THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# Queen Henrietta Maria and "Mistress Parliament": Unsettled Queenship and English Political Rhetoric, 1642–1649

By

Yuntian Xuan

August 2022

*A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences*

Faculty Advisor: Adrian Johns

Preceptor: Lily Huang

# Table of Contents

## Introduction

A trial of John Bastwick, William Prynne, and Henry Burton occupied national attention in England on June 14th, 1637. The Star Chamber judges found all three guilty of seditious libel. As a result, the *triumvirātus* that represented a rising class of well-educated professionals—Bastwick the presbyterian physician, Prynne the presbyterian lawyer, and Burton the minister leaning more toward Independency later in the 1640s were each penalized to lose their ears, to be fined £5000, and to be sentenced to life imprisonment.[1] Sixteen days later, in Westminster Palace Yard, when Bastwick lost his ear, he cried,

> As I have now lost some of my blood, so am I ready and willing to spill every drop that is in my veins…for maintaining the truth of God, and the honour of the King.[2]

Bastwick did not break his promise: after being recalled from exile by the Long Parliament in 1640, he reprinted *Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium* which had originally sent him to jail. Further, in 1645, Bastwick published a massive new work in English intended for a broader base of common readers, *Independency not Gods Ordinance*, that referred Independency to new popery and disgraced leading Independents.[3] In the first edition of this treatise, with a conventional narrative, he attributed the social disorder to a wicked counsellor rather than to the king himself:

> It has ever been observed that Hermaphrodite counsels in any Kingdom or country, when women that are subjects intermeddle in government and matters of state, that that Kingdome and country is very crased and not far from ruin and destruction.[4]

With a misogynistic language, Bastwick (who was brought up by Elizabethan puritans yet left little written evidence on his opinions of the feminine regime under Elizabeth I) designated the one to blame as a woman counsellor. More importantly, he defined such a woman who intervened with public affairs and claimed considerable political influence as a "Hermaphrodite",

the androgynous with (stereotypical) characters of both sexes. According to Bastwick, the intersex, disturbing the sexual/gender order, disturbed the political order in an analogous way.

Notably, this narrative is grounded on an assumption, easily taken for granted, that hermaphroditism is sexual confusion and is, thus, annoying and troublesome. Contemporaries did not reach a consensus on this premise because of, first, an influential discourse of scientific playfulness that considered intersex as a spectacular product of *lusus naturae* (joke of nature), second, the revival of Hippocratic medicine from the late 16th century that neutrally regarded hermaphroditism as an intermediate possibility on the sexuality spectrum and, third, the existence of a body of works in alchemy, neo-Platonic philosophy, and Ovidian poetry in which the hermaphrodite served as a mythical character or a transitional stage for material transformation.[5] In fact, this presupposition that problematized hermaphroditism was a deeply entrenched Aristotelian tradition of sexual binarism which most strongly impacted the polemics of sexual ambiguity in mid-17th-century England. In Aristotelian notion of dualistic sex, the sexual distinction is the "principle of creature formed"; therefore, sexual ambiguity (and hermaphroditism as its subset), which is unnatural, will result in "changes of other parts" and further cause problematic reproductions to engender even more deviancy from nature, in other words, monstrosity.[6]

The middle decades of 17th-century England witnessed unprecedented rhetorical deployments of metaphors of monstrous bodies which constituted a peculiar rhetorical trope for the disorderly contemporary society, the "world turned upside down" in Christopher Hill's terms.[7] Generations of scholars have established a well-travelled scholarly territory of political monstrosity in this period. Dependent on historical records and literary works, they delved into diverse political intentions of the metaphor of deviant bodies in the unstable contemporary

society.[8] For instance, the trope of anomalous heads expressed monarchical crisis in an era of regicide and religious unsettlement.[9] Consequently, as a form of monstrosity, the metaphor of sexual/gender ambiguity in political polemics also became the target of literary and symbolic interpretation.[10] A sign of duality and possible division, it indicated an disconcerted union of opposites from within during a time of civil conflicts.[11]

It is noteworthy that gender ambiguity was not an insignificant and indifferent category of monstrosity, but rather provided a peculiarly resonant and fitting image for the contemporary social deformity often characterized in gendered terms. In other words, the polemical deployments of gender ambiguity embodied an epistemological and rhetorical analogy between sex and society as well as between household (private sphere) and state (the public sphere).[12] Absolutist royalist Robert Filmer elucidated the parallel between patriarchy and monarchy that sexually and politically constituted the contemporary English society:

> If we compare the Natural Rights of a Father with those of a King, we find them all one, without any difference at all, but only in the Latitude or Extent of them: as the Father over one Family, so the King as Father over many Families extends his care to preserve, feed, cloth, instruct and defend the whole Commonwealth. His War, his Peace, his Courts of Justice, and all his Acts of Sovereignty tend only to preserve and distribute to every subordinate and inferior Father, and to their Children, their Rights and Privileges; so that all the Duties of a King are summed up in a Universal Fatherly Care of his People.[13]

Regarded as a microcosm of state, a household was the fundamental political unit upon which the whole of society and state rested and, therefore, sexual/gender order within a household was considered the linchpin of social order.[14] Among all households, the royal household was the most influential and exemplary; hence, a royal household with either an uxorious king or an assertive queen was considered to sexually disturb the body politics and menace the political legitimacy. Kathleen P. Long utilized the term, “royal hermaphroditism,” to depict the sexual

ambiguity of royal households in early modern Europe, either with compromised masculinity of certain kings like Henri III of France or by excessive femininity of certain politically influential "femmes fortes" like Anne of Austria, regent of France, and Queen Christina of Sweden.[15] This was particularly right when it came to the situation of England where two powerful while controversial queens of conflicting religions, Mary I and Elizabeth I, consecutively reigned and left the legacy of fluctuating sexual/gender order.[16] Thus, a number of historical and literary studies of the middle decades of 17th-century England examined the image of feminine assertiveness and masculine impotence in propaganda to reflect the anxiety of the collapse of a conventional gender order in both household and society which precipitated public distrust in the regime.[17]

However, the critique of sexuality and gender from poststructuralist (if any) feminists, mainly Judith Butler and her followers, brought about a paradigm shift to this scholarship. Heavily drawing on linguistics, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Foucauldian discourse, this group of scholars eschewed identity politics and the distinction between sex and gender, two battlefields among second-wave feminists since de Beauvoir. They turned to emphasize marginalized subjects that fell outside the society operating on assertive sexual categorization, to examine the underpinning of gender difference through cultural practice and disciplinary power and, in all, to destabilize normative gender categories.[18] In particular, Butler raised the idea of gender performativity: gender was a stylized social accomplishment based on repetitions of expected behaviors in daily interactions. Echoing the "looping effect" in Ian Hacking's terms that argued for co-construction between classificatory practices and the classified people, gender was considered a matter of circumstances and performances instead of a non-changing self-evident being.[19] In other words, gender was constantly being redefined in performative ways,

producing what subsequently came to seem stable and perhaps natural arrangements. In light of this episode, this article aims to revisit the convention of literary interpretation toward the metaphors of gender ambiguity and subversion in mid-17th-century England: these interpretations presupposed the illusion of stable gender relations, notions, and identities that were, in fact, inherently unstable and historically contingent. This article wishes to, instead, conduct a "thick description" of such gender contingency and fluidity, examining the interaction between gendered rhetoric as text and contemporary political discourse as context.

This article is, of course, also grounded on a growing body of studies that, sharing the same concern of deconstructing gender, reconsiders the sexual ambiguity in mid-17th-century English political polemics. Relying on poetry and pamphlets, they focus on the contingent interactions between gender identities and political propaganda, that is, the ways in which gender notions were implicated in and disrupted by contemporary political turmoil. Within this trend, the most critical historical study is Ann Hughes's *Gender and the English Revolution* that demonstrates how gender relations and ideals of masculinity and femininity shaped and were shaped by political rhetoric in the given period.[20]

Nevertheless, there are three gaps in the scholarship in question that this article aspires to fill. First, studies concentrate more on how political discourse was recurrently framed around gendered ideas than the other way around. For example, Hughes stresses how contemporaries used gender ideas to imagine politics; Laura L. Knoppers interrogates, first, the way in which the ideas of (feminine) domesticity impacted the partisan polemical war specifically after the publication of *King's Cabinet Opened* (1645) and *Queen's Closet Opened* (1655) and, second, how the social meaning of marriage stirred the ideological contest, notoriously in Milton's divorce tracts, which is also the topic that Sharon Achinstein and James G. Turner contextualizes

in republican ideology.[21] Second, in studies that do survey the way in which political rhetoric shaped gender notions, scholars emphasize more the making of manliness where femininity is examined as distinctions made or oppositions established in the process of achieving masculinity.[22] Along with inadequate masculinity, usurping femininity in public and private spheres aroused masculine anxiety and was situated as an object, in contrast to subject, in the making of manhood in both household and politics. Third, scholars separate the role of mother and wife that should be combined to make the idea of femininity in a patriarchal society. Sexual fidelity and reproductive faithfulness of females were closely tied with the legitimacy of regime. These two columns of proper femininity, especially represented in the royal family, embodied the masculine (monarchical) dominance and safe delivery of lineally genuine royal heirs that underpinned the political legitimacy. Scholarly works of how pamphleteers explained the origin of monsters in 1640s propaganda suggest that problematic reproductions of monster-producing mothers evoked masculine anxiety of the uncontrolled female bodies.[23] Such attention to unrestrained reproduction, however, escapes the studies on the femininity-making, for example, those focusing on the unsettled femininity of the arguably most influential and controversial woman in the contemporary news, Queen Henrietta Maria merely as an unruly wife.[24]

For these reasons, this article aims to examine the interaction, rather than unidirectional impact, between the achievement of a contingent notion of femininity, rather than masculinity, and contemporary political rhetoric in chaotic mid-17$^{th}$-century England. As I have argued before, the consort in a royal household is the most representative anchor that connects several central notions around femininity-making—masculinity, wifehood, motherhood, distinction of private and public spheres, and political legitimacy. Hence, this article analyzes the way in which partisan propaganda shaped and was shaped by the idea of queenship—being both the wife of the

monarch and mother of the country in body politics.[25] (Political allegiances are a slippery idea and sometimes loosely composed union based on contingent agreements on certain identities, values, and purposes. Considering that a 1640s English person was more or less asked to categorize or lean himself, much less herself, into the cause of the king or parliament, this article utilized the dichotomy, though dangerous and reductionist, when laying out its whole picture.) In terms of queenship, different from a recently published comparative study on two exact queens, Queen Henrietta Maria of England and Queen Marie-Antoinette of France, who shared a number of characters and backgrounds in common under a similar domestic circumstance, this article focuses on the images of Queen Henrietta Maria and the metaphor of "Mistress Parliament" of King Charles I in political rhetoric of opposing partisans in diverse genres such as pamphlets, newsbooks, libels, broadsides, ballads, parodies, and masques. These two feminine figures, as the queen in reality and rhetoric, respectively, settled and unsettled a fluctuating idea of queenship in and by political discourse. In other words, through the interaction with political rhetoric, they demarcated the boundary of the notion of queenship that constituted the historically contingent and malleable concept of femininity in general. As the aforesaid, this article intends, not to interpret what the images of these two figures meant, but to explore how certain political maneuvers constituted the notion of femininity in these images and how the notion of femininity in these images shaped certain political debates lurking behind. Since this article deals with the rhetoric around the queen, it mainly covers the years from 1642, when Henrietta Maria was actively engaged in the war by several shipments from Holland, to 1649 when the king was beheaded and the whole power relations and gender dynamics had to be reorganized. Nevertheless, this article sometimes has to slightly expand the time range and examine the context and influence of the interaction between gender notions and political

rhetoric between 1642 and 1649.

Given this objective, this article consists of three sections. Section I attempts to show the way in which Charles I's personal rule at its heyday in the 1630s, before partisan propaganda war completely broke out, settled the idea of proper queenship. At that time, a rather powerful patriarchal monarchy formed the image of a tamed and submissive Catholic queen with French lineage. Such an image was constituted by the ideas of proper wifehood and motherhood of the queen: masculine dominance of the household and her celebrated fertility. In the meantime, the domestication of the queen's religious and national otherness exhibited in the idea of proper queenship, in turn, embodied the political harmony and stableness of a regime even with inner conflicts under Charles I's reign. While this section demonstrates how contemporary political rhetoric and the making of the notion of femininity exerted impacts on each other, the next two sections concentrate on the destabilization of temporary notion of femininity (queenship) and the way in which such malleable notion shaped and was reshaped by partisan propaganda during the 1640s.

Section II deals with the image of Queen Henrietta Maria in opponents' polemical slanders. Opponents incorporated their central political intention in the polemical depictions of the queen's deviancy from proper queenship: to prove the monarchical illegitimacy. Since political legitimacy was characterized in gendered terms as we see in the making of the ideal notion of queenship during the 1630s, independent pamphleteers invoked such gender norms to attack the queen in three aspects: first, her national and religious otherness out of control that her military agitation in favor of Catholic rebel represented; second, her personal influence over the king that the publication of *King's Cabinet Opened* in 1645 exposed to the public; third, the possible unfaithfulness of her reproduction that her reported adultery with Sir Henry Jermyn

indicated. In other words, section II showcases that partisan political rhetoric drew on a contingently settled gender notion to fulfill certain political purposes while such political maneuver, in turn, unsettled the gender notion that pamphleteers originally invoked. As a result, they constituted a new contingent gender notion through a misogynistic narrative of a wicked female who menaced the regime because of her religious rebellion, her failure to perform proper wifehood through submission to the king, and her failure to perform proper motherhood through faithful reproduction that continued the legitimate royal lineage.

Considering that Parliamentarians, though internally factional, dominated the propaganda even if the censorship broke down in the 1640s, royalist newsbooks were found in much less numbers.[26] Yet, even though with limited volumes, royalists unsettled the idea of queenship through their polemics in a similar way as their opponents. From May to June in 1648, the royalist newsbook *Mercurius Melancholicus* (1648) consecutively published four tracts of the same genre centering on the metaphor of "Mistress Parliament" who embodied queenship in a ritualistic constitutional marriage with the king. These tracts, *Mistris Parliament presented in her bed*, *Mrs. Parliament her invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving dinner*, *Mistris Parliament presented in her bed the childe of deformation*, and *Mistris Parliament her gossiping*, most crucially stressed the scene, also recurrently shown in similar texts on Mrs. Rump (Parliament) beyond 1660, that the grotesquely pregnant female body of Mistress Parliament, who claimed supreme political power in texts, produced a monstrous England as her child after a terrible labor. Thus, section III contends that, whereas their partisan pamphleteers manipulated political purposes to constitute new gender notions, they utilized the gender notions, in turn, to express political ideas. In order to attack the usurpation of Parliament, royalists invoked the image of a distorted queen: domination of both the private and public sphere and failure to

perform proper motherhood. Notably, different from a body of interpretive works of these texts from literary and drama scholars, section III attempts to interrogate the way in which the (problematic) reproduction and the sheer reproductivity of Parliament echoed contemporary radicalism which aimed to reform parliamentary election and completely reorganized power relations. This part argues that, in contrast to the conventional one-off parliament that was called and dissolved by the king, a parliament that could reproduce by itself embodied a Copernican shift in authority. In all, through scrutinizing the interaction between unsettled queenship (femininity) and political rhetoric with conflicting intentions and pursuits, this article aspires to showcase the temporality and volitivity of femininity and, in general, gender notions.

## *CARLOMARIA*: The Prewar Achievement of Proper Queenship/Femininity

A Dutch painter born and trained in Utrecht, Gerard van Honthorst created one of his most ambitious works, *Apollo and Diana* (Figure 1), in 1628 when he was working for Charles I in London. Combining contemporary history and portraiture with mythology and allegory, this painting celebrated the role of an enlightened monarch in bolstering education and the arts. In this image, the Duke of Buckingham, who was believed to commission this work, played the role of Mercury, leading the seven Liberal Arts out of a dark cave, in which they had been suffering, into the light of the royal patronage of Charles I. The king as Apollo, the god of art and education, and Queen Henrietta Maria as Diana, Apollo's sister, welcomed them with courtesy and benignity. Winged cherubs distributed the rewards of royal (divine) patronage and blew trumpets of Fame from above.[27]

Honthorst's painting was presented in the Passage Room Store at Whitehall Palace; in addition, the personal rule of Charles I was represented in more private places. From about 1635 to 1638, the Florentine artist Orazio Gentileschi, helped by his daughter Artemisia, painted the

ceiling, *An Allegory of Peace and the Arts* (Figure 2), for Queen Henrietta Maria for the Great Hall of the Queen's House.[28] Twenty-five out of all twenty-six figures in the ceiling are females, demonstrating the power of women in residence with Henrietta Maria's taste and patronage. Eventually, made up of a central tondo flanked by eight other images, this ceiling celebrated the reign of her husband King Charles I by personifying the triumph of Peace and Liberal Arts.

Like the two aforesaid, many other art pieces in the 1630s exhibited the king's favor of knowledge and liberty in both public and private spheres. These representations of a promising monarchy specifically eulogized the harmonious royal marriage under the personal rule of Charles I that featured an assistant queenship for the monarchical cause.[29] In *Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase* (Figure 3), the couple at the center were portrayed in fashionable dresses instead of court regalia. Their loving relationship in everyday life, beyond a theatric court, was honored through their intimate pose—holding hands—with a winged cherub showering flowers upon them from above.[30]

*Figure 1: Apollo and Diana, 1628, oil on canvas, Royal Collection Trust, London*

*Figure 2: An Allegory of Peace and Liberal Arts, c. 1635–38, oil on canvas, Royal Collection Trust, London*

*Figure 3: Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase, c. 1630–32, oil on canvas, Royal Collection Trust, London*

The personal intimacy of the royal couple in daily life added to the authenticity and credibility of a sexually harmonious regime that underpinned the political order which widely spread commemorations of the monarchy aimed to represent. Considering that Henrietta Maria was a queen from Catholic France with conspicuous national and religious otherness from Protestant England, the sexually well-proportioned body politics in these art works exhibited a political promise of a united and peaceful kingdom under the strong patriarchal dominance even with inner dissents and conflicts.

Prewar dramas in theatres and the court demonstrated the way in which the performance of the assumption of queenship shaped and was shaped by a political purpose of national unity through a common analogy between sex and society.[31] Most critically, Charles I's last masque at court in 1639, *Salmacida Spolia*, illustrated how the idea of appropriate femininity further denoted an integrated nation without inner crisis. With plots written by William Davenant and stage designed by Inigo Jones, Queen Henrietta Maria and Charles as Supreme Head of the Church of England led this masque that registered the theme of religious and political reconciliation with the Scots and competing factions at court on stage. In the end, the masque turned into a revel danced by leading courtiers of opponent religious and political perspectives, signifying their differences set aside for higher virtues and values extolled by this masque—a harmonious country under the benign reign of the king.[32]

So far, we have examined the way in which the prewar achievement of queenship and femininity worked hand in hand with certain political intentions and power relations. At that time, because of comparatively stable power relations and strong monarchy, few dissents from this royalist ideal of femininity were seen. The personal rule of Charles I as well as the intentions to represent and reify it in as various places as possible constituted an idea of controlled femininity of an assisting queen who was potentially dissident politically and religiously. In turn, such orderly sexual relationships in patriarchy set the foundation for not only a prosperous royal marriage under masculine dominance but also a prosperous England under monarchical reign.

In such a dynamic, the queen managed to perform not only desired wifehood but also desired motherhood with due diligence. Her faithful and fertile reproductions shaped and were shaped by the aspiration to national prosperity: not a temporary but a permanent one ensured by the continuation of genuine royal lineage and buttressed political legitimacy. Successfully giving

birth to five royal heirs from 1629 to 1640, Henrietta Maria was recurrently celebrated for her fruitfulness and safe delivery that guaranteed a long-lived legitimate and ought-to-be England.[33] According to Agnes Strickland, the queen was also depicted as a fond mother who "bestowed all the time she could on the nursery." It was the period of her life when she "was heard to declare herself the happiest woman in the world as mother, wife, and queen."[34] In the critical time of 1642 when the queen sought to support the king from Holland through several shipments, Henry Glapthorne commended Henrietta Maria with a language that closely tied her due wifehood and motherhood with the prosperity of political regime:

> Maria Henrietta his [King Charles I] deare Bride, who with a numerous progeny has blest The British Kingdom; which in peace and rest was pregnant with felicity.[35]

*CARLOMARIA* (Charles Maria), a conjoined figure of the king and queen in Thomas Carew's masque, *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), best incarnated the political contingency of the gendered notion of proper queenship:

> There is no doubt of an [sic] universal obedience, where the Lawgiver himself in his own person observes his decrees so punctually, who besides to eternize the memory of that great example of Matrimonial union which he derives from hence, hath on his bed-chamber door and feeling, fretted with Stars in capital Letters, engraven the Inscription of CARLOMARIA.[36]

Nine years later in 1643, Henrietta Maria was making a well-publicized march south to join the king after her embarkment to Holland on February 23th, 1642, to escort her young daughter Mary, bride of Orange.[37] She proudly declared herself in Newark "her shee-majesty Generalissima overall extremely dilignt" who was in command of 3,000 foot and thirty companies of horse.[38] However, when the women of the town petitioned the queen to stop until the parliamentarian garrison of Nottingham was captured, her response reinforced, but not dismantled, the contingent ideal of queenship:

> Ladies, affairs of this nature are not in our sphere. I am commanded by the king to make all the haste to him that I can. You will receive this advantage, at least, by my answer, though I cannot grant your petition – you may learn, by my example, to obey your husbands.[39]

When the royal couple was eventually heroically reunited on July 13th, 1643, near Edgehill in Warwickshire, the nostalgia of the "matrimonial union" in *Coelum Britannicum*, with the fate of a prosperous and orderly England embedded within, was recalled, and further engraved on a silver medal, *Meeting of King Charles the First and his Queen Henrietta-Maria, in the Valley of Kineton* (1643), by the king's chief engraver Thomas Rawlins. Corresponding to the concurrent military victories on the South, this medal was inscribed in Latin:

> *CERTIVS: PYTHONEM: IVNCTI. CARLO. ET. MAREA. M. B. F. ET. H. R. R. IN. VALLE. KEINTON. AVSPICAT. OCCVRRENT. ET. FVGATO. IN. OCCIDENT. REBELLVM. VICT. ET. PAC. OMEN. OXON. MDXLIII*
>
> [When united they will more surely destroy the python. The auspicious meeting of Charles and Maria, the king and queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, in the valley of Kineton, and the defeat of the rebels in the west, on the thirteenth of July, from an omen of victory and peace. Oxford, 1643] [40]

The ideal of *CARLOMARIA*, celebrated in paintings, masques and coins, epitomized the way in which an idea of proper queenship and femininity in general interacted with contemporary political rhetoric, either in the prewar era with Charles I's personal rule or in the wartime when the monarchy was challenged. However, it was because the notion of femininity existed in a contingent dynamic with political rhetoric that, when the political rhetoric changed, the notion of femininity was destabilized. In other words, the ideal of *CARLOMARIA* collapsed in the same way that it was established.

## Henrietta Maria in Parliamentarian Propaganda: From Politics to Gender

As the aforesaid, the idea of proper queenship registered the powerful monarchy and political legitimacy. Therefore, when certain political allegiances aimed to claim the monarchy (or at least absolutist monarchy) illegitimate, they maneuvered to destabilize the idea of queenship and created a new narrative of femininity. Specifically, since the prewar notion of queenship consisted of Henrietta Maria's restrained religious otherness as well as her celebrated performances of both wifehood and motherhood, Opponents attacked, accordingly, the queen's religious rebellion, insubmissiveness to her husband, and potentially problematic reproduction. In their descriptions, the queen was, first, a traitorous foreign and politically influential Catholic who interfered in public affairs, second, a personally influential wife with the ultimate intent to incline the king to popery and, third, a consort who was supposed to have unfaithful reproduction due to reported adultery with Sir Henry Jeremyn.[41]

The reconstruction of queenship—now politically threatening, personally wicked, and sexually unfaithful—dramatically escalated after the calculated decision to publish *The King's Cabinet Opened* in 1645 after the royalist defeat in Naseby where the king's baggage carts were captured.[42] Regarded by Diane Purkiss as "the most influential publication in the history of the conflict between the royalists and parliamentarians," this purposeful revelation included extensive correspondence between the king and his leading generals and, more importantly, between the king and the queen who incessantly led and instructed the king. The latter most strikingly trembled the foundation of effective and legitimate monarchy due to an excessive personal influence of the queen over the king.[43] For Milton, in his contest against *Eikon Basilike* (1649), this publication was a prime evidence of a deceptive, undependable king and an authoritarian papist queen.[44] The editors of *The King's Cabinet Opened* concluded two features,

religious rebellion in the public sphere and personal influence in the private sphere, in the new image of the queen:

> The king's counsels are wholly managed by the queen: though she be of the weaker sex, born an alien, bred up in a contrary religion, yet nothing great or final is transacted without her privity and consent…the Queen appears to have been as harsh, and imperious towards the king, as she is implacable to our religion, nation and government.[45]

As the private impinged on the public, this tactical publication managed to question the monarchical legitimacy by pointing out that the "privity and consent" of a woman who was "born an alien, bred up in a contrary religion" currently dominated England. Moreover, this treatise successfully intensified the vilifications against the problematic queenship and femininity, given the secrecy of the private sphere: what if the king's cabinet was never opened? What else was waiting to be revealed?

Therefore, this section aims to trace the way in which certain political realities or, sometimes, imaginaries were rhetorically used, first, to destabilize the prewar idea of queenship and second, to constitute a new notion of femininity for a certain partisan political purpose: challenging the legitimacy of current monarchy. In the meantime, the new gender notion politically constituted, in turn, shaped rhetoric and defined a feminine terrain of polemical conflicts, best illustrated in the royalist publication of *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655) as a reaction to *The King's Cabinet Opened*. Considering that the prewar achievement of queenship was destabilized in three aspects, this section plans to examine these three aspects, though indispensable from each other, one by one: the queen's religious rebellion, personal influence, and unfaithful reproduction.

### "Generalissima": The Queen's Religious rebellion

A satirical anonymous tract, *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary* (1645), conjured up

a commonplace alchemical figure that embodied contemporary chaotic England: a salamander named *Oxford-Incendiary* in which "the vast volume of Treason wrapped up".[46]

> [An *Oxford-Incendiary*] is a Court Salamander, whose proper element is Fire: An Englishman […] an *Oxford-Incendiary* is the *excrement* of ill-governed *Monarchy*; the vast volume of *Treason* wrapped up in an *Epitome* […] Yet notwithstanding, his proper *Sphere* is the *Court;* there He shines a bright *Constellation* of Royal Favor, though the whole *Kingdome* beside takes him for a *Prodigious Comet* […] he portends the ruin of some great *Princes.* […] for from thence you may judge of all *Eclipses* between *King* and *Parliament*.[47]

To the readers' astonishment, the tract scorned that this man, taken infamously as a "Prodigious Comet," who "portends the ruin of some great Princes," turned out to be the queen:

> What, *Henrieta Maria*! Sure our *Incendiary* is an *Hermaphrodite,* and admits of both *Sexes:* The *Irish Rebels* call Her their *Generalissima;* what Shee willed they acted: Shee set them on worke, and they pay themselves their wages out of the *Protestants* estates. Because the *Pope* is turned out of dores, She makes the *Fatall Sisters* and *Furies* of her. *Privy-Councell,* and proceeds so meritoriously manfull, that *Kenelne Dighy* consults now with *His Holinesse,* to have her set in the *Rubrick* by the name of *Saint Nemesis in Breeches.* How many *Breeding Fits* hath shee had since the comming over of *Madam Bel-dame!* And no sooner *Deliver'd* of one *Plot,* but within the *Moneth* a *Conception* of another.[48]

This treatise incorporated political realities in the alchemical metaphor of a problematic hermaphrodite: Henrietta Maria's leadership in the "popish plot" and her close relationship with the devoted Catholic courtier Kenelm Digby who sought help from Pope Innocent X to support the queen who fled London in 1644. The "meritoriously manfull" queen—the "Generalissima" in the Irish rebel who also declared herself so in her march south in 1643—was depicted as a sexually questionable hermaphrodite who, claiming political influence, "shines a bright Constellation of Royal Favor in his proper Sphere, the Court." Echoing John Bastwick's quote at the beginning of this article, here, the masculine portrait of the queen sexually disturbed

patriarchal monarchy and challenged political order and legitimacy. In order to prove the monarchy illegitimate, opponents constructed such a misogynistic language to blame a politically influential and religious rebellious queen out of control for concurrent social disorder.[49] Such an interpretive framework had its roots in political realities; however, the former was not a self-evident equation to the latter, but rather, a result of rhetorical strategy to create the accountability of a Catholic queen who supported Catholic and popery rebel.

To begin with, Henrietta Maria's denial of the coronation ritual (Protestant service) and her prodigious efforts to supply the royalist forces by mobilizing her Catholic allies led to her impeachment by House of Commons in 1643.[50] The impeachment, at the beginning, firmly emphasized that the queen is indicted for her assumed central role in the popish plot to "subvert the true Protestant religion contrary to the laws of this kingdom":

> That the said Lady Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, for divers years last past, at the cities of London and Westminster, and elsewhere within this realm, has by all undue ways and means wickedly and traitorously endeavored, practiced, and conspired with diverse popish priests, Jesuits, and other the Pope's adherents, to subvert the true Protestant religion, and to introduce and set up popery, superstition, and idolatry in this realm, and has at several times within these ten years last past, at the places aforesaid and elsewhere, contrary to the laws of this kingdom, advisedly, wittingly, and traitorously advanced, extolled, and maintained the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome within this realm, heretofore usurped within the same, and by the laws and statutes thereof abolished.[51]

Henrietta Maria was accused of her active role in the opposition against Protestants, either in religious promotion or military agitation from England and elsewhere, for example, in Holland and France.[52] Such accusation of treason destabilized the should-be docile femininity and constituted a new notion of problematic queenship that the queen always performed in opponents' news:

> Now being come to such an impudent height of treason, as to give an unoffended care to the deposing of the King, the times were ripe enough to impeach the queen. Good women live the while in a wretched age, who cannot be assisting to their husbands in their great necessities, as by the laws of God and nature they are bound to be.[53]

A misogynistic narrative of a wicked consort soared as the queen increasingly threatened the parliamentarians. *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* in May of 1643 noted that the queen "desires to put in papists" and, dangerously, "the kingdom is disposed of by one that hath an unlimited power over his Majesty."[54] To "erect Popery," the Catholic alien queen

> hath brought over forraign forces, set up her standard in the north, and both daily raise and maintaine forces of armed men in this kingdom against the Parliament, and thereby a great army of Papists are raised in the North to destroy Parliament and the Protestant Religion.[55]

The parliament reached a consensus in the same month that "all papists in this kingdom having been in actual war against the parliament should be proceeded against as Traitors, and their estates to be sequestered for the service of the commonwealth."[56] Notably, in this report, traitorous papists were mobilized and led by the queen:

> after serious debate declared by several circumstances notorious to the whole kingdome […] she [Henrietta Maria] is and has been a chief agent and promoter of the present war and by the laws of the land is liable to answere for any misdemeaner committed by her in that nature."[57]

In June, *The Parliament Scout* (1643) also directly criticized that

> Henrietta Maria had traitorously and wickedly conspired with Popish priests, to subvert the Protestant Religion, and to introduce Popery […] she hath incited and maintained a war against the Subjects of Scotland, and caused monies to be raised amongst the Papists, for advancement and maintenance of that war.[58]

"Raising an army in divers parts of Ireland" and reported to be content with local military triumph, the queen was considered responsible for "all our calamities and miseries do proceed in so notorious a rebel" in another tract.[59] "Against the Puritan Parliament of England," this tract

stated, “the rebels had most impudently stiled themselves the Queenes Army, and protest the cause of their rising was to maintain the Kings Prerogative and the Queens Religion.”[60]

Here, the separation of the queen from the king purposefully dismantled the prewar ideal of the harmonious royal couple and critically questioned the monarchical legitimacy. In addition, the rhetorical parallel between two asymmetric causes, to maintain the “Kings Prerogative” and “the Queens Religion,” deepened the impression of the queen as a religious traitor with too much agency than her gender was supposed to have. Consequently, by repeating this interpretive pattern, pamphleteers strengthened the idea of problematic queenship (femininity) and its accountability. *Mercurius Civicus* (1643) reported that the queen was voted by the House of Commons as “a great causer of the Combustions and Miseries that have happened in this kingdome”.[61] *Spie Communicating Intelligence from Oxford* (1644) claimed the queen “to be the maine forwarder of all these miseries and pressures which are now upon us.”[62] In the same year, *London Post* (1644) lamented,

> How great a plague the Queene hath been unto this kingdome, the sad condition of this land, in many bleeding characters, doth abundantly declare.[63]

When Milton argued for legitimacy of divorce in 1645, he contended that, if the wife “exceeds her husband in prudence and dexterity,” then under a “superior and more naturall law,” “the wiser should govern the lesse wise, whether male or female.”[64] On the contrary, when it came to the “feminine usurpation” in the royal family, he refused to normalize and legitimize it. In *Eikonoklastes* (1649), he invoked the queen’s religious rebellion and personal influence to constitute an illusionary idea of wicked and unreliable femininity to justify, in a circular way, the misogynistic interpretation of contemporary disorder:

> He [Charles I] ascribes *Rudeness and barbarity worse than Indian* to the English Parliament, and all virtue to his Wife, in strains that come almost to Sonneting: How fit to govern men, undervaluing and aspersing

> the great Counsel of his Kingdom, in comparison of one Woman. Examples are not far to seek, how great mischief and dishonor hath befallen to Nations under the Government of effeminate and Uxorious Magistrates. Who being themselves governed and overswaid at home under a Feminine usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without doers, to govern a whole Nation.[65]

In conclusion, regarded as the "Cause of the present miseries and distempers of the kingdom" and a wicked consort who turned the king into the "most unfortunate Prince came to be so overpowred with the Inchantments of a Woman," the queen's support for Catholic and popery rebel and her personal influence over the king, either in reality or perception, were rhetorically used to account for the contemporary disorder.[66] As the queen's opponents repetitively utilized this interpretive framework, they constituted an idea of undependable and traitorous femininity; in turn, such gender notion and misogynistic narrative strengthened and justified the distrust in the queen.

### "Popish Planet": The Queen's Personal Influence

As we have seen above, the religious rebellious queen was considered dangerous especially because she attained unlimited power with the grant of the king. In 1643, a parliamentarian newsbook *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament* (1643) pointed out that the queen had gained supreme authority that

> Nothing is to be done in that or other matters without her consent. No, not so much as any officers of state that can or will accept of any place of honour without her approbation and consent.[67]

In the same year, *Accommodation Cordially Desired, and Really Intended* (1643) further criticized that

> The Queen has now attained to a great heigth of power as formidable as she is to us, in regard of her sex, in regard of her Nation, in regard of her disposition, in regard of her family, in regard of her Religion, and lastly, in regard of her ingagments in these present troubles; some think shee has an absolute unlimitable

> power over the Kings sword and Scepter; which if it bee so, no end of our feares and calamities can be, no propositions can profit us, no Accommodation can secure us.[68]

The failure to control the queen significantly challenged the political authority of the king and shook the foundation of monarchy, which provoked contests to an unprecedented extent after the publication of *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645). As pamphleteers strived to question the effectiveness of the current monarchy, they explained the loss of masculine dominance by invoking less an impotent king and more a queen who was not merely religiously disobedient and politically influential but also wicked and misleading in her intimate relationship with the king.[69] Presbyterian lawyer William Prynne published several satirical tracts to accuse the queen of seducing the king through nocturnal persuasion in the bedchamber.[70] As two other tracts showed, the king "is directed by her [the queen's] Counsel and advice" while "great and eminent places of the Kingdom were disposed of by her advice and power."[71] The behind-the-scene conspiracy of a woman, since "one prince is under the subjection of one lustful, rash, and young favorite," was constantly invoked to explain the "desperate catastrophe scarce ever brought about in any other countries."[72]

Considering the secrecy of the domestic sphere within the royal household, the wicked queenship—effective in explaining the disorder but always undiscoverable, unpredictable, and even unpunishable—elicited and ensured endless skepticism of the legitimacy of the monarchy. It became more so if it was not a certain queen but all women that were wicked; accordingly, the monarchy was questionable as long as the king was counseled by a queen, Henrietta Maria or anyone else, rather than the male parliamentarians. As a result, in order to make monarchy permanently ineffective and illegitimate, Opponents of the queen conceptualized the wickedness of the queen in gendered norm and constituted an idea of wicked femininity that misled the masculine authority in the secret and private sphere.

*The Great Eclipse of the Sun* (1644) best illustrated such a process of constituting and justifying a general gender notion of femininity (Figure 4). Initially, it metaphorically described an orderly "globe of the Heavens" that "the commonwealth may most fitly be compared to".[73] Being the sun, the king was supposed to shine with an "unbounded prerogative", supported by the parliament as the "bright star" rather than "malignant counsellers" as "evil aspected planets."[74] Among all "evil aspected planets," Queen Mary, the "popish planet," was the one to be blame for disturbing the order and causing "the sun of Majestie being thus eclipsed by Error":

> For the King was eclipsed by the Queen, and she persuaded him that Darknesse was light, and that it was better to be a Papist, than a Protestant […] he was totally eclipsed by her counsel, who under the royall curtaines, persuaded him to advance the plots of the Catholikes, under the color of maintaining the Protestant Religion.[75]

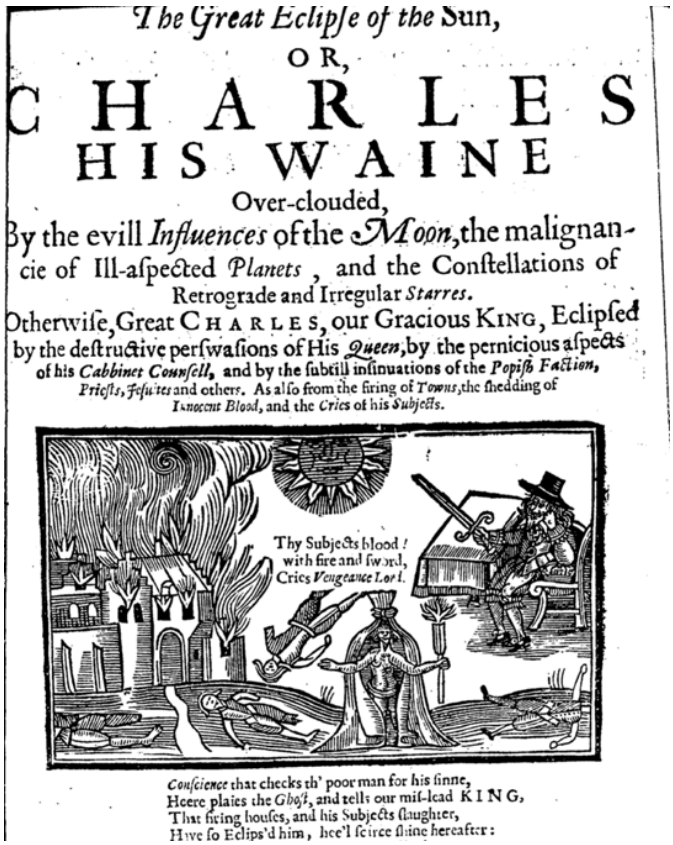
The Great Eclipse of the Sun,
OR,
CHARLES
HIS WAINE
Over-clouded,
By the evill *Influences* of the *Moon*, the malignancie of Ill-aſpected *Planets*, and the Conſtellations of Retrograde and Irregular *Starres*.
Otherwiſe, Great CHARLES, our Gracious KING, Eclipſed by the deſtructive perſwaſions of His *Queen*, by the pernicious aſpects of his *Cabbinet Counſell*, and by the ſubtill inſinuations of the *Popiſh Faction*, *Prieſts*, *Jeſuites* and others. As alſo from the firing of *Towns*, the ſhedding of *Innocent Blood*, and the *Cries* of his *Subjects*.
Thy Subjects blood! with fire and ſword, Cries *Vengeance Lord!*
*Conſcience* that checks th' poor man for his ſinne,
Heere plaies the *Ghoſt*, and tells our miſ-lead KING,
That firing houſes, and his Subjects ſlaughter,
Have ſo Eclips'd him, hee'l ſcarce ſhine hereafter:

*Figure 4: The Title Page of The Great Eclipse of the Sun (London, 1644)*

Here, the queen was portrayed as a wicked wife who persuaded and deceived her innocent husband with nocturnal plots. Subsequently, this tract employed a general misogynous narrative to explain the disorder:

> Ordinary women, can in the night time persuade their husbands to give them new gowns or petticodes, and make them grant their desire; and could not Catholic Queen Mary by her night discourses, incline the king to popery?[76]

This conclusion most critically exhibited the interaction between gender notions and political polemics. As it invoked a general idea of lustful femininity to justify the hypothetical wickedness of the queen, it strengthened the assumption of female wickedness by showing the catastrophic consequences of the queen's clandestine conspiracy. In other words, the rhetoric was a polemical strategy to agitate the gender notion to point out the ineffectiveness and illegitimacy of monarchy.

Meanwhile, such gendered notion, constituted by certain political rhetoric, shaped the rhetoric in turn. In 1655, one year into the Protectoral government, as a response to *The King's Cabinet Opened* that totally changed the polemical battlefield ten years ago, royalists intentionally published a portable duodecimo cookery book that contained the recipes of the now-exiled Henrietta Maria.[77] As a royalist text intended for a broad range of readers considering the book's size and price, this publication of the former queen's private life aimed to show her transformation from a French Catholic queen to an English housewife, to rehabilitate the reputation and virtue of the royal household tarnished ten years ago, and in all, to prove the innocence of the queen.[78] Additionally, by conventionally domesticizing the queen, it offered a resonant alternative to the new ideology of a new regime.[79] In other words, the feminine image was made and remade through contests with and for certain political purposes. The contingent gender notions, constantly destabilized by political rhetoric, defined a terrain of political rhetoric.

## "Fruitfull wombe": The Queen's Questionable Reproduction

The loss of masculine dominance in the household easily led to the attack of the husband's sexual impotence and the implication of sexual betrayal of an unruly wife. In addition, since we have seen above that the secrecy of the private sphere added to the endless danger that the queen was about to bring about, concerns were increasingly aroused by the possibly unfaithful reproduction of an unruly queen from the most secret and private sphere, her own body. Opposing pamphleteers targeted the once celebrated fertility of Henrietta Maria, because, as Frances E. Dolan noted, more royal births suggested more intimacy between the king and the queen who would conjure up more wicked nocturnal plots.[80]

Since unfaithful reproduction and lineage confusion most critically humiliated and ruined the monarchical legitimacy, pamphleteers questioned the reproduction of Henrietta Maria not only from her intimacy with the king but further from her intimacy with others. Once sexually unfaithful, the queen's fertility—along with her wicked personality, unlimited power, and religious rebellion—meant giving birth to, not one, but endless children that embodied contemporary disorderly England with a questionable monarchy.

Therefore, sexual slander of the queen was commonly seen in contemporary political pornography mainly between 1643 and 1646.[81] It was quite understandable that, since these libels were created for partisan purposes, it started with a series of decisive royalist military victories and ended with Charles's surrender to the Scots.[82] In particular, *Mercurius Britannicus* led this libelous attack focusing on the reported intimacy between the queen and her chief household courtier, Sir Henry Jermyn who had earlier for several times accused of too much proximity with Henrietta Maria in the 1630s.[83] Initially, when this parliamentarian newsbook criticized Brian Duppa, Francis Cottington, George Digby, and the queen, these "malicious

designs of the authors of this most unnatural war" in Charles I's speech, it alluded Henry Jermyn specifically to Roger de Mortimer, a medieval English noble who was known for committing adultery with Edward II's consort before helping her in controlling the king.[84] Later, the parliamentarian rhetorical campaign more ostensibly and audaciously attacked the queen's infidelity in print. Such calumny echoed the poet Thomas Carew's testimony in the early 1630s that he had caught the queen's adultery. According to the *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*,

> Thomas Carew, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, going to light King Charles into her chamber, saw Jermyn Lord St. Albans with his arm round her neck;—he stumbled and put out the light;— Jermyn escaped.[85]

Considering that Thomas Carew was the author of *Coelum Britannicum* who created the ideal of *CARLOMARIA*, once again, we have noticed that different perceptions and malleable gender notions originated from changing power relations and rhetorical maneuvers. Corresponding to Carew's testimony, when *Mercurius Britannicus* (1644) ironically listed "Reasons why so many plots against Britannicus," it put Henry Jermyn right after the royal couple and hinted at his problematic intimacy with the queen:

1. The king could not keep an evil councellor, but I must need speak of him
2. The Queen could not bring in popery, but you need tell all the world of it
3. Henry Jermin, could not go up the backe staires, but I make a remonstrance of the whole business.[86]

Also, discussing a scene in Yorkshire, *Mercurius Britannicus* (1644) scorned that

> Her majesty was put so hard to it for the landing of her pistols, wild-fire, and popery, that she was glad to put on her stockings under a hedge; but she did not tell him, that Harry Jermin [Henry Jermyn] helps to pull'em on.[87]

The site was cunningly chosen since it left the readers to imagine what they might do "under a hedge" other than "putting on the queen's stockings." Engaged in the queen's sexual immorality

and possible unfaithful reproduction, Henry Jermyn was, thus, also blamed for causing the ubiquitous disorder. His serious wound in 1643 was cheerfully celebrated that

> The Lord Digby and the Lord Jermyn were so wounded, that they are like to bleed to death. The man [Sir William Waller] that shortens your days will draw no blood from you.[88]

A tract in 1649 that looked back into the history after the king's regicide bound the queen and Sir Jermyn together as a unit against Charles I because of their long-term intimacy:

> Though perhaps the King of himself might be willing, yet the states, without whom he can do nothing, will not consent […] But the Queen and Jermyn believe otherwise, and therefore though they have hitherto opposed much all that he proposed, yet now they feed themselves with hopes.[89]

In conclusion, this part examined how the queen's own productive body—the most private and thus dangerous sphere as well as the imaginary site of unfaithful reproduction that ruined the monarchy—was rhetorically utilized to reinforce the accountability of the wicked queen and the categorical idea of traitorous femininity. The once celebrated performance of due motherhood was destabilized by changing political situations and gendered assumptions. *An Alarm for London* (1647) lamented with such concern that,

> what a monstrous birth flows from thy fruitfull wombe? What? The glorious Queene become so base a whore, to prostitute under every hedge, to open her quiver to every arrow, to act every new invented sin.[90]

In this section, we have examined how opponents of the queen destabilized the prewar ideal of queenship in three ways: to attack the queen's religious rebellion, personal influence, and questionable reproduction. For certain political purposes and through the certain rhetorical maneuver, they broke down the ideal of *CARLOMARIA* in the same way that it was established. As a result, they accounted for the disorder by an invented misogynistic narrative of a traitorous, wicked, and sexually lustful queen with problematic reproduction. Such image, conceptualized in gendered terms, destabilized a previously contingent gender notion and relation and created a new one; in addition, it defined a gendered terrain of polemics where conflicting factions used a

series of gendered symbols to attack each other.

## "Mistress Parliament" in Royalist Propaganda: From Gender to Politics

As the previous section mainly investigates how certain political maneuvers destabilized and unsettled the gender notion, this section surveys the way in which rhetorical deployments of gender notions embodied and expressed political debates hidden behind, that is, in Knopper's terms, "using gender, imagining politics."[91] We move from factional parliamentarians and the problematic queen in reality, Henrietta Maria, to their counterpart: royalists and the problematic queen in rhetoric, the Parliament. By demonstrating such a parallel, this section shows that the dynamic between gender notions and political rhetoric was influenced by partisanship but went beyond it. The same constellation of malleable gender ideas shaped and was shaped by political rhetoric in a similar pattern that opponent parties shared.

In his *Characters and Elegies* (1646), Sir Francis Wortley, a devoted royalist, defined a "political neuter" who supported the king and Parliament at the same time as a cowardly "unfruitful hermaphrodite".[92] Distinct from the prewar ideal of harmonious hermaphroditic regime composed of the king and the queen, here, the king and Parliament manifested an irreconcilable sexual conflict that shaped the problematic hermaphroditism of such a "political neuter." In early 1648, following the failure between the king and Parliament to reach a settlement on *Four Bills* (1647) that required the king to surrender military power to Parliament, the pass of *Vote of No Addresses* by Parliament on February 11th considerably reduced the chances of reaching a peaceful settlement between the monarch and Parliament. Yet, with incessant negotiations between Constitutional Royalists and different factions among parliamentarians, the political climate drastically changed by the eve of the second Civil War.[93] An anonymous pamphlet, possibly published during the March to April period, *A new marriage,*

*between Mr King, and Mrs Parliament* (1648), mobilized the ideology of conventional household and celebrated a new constitutional marriage of the king and his new wife, Mrs. Parliament. [94]

> We are gathered together in the face of this Congregation, to joyn together in the bands of *peace* and Unity these two Persons, namely Mr. KING, and Mrs. *Parliament,* that they may become members of one Body, for the mutuall Society, helpe, ayde and assistance one of the other, for the comfort of all that are subject unto their *Power,* as also to the terrour of such as deny or despise the same. (3–4)

Renouncing the sexual conflict, this new marriage, under the circumstance of negotiation, invoked the prewar royalist ideal of sexually harmonious body politics and a unified state that such body politics symbolized. Notably, this figural marriage valued cooperation over hierarchy within the royal household, setting Mr. King and Mrs. Parliament equally as two members of "on Body". Despite not mentioning proper wifehood, this pamphlet did emphasize a faithful and successful reproduction, which promised the success of this new constitutional regime:

> For Mrs. *Parliament,* she being a woman of a light carriage, inconstant, and likely to be fruitlesse, by reason she is troubled with the consumption in her Members, the bloody Issue, and fallingsickness, about the time of our approach […] we intend she shall joyne Issue and beget a new sanctified brood of Kings. (4)

As the negotiation between factions broke down in the early summer of 1648, royalists responded to the metaphor of constitutional marriage and insisted that, being the king's wife, the Parliament should pay "loyalty and obedience to her only LORD and Master King CHARLES, to whom of right she apperttaines."[95] Clearly, once again, gender notions defined a specific feminine terrain in the polemical war between opposing factions.

The royalist newsbook *Mercurius Melancholicus* (1648) most critically demonstrated this rhetorical strategy of royalists. From May to June of 1648 when the partisan conflicts intensified, it consecutively published four plays of the same genre centering on the metaphor of "Mistress

Parliament/Mrs. Parliament". They were all satirical parodies from first-person perspectives, perhaps designed to be read out aloud, that emphasized dialogues among feminine personifications of several figures/concepts like the Parliament, London, England, Ordinance, Military, Truth, Humiliation, Schism, and so on.[96] Featuring an all-female setting, these four tracts— *Mistris Parliament presented in her bed*, *Mrs. Parliament her invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving dinner*, *Mistris Parliament presented in her bed the childe of deformation*, and *Mistris Parliament her gossiping*—aimed to demonstrate the scene that various figures were gossiping about the political usurping Mrs. Parliament and her accountability of the ubiquitous social disorder.[97]

Critically, these tracts highlighted a central scene of Mrs. Parliament's delivery of a horribly monstrous child of Reformation England. While *A new marriage, between Mr King, and Mrs Parliament* (1648) promised the success of the cooperation between the king and Parliament through a faithful reproduction of "a new sanctified brood of Kings," royalists invoked a problematic reproduction of a deviant body, because of usurpation of Mrs. Parliament the unruly wife, to smash down this ideal. Drawing on psychoanalysis, a body of works argued that, publicizing the most private sphere, the childbirth in the chamber and the female's body, these plays turned the women's womb from a(n) (imaginary) site further to a (spectacular) sight of social disorder. [98] Analyzing the tension between the longing to reveal and the fear of revelation in psychoanalytic terms, Diane Purkiss argued that the visibility of an open reproductive feminine body was itself a sign of disorder.[99] Also, this theme was believed to reveal the contemporary anxiety of motherhood and royalist aspiration to restore the harmony by reassuring male authority.[100]

Therefore, this section traces the way in which royalists utilized gender notions to express their political intentions at the beginning of the second Civil War. It argues that, first, while their counterpart in opposing factions constituted an interpretive framework of social disorder around a portrait of usurping queen, royalists used the same gender-identified image of usurping Parliament, the queen in rhetoric, to explain the disorder and attack opponents. Second, apart from the interpretive tradition of the symbolic scene of reproduction, this section contends that not only the reproduction of Mrs. Parliament but her sheer reproductivity was problematic. Around the idea of reproductivity of Parliament, royalists attacked the contemporary radicalism which advocated for the reform of parliamentary election. Instead of a one-off parliament called and dissolved by the king, a parliament that was able to reproduce by itself marked a fundamental shift in authority: with House of Commons representing the people, power was organized from the bottom up, instead of top down. By declaring Mrs. Parliament's child monstrous, royalists declared the radicals' advocate totally illegitimate.

### Unruly Wife: Usurpation of Parliament and Social Disorder

In these tracts, royalists employed neither an image of a submissive wife in the prewar ideal of conventional household nor an image of cooperating wife in the ideal of constitutional marriage; rather, they invoked the image of a politically and sexually unruly wife, as Queen Henrietta Maria in Independents' news, to account for the social disorder. *Mrs. Parliament Her Invitation of Mrs. London* declared, "Worthy to bee hangd, as an enemie to the Country," Mrs. Parliament brought about the disease that was "now so catching," compared to which "the *Pox*, the *Plague*, and all those cruell malladies Pandora brought on earth to ruine men though all conjoyn'd in one, are not so mischievous."[101] Further, *Mistris Parliament her gossiping* listed Mistress Parliament's crime in detail and, accordingly, explained the social disorder:

> [Mrs. Parliament] Rob'd God, the King and Common-wealth, and hath bewitch'd the People into abhorred Rebellion, and led them blindfold by the Noses to their own destruction; That her eldest Bastard *Ordinance* is likewise a Traytor to the Kingdome, and a bloody murderer, of souls as well as bodies▪ and an arrant Pick-pocket, and a Pawde, and her Daughter the like; for what mischief soever hath been Ordered by the one, hath been acted by the other, both against Reason, Law and Conscience […] She still keeps her King in Prison, and insults and Tyranizes over the Lives & Fortuns of a Free-born people, charging them with insupportable Impositions to maintain an Army to destroy themselves who act nothing but Rapine, Murder and Cruelty, and hath brought all the Plagues of God upon this Nation.[102]

In *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, the prevention of "Arbitratinesse in the King" legitimized Mrs. Parliament's "this height of unlimited power which now she is at."[103] Satirically, it was not the result of cooperation and the intervention of a more natural law, "the wiser should govern the lesse wise, whether male or female," in Milton's opinion (see note 67); rather, it resulted from the personal lust for power of Mrs. Parliament, the unruly and usurping wife:

> Mrs. Parliament hath now occasion to use the sword and we all know Mrs. Sedition knowes how to weild that best for her advantage.[104]

Mrs. Truth in *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation* complained that "I hate her companie and loath her sight, much less will I follow her Dictates and Directions" because Mrs. Parliament "converted my Directions to the satisfying of her own private Lust, though pretended to be done for the public good of the kingdom."[105]

The unruliness of Mrs. Parliament was a projection of the increasing political power of Parliament (Independents) in reality. In a rhetorical analogy, royalists criticized the illegitimate authority of Parliament through the illegitimate usurpation of Mrs. Parliament, who was "as honourable as ever was any Family in England, next the King".[106] According to Mrs. Military, "the King my true and onely Master must not Command me"; instead, "Mrs. Parliament hath

commanded me this seven years."[107] The same tract ostensibly emphasized Mrs. Parliament "open rebellion and disloyalty against her head and husband" that took her, "whom a Nation courted, offering their lives and estates at her feet," to this seat that "no humane strength could shake."[108] Therefore, the elimination of Mrs. Parliament was paralleled with the restoration of currently chaotic England:

> Blow, blow strong Windes, lend one stiff blast, and send her quick to hell,
> Our miseries then shall soon be past, and our sick land be well.[109]

*Mistris Parliament her gossiping* continued,

> To prove Her Bawd, Murderer, Witch, and Whore.
> Her Tryall's past; shee is condem'd to die,
> Her Execution Day drawes nie;
> Come Help to guard her to the Gallow-tree.
> ENGLAND is freed of all her Miserie.[110]

Royalists considered such usurpation as the premier reason that caused ubiquitous chaos in domestic society. This interpretive framework was certified and reinforced through the eventual confession of Mrs. Parliament that "I sold my God, my King, my Soul, committed Sacriledge, murder, and all manner of mischief" that "stinks all the Kingdome over."[111]

Notably, as the queen, the usurpation of Mrs. Parliament had a strong sexual implication since the loss of masculine (monarchical) dominance indicated sexual misconduct of the lustful wife. In *Mrs. Parliament, her invitation to Mrs. London*, Mrs. Parliament who "make addresses to her husband, her head" and was "insensible of the burning of her darling," was a wife that "Cuckolds bee content with."[112] Mrs. Parliament was also convicted as who "play'd the Strumpet to some purpose became a Murderer, a Witch, a murdering bloody Whore," followed by "Witches markes" found upon her body.[113] This mark confirmed the sexual misconduct of Mrs. Parliament.

Now that Mrs. Parliament was rhetorically an unruly queen who diminished monarchical masculinity with adultery, a more important question appeared: with whom was she committing adultery? Royalists made apparent their political purposes behind such gender rhetoric by noting that Mrs. Parliament prostituted her bodies to several parliamentarians". In the same tract, she was scorned as

> a Whore that hath imprisoned her Husband, and prostituted her body to a very Eunuch, that had nothing to help himself with all […] turn'd up her tayle to every lowsy Ill-dependent Rascall in the Army; Sir Thomas himself, and king Cromwall too.[114]

Here, the sharp comparison between the imprisonment of King Charles I and the accession of Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell exactly embodied the political reality.[115] It also established an interpretive framework to explain the disorder by the political usurpation of Parliament.

Consequently, adultery foresaw the unfaithful and problematic reproduction. Calling "the birth of her monstrous offspring" the "most hedious Birth," *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, with a plain title, intended to "see th'expected Babe of Grace prove Monster."[116] Another publication in *Mercurius Melancholicus* (1648) in May also stressed Mrs. Parliament's problematic reproduction:

> Opening her [Mrs. Parliament's] empty quiver to their golden shafts, and turning up her strumpets breech to their base prostitutions for four shillings a day; she looks as if she had lied in long, and at last was delivered of a Moncalfe.[117]

The nuance in the fruitlessness of "a very Eunuch" whom Mrs. Parliament committed adultery with raised a more critical question: who was on earth the father of the monstrous child? Given that the current parliamentarian grandees were eunuchs, the father might never be known since Mrs. Parliament would commit adultery over and over again with other males who were in charge at that time, as what she did to the king and current dominant figures. In other words, for

royalists, not merely the marriage between Parliament and parliamentarians but the sheer existence of a politically usurping parliament would always disturb the order and cause permanent chaos. Therefore, when Mrs. Parliament audaciously declared that

> This is the period of my Reformation.
>
> To kill my King, and under my Nation.[118]

Englishmen were immediately encouraged to

> Rowze up your valiant hearts brave English men
>
> And put in Charles his hand his sword again.[119]

In conclusion, royalist authors utilized the metaphor of an unruly wife to express their political pursuits: to attribute the domestic disorder to the political usurpation of parliament. In addition, invoking the idea of sexually lustful femininity/wifehood, royalists strengthened their interpretive framework and, more critically, claimed it was not temporarily but forever illegitimate to have a political system with Parliament on top. Eventually, they appealed to the public to "put in Charles his hand his sword again," and analogized the recovery of social order to the recovery of gender order in their ideal household. This part demonstrates how gender ideas were utilized to express political concerns.

### Monster's Mother: Reproductivity of Parliament and Contemporary Radicalism

Since the war broke out in the early 1640s, a complex group of political actors that occupied a wide range on the political spectrum, including Independents, Presbyterians, radical republicans, and democratically inclined Levellers, had made relentless efforts to fundamentally challenge and hopefully change the political and religious structures. Despite contrasting views, they shared concerns on certain issues: for example, powers of the state, the role of the army, and the extent of religious liberty. [120] Most critically, the leftists in this group disputed over a top concern: how far a man's authority in a household was necessary for political agency, that is,

how far fatherhood (being the head of household) qualified men for political participation in a society in which household was conventionally the basic political unit, a sample of state, and isomorphic metaphor of authority. From there, radicals on the parliamentarian side (if any) argued for the new definition and expansion of the parliamentary franchise as well as the self-representation of the House of Commons as the representative of the people.[121] Diggers like Gerrard Winstanley further tried to reorganize the power relation by pointing out that a fatherly government was established on the consent of the children, a quite radical idea in the contemporary society that he later made clear in his utopian tract, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652), that father in a family is a "commonwealth's officer, because the necessity of the young children choose him by a joint consent, and not otherwise."[122]

In this process, the Putney Debates in late 1647, mainly between the parliamentarian grandees in office and the collaboration of agitators of the New Model Army and civilian Levellers, most critically sparked numerous polarized views on the central question, properties between manhood (fatherhood) and political participation of "free-born Englishmen" (as a right), through spanning topics including the relationship between civilian and military radicalism, the treatment of the king, the attitudes of Levellers, parliamentary franchise, and in all, the form of new government and the outline of future Constitution.[123] The original draft of *An Agreement of the People for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right* (1647) in October, the proposal to be debated, stemmed from a fundamental question, what it meant to be a political man, and articulated the political pursuits of contemporary radicals. There were four main articles:

1. The peoples' representatives (i.e. Members of Parliament) should be elected in proportion to the population of their constituencies
2. The existing Parliament should be dissolved on 30 September 1648

3. Future Parliaments should be elected biennially and sit every other year from April to September
4. The biennial Parliament (consisting of a single elected House) should be the supreme authority in the land, with powers to make or repeal laws, appoint officials and conduct domestic and foreign policy[124]

It was clear that radicals advocated setting up a new regime based on distinct fundamental ideas and power relations. As a result, London was politically decentralized and the people's will, with universal men's franchise, constituted a new Parliament, the supreme authority, that was requested by the changing will of the people to reorganize more frequently.

Now, let us return to the scene of the reproduction of Mrs. Parliament. Grandees fiercely pushed back radicalism after their submission of the original draft of *An Agreement of the People*, and royalists and the parliamentarian side were comparatively peaceful from March to April following the disappointing unsettlement on *Four Bills* and frustrating pass of *Vote of No Addresses*. Notwithstanding all the changes in the political climate, once again in wartime, the reproductivity, rather than reproduction, of Mrs. Parliament might demonstrate a way in which royalists rhetorically utilized a reproductive female body to express their anxiety about a fundamental reorganization of power relations.

First, Mrs. Parliament's reproduction featured a secret place, an unpredictable childbirth, and much labor to give such birth, with Mrs. London as the midwife and various figures from contrasting factions—like Mrs. Privilege and Mrs. Levellers—as gossipers waiting outside for the result. This scene much resembled the factional conflicts and debates within the parliamentarian side that conflicting factions were waiting for an unpredictable result eventually and laboriously rendered under the witness of the city of London. *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation* (1648) elaborated that

> Whil'st she was speaking the room was strangely overspread with darkness, the candles went out of themselves, and there was smelt noysome smells, and heard terrible thunderings, intermix'd with wawling

> of Catts, howling of Doggs, and barking of Wolves against the windows flew ill-boading screetch-Owles, Ravens and other ominous Birds of night, that strook a great terrour to the hearers; at the same time Mrs. Parliament, was miraculously delivered of a Monster of a deformed shape, without a head great goggle eyes, bloody hands growing out of both sides of its devouring panch, under the belly hung a large bagge, and the feet are like the feet of a Beare; if you purpose to see it, you must make haste.[125]

The darkness and strangeness, along with omens outside the secret room, added to the mystery of Mrs. Parliament's reproduction. It is noteworthy that the last sentence seemed not understandable by itself. In fact, the same tract made an annotation on it. When Mrs. Parliament found her child a monster,

> ***Nurse.***
>
> What's this that comes so strongly up? Foh, how it stinks all the Kingdome over.
>
> ***Mrs. Parl.***
>
> Oh Nurse! This is the accursed Declaration against my King, wherein He is so falsely flandered and reproach'd; Pray fling some hot Embers on't, and make all the haste you can to call
>
> Mrs. *Sedition,* Mrs. *Schisme,* Mrs. *Toleration,* and Mrs. *Leveller,* tell them, That if they come not presently, I shall miscarry of the sweet Babe of *Reformation,* that hath cost England so much money, blood and sweat.

In other words, "you must make haste" to see the child because Mrs. Parliament will "miscarry it" if different factions "come not presently". On the one hand, royalists might advocate for the restoration of monarchy by emphasizing Parliament's decision to quickly miscarry such monstrous child, disorderly England as the result of parliamentary debates and conflicts. On the other hand, more importantly, authors might indicate the miscarry of a certain child could be followed by a new child. Such temporality of parliamentary decision, considering the presence of different factions, echoed the new form of government proposed by radicals that generated decisions more frequently and democratically, in a royalist perspective, more chaotically.

In addition, the conversation between Mrs. Parliament and her midwife, Mrs. London who witnessed and physically facilitated the monstrous birth, strengthened the implication that the reproduction of Mrs. Parliament might be a vehicle of criticism against contemporary radicalism. When Mrs. Parliament, "lying very weak and in most grievous pangs of child-bearing," was asking Mrs. London for help, Mrs. London replied,

> I come to laugh at thy sorrow, more then to helpe thee; thou hast had too much of my helpe already, and that hath imboldened thee the more to play the Strumpet with security, and to prostitute thy Members to all manner of Wickedness and Uncleanness: No, languish still, till thou hast brought forth the bastard Jssue of thy own Lust thy own self, which was begot in obscenity, and shall be brought forth in iniquity for me; and may it prove as monstrous in its birth, and as fatall to it self, as it hath been ominous to others.[126]

Mrs. Parliament's prostitution of the members to "all manner of Wickedness and Uncleannes" might echo the radical pursuit of expanding the franchise and bringing more humble men into the election pool. In addition, Mrs. London's anger toward Mrs. Parliament's betrayal of "too much of her helpe", might be understood as a reaction to the political decentralization asked by radicals.

Second, apart from the exact reproduction, the sheer reproductivity of Mrs. Parliament might also point to contemporary radicalism. As we have argued above, different from the reproduction of Mrs. Parliament in the ideal constitutional marriage, these four royalist tracts demonstrated Mrs. Parliament's reproduction with men unknown and, as we have seen here, even with the absence of men. In other words, Mrs. Parliament was capable of reproducing herself, which embodied the parliamentary reform and reorganization of power relations asked by radicals. With the implication of reproductivity of Parliament, the whole patriarchal system collapsed, and Parliament, now the supreme head, did not even necessarily rely on certain fabricated kings like Cromwell. Rather, certain grandees and constituencies became the figures

waiting outside for the decision of Parliament, like what we have seen here in the parody. Judith Butler noted that parodies made apparent the invisible assumptions about gender identity and the inhabitability of such "ontological locales", this theory could apply to the political parodies that destabilized political presuppositions.[127] In other words, royalists might imbue their deepest anxiety about the fundamental redefinition of political authority—from the bottom up instead of top down—in the performance of Mrs. Parliament's reproductivity. With no response to the royalist parody of Mrs. Parliament found on the parliamentarian side, the reproductivity of Mrs. Parliament was inherited by the metaphor of Mrs. Rump beyond the 1660s which continued to attack parliamentarians within a new political context.[128]

In conclusion, this section examined the way in which royalists employed certain gender notions and ideas to fulfill certain political purposes. In particular, they linked the usurpation of Mrs. Parliament, politically and sexually, with the birth of monstrous England, in order to attribute the current disorder to the usurpation of Parliament. In addition, these four tracts centering on the metaphor of Mrs. Parliament were published in a context of incessant conflicts between royalists and their opponents as well as inner conflicts of the parliamentarian side caused mainly by radicalism. Royalists demonstrated a way that the reproductive body and the sheer reproductivity of females could denote nuanced concerns about contemporary radicalism under this very circumstance.

## Conclusion

In 1688, when English people encountered a hermaphroditic regime with no precedence, Mary II and William of Orange, they once again had to conceptualize the politics in gendered terms. Their conceptualization was by no means the same as that of John Bastwick or people from the middle century. Rather, their ideology was based on all the settlement and unsettlement

of contingent gender notions and relations during the chaotic decades of the mid-17th century, just like those from the mid-17th century had to invoke the settlement and unsettlement of contingent gender notions and relations before them, the legacy of Mary I and Elizabeth I.

In conclusion, drawn partly from critical work by Judith Butler and her followers, this article is grounded on a subtle idea concerning the relations between gender and politics in seventeenth-century English print culture. This idea is that gender and politics are, as it were, co-constructed in a contingent dynamic: that each is constantly being revised and redefined in performative and ritualistic ways, producing what subsequently come to seem stable and perhaps natural arrangements. Here, the focus is on representations of queenship – a concept that embodies in body politics key ideas which define what a female is and should be – before, during, and after the first Civil War in England, i.e., the 1630s, the early 1640s, and the late 1640s (with a brief postscript extending to the 1690s). In the first place, royal masques and exhibited art pieces articulated an ideal of *CARLOMARIA* – Charles I and Henrietta Maria as a harmonious unity, and therefore, England. In the second, Queen Henrietta Maria – who made prodigious efforts for the royalist campaign – was denounced for infidelity, popery, and autonomy in a misogynistic narrative. In the third, the parliament itself was figured as a wanton and promiscuous "queen" who not only generated monsters but could indefinitely do so, because the Parliamentarians in fact envisaged a polity in which parliament became a fixture as a frequently re-created reproductive body rather than a conventional one-off assembly called and dismissed by the king for immediate purposes. And at last, the brief postscript suggests that the situation they created may help explain the oddly conjoined notion of monarchy adopted by William and Mary after the Glorious Revolution. Examining these episodes based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, this article argues for the fluidity and path-dependency

of gender/politics relations over these tumultuous years and hopefully showcases the contingency of gender relations in a broader sense.

[1] "Bastwick, John (1595–1654), Religious Controversialist and Pamphleteer," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed July 17, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1659.
[2] William Prynne, *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny in Their Late Prosecutions of Mr. William Pryn, an Eminent Lawyer, Dr. Iohn Bastwick, a Learned Physitian and Mr. Henry Burton, a Reverent Divine Wherein the Separate and Joynt Proceedings against Them in the High Commission and Star Chamber Their Petitions, Speeches, Cariages at the Hearing and Execution of Their Last Sentences* (London, 1641), 62–4.
[3] See note 1.
[4] John Bastwick, *Independency Not Gods Ordinance: Or A Treatise Concerning Church-Government, Occasioned by the Distractions of these Times* (London, 1645), 112.
[5] For the first point, for example, English botanist John Parkinson in *Theatrum Botanicum* considered hermaphrodites as *luxus naturae* (the luxury of nature) that "alters not the law of nature," see John Parkinson, *Theatrum botanicum: = The theater of plants* (London, 1640), 1516. For the second point, a widely renowned example is that Ambroise Paré identified four unbiased kinds of hermaphrodites based on their genital organs:

> sometimes two sexes, called hermaphrodites, are found in the same body. Of these, there are four different kinds, to wit, the male hermaphrodite, which is the one that has the sex organs of the perfect man and can impregnate […] The hermaphroditic woman, in addition to her vulva which is well-formed and through which she ejects seed and her monthlies, has a male member […] The hermaphrodites who are neither one nor the other [of the aforementioned] are those who are totally excluded from and void of reproduction […] Male and female hermaphrodites are those who have both sets of sexual organs well-formed, and they can help and be used in reproduction.

See Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 26–31, at 27. For the third point, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, "The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1, no. 4 (1995): 419–38, note 3;Jenny C. Mann, "How to Look at a Hermaphrodite in Early Modern England," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 46, no. 1 (2006): 67–91; Leah DeVun, "The Jesus Hermaphrodite: Science and Sex Difference in Premodern Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 2 (2008): 193–218, at 216–17. Also refer to William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Rosemarie Garland. Thomson, *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

For varied accounts of hermaphrodites in early modern medical and scientific works, see Leah DeVun's article at note 4 and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park's at note 10; Alice Domurat Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Harvard University Press, 1998); Kathleen P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (Ashgate, UK: Aldershot, 2006), 29–47; Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, eds., *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 127–47. For the idea of *lusus naturae*, see Paula Findlen, "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1990): 292–331; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 190–200.
[6] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, trans. A. L. Peck, Loeb ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 249, 391–93 (bk.4, ch.1, 766a30–b8, especially the passage 766 a30–32 and 766 b2), 401. For the fall of Aristotelian two-sex model from the late 16th century, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
[7] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution, 1649–1660* (London: Penguin, 1984).
[8] For typical works in this trend, see Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, eds., *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); A. W. Bates, ed., *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005); Peter G. Platt, *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1999), esp. William E. Burns's 'The King's Two Monstrous Bodies: john Bulwer and the English Revolution', 187–202; Julie Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). This scholarship is built upon certain earlier works, like Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies* (London: UCL Press, 1993) and Chris Durston, "Signs and Wonders and the English Civil War," *History Today*, 38 (1997): 22–29. Also, see Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 164–66.

[9] David Cressy, "Lamentable, Strange, and Wonderful: Headless Monsters in the English Revolution," in *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Knoppers and Landes, 40–66; Crawford, 114–45; Hughes, 132–33.
[10] See the most focused and detailed work on the metaphor of hermaphrodites in 17th-century England, Ruth Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and Other Stories* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[11] Gilbert, 104–17, also see 51–76 where the literary and medical root of the meaning of this trope is discussed.
[12] Ibid, 126–32; Ann Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 138–43.
[13] Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha, or, the Natural Power of Kings* (London, 1680), 24. Early modern patriarchy does not need further explanations. For a general idea, see Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England*, 1st edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975); J. P. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2016).
[14] Michelle Anne White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot, UK: Routledge, 2006), 4.
[15] Ann Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 1st edition (London: Routledge, 2011), 64; Kathleen P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (Ashgate, UK: Aldershot, 2006), 189–214.
[16] See, for example, Susan Broomhall, *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Akiko Kusunoki, *Gender and Representations of the Female Subject in Early Modern England: Creating Their Own Meanings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[17] White, 91–121, 149–50.
[18] Butler in 1990 develops a theory of gender performativity to explain the construction of gender, while Mouffe in 1992 looks to the construction of women as a political strategy. Likewise, Young in 1994 draws on Sartre to interrogate the construction of women as a (political) category, and Connell in 2005 destabilizes masculinity. Scott in 1986 questions the difference/equality binary as it relates to gender dominance. In addition, these feminists tend to look toward abject or marginalized, rather than normative, subject positions to inform their analyses of gender; for example, Halberstam in 1998 focuses on female masculinity to understand masculinity more generally. Finally, poststructuralist feminists push for radical transformation by forefronting the politically potent role of the cultural. See Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Chantal Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics," In *Feminists Theorize the Political* ed. by Judith Butler and Joan Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992), 368–384; Joan Scott, "Gender: A useful category of historical analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75; Iris Young, "Gender as seriality: Thinking about women as a social collective," *Signs* 19 no.3 (1994): 713–738.
[19] Ian Hacking, "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds," in *Causal Cognition*, ed. Dan Sperber, David Premack, and Ann James Premack (Oxford University Press, 1996), 351–83; Tuomas Vesterinen, "Identifying the Explanatory Domain of the Looping Effect: Congruent and Incongruent Feedback Mechanisms of Interactive Kinds," *Journal of Social Ontology* 6, no. 2 (August 1, 2020): 159–85.
[20] Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*. Also, see Jennifer Francis Cobley, "The Construction and Use of Gender in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Civil War, 1642-1646" (Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2010).
[21] Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 125–43; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), especially, 42–67, 94–113, 140–65; Sharon Achinstein, "Saints or Citizens? Ideas of Marriage in Seventeenth-Century English Republicanism," *The Seventeenth Century* 25, no. 2 (2010): 240–64; James Grantham Turner, *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton*, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
[22] See Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Also, see Hilda L. Smith, *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England, 1640–1832*, 1st edition (University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2002), 110–13; S. Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and A. Clark, eds., *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), introduction, i–ix; Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 71–75, 117–40; Susan Wiseman, "'Adam, the Father of All Flesh,' Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and after the English Civil War," in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. James Holstun (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 134–57.
[23] See, for example, Crawford, 114–45 and Hughes, 130-37.
[24] See, for example, Hughes, 61–89; White, 91–121.
[25] Carolyn Harris, *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette*, 1st ed. 2016 edition (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 85–154.

[26] For the breakdown of censorship and its results, see Annabell Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) and Christopher Hill, "Censorship and English literature," in *Writing and Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Christopher Hill (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1985), 32–71.
[27] "Gerrit van Honthorst (Utrecht 1590-1656) - Apollo and Diana," accessed July 26, 2022, https://www.rct.uk/collection/405746/apollo-and-diana.
[28] "An Allegory of Peace and the Arts c. 1635-8," Royal Collection Trust, accessed June 24, 2022, https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/18/collection/408464/an-allegory-of-peace-and-the-arts.
[29] Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2012), 141–52.
[30] "Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase c. 1630-2," Royal Collection Trust, accessed June 24, 2022, https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/9/collection/404771/charles-i-and-henrietta-maria-departing-for-the-chase.
[31] Butler, 144–46. Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*, Illustrated edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–18; Susan J. Owen, "The Dramatic Language of Sexual Politics," in *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 157–82.
[32] William Davenant, *Salmacida spolia A masque. Presented by the King and Queenes Majesties, at White-hall, on Tuesday the 21. day of Ianuary 1639.* (London, 1640); Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 251–56; Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England*, 150.
[33] Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England*, 147.
[34] Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, ed. Caroline G. Parker (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1881), 444.
[35] Glapthorne Henry, *White-hall, a poem vvritten 1642 with elegies on the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Bedford, and Henry Earle of Manchester, Lord Privy Seale: both deceased during this present session of Parliament: with an anniversarie on the timelesse death of Mrs. Anne Kirk, wife to the truly noble Geo. Kirk, Gentleman of the Robes and of His Majesties Bed chamber, drowned unfortunately passing London Bridge, Iuly. 1641* (London, 1643), n.p. b3-recto.
[36] Carew Thomas, *Poems, songs, and sonnets, together with a masque by Thomas Carew; the songs set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes ...* (London, 1634), 191.
[37] Strickland, 447.
[38] Hughes, 64; Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve*, 51–56.
[39] Strickland, 447–48.
[40] For the concurrent military victories, see White, 122–24. For the latin inscription, see William Hamper, *Two Copies of Verses, on the Meeting of King Charles the First and His Queen Henrietta-Maria, in the Valley of Kineton, below Edge-Hill, in Warwickshire, July 13, 1643.* (London: British Library, Historical Print Editions, 2011).
[41] Samuel Fullerton, "Fatal Adulteries: Sexual Politics in the English Revolution," *Journal of British Studies* 60, no. 4 (2021): 793–821. For the dense scholarship of the queen, see White, 1–10.
[42] For the parliamentarian purposeful publication of the correspondences, see Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve*, 42–51.
[43] *The Kings cabinet opened: or, certain packets of secret letters & papers, written with the Kings own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645 By victorious Sr. Thomas Fairfax; wherein many mysteries of state, tending to the justification of that cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joyned battell that memorable day are clearly laid open; together, with some annotations thereupon. Published by speciall order of the Parliament* (London, 1645). Purkiss, 72.
[44] John Milton, *Eikonaklastos The image vnbroaken : a perspective of the impudence, falshood, vanitie, and prophannes, published in a libell entitled Eikonoklastēe [sic] against Eikon basilikē, or, The pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings* (London, 1649), 235–37.
[45] *The Kings cabinet opened*, 43–44.
[46] *The Character of an Oxford-Incendiary* (London, 1645), 2. For salamander as a commonplace alchemical metaphor, see H. M. E. de Jong, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (York Beach, ME: Nicolas-Hays, Inc, 2002).
[47] *The Character of an Oxford-Incendiary*, 2.
[48] Ibid, 5.

[49] For a general view of the "popish plot," see Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
[50] Carolyn Harris, *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette*, 1st edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 157–75.
[51] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/3/180/29, *Articles of the Charge Against Lady Henrietta Maria, Queen of England*, dated 3 January 1643.
[52] *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, Jul 25th–Aug 1st, 1643, 221. Also see the whole issue 28 for the depiction of a traitorous Catholic queen.
[53] *Mercurius Aulicus (Oxford)*, May 21, 1643, 280.
[54] *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, May 9th–May 16th, 1643, 150.
[55] *A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, May 18th–May 25th, 1643, 4.
[56] *Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages from Both Houses of Parliament (Coles and Leach)*, May 18th–May 25th, 1643, 8.
[57] Ibid.
[58] *The Parliament Scout*, June 20th–June 27th, 1643, 4–5.
[59] *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, June 13th–June 20th, 1643, 188. White, 102. *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, July 25th–August 1st, 1643, 221.
[60] Ibid.
[61] *Mercurius Civicus*, May 18th–May 24th, 1643, 22
[62] *Spie Communicating Intelligence from Oxford*, May 30th–June 6th, 1644, 151.
[63] *London Post*, Sept. 10th, 1644, 1.
[64] Milton, *Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the Foure Chief Places in Scripture, which Treat of Mariage, Or Nullities in Mariage* (London, 1645), 2.
[65] John Milton, *Eikonoklestēs in Answer to a Book Intitl'd Eikōn Basilikē* (London, 1650), 40.
[66] *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, March 7th–March 14th, March 1643, 8. John Milton, *The life and reigne of King Charls, or, The pseudo-martyr discovered with a late reply to an invective remonstrance against the Parliament and present government: together with some animadversions on the strange contrariety between the late Kings publick declarations ... compared with his private letters, and other of his expresses not hitherto taken into common observation* (London, 1651), 214.
[67] *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*, March 13th–March 20th, 1643, 7.
[68] White, 97.
[69] Hughes, 118–22.
[70] See, for example, William Prynne, *The Popish royall favourite* (London, 1643), 57–59; William Prynne, *Romes master-peece, or, The grand conspiracy of the Pope and his iesuited instruments* (London, 1643), 30–32.
[71] *Certaine Informations from Severall Parts of the Kingdome*, May 8th–May 15th, 1643, 132. *The proceedings in the late treaty of peace· Together with severall letters of his Majesty to the Queen, and of Prince Rupert to the Earle of Northampton, which were intercepted and brought to the Parliament. With a declaration of the Lords and Commons upon those proceedings and letters. Ordered by the Lords and Commons, that these proceedings, letters, and declaration be forthwith printed. H. Elsing Cler. Parliament. Dom. Com. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest* (London, 1643), 83.
[72] *The English pope, or, A discourse wherein the late mysticall intelligince betwixt the court of Englandt* (London, 1643), 1, 7.
[73] *The great eclipse of the sun, or, Charles his waine over-clouded, by the evill influences of the moon, the malignancie of ill-aspected planets, and the constellations of retrograde and irregular starres. Otherwise, Great Charles, our gracious King, eclipsed by the destructive perswasions of his Queen, by the pernicious aspects of his cabbinet counsell ...* (London, 1644), 2.
[74] Ibid, 2.
[75] Ibid, 2–3.
[76] Ibid, 3.
[77] *The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, and candying &c. which were presented unto the queen / by the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem when she pleased to descend to private recreations* (London, 1655).
[78] Knoppers, 94–95.
[79] Ibid, 113.

[80] Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2005),106. The royal fertility is questionable in this narrative in the same way as it is celebrated in the prewar ideal of CARLOMARIA.
[81] For the early modern tradition of political sexual slander of women, see Pauline Croft, "The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, no. 1 (1991): 43–69; John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Toleration and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and Early Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2006); Richard Cust, "Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont v. Hastings," Past and Present, no. 149 (1995): 57–94; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 1996); Alexandra Shepard, "Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580–1640," *Past and Present*, no. 167 (2000): 75–106.
[82] Jennifer Francis Cobley, "The Construction and Use of Gender in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Civil War, 1642-1646" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 2010), 94–114; Jason Peacey, "The Struggle for *Mercurius Britannicus*: Factional Politics and the Parliamentarian Press, 1643–1646," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2005): 517–23.
[83] Fullerton, 800–01.
[84] *Mercurius Britannicus Communicating the Affaires of Great Britaine*, August 12th–August 19th, 1644, A3-verso. *Mercurius Britannicus Communicating the Affaires of Great Britaine*, December 14th–December 21st, 1643, 131. For the personal life of Roger de Mortimer, see Ian Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England 1327-1330* (London: Vintage Books, 2010).
[85] *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*. ed. C. Burlington, Ontario: TannerRitchie Publishing, 244.
[86] *Mercurius Britannicus Communicating the Affaires of Great Britaine*, August 12th–August 19th, 1644, 367–68.
[87] *Mercurius Britannicus Communicating the Affaires of Great Britaine*, October 28th–November 4th, 1644, 455.
[88] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Sept. 17th–Sept. 24th, 1643, 534
[89] *Briefe Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions*, December 11th—December 18th, 1649, 153.
[90] John Hackluyt, *An Alarm for London Partly Delivered in a Sermon the Last Fast, Neer by Bishopsgate in London* (London, 1647), 4.
[91] Knoppers, 125–43.
[92] Francis Wortley, *Characters and Elegies* (London, 1646), 21–22.
[93] David L. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640-1649* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 138–39.
[94] *A New Marriage, between Mr. King, and Mrs. Parliament* (London, 1648).
[95] *Mercurius Melancholicus or Newes from Westminster and other Parts*, June 12th–19th, 1648, 259.
[96] For the readership of political tracts among the vast majority of contemporary illiterates, see Eve Rachele Sanders and Margaret W. Ferguson, "Literacies in Early Modern England," *Critical Survey* 14, no. 1 (2002): 1–8 and a classical work, Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31–35, 154–59. Also consider the dense scholarship on early modern orality.
[97] For a general view of the motif of "Mistress Parliament", see the most informative article, Lois Potter, "The Mistress Parliament Political Dialogues," *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* 1, no. 3 (1987), 101–70. For more literary research of the content itself, see Purkiss, 178–79; Susan Wiseman, "Adam, the Father of All Flesh," Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War, Pamphlet Wars," in James Holstun ed. *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1992), 133–56; Katherine Romack, Monstrous Births and the Body politics: Women's Political Writings and the Strange and Wonderful Travails of Mrs. Parliament and Mris. Rump, in Cristina Malcolmson and Mihoko Suzuki, eds., *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 209–30, particularly, 216–18; Hughes, 131–32.
Some scholars, like Sara D. Luttfring, does not include *Mrs. Parliament her invitation of Mrs. London to a Thanksgiving dinne*r in this category because this tract does not focus on the birth of a Reformed England from Mrs. Parliament's womb, see Sara D. Luttfring, *Bodies, Speech, and Reproductive Knowledge in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 2016), note 96 of Chapter 5 "Parental Influence and (De)Formative Speech in Early Modern Monstrous Birth Pamphlets and The Winter's Tale." Here, why I include this tract is identical with why Lois Potter does. Other scholars, like Katherine Romack (see above), put Mris. Rump (Parliament), the motif in the 1660s stemmed from Mistress Parliament, into this category. I don't do so because it is beyond the time range of this article.
[98] Ibid.

[99] Purkiss, 178–83, at 183.
[100] Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 157–62.
[101] *Mrs. Parliament Her Invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving Dinner* (London, 1648), 2, 6.
[102] *Mistris Parliament Her Gossipping* (London, 1648), 5, 8.
[103] *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, 4.
[104] Ibid.
[105] *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, 4, 6.
[106] Ibid.
[107] *Mrs. Parliament, her invitation to Mrs. London*, 2.
[108] Ibid, 1.
[109] Ibid, 3.
[110] *Mistris Parliament her gossiping*, 1.
[111] *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation* (London, 1648), 5.
[112] *Mrs. Parliament, her invitation to Mrs. London*, 7–8.
[113] Ibid, 5, 8.
[114] Ibid, 4.
[115] For the masculinity of Cromwell in the news, see Purkiss, 131–62.
[116] *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation*, 1.
[117] *Mercurius Melancholicus*, May 1st–May 8th, 1648, 219. Mooncalf or Monk-calf is a specific monster rhetorically employed in the propaganda war between supporters and opponents of Martin Luther from roughly the early 1520s, see Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 187–89 as well as note 19 and 31.
[118] Ibid, 8.
[119] *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, 8.
[120] Hughes, 19, 106–07.
[121] Rachel Foxley, *The Levellers: Radical Political Thought in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 91–118.
[122] Gerrard Winstanley, *The law of freedom in a platform: or, True magistracy restored Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwel, General of the Common-wealths army in England. And to all English-men my brethren whether in church-fellowship, or not in church-fellowship, both sorts walking as they conceive according to the order of the Gospel: and from them to all the nations in the world. Wherein is declared, what is kingly government, and what is Commonwealths government* (London, 1652), 34.
[123] C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); see, for example, Keith Thomas, 'The Levellers and the Franchise' in Gerald Aylmer, ed., The Interregnum. The Quest for Settlement (London: Macmillan, 1972), 57–78. For other accounts of Putney: M. A. Kishlansky, 'The Army and the Levellers: the Roads to Putney', *Historical Journal* 22 (1979), 795–824; Ian Gentles, The New Model Army (Oxford, 1994), chapters 6–7; S.D. Glover, 'The Putney Debates: popular versus elitist republicanism', Past and Present 164 (1999), 47–80; Elliott Vernon and Philip Baker, 'What was the first Agreement of the People', *Historical Journal* 53 (2010), 39–59; Michael Mendle, *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Carolyn Polizzotto, "What Really Happened At The Whitehall Debates? A New Source," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 1 (2014): 33–51; Richard A. Gleissner, "The Levellers and Natural Law: The Putney Debates of 1647," *Journal of British Studies* 20, no. 1 (1980): 74–89.
[124] *An agreement of the people for a firme and present peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedome* (London, 1647).
[125] *Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation*, 8.
[126] *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation*, 5–6.
[127] Butler, 146.
[128] Hughes, 113.

# Bibliography

## 1. Primary Sources


Carew Thomas. *Poems, songs, and sonnets, together with a masque by Thomas Carew ... ; the songs set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes*. London, 1634.

*Certaine Informations, From Severall parts of the Kingdome*

20 - 27 March 1643
27 March - 3 April 1643
8 - 15 May 1643
22 - 29 May 1643
5 - 12 June 1643
10 - 17 July 1643
17 - 24 July 1643
14 - 21 August 1643,
18 - 25 September 1643

D'Avenant William. *Salmacida spolia A masque. Presented by the King and Queenes Majesties, at White-hall, on Tuesday the 21. day of Ianuary 1639.* London, 1640.

Glapthorne Henry. *White-hall, a poem vvritten 1642 with elegies on the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Bedford, and Henry Earle of Manchester, Lord Privy Seale.* London, 1643.

Hackluyt, John. *An Alarm for London Partly Delivered in a Sermon the Last Fast, Neer by Bishopsgate in London. / By Iohn Hackluyt, a Well-Wisher to the Peace of Englands Israel.* London, England: Printed by I. Coe, 1647.

*Mercurius Aulicus*

15–21 January 1643
7–13 March 1643
19-25 March 1643
26 March–2 April 1643
10–16 April 1643
15–21 May 1643
22–28 May 1643
2–8 July 1643
9–15 July 1643
16–22 July 1643
15–21 October 1643
7–13 January 1644
14–20 April 1644
12–18 May 1644
9–15 June 1644
7–13 July 1644
28 July–3 August 1644
27 October –2 November 1644

*Mercurius Britanicus*
10 - 18 September 1643
19 - 26 September 1643
26 September - 3 October 1643
29 January - 5 February 1644
5 - 12 March 1644
18 - 25 March 1644
8 - 15 April 1644
10 - 17 June 1644
15 - 22 July 1644
26 August - 2 September 1644
2 - 9 September 1644
30 September - 7 October 1644
20 - 27 January 1645
11 - 18 May 1645
30 June - 7 July 1645
14 - 21 July 1645
21 - 28 July 1645
1 - 8 September 1645
6 - 13 April 1646
*Mercurius Civicus, London's Intelligencer*
18 - 24 May 1643
13 - 20 July 1643
11 - 17 July 1644
17 - 24 July 1644
15 - 22 August 1644
9 - 16 July 1646
Milton John. *Eikon aklastos The image vnbroaken : a perspective of the impudence, falshood, vanitie, and prophannes, published in a libell entitled Eikonoklastēe [sic] against Eikon basilikē, or, The pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings.* London, 1649.
———. *The life and reigne of King Charls, or, The pseudo-martyr discovered with a late reply to an invective remonstrance against the Parliament and present government*. London, 1651
*Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation.* London, 1648.
*Mistris Parliament Her Gossipping.* London, 1648.
*Mistris Parliament Presented in Her Bed, After the Sore Travaile and Hard Labour which She Endured Last Weeek, in the Birth of Her Monstrous Off-Spring, the Childe of Deformation. the Hopefull Fruit of Her Seven Yeers Teeming, and a most Precious Babe of Grace. with the Severall Discourses between Mrs. Sedition, Mrs. Schisme, Mrs. Synod Her Dry-Nurse, Mrs. Iealousie, and Others Her Gossips. / by Mercurius Melancholicus*. London: 1648.
Mortimer, Ian. *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England 1327-1330*. London: Vintage Books, 2010.
*Mrs. Parliament Her Invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving Dinner.* London, 1648.
Parker, Henry. *Accommodation Cordially Desired, and Really Intended.* London, 1643.

*Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*
13–20 March 1643
15–22 July 1644
*Perfect Occurrences*
19 - 26 July 1644
2 - 9 August 1644
9 - 16 August 1644
16 - 23 August 1644
23 - 30 August 1644
30 August - 6 September 1644
27 September - 4 October 1644
15 - 22 October 1644
Prynne, William. *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny in Their Late Prosecutions of Mr. William Pryn, an Eminent Lawyer, Dr. Iohn Bastwick, a Learned Physitian and Mr. Henry Burton, a Reverent Divine Wherein the Separate and Joynt Proceedings against Them in the High Commission and Star Chamber Their Petitions, Speeches, Cariages at the Hearing and Execution of Their Last Sentences*. London, 1641.
———. *Romes master-peece, or, The grand conspiracy of the Pope and his iesuited instruments, to extirpate the Protestant religion, re-establish popery, subvert lawes, liberties, peace, parliaments, by kindling a civill war in Scotland, and all His Majesties realmes, and to poyson the King himselfe in case hee comply not with them in these their execrable designes revealed out of conscience to Andreas ab Habernfeld, by an agent sent from Rome into England, by Cardinall Barbarino, as an assistant to con the Popes late nuncio, to prosecute this most execrable plot, (in which he persisted a principall actor severall yeares) who discovered it to Sir William Boswell His Majesties agent at the Hague, 6 Sept. 1640. he, under an oath of secrecie, to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury (among whose papers it was casually found by Master Pyrnne, May, 31. 1643) who communicated it to the King, as the greatest businesse that ever was put to him / published by authority of Parliament by William Prynne ...* London, 1643.
Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*. London: Bell & Daldy, 1872.
*The English pope, or, A discourse wherein the late mysticall intelligince betwixt the court of England, and the court of Rome is in part discovered and withall an account given of the true grounds of this unnaturall, more then civill warre : together with an epistle to the reverend divines now convened by authority of Parliament for consultation in matters of religiion. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643.
*The great eclipse of the sun, or, Charles his waine over-clouded, by the evill influences of the moon, the malignancie of ill-aspected planets, and the constellations of retrograde and irregular starres. Otherwise, Great Charles, our gracious King, eclipsed by the destructive perswasions of his Queen, by the pernicious aspects of his cabbinet counsell ....* Longon, 1644.
*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*
7 - 14 March 1643
28 March - 4 April 1643
11-18 April 1643
9 - 15 May 1643

30 May - 6 June 1643
6 - 18 June 1643
13 - 20 June 1643
27 June - 4 July 1643
5 - 11 July 1643
25 July - 1 August 1643
9 - 16 July 1644
1 - July 1645

*The Kingdomes Weekly Post*
15 - 22 November 1643
12 - 20 December 1643

*The Kings cabinet opened: or, certain packets of secret letters & papers, written with the Kings own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645 By victorious Sr. Thomas Fairfax; wherein many mysteries of state, tending to the justification of that cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joyned battell that memorable day are clearly laid open; together, with some annotations thereupon. Published by speciall order of the Parliament.* London, 1645.

*The proceedings in the late treaty of peace· Together with severall letters of his Majesty to the Queen, and of Prince Rupert to the Earle of Northampton, which were intercepted and brought to the Parliament. With a declaration of the Lords and Commons upon those proceedings and letters. Ordered by the Lords and Commons, that these proceedings, letters, and declaration be forthwith printed. H. Elsing Cler. Parliament. Dom. Com. -* London, 1643.

*The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, and candying &c. which were presented unto the queen / by the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem when she pleased to descend to private recreations. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*, 1655.

*The Weekly Account of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages From both Houses of Parliament*
3 - 10 April 1644
10 - 17 July 1644
24 - 30 July 1644
1 - 13 November 1644

Winstanley, Gerrard. *The law of freedom in a platform: or, True magistracy restored Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwel, General of the Common-wealths army in England. And to all English-men my brethren whether in church-fellowship, or not in church-fellowship, both sorts walking as they conceive according to the order of the Gospel: and from them to all the nations in the world. Wherein is declared, what is kingly government, and what is Commonwealths government. By Jerrard Winstanley.* London, 1652.

## 2. Secondary Sources


Achinstein, Sharon. "Saints or Citizens? Ideas of Marriage in Seventeenth-Century English Republicanism." *The Seventeenth Century* 25, no. 2 (September 2010): 240–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2010.10555648.

*"Adam, the Father of All Flesh," Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War*. *Pamphlet Wars*. Routledge, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203770832-8.

*An agreement of the people for a firme and present peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedome; as it was proposed by the agents of the five regiments of horse; and since by the generall approbation of the Army, offered to the joynt concurrence of all the free commons of England. The names of the regiments which have already appeared for the case, of The case of the Army truly stated, and for this present agreement, viz. 1. Gen. Regiment. 2. Life-Guard. 3. Lieut. Gen. Regiment. 4. Com. Gen. Regiment. 5. Col. Whaleyes Reg. 6. Col. Riches Reg. 7. Col. Fleetwoods Reg. 8. Col. Harisons Reg. 9. Col. Twisldens Reg. of Horse 1. Gen. Regiment. 2. Col. Sir Hardresse Wallers Reg. 3. Col. Lamberts Reg. 4. Col. Rainsboroughs Regiment. 5. Col. Overtons Reg. 6. Col. Lilburns Reg. 7. Col. Backsters Reg. Of foot. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London. Accessed July 29, 2022. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240938935/99863958/42514877FB9E457DPQ/3?accountid=14657.

Aristotle. *Generation of Animals /*. Loeb Classical Library ; W. Heinemann ; Harvard University Press, 1943.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. "Bastwick, John (1595?–1654), Religious Controversialist and Pamphleteer." Accessed July 17, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1659.

Bates, A. W., ed. *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 77. The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005.

Broomhall, Susan. *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*. 1st ed. 2015 edition. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Carew Thomas. *Poems, songs, and sonnets, together with a masque by Thomas Carew ... ; the songs set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. Accessed June 15, 2022. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240951906/fulltextPDF/3ACF81142E214D47PQ/1?accountid=14657&tocViewMode=tocViewModeSearchOther.

Cobley, Jennifer Francis. "The Construction and Use of Gender in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Civil War, 1642-1646." Phd, University of Southampton, 2010. https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/169833/.

Crawford, Julie. *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Daston, Lorraine, and Katharine Park. "The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1, no. 4 (1995): 419–38. https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-1-4-419.

———. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

D'Avenant William. *Salmacida spolia A masque. Presented by the King and Queenes Majesties, at White-hall, on Tuesday the 21. day of Ianuary 1639.* London, 1640. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240899143/99857649/298421918AF2464CPQ/1?accountid=14657.

David L. Smith. *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640-1649*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/1651091.

DeVun, Leah. "The Jesus Hermaphrodite: Science and Sex Difference in Premodern Europe." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 2 (2008): 193–218.

Dolan, Frances E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2005. https://undpress.nd.edu/9780268025717/whores-of-babylon.

Dreger, Alice Domurat. *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex /*. Harvard University Press, 1998.

Dudink, S., Karen Hagemann, and A. Clark, eds. *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*. 2008th edition. New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Findlen, Paula. "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1990): 292–331. https://doi.org/10.2307/2862366.

Fissell, Mary E. *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England*. Revised ed. edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Foxley, Rachel. *The Levellers: Radical Political Thought in the English Revolution*. Reprint edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Fullerton, Samuel. "Fatal Adulteries: Sexual Politics in the English Revolution." *Journal of British Studies* 60, no. 4 (October 2021): 793–821. https://doi.org/10.1017/jbr.2021.62.

"Gerrit van Honthorst (Utrecht 1590-1656) - Apollo and Diana." Accessed July 26, 2022. https://www.rct.uk/collection/405746/apollo-and-diana.

Gilbert, Ruth. *Early Modern Hermaphrodites : Sex and Other Stories /*. Palgrave, 2002.

Glapthorne Henry. *White-hall, a poem vvritten 1642 with elegies on the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Bedford, and Henry Earle of Manchester, Lord Privy Seale : both deceased during this present session of Parliament : with an anniversarie on the timelesse death of Mrs. Anne Kirk, wife to the truly noble Geo. Kirk, Gentleman of the Robes and of His Majesties Bed chamber, drowned unfortunately passing London Bridge, Iuly. 1641 / the author Hen. Glapthorne. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643. https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240968939/pageLevelImage?&imgSeq=7.

Gleissner, Richard A. "The Levellers and Natural Law: The Putney Debates of 1647." *Journal of British Studies* 20, no. 1 (1980): 74–89.

Groot, Jerome de. *Royalist Identities*. 2004th edition. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Hacking, Ian. "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds." In *Causal Cognition*, edited by Dan Sperber, David Premack, and Ann James Premack, 351–83. Oxford University Press, 1996. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198524021.003.0012.

Hackluyt, John. *An Alarm for London Partly Delivered in a Sermon the Last Fast, Neer by Bishopsgate in London. / By Iohn Hackluyt, a Well-Wisher to the Peace of Englands Israel.* London, England: Printed by I. Coe, 1647.

http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240938942/citation/220EE6D11EBD46B6PQ/10.
Hamper, William. *Two Copies of Verses, on the Meeting of King Charles the First and His Queen Henrietta-Maria, in the Valley of Kineton, below Edge-Hill, in Warwickshire, July 13, 1643.* Place of publication not identified: British Library, Historical Print Editions, 2011.
Harris, Carolyn. *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette*. 1st ed. 2016 edition. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Hibbard, Caroline M. *Charles I and the Popish Plot*. New edition. Place of publication not identified: University of North Carolina Press Enduring Editions, 2009.
Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution, 1649–1660*. London: Penguin, 1984.
Huet, Marie-Hélène. *Monstrous Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.
Hughes, Ann. *Gender and the English Revolution*. 1st edition. London ; New York: Routledge, 2011.
Jong, H. M. E. de. *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems*. York Beach, Me: Nicolas-Hays, Inc, 2002.
Knoppers, Laura Lunger. *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
Knoppers, Laura Lunger., and Joan B. Landes, eds. *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*. 1st ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.
Kusunoki, Akiko. *Gender and Representations of the Female Subject in Early Modern England: Creating Their Own Meanings*. 1st ed. 2015 edition. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Revised ed. edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
Long, Kathleen P. *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe*. Ashgate, UK: Aldershot, 2006.
Luttfring, Sara D. *Bodies, Speech, and Reproductive Knowledge in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 2015.
Malcolmson, C., and M. Suzuki, eds. *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*. 2002nd edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
Mann, Jenny C. "How to Look at a Hermaphrodite in Early Modern England." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 46, no. 1 (2006): 67–91.
Mendle, Michael. *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Mercurius Melancholicus, fl 1648. *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation. With Her Seven Years Teeming, Bitter Pangs, and Hard Travaile, That She Hath Undergone in Bringing Forth Her First-Borne, (Being a Precious Babe of Grace.) VVith the Cruelty of Mistris London Her Midwife; and Great Affection of Mrs. Synod Her Nurse, Mrs. Schisme, Mrs. Priviledge, Mrs. Ordinance, Mrs. Universall Toleration, and Mrs. Leveller Her Gossips. / By Mercurius Melancholicus.* London, England: Printed in the yeer of the Saints fear, 1648.
http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248507069/citation/220EE6D11EBD46B6PQ/15.

Milton John. *Eikon aklastos The image vnbroaken : a perspective of the impudence, falshood, vanitie, and prophannes, published in a libell entitled Eikonoklastēe [sic] against Eikon basilikē, or, The pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*, 1649. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240885013/12888608/F3D6A27C7E394065PQ/7?accountid=14657&docview_hit_text=affection.

———. *The life and reigne of King Charls, or, The pseudo-martyr discovered with a late reply to an invective remonstrance against the Parliament and present government : together with some animadversions on the strange contrariety between the late Kings publick declarations ... compared with his private letters, and other of his expresses not hitherto taken into common observation. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1651. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248545204/12254737/13167CA3AAF646B0PQ/2?accountid=14657&docview_hit_text=inchantments.

*Mistris Parliament Her Gossipping. Full of Mirth, Merry Tales, Chat, and Other Pleasant Discourse, between, Mrs. Statute. Iustice. Truth. and Mrs. Parliament. Ordinance. Synod. Mrs. England Being Moderator. Mistris Parliament, That Late Lay in, Invites You Now unto Her Gossipping; and as the Order Is unto This Day, for What You Eate, Shee'l Make You Roundly Pay; Pray Commons Eat; Her's Chat and Laughter, and Committee-Fruit in Dishes after: Fall Too and Welcome; I Have Still in Store to Prove Her Bawd, Murderer, Witch, and Whore. Her Tryall's Past; Shee Is Condem'd to Die, Her Execution Day Drawes Nie; Come Help to Guard Her to the Gallow-Tree, England Is Freed of All Her Miserie. / By Mercurius Melancholicus:. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1648. https://www-proquest-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/eebo/docview/2240956283/99863032.

Mortimer, Ian. *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England 1327-1330*. London: Vintage Books, 2010.

*Mrs. Parliament Her Invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving Dinner. For the Great and Mighty Victorie, Which Mr. Horton Obtained over Major Powell in Wales. Their Discourse, Desires, Designes, as You May Heare from Their Own Mouthes. Munday 29 of May, in the Eight Yeare of the Reigne of Our Soveraigne Lady Parliament. ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1648. https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240892208/99858737/1?accountid=14657&parentSessionId=ul3uLdP0w8V4FK5q4Zj%2B%2FLm11%2FLsrB9TPBaUpcVgp%2BA%3D&tocViewMode=tocViewModeSearch.

Newman, William R. *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

OWEN, SUSAN J. "The Dramatic Language of Sexual Politics." In *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198183877.003.0005.

Pare, Ambroise. *On Monsters and Marvels*. Translated by Janis L. Pallister. New edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Parker, Henry. *Accommodation Cordially Desired, and Really Intended. A Moderate Discourse: Tending, to the Satisfaction of All Such, Who Do Either Wilfully, or Ignorantly Conceive That the Parliament Is Disaffected to Peace. Written upon Occasion of a Late Pamphlet, Pretended to Be Printed at Oxford; Entituled a Reply to the Answer of the London-Petition for Peace. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643.

http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248506011/99869118/4A272A9771504F27PQ/2?accountid=14657.
Peacey, Jason. “The Struggle for Mercurius Britanicus: Factional Politics and the Parliamentarian Press, 1643–1646.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2005): 517–43. https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2005.68.3.517.
Platt, Peter G. *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.
POLIZZOTTO, CAROLYN. “WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT THE WHITEHALL DEBATES? A NEW SOURCE.” *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 1 (2014): 33–51.
Prynne, William. *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny in Their Late Prosecutions of Mr. William Pryn, an Eminent Lawyer, Dr. Iohn Bastwick, a Learned Physitian and Mr. Henry Burton, a Reverent Divine Wherein the Separate and Joynt Proceedings against Them in the High Commission and Star Chamber Their Petitions, Speeches, Cariages at the Hearing and Execution of Their Last Sentences*. London, 1641. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A70870.0001.001?view=toc.
———. *Romes master-peece, or, The grand conspiracy of the Pope and his iesuited instruments, to extirpate the Protestant religion, re-establish popery, subvert lawes, liberties, peace, parliaments, by kindling a civill war in Scotland, and all His Majesties realmes, and to poyson the King himselfe in case hee comply not with them in these their execrable designes revealed out of conscience to Andreas ab Habernfeld, by an agent sent from Rome into England, by Cardinall Barbarino, as an assistant to con the Popes late nuncio, to prosecute this most execrable plot, (in which he persisted a principall actor severall yeares) who discovered it to Sir William Boswell His Majesties agent at the Hague, 6 Sept. 1640. he, under an oath of secrecie, to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury (among whose papers it was casually found by Master Pyrnne, May, 31. 1643) who communicated it to the King, as the greatest businesse that ever was put to him / published by authority of Parliament by William Prynne ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240959679/12814996/3AFFB01E5504429BPQ/1?accountid=14657&docview_hit_text=queen.
Purkiss, Diane. *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Raymond, Joad. *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
SANDERS, EVE RACHELE, and MARGARET W. FERGUSON. “Literacies in Early Modern England.” *Critical Survey* 14, no. 1 (2002): 1–8.
Schochet, Gordon J. *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England*. 1st edition. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975.
Sharpe, Kevin. *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/853584.
———. *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2012. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uchicago/detail.action?docID=1172518.

Smith, Hilda L. *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England, 1640–1832*. 1st edition. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2002.
Sommerville, J. P. *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640*. 2nd edition. Routledge, 2016.
Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*. London: Bell & Daldy, 1872. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008393821.
*The English pope, or, A discourse wherein the late mysticall intelligince betwixt the court of England, and the court of Rome is in part discovered and withall an account given of the true grounds of this unnaturall, more then civill warre : together with an epistle to the reverend divines now convened by authority of Parliament for consultation in matters of religiion. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248530165/DD9862EF33084EF0PQ/1?accountid=14657&imgSeq=1.
*The great eclipse of the sun, or, Charles his waine over-clouded, by the evill influences of the moon, the malignancie of ill-aspected planets, and the constellations of retrograde and irregular starres. Otherwise, Great Charles, our gracious King, eclipsed by the destructive perswasions of his Queen, by the pernicious aspects of his cabbinet counsell ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*, 1644. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240898577/fulltextPDF/CA9D50BCBFDF4FC7PQ/1?accountid=14657&tocViewMode=tocViewModeSearchOther.
*The Kings cabinet opened: or, certain packets of secret letters & papers, written with the Kings own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645 By victorious Sr. Thomas Fairfax; wherein many mysteries of state, tending to the justification of that cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joyned battell that memorable day are clearly laid open; together, with some annotations thereupon. Published by speciall order of the Parliament· - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. Accessed June 16, 2022. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240951117/99834907/9FF20ABBF57944CCPQ/2?accountid=14657.
*The proceedings in the late treaty of peace· Together with severall letters of his Majesty to the Queen, and of Prince Rupert to the Earle of Northampton, which were intercepted and brought to the Parliament. With a declaration of the Lords and Commons upon those proceedings and letters. Ordered by the Lords and Commons, that these proceedings, letters, and declaration be forthwith printed. H. Elsing Cler. Parliament. Dom. Com. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1643. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240868636/99858950/3?accountid=14657.
*The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, and candying &c. which were presented unto the queen / by the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem when she pleased to descend to private recreations. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*, 1655. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2264215742/7940359/9?accountid=14657.
Thompson, Courtney E. "Questions of 'Genre': Picturing the Hermaphrodite in Eighteenth-Century France and England." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49, no. 3 (2016): 391–413.
Thomson, Rosemarie Garland. *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
Turner, James Grantham. *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton*. 1st edition. Oxford Oxfordshire : New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Vesterinen, Tuomas. “Identifying the Explanatory Domain of the Looping Effect: Congruent and Incongruent Feedback Mechanisms of Interactive Kinds.” *Journal of Social Ontology* 6, no. 2 (August 1, 2020): 159–85. https://doi.org/10.1515/jso-2020-0015.

White, Michelle Anne. *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2006.

Winstanley Gerrard. *The law of freedom in a platform: or, True magistracy restored Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwel, General of the Common-wealths army in England. And to all English-men my brethren whether in church-fellowship, or not in church-fellowship, both sorts walking as they conceive according to the order of the Gospel: and from them to all the nations in the world. Wherein is declared, what is kingly government, and what is Commonwealths government. By Jerrard Winstanley. - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. London, 1652. http://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240942037/99831469/CFC82AEA02534EA5PQ/2?accountid=14657&docview_hit_text=children.

Wiseman, Susan. “‘Adam, the Father of All Flesh,’ Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and after the English Civil War.” In *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, edited by James Holstun, 134–57. London, England: Frank Cass, 1992.

———. *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*. Illustrated edition. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.