In *The Writing of Royalism*, Robert Wilcher charts the political and ideological development of ‘royalism’ between 1628 and 1660. His study of the literature and propaganda produced by those who adhered to the crown during the civil wars and their aftermath takes in many kinds of writing to provide a comprehensive account of the emergence of a partisan literature in support of the English monarchy and church. Wilcher situates a wide range of minor and canonical texts in the tumultuous political contexts of the time, helpfully integrating them into a detailed historical narrative. He illustrates the role of literature in forging a party committed to the military defence of royalist values and determined to sustain them in defeat. *The Writing of Royalism* casts new light on the complex phenomenon of ‘royalism’ by making available a wealth of material that should be of interest to historians as well as literary scholars.

THE WRITING OF ROYALISM
1628–1660

ROBERT WILCHER
For Miriam, Jessica, Thomasin and Victoria
‘Then keep the antient way!'
(Henry Vaughan, ‘The Profler’, *Silex Scintillans* 1655)
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of illustrations</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the text</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Introduction
2. The halcyon days: 1628–1637
3. The Bishops’ Wars and the Short Parliament: July 1637 – October 1640
4. The Long Parliament and the trial of Strafford: November 1640 – May 1641
5. The beginnings of constitutional royalism: May–October 1641
6. The emergence of the constitutional royalists: October 1641 – March 1642
7. The beginning of hostilities: March 1642 – April 1643
8. Learning to write the war: April–September 1643
9. Declining fortunes: from Newbury to Marston Moor: September 1643 – June 1644
10. Defeat, captivity and exile: July 1644 – September 1647
11. Trial and martyrdom: September 1647 – January 1649
12. Lamenting the King: 1649
13. Coping with defeat and waiting for the King: 1649–1660

Notes

Index
Illustrations

1 Frontispiece to Francis Quarles, *The Shepherds Oracles* (1646). By permission of the Bodleian Library (*Douce QQ 12*)

2 Frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649). By permission of the Bodleian Library (*Vet A3 f. 203*)

Acknowledgements

This book grew out of a general interest in the literature of the seventeenth century that was fostered by the supervisor of my postgraduate work at Birmingham, Elsie Duncan-Jones, and it is to her that I owe my greatest intellectual debt. More particularly, it stems from a fascination with the work of Henry Vaughan, which has been sustained in sporadic pieces of research over the past quarter of a century and greatly encouraged in the past few years by Peter Thomas and Anne Cluysenaar, the moving spirits behind the Usk Valley Vaughan Association, with its annual colloquium and its annual publication, Scintilla. During the period in which I have been seriously working on this project, I have profited from conversations with H. Neville Davies and John Roberts, and from the opportunity to discuss parts of it in postgraduate seminars at the universities of Birmingham and Cambridge. I am grateful to my colleagues in the English Department at Birmingham for maintaining the system of Study Leaves, which freed me from teaching responsibilities for two separate terms in the early and later stages of research and writing; and to the staff of the Heslop Room in the University of Birmingham Library for their ready and cheerful assistance. I am also grateful for permission to use material that first appeared in the following publications: ‘Daphnis: An Elegiac Eclogue by Henry Vaughan’, Durham University Journal, new series 36 (1974), 25–40; ‘“Then keep the ancient way!” A Study of Henry Vaughan’s Silex Scintillans’, Durham University Journal, new series 45 (1983), 11–24; ‘What was the King’s Book for?: The Evolution of Eikon Basilike’, The Yearbook of English Studies, 21 (1991), 218–28; ‘Francis Quarles and the Crisis of Royalism’, Critical Survey, 5 (1993), 252–62; ‘Henry Vaughan and the Church’, Scintilla, 2 (1998), 90–104.

My greatest debt of gratitude, of course, is to my wife and three daughters, who knew when to keep out of the way but were there when I needed them.
Note on the text

Modern scholarly editions or reprints of primary texts are cited when these are available. When seventeenth-century publications are cited, quotations follow the original spelling and punctuation, except for the modernization of consonantal ‘i’ to ‘j’, the standardization of ‘u’/‘v’, and the occasional reduction of a capital letter to lower case at the start of an incorporated quotation. To avoid unnecessary proliferation of endnotes, publication details and page references of seventeenth-century works are frequently given in the body of the text and page references for quotations from modern editions of primary texts are given in round brackets in the body of the text once details of publication have been provided in notes to the current chapter.

When a reprint of a scholarly work is cited, the date of original publication will be given in square brackets, thus: Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640–1660* (Leicester, [1966] 1973). Quotations from Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* are located by book and paragraph rather than volume and page numbers.

Since the method of this book is to discuss written and printed texts within the historical contexts of their composition and publication, the dates supplied in *A Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661* (British Museum Trustees, 1908) are included in square brackets along with details derived from the title-pages of seventeenth-century texts, thus: (London, [16 April] 1646). A Thomason date is that on which a book or pamphlet was received into his collection, usually within a few days of publication. In some cases, when no Thomason date is available, the conjectured date of publication has been taken from Falconer Madan’s *Oxford Books: A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University of Oxford or Printed or Published There*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1912), and indicated thus: (Oxford, [Madan 2 October]
For purposes of dating, the year is taken to begin on 1 January, not on March 25 as in the Old Style calendar, and dates for seventeenth-century books published between 1 January and 24 March are emended accordingly.

The following abbreviations have been used for frequently cited editions and secondary texts:

- **CPP**  *The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison, 1951)
- **CowleyE**  Abraham Cowley: *Essays, Plays and Sundry Verses*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1906)
- **CowleyP**  *Abraham Cowley: Poems*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Hehir</td>
<td><em>Harmony from Discords: A Life of Sir John Denham</em></td>
<td>Berkeley and Los Angeles</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td><em>The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642</em></td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td><em>Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640–1649</em></td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>