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LIBERTINES AND RADICALS IN EARLY MODERN LONDON

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 Wandring 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.

JAMES GRANTHAM TURNER is Professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley. He is the author of *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (1979) and *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (1987) and editor of *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge, 1993).

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Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630–1685

JAMES GRANTHAM TURNER

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Non si può mantener superiore chi non si sa far bestia

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

(Giordano Bruno)

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Preface

'POPULAR LIBERTINISM', 'LUXURIOUS CITIES', AND THE DISCOURSE OF PROSTITUTION

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'.[1] John Milton made the same diagnosis of modern corruption in *Paradise Lost*, pointedly contrasting the 'Wedded Love' of Paradise with 'the bought smile / Of Harlots', with 'Casual fruition', with upper-class 'Court Amours' and the riotous debauchery of the Sons of Belial (IV.775–7, I.497–502). This 'Deluge of Libertinism' – a concept at the juncture of literature and social practice – defines my own 'subject' too: the discourses and rituals that constituted illicit, transgressive sexuality in the early modern period.

'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

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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, 'crusht betweene / The starch't fanaticke and wild Libertine'.[2] 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 élite 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

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setting forth the extravagant Debauches of the Age as the True Character of a Gentleman, . . . set[ting] off Whoring with all the Delicacy of Expression and most obliging Character they could invent.'[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 (*Hamlet* I.ii.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' (*Henry* V I.i.48). 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.)[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 élite.[5] (Chapter 4 will set Evelyn's account of their ritualized sex and violence into the context of

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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 Wandring 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 *cortegiana 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

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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

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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'.[7] 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

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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 *pornographia* is integrated with critiques of masculine 'free' sexuality and 'debauched' wit by female authors like Lucy Hutchinson, Aphra Behn, Jane Barker, 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

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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.[10] 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 not 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.[11] 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

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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'.[12] 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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Abbreviations and frequently cited works

Achinstein	Sharon Achinstein, 'Women on Top in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Revolution', *Women's Studies* 24, special issue, *Gender, Literature, and the English Revolution*, ed. Sharon Achinstein (1994), 131–63
Aretino	Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti* are cited by dialogue number and page from *Sei giornate*, ed. Guido Davico Bonino (Turin, 1975), followed [in brackets] by the corresponding page in Raymond Rosenthal's translation, *Aretino's Dialogues* (New York, 1971), reissued with Epilogue by Margaret Rosenthal (New York, 1995). (*Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia* [1534] is designated as 'I' and *Dialogo nel quale la Nanna . . . insegna a la Pippa* [1536] as 'II', with small roman numerals for the dialogues internal to each.) Aretino's sonnets on the *Modi* exist in several versions; I cite them by number from the Appendix of Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton, 1999). His letters will be cited from *Lettere*, ed. Francesco Erspamer, vol. I (Parma, 1995).
Behn	Aphra Behn, *Works*, ed. Janet Todd (Columbus, OH). Vol. I, *Poetry* (1992); vol. II, *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister* (1993); vol. V, *The Plays, 1671–1677* (1996); vol. VI, *The Plays, 1678–1682* (1996). Plays will give act and scene before the page number
Butler, *Hudibras*	Cited by part, canto, and line (sometimes also with page numbers) from Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford, 1967)

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Cavendish, *Letters*	Margaret (Lucas) Cavendish, Marchioness and later Duchess of Newcastle, *CCXI Sociable Letters* (1664)
Orations	*Orations of Divers Sorts, Accommodated to Divers Places* (1662)
Chernaik	Warren Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature* (Cambridge, 1995)
CPW	*See* Milton
CW	*See* Wycherley
Dryden	*The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, H. T. Swedenberg, et al. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956–). The California edn
Etherege	Plays cited by act, scene, and page number in Sir George Etherege, *Dramatic Works*, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1927)
Friedman	*See* Wycherley
Greaves, *Deliver Us*	Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: the Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–1663* (New York and Oxford, 1986)
Enemies	*Enemies under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1677* (Stanford, CA, 1990)
Higgins	Patricia Higgins, 'The Reactions of Women, with Special Reference to Women Petitioners', in Brian Manning (ed.), *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War* (1973), 179–222
Ingram, *Courts*	Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1987)
'Rhymes'	'Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England', in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (1985), 166–97
'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)
Manley, *London*	Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge and New York, 1995)

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Marvell	*The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 3rd edn, rev. Pierre Legouis with E. E. Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 1971)
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, 1931–8). 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	David Farley-Hills (ed.), *Rochester: the Critical Heritage* (1972)
Rochester	John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, *Works*, ed. Harold Love (Oxford, 1999). Includes works unreliably attributed to Rochester. *See also RCH, Sodom*
Letters	*The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown (Oxford, 1980)
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 Roffensis' 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)

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Underdown	David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1985)
'Language'	'The Language of Popular Politics in the English Revolution', in Alvin Vos (ed.), *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance: Essays from the 25th Annual CEMERS Conference* (Binghamton, 1995)
Wandring Whore	Serial publication by John Garfield, supposed author, and others, cited by part number and page. *The Wandring 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 Wandring 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 Wandring Whore . . . By Peter Aretine* (March 1661), which is then repudiated in *The Sixth Part of the Wandring-Whore Revived* (1663), evidently from a different publisher.
Wilson	John Harold Wilson (ed.), *Court Satires of the Restoration* (Columbus, OH, 1976)
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)

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