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SANTA CRUZ

**READING IMAGES AND TEXTS:
ENGLISH BROADSIDE BALLADS AND VISUAL CULTURE, 1600-1800**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

HISTORY

by

Kelly Catherine Feinstein-Johnson

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The Dissertation of Kelly Feinstein-Johnson
is approved:

Professor Emeritus Buchanan Sharp, Chair

Professor Marilyn Westerkamp

Associate Professor Noriko Aso

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Kelly Feinstein-Johnson

“Reading Images and Texts: English Broadside Ballads and Visual Culture, 1600-1800”

This dissertation provides an interdisciplinary study of broadside ballads - an inexpensive form of early modern print sold to entertain and inform. It argues that illustrations were not simply included to entertain the less-literate, but were a central part of ballad composition for over 200 years. Working with a multi-archive sample set of over 3,000 ballads, it documents previously unrecognized patterns in text-image relationships. More importantly, it demonstrates that ballads were a multi-layered form of print that integrated text, tune, image, and performance to appeal to consumers with varying levels of textual literacy.

This project complicates our understanding of early modern print and literacy in several ways. Most scholars of early modern England argue that the printing press and the Protestant Reformation transformed early modern England into a literate, text-based society to the exclusion and detriment of visual cultures. Instead, this dissertation suggests that the persistent presence of ballad illustrations and other printed images show that post-Reformation English visual culture was not as impoverished as has been assumed. Further, the textual and visual content of ballads provide crucial information on the transformation of literacy in early modern England. This analysis demonstrates that people relied on verbal and visual signs to interpret printed texts well into the eighteenth century. Ballads are not just remnants of early modern England’s vibrant

popular culture, but demonstrate strategies that printers employed to make new print culture appealing and accessible to a mixed-literate market.

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Introduction

In early modern England, broadside ballads were an inexpensive form of print sold to entertain and inform. Written in verse, set to popular tunes, and illustrated with woodcuts, ballads were sung and sold by ballad sellers on the streets and also appeared on the walls of homes and taverns. A consumer could engage with a ballad by reading the text, listening to a singer, singing by his or herself, or looking at the illustrations. However, most studies have focused on reading ballad texts and ignored their visual, aural, and performance aspects.

This dissertation argues that broadside ballads were a multi-layered form of early modern print culture that integrated text, tune, image, and performance on a single page in order to appeal consumers who had varying levels of textual literacy. Focusing on the relationship between text and image, this study demonstrates that illustrations were not simply included to entertain the less-literate, but were a central part of ballad composition and intended to be read alongside the text. Although they appear generic, woodcuts were arranged to reflect specific elements of the narrative. At a very basic level, this allowed ballad consumers to identify many ballads at a single glance. At a deeper level, when ballad readers moved between reading or hearing a ballad sung and looking at the images, illustrations provided a visual context for the stories that often complimented and supplemented the text, providing a more complex envisioned narrative than the words alone. By bringing attention to the intimate connection between texts and images on ballads, this dissertation goes beyond using ballads as evidence of

early modern England's vibrant popular culture. Rather, it seeks to understand the strategies printers and publishers employed to make ballads appealing and accessible to a mixed-literate market.

Specifically, this dissertation examines patterns in ballad illustration that are often overlooked by ballad scholars. Ballad woodcuts have long been assumed to be simple, generic images, often recycled on multiple ballads and appearing to have little connection to the texts they illustrate. However, after an examination of over 3,000 ballads printed between 1600 and 1800, clear patterns in illustration emerge that demonstrate printers used illustrations in very regular ways in order to appeal to customers. The first chapter highlights links between ballad woodcuts and finer forms of English art. It shows that though printers did re-use woodcuts for cost-saving purposes, they also frequently re-commissioned cuts to keep pace with changing fashion and to reflect other contemporary images on etchings, engravings and pottery. The second chapter discusses illustrative iconography in three ballad genres: cuckold, scold, and crime ballads. It demonstrates that certain ballad genres used consistent imagery as a visual "brand", making it easy for customers to identify a ballad narrative at a glance. The third chapter challenges the notion that ballad illustrations were only loosely related to texts because they did not construct a linear or progressive visual narrative. Looking at what I call "composite images," this chapter explores how ballad illustrators used non-linear, but narratively-explicit, woodcuts on ballads. The fourth chapter further develops the relationship between non-linear ballad illustrations and ballad texts, showing that ballads often contained textual and visual cues that encourages readers, audiences, and performers to move between textual and visual narratives when reading or hearing a

ballad. Combined with ballad tunes, ballad images and texts were designed to work together to create a multi-media experience for early modern consumers.

This study is significant for several reasons. The analysis complicates our understanding of early modern literacy by demonstrating that people relied on verbal and visual signs in order to interpret printed texts.¹ In so doing, it challenges our understanding of the impact of the “print revolution” in England.² The print revolution, bolstered by the Protestant Reformation’s increased emphasis on the word, has been credited with facilitating the spread of literacy in the early modern period to the exclusion and detriment of image culture. However, ballads demonstrate that in a centuries-long transitional phase from a mixed-literate to a generally-literate society, that texts that combined text and image continued to appeal to many men and women. Further, the persistent presence of ballad illustrations and other printed images show that Post-Reformation English visual culture was not as impoverished as has been assumed. In sum, this dissertation shows that illustration was a key way in which early modern English men and women “read” printed material and reconsiders print as combining textual, oral, and visual cultures in this transitional period.

This chapter will begin with a background section that introduces how ballads were produced, distributed and consumed in seventeenth century England. Although this work will focus closely on the relationship between text and image in broadside

¹ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Adam Fox, “Popular Verses in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Adam Fox and D. R. Woolf, eds., *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

² Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

ballads, it is useful to understand the larger milieu of print culture in which broadside ballads flourished. The background section will be followed with a discussion of the major historiographical issues and disciplinary directions in art history, history, and literature that have caused scholars to overlook ballad illustration.

Before proceeding, it is important to say a few words on the terms used in this dissertation. Since ballads could be read silently to oneself, read aloud, heard, sung, memorized, and performed, it is important to bear in mind that the physical ballad is a trace of several possible actions, not just reading. Ballads are related to printed plays in that we need to bear in mind the various means of reception and transmission. Reading a script is a vastly different performance from performing a play or watching the same drama be performed. Thus, this dissertation will often use verbs such as “read”, “consume,” “perform,” and “interact” in order to describe how people “used” ballads. The aim is to capture the many ways in which early modern men and women “read” ballads. This study also uses a variety of words to refer to different ballad components. For the most part, “text” refers to the printed words on the ballad page.³ “Image(s)” and “illustration(s),” signify the printed woodcut illustrations on ballads, while “woodcuts” for the most part refers to the carved pieces of wood used by printers to create ballad illustrations. “Tune” signifies the musical melodies indicated on the ballad page and intended to accompany the text, and “song” refers to the combination of text sung to the indicated tune(s).

³ I am aware that ballads as a whole could be refer to as “texts,” but in this case I use the term “text” to indicate exclusively the printed words.

Broadside ballads were an inexpensive form of popular print sold in England as early as the mid-sixteenth century.⁴ Printed on one side of a single sheet of paper, they were written in verse, set to popular tunes, and adorned with woodcuts.⁵ Because they were nearly always illustrated and printed in horizontal (landscape) orientation, broadside ballads were visually distinct from other single-sheet prints. Ballad topics varied widely and included romance songs, topical commentary on politics or current events, epic tragic stories, and social satire. Available for the low cost of a single penny, they were an inexpensive, easily transportable form of print that was sold to entertain and inform prior to the development of the newspaper.

Broadside ballads were only one of many forms of printed material produced and sold in early modern England. Books printed on the Continent appeared in England as early as 1465 and in 1476 William Caxton set up the first printing press in the British Isles. In the early decades of the English print trade, most books were religious treatises or Continental texts translated into English. By the mid-sixteenth century, publishers began to produce locally-authored works such as short pamphlets, plays, chapbooks,

⁴ Broadside ballads are occasionally called “blackletter ballads” in reference to their heavy use of blackletter, or gothic, typeface. This is to distinguish them from “whiteletter ballads,” a ballad form that emerged in the early seventeenth century and used Roman fonts. With some exceptions, blackletter ballads were always printed in a landscape (horizontal) orientation, included woodcuts illustrations, were set to popular tunes and covered a range of topics. Whiteletter ballads were oriented vertically (portrait orientation), rarely illustrated, and tended towards heavily coded political and religious satire and commentary. Angela McShane and others have suggested that because gothic scripts were used when teaching reading in early modern England, blackletter ballads would have been more easily read by a wider range of consumers. While the Roman fonts and political messages of whiteletter ballads were intended for a more educated and thoroughly literate audience. Hyder E. Rollins, “The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad,” *PMLA* 34, no. 2 (1919): 258–339; Angela McShane, “Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England,” in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, British Library Print Networks Series (Delaware and London: Oak Knoll Press, 2008).

⁵ The term “broadside” or “broadsheet” refers to any printed text that was printed on a single side of a single sheet of paper. In early modern England this included official proclamations and various announcements as well as entertaining prints like broadside ballads. The term “broadside ballad” is used in current scholarship to differentiate between oral, written, and printed ballads.

sermons, and ballads. Sermons and religious-themed ballads were designed to encourage godly entertainment and learning specific to practices of the reformed Church of England.⁶

For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth century full-length books continued to be expensive for most Englishmen, but ballads were easily affordable to a wide market.⁷ Most books were sold in folio for ½ - 1 ½ d (denarius)⁸ per page, binding and illustrations cost extra.⁹ For example, Francis Johnson notes that the first folio edition of Shakespeare sold for 16-17 shillings unbound, and a full £1 bound in a simple calf bind.¹⁰ At that cost, bound and unbound books would have been affordable to yeomen in this period, but still likely out of reach for many husbandmen and laborers.¹¹ In comparison, eleven to twelve-page chapbooks, pamphlets and plays sold for an average of 6d a piece.¹² Ballads cost between ½-1d. For the average husbandman holding 30 acres of arable land with an annual income of £14-15, books would have been a

⁶ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁷ Part of the reason for high production costs was because all of the supplies and labor needed for printing had to be imported into England from Germany, France, or the Low Countries. Everything from the press itself to typeface, ink, and paper came from outside of England. As the printing trade grew, so did the number of English-authored works. *Ibid.*, 262.

⁸ In the Tudor and Stuart period coinage was as follows: 12 pennies (p, or d for denarius) = 1 shilling (s); 240p = £1; 20 s = £1.

⁹ Beginning in 1560, the Stationers' Company set maximum book prices at ½ penny per page printed in pica, 1 ½ penny per page for brevier and long primer letters. In 1635 they raised the cost by 40%. For a complete history of the Stationer's company see: Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationer's Company, a History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977); Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London: Cassell, 1966); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print And Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*.

¹⁰ Francis R Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550-1640," *Library* 5 (1950): 91.

¹¹ Wrightson estimates that yeomen living between 1580-1680 could have wages and incomes anywhere between £40-50 and £100-200 per year. Keith Wrightson, *English Society: 1580-1680* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 40-42.

¹² Johnson notes that most book prices were set on average at ½ p per sheet, though occasionally some were priced a bit higher, others a bit lower. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550-1640."

substantial investment, but small books, pamphlets, and sermons were well within their reach. Even laborers, estimated to make approximately 1s (12 d) a day, could have easily afforded ballads and the occasional chapbook, pamphlet or sermon.

Hand-written ballad-poems were sold as broadsheets in the fifteenth century and printed ballads made their appearance during the reign of Henry VIII.¹³ In the sixteenth century, ballads were sold primarily as a supplement to a bookseller's stock, not as the main staple of a publisher or bookseller's trade.¹⁴ The major change in the ballad trade occurred in the early seventeenth century when several stationers joined together to acquire exclusive rights to ballad publication, creating the first of several generations of what Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt have referred to as Ballad Partnerships in which "ownership" of licensing rights were shared by the partners.¹⁵ At this point printers began printing ballads as their primary, not their supplementary, stock. The model of a group of ballad partners holding onto a monopoly of copyrights would continue, at least on paper, until the final lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695.¹⁶ After 1695, publishers

¹³ The practice of hand writing verses by no means disappeared with the expansion of print culture. See Adam Fox for examples of hand written, publically-posted verse in the early seventeenth century. Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 258; Fox, "Popular Verses in the Early Seventeenth Century."

¹⁴ One of the earliest records of the sale of printed ballads is from 1520 in which John Dorn sold 190 unnamed "ballets." During the first decade of Elizabeth I's reign (1558-68), forty publishers of ballads are found in the records of the Stationer's Company but another thirty names appear on extant ballads. Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture*. (London: Methuen, 1972), 259; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 74; Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 260.

¹⁵ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*.

¹⁶ The first joint entry of ballads, and thus the foundation of the first ballad partnership, occurred on December 14, 1624 when Thomas Pavier entered 128 ballads into the Registers as the joint property of himself, John, Cuthbert and Edward Wright (all brothers), John Grismond, and Henry Gosson. The next major registration of ballad titles came in 1656 when Francis Groves registered 25 titles, and a new partnership of Francis Coles, John Wright, Thomas Vere and William Gilbertson jointly registered an additional 25 titles (10 of which had already been printed). The last major registration occurred in 1675 when Francis Coles, Thomas Vere, John Wright, and John Clarke entered 196 titles into the Stationers' Register by "mutual consent". Between 1655-1700 Thomas Passinger and his nephew Thomas, William Thackeray, John

were no longer required to register and license book titles prior to publication and increasing numbers of individual publishers such as John White and William Onley entered the trade. For the most part, ballad production expanded between 1550-1700 and again between 1750-1800, but by the nineteenth century consumer tastes had shifted to newer forms of print.¹⁷ While various forms of ballads continued to be printed through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the long seventeenth century was the golden age of the broadside ballad.¹⁸

Ballads were profitable for publishers and booksellers, but not for authors.¹⁹

After an initial investment in content, title registration and licensing, publishers selling a high volume of low-cost ballads could make reasonable profit.²⁰ Hundreds of ballads

Millet and his wife Elizabeth, Alexander Milbourn and William Onley, and Paul Brooksby are other ballad publishers whose imprints appear on many late seventeenth century ballads. Cyprian Blagden, "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Bibliography* 6 (1954): 162–181.

¹⁷ The ballad trade, like other forms of print experienced rapid growth following the collapse of censorship in 1637 and during the subsequent ten years of civil war. It then underwent a contraction between 1647 and 1659, in part due to ordinances intended to curb the print trades, in part due to the instability of trade wrought first by the Civil War, and in part due to legislation. In particular the 1647 "Ordinance against unlicensed or scandalous Pamphlets and for the better Regulating of Printing," and a 1649 act against "Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets" specifically targeted those hawkers and ballad singers who in 1642 were selling hundreds of ballads all over the countryside. The hope was to restrict the trade by eliminating the distribution network. British History Online and R.S. Rait (eds) C. H. Firth, "September 1649 - An Act Against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for Better Regulating of Printing," *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660*, 1911, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56369> (accessed February 19, 2010).

¹⁸ Bob Bushaway, "'Things Said or Sung a Thousand Times': Customary Society and Oral Culture in Rural England, 1700-1900," in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, ed. Adam Fox and D. R. Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁹ After authors sold ballad texts to publishers or printers they had no further rights to proceeds from the material.

²⁰ All printed titles had to be registered in the Register of the Stationers Company and licensed by the Master Warden or the Bishop of London. Both registration and licensing required payment of fees (on average 3-6d for registration). As has been pointed out by Adrian Johns and Joy Wiltenburg, the Wardens' reach was more limited in practice and piracy abounded. Stationer's regularly failed to register titles, or registered books under ballad titles in order to avoid paying fees. For her book, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*, Wiltenburg studied four thousand extant English texts

could be produced and sold quickly. Angela McShane provides the most comprehensive estimates of ballad costs and profits. Print jobs were completed on reams of paper consisting of approximately 500 sheets, at the overall cost of about 14s per ream. Ballads were printed on half-sheets, allowing producers to print 1000 ballads on one ream. Divided into unit costs, this works out to around 1.68d to print 10 ballads.²¹ The wholesale price for those ten ballads was approximately 3d, and they sold for 1/2d to 1d a piece, or a net profit of between 2 and 7d. Distribution costs were minimal to non-existent because Stationers either sold directly from their shops, commissioned family members to hawk their wares, or sold bulk sets of ballads to chapmen for further distribution. McShane writes “This offered a fairly good return to the publisher of 25s for the first ream, 11s profit, which increased markedly with second and further reams.”²² Because copyrights, registration and licensing rights were held for years, reissuing multiple editions of popular ballads could bring profitable return with little investment beyond material and labor. Due to swift turn over of production and a guaranteed market for ballads, they generated a reliable income for publishers which subsidized the riskier publishing of books and sustained printers who did not have the copyright monopolies necessary to sustain their book trades.

printed between 1550 and 1680. Two thousand-five hundred of those were broadside ballads, which represents by her accounts over half of the extant ballads. Of her attempts to correlate the remaining archival material with the Stationer’s Register, she writes, “Of those registered, less than half seem to be extant today; conversely, a relatively small proportion of those now extant appears in the Register.” Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print And Knowledge in the Making*; Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992). *Ibid.*, 42.

²¹ Rollins, “The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad,” 281.

²²McShane does not include the costs of wastage, ink or different qualities of paper, or the one-time 3-6d registration fee to register the ballad title with the Stationer’s Company Angela McShane, “PRE-PUBLICATION COPY: Broadside and Ballads: From the Beginnings of Print to 1660,” in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Britain and Ireland to 1600*, vol. 1, *Oxford History of Popular and Print Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 14.

Another way to save on ballad production costs was to print them on relief presses. In early modern England there were two main forms of printing done on different presses. On the whole, text-based works – including books, ballads, pamphlets, proclamations, and woodcut book illustrations - were printed on relief presses. Relief printing made use of raised-surface woodcuts and typeface carved in reverse. A print was made when the inked surface was pressed onto paper or fabric using a screw-top printing press. Because both the typeface and woodcuts were imprinted in the same manner, text and image could be printed in the same step. Carved from hard wood or metal, typefaces and woodcuts could be rearranged quickly and were generally sturdy enough to last for decades.²³ This meant that initial investment in typeface could be recouped relatively quickly, and materials were expected to continue producing beyond one printer's lifetime.

The alternative to relief printing was *intaglio* printing, which was used to produce etchings, engravings, and mezzotints. *Intaglio* printing was favored for printing images and maps because the technique afforded the engraver a freer, more detailed line, thus producing higher quality images.²⁴ However, it was considerably more expensive for several reasons. The cost of materials and skilled work – which included the cost of design, engraving, copper plate, and possibly the ground or acid wash- was higher for etchings and engravings than for woodcuts. The additional skill needed to produce engraved or etched plates, plus increased paper and ink costs when compared to relief printing, drove up the price of imprints. While a broadside ballad illustrated with

²³ Relief typeface was made of either very strong wood that could hold up to the pressure of a printing press, such as box wood or wood with a metal typeface.

²⁴ *Intaglio* letter presses did exist in the seventeenth century, but were not frequently used for text-centric printing because *intaglio* letter forms wore out significantly faster in comparison to relief letter forms, driving up the end cost and price of a printed product. However, in some cases, *intaglio* text is included in the title, subtitle or caption of printed images.

woodcuts cost about a penny, broadsheet engravings, etchings and mezzotints generally started around 6d to 18d. in the mid-seventeenth century.²⁵ Second, highly detailed but softer copper plates wore out under the pressure of printing much more quickly their woodcut counterparts. Watt cites evidence that between three and six thousand impressions can be made from woodcut before it wears completely out, compared only several hundred impressions taken from a copper plate.²⁶ If a printer wanted to produce an engraved broadside ballad, the material and labor costs would be higher, the return on investment lower because copper wore out so quickly, and the final product would have had to sell at a 600% mark up.²⁷ Publishers chose to print broadside ballads using cheaper relief-printing, which resulted in very affordable works even if the quality of the images was compromised.

Although we have few records that detail the exact process of making or selling a ballad, a general “lifecycle” can be described. Until 1695, ballad production, like all other book making, was centered in London.²⁸ This meant that creation and production were

²⁵Most information we have regarding retail and wholesale prices come from publisher’s catalogs and print lists. The costs associated with production are based on a few surviving account books and publisher’s diaries, mainly from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The most comprehensive cost data comes from the building accounts of St. Pauls, “In 1702 Gribelin was paid £3 12s 6d for 2 large blank copper plates, and a further £60 for engraving them. Colonel Ayers was paid £4 6s for adding the lettering to three plates. Atlas paper was £4 10s. a ream (480-500 sheets), imperial paper £5 10s. a ream. Printing on it cost 14s per hundred sheets. Impressions might be pasted on to boards at 3s a dozen, or framed at 4s a frame. 17s was spent on ‘green baise to make bags for the copper places’.” Antony Griffiths and Robert A. Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 29–30. Griffiths reproduces production and material costs on pages 29-30.

²⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 141.

²⁷ For their part, until the mid-eighteenth century English *intaglio* printers demonstrated no interest in producing a higher quality, more expensive, *intaglio* version of the broadside ballad.

²⁸ The Stationers Company was the professional organizing body of book sellers, publishers, printers, limners, and binders. Chartered under Mary I in 1557, the Stationers Company worked in close collaboration with the Crown in order to regulate English print. In return for regulating censorship and licensing of all printed works in London, the Stationers Company was given complete control over all operating presses in England. This allowed them to centralize book making in London under the justification of effective policing and regulation, and eliminated the operation of presses outside of London. The two exceptions were the academic presses that

focused in the capital, with the end products distributed to the provinces by networks of chapmen. To publish a ballad, a publisher would first purchase a ballad text from an author. Some ballads were based on popular stories, plays, events, or pamphlets, others were composed as simple songs.²⁹ Because most publishers were booksellers but not printers themselves, they would often work with a printer to set the typeface and do the actual printing.³⁰ Due to lack of records it is unclear who made decisions regarding

operated at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For complete histories of print in general and the Stationers Company in particular, please see: Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*; Blagden, *The Stationer's Company, a History*.

²⁹ There was a very fluid relationship between ballads and other forms of print. In some cases, such as *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* or *The Complaint and Lamentation of Mistresse Arden of Feversham* were based on previously published plays. In other cases, ballads were written about real life events or based on stories of real life people. Crime pamphlets provided ample source for sensational ballad material. Other ballads, godly ballads in particular, were written with pedagogical intent, while still others were simply composed as songs. In rare cases, such as *The Norfolk Gentleman*, ballads inspired the writing of plays and longer published stories.

³⁰ Books were required to be printed with publisher's, but not necessarily printer's, names. It is not uncommon to see a publication mark that reads: "printed by X, for Y". However, most publication marks simply read "printed for". In those cases there is ambiguity as to whether the work was printed by and for the publisher(s), or printed by a different part for the publishers or booksellers. For some examples, see the publication date for: Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Gouernment: For the Ordering of Priuate Families, According to the Direction of Gods Word. Whereunto Is Adioyned in a More Particular Manner, the Seuerall Duties of the Husband Towards His Wife: And the Wifes Dutie Towards Her Husband. The Parents Dutie Towards Their Children: And the Childrens Towards Their Parents. The Masters Dutie Towards His Seruants: And Also the Seruants Dutie Towards Their Masters. Gathered by R.C* (At London: Printed by Felix Kingston, for Thomas Man, 1598); Anon, *A Delicate Nevv Song, Entituled, Sweet-Heart, I Loue Thee. To the Tune of, See the Building* (London: E. A[llde] for H. G[osson], 1625), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:150756; Marie Hobry, *A Vvarning-Piece to All Married Men and Women. Being the Full Confession of Mary Hobry, the French Midwife, Who Murdered Her Husband on the 27th. of January, 1687/8. (As Also the Cause Thereof.) For Which She Receiv'd the Sentence to Be Burnt Alive: And on Friday the Second Day of March, Between the Hours of Ten and Eleven in the Morning, She Was Drawn Upon a Sledge to Leicester-Fields, Where She Was Burnt to Ashes* (London: George Croom, 1688), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:187999:2; Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament: Who, on His Death Bed, Committed the Keeping of His Two Children, a Boy and Girl to His Own Brother, Who Did Most Wickedly Casuse Them to Be Destroy'd, That so He Might Possess Himself and Children of the Estate; but by Th Just Judgments of the Almighty, Himself, and All That He Had Was Destroy'd from Off the Face of the Earh. To the Tune of, Rogero, &c. Licensed and Entered According to Order* (London: Printed by and for W[illiam] O[nley] and sold by C. Bates, 1697).

typeface and illustrations for each ballad. However, because publishers were required to put their names on each imprint, we can identify who published most ballads. When we look at large numbers of ballads, certain patterns emerge between publishers and woodcuts. These indicate that publishers either worked consistently with the same printer (who used their own stock of woodcuts), or provided the printers with materials, including woodcuts, for each publication.

Once printed, ballads were sold in brick-and-mortar locations, such as book shops and stalls, and were circulated widely by petty traders. Tessa Watt reminds us that it is important to recognize that the Ballad Partners of the seventeenth century were not printers, and only occasionally publishers, but were all booksellers.³¹ They specialized in selling small cheap materials, such as ballads and chapbooks, that were easy to sell in London but also light enough to be carried well beyond the city. We know Ballad Partners were cognizant of the provincial market because they were strategically located on trade routes radiating from London. The highest concentration of Ballad Partners was in Smithfields outside of Newgate, a place for carriers going west or northwest. While shops on London Bridge, such as Henry Gossons's, were well placed to hit roads heading from London.³² Although we do not have concrete records regarding ballad production, evidence of the rising fortunes of ballad publishers, expanded advertising for and the hiring of chapmen to sell ballads, and a trade network that was "extremely well

³¹ The best records we have regarding ballad sellers and petty chapmen is from the seventeenth century. Most of what we know in regards to the sixteenth century is culled from the occasional record of a ballad sale, or from legislative attempts to control ballad production and sales. The most comprehensive studies of ballad sale and distribution can be found in: Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and Their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Natascha Wurzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

³² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 76.

developed,” all point to the expansion of the ballad trade in the late seventeenth century.³³

When people bought ballads, they did so in a variety of different settings. Some customers, such as Samuel Pepys, bought large numbers of ballads for their own amusement and collections.³⁴ Others might buy a ballad from a ballad singer after hearing a few lines of the song on a street corner, at a public execution, or even the Royal Exchange.³⁵ Some selected their purchases amongst multiple ballads at a print stall or bookshop. Since ballads were also sung in taverns and posted on interior walls, strongly suggesting that some people consumed ballad in primarily oral forms, by paying for a ballad performance or being part of a rousing chorus.

Like other forms of early modern print, ballads were situated at an intersection of oral and textual cultures.³⁶ This was in part to meet the needs of a population whose literacy varied greatly according to class, profession, gender, and location. Literacy in the early modern period is as difficult to define as it is to document.³⁷ Although we can trace

³³ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 45.

³⁴ Most of extant ballads were collected by a single individual for their personal collections. Samuel Pepys, *Samuel Pepys' Penny Merriments: Being a Collection of Chapbooks, Full of Histories, Jests, Magic, Amorous Tales of Courtship, Marriage and Infidelity, Accounts of Rogues and Fools, Together with Comments on the Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

³⁵ In addition to written references to ballad singers and ballad singing found in diaries and court records such as the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, there are ample visual sources that include images of ballad singers and ballad selling: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Byrsa Londinensis Vulgo; the Royal Exchange*, Etching, 295mm X 391mm, c 1644, 1868,0822.351, British Museum, Prints & Drawings; William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, “The Idle ‘Prentice Executed at Tyburn from Industry and Idleness,” in *Engravings by Hogarth* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973); William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, “Rake’s Progress, Plate 3,” in *Engravings by Hogarth* (Dover, 1973); R. Wilkinson, *The Young Maid and the Old Sailor*, Etching, after Henry Walton, 353mm X 263mm, 1785, Prints & Drawings 1868,0808.2890, British Museum.

³⁶ For additional examples of the relationship between print and oral culture in early modern Britain, see: Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

³⁷ The historiographical debate of how to measure literacy rates in early modern England is long and on-going. Though it will be reviewed briefly here, for a thorough and review of the

people's ability to sign their names through church records and legal depositions, there are few sources that document reading proficiency. Relying on signatures, "depositions, declarations and such scraps as evidence as can be assembled," David Cressy estimates English literacy at 20% for men and 5% for women in the sixteenth century, and 30% for men and 10% for women during the mid-seventeenth century.³⁸ Overall literacy rates were also markedly higher in London than in the provinces. It is also important to note that literacy rates were higher amongst the gentry through yeomen, but in many cases were more closely tied to occupation than class. For example, literacy was particularly high in professions and trades that required functional or professional literacy for account-keeping.³⁹ Similarly, though they were often poor and female, ballad singers would likely have had a level of literacy necessary to read and perform new ballads.

Cressy's work continues to be the largest-scale study of literacy in early modern England, although it provides some of the more conservative estimates when it comes to assessing reading versus writing. Margaret Spufford argues that rather than describing literacy acquisition in terms of the literate/illiterate binary, we should consider seventeenth century England as a culture of "partial literacy." She points out that post-1580, the growth in the number of schools and teachers in villages across England. In those towns where a teacher or school was available, boys were likely sent to attend schools at least until six or seven, when most children laborers and artisans would leave the school house to become apprentices. Though writing instruction began at age eight,

historiography of literacy, and her own addition to the debate, see: Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 55–66.

³⁸ Cressy also notes that though progress was "hesitant and irregular," by the reign of George I (only 55% of men and 75% of women were illiterate. David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 176.

³⁹ David Cressy, "Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England: More Evidence," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 1 (July 1, 1977): 141–150.

basic reading was taught much earlier. As a consequence to measure literacy based only on the ability to write (sign one's name) means missing a larger proportion of English men (and few women) who learned to read even if they never learned to write.⁴⁰

Heidi Hackel confirms Spufford's claim that the growth of inexpensive printed material, including ballads, in the long seventeenth century was the result of a growing demand. In particular, she demonstrates that different sorts of printed material were designed for different levels of literacy. When learning to read, students were first taught to identify letters and then to spell and identify words, providing them with a simple "spelling" or "abecedarian" literacy.⁴¹ Most English children began by using printed primers, hornbooks, and ABC charts. The majority of these were printed in black letter fonts, which were considered to be easier to read. Only after gaining proficiency with black letter fonts were readers instructed to read texts printed in Roman fonts.

Instruction in reading script such as secretary hand came only after expertise in reading print was well-established. She writes, "in a period with a profound profusion of scripts and typefaces, proficiency in one did not guarantee competence in another."⁴² However, most readers would have been taught to read black letter fonts, even if their reading level ended at abecedarian literacy.⁴³ Though this is a different sort of literacy from that of a person who could fluently read long books, it was a functional literacy nonetheless.

Hackel, Spufford, and Watt all argue it is no coincidence that the least expensive forms of print culture – ballads, chapbooks, and pamphlets – were shorter length texts printed in black letter fonts that, with time and patience, even an abecedarian reader could read.

⁴⁰ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, chap. intro–2.

⁴¹ Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 60–70.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 60.

Complicating any assessment of early modern English literacy is the recognition that reading was rarely a solitary act, and that readers relied on verbal and textual cues in order to read texts.⁴⁴ As Watt explains, “hearing and reading were both a means of access to words.”⁴⁵ Whether in public places such as coffee houses, markets, or taverns, or private locations such as in a home, reading aloud and hearing text read was a central way in which early moderns interacted with printed texts.⁴⁶ Ballads and sermons were explicitly at the intersection of oral and textual culture. Both purported to be a textual transcription of an oral source, were printed in such a way as to encourage reading aloud. To this end, ballads were written in verse and set to popular tunes. They could be read alone or in common. They were intended to be sung, re-sung, and heard. The use of verse and rhyme schemes in the composition of the text encouraged memorization for repeated oral transmission. This widened their potential audience in terms of both class and gender among both readers and non-readers alike. Printer’s decision to use blackletter font on ballads ensured that people with even rudimentary reading skills would be able to read their product. An imperfect reader who had previously heard a ballad sung would have been able to combine memory of the song with basic abecedarian reading skills to gain increased access to the printed words. Thus, illiteracy

⁴⁴ Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*; Alexandra Walsham, in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, ed. Adam Fox and D. R Woolf, *Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*.

⁴⁵ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 331.

⁴⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print And Knowledge in the Making*; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*; Fox, “Popular Verses in the Early Seventeenth Century”; Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*; D. R. Woolf, “Speaking of History: Conversations About the Past in Restoration and 18th Century England,” in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, ed. Adam Fox and D. R Woolf, *Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Alexandra Walsham; Julia C Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

or limited literacy did not prevent early modern English men and women from participating in print culture.

This dissertation will argue that ballad woodcuts were also an important part of how early modern readers read ballads, and thus challenges even our recently amended understanding of early modern literacy as being at an intersection of oral and textual culture. In subsequent chapters, this dissertation will show that ballads were designed so that early modern readers could rely on textual, oral, *and* visual cues in order to make sense of ballad narratives. In many cases, ballad illustrations were designed to provide visual cues to the ballad's genre and visual context for the narrative. They also functioned as mnemonic devices for those who had previously encountered the story. Most importantly, illustrations were composed to provide even limited readers a way of accessing ballad texts.

Most ballad studies overlook the multimedia aspects of ballads due to disciplinary bias. On the whole, art historians have neglected ballads as part of early modern England's visual culture because they were assessed to be objects that were predominantly text with only very simple artistic elements. Due to long-standing traditions in each field, historians and literature scholars have simply tended to focus on ballad's textual components as the primary source of scholarly evidence. To date, most studies of ballads have analyzed them as printed texts and considered them either in the context of the history of the book, or in relation to categories such as "popular prints"

or “popular culture.”⁴⁷ Since the 1980s, work on ballads has tended to examine them as one aspect of “street literature,” a general category, and include ballads as one part of a larger group of other printed material such as pamphlets and domestic plays.⁴⁸ As a result, they tend not to survey ballads as a genre and only include ballads as they relate to other forms of cheap print.⁴⁹ Further, because text is the common denominator between the various media, this body of work tends to focus exclusively on text to the exclusion of non-textual elements.

Yet, as noted, ballads were not merely written text. They also contained a strong visual component in the form of illustrations. Few previous studies have engaged with this aspect of ballads, or even mentioned it. In the fields of history, literature, and

⁴⁷ Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad A Study In Origins And Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962); Richard T. Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain: A General History from Its Beginnings to the Present Day* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1978); J. A. Sharpe, *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints, 1600-1832* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986).

⁴⁸ Sandra Clark, *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Frances E. Dolan, “Gender, Moral Agency, and Dramatic Form in A Warning for Fair Women,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 29, no. 2 (April 1, 1989): 201–218; Frances E. Dolan, “The Subordinate(s) Plot: Petty Treason and the Forms of Domestic Rebellion,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (October 1, 1992): 317–340; Frances E. Dolan, “‘Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say’: Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563-1680,” *Modern Philology* 92, no. 2 (November 1, 1994): 157–178; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700* (Cornell University Press, 1994); Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850*; Dianne Dugaw, “Women and Popular Culture: Gender, Cultural Dynamics, and Popular Prints,” *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats*. 35, no. 2 (2003): 42; Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women’s Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000); Susan C Staub, *Nature’s Cruel Stepdames: Murderous Women in the Street Literature of Seventeenth Century England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2005); Deborah A Symonds, *Weep Not for Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); David Stymeist, “Female Criminality in Henry Goodcole’s Murder Pamphlets,” *Genre* 36, no. 1–2 (Spring): 29–46; Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*.

⁴⁹The most notable exception is Joy Wiltenburg’s work, and Sandra Clark’s to a lesser degree. Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*; Clark, *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England*.

folklore, this is in part due to a general disciplinary bias towards text.⁵⁰ Because most recent works have considered ballads within a larger category of street literature or cheap print, most scholars focus on the common characteristics of the two forms - the textual narratives – and generally ignore ballads woodcuts and tunes.⁵¹ In the case of art historians, ballad illustrations have been considered too crude for ballads to be accepted as part of England’s larger art history. Further, because woodcuts appear to be unable to convey clear messages independent of ballad texts, they tend to be seen as meaningful not in their own right but only when contextualized by ballad stories.

The problem with overlooking the role of woodcuts twofold. James Knapp articulates the first problem in his own work on Tudor book illustration, “By ignoring the ways in which these images complicate the production of meaning, I suggest that we deny a significant feature of early modern print culture, its role in shaping both early modern English attitudes towards the visual and our own understanding of the early modern.”⁵² When we neglect the role of illustration in favor of text-focused analysis, we fail to consider comprehensively how ballads would have been understood in their early modern context. Ballads were specifically designed to combine text, tune, and image. By ignoring the images (and the tunes) we ignore two-thirds of the ballad’s features and neglect to question why these features were appealing to customers for well over 150 years. The second problem with ignoring ballad illustration is that it promotes the notion

⁵⁰ Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris Mcabee, *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010).

⁵¹ Even less work has been done on ballad’s acoustical components than on the woodcuts. There are however a few exceptions: Vic Gammon, “Song, Sex, and Society in England, 1600-1850,” *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 3 (1982): 208–245; Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Christopher Marsh, “The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song,” in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. Julia C. Crick and Alexandra Walsham (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵² James A Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2003), 38.

that the development and expansion of printed text happened in isolation from, and to the detriment of, England's image culture.⁵³ This gets to Knapp's second point, that by denying illustration we deny early modern English attitudes towards the visual. Though illustration may not have been artistically composed, illustrations continued to be a selling feature of printed books and an integral aspect of broadside ballads through the eighteenth century. To ignore illustrations is to ignore an aspect of early modern print that was highly appealing to its consumers.

Underscoring the neglect of ballad woodcuts are two important historiographic trends in history and art history that have strongly influenced one another, but rarely in ways that authors state explicitly. The first is a long-standing art historical assumption that post-Reformation England's visual culture was severely impoverished, especially when compared with contemporary Continental print production.⁵⁴ The poor state of English art until the mid-seventeenth century is generally attributed to a lack of official and institutional support that inhibited training and innovation.⁵⁵ This argument is often accompanied by a general bias against the woodcut, the predominant means of printing images in sixteenth-century England, as generally inferior to more artistic forms such as

⁵³ See chapter for a full discussion of this narrative.

⁵⁴ Griffiths notes, "so slight was the native production by comparison with the Continental that the gap was filled with a flood of imports." He continues "...almost every design of any quality; other than portraits, had its origins abroad." *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1998), 20 and 21.

⁵⁵ Levels of patronage are generally assessed in comparison to Continental standards as well as in terms of artistic output. England had no official art institutions or training academies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. English engravers were trained in the skill of engraving in copper and gold, but not in drawing and composition like the Continental contemporaries, and thus lacked a basic technical skill in print composition. There was even a dearth of printed manuals in art of drawing for the purposes of self-study prior to John Evelyn's *Sculptura* (1662) and William Faithorne's *The Art of Graving and Etching* (1662). *Ibid.*, 21; John Evelyn, *Sculptura: Or The History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* (London: printed by J[ames]. C[ottrell]. for G. Beedle, and T. Collins, at the Middle-Temple Gate, and J. Crook in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1662); William Faithorne, *The Art of Graving. and Etching, Wherein Is Express the True Way of Graueing in Copper. Also [sic] the Manner & Method of That Famous Callot, & Mr: Bosse. in Their Seuerall Ways of Etching* (London: William Faithorne, 1662).

etching and engraving.⁵⁶ Edward Hodnett's description of Caxton's eleven woodcuts for *Myrrour of the World* typify the dismissive attitude: "the blocks, all by one hand, are miserably executed. The outlook for English illustration could hardly be worse."⁵⁷ Until fairly recently, the narrow focus on English art has been confined to painting and portraiture, best typified by Roy Strong's work.⁵⁸ James Knapp has written extensively on the tendency of scholars to dismiss English illustration based on aesthetic judgments, and art historical biases, rather than analyzing illustrations in spite of their lack of artistry.⁵⁹

Only in the last two decades have art historians broadened the scope of their studies from a focus on single-sheet prints (generally engravings, etchings, and mezzotints) to consider England's wider visual culture, including printed objects such as maps, the frontispiece of books, proclamations, broadside ballads, fans, fabrics, playing

⁵⁶ Landau and Parshall write that "Throughout the Annals of early print making, woodcuts have tended to be accorded second-class status" (169). James Knapp points out that though "... they have taken pains to rescue the woodcut from art-historical obscurity," they do so by pointing to a few examples of woodcuts that they consider able to be elevated to the status of fine art objects. In doing so, their assessment "does little to improve the critical awareness of woodcut illustration in England... [and] reveals the limitations of cultural history's current attitude towards the aesthetic component of cultural artifacts" (Knapp, 42). David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), chap. 1; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*, chap. 2.

⁵⁷ For a full catalog of pejoratives used to describe English woodcuts, see Knapp, footnote 1, page 35. Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 3; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*, Footnote 1, 35.

⁵⁸ Roy C. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London; New York: Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art in association with Routledge & K. Paul; Pantheon Books, 1969); Roy C. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Roy C. Strong, *The British Portrait, 1660-1960* (Woodbridge Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991); Roy C. Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1997); Roy C. Strong, *The Spirit of Britain: a Narrative History of the Arts* (New York: Fromm International, 2000).

⁵⁹ Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*, 48; James A. Knapp, "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England," in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Burling: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005).

cards, and illustrations in books, pamphlets, and broadsides.⁶⁰ Scholars such as Tessa Watt, James Knapp, Helen Pierce and Anglea McShane have argued that even the aesthetically crudest images were important to consumers and should be judged, not for their artistry, but for their role as cultural objects from which we may be able to better understand the *mentalité* of early modern England.⁶¹

Nonetheless, though some scholars are reconsidering England's larger visual culture in exciting and interdisciplinary ways, the numbers are small. For the most part, research into types of visual culture considered crude or functional, such as ballads and illustrations, is slower to penetrate those disciplines which still privilege the textual over the visual. Similarly, scholars may mention the existence of such prints, but eschew any in-depth analysis which is reserved for finer paintings and engravings.⁶² This is especially true for discussions of broadside ballads which are fundamentally a hybrid of text and image, and thus fit uncomfortably either in the category of pure text or pure image.⁶³

The second historiographical assumption that underlies most English print and ballad studies is Patrick Collinson's argument that post-Reformation England was

⁶⁰ Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*, 22.

⁶¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*; Knapp, "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England"; Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); McShane, "Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England"; Angela McShane, "England's Darling or 'Senseless Loon': Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth," in *Heroes and Villains: The Creation and Propagation of an Image* (Durham: U.P. Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies, 2004); Clare Backhouse and Angela McShane, "Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 337–357.

⁶² This is especially true for ballads. Even Godfrey and O'Connell, two scholars dedicated to resurrecting English prints and popular prints from the dust bins of English art history. For example, O'Connell mentions that ballads contained images and were extremely popular, but because they reused woodcuts in multiple contexts she dismisses them as relatively unimportant. Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain: A General History from Its Beginnings to the Present Day*; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 92.

⁶³ As will be discussed

“iconophobic” and “visually anorexic.”⁶⁴ Most thoroughly articulated in *The Birthpangs of Early Modern England*, Collinson argues that after 1580, “Protestant England had moved from a cultural phase which may be described as iconoclastic, characterised by the attack on unacceptable images but consistent with the enjoyment of good images, to an episode lasting some few decades around 1600 which Karl-Josef Höltgen has called iconophobic, rejection all material images and implying an advanced and radical application of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue.”⁶⁵ As evidence, he points to the dearth of paintings or sculpture in the household inventories of the well-off, the whitewashing of wall paintings and removal of stained glass in churches, and the disappearance of images from the printed page. He writes, “There were no picture books for children. We are left with woodcuts which, printed on broadsheets and the like, were perhaps more widely available than we now have any means of knowing.” Further, “Book illustration in England seems to regress, just when we might expect it to advance.... But the same old woodcuts were used over and over again...”⁶⁶ Thus he establishes a narrative that says: until 1580 the Reformation “operated through the hybridisation of media in which visual propaganda played an important part,” but after 1580 the attack on religious images was so great that England’s image culture simply decayed. All that was left were crude woodcuts, used “over and over again.”⁶⁷

Most importantly for this study, Collinson relies on the image of the recycled woodcut as a symbol of England’s “visual anorexia.”⁶⁸ When he writes, “we are left with

⁶⁴ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Third Anstey Memorial Lectures in the University of Kent at Canterbury, 12-15 May 1986* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), 119.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 115, 117.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

the woodcuts,” he reinforces the notion that of all the visual arts, woodcuts were of the lowest-esteem. The emphasis on “old woodcuts were used over and over again,” has two additional implications for post-Reformation English visual culture. First, Collinson insinuates that the reuse of woodcuts was a sign that printers and customers no longer valued investment in the creation of new or novel images. Second, he uses the reused woodcuts to represent a lack of innovation amongst English artists. In the end, recycled woodcut prints become a symbol of post-Reformation England’s stalled and decaying visual culture.

Collinson’s assessment pairs nicely with the art historical narrative that post-Reformation England’s visual culture was severely impoverished. The Protestant hostility towards art and images explains the lack of patronage or royal investment in the arts that art historians see as fundamental to the underdevelopment of England’s visual culture, until the reign of Charles I in the early to mid seventeenth century. In both narratives, even though the acute period of iconophobia lasted only a generation, it set a cultural standard that preferred word over image. Thus, art historians have tended to overlook the visual culture that flourished in post-Reformation England because they assume that a hostile attitude toward the arts only produced objects of low-quality. Historians and literary scholars have ignored popular prints and illustrations not only because of the art historical evaluation of those works as crude at best, but also because they have accepted Collinson’s argument that compared with text, images were culturally unimportant to early modern English Protestants.

Tessa Watt’s *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (2003) was the first major work to argue that Patrick Collinson exaggerated in his characterization of an iconophobic post-

Reformation England.⁶⁹ However, Watt does not denounce his description of England as iconophobic altogether. After all the kind of religious imagery that proliferated in pre-Reformation England was no longer produced in post-Reformation England.⁷⁰ Instead, she shows the myriad of ways that printers developed “iconography for iconophobes,” in the form of secular and godly ballads, chapbooks, wall paintings and decorations.⁷¹ Watt’s study of cheap print artfully demonstrated that “visual communication continued to play a role in mainstream Protestant culture; and, conversely, how post-Reformation religion continued to have a place in the mainstream visual culture.”⁷²

Watt’s work has had a major impact on the study of post-Reformation visual culture. Since the publication of *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, several scholars have begun to reinvestigate the cultural function of “imagery for iconophobic Protestants.”⁷³ While works on the Elizabethan period tend to focus on the cultural function of reformed-approved images such as the illustrations of Protestant martyrs in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*,⁷⁴ others such as James Knapp also consider the role of secular images in that

⁶⁹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 136.

⁷⁰ Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*, 22.

⁷¹ She writes, “The need for a post-Reformation iconography was met partly by the ‘safe’ narrative biblical paintings we have been looking at, and also by secular and allegorical themes based on the new developments in printed pictures” (211). Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 161, 211.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 136.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁷⁴ For a thorough review of the current scholarship on godly imagery in Elizabethan England, as well as his own contribution to the literature, see: David Jonathan Davis, “Picturing the Invisible: Religious Printed Images in Elizabethan England” (PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 2009); John N. King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Thomas S. Freeman and Elizabeth Evenden, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe’s “Book of Martyrs”* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Matthew Smith, “The Identity of Religion in Sixteenth-Century English Ballads” (presented at the Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies, Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies: Huntington Library, 2012). Smith’s presentation derived from his larger dissertation, *Stage, Cathedral, Wagon Street: The Grounds of Belief in Shakespeare and Early Modern Performance* (University of Southern California, August 2012)

period.⁷⁵ More recently, a small but growing number of scholars have taken Watt's critique and begun to apply it to the seventeenth century. Their work has demonstrated that though England's printed image-makers generally lacked the technical skills found on the Continent, by the Stuart period there were ample sales of images - portraits of the royals, maps, and architecture were especially popular.⁷⁶ Similarly, the work of Angela McShane and Helen Pierce document a wealth of print-based political satire that relied heavily on graphic illustration in order to convey scathing critiques of Stuart politics and culture.⁷⁷ New projects such as *The Print in Early Modern Britain: A Historical Oversight*, *Printed Images in Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, and the on-line digital archive, *British Printed Images to 1700* attest to the growing work on English printed images.⁷⁸ From these studies it is clear that by the mid-seventeenth century, printed images were an established, if previously unrecognized, part of England's larger visual and textual printed cultures.

Despite recent work to resuscitate English popular prints, within the larger narrative of England's impoverished and iconophobic image culture ballad woodcuts

⁷⁵ Knapp focuses primarily on Tudor book illustration. Both of his works provide thoughtful considerations into the disciplinary biases in literature, history, and art history, that have caused scholars to dismiss woodcuts in early modern English prints. "The Bastard Art," gives a thorough overview of the limited scholarship on Elizabethan printed Images. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*; Knapp, "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England."

⁷⁶ Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*; O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Michael Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010); Backhouse and McShane, "Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s."

⁷⁷ Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*; McShane, "England's Darling or 'Senseless Loon': Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth"; Angela McShane, "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England," *Past & Present*, no. 196 (August 2007): 253-272.

⁷⁸ Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*; Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*; "BPI1700: British Printed Images to 1700", n.d., <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/index.html>.

continue to face especially sharp condemnation.⁷⁹ This tends to be based on three judgments. First is aesthetic judgment of the poor quality of the carvings. Ballad woodcuts were generic, poorly composed, roughly carved, and frequently reused with multiple texts, rather than intended to illustrate a specific subject, scene, or idea. Contributing to the notion that ballad woodcuts were particularly inferior is the assumption, first promoted by John Jackson and William Chatto's *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* (1839), that they were not to be considered art because they were not carved by artisans.⁸⁰ Describing woodcuts as "rude," "coarse," and "not generally superior to the practice-blocks cut by a modern wood-engraver's apprentice within the first month of his novitiate," they assume that such low quality work could not have been done by skilled artisans, but by unskilled printers.⁸¹ They write that the many woodcuts appearing on ballads and in book illustrations:

[A]pppear to have been the work of persons who had not learnt and did not regularly practice the art. The cuts of those occasional wood engravers, who were most likely printers, are as rude in design as they are coarse in execution, frequently displaying something like the fac-similie of a boy's drawing in his first attempts to sketch 'the human *form* divine.' Such cuts, evidently executed on the spur of the moment...⁸²

John Jackson trained under famed wood engraver Thomas Bewick, and published *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* to correct "so many erroneous statements in almost every modern dissertation on woodengraving" due to the writers' general lack of

⁷⁹ Until the early 1990s, ballad images were completely ignored as part of England's art history. Only after Watt, Knapp, and Moxey's defense of even crude prints as valuable sources of early modern England's larger visual culture, have ballad images been considered by the scholarship at all, and even then only sparingly. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*; Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁸⁰ William Andrew Chatto and John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical with Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations Engraved on Wood* (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1839).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 180, 198.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 442.

practical knowledge.⁸³ *A Treatise* is a defense of wood engraving against what Jackson and Chatto see as the lesser skilled art of woodcarving. In order to establish the superiority of late eighteenth century engraving to earlier woodcarvings, they diminish the quality of the carvings and devalue the producers. Although they produce no evidence beyond assumption to support these conclusions, because we have little information regarding who carved woodcuts, some scholars taken for granted that woodcuts were carved by printers or apprentices and attached to ballad texts in a thoughtless or haphazard way.⁸⁴

The second major critique of English woodcuts is directly related to printers' use and reuse of the same blocks with multiple, if not sometimes contradictory, texts.⁸⁵ The tendency of printers to recycle ballad woodcuts with different texts seems to further endorse assumptions regarding their thoughtlessness in selecting ballad illustration. The

⁸³ Wood engraving is distinct from wood carving, as used for ballads. Wood carvings are produced on the plank side of wood and carved with the grain. The carver uses a sharp blade carving towards the body in order to carve away the parts of wood they do not want seen in the print. The resulting impression is of black lines with white space carved away. Wood engraving was developed by Thomas Bewick in the late eighteenth century. It involves using a tool similar to the engraver's graver to carve on the end grain of hard wood. The engraving techniques, as opposed to the carving techniques, allow for much finer detail and the resulting image creates an illusion of white images scooped out of a black background. However, Jackson and Chatto use the term "wood engraving" and "wood engraver" to refer to both wood carvers and wood engravers. *Ibid.*, vii; Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 6.a–6.b.

⁸⁴ Addressing this issue, Knapp writes, "most early English book illustration has been described as hack-work, produced in an artisanal backwater." Even though she qualifies the term, Patricia Fumerton describes ballad illustration using dismissive terms such as "haphazard." Recent scholars have begun to question these assumptions rather than take them for granted. Sheila O'Connell points out, "even the simplest woodcut requires the woodcutter or printer to work in co-operation with the paper- or cloth-maker, the ink-maker, and the manufacturer of a printing press. The production of multiple images, moreover, presupposed a process by which they are to be distributed" (10-11). O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 10–11; Alexandra Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820," *Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002): 327–52; Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (2002): 506; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*, 35.

⁸⁵ O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 91; Fumerton, "Not Home," 501.

sometimes only tangential connections between illustrations and texts in ballads seems to support conclusions that text was the primary form in which people “read” them, while images were only present to entertain the illiterate.⁸⁶ Further, the recycling of images and the use of generic or contradictory images sets up a tension between text and image.

Whether scholars consider the disconnect between text and image to be a problem, varies. Some resolve the tension between them by ignoring the generic images in favor of the more specific text. In her speech-act theory analysis of ballads, Natascha Würzbach dismisses the possible importance of woodcuts based on their inability to directly illustrate texts. She writes, “the woodcut illustration on the broadside, increasingly common in the 17th C, was a crude affair and had little actual illustrative function with regard to the text.”⁸⁷ The few historians working with ballads who mention ballad woodcuts, such as Joy Wiltenburg, tend to include a brief description of them, primarily emphasizing that they were frequently reused in order to keep production costs low.⁸⁸ This emphasis recognizes that woodcuts were a part of ballad composition, but rarely provides any analysis beyond the statement that woodcuts were seldom textually-specific.

Some literary scholars have embraced the disconnect between text and image.

Rather than focus on the printer’s pragmatic reason for re-using woodcuts, they tend to

⁸⁶ O’Connell quotes Thomas Holcraft as describing the hanging of ballads on interior cottage walls as a “delight to the vulgar.” Patricia Fumerton makes a similar, if less judgmental, assessment when describing the possible functions of woodcuts for the illiterate as, “the ballad sheet may well have been primarily a form of ornamental art... the poor man’s oil painting if you will.” O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 18; Fumerton, “Not Home,” 499.

⁸⁷ Würzbach never again discusses woodcuts in her nearly 300-page. Würzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, 9.

⁸⁸ Wiltenburg’s study compares representations of disorderly women in the ballads printed in England and Germany. She mentions that both region’s ballads were illustrated, but the German ballads tended to be printed less frequently, with higher quality cuts, and sold for a higher price point than their English counter-parts. However, she provides not further analysis of woodcuts (either their appeal to customers or a discussion of their content). Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*, 42.

emphasize the tension between text and image as creating a space in which different readers could create multiple meanings out of the same text. For example, Patricia Fumerton concentrates on the re-use of images as part of the “aesthetics of displacement” that she sees as inherent in the disposable, ephemeral, and un-fixed nature of the broadside ballad and its audience. Simon Chess argues, “Though ballad illustrations might seem rough or loosely relevant, they are at the same time a fundamental part of the culture of broadside ballads, their printing history, their readership, and their multiple meanings.”⁸⁹ However, the approaches that emphasize multiple meanings overlook the fact that, as this dissertation will show, numerous ballad images had very specific meanings and were directly related to the texts they illustrated. In many cases, the conclusion that ballad images had an infinite number of meanings results from studies that focus on one or two ballads and thus do not recognize the patterns in illustration that are evident when one compares multiple ballads across several decades. Whether dismissing ballad woodcuts for their generic qualities or embracing their potential multiple meanings, the current approaches to analyzing woodcuts continue to emphasize the divide between text and image.

Several scholars have considered that early modern readers may have understood deeper connections between text and image than are apparent to modern readers. Such works recognize patterns in ballad illustration because they look broadly at a large sample of ballads, not just a few examples. Watt was one of the first to draw attention to the value of ballads as evidence of popular culture and to the importance of images in transmitting ballad messages to a population of mixed-literacy. In 2002, Alexandra

⁸⁹ Fumerton, “Not Home,” 504; Simone Chess, “Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration,” *Electronic Essay in the English Broadside Ballad Archive* (n.d.), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts>.

Franklin published “The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads before 1820,” a study that came from her work indexing woodcut illustrations for the Bodleian Library’s digitized broadside ballads project, *The Allegro Catalog of Ballads*.⁹⁰ Franklin demonstrated clearly that ballad illustration “shows more discipline in the choice of cuts and a more particular relationship between image and text than such conclusions allow.” Further, from the consumer’s point of view, “the duplication of images across the ballad sheets contributed to the associations between images and texts.[... it] was a way of communicating with their audience at all levels of literacy, through images which, in addition to their inherent visual meanings, became familiar symbols.”⁹¹ She tentatively suggested that some ballads may have been visually “branded,” but did not flesh out her observations much further.⁹² Angela McShane has conducted the most serious analyses of the visual construction of ballads –including imagery and typesetting – and the role images played in the seventeenth century ballad market.⁹³ The subsequent chapters of this dissertation will address quite extensively the issue of both the reuse of ballad images and the possible links between ballad text and images.

This dissertation argues that ballad woodcuts are important objects of study not only for what they can tell us about early modern English popular culture, but what they can also tell us about literacy and consumer expectations regarding early modern print. Because we have few records relating either to ballad authors or to their printing, illustrating, purchasing, and reading, this study was designed to look for patterns in

⁹⁰ Franklin, “The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820.”

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 328.

⁹³ McShane, “England’s Darling or ‘Senseless Loon’: Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth”; McShane, “Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England”; McShane, “PRE-PUBLICATION COPY: Broadside and Ballads: From the Beginnings of Print to 1660.”

illustration across printers and across decades to document trends.⁹⁴ Working with a large sample set of over 3,000 ballads, this dissertation is able to document clear patterns in ballad illustration across decades and centuries. Doing so, it is able to support conclusively the tentative observations of scholars such as McShane and Franklin.

Although crude, ballad woodcuts were important to early modern readers and consumers in two main ways. First, ballad illustration was not static, but evolved over the decades in order to meet changing tastes. Chapter one demonstrates that in order to be cost and illustratively effective woodcuts were probably carved in sets and designed to be rearranged on multiple prints, much like movable typeface was designed to be recombined to make words. Woodcuts were also updated quite regularly to keep pace with changing fashions and new developments in carving styles.⁹⁵ The carvers borrowed elements of figure, composition, and design from other, finer, contemporary art prints. This demonstrates that printers did not select woodcuts arbitrarily, but chose them to meet both their bottom line and consumer tastes.

Second, illustrations were not mere after thoughts on ballads, but were designed to work with text in very specific ways in order to make ballads more accessible to readers with varying levels of literacy. Ballad woodcuts were roughly carved, frequently recycled, and sometimes bore little relation to the texts they accompanied, but in many cases illustrations were also carefully selected and conveyed information to the reader

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⁹⁵ Conversations with and the work by Backhouse and McShane was instrumental in prompting me to pay attention to fashion in ballad woodcuts. Backhouse and McShane, "Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s"; Clare Backhouse, "Seventeenth-century Print and Dress: The Ballads of the Samuel Pepys Collection" (PhD dissertation, Courtland Institute, n.d.).

regarding ballad genre, subject, and narrative.⁹⁶ Though the images can be ambiguous, they can also exhibit clear patterns when compared with other prints and ballads.

Bringing out these connections demonstrates that printers were aware of position of ballads within the larger market for early modern printed texts and images. Chapter two examines the development of ballad iconography specific to scold, cuckold, and crime ballads, and supports Franklin's proposition that certain ballad genres were visually "branded" in order to meet the needs of their consumers. This chapter demonstrates that customers could rely on visual cues in order to help facilitate the selection of a ballad, even with reading skills that were limited or non-existent.

On the most basic level, illustrations helped consumers distinguish amongst ballads. On a deeper level, illustrations that complimented or expanded upon the textual narrative were chosen in order to create a reading experience that encouraged the reader to move between image and text. Ballad printers and sellers knew that their products would be read, heard, and performed by people with varying levels of literacy. In a substantial number of ballads, illustrations were selected to provide a visual context for the text, be it read or sung. The third and fourth chapters focus on illustration with specific attention to text-image interaction. Chapter three looks closely at a sub-set of images found on ballads that were narratively-specific, but rarely illustrate a narrative in a left-to-right reading pattern (such as in a modern-day comic book). I call them "composite images" because they represent the story as several small vignettes all carved within the same woodcut. Carved for specific texts, composite images foster an interactive form of reading that encouraged the reader to move between text and image

⁹⁶ This conclusion is deeply indebted to Franklin and Watt's observations regarding patterns in ballad illustration. In many ways, this project set out to document and analyze trends they described and hinted at, but never fully developed in their own work.

when hearing or reading a ballad. Building from chapter three, chapter four explores the ways non-composite ballad images were also designed to promote interactive reading. In ballads, textual, visual and aural components were designed to work with one another. When these three components intermingled, it created a reading experience that engaged the reader's imagination more than passive reading of text alone. A deeper understanding of the ways in which text and image worked together helps us to better reconstruct how ballad images may have "worked" for readers in early modern England.

In addition to using historical methods, my analysis in this dissertation is shaped by theoretical work from several disciplines including art history, visual studies, linguistics, and early childhood education. The consistent thread in all of these studies is the dedication of scholars not only to reaffirm the role of images as carriers of meaning, but also to question how human beings interpret and understand visual sign-systems. From art history and visual culture, the work of Erwin Panofsky, Giulio Argan, and W. J. T. Mitchell on iconography provides a useful methodology for recognizing and identifying visual symbols and allegorical meaning (iconography), and then contextualizing and analyzing those symbols in relation to the larger culture that produce them (iconology).⁹⁷ An iconographic and iconological study of ballads, most evident in chapters one through three, highlights the development and continuation of image traditions within ballads, and forces us to question how ballad woodcuts may have

⁹⁷ Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 26–54; Giulio Carlo Argan and Rebecca West, "Ideology and Iconology," *Critical Inquiry* 2, no. 2 (December 1, 1975): 297–305; W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Is an Image?," *New Literary History* 15, no. 3 (April 1, 1984): 503–537; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

functioned as sign-systems within the larger society that produced them.⁹⁸ My analysis is also deeply informed by the work of Peter Wagner and Mitchell on the relationship between texts and images, and Keith Moxey's use of semiotics in order to analyze visual culture.⁹⁹ Wagner's work on iconotexts, or "an artifact in which the verbal and visual signs mingle to produce rhetoric that depends on the co-presence of words and images," is particularly significant for the analysis of ballad illustrations in chapters two and three.¹⁰⁰ Finally, chapters three and four are especially indebted to the work of Maria Nikolajeva and Carol Scott, Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, and Gregory Dillon.¹⁰¹ These scholars working in linguistics and visual studies seek to better understand the text-image relationship in modern mixedmedia such as hypertext to children's picture books. Their work is especially useful when considering text and image interactions in ballads.

By approaching broadside ballads from a comprehensive interdisciplinary viewpoint that seeks to understand how text and image worked together for early modern readers, this study touches on a wide range of historiographical concerns.

⁹⁸ Although these methods underlie this entire study, they are most explicitly applied in chapters one and two.

⁹⁹ All three scholars are greatly influenced by post-structuralism and post-modernism, but in a way that turns towards interdisciplinary analysis rather than critical deconstruction. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives*; Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995); Peter Wagner, *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996); W. J. T. Mitchell, *Blake's Composite Art: a Study of the Illuminated Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *The Language of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); W. J. T. Mitchell, "Word and Image," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Richard Shiff and Robert Nelson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), <http://faculty.washington.edu/cbebler/teaching/coursenotes/Texts/mitchellWordimage.html>.

¹⁰⁰ Wagner, *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts*, 16.

¹⁰¹ Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, "The Dynamics of Picturebook Communication," *Children's Literature in Education* 31, no. 4 (2000): 225–239; Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, *How Picturebooks Work* (New York: Garland Publications, 2001); George Dillon, "Writing with Images," *Writing with Images*, 2003, <http://courses.washington.edu/hypertext/cgi-bin/book/> (accessed December 12, 2011); Gunther Kress, *Reading Images the Grammar of Visual Design* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Taking to heart McShane's charge to "take the images seriously," my work demonstrates that images were a central feature of what was quite possibly the most popular and wide spread form of print culture in England's long seventeenth-century. This study provides another challenge to Collinson's notion of an iconophobic post-Reformation England. Similarly, it contests disciplinary biases in history and literature that privilege text over image, and art historical traditions that have overlooked "crude" or "functional" aspects of visual culture. It also questions ideas of England's print revolution and the corresponding spread of literacy as exclusively textual, to the detriment of England's image cultures. This study also forces us to reconsider early modern print culture, and ballads in particular, as integrating textual, oral, and visual cultures in order to appeal to the widest market. In so doing, this study becomes part of a recent, if small, turn in the scholarship that began with Watt and Franklin, and continues to be spearheaded by Pierce, Marsh, McShane, and Backhouse.¹⁰²

Finally, my research has implications for studies of reading in the past and present. It forces us to recognize that the impact of the print revolution and the expansion of literacy did not come at the cost of visual culture, but also that the Internet-era is not the first time humans encountered "multimedia" sources that encouraged interactive experiences. The same visual, textual and aural elements that appealed to early modern ballad consumers continue to appeal to consumers of digital media in the 21st century. For both ballads and new media, the introduction of new technologies – be they the printing press or today's ereader – alters how we produce,

¹⁰² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*; Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820"; Marsh, "The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song"; McShane, "Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England"; Backhouse and McShane, "Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s"; Backhouse, "Seventeenth-century Print and Dress: The Ballads of the Samuel Pepys Collection."

consume, process, and disseminate information. The combination of sound, text, and images remain central to our reading experiences, whether in the form of an illustrated ballad, or new media such as webpages, Facebook, or Twitter. The long-lived popularity of broadside ballads reminds us that the multimedia internet revolution is perhaps not as “new” as we might assume, and that multimedia objects have appealed to human consumers for at least 500 years.

Chapter 1

Ballad Illustrations

Ballad illustrations have a long history of being discounted and ignored. The devaluing of ballad woodcuts began as early as 1839 when John Jackson and William Chatto published *A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical*. Jackson was a wood engraver who felt compelled to correct “almost a total absence of practical knowledge in all English authors who have written the early history of wood engraving,” leading to “many erroneous statements respecting both the histories and capabilities of the art.”¹⁰³ In particular, Jackson makes a distinction between English woodcarvings, like those used on ballads, and wood engraving, a new form of printing images developed and mastered by Thomas Bewick in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Trained under Bewick and seeing himself as part of a revival of finer artistic wood engraving, Jackson is dismissive of seventeenth-century wood carving techniques. Assessing English woodcuts in general, he described them as “crude” and “rude,” writing that their makers’ skill was, “not generally superior to the practice-blocks cut by a modern wood-engraver’s apprentice within the

¹⁰³ Chatto and Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical with Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations Engraved on Wood*, iii, iv.

¹⁰⁴ Wood cutting or wood carving was done on the plank side of hard wood and necessitated drawing a sharp knife towards the body of the carver. Because of the technique, very fine details were difficult. The quality of woodcuts varied widely in the early modern period, from Albrecht Dürer’s undisputed masterpieces to the more simple woodcuts found on broadside ballads. Wood engraving used an engravers’ burin on the end grain of hard wood; the end grain provided a denser carving surface and the burin allowed the carver to carve away from their body, producing for a finer level of detail. Thomas Bewick and John Jackson produced some of the highest quality wood engravings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

first month of his novitiate.”¹⁰⁵ Of the cuts used in pamphlets and ballads, he writes that they “appear to have been the work of persons who had not learnt and did not regularly practice the art.”¹⁰⁶ This led to his conclusion that woodcuts so poorly carved could only be composed by, “those occasional wood engravers, who were most likely printers, [the cuts] are as rude in design as they are coarse in execution... evidently executed on the spur of the moment...”¹⁰⁷ Further emphasizing both the carver’s lack of skill and the assumption that such shoddy work could only be produced hastily with little forethought, he continues that when illustrating ballads “many country printers in England used themselves to engrave such rude wood-cuts as they might occasionally want.”¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, nearly every scholar working on ballads until very recently has taken for granted Jackson’s assessment of ballad woodcuts – crude images constructed hastily by uninterested and unskilled printers. This resulted in the conclusion that illustrations did not matter to ballad printers or ballad consumers.¹⁰⁹

In contrast, this chapter will argue that ballad wood carvers, illustrators, and printers did consider illustrations to be an important aspect of the ballad product. I will demonstrate that printers invested considerable effort and capital to produce illustrated ballads that appealed to their consumers. First, on the level of woodcut design, I will show that printers used woodcuts that had been designed, carved, and sold in sets in order to be used interchangeably on many different ballads. The ubiquitous presence of

¹⁰⁵ Chatto and Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical with Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations Engraved on Wood*, 198.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 442.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 442.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁰⁹ Recent scholarly work that does attempt to take ballad images more seriously includes: Backhouse and McShane, “Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s”; McShane, “Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England”; McShane, “England’s Darling or ‘Senseless Loon’: Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth”; Franklin, “The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820”; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*.

matched pairs strongly suggests that they were not a random phenomenon carved by one or two printers, but were designed specifically for ballad illustration and were a standard feature of any ballad printer's image stock. Second, we will turn to evidence that woodcarvers regularly updated woodcuts in order to reflect the fashions of the day, regardless of whether an older cut was still usable. Tracing fashions, we can see that carvers invested time and money to update and modernize woodcuts in order to make them visually appealing to an evolving consumer market, and based their woodcut designs on finer art prints and paintings. The intertextual connection between ballad woodcuts and finer works of art demonstrates that woodcuts were not merely carved at a printer's whim, but were deeply integrated in a wider network of visual culture in early modern England.

When scholars have written off ballad woodcuts they have tended to do so for two main reasons. First, they point out that ballad woodcuts were generic in nature, and used and re-used in multiple contexts, thus indicating that ballad printers did not deem it worth the time or investment to carve ballad-specific illustrations. Second, more visually-inclined historians and art historians point to the "crude" nature of the carvings – their lack of perspective, roughly hewn edges, and uncomplicated designs – as evidence that they were produced by un- or low-skilled artisans, especially in comparison with skilled woodcarvings from the Netherlands and German states. Such arguments confirm Johnson's assumption that ballad woodcuts were carved by printers and apprentices when needed, to illustrate a generic ballad, rather than commissioned from skilled or semi-skilled artisans in order to illustrate a specific text. Underlying these prejudices is the assumption that the crude and generic nature of ballad woodcuts suggests that printers and ballad-makers did not invest much time, labor, or capital in illustration.

Following this assumption – that the printers did not particularly care about illustration as long as there were some crude pictures on their end product – is the conclusion that consumers also did not care about ballad woodcuts. If the market demanded finer woodcuts, printers would have invested more time and money in producing better woodcuts. Thus, in early modern England there existed neither the market demand nor the impetus to invest in illustration because text was the most important aspect of print culture and woodcuts were included only “to the delight of the vulgar,”¹¹⁰ or that they were only intended “to the illiterate of the semiliterate... [as a] form of ornamental art... - the poor man’s oil painting, if you will.”¹¹¹

This dissertation in general, and this chapter in particular, will argue that, although perhaps crude, ballad illustrations were important to both ballad producers and consumers. While the subsequent chapters will address the role of ballad illustration for ballad consumers, this chapter will turn to evidence that ballad producers invested time, energy, and money in ballad illustration. This evidence supports the conclusion that printers and carvers regularly invested in ballad illustration because appearance was critical to success in the ballad market.

Basic Ballad Design

English broadside ballads are visually distinct from other contemporary printed material, and illustrations were an important aspect of their distinctiveness. Evidence that early modern consumers relied on the appearance of print media to distinguish

¹¹⁰ O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 18. O’Connell recounts this quote from Thomas Holcroft who, writing of his travels through the English countryside in the 1740s-50s, writes: “Even the walls of cottages and little alehouses... had old English ballads, such as *Death and the Lady* and *Margaret’s Ghost*, with lamentable tragedies, or *King Charles’ Golden Rules*, occasionally pasted on them. These were at the time the learning, and often, no doubt, the delight of the vulgar.”

¹¹¹ Fumerton, “Not Home,” 498.

between different types of print is found in contemporary sources such as *On the Answer to Dr. Wild's Poem* (printed for R. B. 1663). The author observes that, "Glancing (as I pas'd/ upon a ballad-stall, I spy'd/ a sheet, with Poem sprinkled o're/ At sight it seemed like a Lawyer's Lore/ With Lines that stood so thin and wide."¹¹² Unlike Wild's poem and R. B.'s response, both of which were printed vertically in Roman font with no illustrations, broadside ballads were printed horizontally, in blackletter (gothic) fonts, and universally illustrated with small woodcuts above columns of text.¹¹³

¹¹² Anon, *On the Answer to Dr. Wild's Poem* (London: R.B., 1663).

¹¹³ This is particularly in comparison with so-called "White Letter" ballads that were vertically (portrait-style) oriented and typed in Roman font. Broadside ballads on the other hand were horizontally-oriented (landscape style) and generally printed in a combination of black letter/gothic fonts and Roman fonts. In terms of content, "white letter" ballads tended to be political, satirical, or religious in nature, while broadside ballads were designed to be humorous, bawdy, or moralizing tales. *Arsy Versy: Or, the Second Martyrdom of the Rump. To the Tune of, The Blind Beggar of Bednall-green* ([London: s.n, 1660); Gabriel Harding, *Strange and True News from Westmoreland. Being a True Relation of One Gabriel Harding Who Coming Home Drunk, Struck His Wife a Blow on the Breast, and Killed Her Out-Right, and Then Denied the Same...* (London: printed for E[lizabeth]. Andrews, at the White Llon near Pye Corner, 1663).

Strange News from WESTMORELAND.

Being a true Relation of one Gabriel Harding, who coming home Drunk, struck his Wife a blow on the Breast and killed her out-right; then did he forswear the evil Deed which he knew himself guilty of. Likewise how a Stranger did come to the House clothed in Green, the people that were eye-witnesse said it was an Angel. Likewise how the Stranger or Angel did give sentence upon the man for killing of his Wife. Also how Satan did break the mans Neck that did forswear himself; and the Stranger or Angel did command Satan to hurt none else, and to vanish; which being done, there was a pleasant Harmony of Mulick heard to sound: Then did the Stranger cloath'd in Green, take his leave of the people; whereof the chiefest in the Parish desired it might be put in Print, and have hereunto set their Hands.

To the Tune of, In Summer time.



As when good Christian people all,
Saw what I say both old and young,
Into the general judgement Day
I think the time's not very long.
A wonder strange I have to relate,
I think the like was never known,
In Westmoreland at Tredeton,
Of such a thing was never known.
One Gabriel Harding liv'd of late,
As may to all men just appear,
Whose yearly Rent by just account
Came to five hundred pound a year.
His man he had a virtuous wife,
In goodly wages her minde did give;
Yet he as rude a wicked wretch
As in this sinful land did live.
Such news of him I will relate,
As he like no mortal man did bear.
As every man, and all his train,
Cherished good Christians all give ear;
One time this man he came home drunk
As he us'd, which made his wife to weep,
Who gently took him by the hand;
Saying, Dear Husband, let us down and sleep;
Who lovingly took him by the arm,
Thinking in safety him to guide;
A blow he struck her on the Breast,
The Woman straight sunk down and dy'd.

The Children then with mournful eyes
They ran into the open street, (hands)
They wept, they wail'd, they tearing their
To all Christians that they did meet.
The people then they all run forth,
Said, Christian who made you such moan,
Or make you haste into our house?
Our dear spouster is dead and gone.
Our Father hath our spouster kill'd
The Children they cry'd out then,
The people they they all made haste
And laid their hands upon the man.
He presently deny'd the same,
Said, from guilty spouster I am free,
If I did that wicked deed he said,
Some Example I will be seen by me.
Thus he fastness the wicked deed
Of his dear wifes untimely end;
Tooth the people, let's conclude with speed
What for the Crowner we may see.
Said what I say, the doos fast shut,
As he people the Children did deplore;
But straight they wad a man to speak,
And one stood knocking at the doer.
One in the house to the doer made haste,
Hearing a man to knock and call,
The doer was opened presently
And in he comes amongst them all.

The second Part, to the same Tune.



By your leave good people then he said,
Said a stranger with you have some talk,
A dead woman I am come to see,
And to the Room I pray Sir walk.
And in the Room he set as he stood,
By laws of such a curiously grace
Their hearts were all a ravished
With the sweet complexion of his face:
His eyes like to the stars did shine,
He was clothed in a bright Green;
His cheeks was of a crimson red
Of such a man was seldom seen.
Unto the people then he spake,
Spare well these words which I shall say,
For no Crowner you shall find,
I judge and Jury here this day;
Bring hither the man that did the deed
And boldly hath deny'd the same,
They brought him into the room with speed
To answer his wicked deed with shame.
How come I wicked man quoth he
With shame before the Neighbours all,
By how thou hast brought to misery,
My soul into a deeper thall.
By full delight was drunkness,
And I was overcome, I started sin,
Misadventures Deaths and Devils wile
A long time thou hast bewail'd in;
The Neighbours thou wouldst set at strife
And always crying on the door;
Whose thou hast murdered the wif,
Said what false will cure the sor?
By Family within thy house
From thou wast but grudge continually;
A wicked man, the if I prepare I
A fearful death thou'rt sure to dye.
Fear nothing good people then he said,
A light presently will appear;
Hence are the Names of some of the chiefest men that live in the Parish. Christopher Rawly, Esquire,
James Fish, Gent. William Lile, Gent. Simon Pierce, Ambrose Whit, Oliver Craft, Robert Ford, Tho-
mas Clifford, Yeomen. George Crawly, Peter Vaux, Philip Cook, Francis Martin, George Horton,
Abraham Miles,
Husbandmen.

Let all your trust be in the Lord,
So harm shall be tobie I am here.
When in the Room the Devil appear'd,
As in a haire Gentleman did stand;
Satan, quoth he that was the Judge,
Do no more than thou hast command:
The Devil then in an ugly shape,
He danced round about the Hall,
Which made the people much afraid
He was such fearful looks beheld.
The Devil then he straight into bold
On him that had murdered his wif,
His neck in lumber then he brake,
And thus end his wretched life.
The Devil then he vanished
Quite from the people in the Hall,
Which made the people much amaz'd,
Yet no one had no hurt at all.
When straight a pleasant melody
Of mulick sweet was heard to sound,
It ravish'd the hearts of those that stood
So sweet the spouster did sound.
How curth this gallant man in green,
With you I can no longer stay,
By love I leave, my leave I take,
The time is come I must away.
Be sure to take each other well,
Keep in your hearts what I do say,
It is the way to go to Heaven
When you shall rise at Judgement Day.
The people to their homes did go
Which had this mighty wonder seen,
And said it was an Angel cure,
What thus was cloath'd all in green.
And thus the news from Westmoreland,
I have related to you o're,
I think it is a strange a thing
As ever man did hear before.

Figure 2: A typical "blackletter" ballad, horizontally-oriented, printed in gothic or blackletter font, and illustrated with woodcuts. Gabriel Harding, *Strange and True News from Westmoreland. Being a True Relation of One Gabriel Harding Who Coming Home Drunk, Struck His Wife a Blow on the Breast, and Killed Her Out-right, and Then Denied the Same...* (London: printed for E[lizabeth]. Andrews, at the White Lion near Pye Corner, 1663).

At a glance, a consumer could distinguish between a broadside ballad and a political tract in part because of the presence and location of woodcuts. Such illustrations were a defining part of the genre.

Several different types of woodcuts appear on ballads. Ornamental cuts and chaining are decorative designs that appear between or above columns. Single-subject woodcuts depict one thing – a man, a woman, an animal, or an inanimate object (Fig.3). Generally single-image woodcuts do not depict people or things in the act of doing anything, they simply depict the subject as is. A single-scene woodcut depicts a single scene of action – such as a couple holding hands or going for a stroll, a public execution,

an act of violence, prayer or sex, or a specific scene from a ballad or biblical narrative (Figs. 4 and 5). What distinguishes single-scene images is that they depict any number of characters, but only one main action. The third category of woodcuts are what I call “composite images” (Fig. 6). They are produced from a single woodcut, in which multiple narrative scenes are depicted upon the same ground. This format was used in book illustration, and was possibly borrowed from late medieval depictions of the lives of saints or the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁴



Figure 3 A “single-subject” image, from: Mary Carleton, Some Luck Some Wit, Being a Sonnet Upon the Merry Life and Untimely Death of Mistriss Mary Carlton, Commonly Called The German Princess. (London: printed for Phillip Brookshy near the Hospital-gate in West-smith-field, 1673).

Two “single-scene” images.

¹¹⁴ Composite images are an often overlooked, but very important, illustrative convention used in Early Modern England. It is possible that the illustrative style was originally based on church wall paintings about the lives of holy figures. For example, the wall painting of the life of St. Catherine at N. Yorks (The Life of St. Catherine, Pickering, N.Yorks (≠York) C.15), <http://www.paintedchurch.org/pickcat.htm> and in the design of altarpieces, particularly those that depicted the life of the Virgin Dijon Altarpiece (1393-99) <http://www.wga.hu/tours/flemish/broederl/index.html>. Although most religious images would have been purged in the mid sixteenth century during England’s Reformation, sixteenth century book illustrations may have be based on such religious pictorial narratives thus establishing a visual convention that carried into the seventeenth century. A more thorough analysis of composite images will be found in chapter 4.



Figure 4: Anon., *She Is Bound but Won't Obey; or, The Married Man's Complaint in Choosing a Wife* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674).



Figure 5: Excerpt from William Purcas, *The Vvofull Lamentation of William Purcas, Vvho for Murtherin [sic] His Mother at Thaxted in Essex Was Executed at Chelmsford*. (Printed at London: for Francis Coules, dwelling in the Old-Baily, 1624).



Figure 6: A composite image, from: Anon., *The Norfolk Gentleman his last will and testament and how he committed the keeping of his Children to his own brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and how God plagued him for it*, *Early English Books Online* ([London] : Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, [between 1663 and 1674], 1663).

For the most part, ballad printers made use of a combination of single-subject, single-scene and composite images when illustrating ballads. Woodcuts could be arranged on a ballad to “act out” a scene or scenes from the ballad text, or they could be figures simply meant to represent characters from the narrative. In some cases, most especially in the case of ballads printed with composite images such as *The Norfolk Gentleman* (above), woodcuts were commissioned and carved for specific ballads. Although many scholars take for granted printers’ re-use of old blocks as an indication of thoughtlessness or unskilled illustration, closer investigation suggests that carvers and printers gave more forethought to the relationship between the ballad texts and accompanying illustrations.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ For a full discussion of the denigration of ballad illustration in ballad and art historical scholarship, see the Introduction.

Woodcuts Working Together – Woodcuts Designed to Meet Printer’s Needs

Because broadside ballads were sold for ½ penny to 1 penny, ballad printers were sensitive to production costs. One of the chief ways they kept production costs low was to re-use materials such as re-printing old editions or re-using illustrations. The ability to re-use and re-purpose printing materials is the very quality that made the movable-type printing press revolutionary. I propose that woodcuts were designed, carved, and likely sold in sets that were intended to be used and re-used as smaller components of larger visual compositions. In much the same way movable type is made up of a collection of individual letters that could be combined and recombined to make words, ballad woodcuts were carved so that they could be re-arranged to make illustrations that contained some level of visual consistency.

As evidence, we will examine the frequent use of “matched pairs” on ballad woodcuts. A matched pair (Fig. 7) is made up of two equally-sized woodcuts, carved by the same hand, that generally represents a man and a woman. Individually, each woodcut would be a single-subject woodcut.¹¹⁶ However when they are placed “facing” each other they give the viewer the impression of a single-scene woodcut. In most cases, matched

¹¹⁶This pair of images was used frequently in the second half of the seventeenth century. In addition to the above images taken from *Poor Tom the Taylor*, they can be found on the following: Anon, *Poor Tom the Taylor His Lamentation* (London: I[onah]. Deacon, 1671); Anon, *A Farevvel to Hackney lades. Or, Be Kind to One and No More. ... a True Relation of a Gentleman of a Good Fortune, Who in His Youth Us'd to Range the Park* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and I. Clarke, 1674), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=4o+Rawl.+566%2890%29&id=25147.gif&seq=1&size=1>; Anon, *A Merry Life and a Short* (London: P. Brooksby, 1670), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.oa.ucsc.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=BylD&ID=V110155; Anon, *Dolly and Molly: Or, the Two Country Damosels Fortunes at London* (London: P[hilip]. Brook by [sic, i.e. Brooksby], 1670), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=4o+Rawl.+566%28119%29&id=25177.gif&seq=1&size=1>; Anon, *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-Swain* (London: I[onah]. Deacon, 1671); Anon, *The Dyers Destiny: Or, the Loving Wife’s Help in Time of Need. Two Trades Is Better Far Than One, Sweet Husband, Then, Said She; Then If Thou Wilt Let Me Alone, I’ll Be a Help to Thee. To the Tune of, Why Are My Eyes Still Flowing, &c. This May Be Printed, R.P* (London: J[osiah]. Blare, 1683).

pairs look as if they were a woodcut of a happy couple that was bisected into component parts. The evidence of matched pairs strongly suggests that woodcarvers designed sets of woodblocks in order to maximize illustrative flexibility for printers. All of which indicates that woodcuts were designed with more forethought than current scholarship has considered.



Figure 7: Example of a “matched pair” from *Poor Tom the Taylor* (London: printed for I[onah]. Deacon, at the Angel in Guilt-spur-street, without Newgate, 1671).

Matched pairs shared elements of design continuity between the two images, many of which are based on the well-established design patterns used for woodcuts that represented happy couples. In order to understand the design of “matched pairs,” it is useful to consider visual conventions relating to representations of couples.

Even in the earliest broadside ballads, depictions of couples holding hands or standing close to one another were common. Some examples from the early seventeenth century establish what would become an illustrative convention of a finely dressed man and woman, of near equal height, holding hands, set either against a background of

negative space or in a pastoral setting. In these early images, the bodies of the subjects face out to the viewer while their faces turn to look at each other.¹¹⁷ The couple's proximity to one another, their linked hands, and the matched sightlines all function to create a visual message of a unified couple. The late Elizabethan couple seen in Fig. 8 (below, right) was found in two configurations, mirror images of each other. Edward Wright's *A Pleasant New Court Song* (1628?) depicts the couple with the woman on the right (as below), while Henry Gosson's *A New Little Northern Song* (1631) depicts the mirror image, with the woman on the left.¹¹⁸

Another early seventeenth century variation depicts a couple outdoors, in which a man shown in half profile is depicted bowing before a woman (Fig. 8, left). The woman, who resembles a young Elizabeth I, stands in three-quarter pose holding a purse in her right hand with her left hand clutched to her heart. She faces a man whose hat is removed from his head and held out in front of him. He looks at her while bowing

¹¹⁷ Anon, *Ione Is as Good as My Lady. To the Tune of What Care I How Faire She Be* (London: A. M[athewes], 1620), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20108/image>; Valentine Hamdultun, *A Mery Nevv Iigge. Or, the Pleasant Wooing Betwixt Kit and Pegge. To the Tune of Strawberry Leaues Make Maidens Faire* (London: [by Elizabeth Allde?] for H. Gosson, 1630); Anon, *Constance of Cleueland. A Very Excellent Sonnet of the Most Faire Lady Constance of Clevelan[d,] and Her Disloyall Knight. To the Tune of Crimson Veluet* (London: I. Wright, 1630), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:28209; Anon, *A New Little Northren Song Called, Vnder and Ouer, Ouer and Vnder, or a Pretty New Least, and yet No Wonder, or a Mayden Mistaken, as Many Now Bee, View Well This Glasse, and You May Plainely See. To a Pretty New Northern Tune* (London: by A. [Mathewes] for H. G[osson], 1631), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:150759; Charles Records, *A Mostpleasant [sic] Dialogue: Or a Merry Greeting Betweene Two Louers, How Will Aud [sic] Nan Did Fall at Strife, and at the Last Made Man and Wife. To the Tune of Lusina* (London: H.G[osson], 1632), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20147/image>.

¹¹⁸ Anon, *A Pleasant New Court Song, Betweene a Young Courtier, and a Countrey Lasse, to a New Court Tune* (London: Printed [by Eliz. Allde] for Edward Wright, 1628), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.oca.ucsc.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=BylD&ID=V28362; Anon, *A New Little Northren Song Called, Vnder and Ouer, Ouer and Vnder, or a Pretty New Least, and yet No Wonder, or a Mayden Mistaken, as Many Now Bee, View Well This Glasse, and You May Plainely See. To a Pretty New Northern Tune*.

deeply.¹¹⁹ As with matched pair in Fig. 7, the sightlines of the two figures are easily connected and create a deeper sense of intimacy between the two figures. Although the couple is not in physical contact, his chivalrous bow, and her gracious acceptance, give the impression that this couple is romantically involved, or at least intimately connected. Fig. 9 is a 1671 version of the woodcut in Fig. 8. The printer's willingness to re-commission an updated version of this woodcut nearly fifty years after the original was in use, highlights the on-going popularity of these woodcuts.



Figure 8: Both from: *A Delicate Nevv Song, Entituled, Sweet-Heart, I Loue Thee.* (Printed at London: by E. Alde] for H. Gosson, 1625).

¹¹⁹ Anon, *A Delicate Nevv Song, Entituled, Sweet-Heart, I Loue Thee. To the Tune of, See the Building.*



Figure 9: An updated version of the bowing man, from: *John the Glover, and Jane His Servant* (London?: Printed for I. Deacon, at the angel in Guilt-spur-street, without Newgate, 1671).

Although images of couples holding hands or looking blissfully at one another were popular on love ballads such as *A Delicate New Song* and *John the Glover and Jane His Servant*, they did not necessarily indicate marriage or even an on-going relationship between a man and a woman. It is important to bear in mind that an image of a happy couple does not necessarily signify a happy or monogamous couple. Scenes of happy couples are found on a number of ballads about prostitutes, whoring, adultery, and even marital discord. In some ways this characterizes the ambiguity of ballad illustrations, because the same image was used in different contexts to represent different things. At the same time we need to see image reusability as indicative of the flexibility of ballad images; they were constructed bearing in mind that they would be reused and to serve multiple illustrative purposes. Woodcuts that could be re-used in multiple illustrative contexts were highly appealing to a printer's bottom line.

On woodcuts that depict couples, certain design elements are used in order to connect the two figures. One element is the depiction of outstretched arms and holding hands. A second is the use of sightlines. Nearly all couples are carved so that their sightlines match up and they appear to gaze into each other's eyes. The reaching gestures and sight lines connect the figures. A third important element is continuity within the background. Many single-block scenes of couples clearly depict both figures contained within the same background. These three characteristics are important because they are repeated consistently in the design of matched pairs

Matched pairs were specifically designed to both imply a happy couple and maximize an image's flexibility. Matched pairs were made up of two woodcuts of one male and one female figure. The figures were carved by the same hand so that they were stylistically similar. Like woodcuts of couples, the two blocks are designed so that if placed side by side, the man and woman appear to be within a unified visual space. They are designed so that the figures appear to "face" one another and the sightlines of the figures line up. In most cases, the man and the woman each extend one arm, and if placed next to one another appear to extend their arms towards each other. As was common in finer double portrait paintings that were painted on two separate panels, the landscape of matched pairs appears to be continuous. The continuous background across multiple panels was a technique frequently used in order create visual continuity between two or more panels.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Although examples of the continuous landscape can be found in any number of Renaissance portraits, two examples are Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* (ca. 1490). Both are in the Huntington Library Art Collections and can be viewed online at <http://emuseum.huntington.org/>. An example of a double portrait in which the portraits are designed so that each figure appears to reach towards the other one, is: Frans Hals, *Stephanus Geraerdts* (Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) and *Isabella Coymans* (Private collection), both reproduced in: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An*

Very clear examples of matched pairs can be seen on multiple ballads such as *Poor Tom the Taylor*, *The Algier Slaves Releasment* (Figs. 13 and 14), *The West Country Weaver* (Fig. 12) and *The Merry Hostess* (Fig. 11), while the matched pair on *Dolly and Molly* (Fig. 10) duplicates the elements of the single carving of a man bowing to his lady, referenced above in the discussion of Figs. 8 and 9.¹²¹



Figure 10: *Dolly and Molly: Or, the Two Country Damosels Fortunes at London*, (London: Printed for P[hilip]. Brook by [sic, i.e. Brooksbury] at the Golden-ball, in West-Smithfield, 1670).

Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age, 1st ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 428–429.

¹²¹ Anon, *Poor Tom the Taylor His Lamentation*; Anon, *The Algier Slaves Releasment*; Anon, *The West-Country Weaver: Containing His Sorrowful Lamentation for the Hardship Which He Undergoes by a Proud Imperious Wife: Together, with His Resolution to Reclaim Her by the Well-Approved Oil of Holly. To the Tune of If Love's a Sweet Passion, &c. Licensed According T Order* (London: C. Bates, 1685); Thomas Robins, *The Merry Hoastess: Or, A Pretty New Ditty, Compos'd by an Hoastess That Lives in the City* (London: John Andrews, 1660); Anon, *Dolly and Molly*.

The merry Hoastefs:

O R,
A pretty new Ditty, compos'd by an Hoastefs that lives in the City:
To wronge such an Hoastefs it were a great pittie,
By reason the caused this pretty new Ditty.
To the Tune of, *Buff Coat has no Fellow.*



Come all that loves good company,
and hearten to my Ditty,
'Tis of a label Hoastefs fine,
that lives in London City:
with such good Ale, nappie and Ale,
and alwaies thus sings she,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

Her Ale is libelly strong and stout,
if you please but to taste,
It is well brew'd you need not fear,
but I pray you make no mistake:
It is libelly stout, the best in the town,
and alwaies thus sings she,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

She herselfe loves with her Ale,
but loves such nappie Ale:
With City Whales, and Countrey Oysters
that carries the milking pail:
Will take a fourth, and not think much,
to sing to marriage,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

With Lord and Gquire has a desire
into it night and day,
For a quart of this, be it old or new,
and so it they will pay:
with this in hand they may her command
to sing most merrily,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

You're welcome all bothe Gentlemen,
if you please to come in,
I'll take a cup of Ale to begin,
and a health for to begin:
For all the merry label Whales,
that will sing for company,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

There's a health to all bothe English men
but loves this cup of Ale:
Let every man fill up his Can,
and so that none do fall:
Let every good to near by the blind,
and make you sing with me,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

The second Part, to the same Tune.



The honest Scot will lay a plot,
to get a hansom tuch,
So this my Ale is good and sale;
to sell the coming Dutch:
They will take a part with all their heart,
to sing this tune with me,
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

It will make the Irish cry a hene,
if they but take their fill,
And put them all quite out of tune,
let them use their eijes selfe still:
So strong and stout it will hold out
in any company:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

The Welchman on Saint Davids Day
will cry, Coe Plater a rale,
But will not care quite about,
trench of that nappie Ale:
It makes her face with red Rose,
but her stom can agree:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

The Spaniards wont will have about,
'cause he hath those of gold,
Will at the last be to his fall,
my Ale hath him to hold:
His Spanish strong is libel along,
yet he is good company:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

There's never a Tradesman in England,
that can my Ale beate;
The Weaver, Sewer, and Glover,
delights it for to beate;
Small money they so take about,
if that they speak with me:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

There is nothing the honest Blacksmith,
he follows can praise;
Because a spark lies in his throat,
which makes him very dry:
But my Ale will take him his tale,
so fluely we agree:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

The Whetters, Bakers, and Butchers,
as well as all the rest,
Both night and day will watch where there
may finde Ale if the best:
And the Gentle Craft will come full oft
to drink a cup with me:
For my Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

So to conclude, good Fellows all,
I bid you all adieu:
If that you love a cup of Ale,
take it up with me this day:
For if you come where I be absent,
and chance to drink with me:
My Ale was tun'd when I was young,
and a little above my knee.

F I N I S . T. R.
London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White Lion near Pye-Corner.

Figure 11: Thomas Robins, *The Merry Hoastefs: Or, A Pretty New Ditty, Compos'd by an Hoastess That Lives in the City* (London: printed for John Andrews, at the White Lion near Pye-Corner, 1660).

Because a matched pair was made up of two independent but related woodcuts they could be used independently to represent a single man or woman, or used together to represent a couple. If used independently, each block could be re-combined and re-purposed on a seemingly infinite number of ballads. However, if a printer wanted to indicate togetherness between a man and a woman, but did not have or did not want to use a standard woodcut of a happy couple, the matched pair provided the flexibility to do so. Arranging the blocks so that they face one another, as in the examples above, the images strongly suggest a single depiction of a happy couple composed of the two individual blocks. For the price of two woodcuts, a printer would have been able to make at least three illustrations: a single man, a single woman, or a couple.



Figure 12 Excerpt from *The West-Country Weaver: Containing His Sorrowful Lamentation for the Hardship Which He Undergoes by a Proud Imperious Wife* (London: Printed for C. Bates, at the White.Hart [sic], in West-Smithfield, 1685).

In addition to being able to represent unity or togetherness between two individual blocks, matched pairs could also be used to indicate separation.¹²² Good examples of the tension between separation and unity can be seen in *Algier Slaves Releasement*, (Figs. 13 and 14).¹²³ *The Algier Slaves Releasement* is a ballad about a pair of lovers who are separated by the young man's employment on a galley ship. The premise of the ballad is that it recounts his painful lamentation about his separation from his love, although the subtext associates his feelings of love as akin to enslavement. On this ballad the matched pair is separated by smaller image(s) in between them. One reading is that these are randomly positioned figures surrounded by generic images of love and

¹²² Fumerton, "Not Home."

¹²³ Anon, *The Algier Slaves Releasement*.

courtship. However, a closer reading that combines reading of text and image tells a somewhat different story.

The woodcuts on *The Algier Slaves Releasement* depict a couple that is simultaneously divided (by discord, events out their control, or physical separation) and united (by love). Physically, the matched pair is divided. The man and woman are discrete impressions and are positioned apart from one another and are separated by impressions of an embracing couple and a ship – meant to represent the ship on which the young man is enslaved and thus physically separate from his love. But despite the physical separation of the matched pair, the design elements of the blocks common to matched pairs unite the assemblage of woodcuts. The sightlines, outstretched arms, and landscapes of both figures mirror one another and connect the two figures. In this case, the matched pair is used to represent something more complex than a simple love relationship. The use of the matched pair in conjunction with the smaller woodcuts between the paired woodcuts illustrates the tension of separation that is focal point of the ballad text.

Algier Slaves Releasment:

O R, *The Unchangeable Boat-Swain.*

No Prison like the Jayl of Love,
nor no such torments found;
To those that loyal mean to prove,
whose loves are firm and found;
To the Tune of, *Awake, Oh my Cloris.*

This loyal person ne'r would change,
like a true Lover he;
Indur'd his Fetters and his Chains,
and *Betty's* Captive be.



Of a Constant Young Seaman,
a Story I'll tell:
That I hope all true Lovers
will please very well:
All his cry was still, though
I continue a Slave;
Yet the want of my Dear,
is far worse than a Grave,
All the tedious long Night
in close Prison I live:
But methinks I behold
my dear Love lying by:

In the mid'd of my pangs,
this doth still give me ease;
That is pleasant to me,
which some call a Disease.
Sometimes to the Gallies
I'm forced to go;
Though amongst all my fellows,
like a Slave I do Row:
And when I am spent
with this Labour and Pain;
The thoughts of my Love
doth revive me again.



And when with Strappadoes
sometimes I do meet:
I find little Pain,
if I think on my Sweet:
Thou'rt sweet Pleasure and Pain,
my time I do spend;
Yet how to be Constant
unto my Love's end.

No Coverture nor Disson
shall make me forsake;
Nor eye from my Reason,
for my Betty's sake:
I do fight all the Convents
below'd by the Turk;
When I think on my Dear,
and in Gallies do work.

But a Renegado
to make me they strive;
No Rage and no Row,
whilst I am alive:
But with a Courageous
true Protestant be:
I'll be true to my faith,
and be constant to thee.

Oh Betty, when Willows
do Rage and do Row,
For want of thy sight
I am troubled sore:
Whilst others are troubled
with terror and fear;
Yet I am cheer'd up
with the thoughts of my Dear.

No Prison is like
to the want of thy sight;

Which Locks up my bliss,
for thou art my Delight:
Though distant I am,
therefore only appeit:
Yet fill my dear Betty
with love in my heart.
In the mid'd of my sorrows,
whilst others do mourn:
'Tis the want of my Love
that doth make me forlorn:
Yet would not enjoy thee
in this cursed place:
Though for want of thy Love,
my tears trickle apace.

But be of good cheer,
for every one knows,
'Tis an ill Accident
that no comfort blows:
And again I do hope
to see in England to see:
Then who'll be so happy
as Betty and me.

And now through Providence,
I am return'd:
By Shipwreck I escap'd,
to our Ship it was burn'd:
So to me like mine was,
when I was a Slave:
For the want of my Betty,
was worse than a Grave.
FINIS.

Printed for J. Deacon, at the Rain-Bow
near Davids-Inn, in Hilborn.

Figure 13: *The Algier Slaves Releasment; Tobias Bowne, The West-Country Maids Advice.* (London: Printed for P[hilip]. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball, near the Hospital-gate, in West-Smithfield, 1670).

To the Tune of, *Awake, Oh my Cloris.*



Figure 14: Detail of *The Algier Slave's Releasment.*

Although at first glance we might consider the matched pair to be a set of woodcuts designed to meet the needs of a particular printer, the previous examples

suggest that matched pairs were an accepted convention in ballad illustration. The ballads pictured in Figs. 10-14 display six different sets of matched pair woodcuts, carved by at least three (and possibly four or five) distinct hands, and printed by four different printers over a period of at least thirty years. This extant evidence strongly suggests that a number of different carvers cut and sold matched pair woodcuts to printers because they were especially useful to ballad printing. In terms of illustration, the matched pair provided the printer with a set of blocks that could be used as a pair in order to represent a couple, or as individual blocks representing a man or women. The flexibility of the blocks helped printers meet the costs-sensitive demands of printing ballads to sell at the consistent price of ½ - 1 penny. All of which supports the conclusion that ballad woodcuts were not mere afterthoughts, but a carefully considered aspect of ballad illustration.

Updating Woodcuts

The durability of woodcuts to create impressions was one of the primary reasons printer's used them in ballad illustration. A relatively minor investment in woodcuts could produce illustrations for decades before the blocks became too worn out or worm-eaten to imprint. There are many cases of woodcuts being in circulation on ballads for many years.¹²⁴ Although a profitable return on initial investment in woodcuts was

¹²⁴ For example, the blackened figure of the devil first seen on *The Vnnatural Wife* (1628) had been separated from its original block and continued to be reused as late as the mid-1670s when it appeared on *Strange News from Stafford-shire* (c. 1674). The imprint from 1674 clearly shows that the block had suffered from wear damage (the broken left horn) and worm damage (the small white holes that crisscross the imprint). Alice Davis, *The Vnnatural Wife: Or, The Lamentable Murther, of One Goodman Dauis, Locke-Smith in Tutle-Streete, Who Was Stabbed to Death by His Wife, on the 29. of Iune, 1628. For Which Fact, She Was Araigned, Condemned, and Adiudged, to Be Burnt to Death in Smithfield, the 12. Iul 1628. To the Tune of Bragandary* (London: M. T[rundle] widdow, 1628), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20051/image>; William Vincent, *Strange News from Stafford-Shire; or, a Dreadful Example of Divine Justice*. (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J.

undoubtedly important to printers, it was not always the primary motivation in selecting ballad illustrations. Looking at ballads across several decades, we can see that many woodcuts were updated or newly commissioned to match the changing fashions of the times. This section will demonstrate that printers regularly updated their woodcut stocks, not solely out of need to replace worn blocks, but to meet changing consumer tastes.

Woodcuts from the late Elizabethan era are immediately distinguishable by the fashions that figures wear. Men are frequently depicted in a doubled or jerkin with a ruff or double linen collar, breeches in the Italian or French style, hose, and a cloak. Women wear the tightly bodiced stomacher with widely spread skirts and stiff lace collars or ruffs.¹²⁵ The figures are very large and dominate the image, there is very little background or setting. There is enough detail to determine expression – a smile or the wink of an eye- and some parallel lines are used to indicate volume, such as the roundness of a sleeve, skirt, or leg. But shading had no real connection to any light source and the images more often than not appear flat and visually imposing.¹²⁶

Clark, 1674), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+E+25%28125%29&id=24603.gif&seq=1&size=1>.
¹²⁵ Anon, *The Merry Cuckold Who Frolickly Taking What Chance Doth Befall, Is Very Well Pleased with Wife, Hornes and All* (London: Printed by the assignes of Thomas Symcock, 1629); Anon, *A Pleasant New Ballad You Here May Behold, How the Devill, Though Subtle, Was Guld by a Scold* (London: Henry Gosson, 1635), [http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:15255;P\[arker\]M\[artin\],VWellMetNeighbour:Or,A Dainty Discourse Betwixt Nell and Sisse](http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:15255;P[arker]M[artin],VWellMetNeighbour:Or,A Dainty Discourse Betwixt Nell and Sisse) (London: Thomas Lambert, 1640). *The Well Met Neighbour* is an example of how long some of the older woodcuts remained in circulation.
¹²⁶ Anon, *Ione Is as Good as My Lady. To the Tune of What Care I How Faire She Be.*

settings. Backgrounds depicting interior domestic spaces, taverns, town centers, and pastoral rural scenes became much more frequent.¹²⁸

Throughout the Stuart period, the diversification of figures on ballads and the increased use of woodcuts that represented scenes in addition to solitary figures, allowed ballad illustration to be more explicitly connected to the texts. In some cases, such as *The Norfolk Gentlemen* or *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor*, we see woodcuts designed for specific ballad texts.¹²⁹ In other cases, the link between text and image was iconographic rather than direct. In this period that some ballads types – scold, crime, and cuckold ballads – develop clear iconographies that persist through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth.¹³⁰



¹²⁸ T. Platte, *Anne Vallens Lamentation, for the Murthering of Her Husband Iohn Wallen a Turner in Cow-Lane Neere Smithfield; Done by His Owne Wife, on Satterday the 22 of Iune. 1616.* (London: Henry Gosson, 1616), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20053/image>.

¹²⁹ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Vvill and Testament: And How Hee Committed the Keeping of His Children to His Owne Brother, Who Dealt Most Wickedly with Them: And How God Plagued Him for It. To the Tune of Rogero* (London: I. W[right], 1635); Anon, *[The] Lamentable Fall of Queene Eleanor, Who for Her Pride and Wickendesse, by Gods Judgements Sunck into the Ground at Charing-Crosse, and Rose at Queen-Hith. To the Tune of Gentle and Courteous* (London: Printed at London for Edw. [Wright], 1648).

¹³⁰ For a more thorough discussion of iconographic trends in ballads, see Chapter 3, “Branding Ballads,” and Chapter 4, “Composite Images.”

Figure 16: These two figures demonstrate the change in fashion from the Elizabethan doublet, French style hose, and farthingale, to the Stuart jerkin and breeches for men, and plainer, less-structured bodice dress for women. *The Ranting Whores Resolution* (London, 1658).



Figure 17: *The Knight and the Beggar-Wench. Which Doth a Wanton Prank Unfold, in as Merry a Story as Ever Was Told.* (London: printed for F[rancis]. Coles, M[ary]. Wright, T[homas]. Vere, and W[illiam]. Gilbertson, 1658).



Figure 18: Dorothy Mattley, *A Most Wonderful and Sad Judgment of God Upon One Dorothy Mattley* (London: Printed for VV. Gilbertson, 1661).

On the whole, carvings from the Stuart period appear less “flat” and the compositions within each woodcuts are more complex than their Elizabethan predecessors. Some carvers attempted to create depth and perspective by placing smaller sized objects in the background. A comparison of the two depictions of couples on *The New Made Gentlewoman* (1674-1679) and *The City Caper* (1670-1696) demonstrate the different levels of success in applying perspective (Figs. 19 and 20).¹³¹ The block used on the *New Made Gentlewoman* uses shading, negative space, and a realistic relation of size between the figures in the foreground and the hillside town in the background to successfully create two levels of depth. The block on *The City Caper* attempts to do the same, but the shading is over done. Further, the carver did not use negative space or proportional sizing to convincingly separate the background from the figures in the foreground. Instead, all elements in the image are crammed together and barely contained within the frame. What is important in this case is less the level of realistic perspective that was achieved, and more that carvers were increasingly attempting to create convincing images for ballad illustrations.

¹³¹ L. White, *The Nevv Made Gentlewoman or, The Dishonest Lady* (London: F. Coles, T. Veres [sic, Vere], J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:179243; Anon, *The City Caper: Or, The Whetstones-Park Privateer*. (London: P[hilip]. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball in Pye-Corner, 1670), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Douce+Ballads+1%2826a%29&id=15064.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

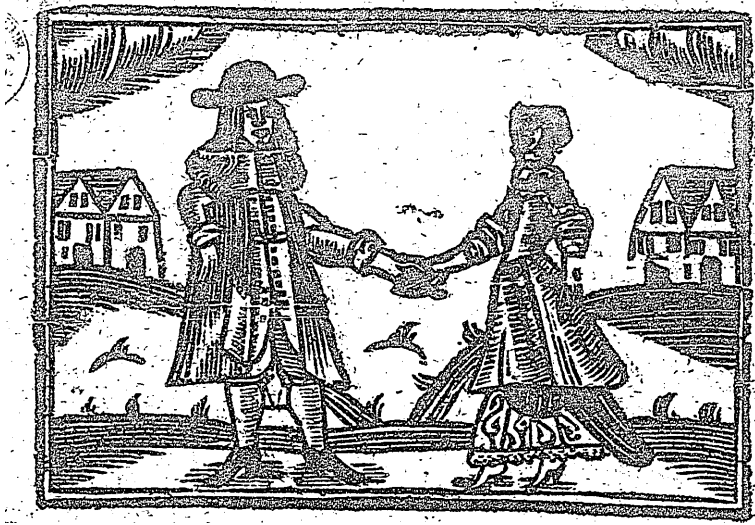


Figure 19: *The New Made Gentlewoman* (London: F. Coles, T. Veres [sic, i.e. Vere], J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674-1679).



Figure 20: *The City Caper* (London: P. Brooksby, 1660).

Ballad illustration and attention to detail underwent another significant shift in the late seventeenth century. In addition, several woodcuts that had been in use since the 1620's were updated in the new style (compare the Figs. 19 and 20, above, to Fig. 21,

below).¹³² Again fashions were updated to reflect changes in the last decades of the century. Men wear longer coats with wide cuffs, and curling wigs replaced the long straighter hair of the mid-century. Similarly, women are dressed in popular *figueretto* or mantua gowns, and sport the popular “top-knot” hairstyle (in which a handkerchief encompassed the hair and was tied into a knot on the top of the head).¹³³ From an art historical perspective, these late seventeenth century woodcuts are much more realistic than their predecessors. Distance and proportion are successfully depicted, shading techniques are far superior, and the lines are more finely carved. These images convey a sense of depth, weight, and realism, especially in comparison to the previous impressions. The development of more realistic techniques of representation and composition was a slow process that evolved over the course of the seventeenth century. However, looking from the early part of the century to its end, it is clear that woodcarvers and printers regularly updated blocks as fashions changed and carving techniques improved.

¹³² See, for example: *The Contention, Between a Countryman & a Citizen* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby at the Golden Ball in Pye-Corner, 1670); *The Young-Mans Unfortunate Destiny* (London: Printed for J[onah]. Deacon, at the Angel in Guilt-Spur-Street, without Newgate, 1684); The image of the couple on *The Young Mans Unfortunate Destiny* is a better composed and executed mirror image of the couple holding hands depicted in *The Contention...*, down to the blooming Rose of England beneath their clasped hands. The image of a woman committing suicide originally round in the 1620s, and more recently in: *The Dying Damsels Doleful Destiny: Or, True Love Requited with Evil* (London: Printed for J. Deacon at the Angel in Guilt-spur-street, without Newgate, 1671); *The Scornful Damsels Overthrow, and the Young Maidens Frollick* (London: Printed for J. Bissel, at the Bible and Harp in West-Smithfield, 1687) was updated to a new form in *Whitney's Dying Letter to His Mistriss That Betray'd Him: With Her Answer* (London: printed by J.W. near White-Friers Gate, 1692).

¹³³ Backhouse and McShane, “Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s.”



Figure 21: Late seventeenth-century: *The Young-Mans Unfortunate Destiny* (London: Printed for J[onah]. Deacon, at the Angel in Guilt-Spur-Street, without Newgate, 1684).

The figures represented in Stuart-era woodcuts come from a wider range of socio-economic positions than those carved in the Elizabethan era. In addition to finely dressed gentlemen and women, we start to see people from everyday life dressed in plain clothes devoid of ornamentation or embroidery. In James I's reign, upper-class women appear in the farthingale with a stiff collars. Figures representing the more common folk were dressed in plain, un-adorned clothing. Women wore dresses of plain cloth with a close-fitting bodice and full skirts. Similarly, men were dressed in plain, knee-length breeches, and plain doublets. Unlike their wealthier counterparts, images of common men did not carry swords or wear ornate capes of hats. Instead they often carried tools

of their trade (a staff or a barrel) and wore plain brimmed-hats.¹³⁴ Both men and women frequently wore un-starched white collars that came to a point in the center of the breast.

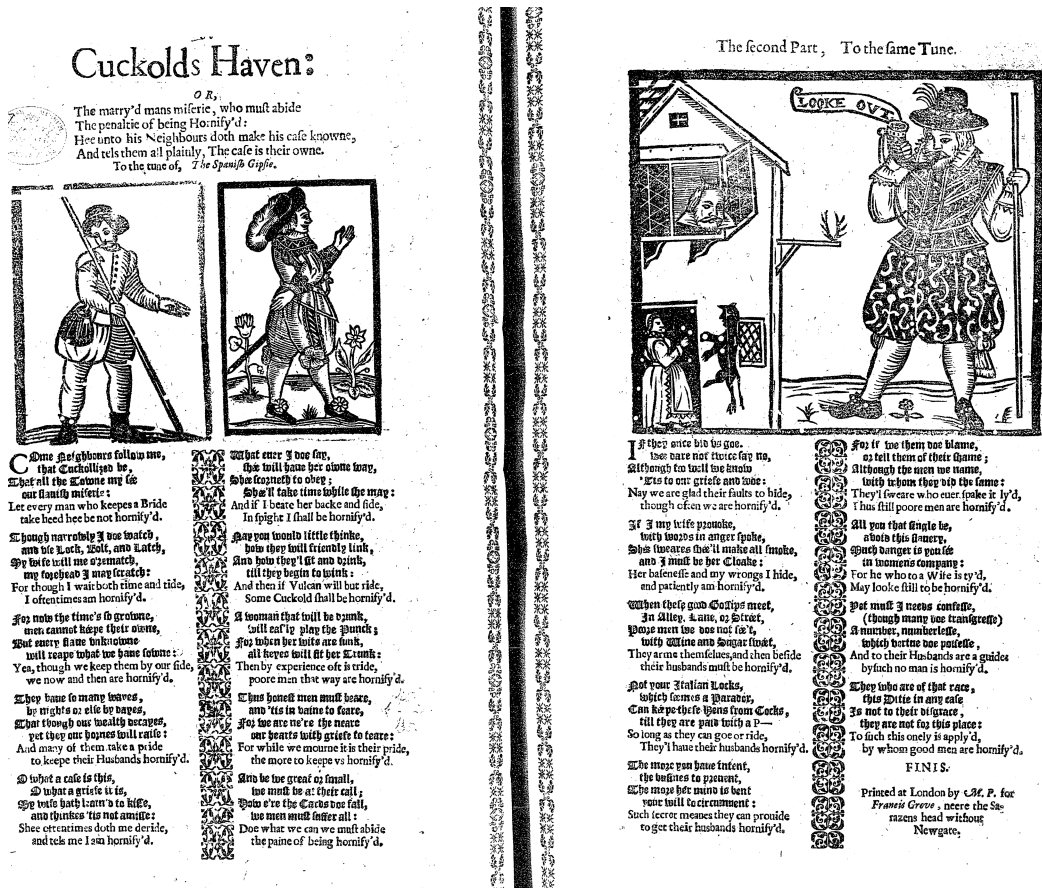


Figure 22: Anon, *Cuckolds Haven: Or, The Marry'd Mans Miserie, Who Must Abide the Penaltie of Being Hornify'd: Hee Unto His Neighbours Doth Make His Case Knowne, and Tels Them All Plainly, the Case Is Their Owne. To the Tune of, the Spanish Gipsie* (London: by M. P[arsons] for Francis Grove, 1638).

Compare the two left most woodcuts on the ballad *The Cuckold's Haven*. The figure on the right represents a common man with a staff. He is plainly dressed, does not wear a weapon and averts his vision. The figure to his immediate right depicts a man of wealth, as evident by his plumed hat, ornately decorated clothing, the sword, and his confident stance that suggests a manly swagger.

¹³⁴ Anon, *Cuckolds Haven: Or, The Marry'd Mans Miserie, Who Must Abide the Penaltie of Being Hornify'd: Hee Unto His Neighbours Doth Make His Case Knowne, and Tels Them All Plainly, the Case Is Their Owne. To the Tune of, the Spanish Gipsie* (London: by M. P[arsons] for Francis Grove, 1638).

representing various classes and nationalities of women in London, had the greatest influence on ballad illustration. Hollar etched and published three large studies of English women beginning in the 1640s: *Ornatus Muliebris* (1640) were fashion plates focused on women's dress, *Seasons* (1641-4), and *Theatrum Mulierum* (published in a series beginning in 1650) which was a study of dress and ranks of women across Europe.¹³⁵ The woodblock of a woman over the fourth column on the ballad *The Ranting Whores Resolution* is a mirror image of Hollar's *Lady with a High Neck Wrap* (state 2).¹³⁶



¹³⁵ Griffiths writes that “etching was much lower in the hierarchy of the time than engraving (modern taste is precisely the opposite), and the medium was thought to be suitable for certain types of subject only.” Perhaps a lower quality intaglio for a lower quality relief? For more on Hollar's prints and full catalog and publishing information, see: Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*; Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607-1677* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹³⁶ Wenceslaus Hollar, *Lady with a High Neck Wrap. State 2. Ornatus Muliebris*, Etching, 130 mm x 80 mm, n.d., Hollar_k_1698, Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection at the University of Toronto, <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/index.cfm>; Anon, *The Ranting Whores Resolution*.

Figure 24: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Woman with a High Neck Wrap*, state 2.



Figure 25: Images from, *The Ranting Whores Resolution: Wherein You Will Finde That Her Only Treasure Consisteth in Being a Lady of Pleasure*. (London: printed for F[rancis]. Coles, M[ary]. Wright, T[homas]. Vere. and W[illiam]. Gilbertson, 1658).

Comparing Hollar's *Women with a high neck wrap* and the women from *The Ranting Whores Resolution*, details from the three-quarter portrait include lace edging on her head gear and neckwrap to the position of her hands are all the same. Similarly, two of Hollar's studies of women in wide-brimmed hats, *Lady in Wide-brimmed Hat and Brocaded Underskirt* (state 2), and *Mercatoris Londinensis Vxor*. (state 6) also share dress and pose qualities with a woodcut of a woman found on *The Good Wives Forecast* and *The Patient Husband and the Scolding Wife*.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Wenceslaus Hollar, *Mercatoris Londinensis Vxor*. State 6. (*Merchant's Wife of London*), Etching and engraving on paper, 90mm x 70mm, n.d., Hollar_k_1823, Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection at the University of Toronto, <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/index.cfm>; Wenceslaus Hollar, *Lady in a Wide-brimmed Hat and Brocaded Underskirt*. State 1., Etching, 130mm x 80mm, n.d., Hollar_k_1686, Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection at the University of Toronto, <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/index.cfm>; Anon, *The Good Wives Fore-Cast, or, the Kind and Loving Mothers Counsel to Her Daughter After Marriage*. (London: J[onah]. Deacon, 1671).



Figure 26: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Mercatoris Londinensis Vxor. State 6. (Merchant's Wife of London)*, engraving, 90mm x 60mm, n.d.; Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection at the University of Toronto



Figure 27: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Lady in a wide-brimmed hat and brocaded underskirt. State 1.*, engraving, 90mm x 60mm, n.d.



Figure 28: *The Good Wives Fore-Cast, or, the Kind and Loving Mothers Counsel to Her Daughter After Marriage*, (London: Printed for J[onah]. Deacon).

The decision to include figures of common men and women on ballads may have been a somewhat unconscious shift in illustrative style based largely on changing trends in the general market for visual culture. Although difficult to document in absolute numbers, publishing and print production in general, and ballad production in particular, increased rapidly at this time. It is likely that the increased diversity of classes represented in ballads reflected the expanding consumer base for early seventeenth century print culture. This shift in style is significant because it reveals two developments. First, that illustrators were relatively sensitive to the changing tastes of their consumers and were willing to invest time and money into producing images that would have market appeal. Second, the inclusion of figures of everyday men and women on ballads invited consumers to see themselves reflected in their purchases.

Ballad Woodcuts and Art Prints

In addition to being influenced by fashion and their own life experiences, woodcut carvers were also influenced by contemporary art prints. With the exception of an article by Alexandra Franklin, there has been very little scholarly work that examines connections between broadside ballads' rough woodcuts and finer art prints.¹³⁸ However, a comparison between ballad illustrations and finer contemporary etchings and engravings reveals that woodcut carvers were not only aware of the material, but also relied heavily on it when creating their own compositions. The link between ballad illustration and more "artistic" prints is important because it breaks down the historical division between the two forms, and shows that broadside ballad illustrations were not simply crude designs produced by printers on an as-needed basis, but were made by carvers who were very much aware of the larger visual culture. Such woodcarvers paid much more attention to subject matter, composition, and market appeal than scholars have given them credit for.

Distinctive similarities between broadside ballad woodcuts and prints of the royal family demonstrate that carvers based their compositions on popular contemporary prints. Single-sheet prints of England's kings and queens were popular going back to the Elizabeth era, but became increasingly popular with Charles I's support of England's developing visual culture during his reign, and with Charles II and the Restoration campaign to reinvigorate support for the monarchy. In addition to single-sheet prints, images of the monarch and his royal consort could be found on etchings, engravings, mezzotints, and even ceramics (Figs. 30 and 31, below).¹³⁹ According to the 1675

¹³⁸ Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820."

¹³⁹ Anon, *The Mirror of Mercy, in Our Gracious King's Pardoning of Edward Skelton: Who Was Condemned to Dye, as Being Accessary with Richard Richardson, in the Murder of Henry*

catalogue of John Overton, he advertised and sold many portraits of the king and family, “Also in smaller size the pourtraictures of King James, Queen Anne, King Charles the First and Second, and their Queens, with the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and the rest of the Royal Family; to be set by name &c.”¹⁴⁰ From the catalogues of print sellers such as Overton and Peter Stent (Overton’s predecessor) we find that prints of royals made up a fair amount of the stock and would likely have been in near constant circulation.

The Mirror of Mercy,
 In our Gracious KING's Pardoning of *Edward Skelton*:
 Who was Condemned to Dye, as being Accessary with *Richard Richardon*, in the Murder
 of *Henry Bohard*, Gentleman; but by the Intercession of Eighteen young Maidens, ob-
 tained his Majesties most Gracious Pardon for him.
 To the Tune of, Joy to the Bridegroom: Or, In Summer time.
 This may be Printed, R. P.



Hard you not of the Headborough,
 Who fell into a strange Denour?
 By Murdering of a Gentleman,
 Whose Life, alas! he did usurp:
 He had no reason to proceed
 In such a bloody Wicked deed.

And if I may declare the truth,
 Here likewise burnt with him a Youth;
 One in the day of his crime,
 Who'd accessary to the Crime:
 They both Committed was to Goal,
 Where they their sorrows might bewail.

Since they have this destruction brought
 Before the Bar they both were brought;
 To prove them Guilty Men, or clear,
 But as the truth does well appear,
 They both Condemned was to dye,
 As the Reward of Villany.

When his acquaintance they did hear,
 That he must lose his life to wear,
 That he obtained was for Death,
 And to retain his dearest breath,
 No tongue is able to declare
 The sorrow of their grief and care.

They all in sorrow did relate,
 How grief for by unhappy fate,
 He being well beloved and dear,
 Of all that lived far and near:
 In sorrow they lament and grieve,
 O that we could gain his Reprieve!

Since there's no other remedy,
 We'l to our Royal Majesty;
 In humble sort we will intreat,
 And prostrate at his Royal Feet:
 Who knows but pity may him move,
 To grant the life of him we love.

No Cost or Charges did they spare,
 But readily they did prepare,
 Five Couches thus was fill'd withal;
 Who hasted straight unto White-hall;
 With Eighteen Damisels all in White,
 It was a fair and comely sight.

They gain'd a favour in this thing,
 And was admitted to the King;
 Where falling low upon their knee,
 Before his Princely Majesty:
 He their Petition did receive,
 And likewise granted a Reprieve.

Upon our most Renowned Prince,
 They did obtain that influence:
 The saying of Mercy to our King,
 To spare their lives and lives;
 And did extend his Clemency,
 While the fair Maids was standing by.

This did renew each drooping heart,
 Straight from the Court they did depart:
 He was a beautiful Garden Chain,
 Which did to him return again:
 Where he remain'd in woful Ears,
 To sound glad tydings in his Ears,

Then coming where this Youth did live,
 In grief and great Extremity,
 Hear up, said they, be not cast down,
 Our Gracious Prince of high Renown,
 In Mercy now hath pardon'd thee,
 And grants thee Life, and lets thee free.

No Tongue is able to express,
 His true and great thankfulness:
 He did let it shew him for a vow,
 He'd to love his Mercy now:
 No Bragglement shall ever cause
 Me to Violate his Laws.

After they had Discours'd a while,
 Which did his sorrows to beguile;
 They all together home did go,
 Which made a most Delightful show:
 Through all the town where e'er they came
 And spread the News on Wings of Fame.

R. I. N. I. S.

Printed for D. DENNISON, at the
 Stationers-Arms within Aldgate.

Figure 29: A representation of Charles II that appeared on several political ballads praising the monarch, from *The Mirror of Mercy* (London: Printed for D. Dennisson, at the Stationers-Arms within Aldgate, 1686).

Howard, Gentleman; but by the Intercession of Eighteen Young Maidens, Obtained His Majesties Most Graciou Pardon for Him. To the Tune of, Joy to the Bridegroom: Or, In Summer Time. This May Be Printed, R.P (London: D. Dennisson, 1686), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20791/image>.

¹⁴⁰ John Overton, *A Catalogue of Books, Pictures, and Maps. Neatly Cut in Copper, Being Very Pleasant Ornaments for Houses, Studies and Closets, and Also Extraordinary Useful for Goldsmiths, Jewellers, Chafers, Gravers, Painters, Carvers, Embroiderers Drawers, Needlewomen, and All Handicrafts. All Made and Sold by John Overton at the White Horse Without Newgate. Five Hundred New Sorts of Birds, Beasts, Fish, Flies, Wormes, Flowers, Fruits, Figures, Histories, Landskips, Ovals, Neatly Cut in Copper, and Neatly Coloured, for Gentlewomens Works, and He Is a Doing More as Fast as Time Will Permit.* (London: s.n., 1675).



Figure 30: Charles II. Plate, Brislington pottery, tin-glazed earthenware, painted (Brislington: ca. 1678-1685).



Figure 31: Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. Plate, Brislington pottery, tin-glazed earthenware. (possibly made: Netherlands, London, Bristol, or Brislington, ca. 1662-1685).

Both objects currently held in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Looking at Restoration ballads, one can see the influences images of the royals had on ballad illustration. In the context of ballad illustration, such images functioned both as representations of the king or queen in ballads about the monarchs, such as the woodcut of Charles II on the ballad *The Mirror of Mercy* (Fig. 29, above), and as models for more general figures meant to represent the elite and fashionable of the day. This was particularly true in the case of royal women, whose images were re-appropriated countless times, often on ballads about love and romance, but also songs about prostitutes.¹⁴¹ For example, Hollar's 1641 engraving of Henrietta Maria (Fig. 32, below) appears to be a major influence on the portrait of a woman on the ballad *Innocent Country Maid's Delight*, and possibly influenced busts of women on *Farewell to Hackney Jades* and *A Description of Wanton Women*.¹⁴² (Figs. 33 and 34) The body position, hairstyle, expression,

¹⁴¹ Although one might be tempted to read political commentary into ballads about prostitution that make use of royal images, there does not seem to be conclusive evidence that ballad printers were making a particular political statement (i.e. calling the queen a whore or the king a whoremonger). One exception is a series of ballads written as dialogues between two of Charles II's mistresses, Louise-Renee de Keroualle and Nell Gwyn: Anon., *A Pleasant Dialogue Betwixt Two Vvanton Ladies of Pleasure; or, The Dutchess of Porsmouths Woful Farwel to Her Former Felicity*. (London: J. Deacon, 1685); Nell Gwyn, *Portsmouths Lamentation, or, A Dialogue Between Two Amorous Ladies, E.G. and D.P.* (London: Printed for C. Dennisson, at the Stationers-Arms, within Aldgate, 1685); Louise-Renée de K roualle, *The Dutchess of Portsmouths Farewel: The Dutchess Holds a Dialogue, Yea, Doth Relate the Wretched State, and Talks with Madam Gwin; That Now She Liveth in. To the Tune of, Tan Tarra Rara Tan Tivee* (London: I. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1685). Both ballads make use of the bust that I have identified as likely based on Hollar's engraving of Henrietta Maria, and do not make use of the smaller busts in the style of Lely's portraits that may actually have been based on Lely's portraits of de Keroualle and Gwyn.

¹⁴² For examples, please see the following images, all available at British Printed Images <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/>: John Dunstall, *Bust Portrait of Catherine of Braganza*, Etching, 88 mm x 60 mm, 80 1660, BPI4233, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>; Peter Williamson, *Catherine of Braganza*, Engraving, after portrait by Samuel Cooper, 266 mm x 189 mm, February 1661, BPI4335, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>; *Serenissima Infanta Donna Catharina, Scuplsit. Print Made by David Loggan, Published by Matt Collings*, engra, 366 mm x 260 mm, 1663, BPI6894, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>; Anon, *The Innocent Country Maids Delight. Or, A Description of the Lives of the Lasses of London. At London They the Wanton Play, as It Is Often Seen, Set to an Excellent Country*

clothing, and jewelry are consistent between the etching and the woodcuts. *A Description of Wanton Women* provides another insight into how wood engravers may have used art prints as the basis of their woodcuts. Of the four images on the ballad, two are of the same woman, carved by the same hand, and based on Hollar's *Henrietta Maria* (Fig. 32).¹⁴³ However, the ladies are posed in two different ways: one is a simple three-quarter portrait in a round frame, while the second image shows more of the sitter's body and depicts the figure lifting a bunch of grapes. This suggests that the carver likely used the Hollar portrait of Henrietta Maria as a model for both carvings and may answer why so many of the woodblocks look so similar. It is likely that once a trend was established in illustration, subsequent woodcut carvers adopted or imitated the style.



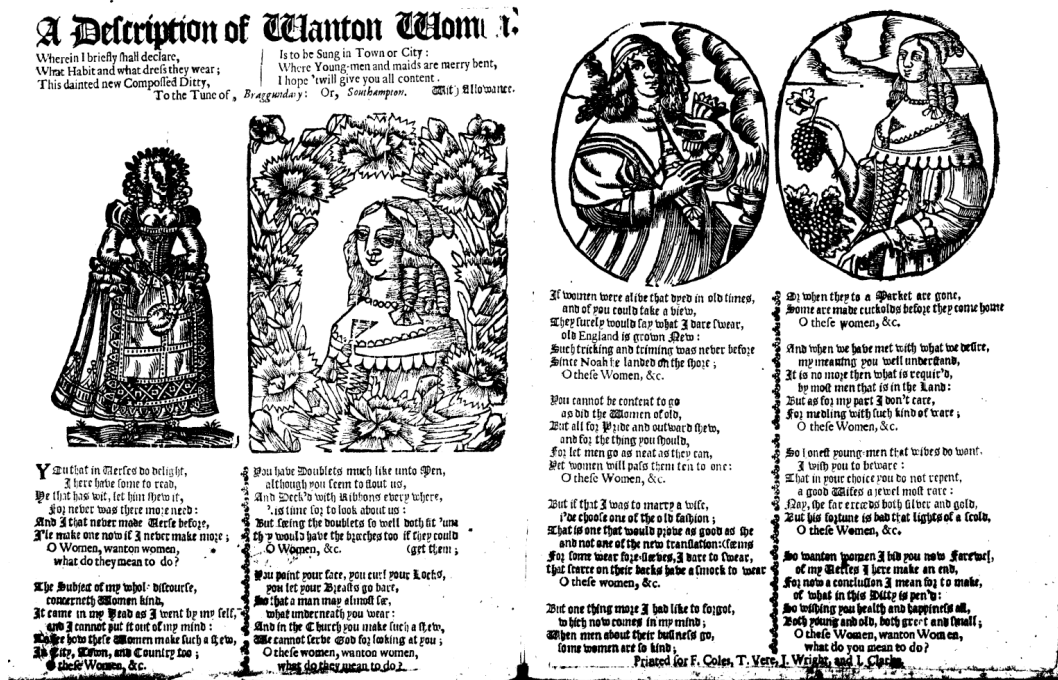
Dance. Whilst We Do Go, All of a Row, Unto the Meadows Green. This May Be Printed. R.P (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball in Pye-Corner, 1672); Anon, *A Farevvel to Hackney lades*; Anon, *A Description of Wanton Women. Wherein I Briefly Shall Declare, What Habit and What Dress They Wear; This Dainted [sic] New Composed Ditty, Is to Be Sung in Town or City* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and I. Clarke, 1674), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+E+25%2817%29&id=24495.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

¹⁴³ Wenceslaus Hollar, *Henrietta Maria by the Grace of God Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Etc.*; *F. Londini*, etching, 164 mm x 110 mm, 1641, British Museum; British Printed Images.

Figure 32: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Henrietta Maria by the Grace of God Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Etc.*; F. Londini, etching, 164 mm x 110 mm, 1641, British Museum; British Printed Images.



Figure 33: Image excerpted from *Farewell to Hackney Jades*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and I. Clarke, 1674).



the | | | | | Bodleian Library
 Frame: **24495** **A** **B** **C** **D** **E**

Figure 34: *A Description of Wanton Women*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and I. Clarke, 1674).

Both the bust in a square frame and the bust of the woman in a round frame holding up a bunch of grapes appears to be derived from Hollar's engraving.

Contemporary to Henrietta Maria's broadside appearances were images of her successor: Queen Catherine of Braganza (Fig. 32 and 33).¹⁴⁴ The queen was easily identified by her hair: often pulled back behind the head or into two *choux* (bundles) on either side of her face. The style was completed with crushes and confidants, or small curls around the forehead and ears, respectively, and many ringlets hanging down from the *choux*.

¹⁴⁴ Henrietta Maria (b. 25 November 1609, d. 10 September 1669) was Queen Consort to Charles I (r. 27 March 1625 – 30 January 1649). Most woodcuts based on Henrietta Maria are found on ballads whose publishing dates are listed as post-Restoration. Considering that Hollar's portraits of the queen were completed in the early 1640s, it is possible that woodcuts based on those engravings were carved and printed during the civil wars and Interregnum. However, a lack of source material and archival records for broadside ballads printed during those decades makes it impossible to determine when images of Henrietta Maria first appeared on ballads. Regardless of her initial appearance on the ballad page, representations of Henrietta Maria were used to illustrate ballads through out the Restoration. As a result, her image on ballads is accurately described as contemporary to the appearances of Queen Catherine of Braganza (Queen Consort to Charles II, tenure 23 April 1662 – 6 February 1685).



Figure 35: *Bust Portrait of Catherine of Braganza*, Etching, 88 mm x 60 mm, 80 1660, BPI4233, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>



Figure 36: Image from: *The Innocent Country Maid's Delight* London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball in Pye-Corner, 1672).

It is important to note that ballad carvers did not just duplicate images, but also attempted to reproduce the style of different artists. In addition to the similarities between woodcuts and engravings by Hollar and Dunstall, van Dyck's painting of



Figure 38: Dirk Stoop, *Catherine of Braganza*, oil on canvas, 1232mm x 1003 mm, 61, National Portrait Gallery London.

Dirk Stoop, 332 mm X 228 mm, 1662, NPG D22671, National Portrait Gallery London, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw116139/Catherine-of-Braganza?search=sp&sText=catherine+of+braganza&rNo=15>; *Catherine of Braganza*, Engraving, after portrait by Dirk Stoop, 248 mm x 187 mm, 1656, call number NPGD18434, NPG D18434, National Portrait Gallery London, <http://www.npg.org.uk/>; *Catherine of Braganza*, Engraving, after portrait by Dirk Stoop, 271 mm x 199 mm, 1656, call number NPGD18435, NPGD18435, National Portrait Gallery London, <http://www.npg.org.uk/>.



Figure 39: *Catherine of Braganza*, engraving by William Faithorne, after Dirk Stoop, 1662, National Portrait Gallery London.

Stoop's painting and Faithorne's engraving also served as the basis for a mid-century, anonymous engraving of the marriage of Charles II and Catherine, printed in 1662.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ *The Marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza*, Engraving, 96 mm x 74 mm, c 1662, BPI6062, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/zoomify.jsp?image=407167>.



Figure 40: Anon. *The Marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza.*

This was in turn, the model for a woodcut of the royal couple that began appearing on ballads such as *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* (c. 1683).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Anon, *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy. Shewing the Tender Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God in Preserving His Most Gracious Majesty, and His Royal Brother, from the Cruel and Bloody Hands of Their Enemies in the Late Horrid Plot. To the Tune of Aim Not Too High* (London: J. Wright, I. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1683), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20837/image>.

ENGLANDS Miseries Crown'd with Mercy.

Shewing the tender mercy and goodness of Almighty God in preserving his most Gracious Majesty, and his Royal Brother, from the cruel and bloody hands of their Enemies in the late horrid Plot.

To the Tune of *Ain not so High*.



First at New-Market they a like contrive,
Thinking to leave no Christian there alive:
But bless'd be God the first was known,
That they regard for the Plot was known,
And betrapon the King and his shoules five

But God who for his Servants doth provide,
Peters's Tower, Englands towers and their life
And is a way to God to keep them still, - quite
That bloody Accidents may not have their will.
Who on your knees you Rebels great and small

Figure 41: *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy*, (London: Printed for J. Wright, I. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1683).

Finally, when etchings and mezzotints based on portraits by Peter Lely and William Wissing were produced in the 1680s, they also influenced ballad illustration. Notably, the ballad *The Male and Female Husband*¹⁴⁹ contains two small woodcuts of women's heads over the third and fourth columns that bear striking resemblance to mezzotint versions of court portraits of Queen Catherine of Braganza after William Wissing, and Nell Gwyn and Louise-Renée de Kéroualle after Peter Lely.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Anon, *The Male and Female Husband: Or, A Strange and Wonderful Relation How a Midwife Living at St. Albans, Being Brought to Bed of an Hermophrodite, Brought It up in Womans Apparel, and Carryed It with Her as Her Deputy to Be Assisting at the Labours of Several Women* (London: P. Brooksby, 1680).

¹⁵⁰ E. Cooper, *Catherine Queen Dowager*, Mezzotint, after portrait by Willem Wissing, 235 mm x 177 mm, c. -1700 1685, BPI3502, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>; Richard Thompson, *Madame Ellen Gwinn and Her Two Sons Charles Earl of Beaufort and James Lord Beauclaire*, Mezzotint, after portrait by Peter Lely, 360mm x 292 mm, c 1679, AN12243001: BPI920, British Museum; British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/zoomify.jsp?image=122243>; *ibid.*; Louise-Renée De Kéroualle, *Duchess of Portsmouth, After Peter Lely, Fecit. Paul Van Somer*, Mezzotint, 323 mm X 246 mm, 94 1675, BPI3401, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk>.

The Male and Female Husband ;

O R,

A Strange and Wonderful Relation how a Midwife living at St. Albans, being brought to Bed of an *HERMOPHRODITE*, brought it up in Womens Apparel, and carryed it with her as her Deputy to assisting at the Labours of several Women, and carried the Name of *MARY JEMM*: And how at last a discovery of it was made by its Lying with a milk, and getting her with-Child, whom the said *HERMOPHRODITE* was thereupon obliged to marry: With a particular account of the Trades and Employments it was put to during its Minority: With several pleasant passages that happened. To the Tune of, *What shall I do, shall I do for Love, &c.*



Dear listen all unto my Song,
For true it is most true:
The like tobacco you seldom hear,
As yet but rarely here:
A *HERMOPHRODITE* in the Athens here,
Whose name I shall not here:
For these Poets said, he's brought to
of an *HERMOPHRODITE*.

Which he in Female habit here,
That it might not be known:
And so for many Years more known
Was it that she his own:
For now as it grows up in Peace,
It with her oft to go
To women's labours, that her skill



And let it oft with women here,
Who know not that it here:
Of either sex a signal mark,
And had each thing in here:
And oft with *MARY* it was here,
But long time, let certain
From the hard tears of *Venus* here,
So that they should complain.

A Female's name indeed it had,
And *MARY JEMM* call'd:
And so for many Years was thought,
'Till it could be unlearn'd:
'Till at the last being fully grown,
When as the *SPHOTT* here
To lay a *GLORIAN*, with the *SPOTT*
in *What shall I do, shall I do for Love, &c.*



And it's *ORACLE* instrument is us'd,
The *ORACLE* great with child,
Which being her's was got the same,
For which, and answered unto,
The *ORACLE* female that was come
With *ORACLE* thought, may
'Till as he had their faces as well
As Female *ORACLE* the *ORACLE*.

And that it being fully grown,
Surpriz'd her in her sleep,
She nothing dreaming of the thing,
It *ORACLE* her Legs was creep:
Which on a sudden looking the
Which she *ORACLE* with fear:
'Till all at once, for it was left
Lack'd in her *ORACLE*.

And after that some other *ORACLE*
They had each their own play:
The *ORACLE* being familiar grown,
And not the *ORACLE* say:
'Till in that time she was with child
To that each *ORACLE* thing,
For which some folks think her before
A *ORACLE* than was here.

And there he fit the *ORACLE* faith,
Which made some women here,
'Till there he was with a double sex
Which *ORACLE* his *ORACLE*:
Which *ORACLE* his *ORACLE* here:
Which *ORACLE* his *ORACLE* here:

Which to the Female sex alone;
is common by their Law.

They would they be at all comb'd;
until a Church was made:
For *ORACLE* the *ORACLE*'s *ORACLE* his *ORACLE*:
long time a *ORACLE* *ORACLE*:
'Till the good women having search
into him each *ORACLE* good:
And that *ORACLE* *ORACLE* the *ORACLE*,
well firm and stoutly stood.

Which on their *ORACLE* the *ORACLE* then
was both *ORACLE* agree:
For since the *ORACLE* was got with child
they both must married be.
To which our *ORACLE*
was give his *ORACLE*:
And changing habit for a man,
he to the *ORACLE* straight went.

Which since learn'd the *ORACLE* craft
though *ORACLE* he had before,
And could the *ORACLE* of either sex
perhaps and keep in here:
'Till now to London they are come,
as many have before:
'Till here to lay up a *ORACLE* *ORACLE*,
and *ORACLE* *ORACLE*.

F I N I S.
Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-ball
in West-Smithfield.

Figure 42: *The Male and Female Husband*, (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-ball in West-smithfield, 1680).

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter, was to challenge the notion that ballad illustration and ballad woodcuts were generic, unimportant, or meaningless, and to question the idea that printers merely carved ballad woodcuts on an as-needed basis with little skill or forethought. My analysis of “matched pairs” demonstrated that we can see patterns in woodcut design that suggest woodblocks were carved in order to maximize illustrative flexibility while still maintaining visual consistency. Woodcuts were not simply re-used as needed, but designed by carvers to be re-used in multiple combinations. The second part of this chapter provided evidence that carvers regularly updated woodblocks in order to reflect the latest fashions or carving styles. This demonstrates that carvers and printers invested time, labor, and capital in ballad illustrations and reinforces growing evidence that ballad producers were concerned with the visual appearance of their ballads because it was also important to their market. The third part of this chapter explored connections between ballad illustrations and finer art prints and engravings. When studying seventeenth-century England’s visual culture, from high to low, ballad woodcuts should be recognized as part of the genealogy of royal images. Such images began with the artist’s portrait, were recomposed as an etching or engraving, and finally recreated again in ballad woodcuts. Though crude, ballad images were deeply integrated into England’s larger visual culture and, due to their low cost and high portability, ballads likely spread images of the monarchs further and wider than any other contemporary visual representation. Taken together, the evidence in this chapter demonstrates that ballad illustrations were not mere afterthoughts, but a central aspect of ballad composition that were designed to be both cost effective for producers and appealing to consumers. Only when we take seriously the role of illustration in early modern texts can we begin to

consider the importance of images for the mixed-literate consumer of early modern English print culture.

Chapter 2

Branding Ballads: The use of illustration to indicate ballad genre in scold, cuckold, and crime ballads

If a seventeenth century English man or woman decided to buy a ballad, they had several options. They could purchase a ballad from a ballad singer or chapman, or go to a bookseller or print shop where ballads were sold. They might be customers looking for a specific ballad, a ballad fan simply browsing the latest offerings, a ballad singer or a petty trader deciding on which ballad realm to purchase and sell in their travels, or someone looking at ballads pasted on a tavern wall, trying to find their favorite tune. In most cases, ballad consumers would have been able to choose among several different ballads.

When selecting a ballad, consumers had two options aiding their decision: they could read (or have read to them) the ballad title, or they could rely on visual cues to aid in their selection. When trying to understand early modern print consumption, scholars in the last two decades have focused on Tessa Watt's assessment that "hearing and reading were both a means of access to words," and for the most part have ignored how visual cues might also have been important to early modern readers.¹⁵¹ Such scholarship has demonstrated that the transition from a less-literate oral culture to a more-literate print-based culture was by no means inevitable progressive march to hegemonic text-centric society at the exclusion of an oral one: people of mixed-literacy often relied on

¹⁵¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 331.

being read to as a way of interacting with texts.¹⁵² However, in focusing on possible textual/oral interactions in print, scholars have tended to overlook the ballad consumer's second options: that images and pictures were also "a means of access to words."¹⁵³

This chapter will argue that when illustrating ballads, printers used consistent iconographies in order to market ballads to consumers. In a substantial number of cases, printers' regular use of certain images on ballads of a specific genre helped "brand" ballads, making it easier for customers to identify a ballad. Although illustration was not always useful in identifying specific ballad songs, an observant customer could easily pick out a crime, cuckold, or scold ballad from a large sample of other ballad types – much like a modern book consumer could easily distinguish between romance novels, fantasy, or science fiction stories, and murder mysteries simply from the images on the book covers.

One of the strongest scholarly attacks on the importance of images to early modern readers is the accusation that ballad illustrations were generic and re-purposed to the point that they became meaningless.¹⁵⁴ On the contrary, this chapter will demonstrate

¹⁵² Crick and Walsham, *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, 17; Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*.

¹⁵³ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, 331.

¹⁵⁴ Some scholars are outright hostile towards English woodcuts in early modern books in general, and ballads specifically: Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*, New Ed. (Oxford University Press, 1973); Chatto and Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical with Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations Engraved on Wood*; Natascha Wurzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Some scholars, when conducting ballad analysis, simply treat woodcuts superficially. They generally acknowledge their presence on the page, but refrain from any meaningful analysis: Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (2002): 493–518; Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Sandra Clark, *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Simone Chess, "Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration," *Electronic Essay in the English Broadside Ballad Archive* (n.d.), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts>; Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular*

that printers frequently reused genre-specific images as a way of developing consumer familiarity with their products. Over the course of the seventeenth century ballad printers tended towards consensus, even among competitors, when using genre-specific illustration rather than creating uniquely illustrated ballads. This strongly suggests that in the ballad market, customers valued familiarity with ballad themes, either because it was easier to identify ballads or simply because those were the current tastes. Familiar and reliable illustration helped consumers identify ballads they may have wanted to purchase, and those they wanted to avoid, without having to read the texts. Recognizing that ballads were designed so readers could rely on visual and textual symbols in order to read and interact with them complicates current assumptions regarding the near-exclusively text-centric nature of early modern England's print culture. Further, acknowledging the appeal of the familiar to early modern consumers forces us to reassess ballad illustrations that scholars have dismissed because they were generic or re-used.

In this chapter we will examine three case studies of ballad types that were visibly "branded," and maintained consistent iconography throughout the seventeenth century.

In the case of scold ballads printers loyally used specific images of women threatening

Balladry, 1650-1850 (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1989). In the last decade, some scholars have attempted to take ballad images more seriously and have conducted meaningful analysis regarding the text-image relationship on ballads with a consideration of how early modern readers could have 'read' ballads: Alexandra Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820," *Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002): 327–52; James A. Knapp, "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England," in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005); James A Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003); Angela McShane, "Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England," in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, British Library Print Networks Series (Delaware and London: Oak Knoll Press, 2008); Clare Backhouse and Angela McShane, "Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 337–357; Clare Backhouse, "Seventeenth-century Print and Dress: The Ballads of the Samuel Pepys Collection" (Courtland Institute, n.d.).

their husbands for over one hundred years. Cuckold ballads provide an example of how a ballad brand developed and became codified over time. Although in the early seventeenth century printers relied on a variety of images that were understood to represent cuckold images, by the mid-century printers standardized cuckold illustrations.¹⁵⁵ Of all broadside ballads, crime ballads were perhaps the most visibly marked. In nearly all cases, they were printed with an image of an execution and/or a scene of violence that frequently depicted murder. Not only were crime ballads consistently branded and easily distinguishable as a genre, but many also illustrated to show details regarding the specific ballad texts. In these three cases, illustration served the dual purposes of indicating to potential consumers both ballad genre and a specific narrative content. Taken together, these three examples demonstrate that printers regularly used genre-specific illustrations on ballads in order to facilitate a consumer's ability to distinguish some ballads from others. This strongly suggests that early modern consumers could reliably depend on certain images to indicate ballad texts. Such a conclusion supports the argument that early modern readers made use of textual, oral, and visual cues when reading.

These were not necessarily the most dominant ballad genres, but they were the most consistently illustrated. In the course of my research, I identified eleven common genres that most ballads fell into: love, religion, politics (local and national), history (classical and national), crime, scolds, prostitutes, cuckolds, pirates, legendary characters (Robin Hood, characters from Chaucer such as the Wife of Bath, etc.), and a general

¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have any concrete evidence that could address why printers or publishers decided to standardize cuckold illustration in this way. For the scope of this study, I can only document the clear change in illustration practices. The sources necessary to answer the question of why this change took pace either do not exist or were outside the scope of this study.

category of “other.” Although the largest categories were generally love and political ballads, because extant ballad collections were strongly shaped by the tastes of the collector it is challenging to make any overarching conclusions regarding most popular or most common ballad types.¹⁵⁶ We can see this in the three largest ballad collections held in the British Library: the Roxburghe Ballads, the Luttrell Ballads (three volumes total, two containing ballads within the parameters of this study, 282 ballads), and the Bagford Ballads. Excluding the category of “other,” the largest type of ballads found in the Roxburgh collection was love ballads, accounting for 467 ballads out of 1,273 total, or 36.68%. There were 48 crime ballads (3.77%), and 16 scold and cuckold ballads (1.26%). In the Bagford collection, political ballads were the dominant category containing 68 ballads out of 397 (17.13%), closely followed by love ballads (60 total, or 15.11%). There were only 19 crime ballads (4.79%), only 4 ballads about cuckolds (1%), and no scold ballads. In comparison, in the Luttrell collection, political ballads were dominant, accounting for 154 out of a total of 282 ballads, or 54.61%. However, there was only one crime ballad in the collection, and there were no scold or cuckold ballads. Thus, the ballad genre that appears most prevalent in a collection is largely shaped by the collector and does not necessarily reflect the overall scope of ballads produced at a given time. The decision to work with scold, cuckold and crime ballads emerged because of the most consistent illustration both within the genre and within re-editions of ballad titles.

It is important to note that gender looms large in all three of the genres examined in this chapter. For the most part, ballads reinforce expectations of men and

¹⁵⁶ As I will argue in chapter 3, I believe that “popularity” is better established by looking at ballads that went through multiple reprints, often over several decades or centuries. Although love ballads were very popular as a category, they often only under went a single printing. Some of the “legendary” ballads, such as Robin Hood ballads, *The Norfolk Gentleman* or *The Downfall of William Grismond* were, we printed multiple times over 50-200 years, strongly suggesting an enduring popularity.

women's behavior according to early modern notions of gender roles. In these three categories specifically, men and women tend to exhibit behavior considered deviant from, but also characteristic of, expectations for each gender. Female behavior such as scolding, quarrelsomeness, sexual licentiousness and even violence are depicted as unfavorable, but common, "female" traits. Male tendencies to sexual aggressiveness or sexual passivity (resulting in being cuckolded), drunkenness, and violence are also frequently portrayed. On the one hand, ballads can rightfully be seen as kind of proscriptive literature that seek to reinforce characteristics such as female subservience, male dominance, and restraint of the passions for both genders. On the other hand, cuckold, scold, and crime ballads normalize "deviant" behavior by presenting it as commonplace and widespread in English society.

"Here take her (quoth the Devill) to keep her here be bold/ For hell will not be troubled with such an earthly scold" – Scold ballads

Scold ballads exhibit some of the clearest and most consistent iconography found on ballads. For our purposes, they provide useful examples of how printers agreed upon and maintained steady visual representation of scolds over the course of a century.¹⁵⁷ Because such ballads were illustrated so consistently, they are easy to identify at a glance. As our first case study, they provide an example of one type of ballad that became branded with a stable vocabulary of images over the seventeenth century.

¹⁵⁷ When I use the term "agree" I do not mean to imply that ballad printers or publishers had a meeting in which they made a decision to illustrate certain ballads in certain ways. I mean that at some point one printer established an illustrative convention in ballads, and competing and subsequent printers, for a variety of reasons, decided to follow the established visual convention. The ballads demonstrate agreement with one another in terms of how they are illustrated, but due to a lack of source material we will never know the details of how printers came to the decision to use only some images and not others.

Scold detailed the challenges a husband faced if married to a shrewish wife. In early modern England the scold, or shrew, was a contradictory figure who represented the two opposite extremes of negative aspects of feminine behavior. On the one hand, the scold was the personification of feminine disorder manifest in her tendency to gossip, nag, and her unchecked female sexuality. On the other hand, the scold was also frequently portrayed engaged in proscribed “masculine” behavior such as a drive to claim the family wages (control the household economy), drunkenness, an aggressive sex drive, and a tendency towards physical violence. At both extremes, the scold’s behavior was threatening because she usurped the man’s dominant position as head of the family and, by extension, overturned the social and political order.¹⁵⁸

The shrew and her male counter-part, the hen-pecked husband, represented a comic inversion of the “natural” order that was meant to amuse and entertain. The inverted domestic order represented in scold ballads was very much in line with inversions typical of early modern popular culture such as topsy-turvey days, *charivari*, Skimmington, and boy-bishop rituals.¹⁵⁹ The comic element is found in the exaggeration of characters such as the scold, and in the audience’s recognition of the temporary quality of the world overturned. Although scold ballads depict the power balance in a marriage turned on its head, at the end the audience is fully aware that the social order is

¹⁵⁸ Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*, chap. 6; Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia M. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), chap. 1.

¹⁵⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford University Press, 1975), chap. 4–5; Martin Ingram, “Ridings, Rough Music and the ‘Reform of Popular Culture’ in Early Modern England,” *Past and Present* 105, no. 1 (1984): 79–113; E. P. Thompson, “Rough Music,” in *Customs in Common* (New York: New Press, 1993).

still intact. As Wiltenburg explains, “laughter at the overturned ideal can leave the ideal itself intact, or even reinforce the ideal by ridiculing deviance”¹⁶⁰

Scolds were not just comic characters in ballads and plays of sixteenth and seventeenth century England. The term “scold” was also a legal definition of female behavior that was punishable in a court of law. However, there is a noticeable difference between representations of scolds in ballads and the legal definition of scolds in early modern England. Martin Ingram and Laura Gowing have demonstrated that women were prosecuted as scolds after gaining the reputation as a neighborhood nuisance who disturbed the general peace.¹⁶¹ In ballads, a scold’s offending behavior is generally constrained within the bounds of her marriage and directed specifically against her husband. Although hen-pecked ballad husbands occasionally complain that their scolding wives venture too frequently into ale houses, the primary litany of complaints relates specifically to the economy of the household and the private relationship between husband and wife. Thus, compared to the legal definition of scold, which was primarily concerned with a woman’s unruly behavior as it affected the community at large, ballad representations of scolds provided a voyeuristic view of how women’s uncontrolled behavior disrupted the social and sexual dynamics in marriage.

Scold ballads were illustrated with single-scene woodcuts that were variations on a single theme: the graphic visualization of a scold threatening or beating her husband with a ladle. The ladle was a representation of a wife’s domestic tools and frequently

¹⁶⁰ Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*, 108.

¹⁶¹ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 50.

featured as a scold's weapon of choice. This visual trope can be seen on ballads as early as 1629 and as late as the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁶²

Figures 43-45 show variations on the common theme of a scold beating her husband:



Figure 43: Excerpt from *The Merry Cuckold* (London: the assignes of Thomas Symcock, 1629).



Figure 44: Excerpt from *She is Bound But Wont Obey* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674).



Figure 45: Excerpt from *My Wife Will be My Master* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1679).

¹⁶² Anon, *The Merry Cuckold Who Frolickly Taking What Chance Doth Befall, Is Very Well Pleased with Wife, Hornes and All; She Is Bound but Won't Obey; or, The Married Man's Complaint in Choosing a Wife* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674); Anon, *My Wife Will Be My Master. Or, The Married-Man's Complaint Against His Unruly Wife* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, and I. Clark, 1674), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+E+25%2868%29&id=24546.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

The theme of the woman beating her husband was popular enough that an updated version of the block was recommissioned in the late seventeenth century and appeared on the ballad *The Scolding Wife, or the Poor Man's Lamentation of His Bad Market in Chosing Him a Wife* (1689) (Fig. 46, below).

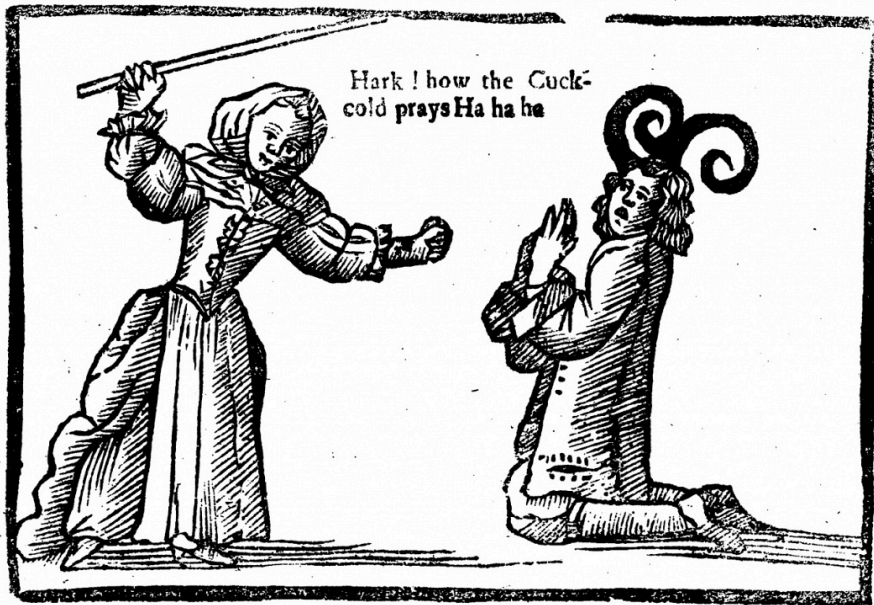


Figure 46: Excerpt from: *The Scolding Wife, or, The Poor Mans Lamentation of His Bad Market in His Chusing Him a Wife*. (London: Printed for A. Milbourn in Green-Arbour-Court in the Little Old-Baily, 1689).

Figure 45 (above) is a good example of an image that was used over many decades. It was excerpted from a 1679 edition of the ballad *My Wife Will Be My Master*, and one can easily see signs of wear on the impression such as worm-eaten holes and small fissures in the wood, which show up as cracks in the black sections of the impression. One of the earliest extant printings of this image was on *Rock the Cradle John* (1635) by Lawrence Price and printed by E. Blackmore (Fig. 5, below).¹⁶³ *Rock the Cradle John* is a lamentation ballad in which a cuckolded husband complains about having to

¹⁶³ L[aurence] P[rice], [*Rock the Cradle John: Or, Children After the Rate of 24 in a Yeare, Thats 2 Euery Month as Plaine Doth Appeare, Let No Man at This Strang Story Wonder. It Goes to the Tune, of Ouer and Vnder* (London: E.B[lackmore], 1635), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20190/image>.

raise the progeny of his wife's extra marital affairs. Originally the image included the cuckold's horns, and this particular woodcut served dual purposes of representing both scolding wives and cuckolded husbands for several decades.¹⁶⁴ Once the image was established in the early part of the century, it continued to be re-used in similar contexts, such as the later printings of *My Wife Will Be My Master*, in order to indicate that the ballad it was printed on contained a story of a scold and/or a cuckolded husband.



Figure 47: Excerpt from *Rock the Cradle John* (London: printed for E. B[lackmore], 1635).

A second, somewhat less commonly used, representation of a scold provides a visualization of a husband and wife battling over a pair of pants as a metaphor for their struggle over control of the marriage.¹⁶⁵ In figure 48 (below), the scold is shown on one side of the image wielding a ladle. Her hair is unbound and falls loosely about her body

¹⁶⁴In ballads, scolding wives and cuckolded husbands often went hand in hand. Variations of this woodcut were used on the following ballads: Anon, *A Cuckold by Consent: Or, The Frolick Miller That Intic'd a Maid* (London: J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1681), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21788/citation>; Anon, *My Wife Will Be My Master. Or, The Married-Man's Complaint Against His Unruly Wife*; Anon, *My Wife Will Be My Master: Or, The Married-Mans Complaint Again[st His Unruly Wife]* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger, 1678), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21807/image>.

¹⁶⁵Anon, *The Jolly Widdower: OR, A Warning for BATCHELORS. Lest They Marry with a Shrow, and so Become Impatient Under the Pain and Punishment of a Hornified Head-piece*. (London: I. Blare, n.d.), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21766/image>; Anon, *The Married Mans Complaint Who Took a Shrow Instead of a Saint*. (London: R. Burton, 1641), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Douce+Ballads+2%28150a%29&id=15310.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

to further emphasize her disorderly status.¹⁶⁶ On the other side, the husband prepares to strike his wife with a cudgel or rod, commonly used to represent a husband's right to correct his wife's behavior with violence if necessary.¹⁶⁷ One of the more interesting elements of this image is that there is no clear victor in the tussle, the pants are at the literal center of the image and the husband and wife are evenly matched; both are armed with their weapon of choice and even their bodies appear to be roughly the same height and size. Although the scold is depicted in a more unruly state, and of course over steps her bounds by even trying to take control of the breeches, it is not entire clear who will be the victor.

¹⁶⁶ In her dissertation, Mary Kovel explains that haircuts, hairstyles, and hair length were the subject of several polemical treatises about decorum and behavior published in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. In this period, attitudes towards appropriate hair styles for women were grounded in two early Christian writings: I Corinthians 11:2-16 and Tertullian's "The Veiling of Virgins." According to Paul, a woman's hair was both her God-given glory and a sign of man's authority over women. Wile Tertullian argued fro the need for virgins (and in later centuries often extended to all women), to cover their hair because it represented a woman's pride, vanity, sexuality, and other natural appetites. Hence, the scold's uncovered, unbound hair reflects her rejection of Christian strictures and emphasized the rebellious nature of her actions. Mary Kovel, "(Be)heading the English Nation, 1560-1660" (PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 2012); Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Veils, Virgins and the Tongues of Men and Angels: Women's Heads in Early Christianity.," in *Off With Her Head!: The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (University of California Press, 1995), 131–164.

¹⁶⁷ In a reconsideration of the history of marital violence Elizabeth Foyster points out that wife-beating was regularly condemned by preachers, ministers, and justices from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. However, "the belief that husbands could legitimately use physical force to correct their wives continued to have a place in popular culture." Visually, the rod was a symbol of the husband's right to correct his wife. Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1875* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39.



Figure 48: Excerpt from *The Jolly Widdower* (London: I. Blare, 1664-1703).



Figure 49: Excerpt from *The Married Man's Complaint*, (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1641).

The image in fig. 49 is less ambiguous. The demonic presence over the wife's shoulder and her abandonment of her child, casts her in a negative light. Further, in the marital tug of war, the pants shift subtly towards the husband, indicating that he has won this game of marital tug of war.

The image in figure 48 reflects a gender tension central to scold ballads in early modern England. Ballads such as this exposed marital tension in general, and uppity wives in particular, as simultaneously normative and deviant. The narrators in most scold ballads position themselves as experienced husbands warning young bachelors not to follow in their shoes. *Poor Anthony's Complaint* expresses the notion that any (and all) wives could become scolds. Anthony opens the ballad with the warning that “marriage often breedeth strife,” and closes with the advice: “the married life is full of strife/ and

full of horns I fear it; then prithe do no take a wife/ but take a glass of claret.”¹⁶⁸ Like other scold ballads, the remaining stanzas describe the various ways in which Anthony’s wife has displaced him from the head of household and asserted her physical, economic, and sexual dominance over him. In so doing, scold ballads legitimated male anxiety about rebellious wives and reinforced men’s need to maintain and enforce strict gender hierarchies in which men were dominant and women, subservient.

While for the most part it appears that scold imagery was a visual manifestation of popular cultural ideas about scolds, in at least one case scold woodcuts also appear to have derived from contemporary visual sources. The woodcut in figure 44 (above), that depicts a wife threatening her kneeling husband while under a large tree, was used in at least three late seventeenth century ballads: *Poor Anthony’s Complaint* (1662), *The Cuckolds Lamentation of a Bad Wife* (1670), and *She is Bound but Wont Obey* (1674).¹⁶⁹ Although this was not the most common image of a scold, it is important to note that it shares many similarities with an illustration on the frontispiece of John Taylor’s *Divers Crabtree Lectures* (1639), making a connection between the visual representation of scolds in multiple forms of early modern literature.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Anon, *Poor Anthony’s Complaint and Lamentation Against His Miseries of Marriage* (London: J. Conyers, 1662), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31889/image>.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.; Anon, *The Cuckold’s Lamentation of a Bad Wife. He Is Tormented, and She Tanns His Hide, He Knows Not How to Live, nor Where to Abide; Besides She Makes Him for to Wear the Horn, and He Wishes That He Never Had Been Born* (London: P. Brooksby, 1670); *She Is Bound but Won’t Obey; or, The Married Man’s Complaint in Choosing a Wife*. It is possible that this woodcut was used in early ballads, but we have no extant evidence.

¹⁷⁰ John Taylor, *Divers Crabtree Lectures Expressing the Severall Languages That Shrewes Read to Their Husbands, Either at Morning, Noone, or Night. With a Pleasant Relation of a Shrewes Munday, and Shrewes Tuesday, and Why They Were so Called. Also a Lecture Betweene a Pedler and His Wife in the Canting Language. With a New Tricke to Tame a Shrew*. (London: I. Okes, for Iohn Sweeting, 1639), http://eebo.chadwyck.com/oca.ucsc.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99848256&FILE=../session/1345069687_19433&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.

Diverse Crabtree Lectures is presented as a lively dialogue regarding the ‘woman question’ and focusing on the unnaturalness of disorderly women and domineering wives.

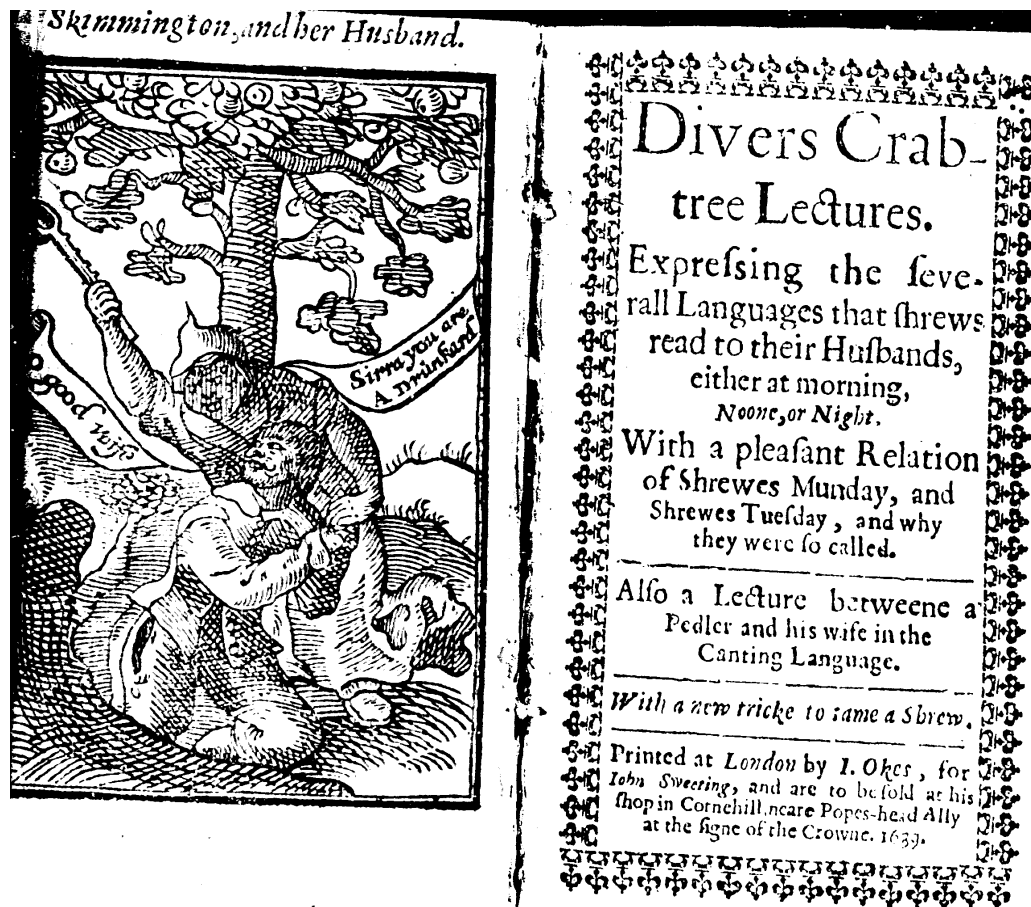


Figure 50: The Frontispiece of John Taylors *Diverse Crabtree Lectures* (London: By I. Okes, for Iohn Sweeting, 1639).

The book illustration is better composed and better carved than the ballad image. The lines and detail are finer, and the carver used crosshatching to create shading and give the images a sense of depth. In comparison, the ballad image is very flat, with little depth or detail, and crude line and shading techniques. Nonetheless, details such as the figures in the composition, the setting under a crabapple tree, the clothing, and the text bubble attached to the husband, in both cases exclaiming “O! Good Wife!” demonstrate that these images were related. In this case, the link between the fronticepiece of *Diverse*

Crabtree Lectures and ballad woodcuts shows that woodcarvers relied on other forms of circulating visual culture when designing woodcuts for ballads. That similar illustrations were used on multiple texts about scolds serves to strengthen the link between image and text. Used and re-used between chapbooks and ballads, the recycling of this image to accompany similar texts only serves to strengthen its ability to stand as a visual marker for a story about a scold.

Ballad illustrators did not only rely on single woodcuts as markers of scold ballads, in some cases they used a combination of images, but did so consistently over several editions, in order to create a visual brand. *My Wife Will Be My Master* provides a useful case study because it visually linking scold and cuckold and demonstrates the faithfulness of some printers towards specific images on ballads through multiple editions.

This ballad contains three woodcuts that were established in the first edition and faithfully reproduced in two subsequent editions printed several years later. What is significant for this study is that over three separate print runs the printers or publishers took enough care to reattach the same images in the same order to the same ballad text. Illustrating the ballad are a large woodcut of the woman threatening the man with a stick over the first two columns; a smaller image of a man balancing atop a globe with a text bubble over the third column; and a final small image of a woman in a mantua and topknot standing under a pillared archway over the fourth column. The first edition was printed between 1674 and 1679 for F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, and I. Clark. A second edition was printed for the same publishers around the same time but with one noticeable difference: in one version the text bubble attached to the second image reads, “Believe me Jone, &c” and in the other version the text bubble reads, “My Wife is my

&c.” A third edition was printed between 1678-1680 for F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger, and in this edition the text bubble is empty.¹⁷¹

All three ballads use the same woodcuts in exactly the same positions as originally established on the first printing. We know that there are three different editions because we can distinguish between the editions by examining wormholes present on the imprints, the changing publishers named, and the changed text bubble on the second woodcut.¹⁷²

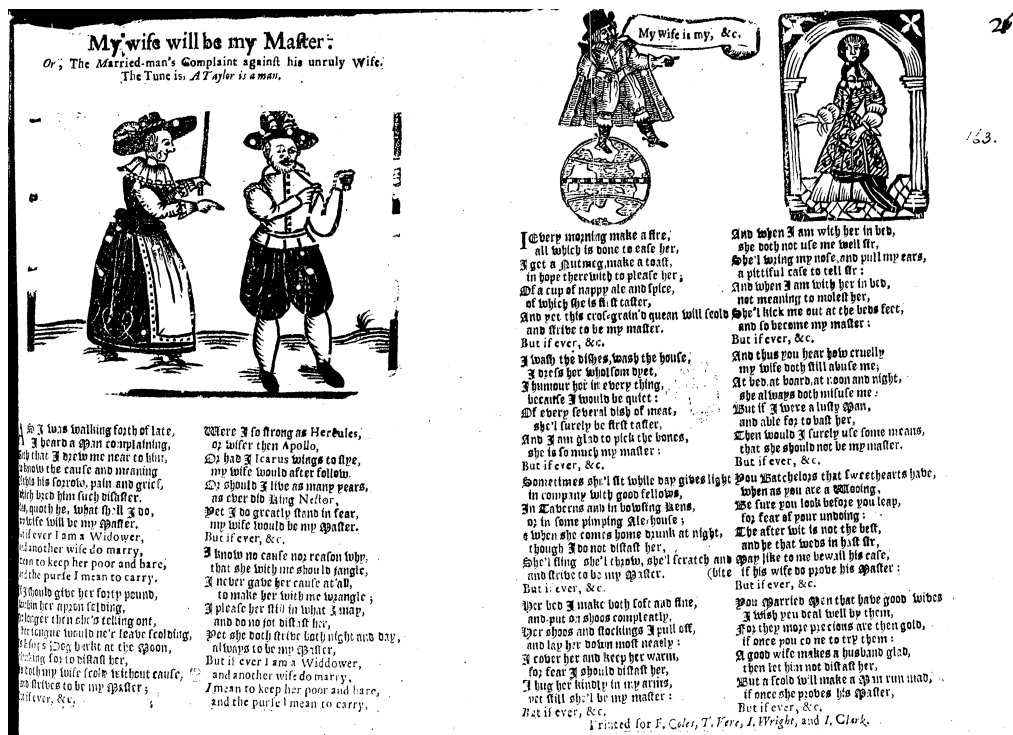


Figure 51: *My Wife Will Be My Master* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, I. Clark, 1679) ESTC R235673. In a second edition by these publishers, the text bubble reads, “Believe me Jone, &c. In the third edition published by Coles, Vere, Wright, Clark, Thackeray, and Passenger, the text bubble is empty.

¹⁷¹ Anon, *My Wife Will Be My Master. Or, The Married-Man’s Complaint Against His Unruly Wife*; Anon, *My Wife Will Be My Master*. In the ESTC there are two separate reference numbers for the version with the text bubble “My Wife is my, &c.” R214291; and “Believe me Jone” R235673, although they are not differentiated in the Wing catalog. There was also a white letter version of this ballad anonymously published in 1690 with no woodcuts attached.
¹⁷² Based on the increase in wormholes between the first and third edition I would assume that the first edition was likely printed closer to 1674 and the third edition printed closer to 1680.

This kind of visual continuity helped mark or brand this particular ballad. In the case of *My Wife Will Be My Master*, the combination and position of the three woodcuts were unique and specific to this particular text.¹⁷³ At first glance, a consumer might correctly assume that this ballad is about a scold, as indicted from the woodcut of the woman threatening her husband with a rod. Going further, if a consumer had been familiar with this ballad previously, upon viewing it for the second time at a later date, they could reliably connect the images to the ballad title. It is not so much that an illiterate reader could determine what the ballad was about exactly, but this particular image combination was only attached to this particular ballad, and that could help someone distinguish this one from others.

When scold ballads are considered in isolation, one might draw the conclusion that the images illustrated the attached text in a very general fashion. However, when we begin to compare scold ballads across several decades and produced by different printers, it becomes clear that they share iconography with other scold, and sometimes cuckold, ballads. For ballad consumers, printer's use of reliable scold imagery on scold ballads meant it was easy to identify them from other ballad types. In some cases, such as *My Wife Will Be My Master*, the unique arrangement of images maintained across several editions could have helped consumers identify that ballad specifically. The regular use of scold imagery on scold ballads also demonstrates an established consensus regarding illustration on the part of ballad publishers. Even though ballad publishers were often in competition with one another for sales, for some ballad types, familiarity and product recognition was desirable in the ballad market because it facilitated identification.

¹⁷³ In the course of my research I could not find another ballad that used these same three woodcuts in the same combination.

“The Delights of a Cuckold that doeth not repine/ Is his bags full of gold and his Cellar of wine” – Cuckold Ballads

Like scold ballads, cuckold ballads were also visibly branded. But while scold ballads developed a consistent iconography early in the 1600s that was used throughout the century, the woodcuts used to represent cuckold ballads varied a bit in the 1600-40 period before images were standardized in mid-to-late seventeenth century. Looking at cuckold ballads printed across that century, we can see how ballad printers at first used a variety of images to illustrate cuckold ballads, but at a certain point in the mid-century fell into an agreement in which horns would become the primary identifier. As with scold ballads, the trend over time was for publishers to reach a consensus in regards to familiar and consistent illustration on cuckold ballads, rather than for each publisher to develop their own unique brand for their ballads. This is significant because it suggests that the ballad market valued familiarity with products over an emphasis on the unique or novel.

Cuckolds, cuckolding, and cuckoldry are a small but visible presence in collections of extant seventeenth century ballads.¹⁷⁴ Like scold ballads, cuckold ballads were popular comic ballads about domestic disorder. In many ways, the cuckold ballad is the counterpart to the scold ballad. At the heart of the scold's topsy-turvy marriage was her domination of her husband and the household, both physically and economically. A

¹⁷⁴ Of course, one needs to bear in mind the role of the collector in deciding which ballads to keep. Although these numbers represent the extant ballads in the following collections, they cannot be assumed to be representative for all published ballads on the actual ballad market. In the Roxburghe Ballad collection cuckold ballads totaled 16 out of 1273, or about 1.26%. In the Bagford collection, cuckold ballads accounted for 4 out of 397 or about 1%. There were no cuckold ballads in the 282 ballads in Luttrell volume II parts I and II (the parts of the collection within my given time frame). All in all, I am dealing with about 28 total cuckold ballads in this section.

scold's adultery, particularly adultery that could bring more financial resources than the husband's labor, was the ultimate reversal of the marriage order.

On the whole, cuckold ballads express the husband's frustration at his loss of status as sexual and economic head of his household, as in the case of *The Cuckold's Lamentation*.¹⁷⁵ However, the cuckold's dissatisfaction is often met with a grudging acceptance of the inevitability of his displacement from the marriage bed, "The married life is full of strife/and full of Horns I hear it."¹⁷⁶ In some cases, the cuckold sings of his willing acceptance of his new status as in *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold*: "Then let me advise all those that are wed/ with patience to bear it if their wives horn their head/ a jealous young Coxcomb shall scarce be forgiven/ but a Cuckold Contented goes sure to Heaven."¹⁷⁷

Unlike other moralizing ballads, cuckold ballads do not focus on the sinfulness of the wife's adultery, but on the diminished status and failed masculinity of the husband.¹⁷⁸ As with scold ballads, cuckold ballads reflected a general seventeenth century anxiety regarding a social order potential turned upside down. Many scholars have seen the masculine inadequacies of the cuckold as an expression of anxiety in Tudor England regarding inverted relationships of power in which the patriarchal family is a microcosm for the patriarchal state, and society at large.¹⁷⁹ Laura Gowing draws a more explicit

¹⁷⁵ Anon, *The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife*.

¹⁷⁶ Anon, *Poor Anthony's Complaint and Lamentation Against His Miseries of Marriage*, Wing (CD-ROM, 1996), P2860A .

¹⁷⁷ *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674), Wing (CD-ROM, 1996), R1366.

¹⁷⁸ David M. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex, and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83.

¹⁷⁹ Martin Ingram, E. P. Thompson, David Underdown, and David Turner have extensively documented Skimmingtons targeted at unfaithful wives and their cuckolded husbands as a way communities attempted to regulate such "deviant" sexual behavior. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*; Thompson, "Rough Music"; David Underdown, *Revel,*

connection between cuckolds and anxiety surrounding questionable paternity, which she reads as a reflection of a crisis in patriarchy that occurred in the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁰ Claire McEachern adds that the cuckold provides a comic scapegoat in which the horned husband reflected “a form of anxiety, or at least uncertainty,” regarding knowledge of one’s salvation in post-Reformation England.¹⁸¹

The comic element of cuckold ballads derived from two points. First, the audience’s mockery of the cuckold that served to form a consensus in opposition to the new cuckold-world-order (in which the women was on top), and in support of the traditional patriarchy/monarchy. Second, any anxiety regarding a world turned upside down, such as the cuckold’s, was easily assuaged by the reminder that the inverted world was the world of the ballad, and at the ballad’s end the traditional world was restored.

It is important to recognize that though the general message of cuckold ballads mocked the horned husband and his loss of power, the ballads also carry a secondary message regarding the universality or inevitability of the cuckolded state. Thus, though generally derisive, they also to some extent normalize contests for power within both marriage and extra-marital relations.

Cuckold ballads were most commonly printed with one of two symbols: birds, often meant to represent a cuckoo, or horns, either displayed on a public edifice or sprouting from a man’s forehead. Both the cuckoo and the horns were widely understood as symbols of a cuckold in early modern England, although each symbol has distinct origins. The association of a cuckold with horns appears to be continental in

Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*.

¹⁸⁰ Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 177.

¹⁸¹ Claire McEachern, “Why Do Cuckolds Have Horns?,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (December 2008): 611.

origin. The “capon theory” argues that the German word for cuckold, *hahnrei*, derives from the practice of removing a capon’s comb, cutting a leg spur and then affixing it to the head where the former comb lay. The spur would graft onto the capon and visibly mark the bird as a castrated male. The “billy goat theory” seems to come from the Mediterranean and connects the cuckold’s horns with a mock virility of the billy goat. Although it is unclear exactly how these visual associations with cuckolds traveled to England, by the sixteenth century the horned cuckold has become a well-known figure in literature, theater, popular prints, and festive rituals such as Skimmingtons.¹⁸² But we also see in early modern England, visual and verbal associations between the cuckold and the cuckoo bird. Marie Bonaparte has argued that this is because, “the cuckoo, once associated with extreme masculinity because it was believed to impregnate the females of other bird species, came to be assigned rather the opposite role of betrayed husband.”¹⁸³ Until the mid-seventeenth century, cuckold ballads made ample use of visual references to horns, birds, and cuckoos.

The earliest cuckold ballads are illustrated with birds, horned men, or a series of woodcuts that were also used on scold ballads. *The Cuckowes Condemnation, or the Cuckold’s Credit*, written by G. Purslowe and printed for Mr. R in 1625 includes three medium woodcuts: one of two men meeting one another, another of a city scene, and a third of a

¹⁸²For a brief account of the use of horns to mark cuckolds in England, see: John Brand, Sir Henry Ellis, and William Carew Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain: Faiths and Folklore; a Dictionary of National Beliefs, Superstitions and Popular Customs, Past and Current, with Their Classical and Foreign Analogues Described and Illustrated*, vol. 2 (London: Reeves and Turner, 1905), 551–552.

¹⁸³For more information on these theories please see: Robert Bates Graber and Gregory C. Richter, “The Capon Theory of the Cuckold’s Horns: Confirmation or Conjecture?,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 100, no. 395 (March 1987): footnote 3. Graber and Richter generally reject all of them.

large bird meant to be the cuckoo/cuckold.¹⁸⁴ In 1628, the assigns of Thomas Symcock printed *The Merry Cuckold Who Frolickingly Taking What Chance doth Befall* which also incorporated three woodcuts.¹⁸⁵ Two impressions of finely dressed figures are placed over the third and fourth columns. The third image depicts a scene that would be used repeatedly in connection with both scold and cuckold ballads: a woman chasing her husband while brandishing a ladle. *Take Time While 'Tis Offered*, printed for Richard Harper, appeared in 1634 and utilized only one illustration (Fig. 52). The woodcut depicts a woman dressed in sixteenth or even fifteenth century clothing with a set of keys around her waist, and a man sporting a pair of donkey ears.¹⁸⁶ In this image, the keys represent the keys to the household and thus her control over the relationship and the home, while the donkey ears pin the man for a fool. Although images of a donkey-eared man appeared on ballads as a general representation of a fool, when combined with an image of a scolding wife, the two woodcuts became a marker of a cuckold ballad, as seen on *Poor Anthony's Complaint* printed for J. Conyers (1662-88) and two version of the *Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife* (1672-96), both printed for P. Brooksby.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Anon, *The Cuckowes Comendation: Or, the Cuckold Credit: Being a Merry Maying Song in Praise of the Cuckow. To [t]he Tune of the Button'd Smocke* (London: Printed [by G. Purslowe] for Mr. R, 1625), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20191/image>.

¹⁸⁵ Anon, *The Merry Cuckold Who Frolickly Taking What Chance Doth Befall, Is Very Well Pleased with Wife, Hornes and All*.

¹⁸⁶ P[arker] M[artin], *Take Time While 'Tis Offerd. For Tom Has Broke His Word with His Sweeting, and Lost a Good Wife for an Houres Meeting, Another Good-Fellow Has Gotten the Lasse, and Tom May Go Shake His Long Eares Like an Asse. To the Tune of Within the North Country* (London: Richard Harper, 1634).

¹⁸⁷ Anon, *Poor Anthony's Complaint and Lamentation Against His Miseries of Marriage*; Anon, *The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife*.



Figure 52: Excerpt from *Take Time While Tis Offered* (London: Printed for Richard Harper, 1634).



Figure 53: Excerpt from *Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife* (London: P. Brooksby, 1672-96). This image shows an updated version of the illustration used on *Take Time While Tis Offered*. Although not an exact duplicate, the printer has again combined the images of the scold and the donkey-eared man on a cuckold ballad.

By the mid-seventeenth century, cuckold ballads could be found with illustrations that depicted culturally known symbols for cuckolds, but there was still much variety amongst such ballad illustrations.

A major change occurred in cuckold ballad illustration following the publication of *Cuckold's Haven* in 1638 (Fig. 54), written by M. Parsons and published for Francis

Grove.¹⁸⁸ The ballad describes a husband's frustration with his sexually meandering wife, despite his best attempts to lock her up and to keep her away from other men. This ballad is illustrated with two medium cuts of men over the left columns, and one large woodcut of a cuckolding scene on the right. The large woodcut prominently features the horn motif: antlers are posted on a sign post outside of the home as a public marker of the cuckolding wife, and the man's face leaning out of the second story window features two goat-style horns sprouting from his forehead.

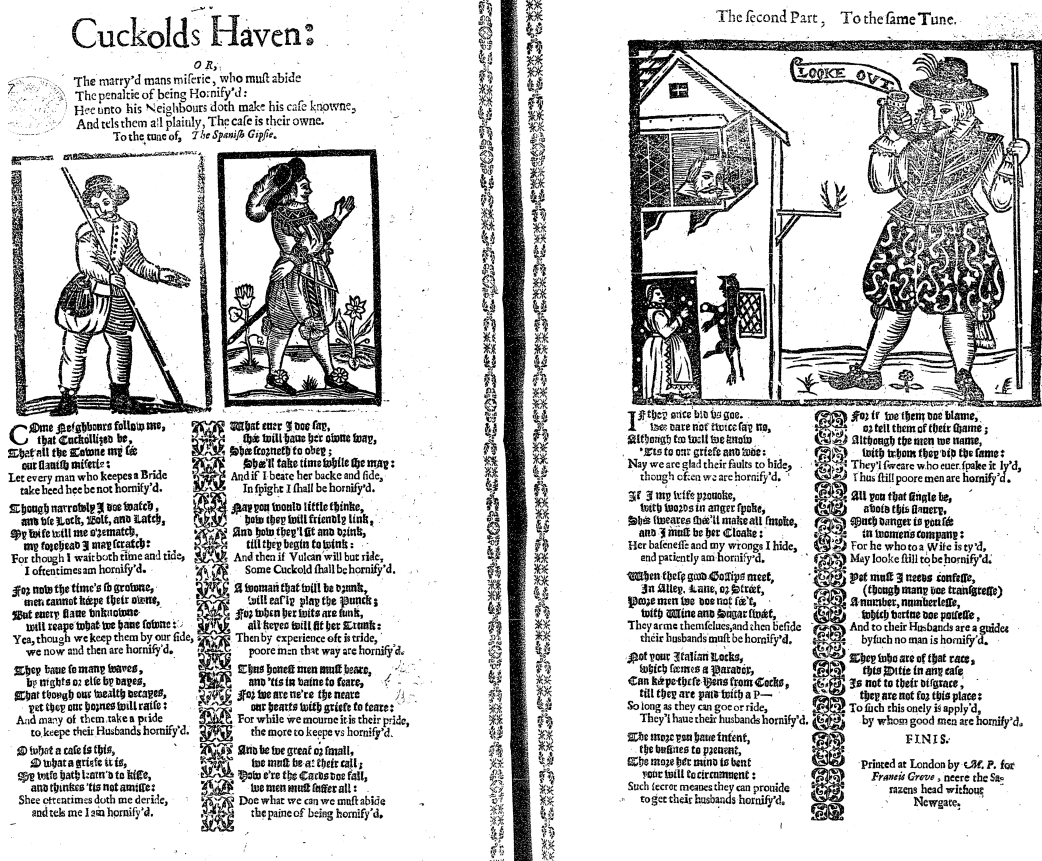


Figure 54: *Cuckold's Haven* (London: by M. Parsons for F. Grove, 1638).

¹⁸⁸ Anon, *Cuckolds Haven*.

In the decades following the publication of *Cuckolds Haven*, use of the cuckoo on cuckold ballads disappeared and the horned cuckold became the standard marker of such ballads. From 1660 onward, all major ballad publishers printed cuckold ballads almost exclusively with images of horned or horned men.¹⁸⁹ There were three common types of images: the standing full-frontal cuckold with two curved horns over his head (Fig. 55),¹⁹⁰ a cuckold taken from a larger composite first seen on the ballad *How the Devil Though Subtle Was Guld by a Scold* which carries with it the connection between cuckolding

¹⁸⁹We have no extant cuckold ballads that we can determine were printed in the 1640-60 period of the civil wars and Interregnum, a time when licensing and censorship lapsed completely. More reliable records are available from the Restoration and beyond. Listed are some examples of cuckold ballads printed by the major Restoration ballad printers and illustrated with horns (in alphabetical order by publisher(s)): Anon, *The London Cuckold* (London: J[ohn]. Back, 1688); Anon, *The Penitent Gallant, Being, An Account of a Gentleman Who Lay Condemn'd for the Murther of His Friend, and Pretended He Could Not Dye till He Had Eas'd His Con-science, in Sending for Thirteen Men, to Beg Their Pardons, Whom He Had Cuckolded at Branford.* (London: C. Bates, 1690), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21802/image>; Anon, *Father a Child That's None of My Own* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, near the Hospital-gate, in West-smithfield, 1672), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Douce+Ballads+1%2877a%29&id=15165.gif&seq=1&size=1>; Anon, *The Dyers Destiny*; Anon, *The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife*; Anon, *The Jealous Old Dotard: Or, The Discovery of Cuckoldry* (London: P[hilip]. Brooksby, 1680); Anon, *Poor Anthony's Complaint and Lamentation Against His Miseries of Marriage*; Anon, *The Ingenious Braggadocia; Who Thinks to Obliege by Boasting of His Large Possessions* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, & T. Passenger, 1678); Anon, *The Bulls Feather; Being the Good-Fellows Song, Usually Sung at Their Merry-Meeting in Bulls Feather-Hall, Who Sent This Song to Their Brethren, (of What Degree or Quality) in Praise of the Bulls Feather. And to All Merry Cuckolds Who Think It No Scorn, to Wear the Bulls Feather, Though Made of a Horn. To a Very Pleasant New Tune* (London: F[rancis]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, J[ohn]. Wright, and J[ohn]. Clarke, 1674); *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied.*

¹⁹⁰ Anon, *The Ingenious Braggadocia; Who Thinks to Obliege by Boasting of His Large Possessions*; Anon, *The Jealous Old Dotard*; Abraham Miles, *Mirth for Citizens: Or, A Comedy for the Country* (London: Jo. Wright, J. Clarke W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1681), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21781/image>; Anon, *The Wanton Vintner, and the Subtile Damosel* (London: Josiah Blare, 1683); Anon, *The Scolding Wives Vindication: Or, An Answer to the Cuckold's Complaint* (London: P[hilip]. Brooksby, J[onah]. Deacon, J[osiah]. Blare, J[ohn]. Back, 1683); Anon, *The Penitent Gallant, Being, An Account of a Gentleman Who Lay Condemn'd for the Murther of His Friend, and Pretended He Could Not Dye till He Had Eas'd His Con-science, in Sending for Thirteen Men, to Beg Their Pardons, Whom He Had Cuckolded at Branford.*

and scold ballads (Fig. 56 and 57),¹⁹¹ and an image that appears in the 1680s of the *Contented Cuckold* (Fig. 58).¹⁹²



Figure 55: A “standing cuckold” from *The Ingenious Braggadocia*. (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, & T. Passenger, 1678-80).



Figure 56: Excerpt from *A Pleasant New Ballad You Here By Behold, How the Devill, Though Subtle, Was Guld By a Scold* (London: For Henry Gosson dwelling upon London-Bridge neare to the Gate, 1635).

¹⁹¹ Anon, *A Pleasant New Ballad You Here May Behold, How the Devill, Though Subtle, Was Guld by a Scold*; Anon, *The Crafty Miss, or, an Excise-Man Well Fitted. Being a True Relation of an Excise-Man, Who Lately in the County of Kent, Had Received the Sum of Fourscore Pounds, and Lighting into the Company of a Crafty Miss, Who Gave Him the Chouse for It All; and Riding Away with Hi Gelding, Left in the Stead a Mare Which She Had Stole; for Which Mare He Was Arraigned, and Narrowly Escaped the Severe Penalty of the Law* (London: I. Deacon, 1671), *The Crafty Miss, or, an Excise-Man Well Fitted*; Anon, *The Bulls Feather; The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied*.

¹⁹² *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied*.



Figure 57: Excerpt from *The Bulls Feather* (Printed for F[ranciscus]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, J[ohn]. Wright, and J[ohn]. Clarke, 1674).

Figure 56 was originally used on a ballad about a husband who sold his shrewish wife to the Devil, but she proved to be more than even the Devil was willing to tolerate. Following the publication of *How the Devil Though Subtle Was Guld By a Scold*, the block was split in half and the image of the man and women were used separately. Figure 57 shows a variation in which horns have been added to the image of the husband. Using this image on scold and cuckold ballads reaffirms the link between the two types.

The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied.

Plenty of Cuckolds now, why? that's no News,
They Christians are, or else your Fathers Jews;
But yet amongst them all, there's none that thrives,
But those that give free Licenſe to their Wives
Tune is, *The Delights of the Bottle.*

To trade with whom they please, the jealous Man
Must still a Cuckold be, do what he can:
And never live to see a happy day,
But waste with jealousie, and pine away.



The delights of a Cuckold that doth not repine,
Is his house full of gold, and his Celler of wine,
He all enjoys, and nothing can want,
But with his wives friends he may rebel and rant:
A churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.
My wife she doth love me, I know't very well,
For I am not abam'd all my neighbours to tell,
For a strange alteration in my living I find,
I may thank my fine wife, & her friends that are kind,
Whilt jealous I had, I was then full of woe,
And about to be drownd: I was forced to go,
But now I am content, I have a little more.

But I of my folly did quickly repent:
A churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.
Fine Gallants each day were betrouns to know me,
I wonder why they for such kindness should owe me:
Then home along with me these Gallants must go,
And there make me drunk for a trick that I know:
But a churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.
When once to the house I had shew'd them the way,
I had force of their companies every day,
And I being quiet my wife she grew kind,
And under the Cambrick cloth I could find:
But a churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.

Then let me advise all those that are wed,
With patience to bear it if their wives horns their head
A jealous young Cuckold shall scarce be content,
But a Cuckold contented goes sure to Heaven:
But a churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.
A Deacon on earth we do not yet see,
And another when death shall our bodies destroy,
There's none that such happiness ever could find,
As we who are ever contented in mind:
But a churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor,
Whilt we that are willing shall tumble in store.
With Permission, By R. L'Estrange.

F I N I S .

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke.

Figure 58. *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674-1679). The woodcut on the left was based on a larger French engraving entitled "Le Carnard Content." The woodcut on the right demonstrates another re-use of the image from figs. 56 and 57 in conjunction with a cuckold ballad.

Most ballad customers purchasing or selecting a ballad in the years following the Restoration could reliably count on the above images as indicators of a cuckold ballad.¹⁹³

The image of horns also became increasingly common in the seventeenth century as a symbolic representation of a gathering of cuckolds. This occurs in a number of chapbooks describing a call to such a gathering, or to the Horn-Fair, and in *The Penitent Gallant* (C. Bates, between 1690-1702).¹⁹⁴ *The Penitent Gallant* combines a murderer's last confession with a humorous cuckold ballad. In this story, the gallant is on the eve of his execution and feels compelled to clear his conscience. In doing so, he describes his exploits with the wives of thirteen different men. In the middle of the illustrations is a very wormy imprint of the standing cuckold, and to the far left a pole with a multitude of horns tied to it. The horns taken from different creatures indicates that cuckolds, like horns, come in many shapes and sizes and, although seemingly different, they can be visually grouped together.

¹⁹³ In some cases, cuckold and scold imagery were combined (see Fig. 14). In those cases, the ballads tended to also textually equate scolding wives with cuckolding husbands.

¹⁹⁴ The idea of the "horn fair" spread widely, even though it had no basis in fact. David Turner quotes from Dutch traveler William Schelinks diary, a visit to a spot on the Thames near Deptford that was allegedly the site of a Horn Fair, of which he wrote "a tall flagpole stands there to which horns of all kinds and description are fixed, in honour of all the English cuckolds and horn carriers." Anon., *A General Summons for Those Belonging to the Hen-Peck'd Frigate, to Appear at Cuckolds-point, on the 18th. of This Instant October.*, Early English Books Online ([London] : Printed for J[onah]. Deacon., [between 1688-1695], 1688), http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&res_dat=xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99887424; Anon., *A New Summons to Horn-Fair: To Appear at Cuckold's Point on the 18th of October, and from Thence to March to the Gravel-pits, to Dig Gravel, to Make a Path for Your Wives to Walk on to the Fair. To the Tune of The City Woman.* (London: Printed and sold by H.H., 1700), http://gateway.proquest.com/oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:200861; T. R., *Hey for Horn Fair, the General Market of England, or, Room for Cuckolds Being a Merry Progress of Nine Several Sorts of Cuckolds Here Discovered ... : Full of Mirth and Merry Discourse, Newly Presented from Horn Fair to All the Merry Good Fellows in England : to Which Is Added, The Marriage of Jockie and Jenny.* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere and J. Wright, 1674), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21792/image>; Anon., *The Penitent Gallant, Being, An Account of a Gentleman Who Lay Condemn'd for the Murther of His Friend, and Pretended He Could Not Dye till He Had Eas'd His Con-science, in Sending for Thirteen Men, to Beg Their Pardons, Whom He Had Cuckolded at Branford.*; Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 83.

In cuckold ballads we see both a willingness of printers to maintain the same illustrations between multiple editions, and a consistent use of visual markers on similarly themed ballads. Publisher Paul Brooksby, who produced two versions of *The Cuckold's Lamentation*, saw fit not just to re-use the same scold image but to acquire a newer cut of the illustration for the second edition.¹⁹⁵ We can see this clearly when we inspect the images.



Figure 59: Excerpt from: *The Cuckold's Lamentation* (London: P. Brooksby, 1670) Wing(CD-Rom, 1996/C7455).



Figure 60: *The Cuckold's Lamentation* (London: P. Brooksby, 1670?) Douce Ballads 1(41a). The ESTC lists the Douce version as a surrogate of the Wing (Fig. 59, above).

¹⁹⁵ Anon, *The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife*.

The illustrations on both editions of this ballad are nearly identical. However, when compared side by side, the impressions of the scold (right woodcut) in each version of *The Cuckold's Lamentation* were clearly two different woodcuts. In the Douce version, the husband has lost his horns and the tree has grown an extra branch. In addition, the difference in carving style and execution of lines strongly suggests two different hands carved each block. The images were important enough to Brooksby that when he issued a second edition or version of the same ballad, he did not randomly choose other images, but acquired a second version of the scold woodcut in order to attach it to the ballad and maintain visual consistency. This demonstrates that publishers were attentive to maintain consistency between both ballad theme and multiple editions of the same title.

As with scold ballads, cuckold ballads were visibly marked with cuckold-specific illustration. Looking at the development of cuckold ballad illustration over the seventeenth century we can see that though cuckold imagery varied in the early part of the century, by the mid-century publishers had come to a consensus regarding cuckold illustrations. The consistency in the relation between cuckold texts and images, even among competing printers, suggests two things. First, publishers must have been aware of earlier editions of ballads and responded to competing editions of ballads when making the choice to maintain visual standards. As with scold ballads, even in a highly competitive market, publishers tended towards consensus in illustration of cuckold ballads to maintain familiarity with the product. Second, printers consistent use of cuckold images created a text-image connection, in the form of a visual brand, that customers could rely on in order to help them identify a cuckold ballad.

“But to the Lord which rules above,/ I doe for mercy crie,/ To grant me pardon for the crime,/ for which on earth I dye.” – Crime Ballads

Like cuckold and scold ballads, crime ballads were printed with consistent iconography throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁶ With very few exceptions, these ballads were regularly printed with images of an execution and/or a scene of violence, often related to the narrative. Also, printers' regular use of genre-specific images would have made it easy for a customer to identify a crime ballad. However, crime ballads were often illustrated to do more than merely reflect ballad genre. They commonly contained illustrated elements of the ballad texts that would have enabled customers to determine some basic information regarding the narrative which included the gender of the perpetrators, the outcome of the trial, and often the nature of the crime. Illustrations on crime ballads created visual narratives that gave clues about content to first time viewers and, in the case of subsequent readings, could serve as reminders of the text to help consumers re-identify a ballad they had previously heard or read.

When illustrating crime ballads, printers frequently used woodcuts depicting an execution scene and/or a scene of violence that was related to the textual narrative. In most cases, the execution scene focused on the hanged body of the guilty person. Some woodcuts focused exclusively on that body (Fig. 61)¹⁹⁷ while others reconstructed a detailed scene of public execution (Fig. 62).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ For the most part, the only crime stories printed in ballad form were capital crimes including murder, highway robbery, piracy, and high and petty treason. Misdemeanors and moral infractions such as petty theft, public disorder, and pickpocketing, appear in ballads but not within a criminal context. Thus, a consumer purchasing a crime ballad was likely to hear a tale of violence, deviance, and execution, cast in the terms of sin, confession, and repentance.

¹⁹⁷ Anon, *The Murtherers Lamentation: Being an Account of John Jewster and William Butler, Who Were Arraign'd and Founf Guilty of the Robbery and Murther of Mrs. Jane Le-Grand; for Which They Received Due Sentence of Death, and Was Accordingly Executed on the 19th Day of This Instant July, in Spittle-Fields.* (London: J. Deacon, 1694), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20796/image>.

¹⁹⁸ Anon, *The Bloody-Minded Husband; or, The Unfortunate Wife: Giving a True Account of One William Terry of Derbyshire, Withing Two Miles of Ashbourn, Who Murder'd His Wife Jane: For Which He Receiv'd Due Sentance of Death, According to the Cruelty of His Crime. To*

T H E
Murderers Lamentation:
BEING

+ An Account of *John Jewster* and *William Butler*, who were arraign'd and found guilty of the Robbery and Murder of *Mrs. Jane Le-grand*; for which they received due Sentence of Death, and was accordingly Executed on the 19th day of this Instant *July*, in *Spittle-fields*. Tune of, *Russel's farewel*, &c.



O woe unhappy men ye are,
This sad and dismal day,
Whom no in sorrow grief, and care,
Alas, what shall we say?
The dying hearts within us bleed,
Say me up, Lord, we cry,
Tho' for a most unchristian deed,
We are condemn'd to dye.

Woe death this morning we befall,
With hearts as cold as stone;
Why did we ever cherish gold,
Which never was our own?
It has our sad distraction wrought,
And for this villainy,
Alas, we are v a justice brought,
In open shame to dye.

My name is Jewster, I confess,
That first the plot did lay,
Yet did I not the deed express,
Thee thou'd her life betray;
But Butler enter'd first the room,
To see that villainy;
And now we both receive our doom,
In open shame we dye.

I to my shame have done amiss,
Being a relation near;
Of such a horrid crime at this,
The world shall not hear;
That I with ruffian should combine
To act that villainy,
For which I must my breath refine,
In open shame we dye.

If Satan tempted us to steal;
We did contract that guilt,
And that we might the same conceal,
Her aged blood we spill;
Thus we from sin to sin did go,
In height of villainy,
And this has wrought our overthrow,
In open shame we dye.

Alas, let me do what I can,
To ease the truth I must,
I Butler was the wip man,
That stop her breath at last;
By violence I took her throat,
Of her blood villainy;
My soul on seas of grief does float,
As being brought to dye.

Her longer we did then surpris'd
With the same violence,
Stopping her mouth with rags like waste,
Depriving her of sense;
Yet the her reason soon obtain'd,
The truth to confess;
When at the bar we was arraign'd,
And eke condemn'd to dye.

One being dead, the other bound,
We staid then the stake,
For first in ready eads we found,
Nine hundred pounds and more;
While all'd our pockets with the same,
This done, we staid did stay,
Yet we was not and brought to shame,
Being condemn'd to dye.

Since in the blood of innocent
Our hands we did imbrow;
Altho' in heart we do lament,
This death is our our due;
Let others a fair warning take,
By this our villainy,
Who must in shame the world forsake,
As being brought to dye.

God Lord, in pity us behold,
The love we do implore,
For tho' our sins are manifold,
The mercies Lord are more;
Tho' we on earth thy laws did break,
Yet as thy life we leave,
O take us for thy mercies sake,
Our sinful souls receive.

Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guiltspur-street.

Figure 61: *The Murderers Lamentation* (London: J. Deacon, 1694).

+ **The Bloody-minded Husband;**
OR,
The Unfortunate Wife:

Giving a True Account of one *WILLIAM TERT* of *Derbyshire*, within Two Miles of *Ashbourne*, who murder'd his Wife *Jane*: For which he receiv'd due Sentence of Death, according to the Cruelty of his Crime.
To the Tune of *Russel's farewel*. Licensed according to Order.



This is a black and gloomy day,
Dark clouds of grief appear;
And all my joys are fled away,
My soul is wretch'd with fear:
Death with a gaitful Countenance,
Does make me lose all cheer,
For now ife I soon shall be
A just Example made.

Alas my kind and loving Wife,
Whom I sometimes enjoy'd,
In cruel for her darest life,
My guilty hands betray'd:

Which deed has brought me into thral,
The world may me be glad to see:
I am this day before you all,
A sad Example made.

A guilty conscience now does lay
Here in this place of mine;
The blood does lay low vengeance cry
To God entrag'd on high:
Therefore this world I did abjure,
Since I her life betray'd,
I am this day in open view,
A just Example made.

When I had done this bloody deed,
I was with grief opprest;
My very heart began to bleed,
I could not be at rest,
But was torment'd still in mind,
Since I her life betray'd,
And I shall be this day, I find
A sad Example made.

My lawful Wife, and honest Friend,
Whom I had caus'd to love,
I thought to an untimely end:
My Crime is far above
The greatest Villain in the Land:
Her life I have betray'd;
For which I shall be out of hand,
A just Example made.

It is my crying sin I know,
And likewise want of Grace,
Which proves me fatal Everyhow,
And brings me to this place:
My Conscience being stain'd with guilt,
To me I am afraid;
I shall be for the World I left,
A just Example made.

I did believe, as well as she,
The Infant in her womb,
If God should be severe with me,
Eternal Death's my doom.

Printed for J. Bissel, at the Hospital Gate in White-Church-street.

But gracious Lord be not severe,
As I have often pray'd;
Let this suffice that I am here
A just Example made.

Who leads a discontented life,
Take warning by my Fall,
And live in love like Man and Wife,
Curbing your Willions Will;
For fear it maye your Dearth show,
As I have often said:
In sorrow from this World I go,
A just Example made.

O that my dear beloved Wife,
I could recall again;
But that Repentance comes too late,
My Tears are all in vain:
She now lies sleeping in the Dust,
Whose life I have betray'd;
For which by justice now I must
Be an example made.

This terrible the World I leave,
Therefore come pity take,
God Lord! and here my soul receive
From for thy Mercies sake;
And cleanse me from the guilt of this
For which I did have pray'd;
Let it suffice that I have been
A just Example made.

Figure 62: *The Bloody Minded Husband or the Unfortunate Wife* (London: J. Bissel, 1687).

the Tune of *Russel's Farewel*. Licensed According to Order (London: J. Bissel, 1687),
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20809/image>.

Crime ballads and their illustrations were always gender-specific, and at least three ballads about the hanging of female criminals were illustrated with woodcuts depicting hanged women.¹⁹⁹

A New BALLAD

Of the Three Merry Butchers,

And Ten High-way Men, how three Butchers went to pay Five Hundred Pounds away, and hearing a woman crying in the Wood, went to Relieve her, and was there set upon by these Ten High-way Men; and how only stout Johnson fought with them all; who killed Eight of the Ten; and at last was killed by the woman he went to save in the wood. To an Excellent New Tune. Licensed according to Order.




Johnson being of a valiant heart, & of a valiant mind,
He wapt his Cloak about her feet to keep her from the wind:
With a high ding clag, with a ho ding ding, with a high ding
ding dee, and God bleis all good people from evil company.

He: the up your hearts says Johnson for they dock all in the White,
He put her finger in her Ear and she gave a skreking crie,
Which that there came ten swaggering blades with their wane:
(poys ready dyton:
And they boldly came to Johnson, and bolter did him stand.

I will not fight, says Willon, for I had rather die;
Oh I, to fight, says Gibbon, for I had rather die.
Come on, come on, says Johnson, and fight a man to free,
We stand you will behind my back and I'll win the Victory.

Then Johnsons pistols they flew off All five of them were slain
And then he drew his Hanger with all his might and main,
And plaid it about so manfully till three more he had slain,
And plaid it about so, &c.

Come on come on (says the other two) and let us make away,
For if we do not hold him fast our lives he takes away.
Oh no Oh no (quoth the woman) and alas how can that be,
For if you do not hold him fast then hang'd you shall be.

Johnson fighting these two Whittes before, the woman he did
behind,
As fighting these two Whittes before, he knocke him down
A woman, A woman, quoth Johnson, alas what have you done
You will kill'd the dearest Wife, for ever England won.

Just as she had killed him there came one Riding by,
And saw the deed that he had done, and lay'd by patiently,
She was Condemn'd to be hang'd in Seven years to come,
At the place where he did kill her that great and mighty woman.

Printed for J. Bissel at the Bible and Harp in West-Smithfield 1687.

Figure 63: *A New Ballad of the Three Merry Butchers* (London: J. Bissel, 1687).

Less common, but appearing occasionally, were woodcuts illustrating other means of executions such as beheading, drowning, or being drawn and quartered.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Anon, *A New Ballad of the Three Merry Butchers and Ten High-Way Men, How Three Butchers Went to Pay Five Hundred Pounds Away, and Hearing a Woman Crying in a Wood, Went to Relieve Her, and Was There Set Upon by These Ten High-Way Men, and How Only Stout Johnson Fought with the All, Who Kill'd Eight of the Ten, and Last Was Kill'd by the Woman Whom He Went to Save Out of the Wood. To an Excellent New Tune.* (London: J[ames] Bissel, 1687); Susan Higges, *A True Relation of One Susan Higges, Dwelling in Risborrow a Towne in Buckinghamshire, and How Shee Lived 20. Yeeres, by Robbing on the High-Wayes, yet Unsuspected of All That Knew Her* (London: F. C[oles], 1640); Anon, *The Sad Effects of Covetousness, Being, a Relation of a Horid Murther, Committed Upon a Maid Servant, in the Town of Lyn; by Her Mistriss and Her Son, for the Lucre of What She Had: But They Being Apprehended for the Same, Was Accordingly Found Guilty, and Was Also Executed. Tune of, The Young-Mans Legacy. This May Be Printed, R.P* (London: s.n, 1686), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20785/image>.

²⁰⁰ Very few examples of beheadings or drawing and quartering appear on ballads. Two examples can be seen on: Thomas Deloney, *A Most Sweet Song of an English Merchant, Borne*

In addition to woodcuts of executions, printers often included images of violent scenes. On a basic level, the violent scenes (generally positioned on the left hand side of the ballad) combined with the execution scene (generally positioned on the right hand side of the ballad) to construct an easy-to-interpret visual narrative: deviant actions would be swiftly punished. An example of this can be seen in figure 63 (above). When combined with a woodcut depicting an execution, violent scenes provided additional illustrations for the ballad narrative that helped to contextualize the execution scene. Such combined images also resulted in a set of illustrations specific to the narrative of a particular ballad. As a result they were rarely re-used in the same manner on other ballads. This is significant because a certain combination of images would have not only have distinguished crime ballads from other ballad types, but they could also help a consumer identify specific crime stories amongst a selection of several different crime ballads. For example, the ballads *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas* and *A True Relation of One Susan Higges* display similar imagery, but with key variations that differentiate the two.

The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas was first printed in 1624 by Francis Coules (Fig. 64).²⁰¹ Structured as a “goodnight,” or the criminal’s last confession on the eve of his execution, the ballad is sung by William in the first person and recounts his last words prior to execution. As with many ballads of this type, it opens with verses of confession and follows the details of the accused’s transgressions in the middle stanzas.

at Chichester. *To an Excellent New Tune* (Printed at London: Francis Coules, 1640), http://gateway.proquest.com.oqa.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:20920; Anon, *Villany Rewarded; or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the Vvorlde: Who Was Executed at Execution Dock, on Wednesday the 25th. of November, 1696. Being of Every’s Crew. Together with Their Free Confession of Their Most Horrid Crimes. To the Tune of, Russels Farewel* (London: Charles Barnet, 1696), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20813/image>.

²⁰¹ All subsequent quotes are taken from: William Purcas, *The Vvofull Lamentation of William Purcas, Vvho for Murtherin [sic] His Mother at Thaxted in Essex Was Executed at Chelmsford. To the Tune of, The Rich Merchant* (London: Francis Coules, 1624).

Finally, the ballad closes with further confession, repentance, words of warning to like-minded sinners, and submission both to the law's judgment and God's mercy. Purcas confesses that drunkenness drove his sinful ways and led to the killing of his mother. He repents his debauched life, warns others to avoid such a path, accepts that "ten thousand deaths I have deserv'd/ for this impietie," and commends his soul to Christ.

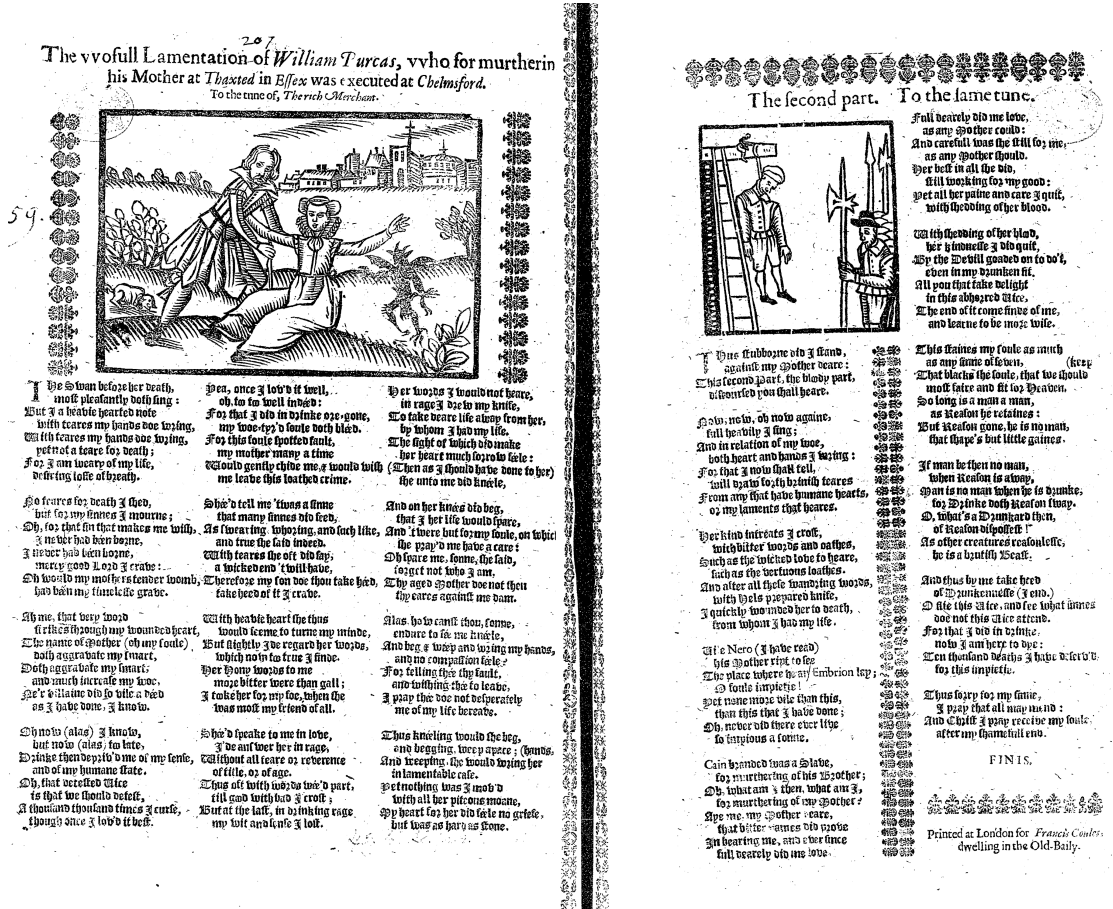


Figure 64: *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas* (London: F. Coules, 1624).

Coles illustrated the ballad with the two standard woodcuts that identified crime ballads: a violent scene of a man killing a woman (meant to be Purcas killing his mother), and an execution scene of a hanged man (meant to be Purcas). In addition to indicating genre, the two images work with the text and with one another to form a visual narrative that, when read from left to right, implies that murder will result in retribution.

Around 1640, London-based ballad publisher Francis Coles published a ballad that was illustrated much like *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas* entitled, *A True Relation of One Susan Higges* (Fig. 65). Like *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcase*, *A True Relation of One Susan Higges* was also structured as a “goodnight.” Based on a 1630 unillustrated edition published previously by Henry Gosson, *A True Relation* purports to reproduce the final gallows confession and repentance speech of Susan Higges, a woman hanged for murder.

The illustrations are nearly identical to those used on *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas*. As seen in figure 65, the large illustration on the left was made from the same block as the illustration on *The Woeful Lamentation*, but the illustration on the right hand side is different. Where *The Woeful Lamentation* depicted a hanged male figure, *A True Relation* is illustrated with an image of a hanged woman.

A true Relation of one Susan Higges, dwelling in Risborough a Towne in Buckinghamshire, and how shee lived 20. yeeres, by robbing on the High-ways, yet unsuspected of all that knew her; till at last, coming to *Miffield*, there robbing a woman; which woman knew her and called her by her name: now when she saw she was betrayed, she killed her, and standing by her while she gave three groaves, shee first three drops of blood in her face, which never could be washed out; by which shee was knowne and executed for the aforesaid murder at the *Affies in Lent at Brickhill*.

To the tune of, *The worthy London Trades*.



To murther for my offences,
and former pastimes,
This sin and dolefull stop,
my heartie heart begins:
I took tooke I spent my time,
devoid of godly grace:
A lecher woman never I saw,
I think in any place.
Near Buckingham I dwelled,
and Susan Higges by name,
Well thought of by good Gentlemen,
and Farmers of good fame:
Where thou for twenty yeeres at least,
I liv'd in gallant sort: (much
which made the Countrey marshall
to heare of my report.
My state was not maintained,
(as you shall understand)
By god and honest dealing,
my labour of my hand:
But by deceit and coveting things,
the end whereof, we see
Hath ever bene repaid with shame,
and ever like to be.
My forbaits were young country girls,
brought up unto my mind:
My nature faire and beautifull,
and of a gentle kinde:
Who with their sweet enticing eyes,
did many sinners move
So come by night into my house,
in hope of further love.
But still at their close meetings,
(as I the plot had laid)
I kept in still at my ware,
while they the wares were paid.
And would in quest for being their
except they had my names,
I do give me money for this wrong,
done to my house and me.
This was but petty covetise,
to things that I have done:
By robbing by the high way side,
with me much money won:
In mens attire I did me robe,
upon a Velvet's front.
And done great robberies valiantly,
the Countrey round about.
I had my scarves and shoyes,
my face for to disguise:
Sometime a beard upon my chin,
to hide the peoples eyes:
My Turky Blade, and Pistols good,
my contrive to maintain:
I thus tooke I many a Farmers purse,
well cov'd with golden gaine.
Great flocks of London Merchants,
I easily have did hand,
And the best my self most bravely,
a woman of my hand:
You rustling is officers every one,
in my deliv' for them:
The women still for gallant minde,
may well compare with men.

The second part, To the same tune.



But if to be it chance,
the Countrey were hist,
With me, and eyes, and warrants,
into my house I get:
And I to being with my spades,
would cloake the matter so,
That no man could by any means,
the night observe know.
But God that still will punish
with punish every vice,
Did bring into confusion
my fortunes in a trice:
For by a merchant all my times
were straggled brought to light,
And such he that I had by law,
as Justice claim'd by right.
Upon the death of *Miffield*,
I: a woman there,
And robb'd her, as from *Spartet*,
housen was the day repair,
Certain woman call'd me by my name,
and said that she me knew: (blow,
For which even with her lites deare
my handes I did imbrow.
But after I had wounded,
this woman unto death,
And that her bleeding body,
was almost rest of breath,
This drop of blood that never could
be wiped from that place.
So after I returned
unto my house againe,
I he more that I I wash'd,
if more appear'd plain: (birds,
Carthoure I thought that beasts and
this murther would reveale,
that the ayre to bite a death,
no longer would conceal:
So heale at my confidence,
this woodfull murther lay,
That I had done and sayd,
the same for to be sayd,
And to my servants made it knowne,
as God appointed me:
For blood can never be rest,
no long unpunish'd be.
For want to the Justice,
I had I had I had I had:
For which I was attach'd,
and to the *Jayle* convey'd,
And at the *Jayle* was condemn'd,
and had my last breath:
Then such a death let all them hate
that heare to fall a heart.
So farewell earthly pleasures,
my acquaintance all done,
With whom I spent the creature,
which caus'd me to run:
I ease, of your wretched pastimes,
lascivious and ill,
Which without Gods great mercy,
doth soule and body kill.
We warned by this story,
you rustling is officers all:
I he higher that you climb in time,
the greater is your fall:
And since the world is wicked so,
let all beware grace,
Grant Lord that I the last may be,
that murtherer's face.
FINIS.
Printed at London for F. C. dwelling in
the Old-Baily.

Figure 65: *A True Relation of one Susan Higges* (London: F. Coles, 1640).

At first, there seems to be a disconnect between the illustrations on *A True Relation* and the ballad text – the primary scene of violence depicts a man killing a woman, while the reader knows from the title and the execution woodcut that the ballad protagonist is female. However, once the text is read or heard the illustrations make more sense. This ballad is about a woman who played the (semi)respectable citizen by day and moonlighted, cross-dressed as a highwayman, by night. While her household was asleep, Higges dressed “in mans attire,” using scarves and a false beard to disguise her features. With “Turk[e]y Blade and Pistols good,” she ventured to the highway and “thus tooke I many a Farmers Purse.” Higges was successful enough to support her

double life for “twenty years at least” and her downfall came about when she had the misfortune to rob a woman who recognized her through the disguise. After Higges stabbed and robbed the women, her victim’s last act was to spit three drops of blood on Higges’ face. Marked by her final victim’s blood, Higges was turned over to the Justices and hanged. She accepted her punishment and execution, and her final words were a warning to “leave off your wonton pastimes/lacivious and ill,” and the hope that “Christ I pray Receive my Soul.”²⁰²

After reading the text, it becomes clear that Coles used the seemingly disconnected image of a man murdering a woman to represent the cross-dressed Higges attacking her final victim.²⁰³ The second illustration, depicting a woman hanged in front of a crowd of armed men, represents Higges re-established in her “correct” gender for her execution. When the images are taken together, and re-read in conjunction with the text, it becomes clear that they were not chosen simply for their sensational imagery, but selected and arranged specifically to illustrate this unique text.

²⁰² Higges, *A True Relation of One Susan Higges*.

²⁰³ Although female-to-male cross-dressing was not an uncommon ballad trope, it was rarely illustrated. Diane Dugaw has extensively examined the early modern taste for ballads about young women how dressed as soldiers or sailors and went overseas in search of lost sweethearts. The comical ballads *The Leicester Frolick or the Valient Cook-maid* and *How the Devil was Guld by the Scold*, women dress as men in order to upend the story’s comic foil - five naïve and craven tailors in the former, and a devil in the later. In both cases, the women dressing as a man performs the part of “man” better than her victims, and the cross-dressed woman is used as a device to highlight the emasculation of certain types of men. None of those ballads depict a female-bodied figure in men’s clothing, preferring instead to include images of men to represent the “passing” cross-dressed woman, as well as images of female-bodied figures dressed in women’s clothing. *A True Relation of on Susan Higges* provides an interesting example of the ballad illustrator’s revelation and enforcement of Higges’ “real” gender. Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850; The She-Mariners Misfortune* (London: Printed for J Blare at the Lookingglass [sic] upon London Bridge, 1682). For some examples, see: *The Woman Warriour: Being an Account of a Young Woman Who Lived in Cow-Cross, Near West-smithfield* (London: Printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner, 1685); *The Countrey Cozen, or: The Crafty City Dame* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the golden ball in West-smithfield, near the Hospital-gate, 1672); or any of the literature published about Mary Ambree, such as *The Valarous Acts Performed at Gaunt, by the Brave Bonny Lass Mary Ambree* (London: Printed for J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, & T. Passenger, 1681).

When Coles printed *A True Account of Susan Higges*, he reused the murder woodcut from *The Woefull Lamentation of William Purcas*, and printed it in conjunction with an image of a hanged woman. Although the images used on both ballad are near identical and accurately indicate that both ballads are “goodnights,” the difference between the gender of the figures in the execution scenes distinguish them from one another. A consumer looking at these two ballads would immediately be able to identify which ballad was about a male, and which was about a female, perpetrator, and choose according to their tastes. For a consumer who had previously read or heard the ballad *A True Relation*, or even the earlier incarnation of *A True Relation* printed in 1624 by Henry Gosson as *The Sorrowful Complaint of Susan Higges*, the seemingly contradictory combination of a woodcut of male-perpetrated murder and a hanged woman could have connected the gender-switching illustration with the textual narrative it illustrated, allowing them to identify not only ballad genre, but specifically the story of the cross-dressing Susan Higges. Cole’s illustrations would have been significant for readers of mixed literacy because they would have been enabled to distinguish between the two ballads when seeing them for the first time, and because the illustrations contained additional narrative-specific images that would have aided further identification for subsequent readings by the consumer.

As demonstrated in *A True Relation*, illustrations on crime ballads often told a consumer more about the ballad text than just the genre. Because certain punishments in early modern England were gender-specific, and ballad illustrations always accurately depicted the gender of the perpetrator, in several cases consumers could determine the kind of crime committed from the type of execution and the gender of the condemned as represented in the illustrations. Thus, the illustration of gender, especially of women,

revealed to the viewer specific information relating to the crime committed in the ballad text.

This is particularly the case in ballads about petty treason, which were always accompanied with illustrations of women being burned at the stake. In seventeenth century England the punishment of burning at the stake was reserved from women convicted of high or petty treason. Both high treason and petty treason were codified in 1352 (25 Edw. III St. 5 c. 2). High treason included attacks against the King including planning and attempting to kill the King, levying war against the king, abetting the King's enemies, counterfeiting coinage, coin clipping, and tampering with the crown's image or seal. Beginning in 1352 with 25 Edward III, an additional category of petty treason was created specific to the killing of a superior by an inferior: "if any servant kill his Master, any woman her husband, or any secular or religious person kill his Prelate to whome he owes Obedience, this is treason." Petty treason was understood to be a rebellion against ones divinely ordained status within the "Great Chain of Being," in which " Almighty God hath created and appointed all things in heaven, earth and waters in a most excellent and perfect order."²⁰⁴ As Fran Dolan explains, "since killing a husband or master challenged patriarchal, hierarchical social order as killing a wife or servant did not, it was defined as treason."²⁰⁵ Men convicted of either sort of treason were drawn and quartered. Women were burned at the stake because it was believed to be a more humane and modest form of execution. Although ballads occasionally printed lurid tales of men convicted of high treason, for the most part if printers printed a ballad about

²⁰⁴ A Homily on Obedience (1547) Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 15.

²⁰⁵ Dolan, "The Subordinate('s) Plot," 317.

treason it was about women's treason, and was visibly illustrated with a woodcut depicting a woman burning at the stake.²⁰⁶

In order to help consumers distinguish between the ballads about petty or high treason, printers regularly included contextualizing "violent scene" woodcuts in addition to scenes of burning women. For the most part, ballads about petty treason focused on the sensational crime of husband murder, and occasionally on an instance of a social inferior killing a superior, such as a maid killing her mistress. Ballads about high treason eschewed explicitly political attacks on the monarch and tended to be about coin clipping. For example, husband-murder ballads are almost universally illustrated with two woodcuts: one depicting a scene of violence and a second depicting the execution of the ballad's perpetrator. The illustrations on the ballad *Anne Vallens Lamentation* are characteristic of woodcuts attached to ballads about husband-murder.²⁰⁷

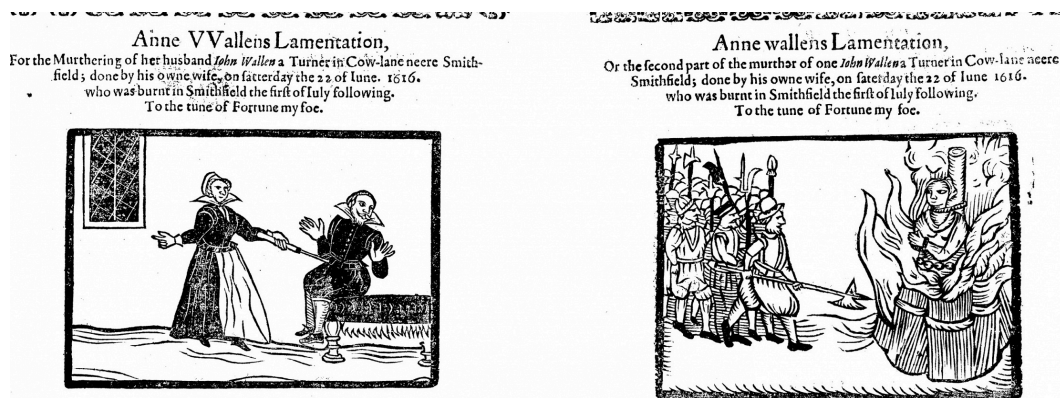


Figure 66: Excerpt from Platte, *Anne Vallens Lamentation* (London: Henry Gosson, 1616). This same execution woodcut was used on another husband-murder ballad, *A Warning for All Desperate Women* (London, F. Coles, 1628) which told of Alice Davis' murder of her husband.

²⁰⁶ I found only one ballad about a woman convicted and burned for counterfeiting coins and illustrates her execution: Anon, *The Clippers Execution:; or, Treason Justly Rewarded*. (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1678), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+E+25%28105%29&id=24583.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

²⁰⁷ Platte, *Anne Vallens Lamentation, for the Murthering of Her Husband Iohn Wallen a Turner in Cow-Lane Neere Smithfield; Done by His Owne Wife, on Satterday the 22 of Iune. 1616.*

Over the first column of text (left hand side of the page), the ballad includes a woodcut depicting Anne Wallens murdering her husband as described in the ballad text. Over the third and fourth columns (on the right hand side of the page), and above the stanzas that contain the woman's confession and execution, is the image of her burning at the stake.²⁰⁸ When the images are read together, they create a visual narrative that recreates Anne's killing of her husband (left image) and assures the reader that her crime is met with fatal punishment (right image). This formula was common to nearly all ballads about husband murder printed in the seventeenth century.²⁰⁹

Other forms of either petty or high treason were illustrated with a single image of a women burned at the stake. Compare the images on *Anne VWallens Lamentation* (Fig. 66) to *The Clippers Execution*²¹⁰ (Fig. 67) and *The Unfaithful Servant*²¹¹ (Fig. 68).

²⁰⁸ Similar compositions that included a scene of a wife killing her husband in conjunction with an image of a burned woman were also printed on: Alice Davis, *A Warning for All Desperate Vvomen. By the Example of Alice Dauis Who for Killing of Her Husband Was Burned in Smithfield the 12 of Iuly 1628. to the Terror of All the Beholders. To the Tune of the Ladies Fall* (London: Coules, 1628), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20050/image>; Davis, *The Vnnatural Wife*; P[arker] M[artin], *A Warning for Wiues, by the Example of One Katherine Francis, Alias Stoke, Who for Killing Her Husband, Robert Francis with a Paire of Sizars, of the 8. of Aprill at Night, Was Burned on Clarkenwell-Greene on Tuesday, the 21 of the Same Moneth, 1629. To the Tune of Bragandary* (London: F.G[rove], 1629), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20049/image>. An outlier in this patter is the ballad *A Warning for all Desperate Women*, in which the execution scene (the same woodcut as used in *Anne Wallens Lamentation*), is positioned over the first two columns and the violent image is over the third and fourth column. Adding to the ambiguity, the violent scene does not depict a woman murdering a man, as in *Anne Wallens Lamentation*, but a man stabbing a woman in the breast. I would argue that as will ballads that include woodcuts of hanged women, the gender of the executed body is the marker for the gender of the protagonist, while the violent scene is a marker of murder "in general" rather than specific to the text of the ballad.

²⁰⁹ A notable exception is editions of *The Lamentation of Master Pages Wife of Plimmouth* which were never illustrated. Thomas Deloney, *The Lamentation of Master Pages Wife of Plimmouth, Who Being Enforced by Her Parents to Wed Him Against Her Will, Did Most Wickedly Consent to His Murther, for the Loue of George Strangwidge: For Which Fact She Suffered Death at Barstable in Deuonshire. Written with Her Owne Hand a Little Before Her Death. To the Tune of Fortune* (London: printed for H. Gosson, 1609).

²¹⁰ Anon, *The Clippers Execution*.

²¹¹ Anon, *The Unfaithful Servant; and the Cruel Husband, Being a Perfect and True Account of One Judith Brown, Who Together with Her Master Iohn Cupper, Conspired the Death of Her Mistris, His Wife, Which Accordingly They Did Accomplish in the Time of Child-Bed, When She*

The Clippers Execution;
OR,
Treason Justly Rewarded.

Manifested in the fearful example of two Women who were Notorious Offenders, and tryed at the *Old-Baily* the 17th of this present *April*, 1678. for Clipping and Debauching his Majesties Coins, where they were found Guilty of High Treason, and received Sentence to be Drawn on a Hurdle to the place of Execution, and there their Bodies to be Burnt. One of them being accordingly Executed in *Smithfield* upon the 17th of the said Month; as a warning for all others to avoid the like Dreadful Punishment. To the Tune of, *In Summer Time.* *Clippings* 1678 &c.



I lament, lament, good Christians all,
Who now stand near unto this place,
To see a wretched Sinner fall,
Who here both die in great disgrace:
Although the Laws are here so strict,
Some daily do the same transgress,
And warnings all they do neglect,
They're rooted in wickedness.

As by this sad example here,
It is confirm'd to every one,
How that the Devil lays his snares,
To bring us to destruction:
For every one he hath a share,
To please, and satisfie their mind,
And for their ruine both prepare,
According as they are inclin'd.

This woman being covetous,
For to grow rich it was her aim,
She did not value by what means,
Which did procure her lasting shame:
Some of them did a practice make,
Our Sovereigns Coin for to deface,
For obtaining at the last to come,
To end their lives in foul disgrace.

But though they for a time did Raige,
And prosper in their wickedness,
They both are brought to open shame,
Their detestable crimes for to confess:
This wretched woman being one,
Who having not the fear of God,
Now for her Crime is hither come,
To feel his dreadful heavy Rod.

The second part, to the same Tune.



Her Clipping and her Filing Trade
In private the long time did use,
Hoping she should not be betrayd,
The King and Country did abuse:
A little Steel she us'd to lend
Unto the Shops her Cov'n to change,
And so convey'd it to her friend,
Who put it off in manner strange.

At length the same suspected was,
By one that he'd need Temple-Barr,
Who watch'd the Steel when home she went
He being not of him aware:
With Officers the House they searcht,
And there one woman they did find,
Which did appear of the same kind.

In breaking ope another doore,
They likewise plainly did perceive,
Clippings and Filings on the Floor,
Which carefully they chose't to leave:
A File, and Shears, likewise there was,
And a Sifters-pot, which they did use,
And all things for their purpose fit,
The blinded world for to abuse.

For which to Prison they were sent,
Until their Trial for to be,
And time they had not to repent,
To make their peace before they dye:
Two of them Sentence did receive,
Upon a Hurdle drawn to be,
And Burnt to Ashes in the Flames,
Where people all the same might see.

This wretched woman being one
Which here is brought unto your view,
To pay for her transgression,
Because she was'd to untrue:
A Spectacle of misery,
She both appear in this same place,
Being bound the Law to satisfy,
And end her life in great disgrace.

All you good Christians who are here,
And see her sad and woful fall,
Pray that with patience she may bear,
And unto Christ for mercy call:
Who knows but that the Lord on high,
In mercy may her soul receive,
And free her from all misery,
If firmly he in him believe.

Let her Example warn you all,
To have the Lord still in your mind,
Lest to such crimes you hap to fall,
And unto Him you be inclin'd:
Beware of filthy avarice,
And strive your lives for to amend,
Do not presume to follow vice,
Lest you come to untimely end.

A dreadful thing it is you see,
Her body in the flames to burn,
But worse is her soul, and heavy both,
Into eternal Flames thus turn:
Therefore once more I lay beware,
And fit the Gods mercy to imbace,
And let it be your only care,
To find a Heavenly resting place.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke.

Figure 67: *The Clippers Execution; or, Treason Justly Rewarded.* (London?: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1678).

Lay in with Two Children, by Mixing of Her Drink with Cruel Poyson; for Which Fact She Received Due Sentence of Death at the Late Assizes in the County of Salop, to Be Burned; Which Was Accordingly Executed Upon the Old Heath Near Shrewsbury, on Thursday the Twenty-First Day of August, 1684. To the Tune of, *The Rich Merchant-Man* (London: J. Deacon, 1684), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20769/image>.

THE
Unfaithful Servant;
 AND
The Cruel Husband.

Being a perfect and true account of one *Judith Brown*, who together with her Master *John Capper*, conspired the Death of her Mistress, his Wife, which accordingly they did accomplish in the time of Child-bed, when they lay in with two Children, by mixing of her Drink with cruel Poyson; for which Fact she received due Sentence of Death at the late Assizes in the County of *Salop*, to be *Buried*; which was accordingly Executed upon the Old Heath near *Shrewsbury*, on *Thursday* the Twenty-first day of *August*, 1684.
 To the Tune of, *The Rich Merchant-man*: Or, *George Barrowel*.

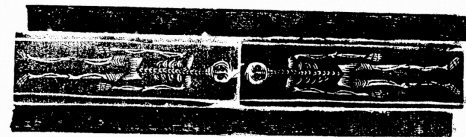


Young & oldens all beware,
 that see my Dismal state,
 Endeavour now to shun the Snare,
 before it is too late.

I was a Servant Maid,
 and liv'd most happily,
 Until at last I was betray'd,
 to this Debouchery.

Too late I do lament,
 my very heart both bleed,
 That ever I did give consent,
 to that most wicked deed.

My yielding to his ways,
 his wicked base desire,
 Yea, by that means I end my days;
 in cruel flames of Fire.



Our Sins was at their death,
 that none but them be blame,
 So he indeed the cause we both
 did end our days in shame.

We could not be content,
 with what we first had done,
 But afterwards we did invent,
 in worse extremities to run.

Then with my Master I,
 did take the cause in hand,
 Resolv'd my Mistress the should dye
 by our most cruel hand.

My Wife we did betray,
 to satisfy our will,
 When she lay in Child-bed lay,
 you? Soul she thought no ill.

Strong poyson we contriv'd
 this was our heinous Sin,
 That the of Life might be depriv'd,
 poor Soul when she lay in.

My conscience strobe with me,
 but I a wicked elf,
 Desir'd that my Master he,
 should give it her himself.

But we did disagree,
 as you may understand,
 For Conscience would not suffer me
 to put it in her hand.

Though neither he nor I,
 had power to do this deed,
 Yet all this would not satisfy,
 but still we did proceed.

Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guilt-spur-street, without Newgate.

In what the was to drink
 we mixt the poyson strong.
 That she might take it & not think,
 the least of any wrong.

By which at length she dyed,
 and I was left behind,
 To dye a cruel death beside,
 the hezore of my mind.

Wlas I pen may behold,
 my lab and dismal doom,
 Both hands & heart, and e're part,
 in flames you'll see consume.

The Sorrow of my heart,
 in this extremity,
 Although it is my due desert,
 I do beg mercy ere.

farewel my worthy friends,
 and my offences soul,
 Good Lord forgive me all my sins,
 have mercy on my Soul.

In this debouring flame,
 my life with new expire,
 Wlas my sins I needs must blame,
 I end my days in fire.

To you that come to see,
 a woful sinners fall,
 Let those cruel flames now be,
 a warning to you all.

By this a warning take,
 and do not run astray,
 And God will never you forsake,
 if you his Kalms obey.

Figure 68: *The Unfaithful Servant; and the Cruel Husband* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guilt-spur-street, without Newgate, 1684).

Like ballads about husband-murder, *The Clippers Execution* and *The Unfaithful Servant* use a woodcut of a burning woman to indicate that the textual narrative is about treason. The exclusion of a contextualizing murder scene, as seen in *Anne Vallens Lamentation*, suggests that these ballads concern treason, but not husband-murder. In a process of elimination, a consumer might assume that these ballads are about other forms of treason such as the case of an inferior killing a superior (*The Unfaithful Servant*), or coin clipping (*The Clippers Execution*). Even if the illustrations could not help a customer identify a specific ballad, they could help a person distinguish among even closely related ballad types.

Finally, it is important to note that ballad images did not just mark genre or narrate ballad texts, but served as constant, steady reminders of the promise of punishment should one engage in deviant behavior. Violent scenes printed in

conjunction with execution scenes created a visual narrative that reinforced the ballad's moralizing message that certain behaviors (murder in particular) would be met with punishment and death.²¹² Even in those ballads that at times glorified a decadent life afforded by crime, such as *The Pirate's Villany*, the illustrations serve as a constant reminder that punishment awaited all delinquents.²¹³

Conclusion

The three case studies provided here demonstrate that printers often used ballad illustrations in order to advertise a ballad's genre to a potential customer. Scold, cuckold, and crime ballads are all easily distinguishable from other ballads based on their basic and consistent visual cues. In these cases, the recycling of apparently "generic" imagery on multiple ballads created conventionality and familiarity in the eye of the consumer, not confusion. Printers' regular use of scold, cuckold, and crime imagery, even across many decades and by competing printers, shows that ballad illustrations often provided reliable visual cues their consumers could depend on when purchasing or selection ballads of their choice, and supports the argument that familiarity with a product was important to ballad consumers.

²¹² There are also ballads that were illustrated with violent scenes but not execution imagery. These ballads were generally about crimes that occurred but not, at the time of printing, prosecuted or sentenced.

²¹³ Although most ballads about pirates focused on the adventures of Captain Ward and prominently featured woodcuts of ship or a sea battle, the ballad *Villany Rewarded, or the Pirate's Last Farewell* features graphic woodcuts of punishments faced by those convicted of piracy: hanging condemned at tide level and display of body parts. Anon, *Villany Rewarded; or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the Vvorld*.

Chapter 3

Composite Images: A new way of reading non-linear illustration

Ballad illustrations do not easily lend themselves to a left-to-right linear reading because that is not how they were meant to be read.. Although some illustrations read easily in a left to right fashion, such those on *Anne Vallens Lamentation* (Ch. 3, Fig. 66), for the most part ballad illustrations appear to be a random assemblage of images that are not easily corralled into a left-to-right reading. Our bias of anticipating illustrations that reproduce a left to right visualization of a chronological narrative has colored the way scholars perceived them. This has led to various interpretations of ballad images as generic, unimportant, or, in Patricia Fumerton's reading, as "alienated" figures that "stand disconnected and isolate within their own virtually barren place."²¹⁴

For the most part, twentieth and twenty-first century Western readers have been trained to read text and images in an orderly pattern, from left-to-right. This derives from the structure of written languages that originates in the Greek and Latin alphabets, in which texts were written from left-to-right, and from the top of the page to the bottom.²¹⁵ In English, a written sentence conveys both a textual and a temporal message.

²¹⁴ For a full discussion of the devaluing of ballad images, see chapter 1, pgs X-X. Fumerton, "Not Home," 503.

²¹⁵ Spalek and Hammond demonstrated in 2005 that human beings become quickly accustomed to the direction in which their languages are read and written. Comparing English readers, who read left-to-right, and Hebrew readers, who read right-to-left, they discovered that in each group, "participants typically draw the human figure ([Dennis & Raskin, 1960](#)) and the subject of a subject-verb-object relationship ([Maass & Russo, 2003](#)) on the side of the page where text writing and reading would originate in their culture. [Vaid and Singh \(1989\)](#) found that the judgment of what affect was depicted in a chimeric face was facilitated when the informative part of the face was on the side where text would originate." Their study concludes,

Textually, sentences begin on the left and progress towards the right. Conceptually, an idea progresses from its introduction in the beginning of the sentence, to a conclusion at the end of the sentence. In terms of narrative chronology, except for writers who explicitly play with orderly timelines, a story generally begins on page one at a specific point in time and the narrative progresses chronologically as the reader journeys through each sentence until they reach the end of the text and resolution of the story. As a reader reads from left-to-right, the pages change from left-to-right, and the narrative develops chronologically from left-to-right.

Our thoughts, our writing, and our sense of chronological progression of a narrative are all very much structured on paper in the left-to-right reading of words and sentences. This is underscored in the ways we read images and even in mathematical representations of time. With the exception of art works that very consciously break with a left-to-right reading, the way we read images, particularly printed images, is also tethered to the ways we are accustomed to reading words. Take for example any comic book or comic strip in which most panels progress in chronological order from left-to-right. Similarly, in mathematical and scientific graphing independent variables are always positioned on the x-axis (horizontal), while dependent variables are positioned on the y-axis (vertical). Because time is almost always an independent variable, in most cases it is represented on the x-axis of graphs. Thus, in graphing time is regularly envisioned as progressing from left-to-right, from the origin of the x- and y-axes. The data that is

“Thus, there is mounting evidence that improved performance is observed on a range of tasks when attention starts on the side of the display where text would originate and moves in a direction consistent with text reading and writing.” Thus, the direction of reading and writing underlies how people conceptualize concepts visually and textually, and shapes cognitive behavior such as attention on tasks. Thomas M. Spalek and Sherief Hammad, “The Left-to-Right Bias in Inhibition of Return Is Due to the Direction of Reading,” *Psychological Science* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 15–18.

shown to change over time is also represented as changing along a left-to-right chronology. Whether reading texts, graphs, or comics, modern Western readers are conditioned to read from left-to-right and to understand the passage of time to be represented in a visual progression that flows in the same direction.

This chapter will focus on a small set of ballad woodcuts images that will be referred to as “composite images.” It will argue that they best demonstrate how ballads made use of non-linear images. These woodcuts visualize many narrative elements from the ballads, but do not do so in a left-to-right fashion as in today’s comic books. Instead, in a single woodcut they reproduce several different scenes from a story all on the same background, as if all of the events are taking place simultaneously. Composite images are unique in ballads because they were commissioned and carved for specific ballad texts, never reused with other texts, and printers went to great lengths to re-commission duplicate woodcuts when printing subsequent editions. As will be discussed, in cases of extremely popular ballads such as *The Norfolk Gentleman*, printers commissioned new woodcuts of the same composite image through thirty editions printed over one hundred and fifty years. Further, I will argue that ballad scholars should consider composite images as a sort of ideal standard in ballad illustration. They established a model of illustration that printers frequently tried to duplicate using multiple small woodcuts when it was not cost effective to commission a singular composite woodcut.

More important, composite illustrations encourage an interactive reading of text and image. Because the images do not lend themselves to a direct left-to-right reading, they force the reader to move between the text and image while reading or hearing the ballad. The text guides the eye through the images, and the images ground and reinforce key scenes from the texts.

The first part of this chapter will discuss how the text-image interaction “worked” in composite images printed on ballads or as art prints. Once the text-image dynamics are established, we will examine the long print lives of ballads printed with composite images. Although most ballads were printed in single editions, there were some stories that were re-issued for decades, if not centuries. In many cases, these ballads related to what a modern reader might consider “fairy tales,” such as the tales of Robin Hood, or fictional, tragic stories of lords, ladies, kings, and queens. For the most part, each of these ballads was printed with a narratively-specific composite image, even in later editions. Looking specifically at the 165 year printing history of *The Norfolk Gentlemen*, text and image become so inexorably intertwined that each of the thirty editions printed between 1635-1800 duplicated a version of the composite image printed on the initial edition.²¹⁶ Although few ballads had the long reign of *The Norfolk Gentlemen*, most ballads printed with composite images went through multiple editions and reproduced a close copy of the composite illustration whenever the ballad text was reissued. This pattern of connections between ballad text and composite image demonstrates the popularity of certain ballad stories, but also the market expectation that those popular songs would be reprinted with their equally popular images. The final part of this chapter will apply the reading of composite images to a series of ballads illustrated with what will be referred to as “faux composites.”²¹⁷ These are ballad illustrations that

²¹⁶ It is unclear as to why these particular ballads were so popular and so frequently re-issued. For the most part, they tend to be dramatic and tragic stories of loss, murder, and retribution. The stories are written with a timeless quality that invokes truth-claims to their veracity, which also highlighting the fictional nature of their accounts – not unlike the modern fairy tale openings of “Once upon a time,” or “In a galaxy far, far away.” The timeless quality of these stories may have facilitated each generation’s re-appropriation of the narratives. Unlike crime, political, or news ballads, they did not focus on topical stories or events that may not have interested later readers. Further, the stories were often more complex and the characters more fully imagined than those found on romance or love ballads.

²¹⁷ Like the term “composite image,” “faux composite” is a term entirely of my making.

appear only tangentially related to the text if read from left-to-right. However, if read as a composite image it clearly illustrates aspects of the textual narrative and encourage the reader to read interactively between text and image. The existence of composite and faux composite illustrations on ballads strongly suggest that such illustrations were meant to be read, but not in the left-to-right manner that most modern readers are accustomed to.

Recognizing that ballad printers composed illustration in a narrative, but non-linear progressive fashion, compels us to recognize several new things about reading in early modern England. We are forced to question the long held assumption that in an iconophobic post-Reformation England, images and illustrations were only included in text to “delight the vulgar.”²¹⁸ Early modern readers had different strategies for reading text and image than twenty-first century readers. Just as recent scholarship has shown that early modern reading was often a combination of textual and oral interaction with texts, ballad illustration forces us to recognize that reading was visual as well as textual and oral.²¹⁹ Further, the widespread appeal of broadside ballads suggests that early modern readers and print consumers across varying levels of literacy and social class readily consumed print material that encouraged a form of reading that included text, sound, and image.

What Were Composite Images?

The term “composite image” refers to a picture, print, or illustration that depicts concurrent events from a narrative in a single scene. Composite images do not depict a

²¹⁸ The quote “the delight of the vulgar,” was from dramatist Thomas Holcraft in which he describes the presence of ballads in alehouses, taverns, and cottage walls. It was reproduced in O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*.

²¹⁹ Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, 118; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, chap. 4; Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*, 76; O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 18.

narrative in a linear and chronologically progressive manner, in which events are read from left-to-right. Instead, they often highlight a main scene of action in the center of the image and include small vignettes from other parts in the narrative in the sides, background, and foreground of the picture. On ballads, composite images were uniquely carved for specific ballad texts. Text provided additional context for the images, and the images reinforced the key messages or narrative highlights of the text. Illustrations underlined narrative elements in a way that encouraged the reader to read interactively between text and image.

For the most part, composite images only appear on dramatic, tragic ballads that would fit today's definition of a fairy tale. Although they occasionally open with truth claims, such as *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* which purports to be an historical account, these claims are similar to today's stories that open "a long, long time ago," or "in a kingdom far away." With very few exceptions, composite images were not carved for more topical ballads about crimes or contemporary events, nor were they used on pastoral, romantic, or comedic ballads.²²⁰

Take, for example, *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor*, printed in five editions between 1600 and c. 1663-74.²²¹ The historical Queen Eleanor of Castille (1244-1290)

²²⁰ This likely had to do with the projected print life of a ballad story. Composite images were expensive to commission and would have required the guarantee of multiple print runs in order to make the investment in production worth it to publishers. Topical, comical and love ballads tended to be printed as one-offs with a short print life. Most ballads with composite images, on the other hand, were ballads that were printed numerous times and by competing printers, suggesting that they were amongst the most popular ballad titles.

²²¹ Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queene Elnor, Vvho for Her Pride and Vvickednesse, by Gods Iudgment, Sunke into the Ground at Charing Crosse, and Rose Vp Againe at Queene Hiue. To the Tune of, Gentle and Curteous* (London: William Blackwall, 1600), http://gateway.proquest.com.oqa.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:22606; Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queene Elnor, Who for Her Pride and Wickednesse by Gods Iudgement, Sunke into the Ground at Charing Crosse, and Rose up at Queene Hive. To the Tune of Gentle and Courteous* (London: Printed by the assignes of Thomas Symcocke, 1629); Anon, *[The] Lamentable Fall of Queene*

was the daughter of King Ferdinand III of Castille and Joan of Ponthier. She married King Edward I of England in 1254 and reigned as queen consort from 1272 until her death. By all accounts, the royal couple was devoted to one another and Eleanor played an active role as queen, accompanying Edward on a Crusade to the Holy Land in 1270-1273.²²² The ballad bears little relation to historical reality and was likely based on, and closely follows, George Peele's play *King Edward I* (1593). Like Peele's play, the ballad takes historical liberties in recounting the life of the queen in order to capitalize on anti-Spanish sentiment in the late Tudor period.²²³

The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor had lasting popularity through the seventeenth century, likely capitalizing on persistent anti-Spanish feelings in that period. Even after James I's made peace with Spain in the early part of the century, Spain continued to be seen as a threat to English sovereignty and Protestantism. This can be seen in the public response to the highly unpopular Spanish match between Charles I and Infanta Maria Ana (c. 1614-1623), the Duke of Buckingham's failed attack on Cadiz (1626) as an attempt to revive the glories of the Elizabethan past, and Cromwell's aggressive attacks against Spanish colonies in the West Indies (1655) as part of a Protestant crusade against Catholic Spain. Although know approximate publication dates do not correspond

Eleanor, Who for Her Pride and Wickendesse, by Gods Judgements Sunck into the Ground at Charing-Crosse, and Rose at Queen-Hith. To the Tune of Gentle and Courteous; Anon, The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing-Cross and Rose at Queen Hive. (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and VV. Gilbertson, 1658), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:174469; Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness, by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing Cross, and Rose at Queen-Hive.* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1663), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Douce+Ballads+1%28118b%29&id=15246.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

²²² Most modern sources spell the Queen's name as "Eleanor." However, the ballad insists on the spelling "Elenor." When referring to the historical figure I will use the "Eleanor" spelling, and when referring to the ballad character, "Elenor," as per the text.

²²³ In the seventeenth century it is possible that

directly to actual publication dates, the re-edition of *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* on at least three occasions indicates that it continued to find customers receptive to anti-Spanish literature, including ballads.²²⁴

The ballad's central theme is arbitrary rule exemplified in Queen Elenor's actions and attributed to her fickle nature and uncontrolled jealousy. It highlights three examples meant to highlight Elenor's tyranny, followed by divine invention and punishment for her sins. First, upon coming to England from Spain, she convinces the court and even the king to abandon English styles in favor of Spanish fashions and hairstyles. Second, because "to women she bore a spight," she declares that every woman should have her right breast seared-off.²²⁵ Seeking "to turn her bloody mind," the king concedes on the condition that she offers herself to be mutilated first. Briefly cowed by Edward, the queen's anger is again inflamed when she sees the Mayor of London's wife leaving church after the birth of a son. Elenor flies into a rage that another woman "should so exceed in mirth and joy/ except herself alone." To remove her rival, the queen abducts, tortures and murders the young wife. Finally, while the queen is returning to London from Wales, divine intervention renders "a judgment sent from Heaven." First, a heaven-sent tempest delays her carriage. Then, when publicly accused of murdering the mayor's wife, Elenor denies the charges. But supernatural forces cause her to sink into

²²⁴ This ballad was re-registered and/on printed circa 1629, 1658, and 1663-74. Known publication records in the ESTC are determined in several ways. One, by publication marks on prints. Two, in collaboration with registration and licensing records where available; however, this information generally tells us when titles were registered or licensed, not necessarily when they were printed or sold. Three, by using publisher marks to estimate a date range based on established dates of collaboration. For example, Coles, Vere and Wright were known to have collaborated between 1663-1674, so many ballads printed with their names are generally estimated to have been printed sometime within that date range.

²²⁵ This and all subsequent quotes attributed to the ballad are from the 1658 edition: Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing-Cross and Rose at Queen Hive*.

the ground at Charing Cross and reappear at Queenhith, revealing her guilt.²²⁶ Finally, after twenty days of torturous pain, she finally confessed to both the murder of the Mayor's wife and to adultery with a friar that resulted in a child. The ballad closes with no real resolution other than a warning to "wives and maidens all" to forswear Elenor's example of pride.

Although the first editions of *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* were unillustrated two mid-seventeenth century editions were printed with a large composite image.²²⁷

²²⁶ The Queen's sinking into the ground at Charing Cross is an interesting take on the history. Upon her death, the historical body of Queen Eleanor was taken on a twelve-day procession from Lincoln to Westminster Abby for burial. Following her burial, King Edward erected crosses, known as Eleanor's Crosses, at each of the twelve places that Eleanor's body rested for the night. The location at Charing was the final stop prior to Westminster and the location of the most ornate of the Eleanor crosses.

²²⁷ The c. 1600 and 1628 editions are unillustrated. We have no definitive copies of the 1648 or 1658 editions, and we have extant copies of both the 1663 version. In addition there exists one edition in the Pepys collection (Pepys Ballads 2.141) that has no printer's markings on it, but is distinct from the 1663 edition. It is likely that this ballad is from an unrecorded and possibly unlicensed printing. Although one might assume it to be or the 1648 or 1658 edition, assuming the block is the same as used in the 1663 version (and it appears to be) the wormhole damage strongly suggests that the impression was made some time *after* the 1663 print run (in short: it has wormholes not yet present on the 1663 edition). Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queene Elnor, Vvho for Her Pride and Vvickednesse, by Gods Iudgment, Sunke into the Ground at Charing Crosse, and Rose Vp Againe at Queene Hiue. To the Tune of, Gentle and Curteous*; Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queene Elnor, Who for Her Pride and Wickednesse by Gods Iudgement, Sunke into the Ground at Charing Crosse, and Rose up at Queene Hive. To the Tune of Gentle and Courteous*; Anon, *[The] Lamentable Fall of Queene Eleanor, Who for Her Pride and Wickendesse, by Gods Judgements Sunck into the Ground at Charing-Crosse, and Rose at Queen-Hith. To the Tune of Gentle and Courteous*; Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing-Cross and Rose at Queen Hive.*; Anon, *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness, by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing Cross, and Rose at Queen-Hive.*



Figure 69: *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor, Who for Her Pride and Wickedness by Gods Judgements Sunk into the Ground at Charing-Cross and Rose at Queen Hive*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and VV. Gilbertson, 1658).

The large composite image (on the left hand side of the ballad page) depicts several scenes from the narrative all upon the same ground. The largest figures positioned on the bottom right of the image represent King Edward, holding hot irons, and threatening to remove Elenor’s right breast. The second largest figure, on the far left of the image, depicts the Mayor’s wife tied to a stake with two serpents affixed to her breasts.²²⁸ In between the largest figures is a small image of a horse-drawn carriage fleeing from the Mayor’s wife, and it represents Queen Elenor’s departure from Wales. In the upper part of the woodcut, the carver included two small figures to represent Queen Elenor’s

²²⁸ Holger Nørgaard demonstrates that the use of snakes was taken from a 15th century Anglo-Latin manuscript of *Gesta Romanorum*, in which an Empress hires a Lady as wet nurse to her two “children,” only revealing the children to be two serpents. The Lady dies three days after the “feeding.” Holger Nørgaard, “Peele’s Edward I and Two Queen Elinor Ballads,” *English Studies* 45, no. 1–6 (1964): 165–168.

descent into the ground at Charing Cross (on the left), and her ascension from the earth at Queenhith.

At first glance, the images seem somewhat random and disconnected, but when read with the text a pattern becomes clear. The chronological progression of the images begins with the largest figures and moves backwards to the smallest ones. As the reader reads they are encouraged to create links between the figures represented and the small pictures are used to remind the reader of the key elements of the story. In addition to illustrating the narrative, this woodcut also became a visual marker, or brand, of this particular ballad. The scenes in the illustration are all very specific to the story of *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* and the woodcut was never re-used in conjunction with any other ballad text.

Composite images were important in ballad illustration for two reasons. First, composite used a kind of illustration that encouraged the reader to engage actively in reading text and image simultaneously. Because the illustrations are non-linear, the reader is required to join text and images in a way that engages the reader's imagination in envisioning the text. Second, although composites were rare and only repeated with their original ballad texts, they also served as visual brands for specific texts as well as genre.²²⁹ After a composite image was carved for and attached to a specific ballad, subsequent editions demonstrated remarkable consistency in keeping the same image, or a similar

²²⁹ Composite images on ballads are rare. Of the over 3,000 ballads I examined for this study, I only identified seven ballad titles that had composite images: *The Bloody Miller* (undated), multiple editions of *A lamentable ballad of the tragical end of a gallant lord and virtuous lady*, *Hartford-shire's Murder* (1679), *The Three Worthy Butchers of the North* (1678?), *The Gelding of the Devil* (multiple editions), *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* (multiple editions), and *The Norfolk Gentleman* (multiple editions). For the most part this was simply due to cost. Broadside ballads sold for a penny, a selling price that would have been impossible if printers or publishers commissioned and paid for a uniquely carved image for each ballad. This is why most printers used and re-used single-scene or single-subject images in different configurations.

copy, attached to the same ballad text. This is generally true in multiple editions, even at the hands of different publishers. Just as horns and ladles branded certain ballads as cuckold or scold ballads, composite images were also visible brands of particular titles.

Composite images were not unique to broadside ballads, they were also used in late Tudor and early Stuart satirical engravings and book illustration.²³⁰ Because they were a fairly common part of England's visual culture, early modern readers would have been familiar with how to "read" them. As in ballads, composite images found in books or sold as engravings combined text and image in order to create meaning. A close examination of the engraving *A New Yeares Guijt for Shrews* (c.1620-5) will illustrate the multiple ways in which these images could be read, and demonstrate the interdependence of text and image.

A New Yeares Guijt for Shrews uses the chronology of the days of the week in order to illustrate how a husband might deal with a shrewish wife.²³¹ It was likely based on a contemporary German print, *Ein köstlich gutes bewertes Recept vor die Männer so böse Weiber haben*, that follows the same narrative trajectory as the English version, but spread out over nine days rather than a week.²³² It was a widely popular print that was listed in Peter Stent's advertisements of 1654 and 1662 as well as John Overton's 1673 catalogue.²³³

²³⁰ When describing print making and printing I will use the following standard terms and abbreviations. "Eng" – engraved or engraving. "Ex." and "exc."- *excudit* meaning "stuck out" or "made", refers to the publisher or person who made the printing surface. "Fect." and "fecit" – *faciebat* – "made" or "did," refers to the person who engraved or etched the plate. "Imp." – *impressit* meaning "printed," referring to the person who made the impressions on a press (generally only refers to *intaglio* prints). "Pinxt."- "painted," refers to the artist who created the original painting or drawing. Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 134.

²³¹ Thomas Cecil, *A New Yeares Guijt for Shrewes*, Engraving, 189 mm x 206 mm, c 1625, BPI214, British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/>.

²³² From David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from C. 1450 to 1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973),



Figure 70: fecit. Thomas Cecil and ex. Edward Lee, *A New Yeares Guift for Shrewes*, eng, 189mm x 206mm, c. (per the British Museum 1625), P, British Museum; British Printed Images, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/>

The image shows a couple in seven different configurations spread throughout the engraving. As was standard in composite images, all seven of *A New Yeares Guift for Shrewes* “scenes” take place upon the same background. The background depicts a grassy open space at the bottom of the image, blending into a forest in the top quarter of the print. A small village is visible in the background of the upper left hand corner, and the

230–231.; as referenced in: “British Printed Images to 1700: Print of the month”, n.d., <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/research/printOfTheMonth/september2006.html>.

²³³ However, as of the writing of this dissertation, the only extant version of this ballad is at the British Museums Department of Prints and Drawings, and now hosted electronically at British Printed Images or 1700 <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk>.

exterior of a large tavern or alehouse, with the sign of a swan, takes up the right hand side of the print.

At first glance it is clear that the couples represent the same man and women going through several different scenes, but the actions cannot be read systematically from left-to-right. There is no clear beginning or end and the eye wanders all over the page. In order to better understand the image-text interactions of *A New Yeares Guijt for Shrews*, we must understand the way in which the non-linearity of the illustration accompanies, visualizes, and comments on, the text.

While one's first impression is that these may simply be a montage of images representing marital strife, the text below the image helps guide the eye in reading. The sub-text reads: ““Who marrieth a wife upon a Monday, if she will not be good upon a Tuesday, let him to the wood upon Wednesday and cut him a cudgel upon the Thursday, and pay her soundly upon a Fryday, and she mend not the devil take her Saturday, then may he eate his meate in peace on the Sondag.” The text guides the path of the eye by connecting the narrative to specific vignettes within the print.

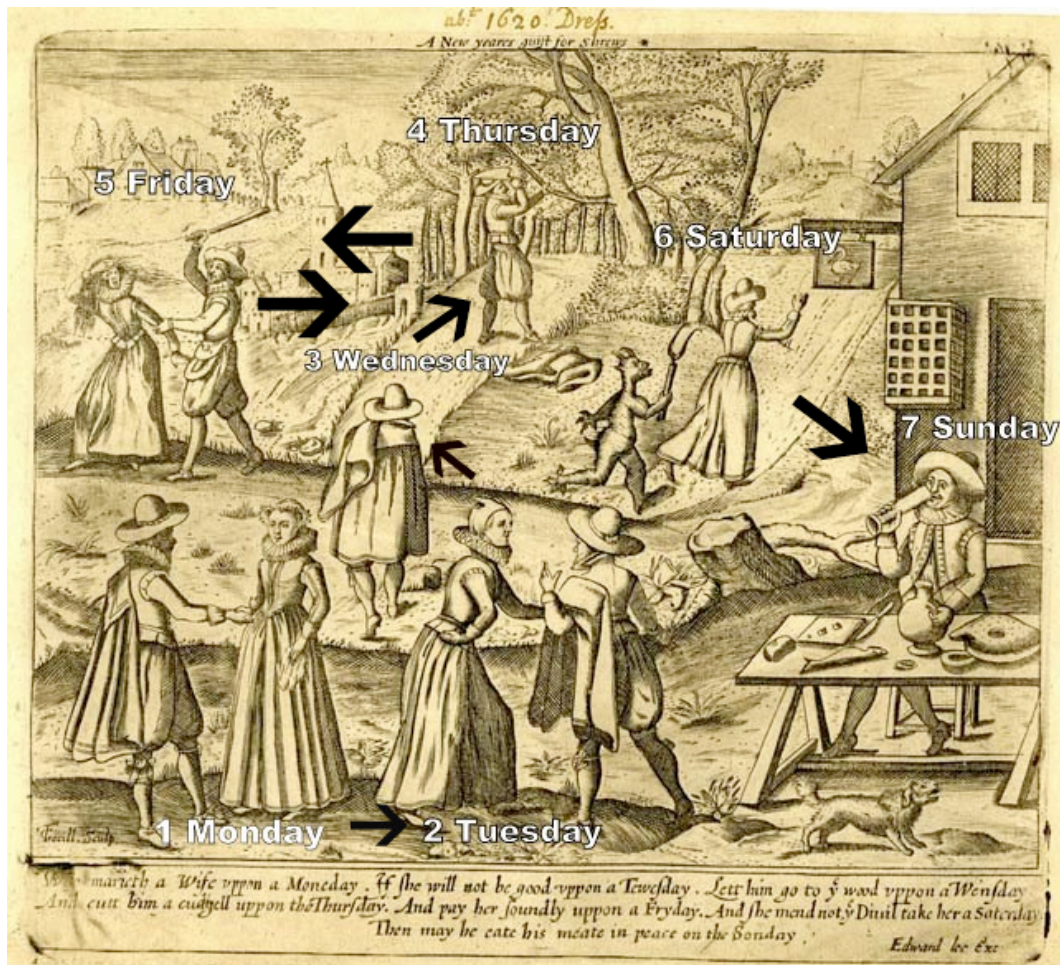


Figure 71: *A New Year's Gift for Shrews*, author's notations

The scene representing Monday and marriage begins in the lower left hand corner of the print and depicts a man and a woman facing one another and holding right hands. Tuesday is positioned immediately to the right of Monday, making this vignette the front-most centered image on the engraving. Tuesday portrays the same couple engaged in a heated argument. The wife leans forward with one hand on her hip and the other placed on her husband's body, while he raises the back of his left hand as if to gesticulate preparing to hit her.

If the eye continues one more scene to the right, it is drawn to an image of the husband seated outside an alehouse, enjoying his Sunday meat and beer. All positioned on the same horizontal plane, Monday, Tuesday, and Sunday can read as a narrative by themselves, in which marriage is followed by discord, and happiness is reached when the man separates himself from his wife and becomes king of his own castle. Ironically, even rid of his wife the husband is not completely alone. Under the table there is a small dog, in three-quarter profile, barking at his feet. In Renaissance art, the dog was a symbol of loyalty, particularly marital fidelity. It was frequently depicted at the feet of a virtuous wife. Examples include the small white dog curled up on the hem of Elizabeth of York's skirts in Holbein's *Whitehall Mural*, or at the foot of the couple in Van Eyck's *Double Arnolfini Portrait*.²³⁴ This dog, however, is shown with its tail up and mouth open, barking as if in complaint. The position of the dog mimics the posture and open, nagging, mouth of the wife as she is depicted on "Tuesday." The artist appears to have transformed the wife into the barking dog, possibly a visual play on the term "bitch", and most definitely a visual pun on the dog as a symbol of fidelity in marriage. The dog/wife will be ever faithful in giving the husband a hard time.

²³⁴ The dog as a Renaissance symbol of fidelity in general, and marital fidelity in particular, is a commonly referenced (but not cited) in literature on Renaissance Art. In many cases, the assertion is raised in conjunction with analysis of Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Double Portrait*. For examples, see: Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: The Western Perspective* (Cengage Learning, 2009), 402–403; Lisa Gottlieb, *Graffiti Art Styles: A Classification System and Theoretical Analysis* (McFarland, 2008), 44–49; Lilian H. Zirpolo, *The A to Z of Renaissance Art* (Scarecrow Press, 2009), 23; Norbert Huse and Wolfgang Wolters, *The Art of Renaissance: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 326. Edgar Bowron provides an excellent discussion of the evolution of the iconography of the dog in art in: Edgar Peters Bowron, "An Artist's Best Friend: Dogs in Renaissance and Baroque Painting and Sculpture," in *Best in Show: The Dog in Art from the Renaissance to Today*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter C. Sutton (Greenwich, Conn.: The Museum of Fine Arts Houston and Yale University, 2006). Finally, it should be noted that though the dog most frequently represents marital fidelity and loyalty, that Simona Cohen points out that the dog could also be used to represent promiscuity and sexual licentiousness. She does so in her discussion of "The dog as a symbol of sin," in chapter 6 of: Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (BRILL, 2008).

Continuing with the narrative, if we follow the text to Wednesday, the husband is recommended to go to the forest so that he may cut a cudgel on Thursday, and “pay her soundly upon a Fryday.” We see an image of the husband wrapped in his cloak and walking into the woods. He is positioned immediately between the representations of Monday and Tuesday and walks away from the couple in the foreground with his back to the viewer. Rather than being a direct and centered line, he creates a vertical on the left hand side of the print that begins above the two images of the fighting couple and up into the woods. Immediately above Wednesday and slightly to the right, so as to be centered, is a small image of the husband cutting a cudgel from a tree. Now the eye is guided to the extreme upper left of the image in order to find Friday’s vignette, which shows the husband, grasping his cowering wife with one hand and raising the cudgel with which to beat her, in the other. If we stop here, we notice that the visual narrative takes the eye from the lower left, to lower center, middle ground towards the left, upper center, and then upper left hand corner of the image.²³⁵

Saturday veers to the far right of the print but stays on the same horizontal plane as Friday. It depicts a small devil with a pitchfork chasing the wife down a road. The road leads between the forest, on the left, and the public house on the right. This leaves the viewer with the strong impression that the wife is being driven not just from her marriage, but squarely out of town. Finally, we come to Sunday, described above, which is by far the largest of the vignettes and takes up a good part of the bottom-right quarter of the engraving. Sunday represents the resolution of the narrative, depicting the wife-less husband enjoying his Sunday roast at a tavern. However, the inclusion of the barking dog strongly implies that he is not completely rid of his wife.

²³⁵ Note that this image of the husband beating his wife is actually an inversion of images of scolds that were found on broadside ballads and discussed at length above.

This type of image clearly represents the fluid, but intertwined, relationship between text and image common in early modern English print culture. The images do illustrate the text, but they also literally rebel from the left-to-right reading, linear, narrative form of the text. If the images are to follow the text, they cannot be read in the same manner. The three sets of images on the foreground of the print (Monday, Tuesday, Sunday) play with the notion of reading images from left to right as one would read English text. One can read a sequential narrative out of these images – in which one can see a couple happily married, descending into fighting, and ending with the content man devoid of his wife, but to read the images like this is to reject the specificity of the narrative text. A left-to-right reading also rejects the week’s chronology that underpins the entire narrative.

Although the text on *A New Yeares Guiift to Shrews* guides the reader through the accompanying illustration, the text by no means subjugates the images to textual authority. The images visualize, contextualize, and comment on the lines of prose. The arrangement of the vignettes on the page illustrates the text, but it also mocks a linear, left-to-right (text-centric) reading of the images. Similarly, the inclusion of the barking dog at the husband’s feet call into question the promise of the text, namely that if he chases-off his wife “then may he eate his meate in peace on the Sondag.” Accordingly, composite images like *A New Yeares Guiift to Shrews* demonstrate that the intermingled relationship between text and image in early modern prints is often more complicated, and less textually-dominant, than one might assume at first glance.

Composite images were also a major component of sixteenth century woodcut book illustration.²³⁶ Wynkyn de Worde included composite images that depicted multiple scenes from the life of Christ or examples of devotion in the Godly texts *They Deyenge Creature* (1514) and *Peniteas cito libellus iste nuncupatur* (1515?).²³⁷ James Knapp points to the use of composite images in Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (1591).²³⁸ Harington's advertisements for *Orlando Furioso* boasts of "the pictures, they are all cut in brasse and most of them by the best workmen in that kind that have bene in this land manie years..." He bases this assessment, and therefore justifies the higher cost of the book, on two grounds. One is that metal cuts required finer workmanship and were therefore superior to woodcuts. The other is that the illustrations used perspective, which he describes as, "[for the personages of men, the shapes of horses, and such like, are made large at the bottome and lesser upward, as if you were to behold all the same in a plaine, that which nearest seems greatest and the farthest shewes smallest, which is the

²³⁶ Guided by Ruth Lubrosky and Elizabeth Ingrahm's *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603* and Early English Books Online, I identified several additional composite images used in book illustration. *The morall philosophie of Doni drawne out of the auncient writers written by Anton Francseco Doni, "englished out of Italian"* by Thomas North, and published by Henry Denham in 1570, contained 49 large woodcuts, many of which were reused in subsequent editions. It is likely that composite images were also used in seventeenth century book illustration as well but, as of the writing of his dissertation, there is no guide to seventeenth century book illustration that is comparable to Edward Hodnett's *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535* or Luborsky and Ingram's comprehensive *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603*. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*; Ruth Samson Luborsky, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603*, vol. 1 (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).

²³⁷ *The Deyenge Creature* ([Enprynted at London: in fletestrete at the sygne of the sone by [R. Copland? for] Wynkyn de Worde, 1514); *Peniteas Cito Libellus Iste Nuncupatur: Tractans Co[m]pendiose Penite[n]tia Et Eius Circunstantijs, Ac Vitam Peccatis Deprauatam Emendare Cupie[n]tibus Multum Vtilis Et Necessarius* ([Impressi Londōn: per wynandu[m] de worde in vico anglice nu[n]cupato (the fletestrete) ad signum solis commorantem, 1515).

²³⁸ Knapp, "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England."

chiefe art in picture.”²³⁹ However, Knapp points out that Harrington’s idea of perspective is relational rather than mathematical:

Rather than capturing the natural relation of objects in a single visual field – a use of single point perspective often taken as symptomatic of the birth of the subject in early modern culture – perspective is employed in the engravings to differentiate between temporally distinct episodes in Ariosto’s cantos by placing them in relation to one another spatially. In other words, the pictures present the course of an entire canto ‘in one plane’, a method of visualization that has met with disdain from modern critics of illustration.²⁴⁰

Although in different terms, Knapp describes the use of composite illustration in *Orlando Furioso*, and highlights Harrington’s assessment of this form of illustration as some of the best cuts created by the best workmen on the Continent. In addition to finer and more expensive books such as *Orlando Furioso*, composite illustrations also appeared on pamphlets and chapbooks, two forms on the least expensive end of the early modern book spectrum. For example, they can be found in multiple editions of James Carmichael’s *Newes from Scotland* (1592).²⁴¹ Publisher’s investment in commissioning composite images for more expensive volumes like *Orlando Furioso*, but also pamphlets and chapbooks, suggests that publishers believed illustrations, including composites, were worth it to attract customers.

Composite images were very much a part of early modern England’s visual culture, appearing in ballads, art, and books. Because composite images are not linearly composed, they may seem confusing and disjointed to modern viewers. However, as

²³⁹ Robert McNulty, ed., *Ludovico Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso, Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harrington (1591)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 71; as quoted in Knapp, “The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England,” 154.

²⁴⁰ Knapp, “The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England,” 155.

²⁴¹ James Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian, a Notable Sorcerer, Who Was Burned at Edenbrough in Ianuarie Last. 1591*. (London: Thomas Nelson, 1592); James Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland. Declaring the Damnable Life of Doctor Fian a Notable Sorcerer, Who Was Burned at Edenbrough in Ianuarie Last. 1591*. (London: Printed [by T. Scarlet] for William Wright, 1592).

seen in *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* and *A New Yeares Guift for Shrews*, composites were meant to be read in conjunction with text. The visual representations in composites often complimented, supplemented, or contradicted the texts they were attached to, encouraging the reader to read interactively between text and image in order to make meaning out of both. Of course, composite images used on ballads were not nearly as well-executed, sophisticated, or narratively rich as *A New Yeares Guift for Shrews*. But they nonetheless used comparable composition styles and encouraged similar styles of reading as those found in composite images.

The Case of *The Norfolk Gentleman*

As previously mentioned, composite images on ballads were rare, but they were also frequently reprinted with new editions of the ballad texts they originally accompanied. Thus, though rare in terms of the number of ballad titles printed with composite images, composites were simultaneously highly visible in the ballad market because they went through multiple editions and were frequently in circulation. The ballad *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Will and Testament*, also sold in the eighteenth century as *The Children in the Woods*, provides a clear example of illustrative consistency across multiple decades and printers. The printing history of *The Norfolk Gentleman* is significant because it demonstrates the lengths to which printers would go to maintain illustrative consistency, which indicates that the ballad market came to expect that composite images would be printed with the texts they were designed for. *The Norfolk Gentleman* shows the prominence of composite images in seventeenth and eighteenth century England and reaffirms the argument that ballad illustration was not a last minute consideration, but a part of print production that printers paid ample attention to.

The Norfolk Gentleman was an enormously popular tale that appeared in ballad and chapbook form for well over a century. The English Short Title Catalog [ESTC] lists thirty different print editions between 1632 and 1800. There are two additional seventeenth century versions found in the Wing (2nd ed.), but not listed in the ESTC. It was also a widely traveled ballad. The first editions were issued out of London, but by the mid- seventeenth century versions of this ballad were printed in Newcastle, Edinburgh, Boston, and Providence, Rhode Island.

The basic story, first printed in ballad form by I. Wright in 1635, concerns a greedy Uncle who became guardian of his niece and nephew following the death of their wealthy parents. Soon realizing that he was left with the responsibility of guardianship but that the children alone were due to inherit their deceased parent's wealth, the Uncle plotted to kill the children and claim their inheritance. He hired "Two Ruffians Rude, which were of furious mood," to take the children and "slay them in a wood."²⁴² The hired killers brought the children into the woods under the false pretense of taking them to London. Unaware of their imminent deaths, the children went willingly, "rejoicing at that tide." Soon enough, "the pretty speech they had/ made Murtherers hearts relent," and one of the Ruffians refused to carry out the killings. A fight broke out between the two men, during which the "milder" ruffian slew his partner. Although unwilling to end the children's lives with his own hands, the surviving Ruffian nonetheless led them to their deaths: "He took the children by the hand/ when tears stood in their eye/ And bad them come and go with him/ and look they did not cry/ and two long miles he led them

²⁴² All quotes taken from the following edition: Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Will and Testament and How He Committed the Keeping of His Children to His Own Brother, Who Dealt Most Wickedly with Them, and How God Plagued Him for It : the Tune Is Rogero.* (London: F. Coles, T. Uere, and VV. Gilbertson, 1658), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:187763:2.

thus/ while they for bread complain/ stay here quothe he ill bring you bread when I do come again.” Abandoned deep within in the woods, the children wandered until they starved to death. Bereft of human companions, only “Robin Red-Breast” was there to cover the small bodies with leaves and provide a ritual end to their short lives.

Following the death of the children, the narrative turns back to the Uncle, “And now the heavy Wrath of God/upon this uncle fell.” God tormented the Uncle’s conscience with “frightful fiends,” set his barn ablaze, burned all his goods, turned his lands barren, and caused the death of his cattle and two of his own sons. These misfortunes were revealed to be God’s justice when, seven years later, the ruffian who abandoned the children was tried for another robbery, condemned to die, and confessed his deeds on his death bed. The then-impooverished Uncle died in a debtors prison. The ballad closes with a stanza for all listeners to take warning from the tale, but especially “You that be Executors made/ and overseers eke: Of Children that be fatherless/ and infants mild and meek.” Although some of language is updated to reflect contemporary trends, the ballad plot remains more or less unchanged over the sixteen decades in which editions were released.

Wright’s 1635 version of *The Children in the Woods* (STC (2nd ed.) / 18644.3) set a visual format that was imitated for over one hundred years.²⁴³ There are two main woodcut impressions on this version:

²⁴³ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman*.

couple are the results of the fight: the dead children's bodies being covered in branches by robins, the dead farm animals and burned house and barn that was God's curse upon the Uncle, and finally, the hanged body meant to represent the execution of the ruffian who was caught. It is clear from all the elements in it that this block was carved specifically for this ballad. The second image is on the right hand side of the ballad, positioned above the final columns for text. A large stag is foreground in the image, but the carving also includes of a two children praying, and some other indistinguishable figures in the bottom left corner.²⁴⁵


The large composite image first used in the White 1635 ballad became the visual marker of *The Norfolk Gentleman*. The large composite image was printed as the dominant image on both chapbooks and ballads that related this tale through the eighteenth century. A comparison of woodcut impressions on extant material reveals that printers or publishers did not simply reuse the same block, but often used blocks that were noticeably distinct from one another. This strongly implies that printers and publishers were willing to purchase or obtain the woodcut that had become increasingly associated with the text from *The Norfolk Gentleman*. Based on the pattern of publication, it is very likely that printers maintained visual and textual consistency over many decades, in part because that was how the market identified this particular narrative. Even when printed in two different forms – the verse-based ballad, or the prose-based chapbook – each publication was visually tagged by the inclusion of the large composite image.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ In some cases printers also incorporated the same stag image used by White over the 3rd and 4th columns. In other cases, printers included a similar, but modified version of the stage, or replaced the stage image all together.

²⁴⁶ The following discussion examines primarily extant ballads. There is no complete list of all ballads and/or chapbooks published under this title. The ESTC is fairly complete, but even the ESTC does not list either of the ballad editions published by Coles, Vere, and Gilbertson or Wright. There are ESTC listings for ballads that I was unable to examine, but unfortunately the

The inverse impressions indicated that the Coles, Vere, Gilbertson woodcuts were copied from the original White impressions. Mirror image copies of woodcuts were common in the early modern print market, perhaps the best-known example being Marcantonio Raimondi's unauthorized copies of Albrecht Dürer's work.²⁴⁸ Copies were easily made by placing the original paper image on a block of wood and carving around it. The resulting woodblock would create an inverse of the original image when printed. There are minor differences between the White impressions and the copies, mainly in shading lines. Coles, Vere, and Gilbertson also published a second edition, Euing 1.255 in the same period in which the stag image was replaced with an impression of a people in medieval dress presiding over a coffin.²⁴⁹

The Norfolk Gentleman, his last Will and Testament:
 And how he committed the keeping of his Children to his own Brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and how God plagued him for it.
 The Tune is, Rogito.




Who ponder well you parents hear
 What if these Children chance to dye,
 The words which I shall write,
 In time maye be to you light.
 A Gentleman of good account,
 In Court liv'd of late,
 Whose wealth by riches was surmount,
 Much more of his estate.
 Some sick he was and like to dye,
 No help that he could have,
 His wife by him as sick was laye,
 And both sought one grave.
 So he between these two was left,
 Each loas to other kin,
 In love they liv'd in love they dy'd,
 And left the babes behind.
 He once a day unto pretty kee,
 Not valing these pious old,
 He do other a while moore young than he,
 And more of his estate wold.
 He father left his little Son,
 As well it wold appear,
 When he to perfect age should come,
 Thus hunderd yeare a yeare.
 And to his little daughter Jane,
 Two hundred pound in gold,
 To be paid on marriage day,
 Which might not be couer'd to.

Who blest you both my children dear,
 With what the heaven sent,
 These speake then their tother speake
 To these sick Couple there,
 He being of our children dear
 These after do not fear,
 We never prosper: no, no, mine
 No ought else that I have,
 If I do wrong your children young,
 When you are into in great.

His Parents being dead and gone
 The children home he takes,
 And brings them home unto his heart
 And much of them he makes,
 Who knowes what will become of them
 He has not kept these pretty babes
 A twelvemonth and more,
 But for their means he do devise
 To make them both stowe.

He bargain'd with two Ruffians rude,
 Which were of furious mood,
 And they should take a children young
 And rap them in the wood,
 And tow his wife and all he had,
 He did the children send,
 As he thought up in that London,
 With one that was his friend.



All that then went these pretty babes
 To school at that time,
 And smiling with a merry mind
 They found on each boy's side,
 The plate and plate plentifully,
 As they rose on the bay,
 So them that found their Withers he,
 With knives they were plentifully
 And took their lives away.
 So that the pretty boy which they had
 More murders hearts rent,
 And they that took the hand to do
 Full for the vice repent,
 For one of them more hearts of heart
 Was to be his charge,
 Because the witch that hires them
 Had paid them very large.
 The other should not agree thereto
 To see they sit at table
 With one another they who fight
 About the children's life.
 And he that was of neither mood
 He say the other there,
 With an unthankfull mood,
 Where babes do quake for fear,
 For took the children by the hand
 And drew them in their eye
 And had them come and go with him
 And look they did not cry.
 And thus miles he too them thus,
 While they for by him complain,
 So say they need be following you by road
 As he do come again.

Some parts babes with him in hand,
 Went towards up and down,
 And never more they saw the man
 Approching from the town.
 And pretty fine with black berries
 Were all bestow'd and up'd,
 But when they late a darkness might
 They late them down and cry'd,
 They late them down and cry'd,
 They late them down and cry'd.

In one another arms they dy'd,
 So babes wanting relief,
 So buriall their pretty babes
 Of any man receive.
 For careful hearts who burnt his heart
 And took them with leave,
 And now the hands mouth of God
 Upon their hearts lay,
 For careful hearts who burnt his heart
 His conscience cut all rent.
 His bones were in his bones contain'd
 His bones were burnt away,
 His Galle was broken by the hand
 And nothing with him stay.
 And in the voyage of Portugal
 One of his bones was dye,
 And to convince himselfe was brought
 One much misery.
 He father and mother's all his life
 His father's bones came about,
 And was at last by the water side,
 And by the water side came out.
 He follows that who takes in hand,
 The children for to kill,
 And for a robbery should be dye,
 As was God's blessing will,
 Who do containe the very truth,
 The which is here cry'd out,
 And was at last by the water side,
 And by the water side was dead
 Long in prison to be.

All you that be covetous made
 And therefore die,
 Of children that be fatherless,
 And infants into any man's
 Asks you example by this thing,
 One child to each his right,
 But when they late a darkness might
 They late them down and cry'd,
 They late them down and cry'd,
 They late them down and cry'd.

Printed for S. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson.

²⁴⁸ For more regarding the ambiguities of copies, copyright, and "originality" in the Renaissance art world Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). For examples of reversals in copied prints, see: Israhel van Meckenem's *Death of the Virgin* (c. 1490s), a copy of Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* (c. 1480).



²⁴⁹ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman*, no. Euing 1.255; EBBA id 31809.

Figure 74: *The Norfolk Gentleman*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson, between 1658 and 1664) Euing 1.255 EBBA id 31809.

It is unclear which version was printed first, but very clear that regardless of second images used on the ballad, the primary composite scene was very closely connected to the text.

A 1663 or 1664 edition was published soon after J. Wright joined the partnership and W. Gilbertson passed away.²⁵⁰

The Norfolk Gentleman his Last will and Testament.
 And how he committed the keeping of his Children to his own Brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and how God Plagued him for it. The Tune is, Rogero.

Now ponder well you parents dear,
 The words which I shall say,
 In time brought forth to light:
 A Gentleman of good account,
 In Norfolk dwelt of late,
 Whose wealth and riches did surmount
 Most men of his estate.
 Soe rich he was and like to dye,
 No help that he could have,
 His wife by him as sick did lye,
 And both pass'd one grave:
 So late between these two was left,
 Each was to other kind,
 In love they liv'd in love they dy'd
 And left two babes behind.
 The one a fine and pretty boy,
 Not passing three years old,
 The other a Child more young then he,
 And made of bravest mould:
 The Father left his little Son,
 As plainly both appear,
 When he to perfect age should come,
 Five hundred pounds a year,
 And two his little Daughters; Jere,
 Two hundred pounds in gold,
 To be paid down on marriage day,
 Which might not be controul'd.

But if these Children chance to dye,
 E're they to age should come,
 Their Uncle should possess their wealth,
 So to the Will did run.
 Both Brother (said the dying man)
 Look to my children dear,
 Be good unto my Wof and Child,
 No friend else I have here:
 To God and you I do commend,
 My children might and day,
 A little while be sure to have,
 Within this world to stay.
 You must be Father and mother both,
 And Uncle all in one,
 God knows what will become of them,
 When I am dead and gone:
 With that bespoke their speaker dear,
 To brother kind (quoth he)
 You are the man must bring my babes,
 To wealch or misery.

God bless you both my children dear
 With that the tears did fall.
 These speeches then their brother spake,
 To this sick couple three,
 The keeping of your children dear,
 Under like do not fear:
 God never prosper me nor mine,
 No might else that I have,
 If I do wrong your children dear
 When you are laid in Grave.
 Their Parents being dead and gone,
 The Children home he takes,
 And brings them home unto his house,
 And much of them he makes:
 He had not long these pretty babes,
 A sturle month and a day,
 But for their wealth he did desire,
 To make them both away.
 He bargain'd with the Ruffians trade,
 Which were of furious mood,
 That they should take the children young
 And slap them in a wood:
 And told his wife and all he had,
 He did his Children send,
 To be brought up in fair London,
 With one that was his friend.

Allap then went these pretty babes
 Enjoying at that time,
 And smiling with a merry mind
 They went on each joye side:
 They ate and played pleasantly
 As they rode on the Way,
 To them that should their Nurseries be
 And work their lives away.
 So that the pretty wench they had
 Made quothers hearts relent,
 And they that took the bad to do
 Full joye they did repent,
 For one of them more hard of heart
 Did bowe to do his charge,
 Because the Wench that liked him
 Had paid him very large.
 The other would not agree thereto,
 So here they left at strife,
 With one another they did fight
 About the Childrens life:
 And he that was of milke mood,
 Did slap the other there,
 Within an untimmed wood,
 Where babes did quake for fear.
 He took the Children by the hand
 When tears stood in their eye,
 And had them come and go with him
 And look they did not cry,
 And two long miles he led them thus
 While they for bread complain
 How they were kept for the way you had
 Woe I do come again.

These pretty Babes with hand in hand
 Went washing up and down,
 But never more they saw the man
 Appointing from the Town:
 Their pretty legs with blacke berries
 Were all beset and dy'd
 And when they saw the daintom night
 They sat them down and cry'd.

Just murtherd these two little babes
 Till death did end their grief,
 In one anothers Arms they dy'd
 As by bewailing relief,
 No burial these pretty babes
 Of any man received,
 Till Robin Red-breast painfullly
 Did cover them with teares,
 And now the heavy weight of God
 Upon this Uncle fell,
 For fearful sinning did haune his house
 His conscience felt on Hell:
 His bones were fir'd his goods consumed
 His Lande were barren made,
 His cattle dy'd within the field,
 And nothing with him staid.
 And in the Wopage of Portugal,
 Two of his sons did dye,
 And to conclude himself was brought
 Into much misery:
 He pained and moaning'd all his Land;
 E're seven years came about,
 And now at length this wicked old
 Did by this means come out,
 The fethers that did raze in hand
 These Children for to kill,
 Was for a Robbery justly a dye,
 As was Gods blessed will:
 Who did conise the deep trench,
 The which he here express'd,
 Their Uncle dy'd while he lay
 Did long in prison rest.

All you that be Cruelties made
 And offences ere:
 Of Children that be fatherless,
 And infants mild and meek:
 This you example by this thing,
 And hold to each his eye,
 And when they saw the daintom night
 They sat them down and cry'd.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright.

Figure 75: Anon., *The Norfolk Gentleman*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, between 1663 and 1674).

This version is distinguishable from the earlier version shown in figure X by the printer's mark. Figure 7 lists Coles, Vere, and Gilbertson, while this edition was published after Gilbertson's passing and once Wright had joined the partnership. The

²⁵⁰ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Will and Testament and How He Committed the Keeping of His Children to His Own Brother, Who Dealt Most Wickedly with Them, and How God Plagued Him for It : the Tune Is, Rogero*. (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1663), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31808/image>.

reproduction of the woodcuts suggests either that Coles or Vere owned the blocks (they are the common publisher's between the two versions), or that they used the same printer, who owned the blocks, for printing both editions.

As in their earlier edition (Fig. 74), this edition (Fig. 75) also included the composite image and the stag image. In this case it appears that both blocks have been touched up or re-carved yet again. There are noticeable, minor differences in the shrubbery in each composite image, and a major change in the upper right-hand corner of the stag image, in which the two praying children have been replaced by an indistinguishable object.

Between 1686 and 1688 W. Thackeray and T. Passinger published an edition of *The Norfolk Gentleman* that used the same typography, woodcuts (the composite image and the stag image), and orientation of the text and images, as the 1663 Coles, Vere, and Gilbertson version.²⁵¹ In 1695, Alex Milbourn re-printed *The Norfolk Gentleman*.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Vvill and Testament. Who Committed the Keeping of His Children to His Own Brother, Who Dealt Most Wickedly with Them, and How God Plagued Him for It. The Tune Rogero* (London: W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1686), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20246/image>.

²⁵² Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman His Last Vvill and Testament and How He Committed the Keeping of His Children to His Brother, Who Dealt Most Wicke Ly [sic] by Them: And How God Plagued Him for It. To the Tune of Rogero* (London: Alex Milbourn, 1695), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:32645. In Milbourn's version, an image of a plumed knight on horseback is used in lieu of the stag image.

though the differences in the blocks are subtle, the minor variations are significant because they demonstrate that printers did not just re-use a single woodcut, but commissioned new cuts as needed for new editions. Taken together, this evidence indicates that printers were willing to invest in commissioning blocks in order to meet the market's expectations regarding the use of images to mark some specific ballads.

Throughout the eighteenth century new cuts were created for the new editions of *The Norfolk Gentleman*, all of which were based on the seventeenth century versions. Though new woodcuts were concerned with incorporating visually significant elements from the seventeenth-century cuts – such as the dueling ruffians, the dead farm animals, hanged man, and the dead children - over time, newer woodcuts tended to be of poorer quality in terms of both composition and line.

The only early eighteenth century edition was William Onley's c. 1697-1705 version of *The Norfolk Gentleman*.²⁵³ Publication increased after the mid-century when ballads experienced a resurgence due to new presses operating in Bow Street Courtyard in London and Newcastle Upon Tyne. When printing of *The Norfolk Gentleman* resumed, the printers took great care to replicate the original illustrations as closely as possible, despite the thirty-year gap in production. A 1740 version printed at Newcastle upon Tyne relies on the mirror image of the composite block used by Coles, Vere and Wright or Gilbertson (Fig. 77) and suggests that either a new block was carved, or that the printer was able to purchase the set the earlier ballad partners had used.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament*. I was unable to examine a copy of this ballad.

²⁵⁴ Anon, *The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament: Who on His Death Bed, Committed the Keeping of His Two Children, (a Boy and a Girl) to His Own Brother, Who Did Most Wickedly Cause Them to Be Destroyed, That so Ye Might Possess Himself of the Children's Estate, but by the Just Judgment of God, the Murder Was Found Out, Himself, and All That He*

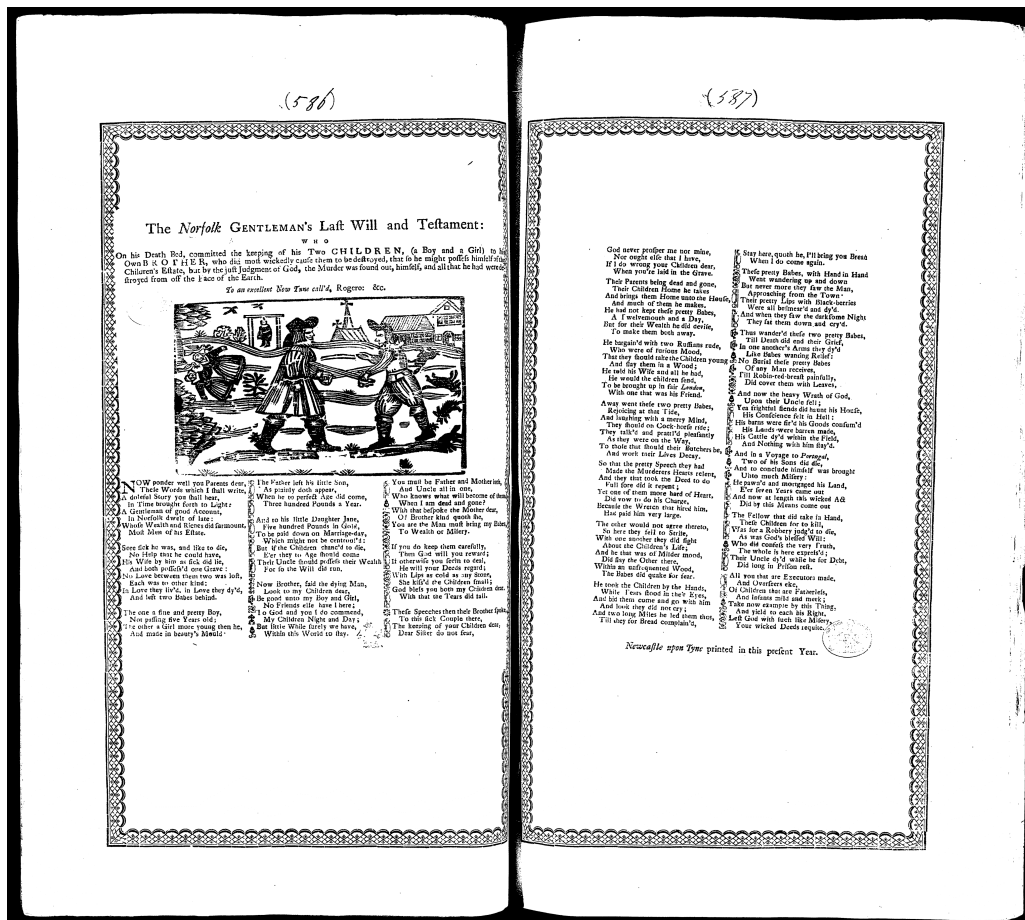


Figure 77: *The Norfolk Gentleman*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1740).

By the 1760s, two newly carved versions of the composite image appear on ballad printings.²⁵⁵ It is in these editions that we begin to see a deterioration in the more recently carved versions of the composite image. For example, the composite image on the ballad in figure 78 (below) used a new version of the composite image printed on *The Norfolk Gentleman*. The woodcut contains all elements found in the seventeenth century versions, but the composition is crowded and not as well proportioned as the earlier images.

Had Were Destroyed from Off the Face of the Earth. To an Excellent New Tune Call'd, Rogero: &c (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1740).

²⁵⁵ *The Children in the Wood. Or the Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament* (London: Printed and sold at the printing-office in Bow-church-yard, London, 1760); Anon, *The Children in the Wood: Or, the Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament* (London: printed and sold in Stonecutter-street, Fleet Market, 1765).

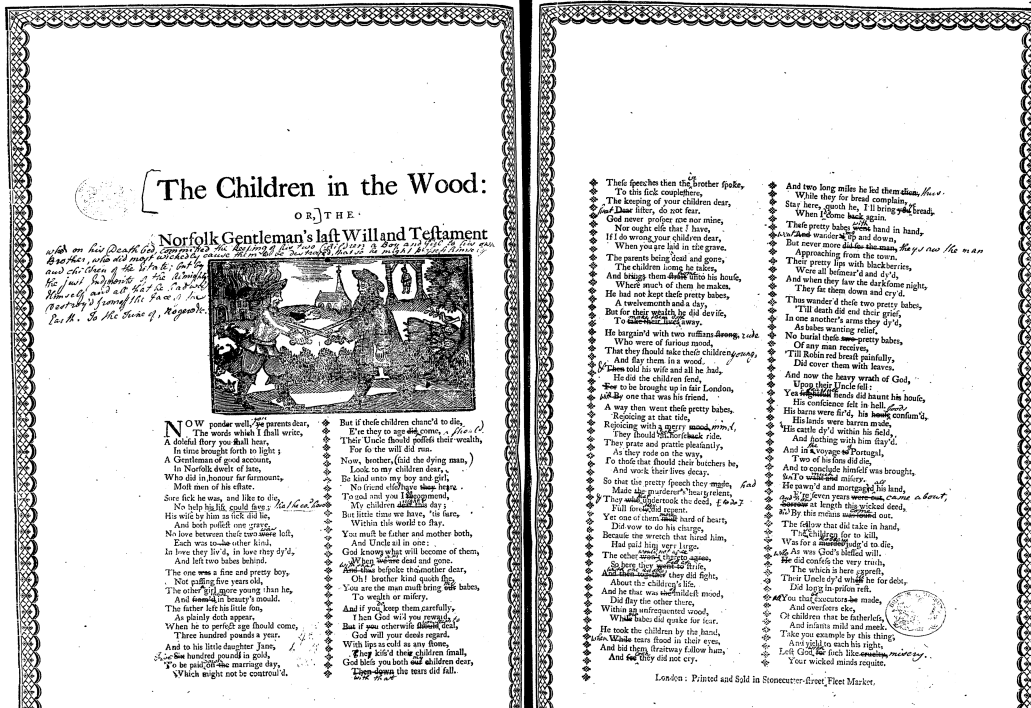


Figure 78: *The Children in the Wood: Or, The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament*, (London: printed and sold in Stonecutter-street, Fleet Market, 1765).

In the 1770s, printers from Bow Street Courtyard used a smaller, condensed version of the larger image that appeared in conjunction with other small woodcuts. Seen in figure 79, this image shows further deterioration in image composition and quality.

The Children in the Wood.
OR THE
Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament.



The father left his little son,
As plainly doth appear,
When he to perfect age should come,
Three hundred pounds a year.

And to his little daughter Jane,
Six hundred pounds in gold,
To be paid on the marriage-day,
Which might not be controul'd,
But if these children chanc'd to die,
Ere they to age did come,
Their uncle should possess their wealth,
For so the will did run.



Now, brother, said the dying-man,
Look to my children dear,
Be kind unto my boy and girl,
No friend else have they here,
To God and you I recommend
My children dear this day;
But little time we have, 'tis long,
Within this world to stay.

You must be father and mother both,
And uncle all in one;
God knows what will become of them,
When we are dead and gone.
And thus bespoke the mother dear,
Oh! brother kind, quoth she,
You see the man now bring our babes
To wealth or misery.

And if you keep them carefully,
Then God will you reward;
But if you otherwise should deal,
God will your deeds regard.
With lips as cold as any stone,
They kiss'd their children small;
God bless you both, our children dear,
Then down the tears did fall.

These speeches then the brother spake
To this sick couple there:
The keeping of your children small,
Dear sister, do not fear;
God never prosper me nor mine,
Nor ought else that I have,
If I do wrong your children dear,
When you are laid in grave.

The parents being dead and gone,
The children home he takes,
And brings them thence into his house,
Where much of them he makes.
He had not kept these pretty babes
A twelvemonth and a day,
But for their wealth he did devise
To take their lives away.



He bargain'd with two ruffians strong,
Who were of furious mood,
That they should take these children
And slay them in a wood.
Then told his wife and all he had,
He did the children send,
For to be brought up in fair London,
With one that was his friend.

Away then went these pretty babes,
Rejoicing at that time,
Rejoicing at that merry mood,
They thought on horseback ride:
They came and parted pleasantly,
As they rode on the way,
To those that should their butchers be,
And work their lives decay.

So that the pretty speech they made,
Made murderers' hearts relent,

And they who undertook the deed,
Still sorely did repent,
Yet one of them, most hard of heart,
Did vow to do his charge,
Because the wretch that bred him,
Had paid him very large.
The other won't bestow agree,
So here they fall to fight,
And then together they did fight
About the children's life.
And he that was of mildest mood
Did slay the other there,
Within an unfrequented wood,
While babes did quake for fear.



He took the children by the hand,
While tears flood in their eyes,
And led them straitway follow him,
And for they did not cry,
While they for bread complain,
Stay here, quoth he, I'll bring you bread
When I come back again.



These pretty babes went hand in hand,
And wander'd up and down;
But never more did see the man
Approaching from the town.
Their pretty lips with blackberries
Were all besmear'd and dy'd,
And when they saw the darkness night
They fat them down and cry'd.

Thus wander'd these two pretty babes,
'Till death did end their grief,
In one another's arms they died,
As babes wanting relief,
No tural these pretty babes,
Of any man receives,
'Till Robin-red-breast's pitifully
Did cover them with leaves.

And now the heavy wrath of God
Upon their uncle fell,
Yea, fiendful fiends did haunt his house:
His conscience felt an hell.
His barns were fill'd, his house confam'd,
His lands were barren made,
His cattle died within the field,
And nothing with him stay'd.

And in a voyage to Portugal
Two of his sons did die,
And to conclude himself was brought
To want and misery.
He pawn'd and mortgag'd his land
Ere seven years were out,
So now at length this wicked deed
By this means was found out.

The fellow that did take in hand
The children for to kill,
Was for a murder judg'd to die,
As was God's blessed will.
He did confess the very truth
The which is here express'd.
Their uncle died when he for debt
Died long in prison left.
You that execute be made,
And overseee else,



O! children that be fatherless,
And infants mild and meek,
Take you example by this thing,
And yield to each his right,
Left God for such-like cruelty,
Your wickel minds requite.

Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Bow-Church-Yard, London.

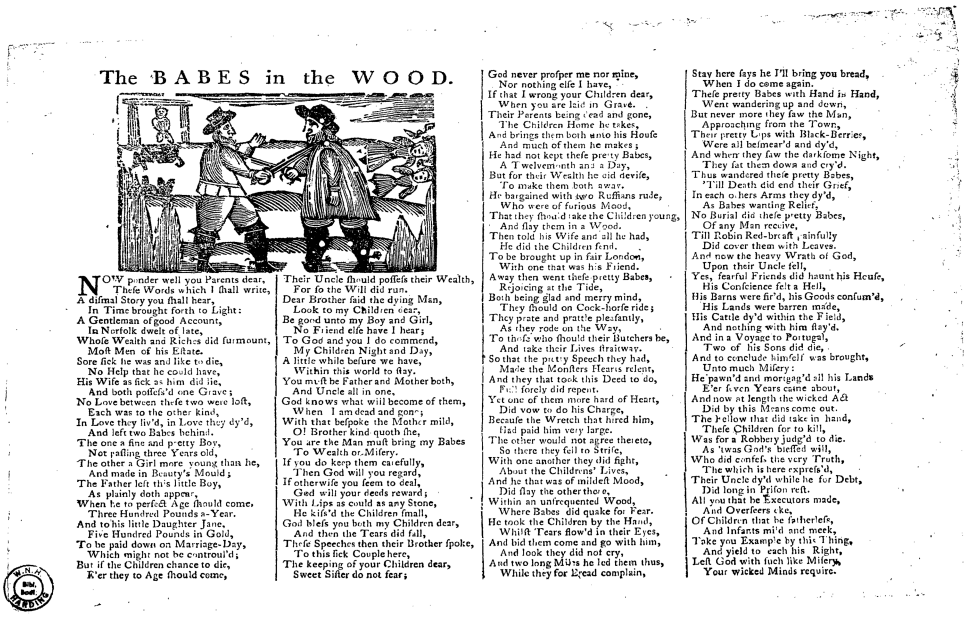
Figure 79: *The Children in the Wood: or, The Norfolk Gentleman's last will and testament*, (London: Printed and sold in Bow Church Yard, 1770) Both Bow Street Courtyard editions (1760, 1770).

These two editions make interesting examples because in addition to the large composite image, which I believe had become the visual "brand" of this ballad, they contain smaller woodcarvings speckled through the text. Although the small woodcarvings depict a number of elements that do not most directly illustrate the narrative, for example, a pair of dueling centurions are included to illustrate the dueling ruffians, they still narrate most of the scenes of the ballad. More importantly, in spite of the literal visual illustration provided by the small woodcuts, the printers still found it necessary, or at least pertinent, to include the main composite image that had become such a clear marker for this ballad.

The decline in image quality is particularly clear in the woodcut impression on a 1785 version entitled, *The Babes in the Wood*.²⁵⁶ This block again reproduces the general format of the composite, but with significantly less detail than earlier versions.

²⁵⁶ *The Babes in the Wood* (London?, 1785),

<http://find.galegroup.com/oca.ucsc.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupname=ucscantacruz&tabID=T001&docId=CW117256784&type=multipage&contentSet=ECOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>.



The BABES in the WOOD.

NOW ponder well you Parents dear,
These Words which I shall write,
A dismal Story you shall hear,
In Time brought forth to Light:
A Gentleman of good Account,
In Norfolk dwelt of late,
Whole Wealth and Riches did surmount,
Most Men of his Estate.
Sore sick he was and like to die,
No Help that he could have,
His Wife as sick as him did lie,
And both possid' one Grave;
No Love between the two were left,
Each was to the other's kind,
In Love they liv'd, in Love they dy'd,
And left two Babes behind.
The one a fine and pretty Boy,
Not past three Years old,
The other a Girl more young than he,
And made in Beauty's mould;
The Father left this little Boy,
As plainly death appears,
When he to perfect Age should come,
Three Hundred Pounds a Year,
And to his little Daughter Jane,
Five Hundred Pounds in Gold,
To be paid down on Marriage-Day,
Which might not be controul'd;
But if the Children chance to die,
E'er they to Age should come,

Their Uncle should possid' their Wealth,
For so the Will did run,
Dear Brother said the dying Man,
Look to my Children dear,
Be good unto my Boy and Girl,
No Friend else have I here,
To God and you I do commend,
My Children Night and Day,
A little while before we have,
Within this world to stay,
You must be Father and Mother both,
And Uncle all in one,
God knows what will become of them,
When I am dead and gone;
With that bespoke the Mother mild,
Of Brother kind quoth she,
You are the Man must bring my Babes
To Wealth or Misery.
If you do keep them carefully,
If otherwise you seem to deal,
God will your deeds reward;
With Lips as cold as any Stone,
He kiss'd the Children small,
God bless you both my Children dear,
And then the Tears did fall,
These Speeches then their Brother spake,
To this sick Couple here,
The keeping of your Children dear,
Sweet Suffer do not fear,

God never prosper me nor mine,
Nor nothing else I have,
If that I wrong your Children dear,
When you are laid in Grave,
Their Parents being dead and gone,
The Children home he takes,
And brings them both unto his House
And much of them he makes;
To make them both swag,
A Twelvemonth and a Day,
But for their Wealth he did desire,
He bargained with some Ruffians rude,
Who were of famous Blood,
That they should take the Children young,
And flay them in a Wood.
Then told his Wife and all he had,
He did the Children find,
To be brought up in fair London,
With one that was his Friend,
Away then went these pretty Babes,
Rejoicing at the Tide,
Both being glad and merry mind,
They should on Cock-horse ride;
They prate and prattle pleasantly,
As they rode on the Way,
To those who should their Batches be,
And take their Lives straightway,
So that the pity Speech they had,
Made the Monsters Hearts relent,
And they that took this Deed to do,
Full forcibly did repeat,
Yet one of them more hard of Heart,
Did vow to do his Charge,
Because the Wretch that hired him,
Had paid him very large,
The other would not agree thereto,
So there they fell to strife,
With one another they did fight,
About the Children's Lives,
And he that was of milder Mood,
Did lay the other thro',
Within an unrequited Wood,
Where Babes did quake for Fear,
He took the Children by the Hand,
Whil' Tears flow'd in their Eyes,
And bid them come and go with him,
And look they did not cry,
And two long Miles he led them thus,
While they for Bread complain,

Stay here says he I'll bring you bread,
When I do come again,
These pretty Babes with Hand in Hand,
Went wandering up and down,
But never more they saw the Man,
Approaching from the Town,
Their pretty Lips with Black-Berrier,
Were all belear'd and dy'd,
And when they saw the darkness Night,
They sat them down and cry'd,
Thus wandred these pretty Babes,
Till Death did end their Grief,
In each o' hers Arms they dy'd,
As Babes wanting Relief,
No Burial did these pretty Babes,
Of any Man receive,
Till Robin Red-breast, unawfully
Did cover them with Leaves,
And new the heavy Wrath of God,
Upon their Sacks fell,
Yes, fearful Friends did haunt his House,
His Conscience felt a Hell,
His Barns were fir'd, his Goods confum'd,
His Lands were barren made,
His Cattle dy'd within the Field,
And nothing with him stay'd,
And in a Voyage to Portugal,
Two of his Sons did die,
And to conclude himself was brought,
Unto much Misery;
He pawn'd and mortgag'd all his Lands
E'er seven Years came about,
And now at length the wicked Act
Did by this Means come out,
The fellow that did take in hand,
These Children for to kill,
Was for a Robbery judg'd to die,
As 'twas God's blessed will,
Who did confer the very Truth,
The which is here express'd,
Their Uncle dy'd while he for Debt,
Did long in Prison red,
All you that be Executors made,
And Overseers be,
Of Children that be fatherless,
And Infants mild and meek,
Take you Example by this Thing,
And yield to each his Right,
Lest God with such like Misery,
Your wicked Minis require.

Figure 80: *The Babes in the Wood*, (London?, 1785).

Only three narrative elements are seen on this block: the ruffians dueling, a gallows with a hanged man in the upper left hand corner, and a poorly executed depiction of the two small children holding hands and covered with a leaf by a rough image of a robin. This block is in poor shape. There are noticeable cracks and wormholes, and the inking is uneven, but the cut still maintains the key visual elements.²⁵⁷ Where seventeenth century images utilized white space and proportion in order to separate narrative elements, these eighteenth century images pay little heed to either spacing or fine detail. What becomes important is including the key images as they relate to the narrative so that they can function as markers of the ballad. Lost in these later carvings is the sense that the image was carefully constructed, like *A New Yeares Gift to Shrems*, to encourage the reader to read interactively.

²⁵⁷ The Babes in the Wood ([London?, 1785).

Such iconographic trends were not limited to ballad illustration, they were apparent in chapbooks as well. In the early part of the eighteenth century, William Onley is credited as the first publisher to release a chapbook version of the story written in prose rather than in verse, and began what would become multiple editions of *The History of the Children in the Wood*. All versions, excepting one ballad published in Edinburgh c. 1776, continued to use a composite image based on the seventeenth century woodcuts that were attached to *The Norfolk Gentleman*. Overall, the quality of carvings declined sharply in the eighteenth century although central elements such as the two ruffians dueling, the Children's bodies covered with branches by robins, a dead farm animal or two, and the hanged body on the gallows, were used prominently, if not exclusively, in every version of this story. As with the eighteenth century ballad versions of *The Norfolk Gentleman*, the chapbooks demonstrate that printers continued to include visual elements that marked this text, even if the quality of the images was less of a concern over time.

Around 1700, William Onley published a prose version of *The Norfolk Gentleman* as a twenty-four page illustrated small quarto book.²⁵⁸ This chapbook features four pages with illustrations: the first three pages and the final page. The first unpaginated page and title page each feature an impression of the composite image that had been now been printed numerous times in conjunction with the ballad *The Norfolk Gentleman*.

²⁵⁸ *The most lamentable and deplorable history of the two children in the wood: containing The happy Loves and Lives of their Parents, the Treachery and barbarous Villany of their Unkle, the Duel between the murdering Russians, and the unhappy and deplorable Death of the two innocent Children. As also an Account of the Justice of God that overtook the Unnatural Unkle; and of the deserved Death of the two murdering Russians. To which is annex'd, The Old Song upon the same.* (London: printed by and for W.O. and sold by the booksellers, 1705), <http://galenet.galegroup.com.oca.ucsc.edu/servlet/ECCO?vrsn=1.0&dd=0&locID=ucsantacruz&b1=KE&srchtp=b&d1=0947100200&SU=All&c=48&ste=11&d4=0.33&stp=DocTitle&dc=flc&n=10&docNum=CW115366261&b0=children+in+the+wood&tiPG=1>. Josiah Blare also published a chapbook edition of *The History...* but I was unable to view this document in the course of my research: *The History of the Children in the Vwood. This May Be Printed, R.P* (London: Printed by I[ohn]. M[illet]. for J[osiah]. Blare, at the sign of the Looking-Glass, on London-Bridge, 1687).



Figure 81: Front page from William Onley's chapbook, *A History of the Children in the Wood*, (1705).

The most Lamentable and Deplor.
HISTORY
 OF THE
Two Children in the Wood:
 CONTAINING

The happy Loves and Lives of their Parents, the Treachery and barbarous Villany of their Uncle, the Duel between the murdering Ruffians, and the unhappy and deplorable Death of the two innocent Children.
 As also an Account of the Justice of GOD that overtook the Unnatural Uncle; and of the deserved Death of the two murdering Ruffians.

To which is annex'd,

The Old SONG upon the same.



London: Printed by and for W. O. and sold by the Book-sellers.

Figure 82: Title page from William Onley's chapbook, *A History of the Children in the Wood*, (1705).

The impression on the first page (Fig. 81) is based in style and composition, very closely on the large composite used by Coles, Vere, and Gilbertson on their 1658 ballad (Fig. 73,

74), and used again by Coles, Vere, and Wright in 1663 (Fig. 75). A comparison of shading and small details reveals that there were carved either by two different hands, or are two different blocks carved by the same hand.²⁵⁹ The impression on the second page (Fig. 82) depicts another version of the same scene. One man stabs the other in the course of a duel, there are two dead farm animals on the right hand side, burning buildings in the upper right corner, an indistinct hanged body in the upper most center of the image, and the two dead children and a hovering robin in the upper left hand corner. This impression is quite different from earlier versions of the same scene. The relational perspective is not as well composed, the number of dead farm animals has been reduced from four to two, the men no longer wear beards, the man on the right raises one arm in the air as he stabs his opponent, and fine detail is diminished.

Although these two images are visually distinct from one another in a number of ways, they represent the same subject matter and share elements in composition with both each other and ballad woodcuts. Printed on the first two pages of the chapbook, they are the first visual markers a customer would see and identify the chapbook text as the same narrative found in ballad versions of *The Norfolk Gentleman*. By using similar imagery on both chapbook and ballad versions of *The Norfolk Gentleman*, Onley reinforced the link created between text and image, even across different media, and reestablished the standard for chapbooks.

The composite image Onley used on the title page (second non-paginated page) of his 1705 chapbook was reused numerous times on subsequent chapbook printings of *A History of the Two Children in the Woods*. Each printing contained an impression based on the composite image first seen on Onley's 1705 title page, and each impression

²⁵⁹ For example, the number and design of leaves, shading on the men's clothing, and facial details all show subtle differences between the two impressions.

demonstrates significant differences to indicate that they were made from at least four distinct blocks. Two examples can be seen in J. White's 1710 edition and an anonymously published edition from London, c. 1750:

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Children in the Wood ;
OR
Murder Revenged.



Printed and Sold in London.

Figure 83: *The History of the Children in the Wood, or Murder Revenged*, (London, 1750?).



Figure 84: *The History of the Two Children in the Wood*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: printed and sold by J. White, 1710).

Both woodcuts depict the same scene and are derived from the cut Onley used on his 1705 title page. However, closer examination of the design of the foliage (on the tree in the upper left and the bush in the center foreground, the farm animals, and the children), clearly demonstrate that these impressions were made by two distinct woodcuts, possibly carved by two separate hands. Nonetheless, both images maintain the patterns first established in White's original 1635 ballad, as well as the newer version of this image initially used in Onley's chapbook printings. Many of the other eighteenth-century chapbooks also included additional, small, illustrative woodcuts throughout the text.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ For examples see: *The Children in the Wood. Or the Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament*; Anon, *The Children in the Wood: Or, the Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament* (London: Printed and sold in Bow Church Yard, 1770), <http://find.galegroup.com/oca.ucsc.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroup=ucscantacruz&tabID=T001&docId=CW117345717&type=multipage&contentSet=ECOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>.

However, in all cases the most visible image on the front of the chapbook was consistently a version of the composite image that had first been printed by White in 1635.

The story of *The Norfolk Gentleman* proved enduringly popular and was translated into newer media including chapbooks, art prints, and even a 1790's opera.²⁶¹ As they had done with ballads, publishers of new versions of the *Children in the Wood* continued to use the iconography established in ballads of *The Norfolk Gentleman*. By the end of the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth centuries, the sad tale of the *Children in the Wood* became a sentimental subject for engravings, etchings, and mezzotints. Art print versions were printed as stand-alone images such as James Watsons (imp., fecit.) 1775 etching *The Children in the Wood* after Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Medland (imp.), and William Sharp's (fec.) 1786 etching *The Children in the Woods*, after Sir John Hodges Benwell.²⁶² Occasionally they were printed in conjunction with a few short lines of text, such as Jean Delattre (fec. and Thomas Macklin (ex.) 1786 *Children in the Wood*, and a 1797 mezzotint published by Haines & Son under the same name, both of which were printed with two verses of four lines each.²⁶³ Generally priced around 6d, these prints depicted either the cherubic children asleep in the forest with robins hovering over them, or picking berries

²⁶¹As printers of inexpensive material expanded their stocks, *The Norfolk Gentleman* continued to be printed in ballad form as *The Norfolk Gentleman*. Chapbook and art prints were increasingly titled, *The Children in the Wood*. The opera version of the story was performed in London and Dublin and was also titled *The Children in the Wood*. Thomas Morton, *The children in the wood. A musical piece, in two acts. Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Crow-Street*. (Dublin: John Rice, 1794).

²⁶² Watson (imp., fecit.), *The Children in the Wood, After Sir Joshua Reynolds*; Thomas Medland, *The Children in the Wood, after, Sir John Hodges Benwell*, Etching, Engraving, 278 x 302 mm, 1786, 1843,0513.443, British Museum, Prints & Drawings.

²⁶³ Jean Marie Delattre, *The Children in the Wood*; Haines & Son, *The Children in the Wood*, Mezzotint, etching, 350 x 250 mm, 1797, 2010,7081.879, British Museum, Prints & Drawings, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=3342693&partid=1&searchText=children+in+the+woods&fromDate=1700&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1830&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=3.

in search of food. This marks a change in the visual representation of this narrative. While broadside ballads continued to focus on the battle between the two Ruffians, stand-alone prints focused on the victimhood of the children. In spite of the shift in focus, the printed images continued to reproduce iconography associated with the seventeenth-century ballad woodcuts.

Although few other ballads had the long print life of *The Norfolk Gentleman*, and even fewer were transformed into chapbook form, several other ballads printed with composite images demonstrate the same sort of illustrative consistency across multiple printers and editions. Ballads such as *A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical End of a Gallant Gentleman*, *The Lady Isabella's Tragedy or the Stepmother's Cruelty*, *The Gelding of the Devil*, and the aforementioned *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor* were each initially printed with a custom-carved composite image that subsequent printers re-commissioned for further print runs. In the larger picture of ballad history, this demonstrates that printers were willing to commission narrative-specific woodcuts, even if doing so meant a higher production cost. When they did so, they did not reuse the composite image with any other text, suggesting an intention to use composite images as a way of marketing specific ballads. Regardless of actual publisher intent, subsequent printers loyally reconstructed the original illustrations, even at added cost to themselves, thus confirming a text-image link in the market. As seen in the many versions of *The Norfolk Gentleman*, printers were even likely to maintain ballad iconography when the narrative was transformed into different media, such as chapbooks and art prints. Printers continued dedication to maintain illustrations further suggests they were doing so meet market expectations regarding how certain stories were illustrated.

Faux Composites

When ballad printers commissioned woodcuts to illustrate a specific text, they used non-linear composite images exclusively. However, due to the associated production costs, it would have been impossible for printers to commission cuts for each ballad and to keep the selling price as a penny. For the most part, printers kept a set of stock images and rearranged the woodcuts as necessary to fit ballad narratives. But, just because illustrations were created out of generic images, does not mean they were not carefully composed. If we apply strategies for reading composite images to other forms of ballad illustration, we can see that printers recreated composite-like images when they arranged smaller woodcuts on ballads. This demonstrates that non-linear forms of illustration were likely a ideal standard in ballad illustration, whether in a uniquely commissioned composite image or in an illustration made up of multiple woodcuts.

We will examine three ballads that used multiple individual woodcuts to mimic the narrative style of composite images. Two cuckold ballads, *I Father a Child That is None of My Own* (1672) and *The London Cuckold* (1688), were single-edition ballads that demonstrate how printers assembled stock images in order to create composite-like, or “faux composite,” illustrations.²⁶⁴ A third ballad, *The Downfall of William Grismond* (multiple editions), was often reprinted and shares a print history similar to *The Norfolk Gentleman*. Like *The Norfolk Gentleman*, all editions of *The Downfall of William Grismond* following the original strived to replicate the pattern of illustrations printed on the first edition. Unlike *The Norfolk Gentleman*, *The Downfall of William Grismond* was never printed with a composite image. Instead, the ballad used three woodcuts organized into a faux composite. Reusing the same woodcuts on multiple editions created a link between the

²⁶⁴ Anon, *The London Cuckold*; Anon, *Father a Child That's None of My Own*.

faux composite they formed and the ballad text. So much so that printers continued to mimic the illustrations in eight editions printed over fifty-seven years. These examples demonstrate that the non-linear narrative style used in composite images was not just limited to them, but was also replicated on ballads illustrated with multiple woodcuts. All of which suggests that composite images formed a standard of illustration that printers were willing to pay for, or attempt to mimic, as best they could.

While cuckold ballads had been a popular segment of ballad stocks since the early seventeenth century, in the 1670s and 1680s a few were printed that focused on the theme of a wife's infidelity while a husband was absent.²⁶⁵ *I Father a Child That's None of My Own* and *The London Cuckold* were two such ballads. They were also printed with woodcuts that are not easily read from left-to-right, but if read as composite images they transmit both specific narrative meaning and encourage an interactive reading that moves between text and image. Compared to ballads with composite images that were often reprinted multiple times, these ballads were only printed in single-edition runs. They are significant because they demonstrate that printers relied on non-linear illustration in a variety of ballads, not just on ballads printed with composite images.

The central message of *I Father a Child That's None of My Own* is self-evident. The ballad is told from the first-person perspective of the husband. He laments having to raise a child his wife had with another man while he was at sea. At first glance, the illustrations give the reader a glimpse of the themes of the ballad.

²⁶⁵ For a thorough consideration of cuckold ballads and iconography of cuckold ballads, see chapter 3.

I Father a Child that's none of my own,

BEING
The SEAMANS' Complaint, **¶** Who took a Whore instead of a Saint.

Shewing, That whilst he was Trading Seven Years from Port to Port at Sea, and brought home great Wealth; his Wife in the mean time by Trading in the Low Countries, got a Mischance, fell down and broke her—Elbow: above all praising the Innocence of a Country Life. To the Tune of, *Cook Lardel: Or, Give me the Lass, &c.*



If every Woman was cre'd in her kind,
and sure when Job his just did see,
The Rooms in Bridewell would be so well fill'd,
that a Coach could not pass in the Street for a Cart.

Full seven long years have I cross'd the Seas,
mean time I've been credit as much on the Land,
My Wife still at home did live at her ease,
Am sure she had all things at her command.



She needed nor her fingers to knit,
yet she keeps her Gallant, she looks so high to win
But sure I must lose by the Stake of the Bet,
If I Father a Child that is none of my own.

I that have seep'd the Rocks and the Bank,
I claim'd the Billows when Storms they late blown
At last am come to be Ship-wreck'd on a Land,
To Father a Child that is none of my own.



I have Traded abroad to bring home some Wealth,
From Port unto Port in far Countries unknown,
Spare while my Wife has been trading by stealth,
And go: me a Child, though 'tis none of my own

She scolded as all they do laugh me to scorn,
and point their fingers at me and my Joan,
Saying, that I will drink out of a Horn,
and Father a Child that is none of my own.

Though I fear not Powder my Horns as some can,
by good Villains Cattle they are so d're grown,
yet 'tis the back side of many a Son,
all you that hear me look home to your own.

For Gallants are dainty and seek in the Whore,
and love to pick on another Spans Horse,
So many an honest good fellow has wrong,
to Father a Child that is none of his own.

In Cities and Towns of greater renown,
this the art of Pilfering Trade is much known,
If a man has a beautiful Wife he can't rest,
for fear to keep Children that's none of his own.

But well fare the Country, they live at their ease,
their innocents all their Nations does crown,
they may go, they may sing, they may do what they please,
and fear not to keep any more than their own.

The Blow man that works for a shift all the day,
and Spleen'd that keeps his Whore all alone,
At night when at home with their wives they may play,
and fear not to Father what's none of their own.

Now I must Rock the Cradle, while
the Clowns on my Whore by the fire at home,
When I look abroad my Neighbour's berie,
'cause I Father a Child that is none of my own.

And is not this most damnable strange,
to be led by such Scoundrels men,
I may sit and tell News at the Royal Exchange,
when I Father a Child that is none of my own.

A man may be made a Cuckold by chance,
and put another mans Child to chance,
and should wish his Whore through Reason,
but he that's a Whore is ten times worse.

But I'll never guide, but let it all pass,
by Woman there's many a Man overthrust,
Although I'm an O.E. I'll ne'r be an Ass,
to Father a Child that is none of my own.

Neither did I flying out of that Race,
to call that my Seed which another hath sown,
When ne'r I'm look King Charles in the face,
if I Father a Child that is none of my own.

Printed for P. Brooksby, near the Hospital-gate, in West-minster.

Figure 85: *I Father a Child That's None of My Own*, (London: P. Brooksby, 1672).

The horned man on the far right would have indicated a cuckold to an early modern reader, and from the other images one could tell that narrative has something to do with romance and a ship. At first glance, the images could be taken as disconnected visualizations of some of the ballad's themes or plot points. However, if these images are read as a composite image, a more meaningful message appears. Once the story is known, the images can be read differently. The figure on the far left represents the narrator of the story while the image of the embracing couple is the wife and her lover. As in the narrative, while the husband is at sea (the ship) and separated from his wife, she embraces another partner. The sightlines of the woodcut of the husband draw a direct line to the small image of the embracing couple, connecting the two images. However, as in the story, he is prevented from getting closer to them because of the presence of the ship. The cuckold on the far left represents the husband's cuckolded status. If one reads the images from left-to-right, they do not make any particular sense or clearly reflect the

narrative. But, if the images are read in a non-linear fashion that encourages understanding how each figure is meant, per the text, to interact with the others, a more complicated and narrative-specific message becomes clear.

The London Cuckold provides a second example of a faux composite printed on a single-edition ballad. Like *I Father a Child That's None of My Own*, this ballad is about a husband who becomes cuckolded while serving as a soldier. Again, initially the illustrations appear to be merely a combination of images generally related to the text.

The LONDON CUCKOLD:

An Ancient Citizens Head well fitted with a Flourishing pair of Fashionable Horns, by his Buxome Young Wife, who was well Back'd by a Coltish Spark, in the time of her Husbands Absence at the Campaign on *Hounslow Heath*.
Tune of, *O Mither! Roger, &c.* This maye Printed, R. P.



A Tradesman hearing of the Story
of the Army and Campaign,
Long'd to see the Colours
and to be with the fair;
On his Boy's Day he got,
And away does himself trot,
Left behind his wife & child,
Whom he lov'd as dear as life:
But while the Tradesman took the Air,
There came a Colt and Back'd his Mare.

It was a Gallant with white Feathers,
and a Coat with Golden Lace,
bearing of her far, came thither,
and Lipp'd for Husbands place:
He thought the careless Boy,

Of the Game that then began,
Thinking not to be beguill'd
By his Wife to sweet and mild:
But while the Tradesman took the Air,
There came a Colt and Back'd his Mare.

When he came home he gave him kisses,
and Back'd her very good,
Cuddles too, he never misses,
for they warm and heat the Blood:
Such things will create desire,
And new kindle Cupid's fire:
These things made him kiss his Wife,
and to call her Love and Life:
But while (alas) he took the Air,
A waggish Colt had Back'd his Mare.

The good man found something budding
With Child, & ye say, (ye ancient Follies)
Which did put him to great pain,
And as he was eating Pudding,
To his Wife he did complain:
Which, said he, I am not well,
(Which I said I cannot tell)
But my Head feels like Stone,
'Tis as hard as any Stone:
By your grace, and this fair morn,
His hand, Husband, 'tis a Horn,
I don't quoth he, pray hold your prating,
(for I love you make me quake)
If it be, 'tis of your making,
'Tis dear! how my Head daes ache:
I am in a woful case,
Something, something 'twixt us apace;
Love said he, then know your doom,
One nip with me in your Room,
For while you rid to take the Air,
There came a Colt that Back'd your Mare.

The Duke (quoth he) take ye for Witches,
can't a Son be the out a while,
But come below with fine Spectacles,
must new Saddle you the while?
Husband, Husband, for your joy,
You shall have a thumping Boy:
Come come peace, and have more wit,
Oh! I feel a quaking fit:
I find, I find, I am with Child,
Pray my Dear, be kind and mild.
Printed for J. Back, at the Black Boy on London Bridge, near the Dean-Bridge.

'Tis not got it, is it true?
'Tis (quoth he) you were so true,
I wd. loath to trouble you:
You are Business as your Life,
But he's mind to kiss your Wife;
You leave me to the stone,
Oh nigge long to fly and moan:
And the more when you took the Air,
There came a Colt and Back'd your Mare.
It was a Boy with a Sattin Jacket,
that sp. a d' most black and fine,
kiss me, kiss me, kiss my Blacket,
in the blith like a Lark's Chime:
But at last I do see,
What young woman could say nay?
Go to a Gallant's Lay play,
and the Gallant won the Day:
For while you (Husband) took the Air,
This same Youngster Back'd your Mare.
Oh! let true Patient be my Ballom,
since I know my wretched Face,
Paint like a Fool to Lillome,
since surges the ho ned Water:
Should I bow in a Crumple out,
I should raise the Rabble-rouse,
Save the Boys about my Ears,
and endure their flouts as I best:
But for hereafter I'll take a rest,
That no young Colt shall Back my Mare.

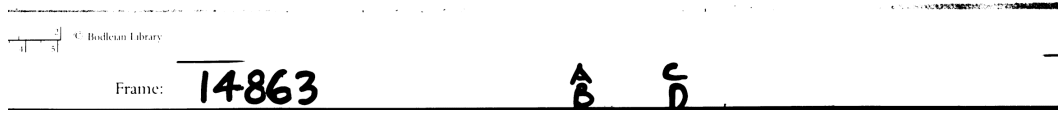


Figure 86: *The London Cuckold*, (London: J. Back, 1638).

However, reading this ballad in the same manner as the previous one, it becomes clear that the images create a textually-specific visual phrase albeit in a non-linear way. Like *I*

Father a Child That is None of My Own, *The London Cuckold* relies on the combination of three images to visualize the central plot. A figure of a man is on the far left, a scene of two warring armies is in the center, and an image of a couple embracing in a bedchamber is on the far right. If read from left to right, these images could represent a man, separated from his sweetheart by war, only reunited with his love in the final frame. Read as a composite image in which the woodcuts are understood to interact with one another but not necessarily in a linear fashion, we read it differently: the man (representing the husband) is physically separated from the embracing couple (representing the wife and her lover) by the warring armies.

Although the woodcut of the single man seems generic, its use on previous ballads about scolds and cuckolds indicates that the figure is not a generic man but likely a cuckolded husband. The image of the man used on *The London Cuckold* is actually half of a larger woodcut that had been in circulation since the early part of the seventeenth century. Originally used on the ballad *How the Devil, Though Subtle Was Gulled By a Scold* (1635), the entire woodcut depicted a husband in a state of shock at the appearance of his woman riding a horned beast.²⁶⁶ Though in its original context, the figure represented the husband of a scolding wife, the woodcut continued to be re-used and reappropriated on cuckold or other scold ballads.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Anon, *A Pleasant New Ballad You Here May Behold, How the Devil, Though Subtle, Was Guld by a Scold*. In its original printing, the woodcut represented a scene from the ballad in which the Devil returned to earth to return the scold to her husband. We know this image represents the return of the wife, not her initial sale to the Devil, for two reasons. First, she comfortably rides the horned beast. Her control over the Devil is emphasized by the reigns she holds in one hand and the rod she holds in the other. Second, the man representing her husband reacts in physical shock to her return.

²⁶⁷ Anon, *The Bulls Feather*; Anon, *The Crafty Miss, or, an Excise-Man Well Fitted*.



Figure 87: Excerpt from *How the Devil Though Subtle Was Guld By a Scold*, (London: H. Gosson, 1635).



Figure 88: Excerpt from *The Bulls Feather* (London: F[rancis]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, J[ohn]. Wright, and J[ohn]. Clarke, 1674).

In the case of *The London Cuckold*, the single-man image carried with it the implication of cuckolding (and scolds implying cuckolding) from the previous ballads printed with the same image. When the images on *The London Cuckold* are read at first glance, their meaning is rather ambiguous. But, when the images are read as early modern readers might have read them – in conjunction with the text, with awareness of other contexts in which the images may have been printed, and not necessarily in a left-to-right manner – it becomes clear that they are not random but closely associated with the ballad narrative.

Finally, the print history of *The Downfall of William Grismond* shows that printers and publishers attempted to maintain illustrative consistency, akin to that seen with ballads printed with composite images, even when only faux composite illustrations were

used. *The Downfall of William Grismond* was printed eight times between 1659-1715.²⁶⁸

Most of the seventeenth century versions used three images to illustrate the ballad that were used on the first 1658 edition: a large woodcuts of a woman killing a child in the woods, a small image of a hanged man, and a medium-sized image of a sailing ship.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ William Grismond, *The Downfall of William Grismond, or, a Lamentable Murder by Him Committed at Lainterdine in the Country of Hertford the 22 of March. 1650. with His Wofull Lamentation. The Tune Is, VWhere Is My Love* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson, 1658), http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:174910; William Grismond, *The Downfall of William Grismond: Or, A Lamentable Murther by Him Committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, the 12 of March, 1650. with His Wofull Lamentation. The Tune Is, Where Is My Love* (London: Printed for F[rancis]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, and I[ohn]. Wright, 1663); William Grismond, *The Downfall of William Grismond: Or, a Lamentable Murder by Him Committed at Lainterdine in the County of Hereford, the 22 of March, 1650. with His Wofull Lamentation. The Tune Is, Where Is My Love* (London: F[rancis]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, W[illiam]. Gilbertson, and J[ohn]. Wright, 1663), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:174371; William Grismond, *The Downfall of William Grismond, or, A Lamentable Murther by Him Committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, the 22 of March, 1650. with His Wofull Lamentation, the Tune Is, Where Is My Love* (London: F[rancis]. Coles, T[homas]. Vere, and J[ohn]. Wright, 1663); William Grismond, *William Grismond's Downfal; or, A Lamentable Murther by Him Committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, on March 12th, 1650: Together with His Lamentation. To the Tune of, Where Is My Love, &c* (London: printed by and for W. O., 1670); William Grismond, *The Downfal of William Grismond; or, a Lamentable Murther by Him Committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, the 12 of March, 1650. with His Lamentation. The Tune Is, Where Is My Love?* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=4o+Rawl.+566%28180%29&id=25238.gif&seq=1&size=1>; William[?] Grismond[?], *The Downfal of William Grismond: Or, A Lamentable Murder by Him Committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, the 12th. of March, 1650, with His Lamentation. The Tune Is, Where Is My Love* (London: A. M[ilbourn] VV. O[nley] and Tho. Thackeray, 1693); William Grismond, *The Downfall of William Grismond* (London: John White, 1715).

²⁶⁹ I use the term “most” rather than “all” because not all seventeenth century editions of William Grismond survive. Copies of William Onley’s and Adam Milbourn’s versions of the ballad were unavailable as of the writing of this dissertation. The ESTC occasionally makes note of woodcuts on ballad, but only provides the number of the woodcuts used not any detailed description of them.

The Downfall of William Grismond,
Or: A Lamentable Murder by him committed at *Lutterine* in the
County of Kent, for the 2 of March, 1650, with his wooll *Lamentation*.
The tune is, *Where is my Love.*



Compeas't full young men,
And hear what I shall tell,
Of the death of William Grismond,
at *Lutterine* in Kent,
where I did a murder
as it is now full well,
And for mine offence I must dye,
Killed a young man's daughter,
that I lov'd there hard by,
Whom I had promis'd to marry,
and with her I did fly,
I did often be with her,
in bliss to laste,
And for, &c.

I had my pleasure with her,
I had my love in fire,
The killing of her body,
was that I did receive,
I was deceiv'd and deceiv'd,
by him that is a hypocrite,
And for, &c.

She claim'd of me the charge,
and said she was with child,
Saying, marry me for't William,
now you have me as well,
I gave her what she ask'd me,
I did give her in my bed,
And for, &c.

When she had us'd these speeches,
my anger did arise,
This turn to do her atterthought
I quickly did receive,
I had thought her to be as honest
yet I did them deceive,
And for, &c.

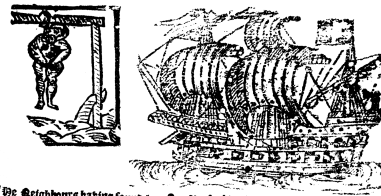
I mark'd how it did happen,
the butchery being past,
And I who was my Father's heir,
her words did at me take,
For I could have another,
with gold and silver take,
And for, &c.

My Father and my mother,
I knowe would not consent,
If I had married with her,
I knowe I should be want,
I was into wicked manners,
my heart was fully bent,
And for, &c.

In hattering words I brought her,
into a field of toym,
And when she was together,
into the field I did come,
I had my pleasure with her,
and then I was her own,
And for, &c.

When in the house I kill'd her,
with my accursed knife,
Where hateful I kill'd her,
who lov'd me as her life,
I cut her that I kill'd her,
I had thought her to be honest,
And for, &c.

When she says she lay there imposed
before that she was found,
Next when the neighbours searching
within that house I found,
I do know her there uncovered,
and with a bloody wound,
And for mine offence I must dye.



The neighbours having found her
where I did see her die,
Where I did see her found her
where I had been with her,
I ran away with speed,
And for mine offence I must dye,
So far were they found her,
but I was not to go,
I thought to go to Ireland,
tho' they say it is so,
But God be woe, not suffer me
to run my Country thro',
And for, &c.

Yet I was got on ship-board,
as you may understand,
But when the ship was troubled,
I could not pass along so,
With guilty heart and hand,
And for, &c.

There is some wicked person
the ship-men then did say,
That when the ship was troubled,
that cannot pass along so,
We must return to land her,
and make no more delay,
And for, &c.

When near unto *Wichester*,
I then was at last,
And then in *Chesler* prison
I was sent to stay,
From thence I was brought unto *Hereford*
to answer what was said,
And for, &c.

But when my loving Father,
his words he did not spare,
So far he from the *Whittowes*,
he had of me great care,
But it would not be granted,
the *Chilotes* was my share,
And for, &c.

My fault it was to Lutterine,
it would not grant to be,
I must for an example,
hang on the *Whittowes*,
God grant that I a warning
to all young men may be,
And for, &c.

O my dear loving Father,
he was to me most kind,
He brought me up with costly,
so was his love to me,
But I loved to let him
was to me to my mind,
And for, &c.

He brought me up in *Lutterine*,
his love to me was kind,
He thought it all to be,
he did bestow on *Will*,
But when he look'd for comfort,
his heart I then did kill,
And for, &c.

I might have had a marriage,
my Father to content,
And that my loving Father,
would give her to my consent,
But I had such covetous,
that make me all regret,
And for, &c.

How young men take warning,
for me my fall is true,
I call to God for mercy,
O God grace do you impart,
I might have been a martyr,
and had a gallant feat,
And for, &c.

O Lord I would crave pardon,
with a relenting heart,
I know my sins are heinous,
I'm very sorry for't,
Give I have sinned,
a very bare repent,
And for mine offence I must dye.

Printed for E. Cole, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson,

Figure 89: *The Downfall of William Grismond*, (London: Coles, Vere, Gilbertson, 1658).

Unlike most of the previous examples, one of the woodcuts used on this ballad does not fit with the textual narrative. The ballad tells of William Grismond's seduction and impregnation of a young woman. After he discovers the pregnancy he kills his lover and attempts to escape aboard a ship bound for Ireland. However, he is discovered and returned to his home town to be convicted and executed. Although the ship (representing the ship he tried to flee on) and the hanged body (a gruesome reminder of Grismond's fate), relate the narrative, the large image of the woman killing a child does not. The large woodcut was first printed on the pamphlet *Natures Cruel Stepdames* (1637), one of Henry Goodcole's popular publications reporting the final confessions of

sensational criminals.²⁷⁰ In its original appearance the image matched the description of Elizabeth Barnes' murder of her daughter, one of the stories in Goodcole's pamphlet. Following the publication of *Natures Cruel Stepdames*, it subsequently appeared on several ballads about gruesome murders, including several editions of *The Downfall of William Grismond*.²⁷¹ None of those narratives "matched" the image. As they tended to be stories of male-perpetrated murder, not maternal infanticide. Thus, over time the image came to represent intimate and bloody murder, but not maternal infanticide specifically.

Returning to *The Downfall of William Grismond*, even though the large woodcut did not bear any resemblance to the ballad text it nonetheless became a consistent visual marker of this ballad. In this case, the specific combination of images – the scene of murder, the hanged body, and the ship – were used regularly and exclusively on editions of *The Downfall of William Grismond*. They do not appear in that combination on any other pamphlet or ballad. Even when printers had to find a new image of a hanged body for

²⁷⁰ Henry Goodcole, *Natures Cruell Step-Dames: Or, Matchlesse Monsters of the Female Sex; Elizabeth Barnes, and Anne Willis. Who Were Executed the 26. Day of April, 1637. at Tyburne, for the Unnaturall Murthering of Their Owne Children.* (Printed at London: [By E. Purslowe] for Francis Coules, 1637), http://gateway.proquest.com.oca.ucsc.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:19242.

²⁷¹ Anon, *The Bloody Vintner: Or, Cruelty Rewarded with Justice. Being a True Account of One Edward (alias) Edmund Kirk, Vintner, Who Being Privately Married to a Servant Maid, Did, on the 25th. of May, Delude Her from Her Masters House, Under the Pretence of Visiting Some Relation; but Having of Her All Alone in a Private Road Near Paddington, He Most Barbarously and Cruelly Murdered Her; for Which Fact He Was Indicted and Found Guilty, and Also Received Due Sentence of Death, Which Was Accordingly Executed, on Friday the 11th. of This Instant July, 1684. To the Tune of, Aim Not Too High* (London[?]: Jonah Deacon[?], 1684), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.oca.ucsc.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=BylD&ID=V172116; Anon, *Inhumane, & Cruel Bloody News from Leeds in York-Shire. Being a True Relation of a Young Man Which Intic't an Other Man's Wife from London, down into the Country; Which After Some Time He Most Barbarously Murthered in a Most Frightful Manner, in a Desart Place, Neer Leeds, Cutting Her Tongue and Her Eyes Out of Her Head, Her Throat Being Cutt from Ear to Ear; and After All This, Being Not Satisfied, Rips Her Open, and Takes a Child Out of Her Womb, Laying It down by Her Side: [...]. With Allowance, Jan. 4. Ro. L'Estrange. The Tune Is, The Bleeding Heart, &c* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674).

their edition, or the images were rearranged slightly, this arrangement appears nowhere else.

There are two significant observations taken from the case of *The Downfall of William Grismond*. First, the illustrations used demonstrate that publishers and printers conceived of illustration in a narrative form closely related to that used in composite illustration. Taken separately, none of the images used illustrated the text, and one of the images is quite distinct from the text. Read from left-to-right, they make even less sense. But taken together the images create a visual phrase that as a whole reflects themes from the ballad. Second, subsequent printers and publishers maintained the illustrations used on the first edition. Each edition of this ballad reconnected the ballad text with the illustrations. This demonstrates that printers went to significant lengths to maintain visual consistency in multiple editions, even in cases where the images seem only tangentially related to the texts.

Conclusion

Understanding ballad composite images is an important step in an attempt to take ballad illustrations seriously. Although less familiar to modern readers, the non-linear style of illustration that characterizes composite images would have been familiar and accessible to early modern audiences. It was used in ballads, engraving, and book illustration. As a form that fundamentally combined text and image, composites were designed to encourage readers to regularly move between text and image in order to make fuller meaning of both. This encouraged a more interactive reading that engaged reader's imaginations than did a progressive series of images that simply reproduced the narrative visually.

Specific to ballads, composite images were a very important part of ballad illustration. Although in most cases printers did rely on stock images to compose illustrations, on the occasions they commissioned narrative-specific images they exclusively requested composite images for their ballads. Once a composite image was printed with a particular text subsequent printers went to great lengths to maintain the established illustrations, even at additional costs to themselves. Perhaps more importantly, when we re-read non-composite ballad illustration as if they were composite illustrations, narrative patterns become much more clear than they would have been otherwise. Ballads such as *The London Cuckold* and *William Grismond* demonstrate that printers used composition styles similar to composite images even when simply rearranging stock images on ballads. Although these forms of illustration were not used on all ballads, they were used frequently enough to show that early modern readers were familiar with reading non-linear patterns in images and illustrations. When we reconsider how text and image were designed to interact in composite images, we get closer to understanding how early modern readers may have read them.

Chapter 4

How Ballad Images “Worked”

The preceding chapters demonstrate that illustrations were an important part of broadside ballads. In contrast to long-standing scholarly assessments of these woodblock illustrations as crude, generic, and of little significance to publishers and consumers, woodcuts were updated to reflect the latest fashions and customer tastes, and illustrations provided useful information regarding ballad genre and content. This chapter explores in-depth the concept of “interactive reading” introduced in chapter three. As we saw in the previous chapter, composite illustrations cue readers in particular ways. In this chapter, I argue that we must expand our understanding to see that these ways of reading were in fact common, and not confined to ballads that included composite images. In doing so, this chapter will more fully reconstruct two aspects of early modern reading. First, that reading in seventeenth century England could be a process that relied on textual, visual, and sometimes oral, cues used collaboratively. Second, ballads capitalized on the interactions of text, image, song, and performance in order to create a multimedia experience for consumers.²⁷² A deeper understanding of the ways in which text and image worked together helps us to reconstruct how ballad images may have “worked” for readers in early modern England.

²⁷² Of course, this was not always the case for all ballad consumers. A person could easily hear a ballad without reading it, making ballad consumption primarily an aural experience. They could read ballad texts while ignoring the images and without ever hearing the ballad performed aloud. Similarly, a person could look at ballad woodcuts and never read or hear the associated text. Not all interactions with ballads engaged all of the ballad’s media components at the same time or in the same ways. However, each ballad was printed with text, tune, and images, thus giving the potential for a form of ballad reading, seeing, and hearing that combined some or all of the media elements.

I derived the term “interactive reading” from Maria Nikolajeva and Carol Scott’s study of text-image interaction in children’s picturebooks.²⁷³ I use it to refer to a person’s potential reading of objects that were designed to incorporate both text and image, such as picturebooks or ballads. This chapter specifically focuses on how ballad printers incorporate textual cues that referred readers to ballad illustrations, and visual cues in illustrations that referenced readers back to ballad texts. If a reader (or ballad audience) followed those cues, they could be encouraged to move back and forth between the ballad’s textual and the visual narratives. This is not meant to imply that reading single-media sources, such as text- or image-only sources, is “passive” and cannot be an “interactive” experience. Indeed, one could argue that a text without images forces the reader to construct their own visualizations of the text and more actively interact with the text, rather than allowing them to rely on illustrative crutches. Similarly, multiple readers engage with multimedia objects in many different ways. One can easily “interact” with only one aspect of a multimedia object, or all of them. For example, by only reading ballad texts or only hearing a ballad sung. For the purposes of this study, which attempts to provide a corrective to ballad scholarship that have focused overwhelmingly on ballad texts, this chapter draws attention to the specific ways ballads were designed to allow readers to make use of verbal and visual signs in order to process ballad narratives. This is particularly important for scholars attempting to better understand the spread of popular printed material in a mixed-literate society such as early modern England. It demonstrates that printers were attentive to creating popular prints that could be understood by customers that were not fluently literate. Perhaps more importantly, the multimedia potential of ballads offered even fully literate customers a different kind of

²⁷³ Nikolajeva and Scott, “The Dynamics of Picturebook Communication”; Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*.

reading experience than texts that did not incorporate illustrations or aural cues. Considering that ballads remained popular well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when literacy rates were expanding rapidly, this suggests that ballads continued to appeal to consumers perhaps because they offered their readers something different than other printed works.

In addition to aesthetic judgments, there are practical and theoretical prejudices that have contributed to scholars' privileging of text over image. Within the Academy, the disciplines of history and literature remain text-centric fields, recent developments in interdisciplinary work notwithstanding. This is in large part shaped by historical tradition, the materials scholars study and have access to, as well as the sources that are preserved and archived. As has been pointed out by George Dillon in *Writing with Images* and Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen in *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design*, a bias toward text is also shaped by the printing industry, in which text is cheap and images are expensive. Additionally, Western readers' earliest interactions with print, via instruction in reading, teaches Western readers that text is primary and images are only a secondary support system for those unable to read text. Dillon writes of children's books, they "begin almost all image and no text, then fade in more text, then fade images out, so that as the years go by in school, then college, the images gradually wither away as the unquestioned sway of print in serious documents - the densely printed - page is learned and accepted by yet another generation. Images, we learn, are for the less capable readers."²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Dillon, "Writing with Images."

In the past several decades, there have been theoretical works that further reinforce a privileging of printed text based on assumptions of the reliability, reproducibility, and stability of print. In literature, and to a lesser extent history, an emphasis on text over image has a long lineage, but it is more recently indebted to Roland Barthes' "Rhetoric of the Image."²⁷⁵ Though not anti-image per se, Barthes reinforces the notion that images must always be contextualized by text in order to be understood. In doing so, he re-establishes a hierarchy in which text is a specific and reliable signifier, while images are unstable and unreliable.

In his essay, Barthes attempts to "submit[...] the image to a spectral analysis of the messages it may contain."²⁷⁶ In other words, to develop a systematic analysis that can determine how images convey messages and produce meaning. Barthes argues that, compared to text, reading images is challenging because they are slippery and carry multiple possible meanings.²⁷⁷ Despite his in-depth visual analysis of an advertisement, Barthes finally concludes that though text and image "stand in a complementary relationship," text is ultimately necessary to fix meaning to images. In his words, images are "polysemous; they imply, underlying their signifiers, a 'floating chain' of signified."²⁷⁸ Text, therefore, serves two purposes, relay and anchorage, both attempting to "fix the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of the uncertain signs."²⁷⁹ For Barthes and others, the gaps that exist between the possible meanings of

²⁷⁵ Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, Second Printing. (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 269–286.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 270.

²⁷⁷ For a full discussion regarding the privileging of text over images as sources in literary studies, specifically in reference to English book illustration, see the introduction of: Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England*.

²⁷⁸ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 274.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* On the definition of anchorage and relay. "the anchorage may be ideological and indeed this is its principal function; the text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others" (275), such as photo captions. In the

images, and the specific meaning of text, produces an anxiety that is nothing short of terrifying. Text is needed to anchor the image and eliminate the gaps in possible meanings. Only then can an image's message be understood.²⁸⁰ In ballad studies, Barthes' work has reinforced scholarly focus on text over images and prompted scholars to over-emphasize assumptions regarding the undecipherable nature of ballad woodcuts.²⁸¹

The two works that had a larger impact on the privileging of printed text in history are Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.²⁸² Although coming from a different angle than Barthes, both works support his general assessment that text, printed text in particular, is a fixed and stable sign system. Images, by implication, are unstable and carry

instances of relay, "Here text (most often a snatch of dialogue) and image stand in a complementary relationship; the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general syntagm and the unity of the message is realized as a higher level, that of the story, the anecdote, the diegesis.... While rare in the fixed image, this relay-text becomes very important in film, where dialogue functions not simply as an elucidation but really does advance the action by setting out, in the sequence of messages, meanings that are not to be found in the image itself." (275-6). He finishes that most systems are a combination of anchorage and relay, but in both cases that the text functions to clarify, fix, and make more stable, the image.

²⁸⁰ Barthes argues that this is primarily the case for fixed images, not for moving images, such as motion pictures.

²⁸¹ See the Introduction for a thorough discussion of the disciplinary bias of text over image. This chapter accepts, and in fact centers on, Barthes' notion of the complimentary relationship between text and image in illustration. However, this dissertation as a whole, and particularly the work in chapter 2 on ballad's visual "brands", contests the idea that image meaning can only be fixed by text. Visual context, repetition and reuse of images developed clear ballad iconographies that would have been identifiable to ballad regardless of whether text was present or accessible.

²⁸² Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (2002): 503; Simone Chess, "Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration - UCSB English Broadside Ballad Archive," *UCSB English Broadside Ballad Archive*, n.d., http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts#_ftnref2 (accessed March 17, 2011). Anderson relies more explicitly on the work of Febvre and Martin, although he still takes for granted Eisenstein's narrative regarding the fixity and reliability of print. Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1997).

specific meaning only when contextualized by text.²⁸³ Both works rely heavily on Eisenstein's argument that the printing press' revolutionary contribution to human history was its capacity to create "typographical fixity" and duplicate textual works quickly and efficiently. For Eisenstein, the ability to rapidly duplicate exact copies of textual works allowed for unparalleled preservation of texts, the "fixing" of language, the exchange of information and advancement of the sciences and humanities, as well as being a general democratizing force across Europe.²⁸⁴ For Anderson, "the convergence of capitalism and print technology" created a monoglot culture that facilitated the birth of nationalism and colonialism. Print formed the basis of a national consciousness because it "created unified fields of exchange and communication," connecting fellow readers to uniform ideas all disseminated by print, and "gave a new fixity to language."²⁸⁵ This chapter does not wish to challenge Anderson's notion regarding print's ability to transform and homogenize languages, but to highlight that Anderson's thesis relies on

²⁸³ Anderson and Eisenstein for the most part ignore a meaningful analysis of images other than images used as a direct visualization of text. For example, Anderson argues that maps were instrumental in forcing Dutch colonial designs in Indonesia. However, they are significant only as they were created to reinforce the Dutch agenda as promoted in the Dutch-imposed census. The Census, maps, and museums, "illuminate the late colonial state's style of thinking about its domain" (188). What is important is "the crucial intersection between map and census," because the map visually reinforced the results of the census. Thus they are an important visual representation of a colonial "reality" first envisioned in text (the census. Anderson does include visual signs as important to the colonial and national projects, but primarily as they reinforce and already established textual message. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 178–188; quote from 188).

²⁸⁴ Eisenstein's argument is at times rather Wiggish, and she sees the invention of the printing press as not just as important to democracies, but as the driving force behind a modern, representative, transparent democracy: "the preservative powers of print which secured precious documents not by putting them under lock and key but by removing them from chests and vaults and duplicating them for all to see." In the words of critic Nicholas Hudson, "In the scholarship that has flowed from Eisenstein it has often seemed that all the progress and achievements of modern Western culture could be traced to printers' workshops and booksellers." Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, 113. Nicholas Hudson, "Challenging Eisenstein: Recent Studies in Print Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, no. Spring (2002): 84.

²⁸⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 48, 46.

the simplistic assumption that printing press reproduced fixed, uniform texts and that printed text conveyed stable and reliable messages.

In recent years, scholars such as Adrian Johns have sharply critiqued Eisenstein's fixity narrative, and by extension all works that take her thesis for granted. Looking at piracy and the development of the printing trade in England in particular, Johns demonstrates that printed texts were less stable, less reliable and more prone to substantial changes from edition to edition, than scholars have previously allowed.²⁸⁶ Several historians of the early modern period have also produced studies questioning the binary in which printed text is stable and all other forms – oral, script, and visual - are, in contrast, unstable.²⁸⁷ However, in the post-Eisenstein and post-Anderson scholarly world, we tend to privilege the “fixed” quality of printed text over less “reliable” or “stable” forms such as manuscripts or images.²⁸⁸

Though rarely expressed outright, there are clearly a number of disciplinary and cultural prejudices within academia that have reinforced a notion that texts are more important than images. When these preconceptions meet with objects such as ballads, the seemingly generic and unsophisticated woodcuts seem to reinforce assumptions regarding the reliability of text and the polysensuous nature of images. The apparent

²⁸⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print And Knowledge in the Making*.

²⁸⁷ Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*; Crick and Walsham, *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*; Marsh, “The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song.”

²⁸⁸ Anderson and Eisenstein only make precursory mentions of image culture in their works. It is not so much that images are devalued in comparison.

It may seem here that I am negating the entire disciplines of art history, visual studies, and the fine arts. This is not my intention. My intention is to demonstrate that within the fields of Literature and History, there is a strongly ingrained bias towards privileging text over all other forms of evidence, including oral, audio, tactile, and visual. As a result, and this is particularly clear in ballad studies, scholars looking at sources that combine text and image tend to focus primarily or exclusively on the text while ignoring the visual evidence. In many cases this is an unconscious act on the part of the scholar, to text, merely that they are not even worth being seriously considered in the same studies.

instability of the images or, in Barthes' conception, the gaps between the possible meanings of the images and the specific meanings of the text are confusing and encourage increased reliance on text.

The preceding chapters of this dissertation have shown that ballad images were less ambiguous and more "fixed" to their narratives than has been assumed. These images projected consistent messages regarding ballad genre and occasionally ballad narrative in conjunction with, and sometimes independent of, text. However, that does not change the fact that though they could be specific, ballad images were also generic, re-used, and more ambiguous than ballad texts. The gaps between images and meaning are larger than the gaps between text and meaning. Thus, I propose a two-fold argument. First, the gaps between ballad text and image are not as large as assumed. Chapters one through three have narrowed the gaps between text and image, hopefully reducing the terror that un-anchored images can produce. Second, the gaps that do exist are essential in considering how ballad images worked for early modern readers. The rest of this chapter will examine crime ballads to explore how gaps between text and image encouraged an interactive reading of ballads.

My thinking is very much informed by recent work in linguistics, visual studies and early childhood education. I am particularly indebted to the work of Maria Nikolajeva, Carol Scott, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Gregory Dillon.²⁸⁹ All five scholars are dedicated to applying linguistic principals to construct a better understanding of how the relationship between text and image functions in mixed media such as images in general (Kress and van Leeuwen), picture books (Nikolajeva and Scott),

²⁸⁹ Nikolajeva and Scott, "The Dynamics of Picturebook Communication"; Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*; Dillon, "Writing with Images"; Kress, *Reading Images the Grammar of Visual Design*.

and the digital world of hypertext and the internet (Dillon). These works are dedicated to moving away from the text-centric biases in scholarship in general, and Barthes' work in particular. Each highlights how, even in our text-centric age, readers at all levels enjoy and search out mixed media sources when consuming entertainment and information – from learning to read with illustrated picture books, to video games that incorporate narrative text and image in playscapes, to the most basic internet sites that regularly incorporate text, image, sound, and video in order to appeal to consumers. This theoretical work is useful for ballad studies because in many ways ballads were one of the earliest printed forms of multimedia entertainment.²⁹⁰ Using these contemporary studies, we can see that ballads also used textual, visual, and aural cues in order to engage consumers in a more interactive reading than occurred with text alone.²⁹¹

In *How Picturebooks Work*, Nikolajeva and Scott lay out theoretical framework for examining the complex varying relationships between text and images in children's books. At the heart of their analysis is their interpretation of picturebook reading as a hermeneutic circle:

Whichever we start with, the verbal or the visual, it creates expectations for the other, which in turn provides new experiences and new expectations. The reader turns from verbal to visual and back again, in an ever expanding concatenation of understanding. Each new rereading of either words or pictures creates better prerequisites for an adequate interpretation of the whole.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ There are of course issues with applying theories regarding twentieth and twenty-first century children's books to the experiences of early modern readers. Broadside ballads fall on the far spectrum of symmetrical illustrations of text in which the text is not dependent upon the illustrations to carry meaning. However, when considering the mixed-literate ballad audience and readership, abedcearian literacy in this period, and textual structures that indicate ballads were designed to be read, reread, and memorized, the concept of the hermeneutic circle becomes useful in trying to better understand how ballads were designed and read.

²⁹¹ Although I mention ballad's aural components because they are a crucial part of ballad's multimedia composition, I will not address text-sound or image-sound interaction in this chapter. For a discussion regarding the textual-aural relationship in broadside ballads, please see: Marsh, "The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song."

²⁹² Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*, " 2

Nikolajeva and Scott argue that children know this “by intuition” and their demands for multiple re-readings are based on a desire to delve ever deeper into the text with each iteration. Just as they argue that adults have lost the ability to read picture books that children have, it is likely that the twenty-first century reader has lost the ability to read ballads in the way early modern men and women did. Broadside ballads, like picture books, were meant to be read and heard multiple times. We can see they were designed to encourage an interactive reading between text and image.²⁹³

In ballads, there are links between the text, sound and images that, per Nikolajeva and Scott, “create expectations for the other.”²⁹⁴ Images were used to create visual links amongst ballads of the same type (cuckold, scold, and crime ballads), between multiple editions of the same text (such as *The Norfolk Gentleman*), and between text and image in direct and indirect illustration. Links are also created aurally, in the tunes attached to each text. For example, “Fortune is my Foe,” “Aim not too high,” “Russell’s Farewell,” and “the Ladies Fall,” were all printed frequently on crime ballads. Hearing a certain string of notes could denote ballad genre. There is also an intertextual relationship between ballads and tunes. The ballad, *The Downfall of William Grismond*, is about Grismond’s brutal murder of his pregnant girlfriend and set to the tune “Where is my love.”²⁹⁵ When the ballad *The Downfall of Thomas Caress* was printed, it was set to the

²⁹³ In response to those who would object that the cheap materials that ballads were constructed from indicated a more ephemeral and disposable reading of ballads, especially for the most literate, I would point to the large and well organized collections of ballads by early modern collectors such as Pepys, Roxburghe, Johnson, and Euing. Even these learned, literate, gentlemen collected ballads presumably for the purposes of re-reading their collections. Additionally, we know that ballads were performed frequently in public. Thus it is likely that an early modern man or woman would hear a ballad multiple times even if they did not read it.

²⁹⁴ Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*, 2.

²⁹⁵ I use “intertextual” to refer to a relationship between two or more texts, indicated by content within those texts.


tune “William Grismond,” thus referencing the earlier ballad.²⁹⁶ Like the original *William Grismond*, *The Downfall of Thomas Caress* was also about an attempted murder of a pregnant girlfriend. Setting this later ballad to a tune that shares a title with a well-known ballad about a similar subject, links the two. The re-used images and tunes on ballads create intertextual points of references that provide self-referential connections between ballads and ballad editions.

Ballad images are closely connected to, and elaborate on, ballad texts. For example, woodcuts often visualized a ballad’s setting that may be otherwise underdeveloped in the verse and offered context for the narrative. Illustrations depicting a pastoral setting, a ship, the inside of a tavern, a domestic space, or a public execution, provided the reader with an image of where the events described in the narrative took place. Similarly, even if only showing basic elements such as gender, ballad illustrations generally portray the characters in the text. For example, in crime ballads illustrations were included that represented the perpetrator, victim(s), and occasionally other primary figures from the text. Finally, woodcuts also often pictorially reinforced key parts of the ballad narrative. In some cases, simple iconography such as the cuckold’s horns or the hanged body served to remind the reader of the main theme of the narrative without divulging specific details. In other cases the illustrations were as specific to the text as those on *The Vnnatural Wife*, which provided a picture of Alice Davis’ murder of her


²⁹⁶ This is also seen in *The Unfaithful Servant and the Cruel Husband*, about a maid’s affair with her master and their collaboration to kill his wife, which was set to the tune “the Rich Merchant Man or George Barnwell.” *The Ballad of George Barnwell* was a popular ballad about an apprentice whose affair led him to a life of robbery and murder. And *A True and Perfect Relation of a Horrible Murder*, which was set to the tune eponymous to the popular ballad, *The Children in the Woods*. A full discussion of the ballads *The Norfolk Gentleman* and *The Downfall of William Grismond* may be found in chapter 3.

husband and her subsequent execution (Fig. 90, below).²⁹⁷ In this example the images work together to provide context for one another as well. Alice's execution by burning indicates that she was sentenced to petty treason. The woodcut of Alice killing her husband makes it clear that her crime was husband-murder.²⁹⁸ In a myriad of ways, woodcuts were linked to ballad text, and text was similarly connected to woodcuts.

The vnnaturall Wife:
Or,
**The lamentable Murder, of one goodman Davis, Locke-
Smyth in Tutle-streete, who was flabbed to death by his Wife,**
on the 20. of June, 1628. For which fact, She was Arraigned,
Condemned, and Adjudgd. to be Burnt to Death in
Smithfield, the 11. July 1628.
To the tune of Bragadary.



The second part.



To the same Tune.

Life fine I would have first againe,
but now it was too late,
I did repent I had flaine,
in this my heauie fate:
This Gentle man did care me then
Vnto a Iudice with his necke:
oh murder, &c.

Then Iullice me to Newgate sent,
vntill the Sedition came,
For this faire foule and bloody fact,
to answer for the same I
When at the Barre I did appeare,
The Iury found me quite cleare:
oh murder, &c.

The Iudge gaue sentence thus on mee,
that backe I should returne
To Newgate, and there at a Stake,
my bones as fl. th. should burne
To ashes, in the smoke to flie,
Vpon the Earth, and in the Skie,
oh murder, &c.

Vpon the twelfth of Iuly now,
I was a Hurdle place,
Vnto my execution drawne,
by weeping eyes I prayd
And there in smit-fie! at a Stake,
My last breath I there did take:
oh murder, &c.

To spill my husbands blood,
Let me warning be to Wiaz,
that are of hally kinde,
Lord grant that all my friend their liues,
and beare my death in minde,
And let me be the last I pray,
That ere my deye by fischale way.
Oh Father
for by Somers sake
Forque my finnes to aye,
S I N I S.

If woeful obiects may excite,
the minde to such and pittie,
Then here is one with these afflictions
in Westminsters faire C. tie:
A strange inhumane Murder there,
To God, and Man as doth appeare:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

But God that rules the host of Heauen,
did give me ore to liue,
And to vild wrath my minde was giuen,
which long I liued in:
But now too late I doe repent,
And for the same my heare doth teare:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

Let all curst Wiaz by me take heed,
how they do, doe the like,
Cause not thy Husband to be bleed,
nor lift thy hand to strike:
Lest like to me, you burne in fire,
Because of such rage and ire:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

A Locke-Smith late in Westminster,
my Husband was by trade,
And well he lived by his Art,
though of I him vbraded:
And often times would chide me I brantle,
And many a times would him call:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

I And my Husband fourth had bin,
at Supper at that time,
When as I did commit that sin,
which was a bloody crime:
And cunning home he then did craue,
A Shilling of me for to haue:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

Most desperately I flab'd him then,
with this my fatal knife,
Which is a warning to Women,
to take their Husbands liue:
Then out of doores I fliright did runne,
And said that I was quite vdan,
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

I vow'd I should no Money get,
and I my vow did keepe,
Which an old cuile him fore to fier,
but now I think a me weepe:
And then in fliruing for the same,
I drew my knife vnto my thame:
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

My Husband I did far was flaine,
am night my Neighbours there,
And to my house they flraite way came,
being possit with feare:
And then they found him on the floore,
Stake dead all weltring in his gore,
oh murder,
most inhumane,
To spill my Husbands blood.

Printed at London for c. M. T. Widdow.

Figure 90: Alice Davis, *The Vnnaturall Wife*, (M Trundle, widow, 1628).

On the one hand, most of the above examples of illustrations could be read per Barthes as generic or ploysemous pictures only contextualized (anchored, in his terminology) by the text. On the other, if woodcuts were read as visual cues intended to work in conjunction with text to form a hermeneutic circle, the images play an important role in establishing the setting and characters for the text. Glancing from text to image, the reader/audience is provided with illustrative indicators of setting, gender of the

²⁹⁷ Davis, *The Vnnaturall Wife*.

²⁹⁸ For an explanation of the differences between petty and high treason see chapter 3, pgs. 132-133.

protagonist, and even a graphic depiction of the narrative itself. Seen this way, images are not random free-floating woodcuts that are only sensible when anchored by the text, but instead provide an ongoing graphic reminder of the status and gender of the protagonist and often the physical setting for the events described in the narrative. They encourage the reader to imagine the figures going through the actions described in the narrative, even if those actions are not fully pictured. The lack of full visualization in the illustrations urges the reader to further engage their imagination when envisioning the narrative. Even in the case of a ballad illustrated with a single woodcut, such as an image of an executed body, the text encourages the reader to visualize the events that led the execution. Simultaneously, the image reminds the reader throughout the entire story of the ultimate fate awaiting the protagonist.

But perhaps more evident in ballads than the links between text, sound, and image, are the gaps amongst those same elements. Tunes were reused frequently and often music was only designated as “to a pleasant new tune.” Through there are trends in the sounds of the tune and the ballad subject, those trends never held true across the board. There are even gaps within the text. Ballad texts, and hence ballad performances, often slip between the first person and third person voice, crating an unstable narrative voice that can cause confusion for the reader or performer.²⁹⁹ Similarly, most ballads contain an “authenticity” gap. Even though many begin with the lines “listen to my story/tale,” the reader/audience is always aware that the text was not penned by the

²⁹⁹ Feminist scholars have argued that these narrative gaps opened ballad performances (and readings) to a variety of possible interpretations of the text depending on the class, age, status, and gender of the performer and audience members.

ballad's narrator.³⁰⁰ This creates a disjunction between the truth claims of the text and the reader's awareness of the falsity of that claim.

Gaps are perhaps most visible among images and between text and image. They exist when images provide an incomplete visualization of the text, when the images attached to a ballad are generic and not related to the text in a narratively-specific manner, or when the images seem to fail to elucidate or even contradict the text. Sequences of images often appear disjointed and difficult to interpret distinct from the text. Ballads and woodcuts seem to epitomize Barthes' description of images as unstable. The imprecise, variable, re-used, and unfixed nature of ballad woodcuts leaves them open to multiple readings and iterations, producing "the terror of uncertain signs."³⁰¹ Fortunately, if only for Barthes, ballad woodcuts are generally anchored by the text. Reading the texts one can make links between the textual narrative and the images included to visualize certain aspects of the text.

Returning to the idea of the hermeneutic circle, text, tune, and image worked together to bridge gaps in and among those three ballad elements and transform ballad reading into an interactive experience. When reading a ballad, an early modern reader, consumer, and/or listener might alternate between verbal, visual, and audio parts of the ballad, and back again. When we consider a reading of ballads in this way, it becomes clear that both text and image provide context for each other; they help fill in one another's gaps. Ambiguity, whether inherent in the text, image, or due to lack of fluid literacy, also encourages readers to rely on the ballad's other components in order to gain

³⁰⁰ Is most explicit in ballads about people who had been executed, in which the ballad's narrator often claims to be the re-animated voice of the person that the reader/audience already know to have been executed. The gap between the ballad voice and the awareness that the subject was in fact dead was regularly reinforced in both textual and visual markers.

³⁰¹ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 274.

clarification.³⁰² Additionally, although inexpensive, ballads were not generally read in a one-way style of consumption in which they are instantly discarded after one read.

Rather, ballad consumers and collectors frequently re-read or re-heard them. Images and text worked together both to foster interactive reading in a person's initial and subsequent reading/hearing of a ballad.

For example, the ballad *A Warning for Wiues* demonstrates how gaps between text and image encouraged readers to move between verse and picture while reading/hearing it.³⁰³ The ballad tells of Katherine Francis' long-sought murder of her husband. Years of domestic disharmony fueled by excessive drinking, culminated in a fatal argument. While arguing with Robert one evening, Katherine sent her serving women out to get a pot of beer. When the servant returned, she found that Katherine had stabbed her husband in the neck with a pair of sewing sheers. Katherine immediately confessed to the crime and reported that she had "long thirsted for his blood." Condemned to execution, she was burned at the stake.

³⁰² Although it will not be addressed in this chapter, it is important to recognize that ballad illustrations provided additional context for ballad performances as well as ballad readings. Assuming a single ballad singer performing for an audience, illustrations help fill logical gaps between the ballad text, illustrations, and performance. Ballad woodcuts provided a setting for the performance and often depicted additional characters from the narrative that could not be represented by a single performer. In crime ballads, illustrations provided a link between the text, in which the ballad subject/singer claims to be being executed, and the reality/performance, in which the ballad singer is clearly 1) alive and 2) not the ballad subject. They provide the visual framework by which the audience can imagine the ballad singer as the ballad subject and help the audience bridge the logical gap between the ballad's truth claims and the reality of performance.

³⁰³ All subsequent quotes are taken from: M[artin], *A Warning for Wiues, by the Example of One Katherine Francis, Alias Stoke, Who for Killing Her Husband, Robert Francis with a Paire of Sizars, of the 8. of Aprill at Night, Was Burned on Clarkenwell-Greene on Tuesday, the 21 of the Same Moneth, 1629. To the Tune of Bragandary.*



The second part To the same tune.

A warning for wiues,

By the example of one *Katherine Francis*, alias *Stoke*, who for killing her husband, *Robert Francis* with a paire of Sizors, on the 8. of Aprill at night, was burned on *Clarkenwell-green* on Tuesday the 21 of the same month, 1629. To the tune of *Bragandary*.



As what touched bloody times
Due to life sinners live in?
What horrid and what cruell crimes
are done in flight of breathen!
What barbarous murders now are done,
none can let fute the world began!
Oh women,
Murderous women,
whereon are your minds?
The story which I now relate,
expounds your meanings until
Thefe women y^e in blood delight,
As to rule by the world,
Cife how can they taste her husband kill,
By the murder her owne childes blood spill,
Oh women,
Murderous women, &c.
At Cow-crosse, nere to Smithfield-barres,
adacent to the City,
A man and a wife at bothhold laces
long time, the more a the pittie,
The Cat and Dog they kill agree'd;
Each in his floure bin anger tyed:
Oh Women, &c.
She oftentimes would beat him face,
and many a wound the gave him,

Yet he'd not live from her therefore,
to stay ill fate would have him,
Till the truth she told him,
T'was him (her husband) dead to ground,
Oh women, &c.
Upon the 8 of Aprill is it,
betwene this man and wife,
Some certaine wayes of difference past;
and all their cause of strife,
Was but about a trifles small,
yet that procur'd his fatal fall,
Oh women, &c.
This was about the house of tenne,
or rather more that night,
When this was done, whereof my Pen
in tragicks stile doth write:
The manner of's death most strange appears
Being struck th^y neck with a paire of sheeres.
Oh women, &c.
As many of the neighbours say,
that thereabout doe dwell,
This couple had most part oth' day
beene drinking, so they fell,
And committing home at night to fate,
She did rener to her former hate,
Oh women, &c.



A rather woman that tins face,
the out oth' doores did send,
And had her fetch a Pot of Beere,
sh^e then betw^e nere his end,
For ere the woman came againe,
This wife had her owne husband slaine:
Oh women,
Murderous women,
whereon are your minds?
She long had thirsted for his blood,
(even by her owne confession)
And now her promise she made good,
so heaven gave permission
To Satan, who then lent her power
And strength to do't that bloody hour.
Oh women, &c.
It comes that he his head did leane
towards Colonne, which the spire,
And straight the ianke (O bloody queene)
her sheeres from her drew,
And bit th^y therewith such a stroke
th^y necke, that (some thinke) he nere spoke.
Oh women, &c.
She having done that monstrous part,
(w^hose wo^rd her for her labour)
So power had from thence to flact,
but went into a neighbour,
And told him, that the vertly thought,
that she her husbands death had wrought.
Oh women, &c.

The man and she to beare the same,
taught both of her, and fate,
He know the truth, and how this came,
if such a part be plain,
So sooner had he said the same,
But neighbours did her fate proclaim.
Oh women, &c.
When to Beth Prison was she sent,
because it was so late,
And upon the next day the Brent
(through Switcheheld to Newgate,
where she did lye until the execution,
So answer for her fault transgression.
Oh women, &c.
Where she condemned was by Law,
in Clarkenwell to be burned,
Into which place they did her draw,
where she to ashes turned,
A death, though cruell yet too milde
for one that hath a heart to bite.
Oh women, &c.
Let all good wiues a warning take,
in Countie and in Citie,
And thinke how they shall at a stake
be burned without pittie,
If they can have such barbarous hearts,
that men of woman will take their parts,
Oh women,
Murderous women,
whereon are your minds?
Oh women, &c.

Printed at London for F. G. on Snow-hill. FINIS. M.F.

Figure 91: *A Warning for Wiues* (F. Gosson: 1629).

A consumer would know from the images that this ballad is about a woman who committed an act of petty treason. From the assembly of woodcuts, one could assume this ballad is about husband-murder, even though Katherine's killing of Robert is not as explicitly portrayed as in other husband-murder ballads, such as *Anne Vallens Lamentation* (see fig. 90, above). The small factotum in between the two larger images serve to connect the scene of execution and the scene of murder. Both small figures “face” the burning woman and gesture towards the murder scene, linking the two large woodcuts, but the viewer cannot determine the exact nature of the crime from the images.

The ambiguity in the illustrations encourages the reader to engage with the text. The text provides narrative detail that contextualizes the images, and the images expand upon the narrative by picturing underdeveloped elements of the text. Moving from image to text, the gaps in the illustrations such as how Davis was killed are left a mystery in the images but described in detail in the text. Moving from text to image, the woodcuts provide additional context for the story not necessarily addressed in the verse. We know that the killing occurred in the home, but the image of the slain body actually defines the domestic space. Unlike other husband-murder ballads that tend to include a multi-line gory description of the perpetrator's execution by fire, this ballad eschews such detail, simply stating "she to ashes turned." However, the right-most woodcut provides a graphic illustration, not just of her execution, but of her torment in the flames. As one of the largest and most prominent images on the ballad, it projects a strong message regarding Katherine's gruesome fate in much more detail than the text alone. While the text clarifies and fills in gaps found in the visual narrative, the illustrations also provide context for, and elaborate on, the text.

We can see a similar dynamic in the ballad *A Looking Glass for Wanton Women*.³⁰⁴ This ballad is based on the story of a woman named Mary Hickee (Mary Higges in the ballad) who was arraigned on charges of buggery with a "Mongril Curr," condemned, and executed on July 18, 1677. The ballad was printed in the wake of her execution and in conjunction with trial summaries published in two separate editions of Old Bailey

³⁰⁴ Mary Higgs, *A Looking-Glass for Vvanton Women by the Example and Expiation of Mary Higgs, Who Was Executed on Wednesday the 18th. of July, 1677. for Committing the Odious Sin of Buggery, with Her Dog, Who Was Hanged on a Tree the Same Day, Neer the Place of Execution; Shewing Her Penitent Behaviour, and Last Speech at the Gallows. Tune of, In Summer Time. With Allowance, Ro. L'Estrange* (London: P. Brooksby, 1677), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+E+25%28145%29&id=24623.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

Proceedings.³⁰⁵ The ballad, tells Hickes/Higges' story in a sensational retelling of her history of moral failings culminating in the charges of bestiality, for which she hanged.³⁰⁶ The ballad concludes with her gallows confession of her various sins and the subsequent hanging of the dog in a nearby tree as, "a sad example let it be/ to all that do Gods laws deste [detest?]."³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Two pamphlets were printed in July 1677 detailing some of the trials and executions at the Newgate quarter sessions. The story of Mary Hickes/Higges appeared in both. The first, printed as: W W., *The Black Book of Newgate, or, An Exact Collection of the Most Material Proceedings at All the Sessions in the Old Baily, for Eighteen Months Last Past ... as Also Reflections and Observations on Several Passages Set Forth as a Warning to All That Read It by W.W. Gent* (London: Printed for D. M, 1677); is also produced in the online archive the Old Bailey Proceedings Online, as: *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, Version 7.0, 13 June 2012), July 1677, *Trial of a Married Woman* Reference number (t16770711-1). This version summarizes Hickes' trial in a short and succinct fashion and refers to her by name. The second publication provides more in-depth description of the more sensational cases from this quarter sessions, including Hicke's case, a second count of bestiality, and petty treason: (n.d.)and Wales England and and Wales England, *A True Narrative of the Proceedings at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily: Begiuning [sic] on the 11th of This Instant July, 1677. Wherein Is Contained the Tryal of the Woman for Committing That Odious Sin of Buggery with a Dog; and Likewise of the Man for Buggery of Two Mares. With the Tryal of the Young Maid That Poisoned Her Mother, a Maid, and Two Gentlewomen, and All the Rest of the Most Remarkable Tryals There; with an Account How Many Are Coudemned [sic] to Die, How Many Burn'd in the Hand, to Be Whip'd and Transported. with [sic] Permission, [sic]* (London: printed for D.M, 1677), is also produced in the online archive the Old Bailey Proceedings Online, as:*Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, Version 7.0, 13 June 2012), July 1677 Reference number: (t16770711a-8) (n.d.). *A True Narrative* does not refer to Hickes' by name, but only as "a married woman living lately without Cripple-gate." However, it is clear both from detail both of her married state, place of residence, and details from the trial and execution, that the narrative does refer to the trial of Mary Hickes/Higges.

³⁰⁶ The ballad provides a lengthy account of Hickes/Higges' alleged wickedness including drunkenness, lack of modesty, profanity of God's name, blatant ignoring of the Sabbath, refusing the help of reformers, and bestiality with her Dog. The Old Baily Proceedings, on the other hand, focus exclusively on Hickes' trial, including her conviction based on eye-witness evidence in spite of her protestations of innocence. The figure constructed is defiant and markedly different from the penitent Higges represented in the ballad.

³⁰⁷ Higgs, *A Looking-Glass for Vvanton Women*.

A Looking-glass for vvanton Women

By the Example and Expiation of *Mary Higgs*, who was executed on Wednesday the 18th of July, 1677, for committing the odious sin of Buggery with her Dog, who was hanged on a Tree the same day, near the place of Execution showing her penitent behaviour, and her speech at the Gallows. Tune of, *The Summer time*. *scilly* *Altogether*, *Ro.L* *Strange*.



The sad thing now give ear,
of one who lieth in this Land,
It might make the Court & heart to fear,
and all the sinners trembling stand.

A wicked woman led's of late,
who did all her life be damn;
All others she much did hate,
and so her death bid to remain.

Whom she thought she much did love,
and Buggery was her delight,
So wantonness she still did move,
not thinking it would come to light.



A Hungry Cur which she did keep,
an us'd to do that deathly eat,
In Court on her did fawn and leap,
but now hath suffered for the eat.

Her Cradle was her dwelling place,
where she did do this deathly sin,
Which now hath brought her to disgrace,
that she long time hath wallow'd in.

She took delight in drunkenness,
and as a Common Whorem she,
Whom she had drunk unto excess,
then she did at the Gallows die.



Her chief desire was after mischief,
and bearing of sweet Pleasures,
Who lay in the bed upon the earth,
Whom she knew she did despise.

So proud to that could her content,
to wicked was her wicked life,
She like a Whore in mire did wall,
which with her Husband caus'd some
(scilly)

Gods help with the much abuse,
and did profess his deathly dog,
The company of these rascals
who us'd her to keep and brag.

There's scarce a sin that can be nam'd,
but what she did do for to commit,
Her kindful mind was so in nam'd,
that by no means she could quench it.

But being now she damn'd by law,
on her gall life she did cast,
The Whorem of Court she did her grab,
cause Gods Command she did neglect.

Which, said she, thou canst not save,
this soul of mine from pain and woe,
So joys of Heaven here shall have,
unless my God I can beg.

Of eyes of mine that us'd to see,
and take delight in others face,
Whom I now behold where deathly be,
poor souls torment'd in disgrace,

I that was wont to sport and play,
most wantonly in many a place,
Whom now depart from them away,
the flames of Hell for to embrace.

Now unto you that stand me by,
and hear what case my soul is in,
See that you never guilty be,
of any sad and heinous sin.

Let Prayer be your meat and drink,
your clothing be humble,
Oh Gods just laws be sure to think,
that you the joys of Heaven may see.

When this sad wretch her speech had done
and tears in streaks run down her face,
Whom next a heart of steel or stone,
to think upon her woful case.

The Dog was hang'd with her gall by,
a sad example let it be,
So all that do Gods laws despise,
and live as wickedly as she.

Write more a more Gods words to love,
that you may here the happy,
When you'll not with sweet joys above,
my never be afraid to die,
F I N I S.

Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden
Ball in West-jean-street, near the
Hospital Gate.

inches
cm 1 2 3 4 5
© Bodleian Library

Frame: **24623** **A** **B** **C**

Figure 92: : *A Looking Glass for VVanton Women* (P. Brooksby, 1677).

The ballad is printed with four woodcuts. The first three are positioned over the first and second columns of the ballad. From left to right they are a medium image of a hanged woman, an image of a man and a dog that was originally part of a larger block, and an image of a tree that was also cut from a larger woodcut. Over the third and fourth columns is a horizontal, decorative woodcut that features a glowing *fleur de lis* and armed men on horseback.

As with other ballads, the woodcut of a hanged woman signposted to the consumer that this is a ballad about a woman who committed a crime for which she was executed. While the images of the dog and tree may be ambiguous at first, both the subtitle, “by the example and expiation of *Mary Higgs*, who was executed on Wednesday the 18th of July, 1677, for committing the odious sin of Buggery with her Dog, who was hanged on a Tree the same day,” and the third and fourth stanzas, “and Buggery was her

delight... A Mungril Curr which she did keep/ and us'd to do that beastly act, In Court on her did fawn and leap/ but now hath suffered for the fact," contextualize their presence on the ballad.³⁰⁸ The images are designed so that the reader/audience puts together the visual and textual cues. The textual cues that the dog was hanged encourage the reader to imagine the image of the dog hanged in the tree. The image of the executed woman does double duty here, both visualizing the executed Mary Hicke/Higges and cueing the reader to combine the visual signs in their mind's eye, so that woodcuts: execution + dog + tree = executed dog.

Brooksby's decision to use separate woodcuts of the dog and tree, rather than commission a block that distinctly represented the executed animal, leaves gaps in the illustration. However, those gaps encourage the reader/audience to engage with the text and image and use their imagination to fill in the connections between text and image, and among the woodcuts. Perhaps the images represent the moment prior to execution, where the man is leading the dog to its ultimate fate, an event that the text informs us occurred after the Hicke/Higges' execution. In that case, the woodcuts are chronologically appropriate to the ballad text and the illustrator reconstructed the moments between Hicke/Higges' execution and that of the dog. Considered in a different way, Brooksby's use of an image of a living dog rather than a dead one encourages the reader to imagine the sensational, shocking, and possibly titillating, "beastly act[s]" that the hanged woman is accused of committing, and the Old Bailey Proceedings deemed "not fit to be recited."³⁰⁹ Perhaps, not fit to be recited in the

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Anon, *A True Narrative of the Proceedings at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily*; Hitchcock et al., "The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674-1913, Version 7.0, 13 June 2012."

Proceedings, but certainly appropriate for the medium of the ballad, which encourages the reader to visualize using both textual and visual cues.

Although Hickes/Higges is described committing a variety of sins, the only visual representation is of her hanged body. However, the hanged body becomes a blank canvas that the reader/audience can mentally reanimate and imagine committing each of the individual sins listed in the ballad. The mental connection the reader makes between any of Hickes/Higges' sins and the image of her hanged body reinforces a moralizing message that any of the litany of sins could lead to severe punishment or loss of life.

Even ballads that appear to be illustrated with very narrative-specific woodcuts, such as husband-murder ballads or ballads that make use of composite images, invite the reader to fill the gaps in illustration with their imaginations. In *Anne Vallens Lamentation* two woodcuts illustrate the most prominent scenes of action in the ballad: Anne's murder of her husband, and her subsequent execution.³¹⁰

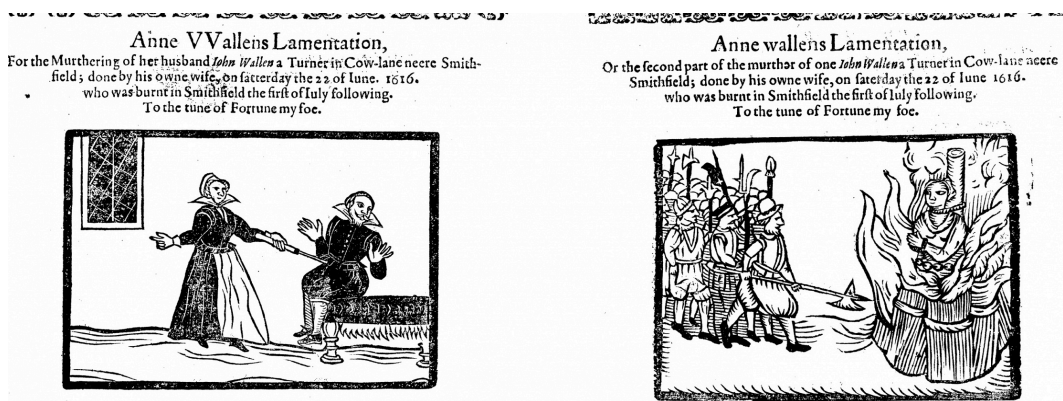


Figure 93: T. Platte, *Anne Vallens Lamentation* (H. Goson: 1616).

The text includes much more detail than is represented in the illustrations, including a long description of the argument that led up to the stabbing. The image of

³¹⁰ Platte, *Anne Vallens Lamentation, for the Murthering of Her Husband Iohn Wallen a Turner in Cow-Lane Neere Smithfield; Done by His Owne Wife, on Satterday the 22 of Iune. 1616.*

the stabbing provides a visualization of Anne and her husband, while the text invites the reader to focus on the figures in the woodcut and imagine the scenes that took place prior to the stabbing. Similarly, while the woodcuts of the murder and Anne's execution provide a visual framework for the ballad, the text guides the reader's picturing of the text in between the illustrations.

A final example of ballad composition that encouraged interactive reading is found on *Truth Brought to Light*, printed for Charles Tyrus in London in 1662.³¹¹ In addition to providing a visual framework for the text, the illustrations on this ballad could also be used as mnemonic devices. *Truth Brought to Light* is part crime ballad part, fantasy story. When first viewed, the images do not reveal much about the ballad content, other than the hanged body, which was a marker of crime ballads. It is illustrated with five small to medium, single-subject woodcuts.

³¹¹ William Harrison, *Truth Brought to Light. Or, Wonderful Strange and True News from Gloucester Shire, Concerning One Mr. William Harrison, Formerly Stewart to the Lady Nowel of Cambden, Who Was Supposed to Be Murthered by the Widow Pery and Two of Her Sons, One of Which Was Servant to the Said Gentleman... To the Tune of, Aim Not Too High* (London: Charles Tyus, 1662), <http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Wood+401%28191%29&id=25056.gif&seq=1&size=1>.

Truth brought to Light, OR,

Wonderful strange and true news from Gloucester shire, concerning one Mr. William Harrison, formerly Stewart to the lady Mowbray of Cambridg, who was supposed to be Murdered by the Widow Verry and two of her Sons, one of which was Servant to the said Gentleman. Therefore they were all three apprehended and sent to Gloucester Goal, and about two years since arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and Executed upon Broadway hill in sight of Cambridg, the mother and one Son being then buried under the Gibbet, but he that was Mr. Harrison's Servant, hanged in the same place, where that which is remaining of him may be seen to this day, but at the time of their Execution, they said Mr. Harrison was not dead, but ere seven years were over should be heard of again, yet would not confesse where he was, one now it appears the Widow Verry was a witch, and after her Sons had rot d him, and cast him into a Stone pit, she by her witch-craft conveyed him upon a Rock in the Sea near Tynke, where he remained four days and nights, till a Turkish Ship coming by, took him and fold him into Turkey, where he remained for a season, but is now through the good providence of God returned again safe to England, to the great wonder and admiration of all that know the true. This is undeniably true, as is sufficiently testified by the Inhabitants of Cambridg, and many others thereabouts.

To the Tune of, *Ain not too high.*



Altho' these wonders seem'd an early age to know,
An age there seldom hath been known,
A thing more strange than that which this Relation
Doth here present unto your observation.
In Gloucester shire as many know full well,
A Gentleman did dwell,
Whose name was William Harrison by name,
A Servant to a Lady of great fame.

Whose name was William Harrison by name,
A Servant to a Lady of great fame.

Such as into Cambridg do resort,
Have surely found this is no idle report,
Altho' many there are who will not believe,
This is as true as being as ere was written.

Therefore into the story now give ear,
His widow Verry as it hath appear,
And her two sons all will here agree,
Against their friend to laugh a wicked deed.

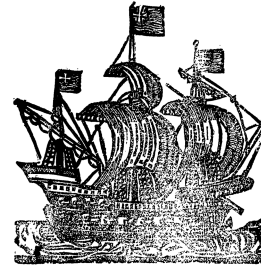
One of her Sons when from a youth did dwell,
With Mr. Harrison who lov'd him well,
And kept him in his chamber being poor,
But he lov'd he requit him therefore.
For taking notice that his Master went,
To gather in his Ladies rent,
And by that means it was an usual thing,
For him great store of money home to bring.

He thereupon with his mischievous mother,
And likewise with his wicked brother,
Contriv'd to rob his Master, for these base
And cruel together were past shame and grace.

One night they met him coming into Town,
And in a barbarous manner knockt him down,
Then taking all his money quite away,
His body out of sight they did convey.

Was being all suspected for this deed,
They apprehend'd here and sent both dead,
To Gloucester Goal and thereupon their Trial,
Were quire found for all their ill dealing.

The second part to the same Tune.



It was supposed the Gentleman was dead,
And by these wicked robb and Spurthers,
Therefore they were all three condemn'd to death,
And ere on Broadway-hill they lost their breath,
One of the Sons was buried with his Mother,
Under the Gibbet, but the other Brother,
Whose name was William Harrison by name,
And there some part of him as yet remains.
But ere before they died they did proclaim
When in the acts of these that thither came,
That Mr. Harrison yet living was
And would be found in less then seven years space.
Which words of theirs for true do me to appear
For tis but two year since they hanged were,
And now the Gentleman albe it is true
Which news is publish'd through the Countrey round,
You see that any of this truth shall doubt,
He tell you how the business came about
His widow Verry as the plainly shew
Gave then a Witch although it was not known.
So when these Villains by their mother aid
Had knockt him down (even as before was said)
She took away his money there about,
And then his body cast into a pit.
The secret was come unto himself before
Another robb'd did amaze him more,
For whilst he lookt about, he found that he
Was suddenly convey'd into the Sea.
First on the shore he stood a little space
And thence unto a rock transport'd was,
Where he four days and nights did then remain
And never thought to see his friends again.
Now as a Turkish Ship was passing by
Some of the men the Gentleman did spy,
And took him in and as I understand,
He carry'd him into the Turkish Land.
And there (not knowing of his sad disaster)
He quickly did provide for him a Spatter,
A Surgeon of some such like profession,
Whose service he perform'd with much affection.
It seems in gathering thereof he had good skill,
And could the same exceeding well will,
Which to his Master great content did give,
And pleas'd him well so long as he did live.
But he soon dy'd, and at his death he gave him,
A piece of plate that so none should entable him,
But that his liberty he might obtain,
So come into his native land again.
And thus this Gentleman has freedom brought;
And by a Turkish Ship from thence was brought;
So Portugal, and now both safe and sound,
He is at length arriv'd on English ground.
Let not this seem incredible to any,
Because it is a thing affirm'd by many,
Which is no feign'd story, though tis new,
But as tis very strange tis very true.
You see how far a Witches power extends,
Which as to wickedness her mind she bends,
Great is her Office, yet can God restrain her,
And at his pleasure let her lose or gain her.
If God had let her laugh her utmost might,
No doubt she would have kill'd the man outright,
But he is saved and the fog all her malice,
Was very nighly bang'd upon the Gallies.
He'll let all praise to God alone be given,
By men as much as by the Saints in Heaven,
By his mercy haply both best friend us,
And by his power he will still defend us.

London, Printed for Charles Tyus at the three Bibles on London-Bridge.
A. D. 1662.

Figure 94: George Harrison, *Truth Brought to Light*, (C. Tyus: 1662).

Over the first two columns (part one of the ballad) are the images of a woman standing in three-quarter profile holding a knife and “facing” to the right of the ballad page, an image of a man in plate armor leaning on a sword, and an image of an executed body attended by a hangman. Over the third and fourth columns (part two of the ballad) are two images. One is a finely dressed gentleman in three-quarter profile placed to face the right side of the page. He is positioned so that he appears to be looking at the final woodcut of a sailing ship. For the ballad consumer, the picture of the woman wielding the knife and the hanged body signaled that the ballad was likely about a crime. The ship signified something to do with shipping, piracy or travel. Finally, the variety of human

figures indicates the ballad contained a cast of several characters, not just one main protagonist.

After reading or hearing the ballad the relationship between the text and images becomes more clear. The protagonist of the ballad is a William Harrison, a gentleman and steward to the Lady Newel of Camden. A man of means, he took pity on a local poor widow and her two sons and offered to bring one of the boys up in his own household, “One of her sons even from a youth did dwell/ with Mr. Harrison who loved him well/ And bred him up his mother being poor.”³¹² Harrison’s ward observed the cash rents that Harrison collected for Lady Newel, and plotted with his “mischievous mother” and “his vile ungodly Brother,” to “rob his Master, for these base/ and cruel wretches were past shame and grace.” They laid in wait one night as Harrison returned from his duties. Upon seeing him, the Perry family attacked him, knocked him on the head, and stole his money. The widow Perry and her sons were suspected, captured, arraigned, and executed for the murder and robbery of William Harrison, although “before they did they did proclaim/ even in the ears of those that thither came/ that Mr. Harrison yet living was/ and would be found in less than seven years a space.” Unbeknownst to the authorities at Gloucester, Harrison had only been knocked unconscious and tossed into a pit. When he came to, he was “suddainly conveyed unto the Sea,” and stranded upon a rock. Rescued by a passing Turkish ship, Harrison became a servant to a Surgeon until the Surgeon’s death. After purchasing his freedom, Harrison made his way back to England. The final four stanzas are dedicated to a hasty justification of the execution of the widow Perry and her two sons for Harrison’s murder, a crime they clearly did not commit. The simple solution was to ascribe his

³¹² Ibid. All subsequent quotations in this paragraph are taken from the same edition of *Truth Brought to Light*.

disappearance and mysterious transportation to witchcraft rather than murder. The ballad concludes, “If God had let her work her utmost spight/ no doubt she would have kild the man outright/ But he is saved and she for all her malice/ was very justly hang’d upon the Gallows.”

As with the previous examples, the vagueness in the illustrations invites the reader to engage with the text in order to understand them. Once the text is read in conjunction with the images, the illustrations can be seen to provide visual markers of the key aspects of the narrative. The woman wielding the knife and threatening the armored figure signifies the widow Perry’s attack on Harrison. The hanged figure represents both one of the hanged sons and the execution of the Perry family in general, even though the text notes that the sons were hanged in chains.

On the one hand, *The Truth Brought to Light* provides a generic collection of images that can be decoded once they are anchored by narratively-specific text. On the other hand, the illustrations are a visualization of the characters that suggest certain interactions - such as the woman threatening the armored man with the knife, and the well-dressed man turning towards the ship - but also encourage the reader to reconfigure and imagine additional and expanded interactions based on the reading and re-reading of the text. The textual context is important. But once known by the reader the text does not so much permanently fix or anchor the images to only one particularly reading, so much as it provides a context for the mind to imagine the ways in which the ballad characters could interact.

Most significantly, the ordering of images on *Truth Brought to Light* signifies to the reader that this ballad follows a different narrative path than the majority of crime ballads. In this ballad, the executed figure is in the middle of the images (over the 2nd

column) rather than over the last (4th or 5th column), and is followed by an image of a well-dressed man and a ship. In comparison, most other crime ballads position the executed figure over the final column. The placement of the execution scene on the right-most side of a ballad positions the illustrative to correspond with the narrative conclusion. On *Truth Brought to Light* the presence of the well-dress man and the ship following the image of the hanged man signals that the execution is not the final scene of this ballad and that the action continues beyond the executed figure. Thus both the second part of the text and the inclusion of images to the right of the hanged body work together to subvert the general expectation that crime ballads conclude with the execution of the perpetrator.

For a performer using occasional glances to the ballad to remind themselves of the song, a reader of mixed or low literacy who was aware of the narrative but still relying on textual and visual cues for reading, or even a fully literate reader who was re-reading *Truth Brought to Light*, the images provided visual cues relating to the textual narrative that are much more evident in re-readings than perhaps on initial reading. The image of the well-dressed man and the ship remind the reader or performer that this ballad includes narrative beyond the execution of the perpetrators and not to “stop” at the execution of the Perry family. This indicates that while images were carriers of information such as genre, setting, and characters, they were also composed to make more “sense” following subsequent readings of the narrative. It also suggests that images may have served as mnemonic devices, both to help someone remember or identify the ballad content, or in some cases remind the reader/singer what the ballad was about.

If we accept Adam Foxe’s assertion that “[ballads] were often intended to be sung and were couched in verse as a mnemonic aid, especially for a majority whose only

access to them was through oral channels,” why could we not accept that images served a similar mnemonic purpose?³¹³ Recognizing that images may have served not just as illustrations but as mnemonic cues calls attention to the likelihood that ballads were read, re-read, and re-heard. Ballad text and image were designed not simply to entertain a reader in the first reading, but to continue to work together through multiple readings and hearings of the same text.

At their heart, ballads were mixed-media objects that were designed to create a reading and hearing experience that combined text, image, and sound. These elements were not designed to function exclusively on their own, but to interact with one another to provide an experience that was different from a reading of text or singing of verse. Although frequently subjugated to the dominance of textual narratives, images were not inferior alternatives to text, but designed to cue readers to read in a way that combined text and image. Images were used to visualize text, to provide context such as setting and characterization, and possibly to serve as reading and mnemonic devices for the reader or performer. While ballad text provided important context for illustrations, illustrations provided a visual framework for the narrative story. As shown in *The Vnnatural Wife*, *A Warning for All Wanton Women*, and *The Truth Brought to Light*, ballads often used illustrations that encourage consumers to better understand them by engaging with text. On the other hand, because illustrations often represented key aspects of the narrative, they provided readers with an important visual guide to the text, particularly in the case of re-reading. Upon repeated readings or hearings of ballads, images functioned to remind readers of key points of the text, and allowed them to fill in the textual or illustrative gaps.

³¹³ Adam Fox, “Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England,” *Past & Present*, no. 145 (November 1994): 63.

Although the biggest challenge to this analysis is the lack of corroborating data from contemporary early modern readers, recent work regarding text and image interaction in multimedia texts, the digital realm, and picture books aimed at children who have varying levels of literacy, is particularly useful in analyzing the sources we do have. Like picturebooks, ballads were meant to be read and re-read, and contained design elements intended to engage readers beyond their initial consumption. Ballad text and image worked together in a manner akin to a hermeneutic circle. When first taken as a whole, ballad images provided clues to and created expectations for the ballad narrative. As readers engaged with the text and images in detail, they would find that the text provided context for the images, just as the images provided a framework for envisioning the text. Stepping back to re-consider the ballad as a whole, and perhaps approach it for a subsequent reading, the reader might notice that once the story is known, the images illustrate key aspects of the text and can serve as a mnemonic device to the story.

Text and image combined on ballads to create an experience that could go beyond reading of the text. They worked together to cue an interactive style of reading that engaged the reader's imagination and encouraged subsequent re-readings. In a mixed literate society such as early modern England, this style of interactive reading made texts and stories more accessible to readers with varying levels of literacy. Fluid readers could easily move between text and image. Less-literate consumers could continue to rely on visual, textual, and aural/oral cues in order to read ballads. Understanding how the various textual, visual, and aural elements interacted with one another gets us closer to recreating the multimedia experience that early modern English men and women likely experienced when reading, hearing, seeing, and performing broadside ballads.

Conclusion

The premise of this dissertation is simple: in order to fully understand how broadside ballads functioned in their historical context we must consider how texts, tunes, and images worked together to appeal to their consumers. However, ballad studies to date have been primarily text-focused, ignoring the aural, visual, and performative components of ballads. To rectify the dominant text-centered focus, scholars must consider ballads' non-textual elements and consider how they worked in conjunction with words more thoroughly. This dissertation has provided a focused study of ballad illustration and text-image interaction in order to make strides towards that goal. It contends that illustration was not random or generic, but chosen and arranged to reflect specific elements of the narratives. In addition to providing visual context for ballad texts, illustrations served as markers of genre and encouraged a kind of interactive reading.

Ballads were composed with consumers in mind and were intended to be read alongside the text. Although printers did reuse woodcuts on multiple ballads, they also frequently updated cuts to respond to changing trends in fashion and in finer English art works. While the recycling of ballad images was a key component of keeping production costs down, printers also recognized that investing in new or updated illustration was important to meet customers' evolving tastes. In a number of cases, illustrations provided useful information regarding ballad texts to consumer and readers. Some genres - such as scold, cuckold, and crime ballads - exhibit clear and consistent

iconography over decades and even centuries. Bearing in mind that ballads were sold in a society with widely varying levels of literacy, visual markers or brands could help someone to identify quickly a ballad's genre or, in some cases, a specific story. On a deeper level, illustrations often provided visual context for the textual or oral transmission of the narrative. They helped establish setting, represented the story's characters, and complemented or supplemented the plot. More importantly, illustrations were designed to cue the reader to move between text and image while reading or hearing a ballad. This encouraged an interactive reading in which a person could move between textual, oral, and visual elements all while "reading" a ballad.

Analysis of the relationship between text and image on broadside ballads research sheds light on the consumption of printed material in a historical period when literacy was spreading, but far from universal. Ballads demonstrate printers' ability to create a single product that appealed to both the unlettered and the learned alike. Their long popularity, extending well into the eighteenth century, was not simply based on increasingly-literate consumers reading ballads quietly to themselves. Oral and communal performances of ballads continued for centuries. References to ballad singers in Old Bailey trial records, and numerous 18th century representations of ballad singers and ballad singing, such as Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress, Plate 3, The Enraged Musicians*, and *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn*, or the prints *The Cries of London/A New Love Song*, *The Old Ballad Seller*, and *The Young Maid and Old Sailor*, speak to broadside ballads being enjoyed regularly in both their textual and oral forms.³¹⁴ Printers' persistent inclusion of

³¹⁴ References to ballad singing or ballad singers can be found in seven cases reported in the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* between 1680-1740: "Old Bailey Proceedings Online", n.d., ref. t168410089, t16940524-8, t16950403-22, t172105-25-8, t17220907-49, t17311208-2, t17340227-3; William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, "The Rake's Progress, Plate 3," in *Engravings by Hogarth* (Dover, 1973); William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, "The Enraged

illustrations on ballad through the eighteenth century strongly indicates that illustrations continued to be important to customers.³¹⁵

When we take ballad images, tunes, and performances as seriously as texts, we can see the ways these components worked together to make the experience of reading or hearing a ballad more complex than reading text alone. We are in effect examining ballads as multimedia objects that combined image, text and tune to appeal to the different senses engaged in hearing, reading, and seeing. The term “multimedia” is usually applied to the digital or electronic technologies of the last few decades, so it may seem surprising to consider ballads in this way. However, the similarities between a website or new media and broadside ballads are stronger than one might initially think. Just as websites convey information in a digital format via text, image, sound and video, ballads similarly combined text, tune, and image on a physical page in order to appeal to readers. Most importantly, by acknowledging ballads as multimedia objects we are forced to recognize that multimedia forms of entertainment were as appealing 500 years ago as

Musicians,” in *Engravings by Hogarth* (Dover, 1973); William Hogarth, *Industry and Idleness: Plate 11. The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn*, Etching and engraving on paper, 270 x 400 mm, September 30, 1747, Andrew Edmunds, Tate Britain, London; William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, “Beer Street,” in *Engravings by Hogarth* (Dover, 1973); William Hogarth and Sean Shesgreen, “Gin Lane,” in *Engravings by Hogarth* (Dover, 1973); Anthony Cardon, *The Cries of London/ A New Love Song, After Francis Wheatley*, stipple, 401mm X 296mm, 1796, 1940,1109.90, British Museum, Prints & Drawings; Carington Bowles, *The Old Ballad Singer, After George Carter*, mezzotint, 353mm X 248mm, 1775, 2010,7081.3072, British Museum, Prints & Drawings; Wilkinson, *The Young Maid and the Old Sailor*.

³¹⁵ Of course, representations of ballad singers and ballad singing are far from an objective portrayal of 18th century London street culture. In the mid eighteenth century, Hogarth relied on the image of the female ballad singer as a particular signifier of London poverty – female, pregnant, and every-present. Her marginal status on the fringes of London society enabled her to move fluidly through a variety of social settings, and whether in the drawing rooms of the wealthy (ex), the slums of X, or the gallows, she was an ever-present figure in Hogarth’s urban London. Towards the end of the 18th century, artistic depictions of ballad singers idealized and romanticized, presenting a sanitized image of street culture for the enjoyment of middle class consumers. Examples can be seen in: Carington Bowles, *The Old Ballad Singer, After George Carter*; Charles William White, *The Ballad Singer(s), After Emma Crewe*, stiple, etching, hand-coloured, 179mm X 125mm, 1781, 1917,1208.3079, British Museum, Prints & Drawings; Wilkinson, *The Young Maid and the Old Sailor*.

they are in the early twenty-first century – even if the vehicle of transmission has changed from the printed page to the digital one.³¹⁶

The similarities between ballads and new media break down long-held narratives regarding the acquisition of literacy and the development of modernity that permeate both the history of the book. The link between literacy and modernity is most explicit in the history of literacy and the book. James Raven explains, “Histories of reading and the book are liable, when cannibalized and subsumed within larger narratives, to contribute to a teleological chronicle of progress, the march of literacy, enlightenment and democracy.”³¹⁷ According to Habermas and Anderson, the spread of literacy and print culture were integral to the development of the public sphere, which in turn was necessary for the growth of a modern democratic polity.³¹⁸ This reflects a whiggish view of societal development in which literacy is directly connected to progress and modernity.

This progressive development works not only on a cultural scale but also at the individual level. A person’s acquisition of reading skills is understood as a progressive process in which the individual becomes more intellectually sophisticated as they become more literate. We seem to see confirmation of this even today when children learning to read are expected to progress from picturebooks to text-centric books to text-exclusive books. According to this view, as early modern consumers became more literate they grew out of their need for pictures in order to understand texts. As a result, illustrations

³¹⁶ This is not to claim that ballads were by any means the “first” multimedia sources. Illuminated manuscripts, illustrated books, and religious art and church paintings have long combined text and image.

³¹⁷ James Raven, “New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: The Case of Eighteenth-Century England,” *Social History* 23, no. 3 (October 1, 1998): 272.

³¹⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (MIT Press, 1991); Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*. Per Eisenstein, the print revolution was necessary for the scientific revolution.

and oral cues disappeared from the printed page.³¹⁹ As discussed in chapter four, scholars continue to promote the idea that early modern print included visual or audio cues only to aid the less literate, assuming they were ignored by better educated consumers. Thus, the acquisition of text-literacy became a prerequisite for both a modern, democratic, society and an individual's participation within that society. Anything less than fluent literacy carries with it the taint of less evolved, less educated, less modern. Within this paradigm, the oral and visual components of ballads are merely relics of a pre-modern era in which such crutches were necessary for pre-modern people.

This thesis does not contradict the assessment that non-textual ballad elements, such as illustrations and tunes, were included to appeal to less literate consumers. Nor does it challenge the notion that literacy does play a central role in the creation of the public sphere or public spheres. Neither does it contest recent findings that new technology's multimedia and multisensory stimuli produce distractions that decrease productivity and attention spans. Rather, this dissertation argues that ballads combined multiple media in order to create an interactive reading experience that appealed to consumers regardless of their textual literacy. Non-textual supplements to text were not merely aids to the less literate, but enhancements for all readers. Indeed, the continued appeal of multimedia objects in the present – from video games, to webpages, and social media - underscores the notion that ballad images and tune were included because they appealed broadly to consumers, including the fully literate.

³¹⁹ One notable exception is in scientific and mathematical texts in which graphic representations of abstract concepts, biological, architectural, and astronomical drawings were highly regarded in publications. It is a bit odd that we consider illustrations crutches for the less learned, yet essential in those tomes intended for the most educated and highly specialized.

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