’ ask us to treat literature not as ‘a strictly aesthetic object’ but as ‘a culturally operative text’. I aim to encompass both these possibilities, reading texts and gestures simultaneously as imaginative artefacts and consequential documents, Utopian fantasies and ideological weapons. I treat the text [however trashy] as a signifying practice in its own right, and not as an example of discourse-in-general or as raw material from which historical truth must be extracted.

Even in Hunt’s *Invention*, historians tend to assume that ‘pornography’ becomes meaningful to the extent that it reveals ulterior political ends or documents the emergence of ‘modernity’; where psychoanalytic criticism discovers sexual meanings buried within more acceptable topics, they do the reverse, scrutinizing the ostensibly sexual text to throw light on political culture or the formation of identity (its power to ‘confine the Subject’, in Barker’s words). I want to realize this political dimension without abrading the literal. Like *queer* in recent theoretical usage, the insulting designation *whore* mutated from noun to verb and in the process extended its sphere of operation; if a woman can be ‘prostituted’, so can a man, a cause, and a nation. Genital metaphors stand everywhere for prowess or failure in office: Charles I tries to copulate with Parliament, Oliver Cromwell ‘prostitutes’ and ‘ravishes’ the Goddess Victory, ‘commonwealth’ means common whore, Charles II cannot tell the difference between his sceptre and his ‘Prick’, which ‘foams and swears it will be absolute’. But I am unwilling to reduce sexuality to a mere epiphenomenon or allegory of power. At the risk of stating the obvious, *pornographia* is ‘about’ power and representation but it is still ‘about’ lust in action, genital conquest and its discontents, fear of female domination, loss of control in passion. I am particularly interested in the slipperiness of sexual discourse at the point where ‘pornographic’ arousal and political satire merge: as one Civil War satirist observes of a rampant
commonwealth woman, ‘tis a very hard matter to know whether she be a Lady or Leviathan’. Reviving seventeenth-century usage, I explore the lubric instability of designation and the satyric fusion of priapism and indignation. Sex figures politics, but (at least since St Augustine equated erection with rebellion) sex has its own politics of domination and dissolution. Another member of the female parliament, expressing her faux-feminist anger in pseudo-Biblical language, describes herself ‘pierced to my very Bowels, when I have lain stretched forth under the Pressure of Male-insurrection’.8

In the process of setting this ‘insurrection’ of the flesh into its cultural context, I draw upon well-known authors such as Pepys, Milton, Marvell, Butler, Evelyn, Wycherley, Rochester, Dryden, and Hobbes (who makes a surprise appearance as a feminist theorist), the records of disorderly sexual mockery preserved by Church courts and state prosecutors, and a crawling mass of clandestine and popular obscene writing. The reader will find no separate chapter on ‘women writers’, but instead my account of pornography is integrated with critiques of masculine ‘free’ sexuality and ‘debauched’ wit by female authors like Lucy Hutchinson, Aphra Behn, Jane Butler, and Margaret Cavendish – who also features as a Utopian writer. In social terms, my authors range from duchesses to shadowy Grub Street hacks. But common themes run throughout this disparate material: the conjunction of religious and sexual rebellion under the shadow of the Puritan revolution, the craving for theatricality and display, the fascination with the prostitute as an analogy for state affairs, the paradoxical relationship between upper-class libertinism and the ideals of worldly politeness, which generated a psychological strain that sometimes erupted into outright violence. I expand the close reading of texts into a kind of cultural geography, showing how London evolved occasions, institutions, and localities where normal ethics could be provisionally suspended – zones of misrule like Billingsgate, Bartholomew Fair, the river, the theatre, the genteel brothel, the city park, and (most controversially) the Court itself. (Charles II and his flamboyant mistresses play a central role in the post-Restoration chapters, translating to a national scale the problems of status-confusion and moral ambiguity already posed by the honesta cortegiana of the Italian Renaissance.) I thus establish the full spectrum of what Peter Stallybrass and Allon White call ‘discursive sites . . . where ideology and fantasy conjoin’, each with its ‘distinctive associations between location, class and the body’, and its distinctive ‘complicity of disgust and desire’.9 These ‘institutions’ of discourse and behaviour could be interpreted as a wholly male
phenomenon, but I pose the further question: what changes in the role of women might be provoking this deluge of sexual representation? Female political and cultural institutions form not merely one theme of male sexual fantasy, but its motive and core, as the titles of pornography reveal: *The Whores Rhetorick, L’Escole des filles, The Poor Whores’ Petition, Venus in the Cloister, The Parliament of Women*. These works attempt to sexualize the very idea of autonomous social or political action by women; to undo the ridicule, I set them in a context of women’s real impact on the political culture of Interregnum England, the conflict over Restoration absolutism, and the formation of polite society.

Despite its low-libertine focus, this book grew quite easily from my earlier study of paradisal sexuality in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. I show there that ‘libertines’, spiritual and otherwise, haunted orthodox interpretations of Adam and Eve’s relationship. St Paul applied the sacred words ‘they shall be one flesh’ both to the erotic union of Christ with the Church and to coupling with ‘an harlot’, using them for brutally literal pornographia as well as to represent larger powers. Milton evokes ‘Court Amours’ and upper-class prostitution in the very centre of the nuptial bower. God’s command to ‘increase and multiply’ gave rise to infinite bawdy jokes, as did Paul’s egalitarian rule that neither the husband nor the wife must ever refuse sexual ‘due benevolence’. And the Great Whore from the Book of Revelation persists as the most vivid embodiment of corruption.

I am happy to acknowledge several intellectual and personal debts. David Foxon’s *Libertine Literature in England* and Roger Thompson’s *Unfit for Modest Ears* provided an essential resource for locating primary material. Michel Foucault’s *Volonté de savoir*, when it first appeared, demolished the naive dichotomy of liberation-versus-repression (already besieged by feminism) and raised the challenge of reconstructing the entire ‘discourse of sexuality’ for a specific period, even though most of Foucault’s hypotheses failed to hold up. The history of sexuality has been ravaged by an epidemic of premature generalization, particularly in studies based on literature, though the balance of claim and evidence has been restored by a new generation of theoretically aware and archivally grounded social historians. Margaret Rosenthal’s biography of Veronica Franco gave me a window on courtesan culture, recovering Franco’s own voice but also revealing how the ambiguous figure of the *cortegiana honesta* brings out the anxieties of her male contemporaries, the symbolic charge of the ‘female’ in areas of public life denied to flesh-and-blood
women, the ‘parasitical rapport’ between the misogynist attacker and the object of his satire. My thinking about the transgressively ‘public’ woman, the shameful-and-yet-honoured courtesan who throws categorical hierarchies into confusion, was sharpened by Julia Kristeva’s concept of the abject, as it is suggestively sketched in both *Histoires d’amour* and *Pouvoirs de l’horreur*: ‘what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite.’ In the context of Eros, abjection forms one end of a spectrum or ‘gamut’ that leads to the sublime, and in a sense is sublime since both ends of this scale can be played together (‘the supreme guarantee against boredom’); following this connection, the later, post-Restoration chapters turn to the inversionary transgressions of the bored classes, the faux-popular libertinism of the ‘savage noble’.

Though my emphasis and chronology are different, I also draw here on a long tradition of critiquing the philosophical bases of libertinism and the contradictions in its doctrine of freedom, beginning in the 1950s with Dale Underwood and Thomas Fujimura and culminating in Warren Chernaik’s *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature*.

The grand ‘theory fathers’ of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the other hand, appear only in brief, inverted reflections. Except for his notion of the excluded-yet-present female in the male sex joke, Freud offers little help in interpreting the carnivalesque sexuality of this period: Auden commemorated Freud for discovering ‘Eros, builder of cities’, whereas I show the city building Eros. Bakhtin’s conception of the grotesque lower stratum has been adopted only when it does not obscure the violent, authoritarian side of carnival, its ‘chartered’ mixture of riot and repression. Marxist historiography influenced my choice of subject – particularly Christopher Hill’s synthesis of Milton’s divorce tracts and Ranter sexuality in *The World Turned Upside Down* – but Marx himself features only as the author of a few crucial aphorisms: amidst the rotting monarchies of 1848 it seemed that history repeated itself twice, once as tragedy and a second time as farce; reading innumerable pornographic fabrications of female agency, endless *Poor Whore’s Petitions* and *Parliaments of Women*, I conclude that world-changing ideas make their first appearance as farce.

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Many individuals have contributed ideas and criticisms at some point, including Dympna Callaghan, Elizabeth Cohen, Alison Conway, Josie Dixon, Margaret Doody (an early encourager of the project), Martha Feldman, David Loewenstein, Nancy Maguire, John Marino, Alan Nelson, Martha Pollak, and Laura Rosenthal. I would particularly like to thank those who have read sustained portions of the text and given helpful comments: James Winn, Joanna Picciotto, Warren Chernaik, and Roy Porter.

A few passages have been published in earlier articles or delivered as conference papers, though they have been thoroughly revised. For this opportunity to work up some of my examples in preliminary form, I would like to acknowledge the late Jean Hagstrum, Robert Maccubbin, Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, Lawrence Klein, Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis, the History of Consciousness Program of the University of California Santa Cruz, and the editors of *Review and Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*. Specific debts will be acknowledged in the relevant notes. For permission to publish illustrations I am grateful to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, to the Lilly Library, Indiana University, to the British Museum, to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and to the Musée Lorrain, Nancy.
Abbreviations and frequently cited works


Butler, Hudibras Cited by part, canto, and line (sometimes also with page numbers) from Samuel Butler, Hudibras, ed. John Wilders (Oxford, 1967)
Abbreviations and frequently cited works


*Orations*  *Orations of Divers Sorts, Accommodated to Divers Places* (1662)


*CPW*  *See* Milton

*CW*  *See* Wycherley


Friedman  *See* Wycherley


*Enemies*  *Enemies under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1677* (Stanford, CA, 1990)


‘Ridings’  ‘Ridings, Rough Music, and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present* 105 (November 1984), 79–113

*Jonson*  Cited by page number (with act, scene, etc. where needed) from Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1925–63)

Abbreviations and frequently cited works

Marvell

Milton
Poems will be cited by title and line, using the standard abbreviations PL for Paradise Lost, PR for Paradise Regained, and SA for Samson Agonistes.

Columbia
Works, ed. F. A. Patterson et al. (New York, 1951–8).

The Columbia edn

CPW
The Complete Prose Works, ed. Don M. Wolfe et al. (New Haven, 1953–82). The Yale edn

Newcastle
See Cavendish

PD
See Wycherley

Pepys
Cited by entry date (or page for material in the notes) from The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley, 1970–83)

PL
See Milton

POAS
Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714, ed. George deF. Lord et al. (1963–75)

PR
See Milton

RCH

Rochester
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Works, ed. Harold Love (Oxford, 1999). Includes works unreliably attributed to Rochester. See also RCH, Sodom

Letters

SA
See Milton

Sodom
Anonymous burlesque verse drama (c. 1672–8), cited from Rochester, Works, ed. Harold Love (Oxford, 1999). Included in Love’s ‘Appendix Rollensis’ of works once attributed to Rochester but unlikely to be by him

Thomason
To avoid confusion with similar titles, I sometimes add the shelf-mark (and hand-written date where relevant) for pamphlets in the George Thomason collection of the British Library, London

Thompson
Roger Thompson, Unfit for Modest Ears: a Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century (1979)
Abbreviations and frequently cited works


Wandering Whore Serial publication by John Garfield, supposed author, and others, cited by part number and page. _The Wandering Whore: a Dialogue between Magdalena a Crafty Bawd, Julietta an Exquisite Whore, Francion a Lascivious Gallant, and Gusman a Pimping Hector_ appeared some time in late 1660. Thomason dates _The Wandering Whore Continued . . . Num. 2_ on 5 Dec. 1660, and two more (numbered) parts that month (12, 19), plus _The Fifth and Last Part of the Wandering Whore . . . By Peter Aretine_ (March 1661), which is then repudiated in _The Sixth Part of the Wandering-Whore Revived_ (1663), evidently from a different publisher.


Wycherley Plays will be cited by act, scene, and page from _Plays_, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford, 1979). _The Country-Wife_ is abbreviated _CW_ and _The Plain-Dealer, PD_

Works _Complete Works_, ed. Montague Summers (1924)