WOMEN AS ARCHETYPAL SYMBOLS IN THE ROYALIST PROPAGANDA LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

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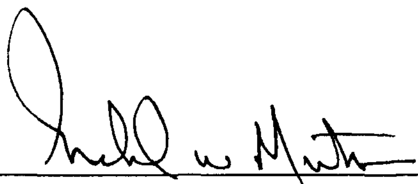

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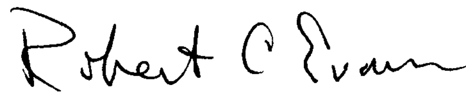

Second Reader

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with love to Edward Brooks Gentle, Sr. and Linda Moorehead Gentle. As parents, they have provided me with love, support, and courage. Their lessons and examples will be with me all my life.

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INTRODUCTION: THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, ROYALIST PROPAGANDA LITERATURE AND THE ARCHETYPAL IMAGE OF WOMAN

The period of the English Civil War saw many changes in politics, religion, social structure, economics, and the arts. The political turmoil that increased as the seventeenth century progressed resulted in many changes in the way English society functioned. Robert Ashton explains this social impact by arguing that "the worlds of Court and Country were inextricably intertwined" (41). Indeed, the changes that occurred in any one area of English society, for example the political arena, affected each of the other areas. Thus, no one sect or person was in isolation responsible for the events leading to and occurring during the Civil War. In fact, many prior events prompted the actions of both Royalists and Roundheads.

As the seventeenth century opened, the people of England had for years expressed resentment about the monarchy's control of the church. Although many subjects welcomed his actions, feelings of unease began during the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547) when he split with Rome over control of the church. At the time of the split, Henry not only wanted a divorce from Catherine of Aragon (although comparatively this desire was insignificant), but he wished to express his belief that divine right gave

him autonomy on earth, for he was God's chosen ruler. However, ancient religious traditions made it difficult for the citizens of England to dismiss the Pope and the religious control of Rome. Indeed, just as the king was God's chosen leader of the country, so the people had previously viewed the Pope as God's chosen leader of the church. Thus, Henry's actions helped to confuse his subjects and initiated 100 years of controversy over the relationship between church and state.

Discontent with the struggle between church and state, combined with resentment over taxation and other political controls forced on the population by the monarchy, caused many English citizens to maintain a general feeling of distrust during the reigns of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and particularly James I (1603-1625). Although Elizabeth I displayed great tolerance for divergence in her subjects' religious ideas, James I was largely unsympathetic. Leonard W. Cowie states that in his speeches to the people, James unbendingly "asserted ... the belief that kings answered to God alone, and had to be obeyed without question by their subjects" (23). Such dogmatism further increased the English subjects' discontent and resentment for the way James treated his people. Thus, by the time Charles I (1625-1649) came to the throne, the people were unhappy with the heavy-handed way they had been treated by James, particularly regarding matters of religion. The unease over the struggle between church and state and over the position taken by James I resulted from the

mind-set of the people that was established by Henry VIII's rejection of the authority of the Pope, which ironically established a precedent for questioning Charles' authority.

At this point, Charles I himself must be considered. As a youth, Charles idolized his older brother, Prince Henry. Charles, who was small in stature and had problems with his speech, looked up to his confident, vigorous brother. Upon Henry's death, Charles was forced to take on an undesired role and accept the responsibility of the impending kingship. C. V. Wedgewood states that upon Henry's death Charles inherited both James's "*Basilicon Doron*, a short impressive manual on the duties of a King" and also the responsibility for assimilating "the wisdom and policy enshrined in this book" (62-63). Although the role was not one Charles had chosen, when he assumed his new position he felt great respect and a sense of responsibility for his subjects.

Nevertheless, as the son of James, Charles could not help but subscribe to the institution of divine right. Yet as Gerald Morton states, "this divine authority ... did not simply assure him of wealth and privilege; it obligated him to preserve the order of the realm, the central role of the church within that order, and the succession of God's anointed" (1). Thus, when Charles took the throne he felt that no one had the authority to question his actions as king. He felt that he could not be rightfully challenged. He was confident that he would do only what was

best for his people, because he would do what was right for England and would not forget his responsibility to his subjects. He knew that to do otherwise would be to defy God's will. Indeed, although Charles himself often questioned his decisions throughout his reign, he did not feel that any one else had the right to do so.

In contrast, the citizens of England were unhappy with many of the economic policies that Charles pursued while he was on the throne. For example, Charles' decision to dissolve Parliament in 1629, while demonstrating his authority, left the people with no voice in political decisions, especially those related to taxation. The dismissal of Parliament suggested that Charles as king had little interest in the people's opinions or those of their representatives. In addition, the people were extremely dejected by the way Charles collected and increased taxes without the consent of Parliament. One example of taxation that incensed the public was the expanded collection of Ship Money (taxes collected from port towns). In 1635 Charles extended the collection of Ship Money inland without the permission of Parliament, and in 1637 leaders of the opposition brought a case concerning the legality of this measure. Although the ruling went in Charles' favor by a small margin, it strengthened the unrest of the people. In fact, as Charles continued to exert his authority in all arenas, many people began to look to other men, such as John Pym, to help end this oppression. In looking to others, the

populace challenged the divine right of Charles' authority. Anger over the loss of the people's voice combined with Charles' economic actions led to the challenges by the Parliamentarians in 1640 when they were recalled to respond to the aggression of Scotland.

By the time Charles called Parliament to vote for funds for the war with Scotland, the treasury was depleted. The people had been economically repressed and were unforgiving of Charles' actions that had put them in this position. They looked to Parliament to secure political and economic changes. Christopher Hill states that "by 1640 [Parliament] had become the symbol for the defence of religion, liberty, and property" (107). One of the first acts of Parliament was to insure that it could not be dismissed without its own approval. The people and their representatives wanted to guarantee their voice in future political and economic events.

While Charles held to his belief in his divine right, Hill explains that Pym refused Charles the right to this power "but did not claim it for Parliament" (63). This struggle over authority continued throughout the Civil War and was, for Charles, the main focus of contention. In fact, after Pym's death and later when Oliver Cromwell became leader of the King's opponents, the question of authority continued to disturb both sides of the debate. Although Cromwell also questioned the actions of Charles, he (like Pym) did not claim supreme authority for Parliament.

In the early days of his leadership, Cromwell had hoped to mediate between the King and Parliament. Cromwell initially hoped to reach a compromise on the authority issue that would consequently make other issues easier to resolve. Charles, however, felt unable to tolerate Parliament's questioning of his actions, and he continued to ask by what authority they did so. Peter Young argues it was not until Charles stubbornly refused to compromise with Parliament that "Cromwell . . . saw that in hoping to arrive at a permanent settlement by a treaty with the King he had been living in a world of his own" (83). Thus, the Civil War raged on.

While the Civil War was progressing, the parallel struggle of women in the seventeenth century was gaining momentum. In fact, women were becoming increasingly forthright in their refusal to accept the traditional roles that had been imposed upon them by their patriarchal ancestors. For example, many women were speaking out in church services. Antonia Fraser states, "the force of women preachers ... enabled women to find liberation, both spiritual and social, in their midst" (357). Another area in which women were struggling to gain freedom involved widowhood. Traditionally, women had answered to a male figure throughout their lives. They were expected to appoint male guardians to handle their estates upon becoming widows. However, many widowed women asserted that they were not accountable to any male and were able efficiently to handle their own estates. Fraser points out that "widows, indeed, could

be held to be technically 'masterless,' especially if their jointure or other form of inheritance was free from legal restraint" (93).

The position of widow also opened the business arena to many women. Women whose husbands held memberships in craft guilds inherited such memberships upon the deaths of their husbands. Merry E. Wiesner stresses that many women in business decided to "make financial decisions without the aid of a guardian" (6). This posture not only conflicted with the traditional role of the male as guardian, but it also projected women into the world of finance and trade. This control of financial status resulted in many widows remaining unmarried. However, not only was the arena of the craft guilds opened to women, but women who practiced healing were now stepping forward and challenging the authority of male "barber-surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries" to service patients (Wiesner 8). In a variety of ways, therefore, women had begun to assert themselves, transcending their traditional passive roles as possessions of men by striving for roles as responsible individuals. Interestingly, the struggle to change women's roles reflected many of the political, economic, and religious changes that were occurring during the Civil War debate. Change in women's roles became at once a symbol, cause, and effect of the ongoing political conflict.

From the outset of the Civil War, the people were split in their loyalties. Both Parliamentarians and Royalists realized that they needed

the support of their fellow citizens to succeed. Because at this time many more English citizens were literate than during the past, each side recognized the importance of the written word. In fact, as W.R. Owens states, "in the ferment of civil war ... censorship broke down, and a flood of books and pamphlets issued as men set about explaining to their fellows what was happening and arguing for or against new political ideas" (3). Each side produced a multitude of pamphlets, pieces of propaganda literature calculated (and circulated) to sway public opinion. Among the various literary forms it exploited, this propaganda literature often took the form of "story telling" or reporting of events to insure the interest of the reader. Such narrative works contained not only blatant attacks, hidden innuendos, and damaging half-truths about opponents, but also a certain quality of undeniable entertainment.

Although the events that were taking place on the economic, political, and religious battlefields were not amusing, the propaganda writers found interesting ways to reflect not only the many changes that were occurring but also their own opinions on these societal changes. Often, both aims were achieved by using many references and characters derived from archetypal feminine symbols. Such archetypal allusions show great understanding of human nature by the authors of the propaganda. Erich Neumann stresses that the use of archetypes "determines human behavior unconsciously but in accordance with laws and independently of

the experience of the individual" (4). This appeal to the unconscious is exactly what the propagandists strove to achieve, often by using many of the most easily identified archetypal symbols. Perhaps the archetypal symbol used most frequently in this propaganda literature to portray the Civil War conflict involves the contrast between the good mother and the bad mother. Moreover, such archetypes were frequently combined with images drawn from the changing roles women played in seventeenth-century England.

In the propaganda literature, the good mother tends to exhibit traits associated with the socially acceptable roles of seventeenth-century women, while the bad mother symbol often represents negative qualities of the "new" women during this time. In the propaganda literature, for instance, the good mother symbol often represents unity. However, whether presenting women as virgins, wives, mothers, or widows (all socially acceptable categories during the seventeenth century), the propagandists used such images to express their ideas about the social and political changes that were taking place. Thus, the bad mother, for instance, appears in feminine symbols of chaos. This woman appears as mistress or as a seventeenth-century version of the suffragette. These roles symbolize the negative aspects of women's excessive ambition during this period. To link political overreaching and the overreaching of women during this period, writers often used the symbol of woman as chaos to

censure both women and their political opponents for crossing the traditional bounds of societal roles. Both ambitious women and unruly opponents were accused of seeking to gain more authoritative positions in economics, politics, and society.

By using woman as a symbol of unity, the Royalists hoped to evoke deep-seated loyalties to tradition. The Royalists knew that the people would resist going against God's chosen ruler, just as many had refrained from rejecting Catholicism, despite Henry VIII's disregard for the Pope. Royalist propaganda literature also hoped to cause the people to remember the harmony and contentment they had enjoyed (for the most part) under the rule of the monarchy. The writers hoped to reinforce the idea that just as a seventeenth-century woman owed obedience to her male protector, whether father or husband, so the English subjects owed obedience to Charles as king. In addition, they hoped to suggest that by opposing Charles, the English would ultimately be transgressing against God.

The Royalists' use of woman as a symbol of chaos stressed the threat of the loss of harmony and contentment if the king were overthrown. The Royalists hoped to play upon the tendency of most people to resist change, especially during times when many forms of authority are being questioned (including, in this case, men's roles as leaders and the king's role as sovereign). Royalist writers who used women as symbols of chaos hoped to suggest that it is better to face what is already known than to face the

instability of the unknown (such as women changing their traditional roles in the social order). In fact, many Royalist writers praised the traditional roles of seventeenth-century women to symbolize the religious errors made by women who were overstepping the ancient customary bounds, just as Parliament was overstepping its limits of authority. One example the Royalists exploited was the symbol of the mistress. Although many men had mistresses during this period, it was the wife who enjoyed social respect and authority. Indeed, by referring to Parliament as the King's mistress, the Royalist writers hoped the negative connotation would suggest that God would not condone such a relationship or anyone that supported this type of arrangement.

The changes that occurred during the period of the English Civil War evoked many feelings and reactions within the people. As both a cause and a result of such conflict, propaganda literature both affected and reflected the course of events. The insightful use of woman as symbol by the writers of propaganda literature allows us a glimpse at how political machines and mentalities functioned during this time. Although the patriarchal society of seventeenth-century England was not concerned with the plight of women, women during this time were making promising and initial steps toward independence. This investigation hopes to show the important use to which archetypal feminine symbols were put by the Royalist propaganda writers during this period and also how specific

manifestations of these archetypes reveal the new roles women were playing. The English Civil War could have been fought without the use of symbols such as woman as unity and woman as chaos, but the period seems richer for having used the printed word to represent and exploit the changes taking place in the traditional roles of women.

WOMAN AS UNITY IN ROYALIST PROPAGANDA

Writers who held Royalist views during the English Civil War used a variety of literary forms and many symbols to express their political opinions. Woman as unity was one such symbol. By using woman as unity, the writers hoped to evoke both conscious and unconscious responses in their readers' minds. The use of historical and social images of woman as unity to reach the conscious mind indicated the obvious intent and meaning of the Royalist writer. However, the clever use of archetypal images to touch the unconscious mind helped to compel a feeling of sympathy and support for the Royalist side. Thus, the writers using such archetypes hoped to sway the reader to accept their traditional views and to support Charles I.

The image of woman as unity (the good mother half of Neumann's great mother image) invokes "all positive elements of existence, such as nourishment, food, warmth, protection, safety ..." (Neumann 67). Marilyn French's concept of the inlaw feminine contains many of the same qualities, including the image of woman as unity. French describes the inlaw feminine as "founded on the ability to give birth," and says that it also "includes qualities like nutritiveness, compassion, mercy, and the

ability to create felicity" (16). Also, French points out that the inlaw feminine "requires volitional subordination, voluntary relinquishment of power-in-the-world ... it values above all the good of the whole, the community. It exalts the community above the individual" (16). Indeed, the ability of Royalist propagandists to combine the basic connotations of the inlaw feminine with traditional patriarchal ideals of what defined a good woman, therefore, provided a persuasive tool for the Royalist political faction, which sought to promote unity under the rule of the monarchy. In Royalist propaganda literature, the seventeenth-century accepted, traditional roles of virgin, wife, mother, and widow function as symbols of women as unifiers. These female characters display all of the positive elements a typical seventeenth-century reader would wish for in a woman. They are dutiful, obedient, faithful, supportive, subservient, and modest. Because these were the very traits the Royalist propagandists found lacking in the Roundhead political leaders and agenda but which the crown sought from its followers, these were the traits they advocated when they wrote.

The Royalist propagandists wanted to stress that it was imperative to uphold the traditional role of the king. Thus, they used images of women in their tracts to depict the obedience that was necessary to maintain the balance of seventeenth-century society, a balance based on the Great Chain of Being (which placed woman as subservient to man and man

as subservient to God). Royalist supporters wished to compare the subservience of women to men with the subservience of the people to Charles I. Their attempt to promote this image was strengthened by the people's general knowledge of the Bible. Christopher Hill points out that "by the seventeenth century the Bible was accepted as central to all spheres of intellectual life ... the Bible was ... the foundation of all aspects of English culture" (7). The Royalist writers, therefore, used the biblical knowledge of the people in their propaganda pieces to point out the ultimate importance of order through unity for England. In fact, they wanted to stress that any revolt against the divine right of Charles I would ultimately would be transgression against God.

As the Royalist propagandists struggled to persuade their readers to maintain the traditional roles that were threatened during the Civil War, they used the image woman as unity, as expressed in the seventeenth-century roles that were traditional and socially acceptable, in several tracts written under the pseudonym Mercurius Melancholicus. Lois Potter argues that the tracts were probably written by several authors, ranging from a priest ("John Hackluyt, a Presbyterian, possibly of Irish origin, who had been chaplain in the regiment of Major General Massey") to various printers and publishers named Harper and Crouch, to "writers accused of counterfeiting some numbers of it [such as] Martin Parker the ballad writer and 'Swallow' Crouch" (105-106). Potter further states

that the numerous authors were necessary "when [Melancholicus'] regular author was in prison or forced to lie low" (107). Brian Patton supports Potter's argument and states that the pamphlets "are constructed in dramatic form, as dialogues or closet dramas. That form itself had taken on pro-Royalist connotations in the wake of Parliament's refusal to reopen the popular public theaters" (83). Three examples of this type of literature which use the image of woman as unity are *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of the Precious Babe of Reformation"* (April 29, 1648), *Mistris Parliament: Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard Labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Offspring, the Childe of Deformation* (May 10, 1648) and *Mistris PARLIAMENT Her gossippings FULL OF MIRTH, MERRY TALES, chat, and other Pleasant Discourse* (May 22, 1648). Two other pieces of propaganda with this image are the anonymously published tracts titled *A New Marriage, Between Mr. King and Mrs. Parliament* (1648) and *A Declaration of the Maids of the City of London, & co*. (1659).

Mercurius Melancholicus' *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of the Precious Babe of Reformation*, published in 1648, is rich with feminine symbols of unity. The tract describes Mistris Parliament struggling to give birth to her child Reformation. As she perseveres, her ladies talk of all her horrible deeds; she eventually regurgitates a confession and gives birth to an abomination. Potter claims that this tract "combines

several traditional satiric motifs -- the monstrous birth, the vomiting scene, and the deathbed confession" (111). Throughout the tract, Melancholicus uses a nurse, Mrs. Synod, to voice reality to Mistris Parliament. Noticeably, Melancholicus gives Mrs. Synod the title of Mrs., implying that she is a married, Christian woman who has the support of the church in her married state, unlike the unmarried pregnant "whore," Mistris Parliament, who shows contempt for the church by fornicating. Although the term "mistress" could mean dutiful wife, the writer's awareness of the second common meaning (expressing the adulterous position of a kept woman) strengthens his depiction the symbolic division between the good married nurse (Royalists) and the fornicating Mistris Parliament (Roundheads). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "mistris" acquired the meaning of "a woman who illicitly occupies the place of wife" between 1430 and 1440. The writer's use of the term mistress, therefore, recognizes Parliament's constitutional importance while expressing the unlawfulness of its actions in challenging the traditional order represented by Charles I. As Atonia Fraser appropriately points out, a seventeenth-century wife's "security and adherence to the social norm were accompanied by the need for absolute subordination to her husband, legally and in every other way" (398). In contrast, a wanton and free courtesan, was able to "enjoy a measure of independence" (Fraser 398). The writer's use of the title "mistress" thus

implies Parliament's insubordination and the need for submission to the throne.

The choice of the name Synod is very calculated move by the author to suggest biblical support for the Royalist position. A synod is a council or assembly of churches or church officials that maintains the right to criticize the actions of its members. Thus, Melancholicus suggests Mrs. Synod's God-given right to censure Mistris Parliament's actions just as he implies the Royalists' right to denounce the actions of the Parliament. Mrs. Synod refers to Mistris Parliament as "a Whore" that "hath imprisoned her Husband, and prostituted her body to a very Eunuch, [and] that had nothing to help himself withall ... [she] hath learnt to murder, Rob, take Purses, pick pockets ..." (4). Here the husband is Charles I, and the Eunuch is the army under the control of Oliver Cromwell. The claim that the Eunuch lacks support suggests that God and the people reject Parliament's actions and those of the new model army. Moreover, by emphasizing a woman's infidelity the passage reflects Parliament's disregard for the natural order. Again, the image of woman suggests the desire to produce or seize a balanced relationship between the King and Parliament, directly contradicts both this order and the ideal relationship set forth in the Bible: "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, ... so let wives also be subject in

everything to their husbands" (Ephesians 5:22-24). With this image, the writer stresses the willful disobedience of Parliament in regard to God and King. In this respect Mrs. Synod is echoed by Mrs. Truth, a second symbol of unity, who also displays contempt for the illegal actions of Parliament.

At one point, Mistris Parliament turns to Mrs. Truth when she finds herself "lying very weak, and in most grievous pangs of child-bearing; and cannot be delivered" (6). In response, Mrs. Truth denounces Mistris Parliament's horrendous actions, suggesting the Royalist view of recent events in the political arena. She claims Mistris Parliament has "been a most cruel murderer" who has

> Imprisoned [her] lawful King, the Anointed of the Lord and ... corrupted his Lawes and ... made Gods House and the Kings House a Den of thieves; ... loved wickedness and practiced it ... Robbed both God and the King ... Stole and forceably carried away the Goods and Chattells of many thousands of his Majesties Loyall and obedient subjects ... and yoaked ... fellow subjects to the pride, tyranny and Oppression of [her] own Lust, and Ambition; instead of *Reforming* I have *Deformed*. (6-7)

Mrs. Truth continues to rebuke Mistris Parliament by comparing her actions to those of God's disobedient children in the Bible. Indeed, Parliament's actions are said to have "made this Canaan of all happiness [England], a

Golgotha, and field of Blood" (7). The book of Matthew calls Golgotha "the place of a skull" (27:33), and according to Merrill C. Tenney, Golgotha is the "place of our Lord's crucifixion ... a place of execution, ... therefore abounded in skulls ... had the appearance of a skull when viewed from a short distance" (317). Once again, Melancholicus tries to link God and king to show the disruption of unity by the Roundheads by implying that their actions will lead to a Golgotha in England resembling the injustice of the death of Christ. As a matter of fact, Parliament and its army had already imprisioned Charles I on the Isle of Wight by time the play appeared.

A final symbol of unity found in *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of the Precious Babe of Reformation* is that of Mrs. Privilege. Although she is mother to Mistris Parliament and she has allowed her daughter to enjoy the privileges belonging to the king, she now instructs her daughter to make peace before death by reuniting herself with God and king. Indeed, she urges Mistris Parliament to "deliver thy Lord and Master out of Prison, and preserve him from the treacherous disignes of Fairfax, Cromwell, ... & c." (8). This urgent plea voices the Royalists' strong desire for the release of the king, a release they hoped would result in unity for England.

Mercurius Melancholicus' second tract, titled *Mistris Parliament: Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard Labour which she*

endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Offspring, the Childe of Deformation, continues the story first presented in *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of the Precious Babe of Reformation*. The ladies around Mistris Parliament continue to discuss her actions, reveal the dishonesty of her confession, equate her name with the Whore of Babylon, revive Mistris Parliament from a faint, and witness another of her regurgitations. Potter stresses that the plot reinforces the Royalist belief that "the forces which had successfully opposed Charles I [were] now turning against one another" (130). Consequently, the tract contains a stimulating positive feminine symbol of unity. The vehicle for the unity theme is again found in the character of the nurse. Interestingly, the nurse is not only drawn from the common working class but also evokes all the positive images of Neumann's good mother. She is the ultimate caretaker, representing the comforting emotions associated with warmth, safety, and protection. Although she serves Mistris Parliament, she also voices the Royalist view when she warns against following the advice of Mrs. Truth, because it would cause Mistris Parliament to:

> make ... full a vomiting with a witness, and then up would come (to the view of the whole World) all that [Parliament had] converted to the satisfying of [her] own private Lust, though pretended to be done for the publique good of the Kingdom; as the Revenues of the Crown (5).

Ironically, it was Mrs. Truth who caused Mistris Parliament to vomit all of her sins in the first tract, only to have Mistris Parliament retract her remorse. Mistris Parliament's rejection of her retraction illuminates her desire for power and control and her dismissal of truth. However, by allowing the nurse to illuminate the horrible actions of Mistris Parliament, the writer insinuates that the working class is well aware of Parliament's actions and usurpation of power. Although the working class previously opposed Charles I in such events as the apprentice riots, the writer, understanding the importance of their support, hoped to gain their sympathy and revive their support for the hierarchy established by God.

Again, the nurse maintains the title of "Mrs.," while referring to Parliament as "Mistris" rather than "Madame." Thus the writer uses one of their own, the nurse, to voice the Royalist position that the people of England should be aware of what Truth could illuminate about Parliament's illegal actions "(and [Truth] can as well be hanged {which you know is the least you have deserved} as conceal her knowledge, but will at some time or other discover all)" (6). This phrasing may be meant to reflect how Mistris Parliament (Parliament) is viewed by the nurse (the common people). The nurse's statements reveal that she knows that Mistris Parliament's actions have not promoted the good of the people. Therefore, her denial of title would suggest the nurse's disapproval of Mistris Parliament's illegal seizure of power. The nurse goes further and offers

a "Greek 'etymology' ... which shows that Mrs. Parliament's name really means the Whore of Babylon" (Potter 130). The nurse translates her etymology for Parliament, "MYSTERY BABYLON THE GREAT, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations, Nurse of errour, heresie and blasphemy" (7). Potter points out that the direct reference here relates to Parliament's toleration of "competing religious sects," which resulted in Mistris Parliament "becom[ing] more of a prostitute than her old enemy, the Whore of Babylon, 'drunken with the blood of the saints' (Revelation 17:6)" (132). Potter further states, "it is only a step from this to accusing the leading parliamentarians of being cuckolds and adulterers" (132). Furthermore, the nurse reveals her disdain for her Mistris when she explains that although Mrs. Truth may be hanged, Mistris Parliament knows that hanging "is the least [she has] deserved" (6). The nurse also points out the importance of the Royalists' use of propaganda as a weapon against Mistris Parliament when she reminds her Mistris of the "Tell-truths of the Times, ... whose publishing the Truth of those foul Enormities ... have done you more hurt of late ... by their pennes having wounded you deeper in your credit and reputation" (6). The "Tell-truths" the nurse refers to are the Royalist writers, as opposed to the tellers of "false-truths" writing for the Roundheads. Cunningly, Melancholicus successfully suggests in the passage the importance he places on the ideas and understanding of the common person with respect to the

political situation and the power he sees the propaganda written for that audience. Also, his acknowledgement of the importance of the common working class is a successful way to show the king's subjects that he realizes the battle will not be won by the influence of the aristocracy alone. Again, this acknowledgement is a tool to sway the population to the side of the Royalists.

Mistris PARLIAMENT Her Gossipping FULL OF MIRTH, MERRY TALES, chat, and other Pleasant Discourse, published on May 22, 1648, is a third significant tract by Mercurius Melancholicus. The tract begins with a discussion among ladies of the court which results in a mock trial that finds Mistris Parliament to be a witch. Mrs. England, representing unity, is the mediator of the group and proclaims Mistris Parliament the "Authour of [England's] miserys," pointing out that Parliament "feeds fat with Theft and Rapine, and quaffs whole mazor Bowls of England's blood" (7). Mrs. England bears similarities to the archetype of Athene (Minerva) the goddess of wisdom. In addition, Mrs. England suggests French's inlaw feminine, because she represents all the people of England and wants the best for the whole population. Nevertheless, Mrs. Truth, a second symbol of unity, tells Mrs. England and Mrs. Statute they "have been all three banished from thence this seven years, and beat out of the Church too, ... flung into Prisons, and exposed to all the miseries that Malice could invent against us" (6). A third symbol of woman as unity in this tract,

Mrs. Statute, points out that the reason Parliament has had such control is that Parliament has "bewitch'd" her followers (6). The use of the name Statute lends authority to her views because of the understanding a statute is a fundamental law or rule passed by the legal legislative authority of a government, in other words Melancholicus implies she held the support of the king's authority. In the seventeenth-century the charge of being a witch was often met with a quick and certain trial. Potter explains, "to call Parliament a Witch is one way of explaining the adherence of so many of the King's subjects to her cause" (144). Mrs. Justice, a fourth symbol of woman as unity in this work, is the perfect judge for the charge against Mistris Parliament. She represents the archetype of Themis, the "personification and goddess of justice and law" (Bulfinch 949). Although Mrs. Justice knows that Parliament is guilty of horrible crimes, she is fair in handling Parliament's guilt. For example, Mrs. Justice does allow Parliament the chance to answer the "witch" charges in the traditional manner, and she is also fair when she states that "perhaps [Parliament] may confess her guilt: If she can rehearse the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed she is no Witch" (7). By relying on the traditional belief that a witch, an evil-doer, could not quote the Lord's prayer, Mrs. Justice reinforces her inlaw-feminine role associated with nurturing qualities, as opposed to the outlaw-feminine role, "associated with darkness, chaos, flesh, the sinister, magic and above all, sexuality.

It is outlaw because it is subversive, undermining of the masculine principle" (French 15). Furthermore, Mrs. Truth stresses the guilt of Mistris Parliament by saying that "She hath deny'd [the Bible] long since" (7). By saying this, Mrs. Truth implies that Mistris Parliament has not only turned away from God, but she has also turned away from tradition.

All four symbols of unity in *Mistris PARLIAMENT Her Gossipping FULL OF MIRTH, MERRY TALES, chat, and other Pleasant Discourse* call for the reinstatement of the traditional roles disrupted by Parliament's illegal actions. Melancholicus and supporters of the Royalist cause summoned the reunification of the social and political order that existed under the monarchy. In order to restore this unity, Parliament must be defeated and controlled but left in place. Mrs. Statute advocates reestablishing the former unity when she orders Mistris Parliament "to return to the place from whence thou came and from thence to be drawn to the place of Execution, and there to be hanged and Quartered"(8). These symbols pointing out the faults of Parliament and calling for the return to traditional roles support the Royalist desire for unity through order. Furthermore, the Royalists wish to remind the reader that the monarchy provided protection and safety to the subjects in the same manner as God.

The traditional role of woman as subservient, obedient, and faithful to a male protector used to develop a feminine symbol of unity in Mercurius Melancholicus' works also appears in *A New Marriage Between Mr.*

King and Mrs. Parliament, anonymously published in 1648. The plot of this tract represents the marriage ceremony between Charles I and Parliament, consisting of the traditional marriage vows of subservience by the wife, Parliament, to the husband, Charles I. By depicting Mrs. Parliament as a wife, the Royalist author reaffirms the role of the traditional seventeenth-century woman, by showing the submission of Mrs. Parliament to her male protector, husband, and king. Just as Fraser points out "obedience was thus the watchword" for seventeenth-century women (149), so Mrs. Parliament vows to "have this man to be ... King, to live together in the holy Estate of Obedience; ... love honor, keep and protect Him; forsaking all others; keep ... only to Him" (7). The Royalist writer of this tract stresses the importance of woman's obedience and support of her male protector by emphasizing the "holiness" (Godliness) of this union. Once again, the writer suggests that God supports the Royalist campaign by referring to the biblical commandment that wives "be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body and is himself its Savior" (Ephesians 5:22-23). This image directly reflects the Royalist desire that Parliament should be loyal and obedient to the king. Mrs. Parliament, as wife, displays all of the traditional characteristics of an ideal seventeenth-century woman by supporting her husband and being subservient to him.

Another example of the Royalist writers' use of woman as unity is found in the 1659 tract anonymously published and titled *A Declaration of the Maids of the City of London, & co.* In this tract, the virtuous maids of London support Charles II and express their scorn for Parliament's illegal actions. The maids declare their subservience to and unquestioning support of the monarchy and reveal the impudence of the "Army-fied Parliament" in desiring to usurp the powers of the monarchy (1). The virgins vote to stand "for bringing in of the right Proprietor [Charles II], which alone can settle us against the Fictions and Factions, which our Flesh and Blood cannot endure" (1). The propagandist clearly implies that Parliament's ideas and promises are merely "fictions," and that these "fictions" are destructively dividing the people into "factions." The writer's use of virgin maids to unveil the "fictions and factions" of the Parliamentarians shows how adherence to a traditional woman's role has the power to squelch the chaos the Royalists argue will continue if the Parliamentarians are successful in permanently unseating the monarchy. The fact that these characters are virgin maids makes their opinions more acceptable because they here remain within the boundaries of their traditional roles. Indeed, virginity has not only long associated with purity and goodness but has also been linked with the virgin Mary, mother of Jesus. Just as Mary delivered the messiah, the virgin maids of England here deliver the message of the true king, also

the heir of God. The maids' willingness to submit to the chosen leader, as well as their desire to restore that leader to the throne, illuminates a yearning for order and unity in England.

Propaganda writers who held Royalist views were eager to promote the revival of traditional political and societal roles in England. The use of the archetypal symbol of woman as unity in the works they produced brought their writing to a level that could be easily understood and appreciated by readers of all social and intellectual levels. Characters such as Nurse Synod, Mrs. Truth, Mrs. Justice, Mrs. Privilege, Mrs. England, Mrs. Statute, Mrs. Parliament (as bride of Mr. King), and the virginal maids all represent a conscious desire for the restoration of order and unity. However, these characters evoke for the unconscious the good qualities of nurturing (Nurse Synod), reason (Mrs. Justice), obedience (Mrs. Parliament-bride), submissiveness (the maids), duty (Mrs. Truth), faithfulness (Mrs. Privilege), supportiveness (Mrs. England), and justice (Mrs. Statute), qualities clearly associated with Neumann's Great Mother and French's inlaw feminine. It is interesting that Royalist writers used such comforting universal feminine symbols to reflect their views as they attempted to sway the public to their side of the debate. However, this choice was well made, because every person can relate to the harmony, comfort, peace, and contentment associated with the image of the good mother. By using this archetype, the Royalist writers hoped to

implant a yearning for the old ways, roles, and traditions that they felt had served the people so well during the rule of the monarchy. As a result of these yearnings, they hoped the people would be swayed to the side of the king, and traditional order and unity could be restored to seventeenth-century England.

WOMAN AS CHAOS IN ROYALIST PROPAGANDA

By 1640, the political and social structure in England had become unstable. During that year, Charles called Parliament to convene twice, he was defeated by the Scots, and the Root and Branch Petition was presented. The atmosphere in London was one of discontent and unease. A struggle for power had begun, and within the aristocracy the opposing sides were becoming well-defined. In 1642, with the outbreak of war, the two sides struggled for the support of the common people, and the use of the written word to gain that support was prevalent. Royalist writers prepared tracts supporting the king and traditional hierarchial order. In these tracts, they frequently used woman as a symbol of chaos to express their opinions of Parliament's actions throughout the English Civil War. Female characters embodying the archetypal images of chaos associated with the outlaw-feminine or the bad mother were often used to epitomize disfavor, disgrace, querulousness, peevishness, dishonor, and were used to associate these qualities with the king's opponents. The writers' ability to symbolize the forces destroying the harmony of seventeenth-century England (communicated on an often humorous, if sometimes vile level) helped provoke thoughts of fear and uncertainty, and

predicted doom for a way of life and for traditions which had existed for hundreds of years. The Royalists also used these images to show that the destruction of unity in the English social and political order resulted from the defiance of God's commands. With this approach, the Royalist writers hoped to encourage in their readers an innate fear of change, thus reestablishing the role of the monarchy in English society and politics.

The image of woman as chaos evokes basic fears within the patriarchal world. These fears, rooted in woman's ability to reason, to gain control, and to maintain power, often are pictured in myth as the *vagina dentate* which devours man. Indeed, Erich Neumann's Terrible Mother signifies chaos by "her devouring-ensnaring function, in which she draws the life of the individual back into herself" (71). Neumann continues by stating the Terrible Mother's "womb becomes a devouring maw and the conceptual symbols of diminution, rending, hacking to pieces, and annihilation, of rot and decay" (71-72). Similarly, Marilyn French's definition of woman as chaos is explained by her idea of the outlaw-feminine. French argues for the outlaw-feminine's association with "darkness, chaos, flesh, the sinister, magic and above all, sexuality. It is outlaw because it is subversive, undermining of the masculine principle" (15). Drawn from these archetypes, the Royalists' use of woman as chaos reflected the greatest fear, (both on the conscious and unconscious levels) of the (devouring) unknown and (sinister) violent

changes occurring in seventeenth-century England. By evoking these fears, the Royalists hoped to sway the support of the people to the traditional order and thus the king.

The seventeenth-century Royalist writers used the figures of whore, witch, and (sometimes) mistress as examples of woman as chaos. These roles represent the unpleasant and undesirable aspects of some positions women held in seventeenth-century England. The writers projected all of the vulgar and repugnant characteristics of these female characters upon Parliament in these works. By magnifying the vile, unwanted, despicable side of these characters, the Royalist propagandists sought to dissuade the people from supporting the undesirable changes promoted by Parliament and to swing emotional support to the king.

The Royalist writers played upon the unpleasantness of their characters and the fears of their readers to demote Parliament's power and promote the king's authority. The writers realized the people's resistance to change, and played upon their innate fear that change would cause suffering. Also, the propagandists recognized the people's desire to live by God's rules, and this desire enhanced the fear of opposing God's will. The retributions caused by opposing God are often evidenced in the horrors faced by the female characters representing Parliament. These horrors include revolting bouts of vomiting (which include blood, paper, and vile contents) and a monstrous birth of a deformed child. Such

imagery is not surprising, for as Christopher Hill observes in the seventeenth-century "the Bible . . . [was] central to all spheres of intellectual life . . . [and was] the foundation of all aspects of English culture" (7). What better way for the Royalists to sway public opinion than to use the reader's Biblical knowledge to equate a transgression against Charles I with a transgression against God. Indeed, the seventeenth-century person would naturally feel it was one thing to challenge the king, a man, but quite another to dispute God's will. By depicting feminine characters that overstepped the bounds of God's plan and who suffered as a result, the Royalist writers argued the inevitable result of disobeying the king (and ultimately God) was chaos. The Royalists' use of woman as an image of chaos is evident in many works of literature. One such work is the play *The Change* (December 1644), by Mildmay Fane, the second Earl of Westmorland. Other examples are found in four pamphlets written under the pseudonym of Mercurius Melancholicus and variously entitled, *Mistris PARLIAMENT Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation* (April 29, 1648); *Mistris Parliament: Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard Labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Offspring, the Childe of Deformation* (May 10, 1648); *Mistris PARLIAMENT Her gossippings FULL OF MIRTH, MERRY TALES, chat, and other Pleasant Discourse* (May 22, 1648); and *Mrs. PARLIAMENT: Her Invitation of Mrs. LONDON, TO A Thanksgiving Dinner* (May

29, 1648). A final example is found in an anonymously published tract titled *A New Marriage, Between Mr. KING and Mrs. PARLIAMENT* (November 30, 1648).

Although Mildmay Fane's play does not precisely fit the genre of propaganda tracts written for the common people, the fact that public productions of plays were forbidden by Parliament makes his a work of prohibited literature. According to Gerald Morton, "*The Change*, certainly a revealing title, is a bitter attack on Parliament, as it represents England as a state dominated by those who should serve" (27). The play opens with a prologue from the author (a prisoner) expressing his bitterness for the losses suffered by him and his estates. Fane's play contains two male merchants (Pasquin and Morforio), who describe their idea of Utopia; the ladies (Penetrochia, Reposta, and Guancetta) who rule this ideal realm; and a man (Caprittcio) who calls for justice and unity. Fane describes the three *Ladyes* in the cast of characters as "Great Reformers or rather deformers of state Gouernement" (1). Penetrochia, the first to speak, informs the reader, "our sex alone did Reigne" (1.2.255) and suggests the ladies rule well because of their "habbitts ffemale," and "Spirits Masculine" (1.2.441). Penetrochia goes on to defend the dominance of women over men when she argues, "Sts Worshipp when ther's none / Should be ador'd heere saue our Sex alone / Men be our Vassalls, Tributaryes, Slaues / And what not?" (1.3.639-642). Her argument suggests

women should have power over men, because women can not only reproduce but also can exploit both their feminine and masculine qualities (using both to their advantage). Penetrochia's contention that reproduction justifies feminine power suggests the uselessness of males. Marilyn French, on the other hand, argues the ability to reproduce actually subjected women to men, because "women came to be seen as 'closer to nature' than men" (3). French continues by suggesting that "women's supposed closeness to nature became a stigma rather than a miracle" (3). Because the patriarchal world proclaimed such status a stigma, "women began to be seen as lower than men; being part of nature in a way men were not, [women] were also part of what must be controlled" (3). Marilyn French's argument echoes the traditional beliefs of seventeenth-century society about the appropriate but inferior role of women. In that society, as Rosemary Masek notes, "A woman's status depended upon that of her husband, or if she remained single, upon that of her family" (141). By allowing Penetrochia to claim superiority over men, Fane is implying Parliament's similarly the unconventional and unnatural desire to rule over (or without) Charles I. In fact, Fane's second image of woman as chaos, Guancetta, further supports this interpretation.

Guancetta openly agrees with Penetrochia that it is the woman's (Parliament's) right, by virtue of their gender, to desire change and to rule accordingly when she states,

> Coozen 'tis true
> All Natures hunt Varyetyes and aboue all
> It is our Sexes Iust prerogatiue
> to Couett Change in diett, habbitt, Gaurbe;
> Now to be free, without Controule of any
> And then againe retir'd to soe much state
> As to bee soone of None (1.2.290-296).

The last line of this passage reflects Parliament's wish to rule without Charles I, making Guancetta's words an absolute challenge to the customary seventeenth-century belief in God's natural order. Moreover, her desires directly oppose traditional ideas of a woman's acceptable place in God's creation. According to Constance Jordan, seventeenth-century life often required women to follow "acknowledged rules of feminine behavior [consisting] of . . . two principal virtues: silence and chastity" (243). Of these qualities, Jordan says, "the first was the most decisive, for it prevented women from venturing outside their families and into public life" (243). However, these two virtues are clearly absent in Guancetta; rather her words blatantly defy both traditional ideals as she proclaims her desire to rule according to "female" whim and to speak openly about such desires.

Fane's third image of woman as chaos also defies traditional rules concerning women; Reposta, moreover, is also linked with Parliament's

previous attempts to restrict Charles' power. Reposta agrees with Penetrochia and Guancetta about ruling their Utopia without the aid of men; however, her words, "Lett them Comand abroad, att home our state / Willbe the freer, Like the Prouinces / Wee may receaue and send Embassadours," obviously refer to Parliament's attempts during the two years before the Civil War to restrict Charles' traditional prerogatives (1.2.264-266). Through Reposta, Fane illustrates the pretentiousness of Parliament and the direct conflict between its desires and God's word.

Just as Fane's three women rulers in *The Change* promote chaos, so Fane felt Parliament's rule was destructive. Fane's play reveals the repulsion he felt for what had happened to England's social and political order. Moreover, he used the images of woman as chaos successfully to show the injustice he and others had experienced. Thus the character, Caprittcio, representing Fane, denounces the three ladies and warns,

> Thus Haue I read of some whose stretching minde
> Aymeing to Compasse all, left all behinde
> And in the greatest Conquest 'tis noe lesse
> Prowesse to manage well the happinesse
> Then 'twas att first to gaine it -- power well us'd
> A Cordiall proues, Ranke poyson when abus'd (1.5.1096-1101)

Through his depiction of Caprittcio, who first followed the women rulers, Fane reveals the initial lure of the ladies (Parliament's) persuasive

arguments; however, he later stresses the importance of resisting the temptation. Although Fane's work may have not been written for public circulation, his imagery is similar to that which was intended for a broad audience.

Mercurius Melancholicus' tract *Mistress PARLIAMENT Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation* (published April 29, 1648) employs a major character representing woman as an image of chaos--Mistress Parliament. In this tract, Mistress Parliament is struggling to give birth to a child. After continually vomiting up her vile actions from the past, she eventually has a declaration written confessing her sins. Only after confessing is she able to deliver a horribly deformed child. As Brian Patton suggests "'Mercurius Melancholicus' make[s] that feminine presence, embodied by 'Mistris Parliament,' into a grotesque emblem of the unnatural state of the kingdom" (84). Moreover as Lois Potter adds, "Monstrous births, of course, were, like witchcraft, the staple news of ballads and broadsheets" (145), and argues, "The monstrous child is clearly the new religion--deformed rather than reformed, headless because it denied the king's authority, and monstrous because in its toleration of the sects it was combining a number of different beasts into one" (145). The Royalist writer of this tract wanted to illustrate the combining of unconventional ideas, or groups, often produces troubled results. Also, the birth imagery directly emphasized feminine sexuality. In particular,

the monstrous birth experienced by Mistris Parliament supports French's arguments that outlaw-feminine images are often connected with magic, flesh, sexuality, and the sinister. Patton suggests "the deformed, headless monster, the child of Reformation, is chaos incarnate" (85). If so, then the Royalist author implies the offspring of disruption should be dreaded. To make this point, Melancholicus presents Mistress Parliament in horrible and very uncomplimentary detail. Her sins are described in detail as she purges her stomach of its vile contents, described by Mistris Parliament as they appear. The first is blood, and she, therefore, cries, "Oh 'tis *Blood*, innocent blood, that hath lain in clodds congealed at my stomach this full seven yeers; harke how lowd it cryes for vengeance?" (4). Second, "tis *Gold*, accursed gold; For the love of this I sold my God, my King, my Soul, committed Sacriledge, murder, and all manner of mischeif" (5). Next follow papers or "Ordinances, Votes, and Declarations; . . . This is the accursed Declaration against my King, wherein He is so falsely slandered and reproach'd" (5). By listing such sins, Melancholicus forces the reader to acknowledge the horrors Parliament has inflicted on the peace of England. Mrs. Privilege, mother of Mistress Parliament, uses two other images of woman as chaos in this tract. Thus, Mrs. Schism and Mrs. Sedition are depicted as having misled Mistress Parliament into self-promoting actions. Mrs. Privilege states the two have influenced her daughter and "brought thee to all this shame

and ignominy that is now justly fallen upon thee, and disgraced both thee, and thy Honourable *House* for ever" (8). Mrs. Privilege continues, emphasizing "how ugly will it appear in the Chronicles of after times" (8). The reference to how Parliament's actions will appear to later readers is very interesting. Melancholicus is reminding his own reader of the continuous shame that should result from challenging seventeenth-century traditions and especially God's rules. Indeed, the writer allows Mistress Parliament's own mother to point out all that she has become: "a Common Bawdy-house, to prostitute her members to all manner of uncleanness, Murder, Theft, Treason" (8). Not surprisingly, these traits are consistent with both the archetypal and seventeenth-century images of woman as chaos and therefore intensifies the disgust and the negative attitudes often associated with the role of mistress. Although Mistress Parliament is not guilty of murdering her monstrous child, she is guilty of causing its deformation and thereby of killing the "children of England" subject to her power.

Mistress Parliament also serves as an image of woman as chaos in Melancholicus' next tract, titled *Mistris PARLIAMENT: Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard Labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Offspring, the Childe of Deformation* (published May 10, 1648). In this tract, Mistress Parliament's attendants (Mrs. Schisme, Mrs. Sedition, Mrs. Sa. Yandseal, Nurse Synod, Mrs.

Suburbs, and Mrs. Jealousie) again discuss her actions, fight among themselves, reveal the dishonesty of her confession, basically call her the Whore of Babylon, revive her after a swoon, and once again watch her vomit her vile actions. In fact, according to Patton, "Mistress Parliament and her associates are not merely ludicrous, they are frequently abhorrent" (84). (Mistress Parliament seems remarkably similar to Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon, who betrayed her husband with her lover and eventually killed Agamemnon. Like Clytemnestra, Mistress Parliament has betrayed her husband, the king, and with her army [lover] has imprisoned Charles I and will eventually murder him.) Melancholicus allows the reader once again to witness Mistress Parliament's listing of these abhorrent sins; however, she also retracts her previous confession--thereby revealing her lack of remorse and her duplicity. Mistress Parliament claims,

> It is truth Nurse; I have ever rejected her Counsels (though I have alwayes made the World believe I have followed them most precisely) and though I sent forher in my extremitie, and desired her to indite that feigned Confession so to blinde the eyes of the World that I might the more securel and undiscovered compasse mine own Designe, yet know Nurse, that I hate her companie, and loath her sight, much lesse will I follow her Dictates and Directions. (6)

Melancholicus thus hoped to emphasize the chaos Parliament was creating in

England and to promote support for Royalist ideas.

However, Mistris Parliament herself is not the only image of woman as chaos in this work, which opens with an argument between Mrs. Sedition and Mrs. Schisme. Interestingly, they are quarreling over who owns the kingdom now that Parliament is in control. Potter suggests the argument between these two defines the main theme of the work. In fact, she states in this work, as in others of the period, the plot simply implies that, "the forces which had successfully opposed Charles I are now turning against one another" (130). Melancholicus easily demonstrates such conflict through the opening argument, which situates the chaos within a greater disorder (in England). Thus, Mrs. Sedition explains she should come first,

> because I come of the Elder house (for though you are of the House of the Incendiaries in the Church, which is a very ancient Family, I grant, yet I am of that of the Icendiaries in the State, which preceeds in antiquity) I claime the priority. (3-4)

By making this statement, Mrs. Sedition puts the state before the church, thus prompting the debate giving Parliament (as state) the right to remove Charles I even though he rules by God's favor. Again, Melancholicus provides an example of a Parliamentarian proposal to challenge blatantly the common Royalist belief that Charles ruled by divine right. On the other hand, Mrs. Schisme argues she should be first because she is the one

who undermined that commonly held belief and created the distance between the people and the truth. She states, "Never did any State Incendiary bring the Designes of any Tyrant to such perfection in an age, as I have done Mrs. *Parliaments* in lesse then seven yeers, under the vizard of Religion" (4). Mrs. Schisme thus brags of her ability to separate the people from the truth. In like manner, the fourth image of woman as chaos, Mrs. Jealousie, boasts she is "the foundation upon which [Mrs. Parliament] rising to this height was laid at first" (7). Melancholicus thereby insinuates the true agenda of many of Parliament's members, suggesting their energies are not totally focused on the good of England, but rather on an inhouse power struggle. Many such struggles were in fact taking place within Parliament and between Parliament and various other factions (including Ranters, Levellers, and the 'purged' Parliament) on such issues as control over the army and the freedom of religious beliefs.

Mistris PARLIAMENT Her gossipping FULL OF MIRTH, MERRY TALES, chat, and other Pleasant Discourse, published on May 22, 1648, is the third significant tract by Mercurius Melancholicus. The tract opens with a discussion among Mistris Parliament, Mrs. Statute, and Nurse Synod about Mistris Parliament and her actions. The plot continues with accusations of witchcraft, a mock trial, and the judgment of Mistress Parliament as guilty. Being a witch was a horrible charge during the seventeenth

century; Masek argues "the most unfortunate women in . . . England were those persecuted as witches" (163). Once again, therefore, Mistress Parliament, the most prominent figure of woman as chaos, is presented in an extremely unflattering light. She is called "a Murderer, a Witch, a Thief" by Mrs. Statute, while Mrs. England names her "a murdering bloody Whore" who "feeds fat with Theft and Rapine, and quaffs whole mazor Bowls of Englands blood" (5, 7). Melancholicus continues by allowing Mrs. England to list Mistress Parliament's terrible actions, from defying God and king, to killing the subjects of England, to bringing "all the Plagues of God upon this Nation" (8). To show the unrepentant attitude of Parliament, Mistress Parliament answers that she is "Guilty of all this, and ten times more; and would doe it again, had I yet power . . . I defie ye all; doe your worst. Yet save my childe" (8). The writer thereby implies that Mistress Parliament's desire "to save [her] childe" takes precedence over the unity and harmony of England.

The child of Mistress Parliament in this tract is Mrs. Ordinance. Potter argues "that Ordinance should be her bastard daughter is logical, since an Ordinance was an Act not acknowledged by the King" (144). Mrs. Ordinance begins the work by discussing her intentions to watch the events in the government and thus to protect her and her mother's interests. Ordinance brags that she has "been an obedient Daughter to [Parliament], and have up-rising, and down-lying, with all diligence executed her

commands (*right or rong*); she knows it well enough, and so doth my Father in law *Cromwell* too" (3). Also, Ordinance laughs about murdering her opponents, "ha, ha, ha, I laugh to think of *Canterbury*; oh my sides, how I made him shorter by the head, and quite spoil'd his *huming learning*" (3). Her attitude here reveals the cocky belief of Parliament and her supporters that no one can challenge their desires, be they right or wrong. The reference to Cromwell acknowledges his role in supporting Parliament's power by any means necessary (right or wrong) and the use of that power to eliminate all adversaries. The reference to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, alludes to one such adversary. When Parliament brought Laud to trial on various misdemeanors but could find no proof of treason, it instead passed the Bill of Attainder specifically to permit Laud's execution. By removing Laud from his role as advisor to Charles, Parliament successfully weakened the king's power. By describing a woman such as Ordenance, who shows such blatant disregard for the church and king, the writer hopes to repulse the reader, because she violates the subordination of woman to man, man to king, and king to God dictated by convention as well as by God's plan. As Jordan suggests, "the subordination of the woman to the man . . . mirrored an image of a possible kind of relationship between the governed and the governor." (245) Moreover, Jordan argues, "Aristotle's assertion that family life was the basis for the political order . . . made it easy . . . to draw

parallels between what was expected of women in the family and the obligations of persons classed as subordinates in the hierarchy of government" (245). By stressing Parliament's illegal seizure of power by likening it to images of woman as chaos, Royalist writers illuminated the insubordination the members of Parliament had shown to both Charles I and God.

The fourth tract credited to Mercurius Melancholicus, *Mrs. PARLIAMENT, her Invitation of Mrs. LONDON, to a Thanksgiving Dinner,* was published May 29, 1648. The tract begins with a discourse between Mistress Parliament's ladies about a victory of Parliament's forces in Wales. During this discussion, Mrs. Militia, another image of woman as chaos, compares Parliament to an "incorrigible *Juno,*" the goddess of war, and to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom who sprang fully armed from Jupiter's head. Mrs. Militia contends that "the *King* my true and onely Master must not *Command* me, because (forsooth) like another *Minerva*, the fate of new *Troy*, as once that of the old, consists in me" (2). The writer implies here that Parliament retained power through the sword. This passage also indicates that Parliament's seizure of military power (from Charles -- "my true and onely Master") was illegal and helped destroy harmony and unity. The writer realized that readers would be aware that traditionally and lawfully, only the king had authority to muster troops. Therefore, not only had Parliament gathered forces

unlawfully, but it was also illegally using the troops to maintain their power and control. Moreover, Mrs. Militia compares Mistress Parliament to "the very same disease, that is now so catching; the *Pox*, the *Plague*, and all those cruell malladies *Pandora* brought on earth to ruin men, though all conjoyn'd in one, are not so mischievous" (2). When asked what this terrible disease is called, she answers, "Why, its called *Parliament*, the same that hath murdered so many thousands of loyall English subjects" (2). The allusion to Pandora is especially strong given she was the first woman blessed with gifts from all the gods. They gave her a box and cautioned her not to open it. However, she was too curious to resist. When the box opened, all the ills of humanity flew out and only Hope remained. The comparison between Pandora and Parliament is obvious. Parliament, glorying in the power it took from the king early in the struggle, proceeded to "open the box" and seize all power, thereby allowing the "ills to escape." The comparison shows Parliament out of control, challenging the traditional order and gaining control in the process. Melancholicus thus suggests that the only thing the people have left is to hope for the downfall of Parliament and a reunification under the true monarchy.

The idea of Parliament out of control is evident in the character of Mistris Parliament in this work. As before, Mistris Parliament brags of her insufferable deeds and triumphs in her power over the people of

England. She states, "*I laugh to thinke how my souldiers felled the Rogues, who durst desire a King,*" and concludes the work with a poem ending,

T'Wil bee my joy, when as I needs must fall

For to behold a ruine generall;

This is the period of my Reformation.

To kill my King, and undoe my Nation (8).

Here, the prevalent images of woman as chaos echo the images of Medea and Clytemnestra-- feminine figures traditionally associated with destruction, regardless of cost. According to Mistress Parliament's words, the cost of power is not too high, even though it includes the death of the king and the destruction of England.

Throughout the works produced under the pseudonym Mercurius Melancholicus, the most prominent image of woman as chaos is Mistress Parliament. Perhaps the writer realized that the best way to illuminate the horrors being inflicted on England by Parliament was to allow her image, Mistress Parliament, to brag, regurgitate, cry, and announce the destructive actions she had taken and intended to take. However, the lesser images of woman as chaos were crucial to these works as well.

Another image of woman as chaos is found in the anonymous tract, *A New Marriage, between Mr. KING and Mrs. PARLIAMENT,* published November 30, 1648. Although the central action of this work is the marriage

between king and Parliament, Mrs. London is an image of chaos. For her part in trying to keep the king and Parliament apart, she is to "be . . . declared Delinquent . . . and proclaimed Enemie and Traytor to the Kingdoms Army" (5). She is to be held responsible for the blood shed during the battles between the king and Parliament. As a bad companion to Mrs. Parliament, Mrs. London influences her toward chaotic actions, thus symbolizing the leaders in London who stirred resentment against the king among the merchant class and their apprentices. As a result, Parliament passed ordinances such as the Grand Remonstrance of November 1641, which appealed to the people and removed Charles' power to call up the army. Hill points out because of such actions "the common people . . . took an unusually active share in elections for the two Parliaments of 1640, on the anticourt side" (21). Thus, the prewar London leaders challenged the authority of Charles I. Royalists, therefore, desired to bring the London leaders and the people back under the control of the king, a desire shared by the writer of this tract. He does acknowledge the importance of Parliament's rightful place in the government of England, depicting the marriage between king and Parliament as a peaceable solution to the horrendous problems of a nation ravaged by civil war. Such a marriage, he implies, might have saved the English from the horrors that resulted when king and Parliament divided.

The female images of chaos in the works by Mildmay Fane and

Mercurius Melancholicus take many forms. They range from the bad (yet influential) advisor, such as Mrs. London, to the truly horrible Mistress Parliament. Whether murderer, thief, whore all such chaotic women violated the traditional seventeenth-century ideals of unity, harmony, and happiness. Indeed, such women directly contradicted the traditionally accepted female roles of virgin, mother, and widow. Undoubtedly, the writers of Royalist propaganda realized the importance of reflecting the actions of Parliament in the most negative light possible. They hoped to sway public opinion to their side of the debate at any cost--even if that cost involved creating terror. The Royalist writers realized the innate fear many people feel about change, and they played upon that fear. Also, they promoted the fear of God to support their ideas. Patton argues that "Royalist propagandists [could] construe the political conflict in the simplest of terms, as a series of fundamental oppositions between order and chaos, rule and misrule" (84). Patton continues by stating that according to such propagandists, "Nature overturned spawns a loathsome world of moral and physical illness, a world in confusion--a world misruled by (revolting) women" (86). This world of misrule is what the Royalists abhorred, and they used the resulting image of chaos to promote fear which they hoped would result in support for a return to the monarchy.

CONCLUSION: SOCIETY, STRATEGIES AND SYMBOLS

The period of the English Civil War saw many social and political changes in England. Certainly, the stability enjoyed by many before 1640 would not and could not be recaptured. However, although Royalist supporters realized the significant changes made by Parliament, they nonetheless longed for a return to the traditional order of life under the monarchy. Continually, they used the tool of propaganda to present their ideas about what had been lost and their fears about what was to come. By January 30, 1649, the Royalists realized their dream of returning Charles I to the throne was lost forever. Nevertheless, even after the king's execution the Royalist supporters continued to call for the return of the monarchy. To prevent this possibility, Parliament passed An Act for Abolishing the Kingly Office in England and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto Belonging on March 17, 1649 abolishing the monarchy. However, the Royalists continued to try to gain support for the Stuart heir, Charles II. Although they attempted to gain support for Charles II, C. V. Wedgewood points out that "from the King's death until the bloodless Restoration of his son eleven years later, the English Royalists never achieved more than ineffective local conspiracies" (246). However, the

Royalists were able to keep the idea of the return of the monarchy alive, and eventually Charles II did return to power. So, however ineffectual their efforts may at first appear, and although they were not the sole cause of the return to the monarchy, their efforts, including the use of propaganda literature, provided a means of keeping the ideal of the monarchy alive within the whirlwind of change that enveloped England during the years 1640-1660.

The social order of England changed with the challenges to Charles I concerning such issues as the imposition of ship money, the role of the clergy in government, and the role of the monarchy in religion. The revolutionary idea of challenging the anointed king meant rejecting the idea of a divinely inspired hierarchy. Such challenges to conventional views of power were also reflected in the propaganda literature of the time. The feminine symbols in this literature (depicting unity and chaos existing together as opposite poles) in some ways symbolize the polarity of Royalist and Parliamentarian politics in English society. The writers' uses of woman as a symbol of unity and woman as a symbol of chaos helped the works to reach each reader on personal, social, and political levels.

The Royalist propagandists' use of the image of woman as unity allowed them to support both the monarchy and God's will. The writers used their skills in support of Charles I before his execution to remind the people of the harmony they enjoyed under his rule, and after his death

to support the return of Charles II. Moreover, the Royalist propagandists used the archetypal image of the good mother to invoke these feelings of safety, happiness, calm, and harmony. By using images of woman as virgin, maid, wife, mother, and widow, the writers evoked many of the symbols, images, feelings, and emotions associated with the inlaw feminine and connected these attributes to the influence of the king. In fact, all the characters they used to represent the image of woman as unity were dutiful, obedient, faithful, supportive, subservient, and modest. These images of woman as unity followed the strict roles that a seventeenth-century woman was to follow according to tradition and God's law. After all, these were the socially, traditionally, religiously, and conventionally acceptable roles allowed to women. Doubtless, the characters portraying this image of woman as unity within these works represented the traditional ideal of the seventeenth-century woman. Because of the Royalist propagandists' use of the ideal good mother image and their connecting this image to seventeenth-century feminine roles, they appealed to their readers on both conscious and unconscious levels. The symbol, according to Erich Neumann, is "the pictorial plane, on which the archetype becomes visible to consciousness, . . . and it is here that the activity of the unconscious manifests itself in so far as it is capable of reaching consciousness" (6). By reaching the reader on the conscious level with the written tracts containing female characters

expressing and representing the traditional ideal of seventeenth-century woman, the propagandists were able to enhance the archetypal symbol of woman as unity. Thus, the reader empathized with the character by feeling the emotions tied to the love, nurture, care, and honesty associated with the ideal subservient subject of the king. This use of the woman as image of unity was an excellent tool for demonstrating the role of the royal subject in accordance with traditions and conventions of the day. Not only did Royalist writers depend on the unconscious mind to recognize the archetypal images offered, but also upon their readers' religious knowledge. The Bible was a major part of seventeenth-century life, and the fear of God was real and unquestionable. Thus, these works used feminine symbols to connect social stability and religious devotion to support of the traditional order that included the monarch as God's anointed.

In contrast, the Royalist propagandists used the image of woman as chaos to express the insubordinate actions of Parliament and its supporters. The writers for the Royalist side concentrated on the idea that Parliament had not only challenged Charles I, but had ultimately challenged God. Royalist writers thereby hoped to use the readers' fears to undermine the people's support of Parliament and its actions. The writers used the images of woman as chaos (such as whore, witch, and mistress) to express the destructiveness of these characters. Just as the

Royalist writers hoped to guide the reader to associate the emotions, feelings, and ideas of the archetypal good mother with the images of woman as unity, so they also encouraged the readers to connect all the negative aspects of the outlaw-feminine, or the archetypal bad mother, with Parliament. According to Marilyn French, the outlaw-feminine "claims both poles of the gamut, the ability to give birth and the ability to kill, both of which actual females possess . . . It has no end, no goal beyond the pleasure of being" (15-16). This idea is evident in the scenes in which the Royalist writers depicted the monstrous birth of the child of deformation, horrible scenes of vile vomiting of sins, and chaotic scenes of government run by women. After all, the Royalist supporters hoped the readers would equate the evil of the women with the destructive nature of Parliament. Such images would thus help the reader recognize the implications of Parliament's remaining in power. The success of the Royalist propagandists depended upon their ability to touch the unconscious, produce disgust for Parliament's actions, and combine this disgust with the fear of questioning God's rule.

History reveals that the supporters of Charles I were unsuccessful in swaying the people from the path that allowed Parliament to gain control of England, execute the king, and change the lives of the English people. Perhaps, this was because social roles were changing even before the Civil War occurred. In fact, women had begun to rebel against the

roles selected for them by their patriarchal ancestors. Their struggle against the restrictions of traditions, conventions, and religion were parallelled by the struggles (on a much greater level and with much greater success) of Parliament and its supporters. R. K. Zimmer stresses that "the emerging 'new' woman was not about to sit idly by and let herself be maligned, and many rose in defense of their sex" (25). Just as Parliament rejected the ultimate authority of Charles I, women were beginning to challenge their male "rulers." One example involved women speaking out and preaching from pulpits. Constance Jordan reminds us that the "most generally acknowledged rules of [conventional] feminine behavior required of women two principal virtues: silence and chastity. Of these, the first was the most decisive, for it prevented women from venturing outside their families and into public life" (243). Thus, women speaking out in church posed an enormous challenge to traditional seventeenth-century mores. Antonia Fraser points out within the Quaker movement, as in other religious sects, the controversy over whether women had the right to speak was " a tribute to the movement's early ideals concerning the spiritual equality of women" (376). Another example involved the uncompromising stance of many widows who refused to remarry. "A widow, . . . enjoyed a kind of legal and intellectual autonomy rare for women in early modern culture" states Robert C. Evans (59). Such autonomy allowed widows to maintain their own financial means without having to look to

males for guidance. Indeed, the position of widowhood often opened the business world to an Englishwoman. Upon the death of the husband, memberships in craft guilds passed to the widow. In other businesses women were also arguing, individually, their rights to practice medicine, run shops, and make financial decisions. States Merry E. Wiesner, "the theoretical limits of female freedom in economic, political, and familial life were set by a variety of municipal, national, and regional law codes" (4). These theoretical limits on female freedom had been established by patriarchal ancestors. However, just as Parliament was challenging the theoretical basis of the monarchy, so too were many women in the seventeenth century rejecting their traditional subservient roles.

Although the struggles of seventeenth-century women were comparable to many of the struggles Parliament faced during the Civil War, a difference existed in their means of attack. Although the women of this period seemed to stand up for their rights to a point, when they were faced with ostracism or religious condemnation they were often defeated by their own reluctance to continue questioning their male authority. Unlike Parliament, which barged ahead (demanding attention and seizing control of the state, government, army, and society seemingly unconcerned with the consequences), most seventeenth-century Englishmen and women still adhered to traditional gender roles. For this reason, Royalist writers found that images of woman as unity and chaos, combining the

temporal and the archetypal, were effective. The challenges posed by some women in the seventeenth century to their traditional roles were such that although the feminine images in the propaganda were timely, they were not sufficiently widespread to make such literature settle the political issue.

Royalist propaganda writers of the period used all their skills to support the monarchy throughout the Civil War, even to the Restoration in 1660. Although they were unsuccessful in restoring Charles I to the throne and had to endure many years of rule under Parliament and Lord Protector Cromwell, eventually their persistence was rewarded with the return of the monarchy and something of a return to their previous way of life. The propaganda that has survived from the Civil War era allows a glimpse into the political, emotional, and social turmoil that existed during this traumatic period. The propagandists showed a profound understanding of how society would interpret and react to symbols of women. In fact, the works allow us to view the mechanics of the actual challenges taking place and their workings within each political movement and its supporters. The propagandists' use of the images of woman as unity and woman as chaos reveals an understanding of the human mind and its processes. Did these writers merely write funny short plays, or did they compose tracts depicting their views of evolving situations and connecting those views to the images of the archetypal great mother and

to the emotions, feelings, and fears connected with these images? One thing seems certain; the writers used contemporary religious ideologies in an attempt to instill a fear of God in readers. Thus, the Royalists' evocation of fear depended on playing on their readers' belief in divine right and in the dread of an angry God.

The seventeenth-century political conflict began with questions, as most conflicts do, and resulted in a civil war, the death of a king, and a crack in the traditional foundation of seventeenth-century life that could never be repaired. The conflict involved questions of power. Charles I felt that his power was second only to God's. Parliament envied, desired, and ultimately took Charles' power. Many citizens of England strove to "step up" on the hierarchial ladder that existed within society and to gain the power and privileges that higher positions awarded. Women desired power to control certain aspects of their lives. This desire by women so much paralleled the desire of Parliament that the stage was set for writers to use women as symbols in their work. Thus, because Royalist propagandists strove to sway the minds of their readers on a conscious level (and, whether deliberately or not, on an unconscious level), archetypal images of woman as unity and woman as chaos were influential tools. Although the Royalists failed to achieve their immediate political goal, their works nevertheless provided clear insights into the psyches of a people in conflict.

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