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978-1-107-04442-5 - Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution

Jason Peacey

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## PRINT AND PUBLIC POLITICS IN THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

This is a major reassessment of the communications revolution of the seventeenth century. Using a wealth of archival evidence and the considerable output of the press, Jason Peacey demonstrates how new media – from ballads to pamphlets and newspapers – transformed the English public's ability to understand and participate in national political life. He analyses how contemporaries responded to political events as consumers of print; explores what they were able to learn about national politics; and examines how they developed the ability to appropriate a variety of print genres in order to participate in novel ways. Amid structural change and conjunctural upheaval, he argues that there occurred a dramatic re-shaping of the political nation, as citizens from all walks of life developed new habits and practices for engaging in daily political life, and for protecting and advancing their interests. This ultimately involved experience-led attempts to rethink the nature of representation and accountability.

JASON PEACEY is Senior Lecturer in British History at University College London, and is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His previous monograph, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (2004) was *proxime accedit* for the Royal Historical Society Whitfield Prize.

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*For Annette, who has waited too long for this and for much else.*

‘the things common to all men are more important than the things  
peculiar to any men. Ordinary things are more valuable than  
extraordinary things; nay, they are more extraordinary’.

G. K. Chesterton

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## Abbreviations

Where footnotes contain citations to more than one manuscript from within a particular archive, these will be placed after the relevant abbreviation for the archive followed by a colon, and will be separated by semi-colons.

Add.	Additional Manuscript
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
All Souls	All Souls College, Oxford
Alnwick	Alnwick Castle, Northumberland
<i>Al. Oxon.</i>	<i>Alumni Oxoniensis</i> , ed. J. Foster (4 vols., Oxford, 1891–2)
<i>Andrew Hay Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan</i> , ed. A. Reid (Scottish History Society, 39, 1901)
Antony	Antony House, Cornwall
<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
Arundel	Arundel Castle, Sussex
Badminton	Badminton House, Gloucestershire
<i>Baillie</i>	<i>The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie</i> , ed. D. Laing (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1841–2)
Bethlem	Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Beckenham, Kent
Beinecke	Beinecke Library, Yale University
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
Birch, <i>Charles</i>	<i>The Court and Times of Charles the First</i> , ed. T. Birch (2 vols., London, 1848)
Birch, <i>James</i>	<i>The Court and Times of James the First</i> , ed. T. Birch (2 vols., London, 1848)

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BJL	Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library, London
<i>BLR</i>	<i>Bodleian Library Record</i>
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>Book of Examinations</i>	<i>The Book of Examinations, 1622–1644</i> , ed. R. Anderson (Southampton Record Society, 1936)
<i>Borough of Leicester</i>	<i>Records of the Borough of Leicester</i> , ed. H. Stocks (Cambridge, 1923)
<i>Burton Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Thomas Burton</i> , ed. J. Rutt (4 vols., London, 1828)
Cam. Soc.	Camden Society
Cary, <i>Memorials</i>	<i>Memorials of the Great Civil War</i> , ed. H. Cary (2 vols., London, 1842)
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Kent
CCC	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding</i> , ed. M. Green (5 vols., London, 1889–92)
CCL	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Canterbury
CCSP	<i>Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers</i> , ed. W. Macray et al. (5 vols., Oxford, 1872–1970)
<i>CD 1621</i>	<i>Commons Debates 1621</i> , ed. W. Notestein et al. (7 vols., New Haven, 1935)
Chatsworth	Chatsworth House, Derbyshire
Chequers	Chequers Court, Buckinghamshire
<i>CHB IV</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume IV</i> , ed. J. Barnard and D. McKenzie (Cambridge, 2002)
CHC	Coventry History Centre, Coventry
‘Cheney Culpeper’	‘The letters of Sir Cheney Culpeper’, ed. M. Braddick and M. Greengrass’, in <i>Seventeenth Century Political and Financial Papers</i> (Camden Society, 5 <sup>th</sup> series, 7, 1996)
Chetham	Chetham’s Library, Manchester
<i>Chirk Accounts</i>	<i>Chirk Castle Accounts, A.D. 1605–1666</i> , ed. W. Myddleton (St Albans, 1908)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Commons Journal</i>

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CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
Clarendon	E. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, <i>The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England</i> , ed. W. Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888)
Clarendon, <i>Life</i>	<i>The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon</i> (3 vols., Oxford, 1827)
Claydon	Claydon House, Buckinghamshire
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office, London
<i>Cobbett</i>	<i>Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England</i> (36 vols., London, 1806–20)
Columbia	Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York
Cooper, <i>Annals</i>	C. Cooper, <i>Annals of Cambridge</i> (5 vols., Cambridge, 1892–1908)
CP	<i>The Clarke Papers</i> , ed. C. Firth (4 vols., Camden Society, new series, 49, 54, 61–2, 1899–1901)
<i>Crosfield</i>	<i>The Diary of Thomas Crosfield</i> , ed. F. Boas (London, 1935)
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venetian</i>
CUA	Cambridge University Archives, Cambridge
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>D'Ewes Autobiography</i>	<i>The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes</i> , ed. J. Halliwell (2 vols., London, 1845)
<i>D'Ewes</i> , ed. Coates	<i>The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes</i> , ed. W. Coates (New Haven, 1942)
<i>D'Ewes</i> , ed. Notestein	<i>The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes</i> , ed. W. Notestein (New Haven, 1923)
<i>Devon Accounts</i>	<i>Devon Household Accounts, 1627–59</i> , ed. T. Gray (2 vols., Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1995–6)
<i>Diary of John Evelyn</i>	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. E. De Beer (6 vols., Oxford, 1955)

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<i>Diary of John Harington</i>	<i>The Diary of John Harington, MP, 1645–53</i> , ed. M. Steig (Somerset Record Society, 74, 1977)
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock
<i>Duppa Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa</i> , ed. G. Isham (Northamptonshire Record Society, 17, 1951)
Earwaker	<i>The Constables' Accounts of the Manor of Manchester</i> , ed. J. Earwaker (2 vols., Manchester, 1892)
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
Eg.	Egerton Manuscript, British Library
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EKRO	East Kent Record Office, Dover
Ellis, 'Letters'	H. Ellis, 'Letters from a subaltern officer', <i>Archaeologia</i> , 35 (1853)
ERO	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
<i>Fairfax Corr.</i>	<i>The Fairfax Correspondence</i> , ed. G. Johnson (2 vols., London, 1848)
<i>Flemings in Oxford</i>	<i>The Flemings in Oxford</i> , ed. J. Magrath (Oxfordshire Historical Society, 44, 1904)
Fox, <i>Oral and Literate</i>	A. Fox, <i>Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700</i> (Oxford, 2001)
FSL	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC
<i>Gangraena</i>	T. Edwards. <i>Gangraena</i> (London, 1646)
<i>Giles Moore</i>	<i>Journal of Giles Moore</i> , ed. R. Bird (Sussex Record Society, 68, 1971)
GL	Guildhall Library, London
GMRO	Greater Manchester Record Office, Manchester
Goldsmiths	The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London
Greg, <i>Companion</i>	W. Greg, <i>A Companion to Arber</i> (Oxford, 1967)
Harl.	Harleian Manuscript, British Library

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|------------------------------|---|
| Harris, <i>London Crowds</i> | T. Harris, <i>London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II</i> (Cambridge, 1987)  |
| Hatfield                     | Hatfield House, Hertfordshire   |
| <i>Hatton Corr.</i>          | <i>Correspondence of the Family of Hatton</i> , ed. E. Thompson (Camden Society, new series, 22–3, 1878)                    |
| Hayton, <i>Commons</i>       | D. Hayton et al., <i>The House of Commons, 1690–1715</i> (5 vols., Cambridge, 2002)   |
| HEH                          | Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California   |
| <i>HJ</i>                    | <i>Historical Journal</i>   |
| <i>HLQ</i>                   | <i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>   |
| <i>HMC</i>                   | <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>  |
| Houghton                     | Houghton Library, Harvard University  |
| <i>HR</i>                    | <i>Historical Research</i>  |
| Hughes and Larkin            | <i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> , ed. P. Hughes and J. Larkin (3 vols., New Haven, 1964–9)                                 |
| <i>HWJ</i>                   | <i>History Workshop Journal</i>   |
| IWCRO                        | Isle of Wight County Record Office, Newport   |
| ‘James Master’               | ‘The expense book of James Master’, ed. S. Robertson, <i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i> , 15–18 (1883–9)                         |
| Jansson                      | <i>Proceedings in the Opening Session of the Long Parliament</i> , ed. M. Jansson (7 vols., Rochester, New York, 2000–2007) |
| <i>JBS</i>                   | <i>Journal of British Studies</i>   |
| <i>JEcH</i>                  | <i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>  |
| <i>JHI</i>                   | <i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>  |
| <i>JMH</i>                   | <i>Journal of Modern History</i>  |
| <i>Josselin Diary</i>        | <i>The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683</i> , ed. A. Macfarlane (Oxford, 1991)  |
| JRL                          | John Rylands Library, Manchester  |
| <i>Juxon</i>                 | <i>The Journal of Thomas Juxon</i> , ed. K. Lindley and D. Scott (Camden Society, 5 <sup>th</sup> series, 13, 1999)         |
| Knights, <i>Opinion</i>      | M. Knights, <i>Politics and Opinion in Crisis</i> (Cambridge, 1994)   |



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|--------------------------------|---|
| Knights, <i>Representation</i> | M. Knights, <i>Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain</i> (Oxford, 2004)  |
| <i>Knyvett</i>                 | <i>The Knyvett Letters, 1620–1644</i> , ed. B. Schofield (Norfolk Record Society, 20, 1949)   |
| Lans.                          | Lansdowne Manuscript, British Library   |
| Larkin and Hughes              | <i>Stuart Royal Proclamations</i> , ed. J. Larkin and P. Hughes (2 vols., Oxford, 1973–83)  |
| Larking, <i>Proceedings</i>    | <i>Proceedings, Principally in the County of Kent</i> , ed. L. Larking (Camden Society, 80, 1862)   |
| Laud, <i>Works</i>             | <i>The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud</i> (7 vols., New York, 1975)   |
| ‘Lewis Dyve’                   | ‘The Tower of London letter-book of Sir Lewis Dyve, 1646–7’, ed. H. Tibbutt, in <i>Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society</i> , 38 (1958) |
| <i>Life of Dugdale</i>         | <i>Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale</i> , ed. Hamper (London, 1827)  |
| <i>LJ</i>                      | <i>Lords Journal</i>  |
| LMA                            | London Metropolitan Archives  |
| <i>Locke Corr.</i>             | <i>Correspondence of John Locke</i> , ed. E. De Beer (8 vols., Oxford, 1976)  |
| <i>Londino-Batavae</i>         | <i>Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum</i> , ed. J. Hessels (3 vols. in 4, Cambridge, 1887–97)   |
| Longleat                       | Longleat House, Wiltshire   |
| LPL                            | Lambeth Palace Library, London  |
| <i>Ludlow Memoirs</i>          | <i>Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow</i> , ed. C. Firth (2 vols., Oxford, 1894)  |
| <i>Luke Journal</i>            | <i>The Journal of Sir Samuel Luke</i> , ed. I. Phillip (Oxfordshire Record Society, 29, 31, 33, 1950–3)   |
| <i>Luke Letter Books</i>       | <i>The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke</i> , ed. H. Tibbutt (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 42, 1963)  |

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<i>Mdx County Recs</i>	<i>Middlesex County Records. Volume III</i> , ed. J. Jeaffreson (Middlesex County Record Society, 1888)
<i>Montereul</i>	<i>The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Montereul</i> , ed. J. Fotheringham (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1898)
MP	Main Papers (Parliamentary Archives)
Nalson	J. Nalson, <i>An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State</i> (2 vols., London, 1682–3)
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
NP	<i>The Nicholas Papers</i> , ed. G. Warner (4 vols., Camden Society, new series, 40, 50, 57 and third series, 31, 1886–1920)
OBS	Oxford Bibliographical Society
OPH	<i>The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England</i> (24 vols., London, 1761–3)
ORS	Oxfordshire Record Society
OUA	Oxford University Archives, Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>Oxinden and Peyton Letters</i>	<i>The Oxinden and Peyton Letters, 1642–1670</i> , ed. D. Gardiner (London, 1937)
<i>Oxinden Letters</i>	<i>The Oxinden Letters, 1607–1642</i> , ed. D. Gardiner (London, 1933)
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
PA	Parliamentary Archives, Westminster
Penshurst	Penshurst Place, Kent
<i>Pepys Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (11 vols., London, 1970–83)
PER	<i>Parliaments, Estates and Representation</i>
PH	<i>Parliamentary History</i>
PJ	<i>The Private Journals of the Long Parliament</i> , ed. W. Coates et al. (3 vols., New Haven, 1982–92)
<i>Proceedings 1614</i>	<i>Proceedings in Parliament 1614</i> , ed. M. Jansson (Philadelphia, 1988)
Rawl.	Rawlinson

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RO	record office
<i>Rolls of Freemen</i>	<i>The Rolls of Freemen of the City of Chester</i> , ed. J. Bennett (2 vols., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1906–8)
<i>Rous Diary</i>	<i>Diary of John Rous</i> , ed. M. Green (Camden Society, 66, 1856)
RS	Record Society
RSLC	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
<i>Rugg</i>	<i>The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg, 1659–1661</i> , ed. W. Sachse (Camden Society, 3 <sup>rd</sup> series, 91, 1961)
Rushworth	J. Rushworth, <i>Historical Collections of Private Passages of State</i> (8 vols., London, 1721–2)
<i>Salisbury Corr.</i>	<i>Calendar of Salisbury Correspondence, 1553–c.1700</i> , ed. W. Smith (Cardiff, 1954)
Salt Library	William Salt Library, Stafford
SB	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking
SHL	Senate House Library, University of London
Spalding, <i>Memorialls</i>	J. Spalding, <i>Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland and England</i> (2 vols., Aberdeen, 1850–1)
SR	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i>
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
SRS	Scottish Record Society
SS	Surtees Society
Stat. Co.	The Worshipful Company of Stationers, London
STC	A. Pollard and G. Redgrave, <i>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England. . . 1475–1640</i> (3 vols., London, 1976–1991)
SUL	Sheffield University Library
<i>Sydney Papers</i>	<i>Sydney Papers</i> , ed. R. Blencowe (London, 1825)
Tatton Park	Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire
TCD	Trinity College Dublin

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THSLC	Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TSANHS	Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
TSAS	Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society
<i>TSP</i>	<i>A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe</i> , ed. T. Birch (7 vols., London, 1742)
<i>Tudor Constitutional Documents</i>	<i>Tudor Constitutional Documents</i> , ed. J. Tanner (Cambridge, 1951)
TWAS	Tyne and Wear Archives Service, Newcastle
'Twysden narrative'	Sir Roger Twysden, 'An historical narrative', <i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i> , 1–4 (1858–61)
UCL	University College London
UL	University Library
Vaughan, <i>Protectorate</i>	<i>The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell</i> , ed. R. Vaughan, 2 vols., London, 1839)
<i>Verney Notes</i>	<i>Verney Papers. Notes of Proceedings in the Long Parliament</i> , ed. J. Bruce (Camden Society, 31, 1845)
<i>Walker Revised</i>	A. Matthews, <i>Walker Revised</i> (Oxford, 1988)
<i>Whitelocke Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605–1675</i> , ed. R. Spalding (Oxford, 1990)
<i>Whiteway</i>	<i>William Whiteway of Dorchester</i> (Dorset Record Society, 12, 1991)
Wing	D. Wing et al., <i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England. . . 1641–1700</i> (5 vols., New York, 1972–94)
Wood, <i>Life and Times</i>	<i>The Life and Times of Anthony Wood</i> , ed. A. Clark (5 vols., Oxford, 1891)
Worcester College	Worcester College, Oxford

Cambridge University Press

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WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
<i>York Depositions</i>	<i>Depositions from the Castle of York</i> , ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 40, 1861)
<i>Yorkshire Diaries</i>	<i>Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries</i> (2 vols., Surtees Society, 65, 77, 1877–86)

**Citing pamphlets and newsbooks**

In order to keep footnotes manageable, abbreviated references have been given for seventeenth-century pamphlets and newsbooks. Pamphlets are cited with a short title and author's surname (where appropriate), followed by the publication date and a standard bibliographical reference. Material that is not listed in these reference works is given a short title and is preceded by an archival reference. Newsbooks are likewise cited with short titles, and with standard bibliographical references from C. Nelson and M. Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700* (New York, 1987).