

Becoming a Man: The Prescriptions of
Manhood and Manliness in Early
Modern England

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Abstract

Through analysing critically a broad range of visual, oral and written sources, this PhD thesis is centred upon identifying and exploring the prescriptions and perceptions of manhood and manliness in England during the period c.1580-c.1700. It traces shifts in emphasis of the defining characteristics of manhood across the long-seventeenth century. Moreover, the centrality of both social status and the life cycle to the edicts of manhood are raised and analysed. After an initial examination of both professional and popular understanding of biological distinctions between the two sexes, the importance placed on outward conformity to perceptions of gender difference is highlighted, providing a foundation of early modern understanding of sex differentiation, which is then built upon to realise corporeal differences within the male gender. The thesis goes on to consider the extent to which prescriptions of manhood and manliness were mutable at specific life stages, including boyhood, youth and manhood. This provides a framework for examining the plurality and changing contexts of manhood, allowing for the possibility that there were many and sometimes contradictory prescriptions of male conduct and manliness. Finally, the thesis explores the extent to which social rank impacted on the prescriptions of manhood, thus questioning the extent to which these concepts were constructed in the higher echelons of the social strata and disseminated downwards. The conclusion to this thesis gives some consideration to the extent to which old age marked the decline of manhood. It is argued that during the period manhood was understood to be both a specific point in the life cycle, and also as a social status which excluded the majority of men. As a consequence, competing male identities both contradicted and contested the prescripts of manhood making the distinction between manliness and manhood a crucial one in the history of early modern men.

Contents

Acknowledgements		iii
List of Plates		iv
Abbreviations		vi
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Chapter 2	‘The Distinction of Man into two Sexes’? Understanding Gender Difference	41
Chapter 3	Mini-Men, Skirts and Breeches: Boyhood	87
Chapter 4	‘His Emblem is a Goat’: Youth	117
Chapter 5	‘Maruailous Acts of Manhood, full of wonder, and strange merriments’: Manhood	158
Chapter 6	‘Being in all parts a man compleate’: Conclusion	206
Appendix A	Plates	214
Appendix B	Full List of Portraits	228
Bibliography		231

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List of Plates

1. A Lady of the Grenville Family and her Son (1640) by Gilbert Jackson (© Tate, London, 2007).
2. Charles II (1630) by an unknown artist (National Portrait Gallery, London).
3. Mrs Salesbury with her Grandchildren Edward and Elizabeth Bagot (1675-6) by John Michael Wright (© Tate, London, 2007).
4. William III (1657) after Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).
5. Charles II (1638) by Anthony Van Dyck and Studio (National Portrait Gallery, London).
6. Charles II (1639) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).
7. Henry Prince of Wales (1603) by Marcus Gheeraerts II (National Portrait Gallery London).
8. Henry Prince of Wales (1610) by Robert Peake the Elder (National Portrait Gallery, London).
9. James II (1639) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).
10. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Son (1602) by an unknown artist (National Portrait Gallery, London).
11. Five Children of Charles I (1637) after Anthony Van Dyck (National Portrait Gallery, London).
12. The Duke of Buckingham and his Family (1628?) after Gerrit van Honthorst (National Portrait Gallery, London).
13. The Capel Family (1640) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).
14. The 1st Earl of Monmouth and his Family (1617) attributed to Paul Van Somer (National Portraits Gallery, London).
15. Sir Thomas More, his Father, his Household and his Descendants (1593) by Rowland Lockett (National Portrait Gallery, London).
16. The Saltonstall Family (c.1636-7) by David Des Granges (© Tate, London 2007).
17. The Family of Sir Robert Vyner (1673) by John Michael Wright (National Portrait Gallery, London).
18. Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, and James II (1660s) by Sir Peter Lely (National Portrait Gallery, London).
19. Arthur Capel, 1st Earl of Essex and Elizabeth, Countess of Essex (1653) by Sir Peter Lely (National Portrait Gallery, London).
20. Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1618) by Daniel Mytens (National Portrait Gallery, London).
21. Alatheia, Countess of Arundel and Surrey (1618) by Daniel Mytens (National Portrait Gallery, London).
22. Sir William Killigrew (1638) by Anthony Van Dyck (© Tate, London 2007).
23. Mary Hill, Lady Killigrew (1638) Anthony Van Dyck (© Tate, London 2007).

24. Captain Thomas Lee (1594) by Marcus Gheeraerts II (© Tate, London 2007).
25. Unknown man in a slashed black doublet (c.1605) attributed to Sir William Segar (© Tate, London 2007).
26. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (1623) by Daniel Mytens (© Tate, London 2007).
27. Sir Thomas Pope, later 3rd Earl of Downe (c.1635) by the British School 1600-99 (© Tate, London 2007).
28. William Style of Langley (1636) by the British School 1600-99 (© Tate, London 2007).
29. Endymion Porter (1642-5) by William Dobson (© Tate, London 2007).
30. Portrait of an Unknown Officer (1645) by William Dobson (© Tate, London 2007).
31. Sir John Drake (1646) by Edward Bower (© Tate, London 2007).
32. Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1670-5) by Gerard Soest (© Tate, London 2007).
33. Philip 4th Lord of Wharton (1685) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).
34. James Sotherby (c.1690) by John Riley (© Tate, London 2007).
35. George Puleston? (1625-30) by John Souch (© Tate, London 2007).
36. John Cleveland? (c.1660) by Isaac Fuller (© Tate, London 2007).
37. Portrait of Gentleman with Dog, probably Sir Thomas Tipping? (c.1660) by Gilbert Soest (© Tate, London 2007).
38. Richard Colman (c.1662) attributed to John Greenhill (© Tate, London 2007).
39. Samuel Pepys (1666) by John Hayls (National Portrait Gallery, London).
40. Frans Mercurius Van Helmont (1670-1) by Sir Peter Lely (© Tate, London 2007).
41. John Banckes (1676) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).
42. Portrait of a Gentleman, probably Arthur Parsons MD? (1683) by Simon Du Bois (© Tate, London 2007).
43. Robert Colman (c.1690) attributed to Mary Beale (© Tate, London 2007).
44. First Marquiss of Tweeddale (1695) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).
45. John Smith the Engraver (1696) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).

Abbreviations

<i>Bagford</i>	<i>The Bagford Ballads: Illustrating the Last Years of the Stuarts</i> vols. I-II ed. J. W. Ebsworth (Hertford: Printed for the Ballad Society, 1876-7).
<i>Roxburghe</i>	<i>The Roxburghe Ballads</i> vols. I-III ed. W. M. Chappell (London and Hertford: Printed for the Ballad Society, 1869-1880); <i>The Roxburghe Ballads</i> vols. IV-VIII ed. J. W. Ebsworth (London and Hertford: Printed for the Ballad Society, 1883-1899).
<i>Roxburghe B</i>	<i>The Roxburghe Ballads</i> vols. I-II ed., Charles Hindley Esq. (London: Reeves & Turner, 1873-4).
<i>Shirburn</i>	<i>The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616</i> ed. A. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).
<i>Archer, Diary</i>	‘The Diary of Isaac Archer, 1641-1700’ ed. Matthew Storey, <i>Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641-1729</i> (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994).
<i>Clifford, Diaries</i>	<i>The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford</i> ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005 edn).
<i>Coe, Diary</i>	‘The Diary of William Coe, 1693-1729’ ed. Matthew Storey, <i>Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641-1729</i> (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994).
<i>Evelyn, Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> ed. E. S. de Beer (London: Everyman’s Library, 2006 edn).
<i>Josselin, Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683</i> ed. Alan MacFarlane (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).
<i>Lowe, Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-1678</i> ed. J. R. (Reprinted from the <i>Leigh Chronicle</i> , 1877).
<i>Pepys, Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> vols. I-XI ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Bell, 1970-1983).
<i>Fanshawe, Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe</i> ed. Beatrice Marshall (London: Dodo Press, 2007).
<i>Hutchinson, Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, by Lucy Hutchinson</i> ed. N. H. Keeble (London: Everyman’s Library, 1995 edn).
<i>Reresby, Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of Sir John Reresby: the Complete Text and a Selection of His Letters</i> ed. Andrew Browning (London: Royal Historical Society, 1991).
NAO	Nottinghamshire Archive Office.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Hæc-Vir: Are you a Woman?
Hic-Mul: Are you a Man? O Juno Lucina help me.
Hæc-Vir: Yes I am.¹
My estate hath made you a man.²

The conundrum of exactly what made a man, or constituted manhood, during the early modern period is something which historians and literary scholars have been puzzling over for the last fifteen years. The confusion voiced by Hic Mulier concerning the sex of Hæc-Vir, because his appearance did not immediately identify him as a man, raises questions surrounding gender construction and sexual difference to which historians and literary critics are still seeking the answers. Much of the current scholarship has focussed on relationships between men and women pointing towards the necessity of marriage, family formation and economic independence in achieving manhood in early modern England.³ As a result, the significance of patriarchy in determining the prescripts of men's familial and social roles, responsibilities and behaviour has become a prominent feature in studies of early modern manhood. The extent to which manhood was grounded in patriarchal ideology, or was available through many, varied and often-contradictory means is a question that is becoming increasingly pivotal within this burgeoning debate. In

¹ Anon, *Hæc-Vir: Or, The Womanish-Man: Being an Answer to a late Booke intituled Hic-Mulier* (London, 1620), p.2. The reference to Juno Lucina in this extract of the text is particularly interesting and works to reaffirm Hic Mulier's female sex as Juno was the Roman Goddess of marriage, pregnancy and childbirth and was an embodiment of the traditional female roles of wife and mother.

² John Taylor, *A Juniper Lecture: with the Description of All Sorts of Women, Good, and Bad* (London, 1639), p. 46.

³ An important exception to this is the work undertaken by Alexandra Shepard; see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

some measure this thesis will locate patriarchal ideology at the heart of early modern prescriptions of manhood. Evidence drawn from textual and oral sources, such as medical and anatomical treatises, conduct advice and prescriptive literature, diaries, drama, ballads and cheap print alongside visual sources such as portraiture and woodcut images, will be utilised to suggest that what has been described as ‘normative’ or ‘patriarchal’ manhood held currency across the social strata throughout the long seventeenth century.⁴

This thesis seeks to question and explore the categorisation of manhood(s)—patriarchal, subordinate, anti-patriarchal and alternatives—outlined by Robert Connell and applied to the early modern period most overtly by Alexandra Shepard.⁵ In strictly prescriptive terms, manhood was identified to be that married, economically independent householder which patriarchy insisted upon. Pursuing this line of thinking is not an attempt to posit the idea that manhood and patriarchy were synonymous or that those men who did not achieve such social standing, for whatever reason, were somehow a breed of lesser- or non-men. It is an attempt, however, to suggest that those men who did not achieve normative or full manhood could exert their manliness in other ways, some of which have been highlighted in Shepard’s work.⁶

⁴ For the terms ‘normative’ and ‘patriarchal’ see Susan Amussen, ‘The Part of a Christian Man’: the Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England’, in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 213-233, especially pp. 216-7; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 11-12.

⁵ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially pp. 6, 11, 16, 248-253; Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700’, *Journal of British Studies* (2005), vol. 44:2, pp. 281-295, especially pp. 290-2. The analytical framework in which Shepard’s work is situated builds on the model outlined by the sociologist Robert Connell, see Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), especially chapter 3.

⁶ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7; see also Shepard, ‘Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present* (2000), no. 167, pp. 75-106.

The distinction between manhood and manliness, it will be argued, is an important one: it is one that delineates the dictates of patriarchal ideology surrounding normative manhood from the diverse ways in which men could prove to others, as well as to themselves, that they were indeed men. Put another way, manliness was the method through which men reassured themselves of their masculine identity. So, manhood and manliness—like manhood and patriarchy—were not synonymous. The differing strands of manliness allowed men to reject, ignore, compete with or select only some aspects of the dominant ideology of patriarchal manhood in order to assert their own masculine identity. In this regard, this thesis will explore both the prescriptions of manhood and the perceptions of manliness. Through examining cultural representations of men and boys alongside men's actual perceptions of themselves and others, the complexities of early modern masculine identities will be highlighted. Moreover, as this thesis seeks to demonstrate, not insisting on adulthood as a prerequisite in the study of early modern masculine identity allows for more useful considerations of age in the cultural representations of manhood and perceptions of manliness, and how these may shift over the course of the period. Through identifying and exploring the varied, sometimes competing, perceptions and representations of manliness across the lifecycle, this thesis aims to suggest ways in which there is potential to add to Shepard's central objective: to understand the 'social organisation of early modern masculinity'.⁷

⁷ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 250; the phrase 'social organisation of masculinity' is Connell's, see Connell, chapter 3. It is important to mention here that this thesis will not use the term 'masculinity' except in quotation where necessary, as it is recognised to be an anachronistic term; see Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p.5.

Gender and the Emergence of Men in History

In 1994 John Tosh was able to write that ‘feminists have come to feel happier with the study of masculinity’.⁸ Twelve years later historians of men’s history can ill-afford such optimism, as the fears of feminist and women’s historians concerning the subversive potential of the history of masculinity have been reawakened. Mrinalini Sinha’s important study of the historiography of Colonial Indian masculinity, published in 1999, offered an awareness of the rising sentiments of caution felt and voiced by feminist scholars concerning men’s studies and men’s histories. Sinha recognised that the central reasoning behind the feminist call for studies of masculinity—to realise a fuller understanding of gender relations and the organisation of gendered power—had not been met by those who answered that call.⁹

One year later Bryce Traister’s essay ‘Academic Viagra’ aptly detailed the imperialistic nature of men’s studies. He argued that American masculine studies ‘effectively crowds out the women and texts responsible for the rise of feminism’ and ‘shifts Americanist cultural criticism, once again, into the dominant study of malekind’.¹⁰ In 2004, Toby Ditz’s historiographical survey, which was focused through a lens of early American gender history, has shown that men’s history has not only eschewed the original aspirations of feminists for men’s studies, but that it also has a worryingly real capability to overshadow women’s studies and women’s

⁸ John Tosh, ‘What Should Historians Do With Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal* (1994), vol. 38, pp. 179-202, p. 179.

⁹ Mrinalini Sinha, ‘Giving Masculinity a History: Some Contributions from the Historiography of Colonial India’, *Gender & History* (1999), vol. 11:3, pp. 445-460.

¹⁰ Bryce Traister, ‘Academic Viagra: the rise of American Masculinity Studies’, *American Quarterly* (2000), vol. 52, pp. 274-304, p. 276.

histories.¹¹ Ditz argues that to remedy the potentially imperialistic nature of men's history we should seek to realise how, when and why men had power over other men and women. Indeed Alexandra Shepard has taken into account the feminist critique of men's history and has attempted to examine notions of gendered power within the analytical framework of the hierarchy of masculinities, which was based in large part on the work of Robert Connell.¹²

The sociologist Robert W. Connell, in his pioneering work *Masculinities*, demonstrated that masculinity was a changeable phenomenon which could work to empower, suppress, marginalize and subordinate men as well as women.¹³ Nevertheless, it was through subordinating women that manhood, according to Connell, preserved the 'patriarchal dividend'.¹⁴ Thus, the gender order legitimated patriarchy. Anthony Fletcher and Alexandra Shepard have noted, however, that manhood and patriarchy were not synonymous.¹⁵ Moreover, it should be recognised that patriarchy, like manhood, was not a fixed or static entity. Shepard argues that the 'patriarchal ideology was itself muddled, contradictory, and selectively invoked'.¹⁶

There was an inevitability that the history of masculinity was going to become a contentious and often-debated topic. History—as *his*-story—has always

¹¹ Toby Ditz, 'The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History', *Gender & History* (2004), vol. 16:1, pp. 1-35.

¹² Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*.

¹³ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*.

¹⁴ Connell, *Masculinities*, pp. 77, 82-83.

¹⁵ Anthony Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household in Early Modern England', *History* (1999), vol. 84, pp. 419-436; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, see especially the introductory chapter on pp. 1-17.

¹⁶ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 1, 249. For a good discussion on patriarchy and its usefulness as an analytical term in feminist and women's history see Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), chapter 4.

concerned itself with men: great and heroic men; political and politicised men; men as monarchs; and men as religious figureheads. History has taught us that patriarchy favours those men in positions of power, from head of state to head of the family. It was palpable that history had ignored or disallowed the gendering of men after the social revolution of the 1960s and 1970s in the West. The feminist movement initiated the burgeoning of feminist and later women's history, which unveiled boundless original and unexplored areas of history for investigation. Existing histories were ruthlessly questioned as the new breed of social historian worked to place women, the lower classes and ethnic minorities into the grand narrative, often founding new and contradictory narratives.

From this dynamism the history of masculinity was born. Emerging from the quest of scholars, such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Joan Scott, to appreciate a fuller understanding of gender relations, came the realisation that the gendered male had been overlooked.¹⁷ The invisibility of the male gender in history has now often been commented upon and provided immediacy for the situation to be redressed.¹⁸ From the late 1980s, and with the rising academic interest in men's, masculinity and queer studies, historians have eagerly taken the challenge to give men an historical visibility. Men's historians have worked to evidence the premise that the male sex was indeed gendered. Further, that the characteristics of the male gender were just as changing, mutable, complex and contradictory as female gendered characteristics.

¹⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in History' in Transition: The European Case', *Feminist Studies* (1976), vol. 3, pp. 83-102; Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis', *American Historical Review* (1986), vol. 91, pp. 1053-75.

¹⁸ Amussen, 'The Part of a Christian Man', pp. 213-233; Michael Kimmel, 'Invisible Masculinity: Examining Masculinity in Relation to History and the Social Sciences', *Society* (1993) vol. 30; Judith Allen, 'Men Interminably in Crisis?: Historians on Masculinity, Sexual Boundaries, and Manhood', *Radical History Review* (2002), vol. 82, pp. 191-207.

Unfortunately for early modernists, the development of men's history has not been as fast-paced as that of other periods, but historians and literary scholars are increasingly working to remedy this situation.¹⁹ Central to the focus of academic research on early modern men are three themes: marriage and family formation; sexuality and sexual behaviour; and violence.²⁰ The extent to which manhood was grounded in patriarchal ideology, or was available through many, varied and often-contradictory means, is a question that is becoming increasingly pivotal within this burgeoning debate. In the current climate of understanding early modern men, historians are unable to agree the extent to which codes of manhood were grounded in patriarchal terms. Working within the feminist sense of patriarchy—of male control over women—much of the earliest research on early modern manhood has been couched in terms of male-female relationships, most notably that of husband and wife. Manhood was described as being totally reliant on the subjugation of wives and, indeed, all other household subordinates, which presented a sense that

¹⁹ It has been suggested that interest in eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century masculinities has flourished due to an academic eagerness to trace the development of the 'modern' man. See the 'Special Feature on Masculinities' in *Journal of British Studies* (2005), vol. 44:2.

²⁰ Other themes which have emerged from examinations of early modern manhood, and which deserve much more attention in future studies, are public office holding, xenophobia, and emotion. For suggestions of how these might be pursued see, Anthony Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 92-115; David Postles, 'Coining Comedy: Money as Metaphor and Metonym in Early-Modern English Drama', unpublished conference paper, *Social History Society Conference*, April 2006; Bernard Capp, "'Jesus Wept' but Did the Englishman? Masculinity and the Display of Emotion in Early Modern England", unpublished conference paper, *Masculinity, Patriarchy and Power: an Interdisciplinary Conference*, Southampton, April 2004. I am very grateful to Professor Capp for allowing me to read this paper.

manhood was fraught with anxiety and was necessarily tenuous by its very nature.²¹ More recently, the centrality of patriarchy to manhood has been questioned and men's relationships with other men have been examined alongside the more traditional focus of male-female relations. Through acknowledging that only a minority of men would have opportunity to accomplish the social standing of what has been termed 'normative' or 'patriarchal manhood', other codes of manhood have been explored.²² It has been suggested that such 'alternative' codes could work to contest, undermine or completely ignore the dictates of patriarchy, and this has led historians to begin thinking about the significance of social status to notions of manhood.

Twenty-one years ago Susan Amussen's important essay 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725' worked to examine the familial analogy—of how

²¹ David Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in Fletcher and Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder*, pp. 116-136; Katharine Hodgkin, 'Thomas Wythorne and the Problems of Mastery', *History Workshop Journal* (1990), vol. 29, pp. 20-41; Anthony Fletcher, 'Men's Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England, 1560-1660', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1994), sixth series, 4, pp. 61-81; Elizabeth Foyster, 'Male Honour, Social Control and Wife Beating in Late Stuart England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 225-234; Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially chapters 2, 3 and 6; Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household', pp. 419-436; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*.

²² Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*. On the dangerous nature of male friendship see Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal* (1990), vol. 29, pp. 1-19; Lisa Jardine, 'Companionate Marriage Versus Male Friendship: Anxiety for the Lineal Family in Jacobean Drama', in Amussen and Kishlansky eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, pp. 234-254; Alan Bray and Michel Rey, 'The Body of the Friend: Continuity and Change in Masculine Friendship in the Seventeenth-Century', in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 65-84. For examples of the fraternal relationships of apprentices and youth groups see Steven Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', *Past and Present* (1973), no. 61, pp. 149-61; Bernard Capp, 'English Youth Groups and the Pinder of Wakefield', *Past and Present* (1977), no. 76, pp. 127-33.

the ideal family structure informed the idealisms of both gender and political order—and ‘its changing role in the enforcement of order’ across the early modern period. In her analysis, Amussen identified three categories against which disorder was most threatening: morality; status; and gender.²³ These classifications revealed clues about ‘proper’ manly behaviour alongside those of appropriate female behaviour. Moreover, these classifications still inform studies of early modern manhood two decades later, with historians exploring manhood in terms of social rank, marital status, and most recently age.

Amussen’s essay almost unquestioningly linked manhood with marriage and family formation. In her account of early modern marriage she sketched a parallel between family and state, and explored the many contradictions and inconsistencies of this analogy. One example of the inconsistencies of this analogy is that a wife was subordinated by her husband’s authority at the same time as she governed the children and servants alongside him. Such contradictions were open to interpretation and could be employed to excuse a husband’s tyrannical or wayward behaviour. There is mileage in approaching a study of manhood through a consideration of the marriage union, as it denies any real possibility of occluding women from men’s history. It is this aspect of manhood that has been the focus of most subsequent research on seventeenth century men, arguably following earlier trends in family history.²⁴

²³ Susan Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725’, in Fletcher and Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder*, pp. 196-217.

²⁴ Many studies of the history of the English family have emerged in response to, and frequently in contention of, Lawrence Stone’s survey of the family in which he argued that it was in transition throughout the early modern period from one where affection played little part to one wherein love was important. See in particular Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1977); Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*

Marriage and family formation has continued to provide the focus of discussion for historians of early modern manhood. Anthony Fletcher has argued that manhood could only be achieved by ‘courtship, marriage and household formation’. Amussen’s ‘The Part of a Christian Man’ implied that there were many varied forms of manly behaviour but that ‘normative ideas of manhood’ were associated with marriage, heading a household and economic independence, and as such was not available to all men. Alexandra Shepard, too, has conceded that heading a household presented ‘the greatest portion of the patriarchal dividend to which all adult males might aspire’ and that this could only be legitimately achieved through marriage.²⁵ For each of these historians marriage and family formation—which was frequently dependent on age and economic status—provided the means through which manhood could be accomplished.

What is lacking so far from studies of early modern manhood, in relation to marriage and family formation, is any real contemplation of fatherhood.²⁶ Historians have tended to focus their attention on the marriage union, and have yet to extend their scope in any meaningful way to examining the extent to which manhood was achieved through becoming and acting as a father. A fuller recognition that marriage and family formation created relationships beyond that of husband and wife might

(London: Routledge, 2002 edn); Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (Harlow: Longman, 1984); Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2004).

²⁵ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 97; Amussen, ‘The Part of a Christian Man’, p. 216; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapter 3, quotation p. 70. For a discussion on marital discord see Elizabeth Foyster, ‘A Laughing Matter? Martial Discord and Gender Control in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Rural History* (1993), vol. 4, pp. 5-21. For disorderly households see Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), chapter 6.

²⁶ This could also be extended to include the master/servant relationship.

prove fruitful to future examinations of early modern manhood.²⁷ There have been attempts to address this. For example Fletcher's study included a chapter on household order wherein he argued that male honour rested on the behaviour of the whole family, including that of children and servants.²⁸ Elizabeth Foyster acknowledged that fatherhood could be a means to test manhood, but her analysis was primarily concerned with issues surrounding paternity and with daughters' sexual chastity, and so can be linked more to a father's sexual reputation than family formation.²⁹ Patricia Crawford has recently added to our understanding of early modern fatherhood but she, like Foyster, focused most of her attention on paternity and 'shared blood'. Crawford did raise an important issue: that we should think less about paternity and more about the 'social relationship between the children and adults who care for them'.³⁰

Historians of seventeenth and eighteenth century English and Colonial American families have been more inclined to consider male roles in familial relationships than men's historians have been. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's seminal study of family life of the eighteenth and nineteenth century English

²⁷ It is important to note that marriage and household formation was often the necessary precursor for men to become politically involved in the community; for a fuller discussion of this see Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in Fletcher and Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder*, pp. 92-115; Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', pp. 75-106.

²⁸ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp. 204-222.

²⁹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*. It should be noted that Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster are currently researching the impact of childlessness on men and manhood. See Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, 'Childless Men in Early Modern England', in Berry and Foyster eds., *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2007). I am very grateful to both for allowing me to read this chapter in progress.

³⁰ Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families*, p. 131. On paternity also see Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 177-193.

middle class worked to place men within a familial context.³¹ Davidoff and Hall considered men in both their conjugal and paternal roles, with fatherhood being discussed before motherhood. The centrality of family formation and maintenance to notions of masculinity is highlighted, as well as the recognition that fathers—in the main—had an emotional bond as well as economic and religious responsibilities towards their wife and children.³² Lisa Wilson’s study of men in Colonial New England has drawn similar conclusions. Wilson argues that fathers played an active role in rearing their children and, that over the course of the early modern period, expressions of paternal sentiment became increasingly voiced from fathers to their offspring.³³

In 2000, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos argued that parents in early modern England, both mothers and fathers, made huge investments in rearing their offspring. These investments comprised material and emotional commodities and were lifetime commitments, which did not end because children became adults.³⁴ Having life-long emotional ties with offspring suggests that fathers were not passive or marginal figures within familial relationships.³⁵ One aspect of this thesis seeks to explore the extent to which fathers actively participated in rearing, educating and socialising their children. It will suggest that fathers were not marginal figures within family life, and will attempt to locate indications that men formed relations with their

³¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 1987).

³² Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, especially chapter 7.

³³ Lisa Wilson, “Ye Heart of a Father’: Male Parenting in Colonial New England’, *Journal of Family History* (1999), vol. 24:3, pp. 255-274.

³⁴ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, ‘Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and Their Offspring in Early Modern England’, *The Journal of Family History* (2000), vol. 25:3, pp. 291-312.

³⁵ Recent work suggests that this is also evident during the nineteenth-century; see Helen Rogers and Trev Lynn Broughton eds., *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

children both independently and jointly with their wives. What needs to be considered is the extent to which becoming and acting as a father figure contributed to notions of manhood and manliness.

Marriage and family formation provided a testing ground for men to prove and assert their manhood and this has most often been linked with sexual behaviour, although the test is almost certainly that of a man's ability for self-control and asserting his authority over others. Identifying the extent to which sexual reputation was important to male identity has become a central concern for historians. The question which has arisen surrounding men's sexual reputation, though, is less about whether or not sexual behaviour impacted upon manhood, and is more about whose behaviour it was that could damage or discredit a man's claim to that status. The focus on sexual behaviour is almost certainly a legacy of Keith Thomas's seminal essay 'The Double Standard'.³⁶ Since its publication in 1959 historians, such as Martin Ingram, Susan Amussen, and Laura Gowing, have refined the 'double standard' model and its emphasis on greater female culpability for sexual misdemeanours.³⁷ Gowing has perhaps been most vocal in advocating that male and female honour rested on different values, men's on credit through honesty and women's on credit through chastity.³⁸

³⁶ Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1959), vol. 20:2, pp. 195-216.

³⁷ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1993); Laura Gowing, *Women, Sex and Honour: The London Church Courts, 1572-1640* (London University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1993); Laura Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal* (1993), vol. 35, pp. 1-21.

³⁸ Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

This distinction, whilst important, is possibly a little too simplistic.³⁹ Writing out a sexual component within male honour renders manhood a status which was either worked out solely between men, or one which was totally reliant on men's relationships with chaste women. Alexandra Shepard's observation that the early modern period 'has been characterised as one abounding with anxious patriarchs' is an astute one arising from the propensity of historians to explore manhood in terms of relations with women, and most often within marriage.⁴⁰ However, this approach should not be underestimated, not least because it forces historians to consider a female role in men's history, and it cannot be denied that patriarchal manhood necessitated both self-control and control over familial inferiors, which would include their sexual behaviour.

There is mileage in Foyster's assertion that sexual reputation was the only component of male honour which was common to men of all rank, and that fear of being cuckolded united men from all social classes.⁴¹ Sexual ownership of women extended to include daughters as well as wives. Lisa Hopkins, in her study of Fletcher and Beaumont's play *The Maid's Tragedy*, argued that a father's manhood was threatened if he failed to marry off his female children. Calianax, according to Hopkins, represented the tenuous nature of manhood in three principal areas, his age,

³⁹ It may also be too simplistic in terms of female honour. See Garthine Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 235-245; Amy Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁰ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.5. See also Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', pp. 281-295.

⁴¹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, chapter 1.

his cowardice, and his daughter's disgrace.⁴² The sexual ownership of women, which Fletcher outlines, is almost certainly an attempt to fulfil the patriarchal ideal of manhood. But it is important to question the extent to which this ideology resonated with reality, as Bernard Capp and Alexandra Shepard have both shown.⁴³

Capp has asserted that sexual reputation was more important to men than historians have allowed, and that this was not confined only to husbands controlling the sexual behaviour of their wives and daughters. For Capp, men too were held accountable for their sexual behaviour, and the behaviour considered appropriate for men altered according to age and marital status. Capp's essay on male reputation worked to distinguish these differences, wherein he claimed that boasts of sexual conquests belonged mainly to 'the discourse of young, single men, servants and apprentices'. Capp further argues that there is less evidence to suggest that married men indulged in such bragging, and that a 'good husband was faithful to his wife'.⁴⁴ Whilst young and single men could engage in casual sexual encounters and brag amongst their peers about their sexual achievements—real or imagined—with relative impunity, once married this behaviour was no longer acceptable and could cause tensions within both family and community.⁴⁵

⁴² Lisa Hopkins, "A Place Privileged to do Men Wrong": The Anxious Masculinity of *The Maid's Tragedy*', in Andrew Williams ed., *The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature: Viewing the Male* (Connecticut: London: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 55-73.

⁴³ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, especially chapter 6; Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1999), no. 162, pp. 70-100; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*.

⁴⁴ Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited', pp. 71, 72.

⁴⁵ Foyster has suggested that even youthful bragging had the potential to discredit men and limit their potential for marriage, which ultimately limited their ability to achieving manhood. But both Foyster and Fletcher have argued that sexual prowess was a means of asserting manhood for bachelors. See Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, chapter 2; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, chapter 5.

Shepard's research on male sexuality and sexual behaviour, like Capp's, questioned the extent to which male reputation was grounded on the patriarchal ideology of female ownership. In addition, she sought to further and qualify Gowing's thesis of gender polarity by recognising that female honour had non-sexual elements whilst male honour rested in some measure on sexual reputation.⁴⁶ Shepard also identified a distinction of acceptable sexual behaviour for men according to age, with licentiousness tolerated—or ignored—during the years of youth and bachelorhood.⁴⁷ In terms of sexual relationships between men and women, Shepard draws attention to the ways in which those relationships were questioned and justified between men. Whilst Shepard's study has been invaluable in furthering our understanding of early modern manhood, and has taken the debate beyond the level of male/female relationships, she has to some extent written women out of men's history.

That manhood had a sexual component is axiomatic. The debate which has emerged is not one of whether or not sexual behaviour impacted upon manhood, but rather whose behaviour it was that had the potential to discredit a man's claim to that status. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly evident that the working practices of male reputation shifted over the life course, with changing definitions of what constituted a 'good' sexual reputation according to age and marital status. Youth culture permitted sexual promiscuity, which may have included some level of same-sex desire, whilst marriage demanded the fidelity of both husband and wife. By considering the changing nature of male sexual reputation, historians and literary scholars are exploring the extent to which men had and exerted power over women and other men during the seventeenth century. Young men did boast about sexual

⁴⁶ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapters 4, 6.

⁴⁷ See also Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, chapter 5.

conquests to win approval from their peers. Marriage partnerships were judged by other men, friends and relatives. Friends and neighbours did disapprove of male infidelity and mocked men who were cuckolded by their wives. Men's sexual reputations were, therefore, reliant on their relations with women and on the opinions of other men. But masculine identities were also defined in terms other than sexual behaviour.

Violence provided one of the many paradoxes of manhood: according to context it could provide a method of restoring honour, be seen as virtuous, or construed as a lack of reason. Given the violent political backdrop of the seventeenth century, in particular the years immediately leading up to and beyond the civil war and interregnum, surprisingly little research has so far encompassed these events and their potential to impact on notions of manhood.⁴⁸ Discourse surrounding manhood and violence tends to be concentrated on two principal areas: duelling and domestic violence; the first of these has most often been defined as an all-male affair, whilst the latter necessarily subjugated women under male control.⁴⁹ Women, then, have either been excluded from, or made victims of, the construction and enforcement of the concepts of manhood.

Literary scholars, such as Ira Clark and Jennifer Low, have taken the lead in considering the ways in which manhood was constructed and enforced by the duel

⁴⁸ Alexandra Shepard has brought attention to this omission. Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', pp. 281-295. Two studies which are particularly useful in beginning to counter this, although not specifically focused on gender, are Barbara Donagan, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians, and Gentlemen in the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal* (2001), vol. 44, pp. 365-389; Roger Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴⁹ Jennifer Low did, however, identify cross-dressed women participating in duels on the stage. See Jennifer Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (New York: Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), chapter 5.

during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in England.⁵⁰ What has emerged from these studies is a sense that, on one hand, duelling was a method employed by young men of high status to defend their name against insults made to their reputation. On the other, it was a practice thought by authorities to be out of control as a result of men's hypersensitivity to over-exaggerated slurs made against their honour. In either case manhood could be won and lost, and agreed upon between men through acts of violence. However, the opinion commonly voiced by historians and literary scholars is that during the opening decades of the seventeenth century martial honour became less prominent as civility, courtesy, and power of the pen gained centrality within concepts of manhood.

It would be interesting to see how far this idea carries weight if extended to the middling years of the century.⁵¹ Certainly, as Markku Peltonen's research has indicated, duelling continued throughout the civil war and interregnum years.⁵² It must be mentioned, though, that Peltonen's study was also guilty of neglecting the middle decades of the seventeenth century, jumping from the Jacobean to the Restoration years. Examinations of portraiture may prove fruitful here, as they provide visual evidence which suggests that the importance of martial honour

⁵⁰ Ira Clark, *Comedy, Youth, Manhood in Early Modern England* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003); Low, *Manhood and the Duel*. See also, Goran Stanivukovic, 'The Blushing Shame of Soldiers': The Eroticism of Heroic Masculinity in John Fletcher's *Bonduca*', and Hopkins, 'A Place Privileged to do Men Wrong', both in Williams ed., *The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature*, pp. 41-54; 55-73. Useful historical studies of duelling are Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness, and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Manning, *Swordsmen*, especially chapters 5, 6.

⁵¹ This would be particularly interesting given the emergence of military professionalism during the seventeenth century. See Martyn Bennett, 'The Officer Corps and Army Command in the British Isles, 1620-1660', in D. J. B. Trim ed., *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Brill: Koninklijke, 2003), pp. 291-317.

⁵² Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*, pp. 14-15.

fluctuated over the course of the seventeenth century reaching high points, unsurprisingly, during the 1640s, 50s and 60s.⁵³ Violence provided a means for high-ranking men to assert their manhood over other men. Lower down the social scale, Elizabeth Foyster has suggested that men defended their honour with their fists. She argues that because manhood was associated with physical strength, refusing to fight could leave a man open to mockery. Foyster continues that brawling ‘provided immediate satisfaction, and an opportunity to reassert manhood publicly’.⁵⁴ If civility gained centrality, whilst martial honour declined in prominence, within the prescriptions of manhood throughout the seventeenth century then more research is needed to qualify that assumption, as has been the case for the eighteenth century.

Robert Shoemaker has written extensively about the changing nature of male honour over the course of the eighteenth century, arguing that there is a discernible link between the decline of violence and violent crimes and the emergence of civility through attempts at reforming manners.⁵⁵ Shoemaker claims that the decline of violence as a component of—as well as a method of defence for—male honour was not restricted to gentlemanly sorts, but was endemic of all social classes. He further suggests that whilst acts of violence, such as duels, decreased throughout the period

⁵³ This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5 below.

⁵⁴ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 177-81, quotation p. 178.

⁵⁵ Robert Shoemaker, ‘Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740’, in Hitchcock and Cohen eds., *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, pp. 133-151; Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London’, *Social History* (2001), vol. 26:2, pp. 190-208; Shoemaker, ‘The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London 1660-1800’ *The Historical Journal* (2002), vol. 45:3, pp. 525-545.

domestic violence persisted; a phenomenon which has been termed the “privatisation’ of violence’.⁵⁶

Elizabeth Foyster does not subscribe to this terminology and argues convincingly that whilst domestic violence often occurred within the privacy of the home, the location of the violent act did not diminish its public influence. She claims that ‘violence was the mechanism by which family matters became community concerns’.⁵⁷ For Foyster, the crucial point about violence, particularly domestic violence, was not whether it remained central within notions of masculinity but rather that it continued to be a tool for men to exert power, domination and authority over subordinate family members.⁵⁸ At the same time, however, the repeated attempts to curb male violence suggest that excessive violent behaviour received continuing condemnation from authorities and moralists.

During the seventeenth century moralists were unsure about the extent to which men could legitimate their authority within the family through violence. William Gouge, John Dod and Robert Cleaver, for example, asserted that a man’s reason should be his tool for governance, not his fists. Conversely, William Whateley did see cause for violent correction in extreme circumstances of disobedience.⁵⁹ These debates have provided historians with uncertainty over the

⁵⁶ Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour’, p. 206.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence*, especially chapters 4, 5, quotation p. 168. Jennine Hurl-Eamon’s research on the Westminster Quarter Sessions, provides evidence which supports Foyster’s conclusions. Jennine Hurl-Eamon, ‘Domestic Violence Prosecuted: Women Binding Over Their Husbands for Assault at Westminster Quarter Sessions, 1685-1720’, *Journal of Family History* (2001), vol. 26:4, pp. 434-454.

⁵⁸ Although Foyster does recognise, and includes instances of, women acting violently towards their husbands.

⁵⁹ William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties: Of Eight Treatises* (London, 1622); John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Household Government* (London, 1612); William Whateley, *A Bride-Bush, or a Wedding Sermon* (London, 1622).

role violence played within the prescriptions and perceptions of manhood.⁶⁰ The contradictions of masculine identities meant that violence had multifaceted meanings according to context: between men of equal status and on equal terms violence could be a method of restoring honour; virtue could be gained from violence in battle; and domestic violence was either employed to sustain male honour by maintaining household order or, in excess, was associated with a loss of reason and consequently a loss of manhood.

It is clear that the feminist prerogative for men's history—exploring the organisation of gendered power—is beginning to be examined in studies of seventeenth century manhood. There has been a sustained attempt to identify the ways and means by which men exerted power over both women and other men during the period. However, there are two dominant but conflicting images of seventeenth century manhood. First, that manhood was constructed and negotiated between men, sometimes to the exclusion of some men according to age or status, and always to the exclusion of women. Second, that manhood necessitated the total control of female sexuality, wherein it was the ownership of women that determined male honour. That, so far, the focus of men's history for the early modern period has been very much situated within the wider concerns of gender relations, the family, the local community and now social status, could make redundant the category 'masculinity' for pre-modern history. That no study has yet focussed solely on men in their own right and totally distinct from their interaction with women has possibly skewed the picture held currently of early modern manhood. However, even if it is

⁶⁰ Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order'; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, chapter 10; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, chapter 5; Foyster, 'Male Honour, Social Control and Wife Beating in Late Stuart England', pp. 215-224; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapter 5; Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 6.

largely agreed upon that roughly one-fifth of the population never married during the early modern period, this does not lessen the significance of male-female relations outside of the marriage union.⁶¹ For the majority of the population, men and women did not live in isolation from one another, certainly not for their entire lives, and so this should not be the case for historical inquiry, not least because such an approach would have potential to realise the current concerns of feminist historians: the occlusion of women from history. A far more useful method for furthering our understanding of early modern manhood, and one which this thesis will adopt, is to consider more pointedly whether or not ideas regarding what it was to be a man during the period were in conflict with one another and, if so, on what basis. Moreover, if it is understood that ‘normative manhood’ was essentially an exclusive status to which only a minority of men had access at any given time, but that this did not diminish the manliness of those men who could not achieve such standing, then perhaps it is time we begin to think about early modern men’s history in terms other than manhood.

Methodology

The organising principle behind this thesis will be the life-cycle. After an initial examination of the physiological aspects of manhood and the male body, and the extent to which clothes had potential to inflict change upon the body, each of the life stages will be explored with some consideration given to old age in the conclusion. The chief studies of early modern manhood that have been undertaken to date have

⁶¹ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: a Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 255-65; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 287; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 252; Froide, *Never Married*, pp. 2-3.

gone some way to investigate the defining prescripts of manhood for men in their youth and adulthood.⁶² Boys and men in their old age have been given a lesser prominence in studies explicitly focussed on the gendering of early modern men. This is not surprising given the relative novelty of the subject area.⁶³ In particular, adult men have formed the central focus of analysis and, indeed, this thesis does not propose to exclude them either. It is the contention of this thesis that the term ‘manhood’ has so far evaded a satisfactory definition and that this is in part due to its contradictory and inconsistent usage during the early modern period. As Alexandra Shepard has noted, early modern commentators understood the term most readily as a specific phase of life, but it also had connotations of social status and rank.⁶⁴ It is this double meaning which has prompted historians like Shepard and Susan Amussen to utilise distinct phraseology, such as ‘normative’ or ‘patriarchal’ manhood, to identify that which is concerned with the economically independent and married householder, and this thesis will also use these terms although the phrase ‘full manhood’ will sometimes be employed as an alternative.

Writing histories of men is becoming an increasingly challenging task. As John Tosh has noted, ‘masculinity, like femininity, is historically expressed in complex and confusing variety’. As more research is undertaken, it becomes ever more apparent that early modern manhood was contingent on a number of variables,

⁶² Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; Amussen, ‘The Part of a Christian Man’, pp. 213-233; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; Capp, ‘The Double Standard Revisited’, pp. 70-100; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity*; Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁶³ See, for example, Fletcher, ‘Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household’, pp. 419-436; Foyster, ‘Boys Will Be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800’, in Hitchcock and Cohen eds., *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, pp. 151-166; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapters 2, 8.

⁶⁴ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapter 2.

primarily age, marital and social status and, less often, on race, ethnicity and sexuality. But Tosh identified further problems surrounding the history of masculinity, arguing that because ‘men have historically been dominant in the public sphere, masculinity carries public meanings of great political moment, in addition to its bearing on personal conduct and self-imaging.’⁶⁵ Access to full citizenship, which only some men enjoyed, has necessitated historians to consider men’s roles both within the family and the wider setting of the community.⁶⁶ Alexandra Shepard has commented, however, that ‘men of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and their counterparts in the late seventeenth century look like different species rather than different generations’. The reason for this, according to Shepard, is that work focussing on the earlier period has ‘tended to emphasize the household as the primary site for the construction and achievement of manhood’, viewing it as a form of social status, whilst work on the latter part of the period ‘privileges the emergent public sphere as the key arena for the articulation of manhood’ approaching it more as a cultural construction worked out mostly between men.⁶⁷ Whereas gender historians of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century tend to ‘base their analysis on the domestic advice literature that began to proliferate during this period’, their

⁶⁵ John Tosh, ‘The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850, in Hitchcock and Cohen eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, pp. 217-238, p. 217. For a sceptical view on the usefulness of the ‘separate spheres’ categorisation in the case of women’s history see Amanda Vickery, ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of the History of Women’, *The Historical Journal* (1993), vol. 36:2, pp. 383-414; see also Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of the Separate Spheres* (Harlow: Longman, 1998). For a useful discussion on the need for a reconfigured understanding of the term ‘public sphere’, and some suggested starting points for doing so see Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England’, *Journal of British Studies* (2006), vol. 45:2, pp. 270-292.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Anthony Fletcher, ‘Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England’, in Fletcher and Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder*, pp. 92-115.

⁶⁷ Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?’, pp. 282, 284, 289.

long eighteenth century counterparts ‘have been preoccupied with the print culture pertaining to an emergent, and implicitly masculine, public sphere and its representation of genteel and middling gender identities’. So, between the beginning and the end of the century roughly marked out by the years 1560 to 1660, the men described by historians ‘appear radically different’ and this may be ‘attributable to the fact that we are not comparing like with like’.⁶⁸ It would seem that both choice of periodization as well as of primary source materials could have a profound effect on the picture constructed of early modern manhood.

The seventeenth century is one that has often been explored in a fragmentary fashion rather than in its entirety, and this is particularly true for social and gender histories. It has been the practice of eighteenth-century scholars to subsume at least twenty, if not forty, of the closing years of the seventeenth century into what is now recognised as the ‘long eighteenth century’.⁶⁹ But scholars of the seventeenth century have been guilty of cutting short the period and focusing primarily on the years 1560-1640, largely as a consequence of their analysis of church court records.⁷⁰ Even where this is not the case, the seventeenth century is contained within the much larger grand narrative of the early modern period, which has been taken to be as

⁶⁸ Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?’, pp. 282, 285, 287.

⁶⁹ Hitchcock and Cohen eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*; Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Shoemaker, ‘The Taming of the Duel’, pp. 525-545; Karen Harvey, ‘The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal* (2002), vol. 45:4, pp. 899-916; Harvey, ‘The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800’, *Journal of British Studies* (2005), vol. 44:2, pp. 296-311. Use of the long eighteenth century has also been adopted by literary scholars, for example Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan eds., *British Women’s Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century: Authorship, Politics and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁷⁰ Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Gowing, *Women, Sex and Honour*, Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*; Shepard, ‘Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy’, pp. 75-106.

much as three hundred years, leaving the middling decades of the seventeenth century relatively uncharted in histories of gender.⁷¹ It has been commented that traditional chronological patterns of the past are largely inadequate in histories of gender, particularly women's history. However, the task of examining the extent to 'which gender history might comprise chronologies different to and independent of those already familiar to us as historians' still remains.⁷²

This thesis seeks to remedy the current disjunction between what is recognised by historians to be manhood in the early part of the seventeenth century to that of the late seventeenth century, encompassing the years c.1580-c.1700. Concentrating on the prescriptions of manhood and the perceptions of manliness provides a consistency in focus that will allow for a possible congruency of the dictates of male conduct across the long seventeenth century. Although, as Judith Bennett has claimed, historians 'are generally more comfortable with change than with continuity', it may be the case that the history of early modern manhood is one of continuity interrupted only by minor shifts, rather than one of all-embracing and sweeping change.⁷³ Whilst this is not an attempt to prioritise continuity rather than change in the history of early modern manhood, it is an attempt to explore and

⁷¹ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; Keith Wrightson, *English Society*; to a lesser degree see J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold, 1997, edn). Some important exceptions are Christopher Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Ann Hughes, 'Women, Men and Politics in the English Civil War', *An Inaugural Lecture* (University of Keele, October, 1997); Capp, *When Gossips Meet*; Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), see especially pp. 13-22; Mary Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Dianne Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁷² Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', p. 288.

⁷³ Judith Bennett, 'History that Stands Still': Women's Work in the European Past', *Feminist Studies* (1988), vol. 14:2, pp. 269-283, quotation p. 278.

question the wider forces at work that had potential, if nothing more, to impact upon gender construction and gender identities during the period. In order to do this, the thesis adopts the well-established method of engaging with many different sorts of primary source materials.

It has now long been recognised—most resonantly by women’s historians—that the history of gender cannot be located in one particular source type, the reason being that gender permeates all aspects of life. Olwen Hufton wrote in 1983 that ‘there is no single history of women in any period but rather many stories’.⁷⁴ Basing her recommendation that historians should study closely the few early modern texts written by women, in order to ‘afford at least some female perspective on issues of gender’, on the works of only three women prompted Barbara Lewalski to comment quite apologetically in 1991 that such a ‘limitation obviously precludes drawing general conclusions about women’.⁷⁵ Amanda Vickery, writing in 1993, asserted that ‘ideally, a historian would use as many different sources as possible, for it is often in the discrepancies between different accounts that interesting conclusions are drawn.’⁷⁶ One further example, this time focussed specifically on men’s history, comes from John Tosh who in 1994 claimed ‘that gender is inherent in all aspects of social life’ and, furthermore, ‘it is as though masculinity is everywhere but nowhere’.⁷⁷ That these particular observations were made at the most twenty-four and at the least thirteen years ago, suggests that historians have established a

⁷⁴ Olwen Hufton, ‘Women in History: Early Modern Europe’, *Past and Present* (1983), no. 101, pp. 125-141, quotation p. 126.

⁷⁵ Barbara Lewalski, ‘Re-Writing Patriarchy and Patronage: Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* (1991), vol. 21, pp. 87-106, quotation p. 87.

⁷⁶ Amanda Vickery, ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres’, p. 414 fn. 111.

⁷⁷ Tosh, ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity?’, p. 180.

methodological framework which insists upon identifying the points of contact and contestation between a multifarious source base.

This thesis is situated firmly within the existing methodological framework of gender, women's and men's history as it analyses critically a diverse range of primary source materials. The materials which this research draws upon can be grouped loosely into five categories: visual imagery, cheap print, drama, prescriptive literature, and diaries and memoirs. It is, therefore, largely in line with most of the existing studies of early modern manhood, with one notable exception: the examination of court records. By and large this thesis has not followed the increasingly well-worn path of gender historians who have based their arguments, at least in part if not entirely, on court records.⁷⁸ This was a conscious decision made in order to focus primarily on cultural representations of men and masculine identities, which were interrupted as little as possible during the seventeenth century. It is recognised that theatres closed during the years of the civil wars and interregnum but, as other forms of cheap culture continued, it was felt that this would have only a slight impact on the main findings of the thesis, whereas the closure—or at best a greatly restricted use—of local court systems has proven to be a major stumbling block in previous histories of gender. There are instances in the work that follows in which examples are drawn from the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical court records, but these are provided merely to illustrate the possible direction of work that may be undertaken in future research. One important feature of the thesis, which marks it out from existing studies, is its utilisation of visual

⁷⁸ Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*; Linda Lees, *'Thou Art A Verie Baggadge': Gender and Crime in Seventeenth-Century Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire* (Nottingham Trent University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1999); Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; Gowing, *Common Bodies*; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order*.

sources, analysing critically art forms of both high and popular culture: portraiture and woodcut images.

Existing research on seventeenth century manhood has largely been concentrated on written sources including, for example, ballads, conduct literature and court records. Portraits have to a large extent been excluded from any in-depth analysis within this field of investigation.⁷⁹ The grounds for this omission may lie in the socially restricted nature of this type of medium due to the fact that portraits, and in particular family and companion portraits, were extremely expensive during the seventeenth century, which highlights the exclusivity of this material to those in the higher ranks and the utmost elite of the social strata. The relative absence of portraiture from historical inquiry may also be born from the widespread critique of earlier studies, such as Philippe Ariès's work on childhood, which provided an oversimplified understanding of medieval art, and of Lawrence Stone who too eagerly pronounced evidence drawn from the social elites as an axiom for society as a whole.⁸⁰ It is for this reason that portraiture must be approached with caution in historical inquiry, and conclusions drawn from this type of material cannot be assumed to be representative of society as a whole. Nevertheless, portraits are a

⁷⁹ One important exception that examines portraits of men in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is Will Fisher, *Materialising Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Focussed on science and medicine in particular, and on the eighteenth century onwards, Ludmilla Jordanova has also incorporated visual sources, including portraiture, in her research; see for example Jordanova, *Gender, Science and Medicine, 1760-1820* (Harlow: Longman, 1999).

⁸⁰ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1962); for criticisms of this work see Lloyd de Mause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', in Lloyd de Mause ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974), pp. 1-73, especially pp. 5-6; Richard Vann, 'The Youth of *Centuries of Childhood*', *History and Theory* (1982), vol. 21:2, pp. 279-297, especially p. 281. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*; the ultimate critique of this text is Alan Macfarlane's review, see *History and Theory* (1979), vol. 18:1, pp. 103-126.

useful source which offer a visual insight into the prescriptions of manhood throughout the long seventeenth century and, as a consequence, have potential to be instrumental in exploring the social construction and cultural perceptions and representations of masculine identities in early modern England.

Understanding portraits of men on their own, or within a variety of different group settings, is an informative way of reading the types of behaviour and characteristics deemed 'ideal' during the long seventeenth century. Of course it is necessary to situate such observations within a broader analytical framework, such as that adopted within this thesis. Diane Hughes has argued that 'pictures are created and viewed not as reflections of social and personal reality but rather as idealised or admonitory representations of what is desired or feared.'⁸¹ Hughes further argues that portraits were a means of conveying didactic messages to children, peers and more generally anyone who saw the painting.⁸² Since cheaper, copper-plate printed reproductions were made of master portraits, for book illustrations, title-pages, propaganda and simply smaller reproduction, there was potential for them to be viewed by a wider audience than it might first be assumed.⁸³ It could be suggested, therefore, that portraiture was both descriptive and prescriptive in social and cultural terms.⁸⁴ The methods through which this could be achieved during the seventeenth century comprised symbolism, iconography and isomorphic reflection, although the difficulties of locating the latter have been raised in past studies utilising portraiture

⁸¹ Diane Hughes, 'Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy', in Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb eds., *Art and History: Images and Their Meanings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 11.

⁸² Hughes, 'Representing the Family', p. 23

⁸³ Harold Barkley, *Likenesses in Line: an Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982).

⁸⁴ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage, 2003), p. 15.

as historical document.⁸⁵ English portraiture of the seventeenth century is particularly interesting to study, especially after Anthony Van Dyck became court painter for Charles I. The collision between Van Dyck's Baroque and Catholic southern-continental background with the Protestant northern-continental influence, which had been prevalent in England from the mid sixteenth century, resulted in the creation of a wholly new and stylised method of portrait painting, which remained influential for the following two centuries.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, although portraiture became increasingly widespread as the seventeenth century unfolded, it never enjoyed the wholesale popularity which cheaper art forms, such as woodcuts, achieved.⁸⁷

There is little doubt that woodcut imagery has the potential to be as important as portraiture in terms of analysing cultural masculine identities. Indeed, it is not unknown that some celebrated artists were themselves also masters of woodcut printing. The Venetian artist Titian, whose paintings provided inspiration for later court artists such as Van Dyck, did create a number of woodcuts himself. It is thought that no more than twenty woodcuts can be directly linked to Titian, but even so this remains suggestive of a possible link between painting and woodblock printing.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Diane Hughes, 'Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1986), vol. 17:1, pp. 7-38, especially pp. 8-9.

⁸⁶ Madeline Mainstone and Rowland Mainstone, *The Cambridge Introduction to Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 52-55; Andrew Wilton, *The Swagger Portrait: Grand Manner Portraiture in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John, 1630-1930* (London: Tate Gallery Publication, 1992).

⁸⁷ Mainstone and Mainstone, *Art in the Seventeenth Century*, especially chapters 1, 6.

⁸⁸ David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut* (Connecticut: The Meriden Gravure, 1976), especially pp. 8-11, 176-205.

There are other, more obvious, source materials which woodcuts can be linked with. It was customary during the seventeenth century for ballads to be accompanied by at least one woodcut image. It is known that the Stationer's Company registered over three thousand ballad titles between 1557 and 1709, with perhaps many more than this actually published. Moreover, it has been suggested that it is not unreasonable to estimate 'an absolute minimum of 600,000 ballads', but perhaps as many as three and four million, broadside ballads were in circulation in the second half of the sixteenth century alone.⁸⁹ Woodcuts were also incorporated into other media, such as pamphlets and cheap print, making them an important source material which deserves more attention in historical study. Whilst Natascha Würzbach has argued that woodcuts often had little connection to the ballad text, and so do not offer much insight to the content of the ballads themselves, this does not detract from their usefulness.⁹⁰ Furthermore, this does not appear to be the case at all, certainly for ballads in the *Roxburghe* and *Bagford* collections. It is true that woodcuts would be recycled and used repeatedly in many different ballad titles and that, sometimes, mistakes would be made.⁹¹ However, for the most part the ballad woodcuts, certainly the leading image if there was more than one, would be directly associated with the written text or tune of the song. Moreover, it can be seen within the ballads that woodcuts were quite often spliced with other images in order to

⁸⁹ Hyder Edward Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries, 1557-1709, in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1924); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1981), p. 10; Bernard Capp, 'Popular Literature', in Barry Reay eds., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 199, 231; Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 11; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 15.

⁹⁰ Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 9.

⁹¹ Capp, 'Popular Literature', p. 199.

create a more pertinent illustration, rather than creating an entirely new image. Whilst this has led some to argue that the quality of woodcut printing declined during the seventeenth century, it does demonstrate the attempt made by printers to utilise appropriate images in a cost-efficient manner.⁹² It is not only the woodcuts that are significant in popular culture, though, the printed song also needs to be considered.

Broadside ballads come under the rather awkward rubric of ‘popular literature’, a shorthand term that has often caused problems for social historians, such as Tim Harris, Martin Ingram and Adam Fox. The main debate amongst these and other historians was at whom ‘popular literature’ was aimed.⁹³ Adam Fox, in particular, voiced concerns about the role of ballads in Jacobean England, and his primary unease lay in the speculations made by some historians about the low social ranking of the audience of popular literature.⁹⁴ Here it will be assumed that ballads had *potential* to be bought, read, sung or heard by any member of society regardless of age, gender, wealth or rank.⁹⁵ By taking this standpoint it must be realised that any conclusions or observations drawn from this source material are taken as evidence for entertainment and not reality.

⁹² Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *An Introduction to the Woodcut of the Seventeenth-Century* (New York: Arabis Books, 1977), pp. 13-14; Imre Reiner, *Woodcut / Wood Engraving: a Contribution to the History of Art* (London: Publix Publishing, 1947), pp. 12-13. Making a new woodblock for every new title, or reprinted title, would have been an economic impossibility in the printing trade of ballads, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 260-264.

⁹³ Tim Harris, ‘The Problem of ‘Popular Political Culture’ in Seventeenth-Century London’, *History of European Ideas* (1989), vol. 10, pp. 43-58; Martin Ingram, ‘Ridings, Rough Music and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present* (1984), no. 105, pp. 79-113; Adam Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England’, *Past and Present* (1994), no. 145, pp. 47-83

⁹⁴ Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule’, pp. 47-8.

⁹⁵ This is in common with Bob Scribner’s definition of ‘unified culture’, which Tessa Watt utilised in her book *Cheap Print*, pp. 2-5 in particular.

Although still relatively little is known about the ballad audience, it is generally thought that ballads would have been socially and geographically widespread, forming entertainment for men and women of varying social rank in rural and urban areas.⁹⁶ A broadside ballad was a short song which was printed onto one side of a sheet of cheap paper or even, as Bernard Capp has noted, ‘any available scrap paper’.⁹⁷ There were both black- and white-letter ballads both of which would be fairly short, usually between 80 and 140 lines and, during the seventeenth century, ballads would have at least one woodcut picture. Priced in the region of half a penny and a penny, ballads were affordable and not exclusive to, nor excluded from, those with a large disposable income.⁹⁸ Moreover, it was common for ballads to be pasted to the walls of alehouses and taverns, so even those who could not afford to pay the penny would have some access to them. In addition, as the principal intention for ballads was for them to be sung or acted out in a public setting, and not to be read in solitude, those who could not read would not have been left out of the joviality which ballads offered.⁹⁹

The oral culture of balladry has led Elizabeth Foyster to surmise that ‘women, who may not have read ballads as much as men, were often also familiar with their words and tunes’.¹⁰⁰ This point is further underpinned by ballads which were specifically directed at women, such as *A Warning for Maids* and *The Witty Westerne*

⁹⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print*; Würzbach, *English Street Ballad*; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), pp. 1-23; 85-89.

⁹⁷ Capp, ‘Popular Literature’, p. 199.

⁹⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 11-12, 261-4. ‘At Hoveringham in 1617, “a cake and beer” could be bought for twopence at the alehouse’, cited in Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 262 fn. 20.

⁹⁹ Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 33-38.

¹⁰⁰ Foyster, ‘A Laughing Matter?’, p. 6.

Lasse.¹⁰¹ Natascha Würzbach, in her comprehensive survey of early modern English broadside ballads during the years 1550-1650, has compared the ways in which ballads were sold in rural and urban areas.¹⁰² In rural areas or small towns pedlars might act as ballad sellers performing the ballads at fairs, whereas in urban centres because of the high level of competition the ballad seller had to seek out the places most likely to be filled with people.¹⁰³ Hyder Edward Rollins has described the process:

Starting out with his arms and his pack filled full of broadsides, the singer would go to the doors of theatres, to markets, fairs, bear baitings, taverns, ale-houses, wakes or any other places where a crowd could gather, and begin his song.¹⁰⁴

It is reasonable to deduce that ballads, ballad singing and ballad culture were everyday occurrences of seventeenth-century life in England and because of their regular visibility are a valuable source material which should not be ignored in historical study.

Although their primary function was entertainment, gender historians have examined critically ballads because of their 'norm' enforcing nature. For example, Elizabeth Foyster utilised broadside ballads to highlight important issues about the role humiliation and laughter had in enforcing gender codes in both male and female behaviour.¹⁰⁵ Ballads, such as *My Wife Will Be My Master*, *The Discontented Married Man*, and *Have Among You Good Women*, make jibes at the husbands who

¹⁰¹ 'A Warning for Maids', 'The Witty Westerne Lasse', *The Roxburghe Ballads* Volume III, pp. 42-46, 47-51.

¹⁰² Würzbach, *English Street Ballad*.

¹⁰³ Würzbach, *English Street Ballad*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁴ Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries*, pp. 308-9.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?'

cannot control their wives, or who fall foul to jealousy.¹⁰⁶ Thus, through laughter and humiliation, a man's position as head of the household was reaffirmed.¹⁰⁷ Further to this, it has been suggested that some ballads may have offered a cathartic release from everyday tension and anxiety, similar to the experience of witnessing a charivari.¹⁰⁸ The charivari, according to Martin Ingram, was a form of popular culture that, as a result of behaviour which defied social norms, instigated a cacophonous and ridiculing procession.¹⁰⁹ The majority of charivaris, though not all, were acted out against wives who physically abused their husbands and were intended to humiliate and shame both the wife and her husband for their socially deviant behaviour.¹¹⁰ Ingram explains that the central feature of charivaris 'was mocking laughter, sometimes mild and good-hearted, but often taking the form of hostile derision.'¹¹¹

It is the role of laughter in both the charivari and balladry that has led some historians to consider popular culture in wider terms, and argue that, as well as enforcing social norms, charivaris and ballads also provided a release of everyday tensions.¹¹² Ballads may have served a multi-functional purpose, providing cathartic,

¹⁰⁶ 'My wife will be my master', *The Roxburghe Ballads*, Edited by John Payne Collier, (Longman, London, 1847) pp. 85-90; 'The discontented married man', *The Roxburghe Ballads* Volume I, pp. 294-299; 'Have among you good women', *Roxburghe* volume I, pp. 434-440.

¹⁰⁷ Laughter and humiliation were also central to the charivari and penance; these were both methods of punishment for social and moral deviancy. It was thought that the public shaming of an individual would act as a deterrent for other would-be deviants. For a wider discussion on public shaming see Elizabeth Foyster, 'Laughing Matter'; Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold'.

¹⁰⁸ Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?', pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁹ Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', p. 81.

¹¹⁰ Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', pp. 81-90.

¹¹¹ Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', p. 82.

¹¹² Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', p. 98; Elizabeth Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?'; Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold', pp. 116-136, on cathartic release see p. 128. Underdown's discussion of

advisory, didactic and instructive roles which also described and enforced social norms. It should be remembered, though, that broadside ballads were a form of popular entertainment, and so it is important to question their instructing and norm-enforcing abilities as well as their resonance with reality. Nevertheless, this does not diminish their importance in historical inquiry.¹¹³ Because ballads were popular and widespread, their capability to reassert gender prescription was unprecedented when compared to sources, such as conduct books, whose availability necessitated both money and the ability to read. Moreover, as a form of popular culture, ballads were not limited to any particular age, gender or social rank.

Seventeenth-century plays are also a very useful source for historians researching gender construction. Like ballads, plays were not restricted to any particular social rank. Admittance to the playhouse could cost as little as one penny, making this an affordable option available to all.¹¹⁴ Plays would present didactic messages on acceptable behaviour in much the same way as ballads. Going to see a play was a social and communal activity, a place where friends would meet and talk. It can be argued that the collective responses of the audience to particular scenes in plays were not only educative in gender construction and prescriptive behaviour, but they were in themselves reinforcing such messages. But a measure of caution must be taken when using seventeenth-century plays as historical evidence, because we are left only with the script of the play and not its performance. This is slightly problematic when it is considered that plays were designed to be performed and not read, and also that the published version of a particular play would most likely have

laughter as a cathartic release is centred on ducking or ‘cucking’ and not on the charivari; although the principle is the same.

¹¹³ Gowing, ‘Gender and the Language of Insult’, pp. 1-21, on ballads prescribing behaviour see p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Foyster, *The Concept of Male Honour in Seventeenth Century England* (Durham University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1996), p. 16.

been edited in response to public reception before going to press. This, however, does not give ample cause to disregard plays as primary source evidence when researching gender history. New Historicists have argued in recent years that literary sources did not merely reflect society, but acted as agents in constructing a sense of cultural identity.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, it must be remembered that popular culture was not the only method through which gender identities could be constructed and enforced. Conduct advice literature, which became increasingly prolific around the turn of the seventeenth century, provides a further and useful insight into the dictates of masculine identities, often across the whole life-course, and evidence drawn from this type of source material, too, will be incorporated within the thesis.

Chapter Outline

The organising principle behind this thesis is the life-cycle, with chapters considering the specific life stages of boyhood, youth and manhood. Old age will be discussed very briefly in the conclusion, because the primary focus of this thesis is the rise to manhood and not its eventual decline. Gender histories are increasingly incorporating examinations of the body and clothing into consideration.¹¹⁶ Chapter two, then, will begin with an examination of the complex and differing ways in which the body was understood, and how this may have altered, during the early modern period. In existing examinations of the male body, focus has primarily been given to genital morphology and only limited attention has been paid to early modern understanding of other male body parts. It will be argued that whilst genitalia

¹¹⁵ See R. Wilson and R. Dutton eds., *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama* (1992), cited in Foyster, 'The Concept of Male Honour', p. 15.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Gowing, *Common Bodies*; Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household', pp. 419-436; Fisher, *Materialising Gender*.

provided the most obvious marker of sexual differentiation, it was not the only one. Moreover, it is important to give consideration to how the male body demarcated differences within the male sex, as well as between the sexes, and chapter two will do this. The role of clothes in shaping notions of outward conformity to prescriptive gender and status roles will also be examined, followed by an examination of the dangers posed to the social and gender order if such boundaries were crossed.

Chapter three will begin the analysis of how prescriptions of manhood and the perceptions of manliness were employed across the life-cycle. Histories of childhood have now long been in existence, and have often been at odds with the works by Philippe Ariès, Lloyd de Mause and Lawrence Stone.¹¹⁷ However, the central concern of chapter three is less to do with uncovering the lived experiences of early modern children as it is with identifying the extent to which representations of boys indicated that the lessons of full manhood were begun to be learnt during the years of childhood. Moreover, this chapter will examine the extent to which traits of manliness—which acted as a promise of the future acquisition of manhood—were sought for and identified in boys. In addition, the significance of the breeching ceremony will be examined, and it will be considered how far manliness was desired or evident before the breeching age had been reached.

The lessons to acquire full manhood were not completed by the time a boy reached youth. Indeed, the years of youth marked out the stage of life wherein these lessons were most critical and were most in need of practice. It will be considered how far and in what ways the foundations to achieve full manhood were laid during the second phase of life. Conduct advice, in particular, cautioned male youth against excess. Such literature will be examined alongside popular literature, such as

¹¹⁷ Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*; de Mause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', pp. 1-73; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*.

ballads, and records from the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts in order to assess the extent to which multiple and contradictory male identities existed within the prescriptions of manliness for male youth.

Chapter five will examine manhood, the third and final life stage to be considered within this thesis. It is this life phase which has received the most attention from historians of early modern men's history and, consequently, it has also been the focus of most debate and contestation. In particular, the debate which is emerging is centred around the extent to which concepts of manhood were linked directly to the ruling principles of patriarchy. Both prescriptive advice and popular literature present an assumption that adult men would marry and set up their own independent households, but historians have questioned how far this was a reality for all men within the period. It is the intention of this chapter to add to this aspect of the debate and it will further question the extent to which patriarchy influenced the prescriptions of full manhood. Moreover, it will identify the ways and means through which other male identities competed with the dominant ideology of full manhood.

It was understood during the early modern period that conflicting meanings concerning what it was to be a man were in existence. Full or normative manhood was held by moralists and polemicists to be the aspiration of all men, but historians are still unsure how far this really was the case. Historians, such as Elizabeth Foyster, have identified the defining principles of normative manhood and others, such as Alexandra Shepard, have explored the possibility that such dictates were contested or ignored by men, but there remains a need to explore fully how the prescriptions of manhood and manliness were learnt, acquired and mastered over the life course throughout the long seventeenth century.

Chapter 2.

‘The Distinction of Man into two Sexes’? Understanding Gender Difference¹

The *Condition, Properties, and Habit* of Bodies, do much differ one from the other; and also the *same* Body, by time, doth vary and alter much from what it was.²

For what concerneth cloathes; accommodate thy selfe to the fashion of thy equals, civill and orderly men, according to the use of times.³

Early modern gender categories have been equated to ‘shifting sands’: unfixed, unstable and constantly in need of affirmation and approval.⁴ The body has come to feature as a point of interest and contention in attempts to establish the nature of gender difference and gendered experience during the early modern period. Increasingly historians are placing importance on discovering how the body was understood by early modern people and the impact this knowledge had on the workings of gender relations and marriage.⁵ According to Laura Gowing, the body

¹ Samuel Haworth, *Anthropologia Or, a Philosophic Discourse Concerning Man. Being the Anatomy Both of his Soul and Body* (London, 1680), p. 192.

² Everard Maynwaringe, *The Method and Means of Enjoying Health, Vigour, and Long Life* (London, 1683), p. 154.

³ Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour, Or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men* (London, 1646 4th edn.), p. 24.

⁴ Anthony Fletcher, ‘Men’s Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England, 1560-1660’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1994), sixth series, 4, p. 69.

⁵ Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-12, 79-85; Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 17-51. On the male body see Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), chapter 2; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 2; Karen Harvey, ‘The Majesty of the Masculine Form’: Multiplicity and Male Bodies in Eighteenth-Century Erotica’, in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), chapter 10. For how the maternal body was understood by ordinary people during

was essential in determining gender difference, ‘the binary, immobile category of gender is visibly rooted in the body, and the multiple, potentially mobile division of class is not’.⁶ Her assertion that class division was not imbedded in the body can be questioned in light of research undertaken by Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford who have suggested that medical theorists did understand the female body in those terms.⁷ Equally, as Catherine Richardson has argued, clothing complicated ‘the clarity of immutable gender’ by hiding sexual difference whilst concurrently adding the dimension of social status to the body.⁸ But Gowing’s statement strikes an important note: gender was encoded in a visual culture of understanding during the early modern period.

This chapter will examine the varied ways in which the body and clothing were understood by early modern people and will trace this onto an understanding of gender difference. Biological and anatomical comprehension in medical treatises will be considered alongside popular discourse, texts and images in order to realise the paradoxes of bodily knowledge during the period. Following on from this, and building on Catherine Richardson’s argument, the centrality of clothing in demarcating both gender and status division will be explored. The chapter will then consider attitudes towards and instances of cross-dressing, as a means to identify the extent to which the body and clothing were inextricably linked in establishing gender difference. It will be argued that male bodies, and the clothes which covered them,

the early modern period see Mary Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶ Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 5.

⁷ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 23, 27.

⁸ Catherine Richardson ed., *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 16.

were as distinct between men of differing ages and ranks as they were between men and women.

Degree or Difference?

The human body was a matter of debate during the early modern period. Ideas of how the body functioned, was comprised and differed according to each sex were not agreed upon. In part, the blurred boundaries between science and religion caused problems for explaining human anatomy. It was not unusual for medical tracts to consider anatomy in terms of the mind, body and soul, placing mankind into the wider spectrum of being, living and dying.⁹ At the same time, though, other medical books centred solely on biological and anatomical teaching with no thought given to religiosity, whilst others made only passing references to the soul.¹⁰ Knowledge articulated by anatomists and medical scholars could and frequently did differ greatly from that of the authors of popular medical books.¹¹ The fascination of early modern people—from the highest order of royal physicians, to astrologers and almanac writers, to midwives—in trying to understand the workings of the body has provided a nexus of contradictory and often conflicting information.¹² The main point of

⁹ See for example, Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615); Sir Kenelm Digby, *Two Treatises in the one of which, the Nature of Bodies: in the other, the Nature of Man's Soul* (London, 1658); Haworth, *Anthropologia*.

¹⁰ See for example, Thomas Vicary, *The Englishman's Treasure* (London, 1586); Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatom; Made from the Precepts of his Father, and from the Observations of all Modern Anatomists* (London, 1663); Johann Vesling, *The Anatomy of the Body of Man* (London, 1677). It should be noted that by 1613 Vicary's text had been extended to include medical remedies, going through seven editions between 1586-1641.

¹¹ Roy Porter and Lesley Hall, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950* (Hew Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), chapter 2.

¹² Lauren Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge,

disagreement stems from the acceptance or rejection of the idea that sex was a matter of degree and not difference.

Despite coming under increasing scrutiny and question, the Galenic theory, which positioned male and female bodies along a hierarchical axis in what has been termed the ‘one-sex’ model, continued to be influential in anatomical thinking throughout the early modern period. It explained the difference between male and female generative parts in terms of woman’s inferiority to man. The female sex organs were seen as inverted and substandard versions of male genitalia: thus women were imperfect versions of men. Thomas Laqueur has argued that this mode of thinking remained dominant until the eighteenth century.¹³ But Laqueur has been criticised by Mark Jenner and Bertrand Taithe for presenting an ‘over-simplified account of changes in medical theory’ and also for ‘largely ignoring non-medical evidence about non-professional understandings of conception and sexual difference’.¹⁴ Moreover other scholars, such as Karen Harvey, claim that sameness and difference in the sexual organs could be emphasised simultaneously according to context.¹⁵ Indeed, Laura Gowing has suggested that rather than being the totality of

Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 11-45; Bernard Capp, ‘Popular Literature’, in Barry Reay ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 198-243; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991 ed.), pp. 347-50.

¹³ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Mark Jenner, and Bertrand Taithe, ‘The Historiographical Body’ in Cooter, R. and Pickstone, J. eds., *Medicine in the Twentieth Century*, p. 194 cited in Karen Harvey, ‘The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal* (2002), vol. 45:4, p. 913.

¹⁵ Karen Harvey, ‘The Substance of Sexual Difference: Change and Persistence in Representations of the Body in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Gender & History* (2002), vol. 14:2, pp. 202-223. For a detailed critique of Laqueur’s *Making Sex* see Harvey, ‘The Century of Sex’, pp. 899-916.

bodily knowledge the ‘one-sex model was part of the landscape of early modern bodies, not the whole world’.¹⁶

If the ‘one-sex’ model represented just one dimension of the whole of anatomical understanding as Harvey and Gowing have suggested, then there is also evidence to suggest that anatomists and medical writers were questioning this model earlier than Laqueur allows for. For example, in 1599 *The Anatomie of the Inward parts of Woman* described how ‘such partes as are in a woman, [are] different from the parts in a man’.¹⁷ In addition, this one-page tract was targeted at both a professional medical and at a more general audience including ‘Physitians, Surgians, and all others who desire to know themselves’, and included a diagram for ease of comprehension. The description of ‘the secret parts of the body of woman’ makes it clear that the female generative parts, particularly the womb, were accorded specific functions in procreation, which did not make them imperfect versions of the male parts but completely different altogether.¹⁸

Medical and anatomical treatises that did subscribe to the ‘one-sex’ model were usually quite authoritative and demanded a certain amount of knowledge and understanding as a prerequisite for reading them. Samuel Haworth, the author of *Anthropologia* would not even include descriptive passages of the male and female generative parts in a text to be printed in English; he explains:

We should now come to the Spermatic Vessels, and the Organs of Generation, but modesty will not permit me to expose them to the captious and ignorant Vulgar in their Native Language; thinking it no way convenient that empty Heads that have not arrived to that small degree of Literature, as to read Latine or Greek Author, should in their

¹⁶ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, p. 19.

¹⁷ Anon, *The Anatomy of the Inward parts of Woman, very necessary to be knowne to Physitians, Surgians, and all other that desire to know themselves* (London, 1599).

¹⁸ Anon, *The Anatomy of the Inward parts of Woman*.

Mother Tongue have a prospect of those Things which both Nature and Reason endeavour to conceal from such shallow brain'd Medicastors.¹⁹

In Haworth's view, the secretive world of male and female sexual organs was to be uncovered only by those educated men with cause and reason to know them. Not only then was sexual degree founded on a hierarchy in which women were subordinate to men, but also access to this knowledge was based on an elitist hierarchy in which those who were not educated were kept ignorant of the anatomical rules of order and place.²⁰ Popular medical books, such as Nicholas Culpepper's *The English-Physicians dayly Practise*, which promised to teach 'every Man and Woman to be their own Doctor', were scoffed at by Samuel Haworth in *Anthropologia* for picking 'a few blind Recipe's out of some silly pedantic Translation' and claims Culpepper 'laughs at Learning, derides the Works of all the Grave and Learned Men, and Nick-names our ablest Physicians'.²¹ It is perhaps rather telling that Haworth chose to ridicule the work of Culpepper: he did not advocate the 'one-sex' model.²²

Not all of the authors of medical and anatomical treatises shared the same attitude as Samuel Haworth. Shortly following his publication *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* in 1615, Helkiah Crooke published a greatly shortened and simplified version of the text 'hoping it will proove profitable and

¹⁹ Haworth, *Anthropologia*, pp. 92-3.

²⁰ For a more popularised account see Robert Underwood, *A New Anatomie Wherein the Body of Man is very fit and aptly compared: 1. To a household. 2. To a Cittie* (London, 1605).

²¹ Nicholas Culpepper, *The English-Physicians dayly Practise* (London, 1680); Haworth, *Anthropologia*, p. 93.

²² See for example, Nicholas Culpepper, *A Directory for Midwives: Or a Guide for Women* (London, 1651). Culpepper describes the generative parts as 'two sorts', p.2. For detailed descriptions of the sexual organs see pp. 3-39.

delightfull to such as are not able to buy or have no time to peruse the other'.²³ *Somatographia anthropine* presented a more manageable and easily portable account of the human body, made simple to understand because much of the technical jargon had been omitted and was replaced by short descriptions that were accompanied by pictures. The passages concerning the parts of generation, which the author of *Anthropologia* was too modest to divulge, were included in both Crooke's *Microcosmographia* and *Somatographia anthropine*.

Both of Crooke's texts included descriptive passages of the generative organs that questioned the Galenic position of understanding genitalia, and so presented the debate over the 'one-sex' model to a potentially wide-ranging audience. The fifty-nine pages specifically dedicated to describing the sexual organs in the larger volume were trimmed down to just thirteen pages in the smaller book.²⁴ The images of the



Figure 1. The womb freed from all vessels, from Crooke, *Somatographia anthropine* (1616), pp. 128, 129.



Figure 2. The womb cut out of the body, from Crooke, *Somatographia anthropine* (1616), pp. 128, 129.

²³ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*; Helkiah Crooke, *Somatographia anthropine, Or, A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1616). The original text, *Microcosmographia*, is one thousand one hundred and eleven pages long, whereas *Somatographia anthropine*, including pictures, is three hundred and eight pages.

²⁴ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, pp. 199-258, for seed generation and pregnancy see pp. 259-347; Crooke, *Somatographia anthropine*, pp. 122-134.

womb in *Somatographia anthropine* are perhaps most telling in establishing how the ‘one-sex’ model could be perpetuated during the period. *Figure 1*, for example, shows the womb intact but cut away from all surrounding vessels (i.e. bladder and kidneys). It is distinctly phallic in appearance. *Figure 2* depicts the womb cut out of the body. It concurrently details the outward and inward parts of the female sexual organs, from the vaginal lips at the bottom of the image to the womb at the top. The womb itself is shown to be heart shaped and has been cut in two offering further detail to this multi-dimensional image. Again the female organs are accorded a penile form. As this book of anatomy contained many detailed images, and the text was written in English, those who were not educated in Latin or Greek, or even those who were not particularly literate, could learn the basics of anatomy. This meant that not only did reasonably well educated men have access to the secret world of male and female sexual organs, but so too did their lesser educated, and less well-off, counterparts. The human body, including the matter concerning degree or difference, could then be a subject of debate for all members of society.

It is possible to see that such works persisted in their usefulness and appeal later in the seventeenth century. Jane Sharpe’s description of the female generative parts in *The Midwives Book*, first published in 1671, was based in part on Crooke’s *Microcosmographia*.²⁵ Sharpe, like Crooke, did not subscribe to the ‘one-sex’ model and she made use of his pictures and descriptions of human anatomy, particularly those concerning the sexual and reproductive organs. Sharpe dedicated nine chapters of Book I to describing the female sex organs and outlining their functions, in which she questioned the passivity associated with the female body in Galenic and

²⁵ Jane Sharpe, *The Midwives Book, Or the Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered* (London, 1671) in Elaine Hobby ed., *Women Writers in English: The Midwives Book* (New York: Oxford: OUP, 1999); Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London, 1615).

Aristotelian teaching. Concurrently, though, she likens the Matrix, or womb, to male genitalia:

The whole Matrix considered with the stones and Seed Vessels, is like to a mans Yard and privities, but Mens parts for Generation are compleat and appear outwardly by reason of heat, but women's are not so compleat, and are made within by reason of their small heat.²⁶

In this description Jane Sharpe was not advocating the 'one-sex' model, but she was admitting to a similarity of appearance between the generative parts of the two sexes. Laura Gowing has argued convincingly that this method of analogous description was not a form of 'anatomical muddle' as Anthony Fletcher has claimed, but was in fact 'a means of making sense of women's bodies'.²⁷ In Sharpe's thinking, like that of earlier popular medical writers such as Nicholas Culpepper, the female sex organs were not imperfect versions of the male sex organs for they had their own roles to play in creating new life.²⁸ What Sharpe does adhere to in her midwifery manual is an understanding of biology based on the humoral model.

The traditional humoral model of thought still held sway during the early modern period, which both provided an explanation for gender difference and perpetuated the dispute over degree or difference. Thus the body comprised four humours, blood, choler, melancholy and phlegm. The hotter components, blood and choler, were most present in the male, whilst the colder elements, melancholy and phlegm, predominated in the female.²⁹ Anthony Fletcher has argued that within this

²⁶ Sharpe, *The Midwives Book* I.xi.

²⁷ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, p. 21.

²⁸ Hobby, *Women Writers in English*, pp. xi-xxxii.

²⁹ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, chapter 2; see Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household in Early Modern England', *History* (1999), vol. 84, pp. 419-436, especially pp. 422-3. On how the four humors affect the male body and the 'hierarchy of manhood' see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 50-3.

biological framework on which the sexes were defined gender ‘seemed dangerously fluid and indeterminate’.³⁰ The problem with the humoral model, as Elizabeth Foyster has highlighted, is that by being founded on a balance of the four humours the sex of the human body was not fixed.³¹ A woman with an excessive amount of blood, such as a post-menopausal woman, was thought to be becoming more like a man.³² There was a possibility that men could transform into women, and women into men. As will be discussed later in this chapter, it was for this reason that authorities and moralists alike made such a concerted effort to control and regulate the appearance of men and women, not only drawing distinctions between the sexes but also within them along the lines of age, social status and marital status for women. This source of tension and anxiety—the potential for gender convergence to occur—regardless of whether it was merely constructed and not readily felt by early modern men and women, also proved to be an immensely popular theme in entertainment such as ballads and drama.³³ Whether or not men and women believed their bodies could transform is of secondary importance to the fact that it was so widely discussed throughout the entire long seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, the humoral model supplied early modern society with a seemingly natural description of the body. The biological structure of the human body not only provided an ostensibly deft explanation of gender difference, but it also offered an equally skilful validation for male authority and patriarchal dominance. Men, having more reason than women, were equated with the head of the body. The female was subordinated under the male as the body is the head: ‘as

³⁰ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 33.

³¹ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), chapter 2.

³² Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 23.

³³ See pp. 72-84 below.

an head is more eminent and excellent than the body, and placed above it, so is an husband to his wife’, wrote the Puritan preacher William Gouge in 1622.³⁴

The humoral model provided further differentiation of the sexes. It accounted for menstruation, parturition and lactation, the three physiological differences which distinguished women from men.³⁵ The humoral model provided a way for medical theorists to explain these specifically female biological occurrences in terms that reinforced patriarchal ideology, which insisted on women’s inferiority to men. Patricia Crawford’s research has shown that there were two dominant but conflicting ideas about menstruation which were current in the seventeenth century; on the one hand it was described as a course of purifying women’s blood and on the other it was seen as the process through which excess blood was expelled from the female body. Men’s purification was achieved by sweating, due to their hotter and drier temperament. Crawford explains that even though these two ideas—purification and expulsion—were incompatible they could be and often were ‘combined for practical purposes of treating menstrual disorders’.³⁶ The monthly cycle, and also giving birth and breast-feeding, were described by medical writers as being caused by excess fluids—primarily blood—being expelled from the body.³⁷ The need for such expulsion arose because women’s bodies were inferior to men’s.

³⁴ William Gouge, *Of Domestic Duties* (London, 1622), pp. 27-31, 76-77, quotation p. 30.

³⁵ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, especially pp. 18-31.

³⁶ Patricia Crawford, ‘Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present* (1981), vol. 91, pp. 47-73, quotation p. 53; Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2004), chapter 2.

³⁷ By the late seventeenth century it is unlikely that blood loss through menstruation, or parturition according to early modern belief, was understood in terms of purging (i.e. through blood letting) as there were veins specifically identified for this purpose. For example, Randle Holme claimed that there ‘are 41 Veins chiefly for bleeding, viz. 17 in the Head, 3 in each Arm, 3 in each Hand, 4 in the Fundament, and 4 in each Leg.’ Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory; Or, a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon* (Chester, 1688), p. 424.

Crawford suggests that the early modern medical theorists upheld the Old Testament view that a ‘menstruating woman was polluted and polluting’.³⁸ The three distinctly female physiological characteristics were regarded as God’s punishment of all women for Eve’s fall from Grace. Thus, the science of biology was given a religious authority and justification.³⁹

Knowledge and comprehension of the human body and of sexual difference during the early modern period was both complex and contradictory. The medical and anatomical treatises of professional anatomists and learned scholars were often at odds with the information contained within popular medical books and pamphlets. The blurred boundaries between science and religion caused further problems in explaining human anatomy. It can be seen that debate and contestation concerning the ‘one-sex’ model of anatomical understanding and the fluidity of gender distinction lasted well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ Will Fisher has commented, however, that there has been a tendency within historical enquiry to focus too much attention on genitalia in examinations of gender construction and gender difference, and that this could be the result of the attention given to the generative parts in Laqueur’s study *Making Sex*.⁴¹

Building on the work of Judith Butler and focussing on the male sex, Fisher has argued that it is necessary to look beyond the generative organs when considering how early modern people understood their own bodies and, moreover,

³⁸ Crawford, ‘Attitudes to Menstruation’, p. 49.

³⁹ On understanding the reproductive organs and reproduction in relation to both religion and science during the eighteenth century see Ava Chamberlain, ‘The Immaculate Ovum: Jonathan Edwards and the Construction of the Female Body’, *William and Mary Quarterly* (2000) vol. 57:2, pp. 289-322.

⁴⁰ Chamberlain, ‘The Immaculate Ovum’, pp. 289-322.

⁴¹ Will Fisher, ‘The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly* (2001), vol. 54:1, pp. 155-187; Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter 1.

how distinctions both between and within the sexes were delineated. Fisher identified a number of what he termed ‘prosthetic parts’, including clothing, hair, the tongue and weapons, which he claimed could be useful in exploring the ‘materialisation’ of sex.⁴² That this list contains external parts—worn on or close to the body—is useful in illustrating that during the early modern period the body was thought to be influenced, shaped and possibly determined by outer garments and environments. Alexandra Shepard also took this line of thinking in her examinations of the male body. Shepard’s work identified a number external pressures which could affect the balance of the male body; she looked beyond clothing to include air, climate, the seasons and diet.⁴³ As it was believed the human body was nearly always in a state of flux, meaning that sex differentiation was not clearly defined and could be susceptible to change, it is necessary to discern external markers of sex and gender.

Outward Conformity?

Will Fisher’s comment that historians have been far too inclined to base their observations concerning sex differentiation on discourse of the generative organs is both an astute and an interesting one. But whilst Fisher does acknowledge a number of gender markers—noted above—he has focussed much of his attention on beards

⁴² It should be noted that whilst Fisher highlighted these features as possible markers of gender he has, so far, only given a detailed examination of the role of handkerchiefs, codpieces, beards and hair in ‘materialising’ gender, with no further consideration paid to the tongue, weapons and clothing. See Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, chapters 1-4. For a discussion on the glove as more than just a ‘materialisation of status’ but also as an ‘external organ’ see Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, ‘Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe’, *Critical Enquiry* (2001), vol. 28:1, pp. 114-132, quotation p. 116.

⁴³ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapter 2, especially pp. 64-9.

in determining gender difference during the early modern period.⁴⁴ From his examination of portraiture, dating from 1540-1630, he has claimed that over 90 per cent of men wore beards making them a culturally significant marker of the male sex. He further argued that beards not only distinguished men from women, but also differentiated men from boys: providing a visual sign of sexual maturity. This is an interesting argument and it does carry a certain amount of weight during the first half of the early modern period. But after the Civil Wars and Interregnum, from around the late 1650s and into the 1660s, the beard loses its cultural significance as a marker of gender as it becomes increasingly fashionable to be clean-shaven. The sexually mature male no longer demonstrated his manhood by wearing a beard. Fisher's work, though, raises three points which are worthy of closer inspection: firstly, the corporeal distinctions between the two sexes need to be explored in terms other than genital morphology; secondly, more consideration needs to be given to how understanding and representations of the male body marked out differences within the male sex in terms of age and social status; and thirdly, the importance of outward appearance, constructed from removable devices such as weapons and clothing, in providing a visual codification of gender and possibly age and status too, requires further thought and examination.

In his chapter 'Of the Sexes', Samuel Haworth made no reference whatsoever to genitalia.⁴⁵ As discussed above, Haworth did not see fit to explain in detail the generative organs in an anatomical description of the human body which was to be written in English. But his omission of these organs in examining the differentiation of the two sexes, it can be argued, is rather telling. It may be that it was Haworth's modesty that precluded him from considering the genitals, even in the most general

⁴⁴ Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard', pp. 155-187; Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, chapter 3.

⁴⁵ Haworth, *Anthropologia*, chapter 12.

sense, in elucidating the differences between men and women. Or it may be that he observed more fundamental distinctions of sex. Haworth was clearly aware that nature, or rather nature through God, afforded men and women physical differences. He claimed that ‘they might not only be invested with different Apparal, but that their Souls might be Cloathed with Bodies of different composures’.⁴⁶ Although the teachings of Galen and Aristotle claimed that all generation was meant to produce male offspring and that ‘the female is procreated by accident out of a weaker seede’ making her ‘nothing else but an error or aberration of Nature’, by the early part of the seventeenth century it was urged that ‘it is unworthy said that she is an Error or Monster in nature’.⁴⁷ So, whilst in classical thought the female body was thought of as an imperfect, or even grotesque version of male perfection, it is interesting to note that Haworth did not seek to explain how the female differed from the male, but rather how the male differed from the female marking out only the physical particulars of the male body.⁴⁸ He wrote that ‘the male (on whose Masculine Soul Nature hath conferred a Body in Strength and Vigor almost adequate to it) is of a hotter and drier Temperature than the Female.’ In this passage it can be seen that Haworth’s comprehension of anatomy was grounded in humoral theory, but it can also be suggested that he was normalising the female body in only drawing attention to male corporeality.⁴⁹ Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, Haworth only considered the male physical characteristics worthy of attention.

⁴⁶ Haworth, *Anthropologia*, p. 190.

⁴⁷ See Croke, *Microcosmographia*, p. 271.

⁴⁸ On the female body as ‘grotesque’ see Elizabeth Hallam, ‘Speaking to Reveal: the Body and Acts of ‘Exposure’ in Early Modern Popular Discourse’, in Richardson ed., *Clothing Culture*, pp. 240, 251-252.

⁴⁹ Haworth, *Anthropologia*, p. 192. Haworth does go on to describe the female, but he does not draw out specific ‘female’ parts of the body; instead he talks at length about female beauty, acknowledges

In Haworth's discussion of the male sex he claimed that the hot and dry climate of the male body caused an increased amount of vapours which were released through every pore. On contact with the colder air these vapours condensed almost immediately and remained in the form of hairs. It was for this reason, according to Haworth, that men were more hairy than women.⁵⁰ By no means was this a new idea in 1680. In 1615 the eminent English physician Helkiah Crooke declared that the 'matter of the haire[s] [...] is a sooty, thicke and earthy vapour, which [...] is elevated by the strength of the action of the naturall heate, and passeth thorough the pores of the skin'. He continued, stating that 'the efficient cause is as we saide, a moderate action of the naturall heate, which exiccateth or drieth this moysture or these sootie and thick vapours, and thrusteth them out by the transpirable passages of the skinne'.⁵¹ Thus, according to the logic of humoral theory, because men were the hotter sex they were naturally the hairier sex.

That men were expected to be the hairier sex can be further identified in contemporary accounts of monstrous births. These tales, which could and frequently did act as forms of both political and religious propaganda, often described the features which rendered a new-born child monstrous. Whilst the most common abnormalities appeared in the size and shape of the head, facial features, limbs and digits, hair was sometimes marked out as a remarkable or defining feature. Such a case is provided, for example, in a pamphlet dated 1600, wherein the sex of the child is made uncertain by the absence of fully formed genitals and also by the absence of hair. In another case from 1668 an un-sexed child was described as unnatural, for

women are colder and wetter than men and claims that some women possess a quick wit before going on to promote the virtues of marriage; see pp. 194-6.

⁵⁰ Haworth, *Anthropologia*, pp. 192-3.

⁵¹ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, p. 66.

‘along down the back of it was long black hair quite contrary to humane Nature’, making it appear more like a beast than a human infant.⁵² The frontispiece of the popular medical book *Aristoteles Master-Piece* [sic] depicts ‘the Effigies of a Maid all Hairy, and an Infant that was black by the Imagination of their Parents’.⁵³ It is revealed in the *Masterpiece* that the maid, who was ‘hairy like a black bear’, was afflicted because her mother focussed intently ‘in the very instant of receiving and conceiving the Seed, the Image of St. John covered with a Camels skin, hanging upon the post of the bed.’⁵⁴ Whilst acknowledging that monstrous births could be the judgement of God brought to bear on wrongdoers, Helkiah Crooke looked for more ‘scientific’ or natural explanations for infant abnormalities.⁵⁵ He asserted that the primary cause for monstrous births was the imagination. To illustrate his point Crooke drew on the same example as that used in *Aristotle’s Masterpiece* seventy years later.⁵⁶

In both accounts of this story there is no indication of derision aimed toward the ‘Maid all hairy’, rather there is simply a sense of fascination and an interest in the

⁵² I.R., *A Most straunge, and true discourse, of the Wonderfull judgement of God* (London, 1600); Anon, *The strange monster or, true news from Nottingham-shire of a strange monster born at Grasly in Nottingham-shire* (London, 1668).

⁵³ Anon, *Aristoteles Master-Piece, Or, the Secrets of Generation displayed in all the parts thereof* (London, 1684), frontispiece. The same image appears in an appendix to the main text entitled ‘And the Pictures of several Monsterous Births drawn to the Life’.

⁵⁴ Anon, *Aristoteles Master-Piece*, appendix.

⁵⁵ Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston have argued that by the end of the seventeenth century monsters of any kind were considered to be a consequence of the wrath of God to a much lesser extent than earlier in the period, and that more natural explanations were increasingly sought. It would appear that Crooke sought such natural reasons much earlier than Park and Daston allow for, as the text *Microcosmographia* was published in 1615. See Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston, ‘Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England’, *Past and Present* (1981), vol. 92, pp. 20-54; see also David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), chapter 2.

⁵⁶ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, pp. 299-300.

cause of such an anomaly of nature. Moreover, that both versions contend unquestioningly that the mother's imagination altered the appearance of the child at the moment of conception is suggestive of the power the womb was thought to have during the seventeenth century.⁵⁷ However, this power usually assumed negative connotations and could be utilised to hold women responsible for physically weakened or abnormal offspring. Crooke admitted that monsters could be the result of weak seed or sodomy, theoretically making men as equally culpable as women, but he maintained that imagination—specifically the mother's imagination—was the primary cause of monstrous births. Nevertheless, what made the 'hairy maid' remarkable was precisely because she was covered with hair. The length of hair, and the places where hair grows, provided early modern commentators with visual and tangible indicators that denoted differences both between and within the two sexes.

On recalling the commandments of St Paul, Philip Stubbes wrote that 'the Apostle Paul (as I remember) commaundeth women to cherish their heyre, saying, that it is an ornament to them'.⁵⁸ It was a belief commonly held during the early modern period that long hair was an adornment of the female sex. Moreover, long hair was also considered a marker of the subservient position of the female to the male, so when men grew their hair long it provoked heated observations from

⁵⁷ On the maternal imagination and the creation of monsters see Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies*, pp. 64-9; 207-11; Mary E Fissell, 'Hairy Women and Naked Truths: Gender and the Politics of Knowledge in Aristotle's *Masterpiece*', *William and Mary Quarterly* (2003), third series, vol. 60, pp. 43-74; for a general discussion on monsters, including monstrous births, see Park and Daston, 'Unnatural Conceptions', pp. 20-54. On the gendered and politicised understanding of monstrous births, patrilinearity and the power of female imagination see Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially chapter 6 and pp. 193, 201, 205-8.

⁵⁸ Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), p. 34.

polemicists.⁵⁹ In highlighting the cultural significance of hair Will Fisher has noted that there were a number of books published between 1590 and 1690 dedicated entirely to discussing hair, and such texts were published both on the continent as well as in England.⁶⁰ Of particular concern within such texts was the preservation of both patriarchal order and also of an appearance appropriate for the male sex. Men who wore their hair long threatened both of these fundamental precepts. According to Paul Griffiths ‘long hair in male youth [...] blurred distinctions between appropriate male and female appearances’, and this certainly provided a point of controversy for early modern critics.⁶¹

The comments of Philip Stubbes regarding female hair arose from his disdain directed toward women who ‘curled, frised and crisped’ their hair, or who decorated it with ‘rings, gold, silver, glasses, & such other gewgawes and trinckets besides’ and, worse still, those who ‘buy other heyre, dying it of what color they list themselves’; such excess was ‘the ensigne of Pride’ and wantonness.⁶² By 1620, however, such accusations were also being charged against men’s hair. At the moment which could be described as the height of the heated exchange between *Hic*

⁵⁹ For a consideration of female hair as a ‘covering’, from the legal concept of coverture, see Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, p.137. For hair as a natural adornment of the female sex, which defined their subjection both to God as well as men see William Prynne, *The Unlovelinsse of Lovelockes* (London, 1628); Thomas Hall, *The Loathsomenesse of Long Hair* (London, 1654); Thomas Wall, *Spiritual Armour to Defend the Head from the Superfluity of Naughtiness* (London, 1688).

⁶⁰ Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, chapter 4. For a discussion on the role of hair in notions of female beauty in early modern London see Tim Reinke-Williams, *The Negotiation and Fashioning of Female Honour in Early Modern London* (University of Warwick, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2007), chapter 1.

⁶¹ Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 228-32, quotation p. 229; see also Gregory Woods, ‘Body, Costume, and Desire in Christopher Marlowe’, *Journal of Homosexuality* (1992), vol. 23:1, pp. 69-84.

⁶² Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, pp. 33-4.

Mulier and *Hæc-Vir*, following on from the point when the womanish-man censured the man-woman for her condemnation of custom, *Hic Mulier* retorts:

tell me what Character, prescription or right of claime you have to those things you make our absolute inheritance? Why doe you curle, frizzell and powder your hayres, bestowing more houres and time in dividing locke from lock, and hayre from hayre, in giving every thread his posture, and every curle his true sence and circumpherence than ever Caesar did in marshalling his Army.⁶³

Here the appearance of men had potential to determine, or at least impact upon, their behaviour. Time which should have been spent in manly pursuits, here defined by martial activity, was overridden by unnecessary vanity. Preoccupation with looks was destabilising the whole foundation of gender difference.

Apparently the problem of gender inversion, outlined by the *Hic Mulier* and *Hæc-Vir* pamphlets, was not easily or quickly resolved and polemicists continued their attack on men who wore their hair long throughout the remaining decades of the seventeenth century. William Prynne, in 1628, described the period as ‘degenerous, unnaturall and unmanly’, asking ‘would they not rather have the Common-wealth disturbed, than their Haire disordered?’ It was Prynne’s contention that male youth in particular ‘sit all day betweene the Combe, and the Glasse’. The longhaired men of the 1620s were not only becoming womanish and effeminate, they were also becoming less English and more French.⁶⁴ Hair was not only a determining feature of sex, it was also formative of national pride and civic consciousness. Thomas Hall’s objections to long hair arose primarily from scripture, arguing that long hair on men was offensive to God. He presented guidelines on what exactly constituted

⁶³ Anon, *Hæc-Vir: Or, The Womanish-Man: Being an Answere to a late Booke intituled Hic-Mulier*, (London, 1620), p. 13.

⁶⁴ Prynne, *Unlovelinsse of Lovelockes*, pp. 1, 2.

hair that was too long for men, and apparently this was not a straightforward matter. Just as it was an offence to wear long hair, so it was equally bad to shave the head. Hall identified five categories of hair which was excessively long, but these were not specifically defined: hair that covered the eyes and cheeks was just as reprehensible as that which covered the neck and back.⁶⁵ In 1688 Thomas Wall, too, was concerned with men wearing their hair long and women wearing theirs short, as an abomination of both God and nature, claiming that ‘long hair is given to Woman for her natural covering; therefore long hair is called Womans glory, but man’s shame’.⁶⁶ Long hair remained the subject of controversy throughout the long seventeenth century, suggesting that hair was central in marking out the sex of a person. That such a controversy persisted is also suggestive that the need to define and reassert gender difference remained current throughout the period. However, the fact that these works continued to be published is also indicative that men, for whatever reason, ignored such distinctions and displayed little fear that they were somehow less manly in any corporeal sense simply because of their hairstyle.

But hair was a marker of manhood in ways other than length. Colour was also significant; it marked out the transition of a man’s life. Randle Holme claimed that ‘white, or light coloured hair’ appears ‘in most young Children’, but that hair appears ‘white, hoary, when it is snow white through Age’. He further claimed that very old men, or men in ‘decripp’d age’ would be ‘bald, without any hair’.⁶⁷ Alexander of Aphrodisias maintained that men’s hair turned grey as they aged because they had spent their natural heat during youth. He asserted that ‘in his old age, when heat faileth [...] the whiteness doth follow, which is called grayness, or

⁶⁵ Hall, *Loathsomenesse of Long Hair*, pp. 9-15.

⁶⁶ Wall, *Spiritual Armour*, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Holme, *Academy of Armory*, p. 389.

hoariness.’⁶⁸ Nathaniel Crouch put forward a similar message in 1698, declaring that ‘Old Time has strew’d gray hairs | upon thy hoary head, | Declaring that thy day is past, | Thou must prepare for bed’.⁶⁹

Grey hair was the visual indicator of the loss of or decline from manhood, marking it out as an ephemeral stage of life. As such, the early signs of grey hair were sometimes thought to be a form of punishment. Levinus Lemnius, for example, recounted a classical tale of a young nobleman who was to be punished by death for ravaging a virgin of gentlewomanly status. Whilst imprisoned and awaiting death, the young man worried about his fate to the extent that his hair turned grey overnight. The king, who had adjudged the punishment, on seeing the grey-haired youth decided that he had suffered punishment enough and pardoned him of his crime.⁷⁰ As grey hair was an indicator of a loss of manhood, it was presumably considered a worse punishment than death itself. The colour of hair, then, provided a visual marker of manhood and its eventual decline. Men’s bodies were, therefore, understood in terms that marked out differences between the two sexes but, more than this, they were understood in terms that marked out differences within the male sex. However, distinctions drawn by hair colour and hair loss become problematic with the wearing of wigs.

Wearing false hair was criticised in the earlier part of the period covered by this thesis by critics, such as Philip Stubbes and William Prynne, but the more

⁶⁸ Alexander of Aphrodisia, *The Problems with Aristotle, with other Philosophers and Physitians* (London, 1670), A₆.

⁶⁹ R. B. [a pseudonym for Nathaniel Crouch], *The Vanity of the Life of a Man* (London, 1698), p. 24.

⁷⁰ Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions: Generallye appliable, expedient and profitable for all such, as be desirous and carefull of their bodylye health*, trans. Thomas Newton (London, 1576 edn.), pp. 91-2. That this edition was still being produced in the 1630s is suggestive that it maintained popularity for at least sixty years.

pointed attacks came after the Restoration. Thomas Hall, the anonymous author of *Coma Berenices* and John Mulliner all denounced the wearing of wigs as unnatural, ungodly and yielding to pride.⁷¹ But men of status and men of wealth increasingly took to wearing wigs from the 1660s and they did so for many reasons, such as to cover baldness, to demonstrate their wealth and to reduce the hassle of keeping their hair clean.⁷² If a man had lost his hair by contracting some sort of venereal disease, then this too could be disguised by covering the baldhead with a wig.⁷³ Men continued to wear periwigs despite their ill favour amongst polemicists and moralists.

Samuel Pepys, a man very interested in his own appearance, provides a useful insight into the emotional and practical elements which wearing a wig apparently invoked. There are numerous occasions in Pepys's diary where we can see his own personal struggle in deciding whether or not he should take to wearing a wig.⁷⁴ And we can see his transition from a man who has 'no stomach' for it, to one who is eagerly awaiting his first wig to be made, to one who purchases a special case for his periwig.⁷⁵ Pepys also remarks on the decision of both the Duke of York and Charles

⁷¹ Thomas Hall, *The Loathsomnesse of Long Hair* (London, 1654); Anon, *Coma Berenices; or, The Hairy Comet; Being a Prognostick of Malignant Influences from the Many Blazing Stars Wandring in Our Horizon* (London, 1674); John Mulliner, *A Testimony Against Periwigs and Periwig Making, and Playing on Instruments of Musick* (London, 1677).

⁷² Wigs were an expensive commodity during the period, which limits their availability only to those with a large disposable income. See for example, Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), pp. 51, 155.

⁷³ Michael Keevak, *Sexual Shakespeare: Forgery, Ownership, Portraiture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), pp. 87-9.

⁷⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, iv, 9 May 1663, 29 August 1663, 26 October 1663, 30 October 1663, 31 October 1663, 2 November 1663, 3 November 1663, 4 November 1663, 8 November 1663, 11 November 1663, 13 November 1663.

⁷⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, iv, 9 May 1663, 30 October 1663, 4 November 1663.

II to begin wearing wigs in late 1663, commenting that ‘I never till this day observed that the King is mighty gray.’⁷⁶ Even though Charles would have only been aged 33 at this point his hair had already begun to change colour; perhaps it was because of this that he took to wearing a wig or, more likely, he was copying this fashion from the French court. It can be seen that hair worked to differentiate men from women, but it also marked out distinctions between men. Hair colour provided a visual indicator of the rise to and decline from manhood. Wearing a wig could mask this degeneration, and it distinguished men of wealth and rank from their poorer counterparts. The self-fashioning of the nobility could make it seem as though their manhood had endurance far beyond that of men of lower status, perhaps indicating the plurality of manhood in terms of status as well as age.

Whilst wigs are a removable device there is currency in discussing them within considerations of bodily hair, because just as a wig can be removed so too can beards. As discussed above, following Galenic thought, both Haworth and Crooke described hair as excrement left behind by the drying and hardening of vapours exiting the body through the pores of the skin. However, whereas Haworth put forward the idea that men were more hairy than women due to their humoral configuration, Crooke maintained that there were different types of hair. The first type, *Congeniti*, according to Crooke, was hair bred with the child whilst still in the womb and was essentially the hair on the head, eyebrow and eye-lid. The second type of hair, *Postgeniti*, appeared at the onset of puberty and grew in three particular places: ‘first about the privities, secondly under the arme holes, thirdly in the chin and cheekes’.⁷⁷ In addressing the issue why it was that the *Postgeniti* hairs in women appeared ‘never in the chinne’, Crooke explained that ‘there is not so great agitation

⁷⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, iv, 2 November 1663.

⁷⁷ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, p. 67.

of the humor in the act of generation in women as can rarifie the skin so farre from the place where the seede is engendred'.⁷⁸ For Crooke, hair was not only excrement of bodily vapours but it was also a product of seed generation. The Tudor royal surgeon, Thomas Vicary, commented in 1577 that 'womans sparne is thinner, colder and féebler [sic]' than men's. So, according to Vicary, the primary purpose of the female seed was to accommodate the male sperm into the womb.⁷⁹ Men were able to grow beards and women were not precisely because the strength of the male seed was greater than that of the female. The natural strength of the male seed therefore furthered the concept of the natural superiority of men and added weight to the justification of patriarchal authority. Linked to sexual maturity, the beard provided visual evidence of the strength, vigour and virility afforded to the sexually mature male as opposed to women and boys.

The beard, as a product of seed generation, demarcated visually the sexually mature man from boys and from women. Levinus Lemnius expected boys should begin to show the first wispy signs of beard growth 'neere about the age of xiiii yeares'.⁸⁰ John Bulwer, writing in 1653, argued that the beard was 'the naturall Ensigne of Manhood' and he later remarked 'sure the Beard was form'd and given to man for some end, the place, and dignity of the place, the time it appears, and the species of it shews an ornament'.⁸¹ Just as long hair was a natural ornament of the female sex so, for Bulwer, the beard was for the male sex. So important was the

⁷⁸ Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, pp. 67-8.

⁷⁹ Thomas Vicary, in contrast to Crooke, asserted that both female and male seed was 'gathered of the most best and purest drops of blood in all the body', see Thomas Vicary, *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* (London, 1577), M₆.

⁸⁰ Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, p. 42.

⁸¹ John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, The Artificiall Changling Historically Presented* (London, 1653 edn.), pp. 193, 205-6.

beard, in fact, that it was situated in pride of place on a man's face.⁸² It could also provide a phallic euphemism, as Charles II jokingly mused about Sir J. Minnes that 'his beard was the stiffest thing about him'.⁸³ Regardless of its cultural importance the beard was also a thing to be managed, and this is particularly interesting if it was indeed 'an ensigne of manhood', as it suggests that manhood also needed managing. Pepys informs us of the hassle which keeping a beard could bring, writing that

I did also in a suddaine fit cut off all my beard, which I had been a great while bringing up, only that I may with my pumice-stone do my whole face, as I now do my chin, and to save time, which I find a very easie way and gentile.⁸⁴

His frustration at keeping his hair and face clean prompted him 'in a suddaine fit' to cut off his beard, whereupon he seems to have felt instantly better about himself, describing his new look as 'gentile'. Two years later, Pepys again recounts shaving off his beard, again to lessen the time needed for grooming.⁸⁵ If the beard was a natural ornament of man, then it was not one which every man wanted to keep and was subject to fashionable change as much as any other form of dress and appearance.

It would seem that the beard began to decline in cultural significance after the Civil Wars and Interregnum with fewer men wearing beards, or at least being painted wearing them. As Diana de Marly has noted, however, whilst men and women may have been willing to discard their fashionable clothing in exchange for a more constant, or classical, style of dress, they were not prepared to dramatically alter their hairstyle or facial hair. It may be safe to assume, therefore, that whilst fashionable

⁸² Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd*, p. 206.

⁸³ Pepys, *Diary*, iv, 11 January 1664.

⁸⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, iii, 31 May 1662.

⁸⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, iv, 20 January 1664.

dress cannot easily be charted through seventeenth century portraiture, fashionable facial hair can.⁸⁶ Take, for example, the portraits of Captain Lee, the Earl of Monmouth, Thomas Pope, William Style of Langley, Endymion Porter, Henry Howard and James Sotherby and it becomes apparent that there is a shift in fashion from wearing a beard to being clean-shaven.⁸⁷ So, as beard declines there is a need to consider other 'markers' of manhood.

In terms of visual differentiation of the sexes, weapons perhaps hold much more cultural significance than beards. Weapons, such as daggers, pistols, even cannons, but most often swords are utilised throughout the entire long seventeenth century as markers of sex.⁸⁸ After the emergence of polite society weapons seem to decline in both images and representations of men, but swords do not lose their importance in marking out men from women. More importantly, weapons indicate the longevity of manhood in terms of the life stages, indicating the manliness of male children and of old men.⁸⁹ If the beard demarcated a man from a boy in terms of puberty and the ability to beget children, this distinction is made almost ineffective

⁸⁶ Diana De Marly, 'The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture', *The Burlington Magazine* (1975), vol. 117, no. 868, pp. 442-451, p. 451. Of course, as is the case with all fashions, not all men adhered to this trend and so it would be very unwise to suggest that all men before the Interregnum wore beards, whilst all those afterwards did not; personal preference would always have been key.

⁸⁷ See plates 24, 14, 27-29, 32, 34 respectively in Appendix A below; but also compare the images and dates for plates 10, 12-13, 15, 17-20, 22, 31, 33, 35-6, 38-40, 42-45. Exceptions to this general trend include the portraits of an unknown man in a slashed black doublet (c.1605); James Hamilton (1623), but this could be attributed to his age since he was only 17 years old in the painting; Sir Richard Saltonstall (1636-7); the portrait of an officer (1645), although there is some hint of a goatee here; Sir Thomas Tipping? (c.1660); and Frans Mercurius Van Helmont (1671); see plates 25-26, 16, 30, 37, 40 respectively in Appendix A below.

⁸⁸ All of the abovementioned portraits include some reference to weaponry, with the exception of Saltonstall, Tipping and Van Helmont.

⁸⁹ A fuller discussion of the use of weapon iconography in relation to manliness can be found in chapters three and five below.

by the visual symbolism of carrying a weapon. The problem with indicating sex by the carrying of a weapon is that this distinction is easily blurred, making weapons a truly ‘prosthetic’ marker of sex.

Popular imagery, such as the woodcut on the frontispiece of *Hæc-Vir*, makes it clear that gender categories could be blurred by the inclusion or exclusion of weapons.⁹⁰ Within the image, the only attempt made to confuse the sex of the woman has been achieved by her holding three weapons, a pistol, sword and dagger, and wearing spurs. The depiction of the man can be read in two ways: either he holds a mirror and feathers indicating his femininity; or the objects are supposed to be a shuttlecock and board which are emblematic of his childishness. In either regard he is lacking of manhood. In another example, the woodcut illustration on the frontispiece of the pamphlet *Women’s Fegaries*, the implements wielded by the two figures characterise their respective gender: the woman is brandishing a ladle whilst the man wields a sword as they fight over which one of them holds the breeches, which resemble the seat of power in their relationship.⁹¹

Clothes were essential in denoting both social status and gender during the early modern period. So important were clothes to the citizen of Augsburg Matthäus Schwarz, that in 1520 he took it upon himself to record his personal clothing history. Schwarz, on his twenty-third birthday, made a conscious decision to record the clothes he wore—through miniature paintings of himself—‘in order to see over a period of five, ten or more years what might become of it’.⁹² The book contains

⁹⁰ Anon, *Hæc-Vir*, frontispiece.

⁹¹ Anon, *The women’s fegari[es] shewing the great endeavours they have used for obtai[n]g of the breeches* (London, 1672), frontispiece.

⁹² Quotation taken from Gabriele Mentges, ‘Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564’, *Gender & History* (2002), vol. 14, pp. 382-402.

pictures of Schwarz learning how to fence and modelling three differently embroidered shirts in a triptych portrait of himself. Schwarz is also depicted in his wedding outfit, and can be seen in both inside and outside settings. The final picture was entered in 1560, some forty years after he had begun the project. His costume book has provided historians with a personal history of Schwarz's life, which also comments on events that occurred in Augsburg over the course of his life, and this account exists precisely because one fairly high-ranking German citizen wanted to record his clothing. Gabriele Mentges has studied Schwarz's costume book in detail and argues that it is 'purely masculine' and is a 'specific product of male self-perception'.⁹³

Seventeenth-century portraiture had a similar function to Schwarz's costume book in the sense that it provided a medium through which the self-fashioning of elite men and women could occur, and in part this was achieved by the clothes and hairstyles worn by the sitters. In many cases great pains are taken by the artist to show the fine details of high quality fabric, stitching and ornament on the clothing and in some cases the surroundings of their subjects, showcasing the wealth of the sitter as well as the skill of the artist.⁹⁴ However, this was not always the case. Anthony Van Dyck, the court painter for Charles I, did not paint the intricate detailing of fabric. It was his custom only to paint sitters in the plainest of fabrics as a timesaving method which increased his output. Karen Hearn has argued that the prestige of sitting for Van Dyck probably outweighed the necessity to be shown in

⁹³ Mentges, 'Costume Book', p. 383.

⁹⁴ For example see plates 7-8, 10, 32, 44 in Appendix A below.

the latest fashions.⁹⁵ Moreover, seventeenth-century artists tended not to paint modish clothing so as to preclude the work from quickly going out of style; it is for this reason that we see the repeated motifs of Arcadia, the Roman military and, from around the mid 1650s, the much simpler civic vest.⁹⁶ Two painted examples of the latter are the gowns worn by Samuel Pepys and John Banckes.⁹⁷

The portraits of Pepys and Elizabeth, both of which were painted by John Hales, were clearly important to Pepys. He recorded four visits to Hales's studio over the course of the month which it took to complete Elizabeth's portrait, and each time he mentioned how much he liked the work.⁹⁸ He seemed to take great delight in comparing his wife's portrait to the drawing of the Duchess of York which Peter Lely was undertaking just a few weeks after Elizabeth's picture was finished, writing 'I was well pleased to see that there was nothing near so much resemblance of her face in his work, which is now the second, if not the third time, as there was of my wife's in the very first time'.⁹⁹

For his own portrait, Pepys was most concerned that the sheet music, which he holds in his hand, was painted correctly and it would appear from the diary entries that this was the only element of the portrait that he insisted was reworked.¹⁰⁰ It is also clear from the diary that the costume worn by Pepys in the portrait was hired specifically for the purpose of sitting for the painting. It is known that Pepys was a

⁹⁵ Karen Hearn, 'Sir Anthony Van Dyck's Portraits of Sir William and Lady Killigrew, 1638', *Tate Papers* (2004), vol. 1, date accessed 06/08/2005, available online:

http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/04spring/dyck_paper.htm

⁹⁶ De Marly, 'The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture', pp. 442-451.

⁹⁷ See plates 39, 41 in Appendix A below.

⁹⁸ Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 15 February 1666, 3 March 1666, 10 March 1666 and 15 March 1666.

⁹⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 24 March 1666.

¹⁰⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 11 April 1666. The music is commemorative of the song 'Beauty Retire' which Pepys had recently composed.

man concerned with his appearance and was anxious to keep up with the fashions of the times; in this respect the hired costume is very interesting. In compositional terms, the gown is significant. Since the background of the picture is comprised largely of dark shadow and the costume worn is itself a bronze colour, the folds of the fabric and the places where light would shimmer on the silk are crucial in adding depth and interest to the work, and also in marking out Pepys's form from the backdrop. Great pains would have been taken by the artist to achieve such an effect and we can see that this was the case, as Pepys's diary entry states 'To Hales's, and there sat till almost quite dark upon working my gowne, which I hired to be drawn in; an Indian gowne.'¹⁰¹ A similar gown is worn in the 1676 portrait of John Banckes. Even though Banckes's portrait is much busier than that of Pepys, including a garden, silk curtain and oriental carpet, the gown is still given compositional prominence, dominating the central focus of the work. Banckes pulls his robe across his front allowing Godfrey Kneller to capture the way in which the silk fabric catches the light. The painting illustrates Banckes's status as merchant and banker through highlighting the expensive fabric worn.

Clothes defined social rank. Paul Griffiths's research on youth cultures and authority during the early modern period suggests that magistrates and moralists alike were concerned with maintaining the social order, and one way in particular that they tried to achieve this was through the regulation of dress.¹⁰² Sumptuary laws were periodically re-enacted and re-enforced during the sixteenth century, as attempts were made to distinguish materials and garments appropriate only for those

¹⁰¹ Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 30 March 1666, vii.

¹⁰² Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, chapter 4.

in the upper echelons of the social scale—such as wearing the colour purple.¹⁰³ Griffiths’s research reveals that in London the Court of Aldermen set up a committee with the direct purpose of policing the dress of the apprentice youth of the city.¹⁰⁴ The fact that such measures were taken to regulate dress in the metropolis suggests two things: firstly, that regulation did not work—if it did there would be no need to re-instate the laws—and, secondly, that it was thought by the authorities that order could be upheld through maintaining a visual differentiation of social rank. Both conclusions point to the tenuous and unstable nature of the social order and social hierarchies in early modern England. Fashion was considered to be a cause for social unrest and a blurring of status boundaries. In particular, young men who according to the fashion dressed above their station and wore fine materials, gold buttons and swords, were thought to be subverting hierarchal order, and were often charged as being thievish and immoral. Clothing and immorality were closely linked. Outward conformity to social norms prescribed through dress maintained a social order that necessitated a visualisation of status differentiation. In equal need of validation and preservation was the gender hierarchy. Because the sexes were not rigidly fixed and were, to some extent, feared to be mutable, non-conformity to gendered dress codes was a source of great contention and anxiety throughout the early modern period.

Crossing the Boundaries

There was a belief that because clothes occupied bodily space, they were themselves an extension of the body. If the humoral model allowed for the possibility that men

¹⁰³ Kim Phillips has argued that medieval sumptuary laws were less significant in drawing distinctions between social rank as they were in defining hierarchies of manhood; see Phillips, ‘Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws’, *Gender & History* (2007), vol. 19:1, pp. 22-42.

¹⁰⁴ Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp. 226-228.

and women could transform into the opposite sex and external forces could bring about such alterations, then a woman wearing men's clothes was endangering herself of becoming a man-woman, a monster known both as Amazon and Virago. But it would seem that women did take on a male appearance for a number of reasons, and apparently were sometimes very good at passing themselves off as men.

A ballad in circulation in 1681, purportedly being a true story, recounts how a woman in London dressed as a man to join the armed forces. She proved to be very courageous in battle, and joined with the other soldiers in playing cards and dice. The true gender of the woman is only suspected when she is thought to be pregnant—quite who the father of this child was, the ballad does not reveal—and her female sex is certified after being examined by a midwife.¹⁰⁵ What is particularly noticeable within the ballad is the belief that by wearing men's attire the woman was herself increasingly adopting manly types of behaviour. In particular, the woman was afraid she might blush at the men's wanton talk but her costume made her 'confident and free'. The woman although pregnant was becoming like a man. As well as dressing like a man to join the armed forces historians, such as Bernard Capp, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, have argued that women dressed as men for a number of reasons, including for fashion, for safety whilst travelling and for prostitution.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Anon, *The Female Warrior* (London, 1681), in Ebsworth, J. W. ed., *The Bagford Ballads* (Hertford: Printed for the Ballad Society, 1877) vol. II, pp. 326-29.

¹⁰⁶ Bernard Capp, 'Playgoers, Players and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern London: The Bridewell Evidence', *The Seventeenth Century* (2003), vol. 18, pp. 159-171; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 247-8. It should also be noted that women sometimes dressed in men's clothes in order to participate in wars, possibly alongside their husbands, see Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, chapter 7; Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), p. 31. For female robbers who dressed as men see Gillian Spraggs, *Outlaws and Highwaymen:*

Throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century and during the opening two decades of the seventeenth century, there was a fashion amongst the growing mercantile class for citizens' wives to adopt male attire and appearance. Many affluent London wives donned doublet and hose, cut their hair short and carried with them daggers or swords. This fashion provoked much fear and outrage amongst high-ranking men and London officials. The concern moralists had for this cross-dressing fashion arose from a belief that clothing could transform a person's gender. Philip Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses*, published in 1583, argued that apparel was given as a sign from God to discern one sex from the other. Stubbes further claims that to wear the clothes of the opposite sex created abominations, 'monsters of both kinds, half women' and 'half men'.¹⁰⁷ The worries voiced by Stubbes underline the necessity of a visual differentiation of the sexes, alongside the belief that the body could be altered by apparel.

In 1620 James I directed moralists to preach vehemently against the trend from the pulpit and in their sermons, and the bishop of London passed on the King's commands to his clergy:

to inveigh vehemently and bitterly in their sermons against the insolency of our women and their wearing of broad brimmed hats, pointed doublets, their hair cut short or shorn and some of them stiletos or poniards.¹⁰⁸

The practice was also condemned in a number of pamphlets, including *Hic Mulier*, which was registered for publication in February 1620. The *Hic Mulier* pamphlet urged household heads to check the behaviour of their women and to disallow them

the Cult of the Robber in England from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century (London: Pimlico, 2001), pp. 264-271.

¹⁰⁷ Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Quotation taken from Fletcher, 'Men's Dilemma', p. 71.

to dress in a manly fashion. It was the responsibility and duty of fathers and husbands, according to the author of the pamphlet, to see that female family members dressed appropriately and spent the household income on the necessities of the family, and not on modish fashions.¹⁰⁹ A response to the *Hic Mulier* pamphlet, *Hæc-Vir*, which was registered for publication only a week after the original, argued that wives would be controlled and remain under the proper authority of their husbands, if men were to truly behave as men should. It was the contention of the *Hæc-Vir* that men themselves had become too consumed with their appearance and lacked their supposed propensity for reason.¹¹⁰ Fashion could threaten the gender order: the man-woman was a consequential result of womanish-men.

Bernard Capp's examination of the Bridewell records reveals that London women dressed as men for reasons other than fashion. The records provide evidence of women wearing men's apparel for travelling to places, or at times, 'when an unaccompanied female was likely to be challenged or molested'.¹¹¹ Capp argues that dressing as a man empowered the cross-dressed female, and provided her with a freedom of movement not usually available to women. Charlotte, in the opening scene of the 1695 play *She Ventures and He Wins*, voices the same argument as that put forward by Capp. Dressed in men's clothes, Charlotte and her cousin Juliana open the play discussing their apparel. Not only is it clear that the two women seem to enjoy wearing breeches, and the power that is associated with them, but Charlotte also recognised the restrictions imposed on women by their clothing. In elucidating why they were both disguised as men, Charlotte explained 'these clothes will give us

¹⁰⁹ Anon, *Hic Mulier: Or, The Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to Cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminine of Our Times* (London, 1620), sig. C₃.

¹¹⁰ Anon, *Hæc-Vir*.

¹¹¹ Capp, 'Playgoers', pp. 159-171, quotation p. 165.

greater liberty than the scandalous world will allow to our petticoats, which we could not attempt this undertaking in without hazard to our modesty.’¹¹² Wearing breeches enabled the two women to venture through the town, to places such as the playhouse, in relative safety. Moreover, wearing breeches safeguarded their reputations from potentially scandalous slurs against their honour had they been about the town alone and dressed in female attire. There was, however, always the risk that they would be recognised as women, but Charlotte shrugged off this possibility claiming that ‘there’s no great danger’.¹¹³ Nonetheless, as Bernard Capp’s work has shown, at least a proportion of the women disguised as men in early modern London must have been discovered otherwise they would not have been brought before the court to explain their behaviour.

Capp’s examination of the Bridewell records provides further evidence which suggests that many cross-dressed women—particularly though not always—of low rank were accused of prostitution. Their dressing as men was a sign that they were available for purchase. Many of the cross-dressed women found guilty of prostitution suffered humiliating and often physical punishments, such as a public whipping.¹¹⁴ The difference in how higher-ranking women who dressed as men were treated by the authorities in comparison to their lower status counterparts should be noted here. For what was essentially the same act—cross-dressing—the citizen’s wife was liable to being chastised by her husband, whilst the workingwoman was

¹¹² ‘Ariadne’ (a young lady), ‘She Ventures and He Wins’ (1695), in Paddy Lyons and Fidelis Morgan eds., *Female Playwrights of the Restoration: Five Comedies* (London: Everyman’s Library, 1991), pp. 103-159, quotation p. 109.

¹¹³ ‘Ariadne’, ‘She Ventures and He Wins’, pp. 109-111, quotation p. 111.

¹¹⁴ Capp, ‘Playgoers’, pp. 166, for playhouses and prostitution see pp. 160-2, for cross-dressing and illicit sexual relations see pp. 165, 166; see also Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, chapter 7, especially pp. 110-112.

liable to being whipped or imprisoned. It is difficult to determine which was considered to be the worse crime, cross-dressing or prostitution. Equally difficult to resolve, is whether all of the women punished at Bridewell were in fact prostitutes, as not all women confessed to the crime. It is possible that in some cases, in order to secure the conviction and punishment of a cross-dressed woman, a charge of prostitution was added. Prostitutes affected economic, domestic and social order.¹¹⁵

There is less evidence to suggest that cross-dressing men caused much of a problem in England during the early modern period.¹¹⁶ Certainly, moralists were more inclined to demonise women's dressing-up as men than they were men's dressing-down as women. The reason for this is simple: patriarchal authority was grounded mainly, though not entirely, on restricting women's behaviour and movement. It was also reliant on preserving the authority of those men in high-ranking positions over all of their social inferiors, which included other men. It is for this reason that magistrates and moralists focused so much attention on regulating the dress and social cultures of male youths.¹¹⁷ Apparently, men who dressed above their station were a greater threat to patriarchal stability than men who dressed as women, in all probability because the former represented bogus upward mobility

¹¹⁵ Faramarz Dabhoiwala, 'Sex, Social Relations and the Law in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century London', in Michael Braddick and John Walter, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 85-101, see especially pp. 93-4; Paul Griffiths, 'The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London', *Continuity and Change* (1993), vol. 8:1, pp. 39-63; Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp. 213-221.

¹¹⁶ David Cressy, 'Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* (1996), vol. 35:4, pp. 438-465.

¹¹⁷ Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, chapter 4.

whilst the latter suggested downward mobility. And, sometimes, dressing as women was a method employed by men to re-assert social order.¹¹⁸

The 'Lady Skimmington' was a character often assumed by men in the shaming rituals of their neighbours who had been beaten or cuckolded by their wives. Martin Ingram's research on charivaris suggests that they were not particularly common occurrences, but that they were employed by some communities to shame husbands and wives who subverted, or over-turned, the natural order. Central to the charivari, according to Ingram, 'were notions of hierarchy, inversion, reversal, rule and misrule, order and disorder'.¹¹⁹ It was certainly a preoccupation with restoring order that prompted William Star and John Taylor of Walton to go accompanied by a group of men dressed as women to the Digger community at George Hill. Arriving at the Digger community the group of disguised men took to 'beating and striking those foure naked men, beating them to the ground, breaking their heads and sore bruising their bodies'.¹²⁰ This rather vicious attack left one of the four men fighting for his life. The cross-dressed men were clearly not impressed with the Digger's sense of commune. Whilst Star and

¹¹⁸ For men dressing as women in ritual performance see Reay, *Popular Cultures*, pp. 137, 141, 146, 151-3, 156-7. Men also dressed as women when participating in riots; see David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 110-11, 216; Nicholas Rogers, 'Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London', pp. 266, 280, and David Rollison, 'Property, Ideology and Popular Culture in a Gloucestershire Village, 1660-1740', pp. 297, 316, both in Paul Slack ed., *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chapters 13, 14.

¹¹⁹ Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1984), vol. 105, pp. 79-113, quotation p. 96; David Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 116-136.

¹²⁰ Unknown, *A Declaration of the Bloody and unchristian acting of William Star, and John Taylor of Walton* (London, 1649), pp. 1-2.

Taylor were described as 'free holders', the others in the group could possibly have been men of gentlemanly status protecting their property rights, or perhaps even infantry soldiers stationed in the region and hired to attack the commune.¹²¹ Being dressed as women during the attack was either commentary that the Diggers were over-turning social order or, possibly, revolutionary politics disguised as normal community behaviour, or simply a disguise for the attackers.

Whereas the early modern social commentators and moralists seem to have little to say about cross-dressing men in everyday-life situations, they do condemn, and vehemently so, the theatrical practice in which boy actors played female roles on stage.¹²² Because women were not permitted on stage until after the Restoration, except in private masques where women's involvement was condoned, roles were always acted out by boys and men, including those of female characters. If this theatrical practice is thought about in conjunction with the fear that clothing had potential to transform gender, then the paradoxes which arose from the early modern understanding of biology and gender construction can be realised. On the one hand there is a belief shared by anatomists, moralists and to some extent the popular conscience that bodies could alter from male to female and vice versa and, on the other cross-dressing was employed as standard practice in a popular form of entertainment.¹²³ There is little wonder that anti-theatricality became the focus of

¹²¹ G. R. Aylmer, 'The Religion of Gerrard Winstanley', in J. F. McGregor and B. Reay eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 100-102.

¹²² Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chapter 5; Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-25.

¹²³ For a discussion on the different uses of cross-dressing on stage and also in romance literature see Jean Howard, 'Cross-Dressing, the Theatre and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1988), vol. 39, pp. 418-440; Peter Berek, 'Cross-Dressing, Gender and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* (2004),

many moralist authors. One anti-theatrical author in particular, Stephen Gosson, draws attention to the crux of the fear concerning cross-dressing on stage.¹²⁴

Stephen Gosson in his essay *School of Abuses*, first published in 1579, argued that the theatre adulterated men's minds. For Gosson, both the players and the audience were at risk from the cross-dressing actors on stage. Theatrical costume held a direct threat to those men and boys wearing them, because their apparel could alter their sex. This was considered particularly true for young men and boys who had not yet reached sexual maturity or full adulthood. Boys and young men, then, were particularly vulnerable to gender transformation. But Gosson also believed that male audience members were also at risk from becoming effeminised simply by going to the theatre and watching the performances. Theatres, in Gosson's words, 'wounde the conscience' and they make 'straunge consortes of melodie, to tickle the ear, costly apparrell to flatter the sight, effeminate gesture to ravish the sense, and wanton speech, to whette desire to inordinate lust'.¹²⁵ So, according to Gosson, male audiences were in danger of becoming effeminised because theatre performance could provoke their desires beyond control. Strength of will and reason, two characteristics which defined men from women and beasts, could be lost to pleasure.

It can be seen that the practice of cross-dressing on stage—that of boys and men dressing as women—was a cause of anxiety during the early modern period. But cross-dressing often appeared as a central theme within the plots of plays. William Shakespeare, Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, John Fletcher and

vol. 44:2, pp. 359-377; Winfried Schleiner, 'Male Cross-Dressing and Transvestism in Renaissance Romances', *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1988), vol. 19:4, pp. 605-619. Contrast with Cressy, 'Gender Trouble', who claimed that the stage convention of cross-dressing bore no relation to the anxieties of moralists, and could often enhance rather than weaken notions of manliness.

¹²⁴ Stephen Gosson, *School of Abuses* (London, 1579).

¹²⁵ Gosson, *School of Abuses*, B7.

Francis Beaumont, Ben Jonson and Aphra Behn are just some of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century playwrights who made cross-dressing heroines a feature in their plays.¹²⁶ On occasion these characters could be used as a method to stir feelings of unease and anxiety within audience members—such as Portia in Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*—and they could be used as social commentary of real cross-dressing women—such as Moll Cutpurse in Dekker and Middleton’s *The Roaring Girl*—but they could also be used to underpin patriarchal ideology and authority.

In two Shakespearean comedies, *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* the leading heroines are for a significant proportion of time dressed in men’s clothing and embark upon acting as men.¹²⁷ Rosalind creates for herself the persona Ganymede as a means of liberation in the Forest of Arden; whilst Viola, naming herself Cesario, adopts her twin brother’s personality to disguise herself in a difficult situation. Harold Bloom has suggested that neither of the characters was supposed to incite anxiety for the early modern audience, rather the audience was to be captivated and inspired by their plights.¹²⁸ Although the two women’s reasons for and experiences of cross-dressing were quite different, the end result is similar in both instances: Rosalind is married to Orlando whilst Viola is betrothed to Duke Orsino, thereby adhering to rather than subverting patriarchal norms.

Rosalind’s character Ganymede is an important one for considering how female cross-dressing in plays could be non-threatening to patriarchal order. Her

¹²⁶ See for example, William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (1596); Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girl* (1611); John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *The Maid’s Tragedy* (1611-13); Ben Jonson, *The New Inn* (1629), Aphra Behn, *The Feigned Courtesans* (1679).

¹²⁷ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (1599); William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night* (1601-2).

¹²⁸ Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead Book, 1998), chapters 14, 15.

decision to adopt a male appearance is an almost whimsical one arising from the fact that she is too tall to dress as a poor woman, but it is one in which she is nevertheless successful. Indeed her attire and her demeanour as the young man Ganymede go unquestioned. Dressed as Ganymede, Rosalind acts to stabilise patriarchal norms. Through undertaking to teach Orlando the means to act manly in courting women, Rosalind concurrently fulfils both a female and male imperative. At a personal level Rosalind is able to tell Orlando what she desires from a man, which could be exported to the audience on a much broader scale.

Rosalind's lessons for Orlando also recognize a male need: that of friendship and counsel. If Alexandra Shepard is correct in her argument that manhood was 'most resonantly worked out between men', then this was the role that the Rosalind-Ganymede character was fulfilling with Orlando in the Forest scenes of the play.¹²⁹ Orlando was in danger of allowing his love for Rosalind to blind his reason and render him mad, which would have undermined his manhood. Losing his reason and succumbing to madness would have had an effeminising effect on the Orlando character. Rosalind's lessons prevented this from occurring and provided an outlet for Orlando's desires. The exact moment when Orlando has rationalised his love and has in essence become a man is summed up in the line 'I can live no longer by thinking'.¹³⁰ This line acts as a catalyst for Rosalind who then promises to marry Orlando; patriarchal order has been maintained.

Viola, in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, provides a different but equally important character when considering female cross-dressing in plays as non-threatening to patriarchal order. By becoming Cesario, Viola adopts the appearance and personality of her twin brother Sebastian whom she assumes to be dead after the

¹²⁹ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁰ *As You Like It* (1599), act 5, scene II, 48.

ship they were aboard was wrecked. Like Rosalind, Viola is successful in donning a man's persona. Although it is commented on that the Viola-Cesario character has feminine facial features, her disguise was not doubted. Even in the fight scene between Sir Andrew and Viola she was suspected only of being a coward and not a woman. It is possible that the fight scene was emphasising the aggressive nature of manhood, in which male honour had to be fought for and protected.¹³¹ In fact here Viola reminds the audience of her true gender:

Viola: [*aside.*] Pray God defend me! A little thing would make me tell them how much I lack of a man.¹³²

The 'little thing' Viola mentions is no doubt a phallic reference drawing attention to her lack of a penis. This speech could be used to argue that Shakespeare was less inclined than some contemporary moralists to the belief that cross-dressing could transform gender. Viola is still very much a woman regardless of her clothing.

A significant role for the Viola-Cesario character is that of friend to Duke Orsino, which is remarkably similar to the concept of 'male friendship' described by Alan Bray. Bray argues quite persuasively that the boundaries between male friendship and sodomy were not clearly defined and could be open to interpretation.¹³³ He argues that the signs of friendship could also sometimes be the signs of sodomy, where an act such as kissing could be both a public testimony of favour and a reason behind a charge of sodomy. We do not see Orsino and Viola kiss, but she does provide him with a close approximation of the 'male friend' and is

¹³¹ The differing role of violence within both manhood and manliness will be discussed in greater details in chapters four and five below.

¹³² *Twelfth Night* (1601-2), act 3, scene IV, 334-6.

¹³³ Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal* (1990), vol. 29, pp. 1-19.

a completely devoted servant to him. Her total devotion to Orsino is demonstrated by the fact that she would willingly die for him. Luckily for Viola, her twin brother Sebastian arrives in time to save her life and reveal both of their true identities. In the final act of the play, Orsino finally learns that his 'young boy' is actually a young woman dressed in men's clothing, whereupon he asks her to marry him.¹³⁴ This rather odd matrimonial proposal brings the 'male friendship' to its logical conclusion: a consensual, legal sexual relationship. Viola has transgressed the gender and hierarchical order by dressing as a man, but has also concurrently underpinned these patriarchal structures by protecting Orsino from potential accusations of sodomy, and then by agreeing to marry him. In both of these Shakespearean comedies, the cross-dressed heroines actually sustain rather than over-turn social order. Furthermore, they adhere to the patriarchal ideology of the perfect woman by submitting to the authority of men.

Conclusion

It has been suggested in this chapter that the body was a matter of interest, debate and anxiety during the early modern period. It was also the subject of much confusion, paradox and inconsistency. The anatomical treatises of the early modern period comprised an uncomfortable mixture of Classical teaching, Biblical reference, new scientific thought and personal experience, whereas popular medical books could contain all, some or none of these components. Whilst other scholars have argued that the two sex model was a product of the eighteenth century, wherein ideas concerning the absolute difference between male and female genitalia were invoked and became more scientifically fixed, it would appear that the claims put forward by

¹³⁴ *Twelfth Night*, act 5, scene I, 333-338.

Karen Harvey and Laura Gowing are much more satisfactory. Seventeenth century anatomists were cautious and selective in their use of the Classical authorities, specifically Galen and Aristotle, including only those parts which they agreed with and often presenting material in direct contestation towards such traditional modes of thought. Certainly by 1615, if not earlier, male and female genitalia were understood in terms of difference and not degree. This, however, was not a universally held belief. Furthermore, during the early modern period, gender difference was not defined by genital morphology alone and it would be unwise for historians to do so. Looking at more visible body parts, such as hair and facial hair, it becomes apparent that men were defined as much in relation to one another as they were in relation to women, creating important distinctions along the lines of age and social status. In essence, manhood, as it was represented through the male body, was a discourse of virility, strength and vigour. Although theoretically these attributes could be falsified at any point in the life cycle, the body points to manhood as an ephemeral highpoint of a man's life which would decline with the onset of old age.

It is also clear that gender categories were unstable throughout the early modern period. There was, to a certain degree, a concern that the sex of the human body was fluid, and that it was possible for men to change into women and women into men. The dominance of the humoral model in medical and popular thought concurrently explained and allowed for monsters such as the 'man-woman' and the 'womanish-man' to exist. To some extent early modern people believed that their bodies could change sex, and this impacted on both gender and social hierarchy. One of the ways in which the authorities sought to control hierarchy was through the regulation of dress. During the earliest period covered by this thesis, until the turn of the seventeenth century when the sumptuary laws were repealed, punishments were

meted out to those who dared transgress the gender and social order by wearing inappropriate apparel or by sporting an improper appearance. Nevertheless, as Paul Griffiths has argued, the connection between morality and appropriate dress remained into the seventeenth century.¹³⁵ It was believed that the preservation of both the gender and social order could be achieved by a visualisation of sex and rank difference. So the young men who dressed above their station, and the women who donned male attire, were not only threatening patriarchal order, they were overturning it. It is evident that patriarchy and social order were in some ways grounded on 'shifting sands': the fluidity of gender, and the fashions which blurred difference, worked to weaken the distinctions between sex and rank which were fundamental to hierarchy. Gender difference was then understood in terms of the body and clothing: the two were inextricably linked.

¹³⁵ Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp. 221-234.

Chapter 3.

Mini-Men, Skirts and Breeches: Boyhood

A foolish son is a grief to his Father, and a bitterness to her that bare him.¹

In childhood we speak, understand, and think as a child, and in manhood we put away childish things.²

Two of the central characteristics which were thought to distinguish adult men from women and boys were physical strength and reason.³ Such attributes worked to enable men to govern effectively both themselves and their social and familial inferiors. Elizabeth Foyster has argued that ‘boys’ bodies were physically under-developed’ and, moreover, that ‘from birth until the age of seven, a boy’s reason and judgement were feeble’.⁴ Likewise, Alexandra Shepard’s reading of health guides, medical tracts and conduct books suggests that boys, like men in their youth and old age, lacked the physiological balance which manhood—or ‘man’s estate’—required and on which reason and strength were founded.⁵ Indeed, as chapter two above has suggested, manhood, in terms of medical and anatomical understanding, was presented as a specific and ephemeral life-stage.

¹ Daniel Burgess, *Advice to Parents and Children: the Sum of a Few Sermons, Contracted, and Published at the Request of Many Pious Hearers* (London, 1690), pp. 49-50; Edward Lawrence, *Parents Groans Over Their Wicked Children: Several Sermons on Prov. XVII. 25* (London, 1681), sig. B₁; this passage is taken from *Proverbs*, 27:5.

² Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents: Shewing how children are to be governed throughout all ages and times of their life* (Cambridge, 1616), p. 43; this passage is taken from *Corinthians*, 13.11.

³ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 28-32; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 29-30, 47.

⁴ Elizabeth Foyster, ‘Boys will be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800’, in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 154.

⁵ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapters 1, 2.

Criticisms of the earliest histories of childhood, such as the work of Philippe Ariès, Lloyd de Mause and Lawrence Stone, are now well rehearsed and whilst there is an appreciation of the merits of the questions at the heart of each of these studies, and what they set out to explore, there is an almost universal acknowledgement of their perceived weaknesses and short-comings.⁶ Subsequent histories of childhood, which were spurred on by the inadequacies of these pioneering studies, focussed attention on stamping out the myth that there was no concept of childhood before the sixteenth century, on establishing that there has always been an emotional bond between parent and child and, crucially, on establishing that the history of childhood is more one of continuity than of change, each of which appeared to be denied in the older studies.⁷

Over fifteen years ago, Hugh Cunningham added yet another twist to these hotly debated and deeply contentious topics by attempting to present a history of the children of the poor, followed closely by his highly influential thesis that the period after 1500 bore witness to the development of an ideology of childhood specific to

⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962); Lloyd de Mause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', in Lloyd de Mause ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974), pp. 1-73; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

⁷ Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relationships from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984); Ralph Houlbrooke ed., *English Family Life, 1576-1716: An Anthology From Diaries* (New York: Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988); Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 2002 edn). See also, Alan Macfarlane, 'The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 – Lawrence Stone – Review', *History and Theory* (1979), vol. 18:1, pp. 103-126. For a discussion on the history of childhood in Germany, see Carmen Luke, *Pedagogy, Printing and Protestantism: the Discourse on Childhood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989). One text that could also be added here is John Sommerville, *The Rise and Fall of Childhood* (London: Sage, 1983). For an historiographical overview of the history of childhood see Hugh Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *American Historical Review* (1998), vol. 103:4, pp. 1195-1208.

the middling-sorts.⁸ Cunningham further argued that the histories of childhood and the histories of children need to be teased apart: the former being that of ‘a shifting set of ideas’ and the latter of the lived experiences of children.⁹ From this perspective Cunningham endeavoured to restore the notion of change to the heart of the history of childhood. He asserted that the revisionist historians of the 1980s had indeed found continuity in the history of childhood, but that this occurred only in the examination of the parent-child relationship and not in what had formed Ariès’s uppermost concern: the concepts of childhood.¹⁰ Breaking away from following what has been termed ‘the sentiments approach’ to childhood history, Cunningham looked to consider the role of philanthropy and the state in creating, shaping and impacting upon both concepts of childhood and the experiences of children outside of a purely familial setting.¹¹ It was his contention that ‘between the late seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries there occurred a major and irreversible change in the representation of childhood’.¹² Whilst Cunningham argues that it is in the twentieth century that the conceptualisation of childhood and experiences of children underwent the most rapid and dramatic change, he posits the eighteenth century as the site of the first real shift in attitudes towards and treatment of children, which was

⁸ Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), especially chapter 3; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995), especially chapters 1, 3; see also Cunningham, ‘The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c.1680-1851’, *Past and Present* (1990), no. 126, pp. 115-150. For a discussion on the unsatisfactory usage and the complexity of the term ‘middling-sorts’ see Henry French, ‘The Search for the ‘Middle sort of people’ in England, 1600-1800’. *The Historical Journal* (2000), vol. 43:1, pp. 277-293.

⁹ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, p. 2.

¹¹ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp. 15-18. The term ‘the sentiments approach’ was first used in Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914*, cited in Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, p. 13.

¹² Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, p. 7.

instigated by the emergence of a burgeoning secular view of children and was in part aided by the works of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹³

That childhood is both culturally constructed and historically specific is axiomatic. The term, therefore, is one of classification that possesses shifting meanings according to place, period, social rank and gender. It is doubtful whether any real understanding of a history of collective childhood experience can ever be achieved, particularly for periods of pre-industrial history. Despite her impressive source base of primary material—416 diaries and autobiographies, of which 98 were written by children—Linda Pollock, for instance, found it difficult to draw any definite conclusions on past children's experience precisely because individual experience is so diverse and so wide-ranging.¹⁴ Indeed, Ralph Houlbrooke has commented that 'the world of early modern childhood is now largely impenetrable save through personal testimony contained in diaries and autobiographies'.¹⁵

The focus of this chapter, however, is not primarily concerned with childhood experience. Neither is it centred upon examining parent-child relationships.¹⁶ In part, it is an examination of the conceptualisation of childhood. More specifically, this chapter is concerned with assessing the extent to which the inculcation of attributes necessary to achieve manhood occurred during the years of childhood. Will Fisher has asserted that boys 'were quite literally a different gender from men

¹³ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp. 41-78. See also, Roger Cox, *Shaping Childhood: Themes of Uncertainty in the History of Adult-Child Relationships* (London: New York: Routledge, 1996), especially chapters 2, 3.

¹⁴ Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, especially chapters 4, 6 and 7; Cox, *Shaping Childhood*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵ Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, p. 133.

¹⁶ Parent-child relationships will be explored in chapter 5 below, wherein it will be argued that fatherhood was of central importance to manhood and male honour.

during the early modern period'.¹⁷ This chapter will provide an assessment of Fisher's claim and it will be countered that rather than being 'a-gendered', early modern boys copied, practised, learnt and went some way toward acquiring the necessary skills of manhood during their childhood years. Indeed, it was Henry Newcome's contention that 'children will imitate what we do'.¹⁸ Whilst debarred from the status of manhood by their age and status as dependants, it will be argued that boys could, and were very much encouraged to achieve traits of manliness making them entirely male-gendered despite their sexual immaturity.

This chapter will examine the varied ways in which boys were encouraged to learn and display attributes of manliness from a young age. Examinations of visual sources, primarily portraiture, will be considered alongside diaries, conduct manuals and prescriptive texts to suggest that both moralists and parents alike sought assurances that boys would reach adult age and acquire full manhood. Visual representation of boys in particular marked out features of their manliness, providing a promise of future manhood. The significance of the breeching ceremony will be considered. Some historians have assumed that because boys from the age of five or six were dressed in the garb of adulthood this was somehow indicative that they were nothing more than 'miniature adults'.¹⁹ However, as this chapter will suggest, the donning of ceremonial breeches did not mark the end of childhood for boys, instead it signified the commencement of a boy's transition into adulthood. Indeed, as

¹⁷ Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly* (2001), vol. 54:1, pp. 175-179; see also Steve Brown, 'The Boyhood of Shakespeare's Heroines: Notes on Gender Ambiguity in the Sixteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* (1990), vol. 30:2, pp. 243-263.

¹⁸ Henry Newcome, 'Diary', 9 February 1662, in Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, p. 159.

¹⁹ See for example, Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 193.

Elizabeth Foyster has noted, a boy's first pair of breeches marked out just one of the stages in the rite of passage which a boy went through in the process of becoming a man.²⁰ So, the cultural phenomenon of 'mini-man' portraiture may well have presented boys as smaller versions of adults, but it was intended to display their accomplishment of at least some manly attributes as they learnt the skills necessary to achieve full manhood upon reaching adulthood. It will be argued that in the visual representation of boys, markers of manliness were just as important before the breeching age as after it. It is the intention of this chapter to argue that whilst boys were necessarily unable to attain the status of manhood they were both capable and encouraged to demonstrate their manliness.

Boy-Child or Mini-Man?

Toni Bowers has claimed recently that children pictured in the illustrations of conduct books stand 'like chessboard pieces – or more accurately, like miniaturized adults.'²¹ The image which appears in both the front and end matter of the children's advice manual *The School of Grace* is one such example of this.²² That this book had gone through nineteen editions by 1688 is highly suggestive of its popularity. It would appear that this particular book was meant as an instruction manual for children of a fairly young age and it included lessons, prayers, catechisms and the Ten Commandments to be learnt and rehearsed by children in the home environment. Interestingly, there is a list of 'godly books' priced at only 'three pence per piece' advertised in the back of the text which the author considered appropriate for

²⁰ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 39-40.

²¹ Toni Bowers, 'Domesticity and the Family in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Defining Gender, 1450-1910* (Adam Matthew Publications, 2003).

²² John Hart, *The School of Grace; or, A Book of Good Nurture for the Admonition and Instruction of Youth and Age in the Fear of the Lord* (19th edn. London, 1688).

children to read, each of which promoted godliness, sobriety and charity.²³ The cost of these listed books suggests something of the social status expected of the target readership of the work, affordable to the lesser yeomanry and possibly even those of husbandmen status.²⁴ Whilst it is likely that those children of a lower sort would hear the same or similar lessons and catechisms in Church, it cannot be assumed that *The School of Grace* was representative of the most basic education common to children of all ranks.

Elizabeth Foyster has argued that boys were far more likely to learn the attributes of manhood through personal experience and through observation of the adult world around them than they were by reading conduct literature.²⁵ Nevertheless, whilst it was common for conduct literature to take the form of advice to parents during the earlier part of the period covered here, wherein it was assumed that parents would take a role in the direction and government of the social and moral education of their offspring, a growing corpus of prescriptive and instructive texts were directed specifically at children as the long seventeenth century unfolded.²⁶

²³ Hart, *The School of Grace*, sig. C7.

²⁴ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 260-2; Wrightson, *English Society*, pp. 32-4.

²⁵ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p.39; Foyster, 'Silent Witnesses? Children and the Breakdown of Domestic and Social Order in Early Modern England', in Anthony Fletcher and Stephen Hussey eds., *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State* (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 57-73.

²⁶ For conduct literature directed at parents, see for example Bartholomew Batty, *The Christian Mans Closet: Wherein is Contained a Large Discourse of the Godly Training Up of Children* (London, 1581, translated by William Lowth); Richard Greenham, *A Godly Exhortation, and Fruitfull Admonition to Vertuous Parents and Modest Masters* (London, 1584); Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents*. Examples of conduct literature directed at children include Henry Jessy, *A Catechisme for Babes, Or, Little Ones* (London, 1652); George Fox, *A Catechisme for Children* (2nd edn. London, 1657); Anon, *School of Learning: Or, a Guide for Children* (London, 1668); S. T. *The Child's Book*

Such works were usually much shorter in length than adult conduct literature, and they tended to assume a male readership.²⁷ Advice books for children could include academic lessons, such as spelling and basic Latin, catechisms and daily prayers and also more pointed direction on courtesy, civility, good conduct and gender roles.²⁸ The moral and religious overtones of children's conduct books remained constant throughout the period. John Gother's *Instructions to Children*, for example, took the form of a catechism of questions and answers for a child to learn, and was divided almost exactly into two halves, the first of which was entirely dedicated to devotional teaching whilst the latter was concerned with familial duties and civil behaviour.²⁹

The School of Grace was also meant as an instruction manual for children. Above all else, the lessons to be learnt were religious studies and deference and obedience to God, the King and parents, thus asserting and reinforcing the ordered principles of patriarchy and the patriarchal hierarchy. All of the images in the text reflect this. Indeed, the frontispiece illustration of the book, which appears on both the very first and very last page, is a woodcut print of Charles II. Given that this particular edition was in circulation after the death of Charles, it is possible that it was thought that such a popular text would be unrecognisable with a new cover illustration, which might affect its saleability, or that a greater political statement was

and the Youth's Book; Hart, *School of Grace*; James Kirkwood, *Advice to Children* (2nd edn. London, 1693).

²⁷ Martyn Bennett, 'Gender and Education in the Early Modern Period', *Defining Gender, 1450-1910* (Adam Matthew Publications, 2003).

²⁸ As Anna Bryson has noted courtesy texts, which took a pedagogic form and which were specifically directed at schoolboys, were not the invention of the seventeenth century. Those penned by Erasmus and Seagar in the sixteenth century remained influential into the seventeenth century. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially chapters 1, 2.

²⁹ John Gother, *Instructions for Children* (London, 1698).

being made. Nevertheless, its accompanying maxim ‘fear God, Honour the King’ speaks volumes about the patriarchal trumpeting of the work and its Caroline loyalty.

The only other image in the work to be repeated is that which is of concern here.³⁰ In essence, it depicts the intended use of the book and so a mother and father can be seen instructing their brood of four children. It may well be that this is in fact a pious scene of family devotion, as Toni Bowers has suggested, but it is equally likely that it depicts a form of home education wherein mother and father read lessons to their offspring.³¹ As will be argued in chapter five below, it was not unusual for fathers to be involved in the education of their young children, particularly their sons. In presenting evidence to suggest that close and emotional bonds existed between parents and their offspring during the early modern period, Ralph Houlbrooke provided excerpts from a number of diaries which included descriptive passages of fathers schooling their children in reading, history, counting, arithmetic and Latin.³²

Whilst Anthony Fletcher has argued that Latin increasingly became the secret language of the elite—and more specifically of elite men—during the period, Houlbrooke’s work seems to suggest that this was a secret shared by fathers with their sons, at least for those sufficiently well-educated to do so.³³ Indeed, Sir Justinian Isham, a gentleman scholar and royalist, suggested to his son Thomas that he should keep a record of daily goings-on with the sole purpose of later translating it

³⁰ See *Figure 3* below, p. 97.

³¹ Bowers, ‘Domesticity and the Family’.

³² For example see extracts by John Dee, Henry Newcome, Oliver Heywood, Thomas Isham and Sir Richard Newdigate in Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, pp. 137, 158, 159-60, 161, 162, 163-4, 166.

³³ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 302-3; Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*. On education as a civilising process see Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 29-31, 67-8.

into Latin.³⁴ Thomas Willis, a teacher from Middlesex, saw fit to compile and have printed for sale his *Vestibulum Lingue Latine* which was in the design of a dictionary and intended to aid children in learning Latin. The work was also advertised as an *aide memoir* for those adults who had forgotten the Latin they had learnt at school and, moreover, it also claimed to be useful for ‘those not brought up to the knowledge of the Latin Tongue’ as it contained ‘interpreted words often used in English Books and Sermons’.³⁵ That Willis also included some instruction on how the *Dictionary* could best be used in teaching youngsters both English and Latin, suggests that the text would have a place in both the home and the school.

It was expected in conduct literature that parents would read lectures, Scripture, moral advice tracts and great histories to their children and there is evidence which suggests that at least some parents did so. On warning against the vice of pride and noting that it had become more of a virtue during the opening decades of the seventeenth century, Elizabeth Jocelyn noted that ‘many parents reade lectures of it to their children’.³⁶ The author of *The Office of Christian Parents* went further, suggesting that mothers and fathers were not simply the biological—or natural—parents of children but included any number of relations and kin including uncles, brothers, grandparents, stepparents, wards, masters, guardians and those without their own children who ‘doe adopt some other, either of their kindred, or otherwise, and bring them up, and make them their heires.’³⁷ According to this

³⁴ See Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, p. 249. By 1671 Thomas Isham had taken up his father’s suggestion and began to keep a daily journal; for extracts from his journal see Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, pp. 163-6.

³⁵ Thomas Willis, *Vestibulum Lingue Latine: A Dictionarie for Children* (London, 1651), quotation from frontispiece.

³⁶ Elizabeth Jocelyn, *The Mother’s Legacie to Her Unborne Childe* (London, 1625), sig. B₅.

³⁷ Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents*, pp. 1-5, quotation p. 3.

author, it was the duty of ‘govenours and gardians to children’ to educate their young and, whilst in the very first years of life this was primarily the responsibility of the mother, both parents played a role in educating their children.³⁸ The reason for this being that educated children were an honour to themselves and to their parents and, moreover, they bolstered both the church and the commonwealth.³⁹ So, whilst it is possible that this image portrays a scene of family devotion, it is equally likely that it depicts parents schooling their offspring. More importantly for the purposes of this chapter, this image typifies the representation of children that Toni Bowers described as being ‘miniaturized adults’.



Figure 3. Family lessons, from Hart, *School of Grace* (1688).

The School of Grace directed young offspring to ‘hear the instruction of thy Father, and forsake not the law of thy Mother’.⁴⁰ The picture that appears on both the front and back endpaper of the book (*fig. 3*) underpins the messages contained therein: fathers instruct, parents rule and children obey. It can be seen that both mother and father stand in front of all four children and it is in fact the father who

³⁸ Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents*, pp. 42-56.

³⁹ Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents*, sig. A₁-A₃, quotation p.5.

⁴⁰ Hart, *The School of Grace*, sig. A₆.

instructs the youngsters whilst the mother stands supportively by his side. However, the mother too holds a small book, or folded piece of paper, which could suggest that she was also involved in schooling the children. There are three daughters and one son in the image, all of whom are dressed in garb similar to that of their parents. It is this element of the picture which could be drawn upon to argue that children were viewed only as miniaturised adults during the period. But there is another indicator within the image to suggest that this was not the case. It is possible to make out that both the son and the smallest daughter each hold their hat in their hands, whilst both the mother and father wear their hats on their head. This is a small but significant factor, which is suggestive of the deference owed to parents by their offspring and illustrates the relative inferiority of children to all adults.⁴¹ The removal of one's hat whilst in the presence of those of superiority was a social custom in early modern England and not adhering to such a practice could prove contentious.⁴² That two of these children are pictured to be displaying reverence to their parents implies that there were very clear boundaries between childhood and adulthood, regardless of the resemblance of their apparel. Boys pictured as mini-men were meant as commentary of their accomplishment of traits of manliness as a promise of future manhood, and such indicators were as significant before the breeching ceremony had occurred as they were after it had taken place.

⁴¹ Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 67; see also S. T., *The Child's Book and the Youth's Book in Two Parts* (London, 1672), sig. C₇.

⁴² Sir Thomas Fairfax, for instance, was bewildered by the Diggers' refusal to doff their hats in his presence when he visited them at St George's Hill in 1649. See G. R. Aylmer, 'The Religion of Gerrard Winstanley', in J. F. McGregor and B. Reay eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 101; Martyn Bennett, *The Civil Wars in Britain and Ireland, 1638-1651* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 325.

One-fifth of the one hundred and twenty portraits examined portray young boys who are featured either on their own or within a family group.⁴³ Of these, ten portraits include boys before the breeching age has been reached, whilst sixteen picture boys who have gone through the breeching ceremony.⁴⁴ F. M. Godfrey has argued that ‘children enter the stage of painting – apart from their idealised existence in religious pictures – as young rulers or scholars, the children of the great’ and that, he continued, ‘it is through Van Dyck that portraits of children became fashionable in English painting’.⁴⁵ According to Oliver Millar, towards the end of his career Van Dyck charged ‘£50 to £60 for a standard full-length, £30 for a half-length and £20 for a head-and-shoulders portrait’ and a full-length portrait by Daniel Mytens ‘could cost a patron £50 if it contained such extras as regalia’.⁴⁶ Given that a full-length portrait could cost the same amount as one entire year’s income for lesser yeomen and between one quarter and one half of that of their wealthier counterparts, it should not be surprising to find that all of the portraits examined here are of young princes or of sons from wealthy families of lesser gentry status and above.⁴⁷ However, of the twenty-four portraits under discussion here, nine were painted during the decade in which Van Dyck was the principal painter to the court of Charles I, whilst eight date from before Van Dyck’s coming to London and seven are dated after his death, which suggests there existed a more sustained level of childhood portraiture than

⁴³ The only exception to this is the pageboy attending to Oliver Cromwell, which has also been included in the number presented above; *Oliver Cromwell (1649)* by Robert Walker (National Portrait Gallery, London).

⁴⁴ Two of the portraits include both pre- and post-breeched boys: see plates 11 and 13 in Appendix A below.

⁴⁵ F. M. Godfrey, *Child Portraiture From Bellini to Cezanne* (London: The Studio Publications, 1956), pp. 8, 10.

⁴⁶ Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982), p. 22.

⁴⁷ Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 33.

Godfrey has allowed for.⁴⁸ So, whilst caution must be taken not to assume that these paintings are anything other than representations of male children of the social elite, they do offer an insight into the accomplishments and traits expected of noble and wealthy boys.

Diane Hughes has stated that ‘portraits that showed the prince in infant skirts or with small spaniels trapped in a domestic world of female dresses and little dogs had displeased the king.’⁴⁹ Here, Hughes is discussing portraits of prince Charles, the eldest son of Charles I, and in doing so she raises the important issue of the extent to which a boy could cross the gender boundary whilst still an infant. Ten of the portraits examined include pre-breeched boys, and these span the period 1596-1675.⁵⁰ In each of the portraits there are indications that the child pictured is a boy. Moreover, it can be argued that in each case there are assurances of the child’s future manhood incorporated within the composition. It is possible to see that, contrary to Will Fisher’s assertion that boys were almost a-gendered during the early modern period, the boys pictured in these portraits are very clearly depicted as belonging to the male sex, despite their sexual immaturity.

When boys were very young, still infants, they were most likely to be painted wearing white silken gowns and caps, such as those of prince Charles, Buckingham’s

⁴⁸ Van Dyck was appointed Principal Painter to their Majesties in 1632 until his death in 1641; see Andrew Wilton, *The Swagger Portrait: Grand Manner Portrait in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John, 1630-1930* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1992), p. 232.

⁴⁹ Hughes, ‘Representing the Family’, p. 32

⁵⁰ Lady Ann Pope with her Children (1596) by Marcus Gheerearts II (National Portrait Gallery, London); The Duke of Buckingham and his Family (1628?); Charles II (1630); The Saltonstall Family (c.1636-7); Five Children of Charles I (1637); The Capel Family (1640); A Lady of the Grenville Family and her Son (1640); A Family Group, Called Sir Thomas Browne and his Family (mid 1640s) by William Dobson in Malcolm Rogers, *William Dobson 1611-46* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1983), p. 52; William III (1657); Mrs Salesbury with her Grandchildren Edward and Elizabeth Bagot (1675-6). See plates 1-4, 11-13, 16-17 in Appendix A below.

son and two of the Capel boys.⁵¹ At first glance it would be very difficult to ascertain the gender of such youngsters. When examined in conjunction with girls of approximately the same age, however, it is possible to identify one factor which appears to distinguish baby boys from baby girls: girls' dresses tended to be less fitted, more loosely draped and left the shoulders, chest and top of the arms bare, whilst those of boys were more fitted and did not reveal their shoulders.⁵² It is possible that the white dresses worn by infant boys were their baptism gowns. Being made of white silk with detailed necklines, such gowns are clearly an indication of wealth and purity. In the case of the portrait of prince Charles in particular, it might be reasonable to argue that this was commissioned specifically to commemorate the boy's baptism. It may also have been one of those mentioned above which 'displeased the king'.

Within the portraiture examined, as boys grew older they lost their white dresses in favour of more colourful attire. Both the son of the Grenville family and William III wear yellow gowns, Lady Pope's two sons, the son of the Saltonstall family, prince James and the youngest son of the Browne family are pictured in red gowns, whilst Edward Bagot is clothed in a more classical style comprising a blue dress and red smock, which is reminiscent of the Roman-style costume that became increasingly fashionable in mid to late seventeenth century paintings.⁵³ The gowns

⁵¹ See plates 2, 12, and 13 in Appendix A below.

⁵² Compare, for example, plates 2, 12 and 13 with 3 and 11. This, however, is only a tentative suggestion at present; many more examples of children's portraiture need to be analysed in order to provide further evidence to support or rule out this statement.

⁵³ See plates 1, 3-4, 11, 16; see also A Family Group, Called Sir Thomas Browne and his Family (mid 1640s), in Rogers, *William Dobson*, p. 52; and also Pope with her Children (1596). On Roman classical dress as a feature of seventeenth-century portraiture see Diana De Marly, 'The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture', *The Burlington Magazine* (1975), vol. 117, no.

appear to be much closer in style and colour to the clothes of older boys than those white skirts of their infantile counterparts. This is most evident in the two paintings which depict both pre- and post-breeched brothers. The costume of prince James, for instance, is almost exactly the same in colour and style as that of his older brother Charles, with just three noticeable differences: James is wearing skirts and not breeches, his outfit has a low-cut neck line and the split-sleeve design of the garment is not quite so large and prominent as that of Charles's doublet.⁵⁴ Within the painting of the Browne family a similar effect is achieved, wherein the colour and style of the two boys' costumes match perfectly with only one difference: the youngest wears skirts and not breeches, as in the case with James above. The youngster's knees are also covered with an apron, but in all probability this was merely to protect his clothes from the rabbit which sits in his lap.⁵⁵

Animals featured within the portraiture provide some indication of the future manhood of the boys painted, and they appear with both pre- and post-breeched boys. In the portrait of the infant prince Charles, a small brown and white spaniel sits on the child's lap, and does not look to have been in the original composition of the painting.⁵⁶ It may be that the animal was added later, perhaps to define the Stuart pedigree of the boy. Small dogs can also be indicative of familial bliss and this could suggest that the child has completed the marriage union of Charles and Henrietta Maria and so provided a lineage for future generations. The spaniel in the portrait of

868, pp. 442-451; a clearer example of Romanesque dress is William III (c.1668) by Jan de Baen (National Portrait Gallery, London).

⁵⁴ See plate 11 in Appendix A below.

⁵⁵ See A Family Group, Called Sir Thomas Browne and his Family (mid 1640s) in Rogers, *William Dobson*, pp. 52.

⁵⁶ See plate 2 in Appendix A below; see also Robin Gibson, *The Face in the Corner: Animals in Portraits from the Collections of the National Portrait Gallery* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1998), pp. 26-7.

the family of Sir Robert Vyner holds perhaps two separate meanings.⁵⁷ On the one hand, because it is a spaniel it could be indicative of the family's Caroline loyalty particularly since Vyner points toward the animal which is situated between him and his only son Charles. On the other hand, and given the position of the animal, it could also be alluding to Charles's loyalty and deference to his father.⁵⁸ As with the repeated image in the *School of Grace* discussed above, such a marker of reverence or obedience was important in signalling the social distinctions both between siblings and also between children and their parents.

In a later portrait of prince Charles, that of 1637, he is again pictured with a dog. There are in fact two dogs within this painting. The large mastiff, which dominates the centre of the painting, can be seen clearly. But there is also another dog, this time another spaniel, which sits at the feet of the two younger princesses, Elizabeth and Anne.⁵⁹ It is the mastiff which is of concern here. The sheer size of the animal works to make clear the relative height and proportions of all the other children.⁶⁰ Moreover, a mastiff is a dog meant for protection and the position of Charles's hand is suggestive that it is he who will offer—upon reaching full manhood—protection of his younger siblings. In the same painting, the younger prince James is linked to manliness through his older brother by use of dress and stance. His dress has already been discussed above. In terms of his stance, James is turned slightly in order to face his brother and his gaze is fixed on the large mastiff

⁵⁷ See plate 17 in Appendix A below.

⁵⁸ Robin Gibson has also suggested that this particular spaniel was a marker of wealth which held connotations of a gentlemanly status as well as hunting; Gibson, *Face in the Corner*, pp. 30-1.

⁵⁹ See plate 11 in Appendix A below. This is, however, a cropped version of the painting which cuts out the section of the painting where the smaller dog ought to be. For the full image see Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, p. 71.

⁶⁰ See Gibson, *Face in the Corner*, pp. 28-9.

on which Charles rests his hand. This position is suggestive that James too would grow to be strong and manly, whilst at the same time submitting to the authority and protection of his older brother.

Protection is a key element of boyhood portraiture and is a method through which a boy's manliness was demonstrated, providing an assurance of his future acquisition of full manhood. As discussed above, prince Charles was shown to offer protection over his younger siblings through the inclusion of a large dog within the composition of the painting. More common in the portraits examined, however, is a more pointed comment of a boy's protection over his sister's honour and chastity. As with animals, this motif occurs in portraits of both pre- and post-breeched boys, again hinting that the acquisition of at least some of the attributes of manliness was just as important before the breeching age as after it. There is one similarity between the Buckingham, Capel and Vyner family portraits, which indicates the protective role of brothers over their sisters. Mary Villiers, Elizabeth Capel and Bridget Hyde are each clutching in their skirts a bundle of flowers and these are predominantly, though not exclusively, roses.⁶¹ When a rose was incorporated into the composition of marital portraiture it was an indication of love and harmony; when a rose was depicted with a young girl it signified that she had reached the age wherein marital suitors were sought after and approved of by parents, family and kin.⁶² It can be seen within the Capel and Vyner family portraits that Elizabeth and Bridget offer a flower

⁶¹ See plates 12-13, 17 in Appendix A below.

⁶² See plates 22-23 in Appendix A below; an additional example is the portrait of Sir Ralph Assheton and his wife, Elizabeth Harrington (c.1670) by Sir Peter Lely, which is the cover illustration of Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; see also Karen Hearn, 'Sir Anthony Van Dyck's Portraits of Sir William and Lady Killigrew, 1638', *Tate Papers* (2004), vol. 1, date accessed 06/08/2005, available online:

<<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/04spring/dyck_paper.htm>>

to baby Henry and Charles respectively, whereas Mary appears to be offering the entire bundle to her brother George. In each case the boys reach for the flowers and so it is possible to argue that this provides an indication that brothers were supposed to safeguard their sisters' honour.

A variation of this compositional motif is evident within the portraits of the Saltonstall, Streatfeild and Bagot families.⁶³ It is possible that the Saltonstall family portrait was not quite so concerned with the protective role of brothers as it was with presenting a sense of family unity, as both Saltonstall's deceased wife Elizabeth and recent bride Mary, as well as his three children are included within the painting. The only hint of Richard junior's protection over his sister Anne is that he holds onto her left wrist. The posturing and positioning of Sir Richard Saltonstall, his son Richard—who was still too young for breeches—and daughter Anne is possibly a method through which to communicate both a chain of affection and the line of authority within the remnants of his first family unit. Their domination of the left hand side of the painting—the traditional placing of higher status—further underlines this suggestion.⁶⁴ The Streatfeild family portrait is a little more obvious in this regard with two of the three children, a son and daughter, positioned with their father on the left hand side of the painting.⁶⁵ The linking chains of affection and authority can once again be witnessed, as the father's hand is placed on his son's head, the son in turn places his arm around his sister's shoulders and the girl offers her father a cherry. The third child, whom Malcom Rogers has claimed could be either a boy or a girl, is positioned with the mother who points toward the youngster: possibly this

⁶³ See plate 16 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁴ Hearn, 'Sir Anthony Van Dyck's Portraits'.

⁶⁵ See A Family Group, Possibly the Streatfeild Family, in Rogers, *William Dobson*, pp. 65-6.

was her child from a previous marriage, but as the sitters' real identities are yet to be discovered this point can only be put forward with caution.⁶⁶

Within the Bagot family portrait, which is later than those of the Saltonstall and Streatfeild families, brotherly protection is again emphasised.⁶⁷ Edward Bagot, like Richard Saltonstall, had not yet reached the breeching age at the time this portrait was painted, but this does not diminish his protective duty over his sister Elizabeth. Edward's protective role is evidenced by the fact that he hands a doll of the Virgin Mary to his infant sister. Despite the Roman Catholic connotations of the doll, and the Catholic religion of the portraitist John Michael Wright who painted the work, it is unlikely that any comment was being made regarding the religion of the Bagot family as they had a tradition of both acting to curtail popery and passively tolerating it; however, less certainty can be given to the Salesbury line of the family.⁶⁸ The inclusion of the doll, and the composition of the work, is more than likely an emulation of the Madonna with Child with John the Baptist.⁶⁹ That it is Edward who hands the doll to his younger sister is indicative that it was his role to safeguard her honour. Both pre- and post-breeched boys, it has been suggested, assumed this role and this is indicative that it was desired by parents at least that boys from their infancy should display manliness as a future promise of manhood.

It is not unreasonable to argue that the type of portraiture under discussion here was intended to illustrate early, manly accomplishments in pre- and post-breeched boys, therefore situating them firmly within the male sex rather than the a-

⁶⁶ Roger, *William Dobson*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ See plate 3 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁸ M. W. Greensdale, 'Bagot Family (*per.* c.1490-1705)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn.), date accessed 15.09.2007.

⁶⁹ See the online description of the work, first accessed 29.07.2004:

<<http://www.tate.org.uk/collection/T/T06/T06750_9.jpg>>

gendered categorisation which Will Fisher has outlined.⁷⁰ Moreover, it can be seen that one purpose of the portraits which featured boys was to present those children as mini-men. Portraits of post-breeched boys most exemplify the mini-man function of portraiture. Two works, those of the princes Charles and James, painted in 1639 by Cornelius Johnson, are very similar in style and are obviously intended to be pendant portraits.⁷¹ Aside from their similarities to each other, they show a stark resemblance to the 1631 portrait of their father by Daniel Mytens.⁷² The composition is almost identical with only a few differences, and these are primarily concerned with highlighting the kingship of Charles. The two boys stand in an almost identical position to that of each other and of their father. If the portraits of the two boys were to be hung together, the position of prince Charles on the left would be demonstrative of his relative authority between the two princes. That Charles I would have been aged thirty-one at the time his portrait was painted, and the two boys would only be aged nine and six, coupled with their similarity in composition, is highly suggestive that the princes were painted in the mini-man style of portraiture. This is not to suggest that they were no longer considered children, rather it is indicative of their future manhood, and this argument can be applied to each of the portraits of William III, prince Charles, Henry Prince of Wales, prince James, Walter Raleigh junior and Arthur Capel junior.⁷³ Whilst it can be argued that these paintings were all state portraits, commissioned only to demonstrate the strength and stability of the monarchy and commonwealth, it cannot be denied that they also relay desired attributes of manhood.

⁷⁰ Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard', pp. 175-179.

⁷¹ See plates 6, 9 in Appendix A below.

⁷² Charles I (1631) by Daniel Mytens (National Portrait Gallery, London).

⁷³ See plates 4-11, 13 in Appendix A below.

Boys of all ages were, then, encouraged to achieve traits of manliness. But, there is some suggestion that these lessons were best learnt during the years of adolescence. *The Office of Christian Parents* provides a good illustration of how advice to children was tailored according to their age. From the contents page it can be seen that the chapters are divided into age ranges, such as pre-birth, from birth to seven years, from seven to fourteen, and from fourteen to twenty-eight or until marriage.⁷⁴ Learning the attributes of manhood was a curricular activity for boys which was practised in adolescence, and of which fathers were the teachers—at least at the level of prescription—and this idea is also conveyed through portraiture of high-ranking fathers and sons.

The Capel family portrait, which was painted by Cornelius Johnson in circa 1640, offers some indication that fathers instructed their sons on the attributes of manhood.⁷⁵ In this painting it can be seen that there are a number of children depicted: two girls and three boys. The positioning of the three boys is highly suggestive. The baby is sat on his mother's knee and reaches towards his sisters. His appearance leaves some room for ambiguity regarding his sex but, as it was suggested above, there remain clear indications of the infant's manliness. Of the eldest two sons only one has been breeched, but both are positioned closest to their father. As it will be discussed later, breeching usually occurred at around age six and was the process through which a boy lost his skirts in favour of breeches. It is possible that the position of the two eldest sons was a method only of providing balance to the portrait, but it is more likely that it was to illustrate that the boys were under the instruction of their father in learning how to become men. The eldest son in particular stands in an almost identical position to that of his seated father,

⁷⁴ Anon, *The Office of Christian parents*, contents page.

⁷⁵ See plate 13 in Appendix A below.

emulating the older man. The boy holds his hat, which is exactly the same as his father's, in the same way the father holds the younger boy. There is little doubt that the son was painted in imitation of his father, as a mini-man, a visual representation of behavioural instruction.

Another portrait, that of Sir Walter Raleigh and his eldest son, painted by an unknown artist in 1602 also suggests that fathers instructed their sons on how to become men.⁷⁶ Here, the mini-man function of the picture is more prominently defined as only man and boy are painted. The boy is Raleigh's eldest son who in this portrait was aged nine. Raleigh junior is standing in an almost identical position to that of his father, again emulating the older man. He has on a similar costume, although his is blue and not white. He holds in his left hand a hat identical to that of his father. The boy's hat is in his hand, rather than on his head, to show his social inferiority to Raleigh, as discussed above. Raleigh junior is holding gloves in his right hand, and because he is holding and not wearing his gloves this can be seen as another marker of respect, again suggestive of deference towards his father. Both this portrait and that of the Capel family offer the impression that fathers were playing the part of role models for their offspring providing real images of the attributes of manhood for their male children. The mini-man method of painting, which depicts sons almost as replicas of their fathers, is clear evidence of this role-playing, and of the importance placed on boys learning the traits of manhood whilst still young. Moreover, such portraits imply that these lessons were likely to begin before the age of breeching had been reached, and practised during the years of adolescence.

⁷⁶ See plate 10 in Appendix A below.

That learning the lessons to acquire manhood was of primary concern during the years of adolescence, does not mean that young boys were not encouraged to do so from an earlier age. Portraits of both very young and older boys hint at manly attributes, such as Thomas and Henry, in the 1596 portrait of Lady Ann Pope, that of Edward Bagot, each of those of prince Charles, those of prince Henry, prince James, Walter Raleigh, George Villiers and Henry Capel.⁷⁷ In each example the boys' manliness is suggested through the inclusion of either some sort of weapon or toy. Thomas Pope, prince Charles, prince Henry and Walter Raleigh each hold swords, whilst Henry Pope holds a bow and arrow, Edward Bagot a toy horse and the infants Charles, George and Henry are each painted with a rattle and pacifier. Each example can be read as a signifier of manliness and a promise of future manhood and this motif, as it will be suggested in chapter five below, continued to be significant in portraits of men in full adulthood.

The Breeching Ceremony

The breeching ceremony was in all probability an important moment in any boy's life, regardless of his social status. As Margaret Spufford's research has shown, clothing constituted the second largest expenditure in the maintenance of orphaned children after food and board.⁷⁸ The cost of boys' breeches, for example, before 1660 was on average 3s. 11d., whilst during the years 1660-1700 this cost had risen to 5s. 11d., comprising a massive 51 per cent increase in price. However, in 1703 competitively priced breeches could still be found. In Canterbury, for instance, large boys' breeches could be bought from a salesman for 3s. 6d., whilst those for small

⁷⁷ See Pope with her Children (1596); see also plates 2-3, 5-10, 12-13.

⁷⁸ Margaret Spufford, 'The Cost of Apparel in Seventeenth-Century England, and the Accuracy of Gregory King', *Economic History Review* (2000), vol. 53:4, pp. 677-705, especially p. 681.

boys were cheaper at 2/6d.⁷⁹ Spufford's work has further revealed that despite the inflation in textile prices, which 'had been nearly continuous from the 1570s until the 1670s', even children of the lower sorts, including those of craftsmen and labourers, would have had benefit of new clothes.⁸⁰ Moreover, for those poorer still, there was the flourishing second-hand clothes trade which would have provided access to cheaper clothing for the 'millions of lesser folk, making do with secondhand as long as the cost of new materials kept those items out of their reach'.⁸¹ So, at around the age of six years old a boy would be given his first pair of breeches, whether newly made, newly bought or second-hand, and this marked the beginning of his journey into the adult world.

The first pair of breeches provided just cause for celebration and remark. Just as Lady Anne Clifford saw fit to record of her daughter Margaret 'the first time the Child put on a pair of Whalebone Bodice' and her 'first coat that was laced with Lace' as well as 'her crimson velvet Coat laced with silver, which was the 1st velvet Coat she ever had', so similar mention was made of boys' first breeches.⁸² Sir Henry Slingsby noted in 1641 that he had sent from London 'a suit of clothes for my son Thomas, being the first breeches and doublet that he ever had'. His tailor had made the suit but, as Slingsby further recorded, 'it was too soon for him to wear them, being but five years old'. The reason for such a premature purchase being that 'his

⁷⁹ Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 123.

⁸⁰ Spufford, 'The Cost of Apparel', pp. 687-691, quotation p. 687, figures p. 688.

⁸¹ Beverly Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: the Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies* (1988), vol. 27:1, pp. 1-24, quotation p. 3. For those of a lesser-moral fibre—or those with no other choice—the trade in stolen clothes may also have provided opportunity to purchase cheaper, or else barter an exchange for clothing, see Beverly Lemire, 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History* (1990), vol. 24:2, pp. 255-276.

⁸² Clifford, *Diaries*, 28 April 1617, 2 May 1617, 1 January 1619, pp. 58, 67.

mother had a desire to see him in them, how a proper man would be'.⁸³ In the mindset of Thomas's parents at least, wearing breeches would give the small boy the semblance of a man. Thomas Isham's younger brother had to wait longer for his first pair of breeches. In November 1671, Isham noted in his journal that their servant Katherine 'went to Northampton and bought cloth for Brother Ferdinando's first breeches'.⁸⁴ Given that Ferdinando was born in April 1663, he would have been aged eight at the time this diary entry was penned. However, whether or not these were his first pair of breeches, or simply the first pair made specifically for him is unclear.

Recording the occasion of giving a son his first pair of breeches was not only significant in terms of him taking the first step in the rite of passage to becoming a man, but it also marked the successful rearing of a child past the age of infancy. The demographers Wrigley and Schofield have estimated that 34.4 per cent of all deaths were those of children under the age of ten years old in pre-industrial England. In addition, their study of the records of eight parishes for the years 1550-1649 establishes that around one quarter of all children would not live to see their tenth birthday and that, not surprisingly, death was most likely to occur during the first year of life.⁸⁵ Conversely, Peter Laslett's research suggests that during the years 1550-1749 roughly 20 per cent of live-born boys died within their first year of life, and this figure dropped to around 15 per cent of those aged between one and nine.⁸⁶

⁸³ Henry Slingsby, 'Diary', 1641, in Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, p. 147.

⁸⁴ Thomas Isham, 'Journal', November 1671, in Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, p. 164.

⁸⁵ R. Schofield and E. A. Wrigley, 'Infant and Child Mortality in England in the late Tudor and Early Stuart Period', in C. Webster ed., *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), cited in Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 105.

⁸⁶ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Explored Further* (London: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2001 edn), p. 112.

Nevertheless, the birth rate rarely fell beneath the death rate during the early modern period and, as Wrigley and Schofield's work suggests, roughly 31 per cent of the population were aged fourteen or under in 1686.⁸⁷ It might be safe to imagine, as Laslett has, that right up until the Victorian era families were 'in the perpetual presence of their young offspring' and, moreover, that 'in the pre-industrial world there were children everywhere'.⁸⁸

Despite this, rearing boys beyond the years of infancy could be a very difficult and somewhat emotional task that was not guaranteed to be successful. The rather ambiguous conformist minister Isaac Archer, for instance, fathered nine children of whom only his second daughter, Anne, survived into adulthood.⁸⁹ Of his three sons, William, the eldest, did not live beyond the age of three. His second son fared worse and did not live more than a few hours. Unfortunately, his first two sons died within two months of each other, reminiscent of his own childhood when his mother, sister and brother died within quick succession. Archer blamed the death of his eldest son on his own nonchalant attitude towards the death of the second baby boy and regarded the double loss as God's punishment for his lack of remorse, writing 'the Lord knew how to strike to the heart, by taking away my joy, strength, builder of my house, and by casting my crown to the ground!'. Archer later noted in his diary that 'since God tooke away my two boyes I ceased not privately to pray for another to make up my losse.' His prayers were answered and on 14 February 1678

⁸⁷ Laslett's work suggests that the birth rate fell during the mid to late seventeenth century, and attributes this to higher levels of out-migration, mainly to North America; see Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, chapter 5, especially p. 108; E. A. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: a Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 217-8.

⁸⁸ Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, pp. 118, 119.

⁸⁹ Archer, *Diary*, p. 4. It is not known when Anne died but she was still alive exactly one day after her 30th birthday (4 April 1700), when she gave birth to her daughter Frances, see p. 184. For Archer's ambiguity regarding religious conformity and his relationship to nonconformity see *Diary*, pp. 21-7.

his third son, Isaac, was born. However, his joy was to be dashed just five months later and Archer's distress at the death of his third son Isaac is evident: 'my son of prayer, desire, and hopes is taken away!'.⁹⁰

The death of John Evelyn's first son prompted him to write a rather lengthy tribute honouring the boy in his *Diary*.⁹¹ Either in truth or in mournful hyperbole, it can be seen that at five years old Richard Evelyn was quite a well-accomplished child. Evelyn described the boy as 'a prodigie for Witt & understanding; for beauty of body a very Angel, & for endowments of mind, of incredible & rare hopes'. He claimed of the child that God had 'dressed up a Saint fit for himselfe' and upon the boy's funeral he noted 'here ends the joy of my life, & for which I go ever mourning to the grave'.⁹² Evelyn claimed that at just two and a half years old his son could 'perfectly reade any of the English, Latine, French or Gothic letters; pronouncing the three first languages exactly'. By five years of age, Richard could read most writing, had mastered grammar, learnt nearly all French and Latin primitive words and he could translate Latin into English and vice versa. Moreover, he could write legibly, remember and recite verse and plays, had skill in arithmetic, he had learnt all of his catechism and demonstrated 'his apt & ingenious application of Fables & Morals', all of which 'far exceeding his age & experience'.⁹³ The death of such a prodigy was clearly a great loss to Evelyn, and a similarly emotional tribute was penned on the death of his daughter Mary, but one of his sons, John, lived well into maturity.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ See Archer, *Diary*, September 1649, 25 August 1675, 30 October 1675, 14 February 1679, 16 July 1679, pp. 47, 150-1, 157, 159, quotations pp. 151, 157, 159.

⁹¹ See Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 January 1658, 30 January 1658, pp. 350-354.

⁹² Evelyn, *Diary*, quotations pp. 351, 352, 353-4.

⁹³ Evelyn, *Diary*, quotations pp. 351, 352.

⁹⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, 7-14 March 1685, pp. 714-15, 719-20

William Coe, a farmer of gentlemanly status from Suffolk, enjoyed better success in rearing his sons into adulthood than Isaac Archer and John Evelyn, although he too suffered losses. Of his fourteen children from two marriages, two sons and one daughter died in their infancy. Four of his sons, William, Henry, Thomas and James survived at least into their mid-twenties. Coe's diary, however, is not nearly as rich in detail nor as family orientated as that of Archer, and so many of the more intimate emotions which have been identified in Archer's accounts are lacking in that of Coe.⁹⁵ No comment is made of any of his sons' first pair of breeches, although frequent observation is made of their falls, accidents and mishaps.⁹⁶ Ralph Josselin, who was the vicar of Earls Colne, Essex, for over forty years, saw two of his sons, Thomas and John, reach full maturity. Of the two brothers, only John's first pair of breeches is noted in Josselin's *Diary*. The boy was breeched exactly two weeks after his sixth birthday and it was evidently a moment of pride for Josselin, who wrote, 'John put in breeches, I never saw two sons so clad before'.⁹⁷ So, it can be seen that it was indeed a cause for celebration when sons reached the age at they were to be breeched, as the trials of infancy had been overcome and the first step in the rite of passage was complete.

Conclusion

Will Fisher has argued that boys 'were quite literally a different gender from men during the early modern period'.⁹⁸ If this is true for the depiction of boys in

⁹⁵ See Matthew Storey's introduction to the diary in Coe, *Diary*, pp. 27-37.

⁹⁶ For examples see Coe, *Diary*, 10 December 1711, 13 July 1712, 15 December 1712, 27 January 1714, 18 June 1716, 24 March 1719, 6 April 1720, 29 July 1724, pp. 230, 231, 235, 237, 239, 242-3, 244, 254.

⁹⁷ Josselin, *Diary*, 3 October 1657, p. 407.

⁹⁸ Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard', p. 175.

Renaissance literature, the focus of Fisher's study, it certainly is not true for accounts in prescriptive texts and conduct literature, portraiture and testimonials taken from seventeenth century diarists. Fisher's claim was in part grounded on the arguments put forward by Thomas Laqueur who asserted that early modern male and female bodies were placed along an unfixed axis of degree and not difference.⁹⁹ As was suggested in chapter two above, however, the sliding scale of corporeal distinction comprised only one facet of the early modern belief structure regarding human biology, physiology and anatomical understanding. A much wider spectrum of knowledge was in existence than Laqueur allowed for. It may be the case that some fear existed that boys' bodies could morph into female form, or that boys had a more feminine rather than masculine appearance, but to argue that they were 'a different gender from men' is overstressing the point to the extreme.

Boys, it has been argued here, were placed firmly within the realms of the male sex even from the years of infancy, despite their sexual immaturity. Portraiture, like the literature examined by Fisher, cannot be taken to be representative of all boyhood experience. But, as Cunningham has argued, it is important to separate childhood experience from perceptions of childhood.¹⁰⁰ The perceptions of boyhood examined within this chapter reveal that parents and moralists alike were anxious to ensure the manliness of male offspring and looked for early indicators of their future manhood. Such assurances were just as significant before the age of breeching as after it. It would appear that the traits of manliness were beginning to be learnt by boys whilst they were still very young, to be practised in adolescence and, as chapter four will indicate, such practice continued throughout the years of youth.

⁹⁹ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp. 1-4.

Chapter 4. 'His Emblem is a Goat': Youth¹

They that will honour win must dare to fight.
The choicest of his youth thus spent and gone,
Arriv'd at thirty or at thirty one.²

His wanton Flames are now blown up,
His mind is all on Fire.³

The years which comprised youth have most often been understood and described as the most dangerous period of life for men, and this is true for contemporaries as well as for historians.⁴ It was the time of life demarked by lust, wilfulness, misrule and impatience.⁵ But it was also the period in which the most basic foundations of full manhood were laid out. It was whilst in youth that young men turned their hand to a trade or, for those of higher rank, finished their education.⁶ Male sociability and interaction was fundamental to the years of youth and, as it will be shown drinking, gaming and fighting could form an integral part of a young man's experience of

¹ R. B. *The Vanity of the Life of Man: Represented in the Seven Several Stages Thereof, from His Birth to His Death* (London, 1698), p. 9.

² Anon, *Youths Lookingglass* (London, 1660), p. 9.

³ *The Vanity of the Life of Man: Represented in the Seven Several Stages Thereof, from His Birth to His Death* (London, 1698), p. 11.

⁴ Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 34-40; see also Susan Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', *Past and Present* (1982) no. 95, pp. 37-67.

⁵ Samuel Pomfret, *A Directory for Youth Through all the Difficulties Attending that State of Life: Or a Discourse of Youthful Lusts* (London, 1693); see also Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially chapter 4; Elizabeth Foyster, 'Boys Will Be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800', in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen eds., *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 151-166.

⁶ Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, pp. 147-69, 330-35; Steven Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', *Past and Present* (1973), no. 61, pp. 149-161; Steven Smith, 'The Ideal and Reality: Apprentice-Master Relationships in Seventeenth-Century London', *History of Education Quarterly* (1981), vol. 21:4, pp. 449-459; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), chapter 15.

growing up. And, finally, it was in youth that young men also boasted of their sexual conquests—real or imagined—and began courting women in an attempt to find a wife.⁷ The years of youth were of vital importance in the process of acquiring full manhood, and it was precisely this which made youth such a dangerous stage of life. Whilst it appears that moralists, preachers and parents alike were most anxious that young men worked hard, were pious and sought a suitable woman to marry, it would seem that such often-repeated advice frequently fell on deaf ears.

This chapter will examine the differing ways in which youth was understood during the long seventeenth century. Assessing the extent to which this phase of life was considered to be a preparatory stage in the process of acquiring full manhood will be of chief importance here. Prescriptive literature, and father-son advice books, will be examined in order to explore youth as being primarily a period of training for adulthood. Following on from this, the extent to which youth provided opportunity for young men to assert dictates of manliness which directly contested the patriarchal ideal will be considered. That moralists throughout the period saw fit to lecture against drinking in particular, is suggestive that drunkenness remained problematic across the entire long seventeenth century. Evidence drawn from the secular and ecclesiastical court records of Nottinghamshire will be examined alongside ballads and prescriptive texts in order to establish how far drinking, gaming and fighting formed a particular form of manliness which was in competition with patriarchal manhood. The chapter will then go on to explore male-female relationships, and will consider the significance of courtship and sex to concepts of male identities. An examination of court records and cheap print will be used to suggest that whilst courtship was a serious undertaking, casual sexual encounters could both bolster and

⁷ Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1999), no. 162, pp. 70-100.

undermine a young man's reputation. It is the intention of this chapter to argue that youth, during the early modern period, was understood in terms that both underpinned and undermined the patriarchal order.

Training for Adulthood

Moralists' concern with the instruction and direction of male youth, in particular, was born from the anticipation that a young man should marry, thereby establishing an independent household, father children and work hard to maintain his family. This expectation worked to reinforce the patriarchal ideal. There was little indication within the prescriptive literature directed at male youth to suggest that they would not marry and assume a patriarchal role within society. The time of life when male physiology was at its hottest in humoral terms, and therefore most prone to and encumbered with lust and high spirits, was also the period in which young men needed to rein in their tempers and desires, and begin putting into practice all they had learnt in becoming a man. In many ways, youth was considered to be the most critical stage of life for a man, fraught as it was with danger and difficulties, as it was the period where the most crucial steps towards achieving full manhood were taken.

Much of the prescriptive literature, which took the form of a father's advice to his children, was directed at male youth who were approaching the age when they should have been thinking about setting up their own independent households. Even though such advice books were ostensibly directed towards the author's own children, the very fact they were printed to be sold suggests the intended readership was always beyond that of the immediate family.⁸ The author of the 1678 advice

⁸ See, for example, Henry Massingberd, *The Counsell and Admonition of Henry Massingberd Esq.; to His Children* (London, 1656); Archibald Argyle, *Instructions to a Son by Archibald, Late Marquis of Argyle* (London, 1661); Matthew Hales, *The Father's New-Years-Gift to His Son: Containing Divers*

manual *The Father's Legacy: Or Counsels to his Children in Three Parts*, which was licensed by Roger L'Estrange, openly stated that although the book was addressed to his sons he was writing for a far wider readership. The author explained his intentions for the work in the preface, writing, 'it shall be in this place then, Reader, where I make no difference betwixt thy Son and mine'.⁹ It is possible that such advice manuals were not actually intended for the children of the authors, but that addressing them as such was a technique for encouraging more sales, much like the 'true story' performances of ballads identified by Natascha Würzbach.¹⁰ On the other hand, such texts could be examples of those private works of advice, admonition and counsel that entered the public domain through printing, which Martyn Bennett has described to be 'crossing the boundary of manuscript and published text'.¹¹ Nevertheless, the directions given in this type of prescriptive literature always served the same purpose: to instruct young men in the ways and means to properly conduct themselves throughout their lifetime.

There were also those texts which were primarily concerned with piety—mostly written by clergymen—that insisted upon religious devotion, particularly during the years of youth. Since many of these types of text were printed during the 1680s, they are perhaps evidence more of political commentary than one specifically

Useful and Necessary Directions How to Order Himself Both in Respect to this Life and that Which is to Come (London, 1685).

⁹ Anon, *The Father's Legacy: Or Counsels to his Children in Three Parts* (London, 1678), sig. B₃.

¹⁰ Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹¹ Martyn Bennett, 'Gender and Education in the Early Modern Period', *Defining Gender, 1450-1910* (Adam Matthew Publications, 2003); further examples of such include Dorothy Leigh, *The Mother's Blessing: or, the Godly Counsaile of a Gentle-woman, Not Long Deceased, Left Behind For Her Children* (London, 1629); Elizabeth Jocelyn, *The Mother's Legacy to Her Unborne Childe* (3rd edn. London, 1625).

concerning the lack of morality amongst the youth of the later seventeenth century.¹² However, even if this is the case, because such works were directed primarily toward a youthful audience, it is highly suggestive that this particular stage of life was open to influence—both good and bad—and needed to be directed by more senior and authoritative persons. So, common to the conduct books directed at youth was the expectation that young men would marry and form their own ‘little commonwealth’. As a result, the advice that was given was focussed on all aspects of life, both public and private. Sons were counselled on speech, dress, conduct, choosing a spouse, raising their own children, proper treatment of servants, making friends and avoiding bad company, work, reading, piety, eating and drinking and a whole range of other behaviour besides.¹³ The chief factor underlying such advice was the importance of acquiring and maintaining a good reputation, which was central to both prescriptions of manhood and manliness.

If Alexandra Shepard’s reading of father-son advice books of the earlier half of the seventeenth century is correct, wherein she claimed that the key to achieving

¹² Thomas Vincent, *The Good Work Begun in the Day of Grace, with the Addition of a Cautionary Letter, Sent Unto Some Youths by an Unknown Author* (London, 1673); Samuel Peck, *The Best Way to Mend the World, and to Prevent the Growth of Popery: by Perswading the Rising Generation to an Elderly and Serious Practice of Piety* (London, 1680); Henry Hesketh, *The Importance of Religion to Young Persons Represented in a Sermon* (London, 1683); Christopher Ness, *A Spiritual Legacy: Being a Pattern of Piety for all Young Persons Practice* (London, 1684); A. Tompkins, *A Few Words of Counsel and Advice to all the Sons and Daughters of Men; More Especially to the Children of Believers* (London, 1687); Samuel Pomfret, *A Sermon Preach’d to Young People* (London, 1698); Anon, *Serious Advice and Directions to all, Especially to Young People, How They May Hear and Read the Word of God* (Edinburgh, 1700).

¹³ See, for example, Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour, Or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men* (London, 1646), which discusses such issues as good conversation, how to properly address others, table manners and walking; John Dunton, *The Knowledge of the World: Or the Art of Well Educating Youth, Through the Various Conditions of Life* (London, 1694), which is primarily concerned with the importance of education and on choosing a tutor.

manhood was balance, then this is one aspect of conduct literature which remained constant throughout the entire long seventeenth century.¹⁴ The words of Henry Massingberd, ‘a middle condition renders man most happy’, seem to be particularly pertinent here.¹⁵ In 1649, the advice of Edward Burton to his only son counselled that a balanced life was a godly life, and he further asserted that ‘thou must bridle and breake thy will in many things, if thou wilt live a quiet life’.¹⁶ Archibald Argyle’s instruction to his son, printed posthumously in 1661, also promoted balance when he cautioned ‘be not offended at every injury, wink sometimes at your wrong, but beware of unnecessary revenges’.¹⁷ Argyle’s instructions are interesting too, because those directed to his eldest son and those ‘to the rest of his children’ were made separately, the indication being that the eldest son was in need of a more pointed tutoring concerning all aspects of life than that of his younger siblings. Indeed, ‘the rest of his children’ were told ‘to your Eldest Brother, who is the Prince of your Family, shew your selves obedient and loving; he is my substitute, your honour is bound up in his’.¹⁸ Such a statement is reminiscent of the depiction of protection within boyhood portraiture which was discussed in chapter three above.

Henry Hales’s *New-Years-Gift to His Son*, printed in 1685, also proclaimed balance to be necessary during the years of youth. It was his contention ‘that you ought to be very moderate in your Eating, Drinking, Sleeping and Recreations’, because moderation was a lesson in self-government.¹⁹ Self-government, above all

¹⁴ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 30-38.

¹⁵ Massingberd, *The Counsell and Admonition of Henry Massingberd*, p. 131.

¹⁶ Edward Burton, *The Father’s Legacy: Or Burton’s Collections* (London, 1649), p. 32.

¹⁷ Argyle, *Instructions to a Son*, p. 16.

¹⁸ For the instructions ‘To His Other Children’ see Argyle, *Instructions to a Son*, pp. 20-28, quotation p. 22.

¹⁹ Hales, *The Father’s New-Years-Gift to His Son*, p. 40.

else, was what enabled men in full manhood not only to maintain their jurisdiction over all their social and familial inferiors, but to justify such authority too. Strength of reason, which was the cornerstone of self-governance and the governing of others, provided the foundation on which patriarchal authority was built. It was essential to the continuance of the social order that male youths, particularly those of noble birth or wealth, learnt how to control themselves, their tempers and their lusts. Moreover, it was crucial that these lessons were taught whilst in youth to be mastered later whilst in manhood. And, furthermore, it can be seen that the dictates of the early seventeenth century still carried weight almost a century later. In the year 1697, the anonymous tract *A Word in Season, Or An Essay to Promote Good-Husbandry in Hard and Difficult Times*, which was only sixteen pages in length, dedicated seven of these to recounting and synopsising some of the guidance from William Cecil's father-son advice book of 1611.²⁰ That such advice was repeated and reprinted at the very end of the seventeenth century is highly suggestive of the permanence of moderation and self-government to the precepts of manhood and manliness.

Reputation, the opinion of others and the inward perception of the self as a means of pious self-knowing, vied for prominence within the conduct literature directed at male youth, both father-son advice and otherwise. Every aspect of a man's life could play a role in building his character or 'good name'.²¹ Central to the

²⁰ Anon, *A Word in Season, Or An Essay to Promote Good-Husbandry in Hard and Difficult Times: Being, in Part, Advice From a Gentleman to His Son a Tradesmen in London* (London, 1697); cf. William Cecil, *The Counsell of a Father to His Sonne, in Ten Severall Precepts* (London, 1611), cited in Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 35.

²¹ On the importance of a good name and, consequently, credit see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapters 6, 7; Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580-1640', *Past and Present* (2000), no. 167, pp. 75-106. For female reputation see Laura Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal* (1993), vol. 35, pp. 1-21; compare with Garthine Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern

advice given to male youth is a sense of an instillation of, and an insistence upon, the concepts of order, place and hard work. So, for example, advice manuals instructed young men on how to choose a good wife, and on the importance of not being idle. The conduct book *Advice of a Father*, which was printed for Brabazon Aylmer in 1688, counselled that marriage was the most important transaction of life, but that it was also the one most given to chance, claiming that,

it being impossible to perceive the imperfections of either person, till experience hath made way for bitter Repentance, in other things we try before we buy, but here we are forced to take all on trust.²²

This fatherly counsel goes on to instruct the best ways to avoid a bad marriage, stressing in particular, that ‘a bad woman can never make a good wife’, to ‘choose rather by the ear, than by the eye’, and, ‘marry not one too much above thee in birth.’ The latter advice was particularly important as a woman born of higher rank would ‘prove thy mistress, or expect it ... to whom you become a servant, if not a slave’.²³ It was also, according to the *Advice of a Father*, not wise to marry a woman much below your own status, again highlighting that ‘middle of the road’ tract which would lead to full manhood.²⁴ Conversely, the advice book *The Office of Christian parents*, printed in Cambridge in 1616, was less concerned with the status or wealth

England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 235-245; and Faramerz Dabhoiwala, ‘The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 201-213.

²² Brabazon Aylmer, *The Advice of a Father, Or, Counsel to a Child, directing Him how to demean Himself in the most important passages of this Life* (London, 1688), pp. 29-35, quotation p. 30.

²³ Aylmer, *The Advice of a Father*, pp. 31, 32, 33.

²⁴ Aylmer, *The Advice of a Father*, pp. 30-35.

of potential marriage partners, than with their piety.²⁵ However, as it will be discussed below, counsel on the care needed in choosing a wife was not contained only to advice literature: broadside ballads, too, could offer young men both useful instruction and direction in making such a choice, and also provide warnings of the consequences of a bad decision.

Warnings made against idleness were double-edged.²⁶ Firstly, being idle led to a possible negligence of household and work duties, and secondly, it had the potential to lead to greater sins and immoralities.²⁷ There is a stressed importance on being honest and hard working, but also on not working for nothing. This point is made repeatedly throughout the *Advice of a Father*, wherein it is advised to ensure labour provided reward:

It is a poor Trade that will not pay a mans pains; he hath little enough that only lives by his labour; and it is very hard, if two hands cannot maintain back and belly; it is a beggerly blaze, that is not worth the blowing.²⁸

Working from dawn till dusk was the most profitable and most proper use of time. Idleness not only jeopardised the family economy, it also allowed more time for immoral pursuits and leisure. Indeed, Isaac Archer's recollection of his own youth

²⁵ Anon, *The Office of Christian Parents Shewing How Children are to be Governed Throughout All Ages and Times of Their Life* (Cambridge, 1616), pp. 201-03.

²⁶ For masterless young people see, Paul Griffiths, 'Masterless Young People in Norwich, 1560-1645', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle eds., *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 146-186.

²⁷ See, for example, Anon, *A Short Testimony From Some of Those that are Come to the Obedience of the Gospel* (London, 1677); Keach, B., *War with the Devil: Or the Young Mans Conflict with the Powers of Darkness* (London, 1675); Richard Kidder, *The Young Mans Duty* (London, 1671); Younge, R., *Armour of Proof, Or a Sovereign Antidote, Against the Contagion of Evil Company* (London, 1664).

²⁸ Aylmer, *The Advice of a Father*, p. 133

was filled with the perception, and regret, that he had wasted his youthful years in idle pursuits in part due to the company he had kept.²⁹ The author of *The Father's Legacy* counseled his sons not to waste their time spending their money and their reputation playing games such as chess, dice, table and card games. According to the 'father', chess consumed the mind and pitted one man against another, glorifying the winner, and shaming the loser. Dice was a game for losers, thieves and blasphemers. Table and card games were, according to *The Father's Legacy*, of a lesser danger, requiring both skill and luck. Here, it was not the game but the cheating which the 'father' cautioned against.³⁰ Drunkenness, swearing, keeping bad company and, to a lesser extent fighting, were all lectured against in the conduct advice literature directed at male youth. However, as it will be discussed below, such activity was undertaken by male youth (and those of full manhood).

As this chapter will go on to discuss, there seems to be a discord between the dictates of male behaviour as laid out in prescriptive texts, which worked to bolster patriarchy, and the bravado of youthfulness, which was in need of constant check by moralists and parents alike. In each of the examples of conduct manuals directed at male youth, the advice was offered with the intention of instructing young men how best to achieve and maintain a good reputation. A bad choice of wife could render a man open to criticism, mockery and worse if she was a scold, physically abusive or an adulteress. Idleness tempted immoral behaviour, such as gaming and gambling, which spent credit, both monetary and repute. The importance placed on reputation, or good worth, is highlighted particularly in *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Greenhead*, wherein the entire final section is entitled 'A Discourse on the worth of a good

²⁹ Archer, *Diary*, 1648-9, 1650-2, 1651-3, 1655-6, pp. 46, 48, 50.

³⁰ Anon, *The Father's Legacy*, pp. 137-39.

name'.³¹ Learning the appropriate conduct to accomplish and preserve credit was learning how to become a man, and it was fathers who provided these lessons.

Male Bonding: Drinking , Playing and Fighting

Drunkenness, it can be argued, was a primary method in which a man could damage his own claim to manhood. This is indeed one of the pastimes warned against by Archibald Argyle in the advice to his son, writing 'give not your mind to company or drinking' because 'this will presently bestialize you'. He went on, 'A Drunkard! I cannot name it without abhorrence, if it devest you of your nature, it will not leave you a spark of Honour, but sink your Estate'.³² For Argyle, drunkenness not only reduced a man to be no better than a beast, but it would also discredit an honourable reputation and could ruin a man's estate. It is possible that the word 'estate' here has a double connotation, meaning both a man's wealth as well as his status of full manhood.³³ Seventeen years later, in 1678, the advice tract *The Father's Legacy* cautioned that alcohol consumption caused a 'shipwreck of the mind'.³⁴ In 1688, the author of the advice manual *Advice of a Father*, suggested that an excess of liquor precipitated a man to 'unman himself'.³⁵ And in 1697, the gentleman author of the short tract *A Word in Season* advised his son to 'banish drunkenness out of your

³¹ Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs, for a Greenhead, or, the Fathers Counsel to His Son, An Apprentice in London* (London, 1671), pp. 175-209.

³² Argyle, *Instructions to a Son*, pp. 109-10.

³³ See Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapter 2.

³⁴ Anon, *The Father's Legacy*, p. 31.

³⁵ Aylmer, *The Advice of a Father*, p. 86.

Houses, and affect him not that is in love with it; for it is a Vice that impairs the Health, consumes wealth, and transforms Man into a Beast'.³⁶

Concerned parents acting in the capacity of moralists, it can be seen, urged their children against the evils of drinking. Drunkenness, it was thought, constituted the primary method by which a man could damage his own claim to full manhood. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that whilst drunk a man was more likely to participate in other deviant acts. One extreme example of how drink could incite more serious crimes is in the ballad *The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas*.³⁷ Here, William had a propensity to drink, behaviour which his mother repeatedly entreated him to quit as she claimed it would lead to worse sins. The mother, it seems, chided her son's behaviour a little too often. William, whose reason was blinded by drink and rage, drew a knife which he intended to use on his mother. The mother whilst on her knees begged for her life claiming that she had only ever scorned his behaviour because she loved him. William, however, is unmoved, 'with hel's prepared knife, I quickly wounded her to death from whom I had my life'.³⁸ It is only after William murdered his mother that he saw the ills of his conduct and the evils of drinking. Unfortunately, in this case, drunkenness led to the death of two people: the mother who was murdered and the son who was hanged for the crime. And so William, in his grief, offered advice to other drinkers:

All you that take delight in this abhorred vice,

³⁶ Anon, *A Word in Season*, p. 3; for other examples see Alexandra Shepard, "Swil-bols and Tos-pots': Drink Culture and Male Bonding in England, c.1560-1640', in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin eds., *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 110-130, especially pp. 114-16.

³⁷ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, 'The Woeful Lamentation of William Purcas' (1601-1630), pp. 29-35.

³⁸ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, 'The Woeful Lamentation', p. 33.

The end of it come finde of me, and learne to be more wise.³⁹

Not all drunkenness led to such extreme criminal behaviour, but there does appear to be concern within popular ballads that drinking could lead to other base behaviour, such as keeping lewd company who further encouraged the habit.⁴⁰

Similar to the prescriptions laid out in the advice manuals discussed above, ballads, such as *Youth's Warning Piece*, are sometimes offered as advice to male youth to maintain restraint on their behaviour whilst still young and single.⁴¹ This particular ballad is centred on an example of a young man, Will Rogers, who was very religious, and after receiving a good education became an apothecary by trade. So good was Will at his work that after just three years he earned two hundred pounds a year. The narrator of the ballad claimed that Will demonstrated behaviour that would have made him a good man,

All these were hopeful blossomes in a youth,
That in their season might good fruits have prov'd,
And caus'e him to have lived in good fame,
And dyed in the credit of his house and name.⁴²

However, Will did not grow to be manly as the narrator suggested. He was so bewitched by his money that he skirted his job, and his Church, to participate in drinking and keeping lewd company. When he was implored by the pastor to relinquish his sinful behaviour, Will scorned him to the point that he was

³⁹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, 'The Woeful Lamentation', p. 34.

⁴⁰ See, for example, *Bagford*, vol. I, 'The Joviall Crew' (1660-63), pp. 195-199; *Roxburghe B*, vol. II, 'Good Ale for My Money' (after 1636), 'A Health to All Good Fellows', 'The Industrious Smith' (after 1637), 'The Kind Beleeving Hostess', 'Little Barley Corn' (1632), 'Robin Good Fellow' (1675), pp. 30-35, 68-72, 94-101, 146-51, 312-17, 378-83,

⁴¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, 'Youth's Warning Piece' (1636), pp. 1-5.

⁴² *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, 'Youth's Warning Piece', p. 3.

excommunicated from the parish. On becoming ill, Will had a vision that when he died he would go to Hell, and this tormented him so much that he did indeed die. Thus the ballad warns against drinking and keeping lewd company,

To take warning by his fearful fall
Of all leud company, and drinking too,
Which alwayes are the harbegers of woe.⁴³

It is not made clear in the ballad whether the company Will kept, who aided in his downfall, were men or women or both. Although it is more likely to have been a group of men, as most drinkers found company in ‘good fellows’.

It is evident that self-mastery was important to notions of both manhood and manliness throughout the long seventeenth century. How far the exploits of drunken youths presented in popular literature were social commentary of reality cannot be judged here. And, as Lyndal Roper has argued, it would be unwise to see any historical sources as ‘simple reflections of ‘reality’’.⁴⁴ It is possible that this type of behaviour articulated real fears of the English public.⁴⁵ In a century which witnessed the breakdown of social order and the destruction and re-forming of the traditional forms of authority and power, such as the monarchy, Church and governmental structure, it is hardly surprising to find moralist polemics in both prescriptive texts and popular literature. Tales of foolish and drunken men, whether real or imagined, are communicative of the alarm felt towards the possibility that the world was being turned upside down. It was the fear of an upturned world which drove the husband in the ballad *Advice to Bachelors* to warn all young men never to become a ‘cuckold,

⁴³ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, ‘Youth’s Warning Piece’, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (New York: London: Routledge, 1994), quotation p. 161.

⁴⁵ Peter Clark, ‘The Alehouse and the Alternative Society’, in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 45-72.

fool and sot', all of which being forms of behaviour that could discredit a man's claim to manhood.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, drinking remained a fundamental part of male sociability and interaction throughout the long seventeenth century.⁴⁷ It will be seen in chapter five that this was just as true for men in adulthood as it was for men in their youth. Lynn Martin has argued that drinking was central to male relationships throughout the late medieval and early modern period.⁴⁸ Ronald Hutton, too, has suggested that the church ale was a festive community event which was revived and suppressed periodically during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Drinking was an important form of communal and familial conviviality on the Continent too. Ann Tlusty has suggested that drinking was not excluded from an ordered family life and that, even after the Reformation, drunkenness was rarely treated as a spiritual issue, despite polemicists' continued attacks on the sin of drinking.⁵⁰ In addition, Benjamin Roberts has argued that drinking was an integral part of the social life of both men and women in early modern Holland.⁵¹ There is little reason to assume, then, that drinking was any less important to male sociability in England during the long seventeenth century, than it was for other parts of the Continent during the same period. In fact, as Alexandra Shepard's work has suggested, drinking rituals were central to male camaraderie, which directly contested patriarchal dictates of

⁴⁶ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'Advice to Bachelors, Or a Married Man's Lamentation', pp. 376-381.

⁴⁷ Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, chapter 5.

⁴⁸ A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), especially chapters 3, 4.

⁴⁹ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 70-1, 99-100, 113-14, 138-42.

⁵⁰ B. Ann Tlusty, 'Drinking, Family Relations, and Authority in Early Modern Germany', *Journal of Family History* (2004), vol. 29:3, pp. 253-273.

⁵¹ Benjamin Roberts, 'Drinking Like a Man: The Paradox of Excessive Drinking for Seventeenth-Century Dutch Youths', *Journal of Family History* (2004), vol. 29:3, pp. 237-252.

normative or full manhood.⁵² Despite the continued polemics against drinking which remained current throughout the entire early modern period, tentative evidence drawn from the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts would seem to suggest that, for male youth at least, the problems of gaming and misrule, fighting and bastard-bearing—which will be discussed later—were far more pressing.⁵³

There were occasions within the court records examined in which drinking and playing converged. Often, as chapter five below will reveal, these cases involved men of householding status who saw fit to entertain guests, companions, acquaintances and sometimes strangers, rather than attend church. The youth of Nottinghamshire were seen by the courts to be in need of both protection and direction. So, John Meredew appeared before the church courts in March 1584, charged with ‘allurige yonge people to the Alehouse at inconvenient tymes in service tyme’ and for such a moral offence he was excommunicated.⁵⁴ No mention of the youths concerned appears in the records and so it can be assumed they avoided formal sanction, possibly regarded more as victims than perpetrators. Later that same month though, Meredew was admitted back into the parish fold as he pleaded guilty to the charge, and was ordered to acknowledge his fault in the church.⁵⁵ This case does call attention to the perception held by moralists, which was discussed above, that men and women in their youth were susceptible to both good and bad

⁵² Shepard, ‘Swil-bolls and Tos-pots’, pp. 110-130.

⁵³ See, for example, John Downame, *Foure Treatises, Tending to Diswade all Christians from Foure no Lesse Hainous then Common Sinnes* (London, 1608); Thomas Young, *England’s Bane: Or the Description of Drunkenesse* (London, 1617); Anon, *The Drunkards Character* (London, 1646); Anon, *The Great Sins of Drunkenness and Gluttony Set Forth* (London, 1656); Andrew Jones, *The Dreadful Character of a Drunkard: Or, the Most Odious and Beastly Sin of Drunkenness Described and Condemned* (10th edn. London, 1663); Matthew Scrivener, *A Treatise Against Drunkenesse* (London, 1685); Anon, *Sot’s Paradise* (London, 1698).

⁵⁴ NAO, M461, 7 March 1583-4, p. 54(-41).

⁵⁵ NAO, M461, 21 March 1583-4, p. 54(-41).

influence and needed to be directed in good behaviour. It is also demonstrative of the opinion that youthful misrule and misdirection needed to be curbed.

John Gibson, and eleven others, appeared before the archdeaconry court in May 1613 'for playinge at Shovel a board in tyme of divine service'. Gibson admitted the charge and further admitted 'that he was in the alehouse in tyme of divine service upon a Sundaye about Lent laste paste'. For this offence he was to pay sixpence to the poor of the parish.⁵⁶ It would appear that the real cause behind this charge was because of the time at which such playing occurred, and not because of the game itself unless, of course, it involved gambling and money. Gambling was a particularly dangerous pursuit for male youth, as it directly contravened the principle of thriftiness and, moreover, could waste credit when there was none to spend.⁵⁷ As Paul Griffiths has observed, games for children were 'discarded for rough play at football, cudgels, wrestling, dancing, and so on' in youth. He further claimed that the 'physical strength, which was paraded in bouts of fighting, taunting, aggressive language, vandalism and posturing was one aspect of a developing sense of manhood'.⁵⁸ Perhaps it is in these terms which the court cases directed against playing and drinking should be considered.

Robert Mee admitted in October 1618 'that he was absent from divine service upon a Saboath day & in companie with morris dauncers since Whitsundaye laste

⁵⁶ NAO, M462, 5 May 1613, p. 325.

⁵⁷ John Budden, *A Discourse for Parents Honour, and Authority over Their Children* (London, 1614), p. 58; *Roxburghe*, vol. II, part 1, 'A Most Notable Example of an Ungracious Son' (1586), pp. 74-79; see also Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 212; Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', pp. 75-106. For ballads on thriftiness see *Roxburghe*, vol. I, part 1, 'The Usurer and the Spendthrift' (1638), pp. 129-136; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Careful Wife's Good Counsel', pp. 478-480; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Caveat for Young Men: Or, the Bad Husband Turn'd Thrifty' (1675?), pp. 518-521.

⁵⁸ Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, p. 136; see also Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, chapter 5.

paste'. He was ordered to do penance and warned to pay the courts fees and, when he refused to do so, he was excommunicated.⁵⁹ In 1626, William Cooke of Worksop was charged with 'playing at Stoleball & drinking in prayer tyme', whilst in 1634 Thomas Tonge, William White, George Sturton, Robert Deeds and Denis Barnbye of Sturton, were all accused of 'ringing on the Sabboath, for playing at football in the Church yarde'.⁶⁰ The group alleged that 'they stood by in the Church Yarde while others did play and some tymes as the ball came towards them they did strike it'.⁶¹ Appearing before the archdeaconry court on the same day as Tonge and his cohort were John Bingham and William Barnbye—possibly a relation of Denis Barnbye listed above—for 'playing at foote ball and fighting in the Church Yarde'. Bingham and Barnbye alleged 'that they did not fight in the Church Yarde but they played there and in playing the said Bingham's nose fell a bleeding of its owne accorde'. Both men were to acknowledge their fault, as were Tonge and the others.⁶² It can be seen that a certain amount of rough-housing, fighting or wrestling was a common activity for male youth during the early modern period, and often it is not so much the violence which is frowned upon by the courts, but where this took place. Each of the cases cited here were only brought to the attention of the authorities because the dancing, playing and alleged fighting occurred at times when the perpetrators should have been in church, or because they took place in the church yard. The supposed violence between the young men was not the central issue.

Violence has now long since formed the subject of debate for historians. Of particular concern is the ability—or not—to identify a civilising process as the early

⁵⁹ NAO, M463, 31 October 1618, p. 389.

⁶⁰ NAO, M463, 1 August 1626, 18 January 1634, pp. 433, 479.

⁶¹ NAO, M463, 18 January 1633-4, p. 479.

⁶² NAO, M463, 18 January 1633-4, p. 480.

modern period unfolded.⁶³ However, one of the chief critiques of the earliest works was the applicability of homicide as representative of violence *per se*.⁶⁴ More recently, the focus of historians has shifted with considerations of domestic violence becoming ever prevalent.⁶⁵ Marital violence could work to undermine a man's reputation, but violence in the form of fighting and brawling, as Foyster's work on manhood has demonstrated, could provide one of the necessary components of being a man during the early modern period. A fight provided a quick, definite and often public redress of matters concerning male honour, and 'refusal to fight could render a man open to mockery and insult.'⁶⁶ When, in September 1580, Thomas Poole and

⁶³ Lawrence Stone, 'Interpersonal Violence in English Society, 1300-1980', *Past and Present* (1983), no. 101, pp. 22-33; Sharpe, J., 'The History of Violence in England: Some Observations', *Past and Present* (1985), no. 108, pp. 206-215; Lawrence Stone, 'A Rejoinder', *Past and Present* (1985), no. 108, pp. 216-224; Cockburn, J. S., 'Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent, 1560-1985', *Past and Present* (1991), no. 130, pp. 70-106.

⁶⁴ Susan Amussen, 'Punishment, Discipline and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* (1995), vol. 34:1, pp. 1-34; see also Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 32-9.

⁶⁵ Russell Dobash and R. Emerson Dobash, 'Community Response to Violence Against Wives: Charivari, Abstract Justice and Patriarchy', *Social Problems* (1981), vol. 28:5, pp. 563-581; Foyster, 'Male Honour, Social Control and Wife Beating in Late Stuart England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 215-224; Emily Detmer, 'Civilizing Subordination: Domestic Violence and the Taming of the Shrew', *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1997), vol. 48:3, pp. 273-294; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, 'Domestic Violence Prosecuted: Women Binding Over Their Husbands for Assault at Westminster Quarter Sessions, 1685-1720', *Journal of Family History* (2001), vol. 26:4, pp. 434-454; Jessica Warner and Allyson Lunny, 'Marital Violence in a Martial Town: Husbands and Wives in Early Modern Portsmouth, 1653-1781', *Journal of Family History* (2003), vol. 28:2, pp. 258-276; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially chapter 6; Bailey, 'I dye [sic] by Inches': Locating Wife Beating in the Concept of a Privatization of Marriage and Violence in Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History* (2006), vol. 31:3, pp. 273-294.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 177-81, quotation p. 178; see also Foyster, *Marital Violence*, pp. 32-39; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapter 5. On the decline of public male violence see

Alexander Dyckinson of Tollerton were both charged ‘for fighting and quareling in the churchyard’, Poole swore that the said Dickinson ‘dyd strike him in the Church yard [and] that bloud dyd gush out of his nose’, but both men were excommunicated for the fight.⁶⁷ Thomas Wyldman who pleaded guilty to fighting in the Churchyard with Thomas Hasleby was likewise excommunicated because Hasleby had died as a result of the fight. Later, though, his punishment was reduced and he was ordered to give three shillings and fourpence to the poorbox—which is still a fairly sizeable amount of money in 1583.⁶⁸ Ambrose Hollitt and William Hallam of Newarke were both presented before the church court in May 1631 for ‘fightinge in the Church yarde’. Only Hollitt appeared to answer the charge and claimed that ‘he did not fight but only wrestle and fall with him the said Hallam in the church yard being thereunto provoked by his ill wordes’, and for this he was ordered to acknowledge his fault in front of the Church wardens—a relatively mild punishment.⁶⁹ In each of these cases it seems likely that the men involved were only brought before the ecclesiastical courts because the fighting took place in the Churchyard, and not for the actual fights themselves. There is also the suggestion within these cases that fighting was seen as an appropriate response by men in order to uphold their good name.⁷⁰ There is little suggestion that the actual occurrence of fighting would damage a man’s reputation.

Robert Shoemaker, ‘Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740’, in Hitchcock, T. and Cohen, M. eds., *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 133-151; Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London’, *Social History* (2001), vol. 26:2, pp. 190-208; ‘The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London 1660-1800’ *The Historical Journal* (2002), vol. 45:3, pp. 525-545

⁶⁷ NAO, M461, 28 September 1580, p. 54(-11).

⁶⁸ NAO, M461, 25 January 1583-4, p. 54(-39).

⁶⁹ NAO, M463, 25 May 1631, p. 465.

⁷⁰ The fight which takes place in the ballad ‘The Courageous Plow-man’ works to restore the honour of an entire community, as well as that of the victor; see *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘The Courageous

In fact, fighting could be expected and justified almost as normal behaviour for men and boys. Charles Wright and James Hiblynne were both accused of ‘scowlding upon the Sabboath daye as they went home from prayers’. They both alleged ‘that they did not scowld but the saide Wrighte did only tell Hiblynne seeing his childe unhappy and beating another boy did bid the father keepe him nearer or give him better instruction’; both men were dismissed with a warning.⁷¹ Richard Flinton of Newark, was excommunicated ‘for beating one Gilbert Hinton with a Cudgel in the Church in sermon tyme’, but his punishment was in all probability more a result of his failure to attend the hearing rather than because of the act itself.

In some cases, violence could be considered to be the only response available to a man. A case in point is that of Robert Girton of Newark who, in March 1631, was accused of ‘fightinge in the Church yarde the 4th daye of February last’ with Stephen Levers. Girton alleged ‘that as he came through the Church Yarde one evening by the said Levers doore he heard a great noyse and some body crye murder &c. & he going to see what the matter was the said Levers & his wife came and beate him and he did but only defende him selfe’ and in witness of the truth of his allegation he produced letters from the venerable gentleman John Moseley, the vicar there. The case against Girton was dismissed; however, no charge to answer was ever brought before Stephen Levers or his wife.⁷² From this it is possible to argue that Girton’s real crime was interfering in the marital and domestic affairs of another man, and presumably that is why both man and wife attacked Robert Girton. The

Plow-man’, pp. 613-615; see also Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, pp. 113-17; Susan Amussen, “‘The Part of a Christian Man’: The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England”, in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 213-233, especially pp. 219-222.

⁷¹ NAO, M463, 24 November 1629, p. 449.

⁷² NAO, M463, 3 March 1631-2, p. 469.

courts, as well as the vicar, considered Girton's act of violence to be a measure suitable enough to defend himself and his reputation.

That moralists throughout the period were concerned to curb the behaviour of male youth and redirect their energies, high spirits and humoral heat toward more beneficial and moral pursuits suggests that some, if not most, young men continued to participate in activities of misrule, which contravened the principles of patriarchy. The authors of conduct literature, and father-son advice books, regurgitated the same words of counsel which trumpeted that moderation in all things was the route toward achieving manhood. Such works could be tomes of two or three hundred pages in length, or much shorter tracts of only tens of pages, meaning that the central messages of moderation, balance, hard work and piety could reach a relatively wide-ranging audience. Moreover, similar attitudes were presented in broadside ballads, which were much cheaper and far more widespread than advice manuals, allowing for the possibility that patriarchal prescriptions were laid out and asserted on a potentially universal scale. Nevertheless, what is clear is that despite the attempts of authorities, moralists and parents youthful misrule was to be expected. Young men, debarred from normative or full manhood, exerted their manliness through drinking, playing and fighting, which directly contested patriarchal dictates. In addition to such male camaraderie, sexual conquest was also of central importance to the notions of manliness for male youth.

Courtship and Sex

Impotence, as a consequence of consuming too much alcohol, was recognised and cautioned against by seventeenth century moralists and advice books writers: 'too much liquor will put out the fire' was the euphemistic warning adopted by one such

author.⁷³ Sexual inadequacy was to be avoided at all costs. In addition to the conviviality of drinking and game playing, and the bravado which could be flaunted through acts of violence, sexual prowess provided a further foundation on which male youth could demonstrate their manliness. For married men in full adulthood virility was evidenced through the conception, birth and rearing of healthy children. For bachelors, sexual prowess was demonstrated through casual sexual encounters with young maids. The pursuit of such exploits needed to be undertaken with care: whilst bragging of sexual experiences might impress other like-minded male youth, it was not likely to impress possible female suitors. Moreover, in an age when the most common method of contraception was *coitus interruptus*, a gamble of sex out of wedlock was bastard-bearing, which could damage a man's credit in all respects.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, there was an expectation that men should be sexually consummate, and this can be identified by an examination of ballads, which were explicitly concerned with promoting the necessity for a man to be sexually potent.

The maid in the ballad *A Pleasant New Ballad* was not, for example, plain talking when she asked of the tailor,

‘Is this your yard?’ Quoth she, ‘Is this your tailor’s measure?
It is too short for me, it is not standard measure’.⁷⁵

It was not the tailor's measuring stick which the maid was interested in here. It was, instead, his penis that was too short and so, for this maid at least, size did matter. The bachelor in the ballad *The Comber's Whistle* had better fortune in being able to

⁷³ Aylmer, *The Father's Advice*, p. 86.

⁷⁴ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Explored Further* (London: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2001 edn), p. 117.

⁷⁵ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘A Merry Discourse Between a Country Lass and a Young Taylor’, pp. 604-06, quotation p. 606.

satisfy a young and lonely maid, whom he met whilst out walking one day.⁷⁶ After overhearing the maid lament over retaining her virginity the bachelor gladly offered his ‘services’, which were also recounted in euphemism,

Then he pull’d forth his whistle and plaid a note or two;
The maid she was so over-joy’d, she knew not what to do.⁷⁷

There is an expectation within the ballads that bachelors would have a knowledge and an ability to perform sexually. However, in being able to master such skills, male youth were often deceitful towards young maids, perhaps even promising matrimony in order to persuade reluctant partners.⁷⁸

The ballad, *The Maiden’s Tragedy*, conveys the message that women should strive to keep their chastity intact. Here, the maid consented to have pre-marital sexual relations with her lover, who had promised not to leave her once they had had sex. Unfortunately for the maid, her lover proved to be inconstant and left her soon after intercourse,

I courted was, both day and night, at length I gave consent;
This done, my love he strait did slight, and leaves me to lament,
As if he took delight to see mine eyes like fountains flow;
Oh! most ungrateful man, said she Love proves my overthrow.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘The Comber’s Whistle’, pp. 564-07.

⁷⁷ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘The Comber’s Whistle’, pp. 566.

⁷⁸ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, ‘The Maiden’s Complaint of her Love’s Inconstancie’, pp. 96-100; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, ‘Chastities Conquest; Or, No Trusting Before Marriage’, pp. 497-499; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘Your Humble Servant Madam’, pp. 576-578; For men who promised marriage and actually went through with it see *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘Joy and Sorrow Mixt Together’ (after 1668), pp. 509-511; *Roxburghe*, ‘Come to it Last’ (1684), pp. 537-540; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘Coy Jenny and Constant Jemmy’ (1675), pp. 541-543.

⁷⁹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, ‘The Maiden’s Tragedy’, pp. 356-362, quotation p. 357.

The grief-stricken maid can think of no other escape from her misery than to take her own life, whereupon she slits her throat. However, when the lover hears of the tragedy he is overcome by sorrow, not only because of her death, but also because it was his deceitfulness which had caused it. The lover is so much tormented by his own guilt and also by the spirit of the maid who haunts him that he too kills himself. This ballad, then, as well as presenting chastity as a prescriptive ideal of womanhood, reveals that deceitful conduct was not acceptable behaviour for men. In addition, because both parties committed suicide, it is possible to argue that deceitfulness could instigate as much ruin for a man as pre-marital sexual activity could for a woman.

As the example above has demonstrated, ballads that appear to be outlining prescriptions of female behaviour can often uncover clues which hint at prescriptive and deviant male conduct. It is interesting to note, however, that in the ballad discussed it was the deeds of dishonesty and deceit which were shown to be negative conduct for men and not the sexually promiscuous acts they were involved in. This could be suggestive that sexual activity out of wedlock had a lesser consequence within manhood than it did in womanhood, and therefore such an example could be used to support the idea that a sexual double standard existed during the seventeenth century.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1959), vol. 20:2, pp. 195-216; Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult', pp. 1-21; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Gowing, 'Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 225-234. Compare with Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1999), no. 162, pp. 70-100; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, chapter 3 especially pp. 77-94; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapter 6; Garthine Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series,

However, not all of the ballads examined portray such a forgiving, or ignorant, view towards male sexual promiscuousness. There are ballads which illustrate the problems which can be incurred by young men who engaged in too much sexual activity. Hence, the ballad *Slippery Will*, which dates from the reign of James I, provides an example of a man who while in his youth flitted from one woman to another, pretending to love each of them and spending all their money.⁸¹ However, when *Will* started to grow old, he decided that he should settle down and marry one of his former lovers, and so visited each of them in turn. In each case *Will* was met with derision from the women he had cheated, and each time the scornfulness got worse, until he was beaten physically by the final two women. Usually, both physically abusive women and their hen-pecked husbands are the butt of the joke in ballads, but it is certainly *Will* who is the focus of mockery in this instance.⁸² If the ballad writer had intended the women to be those ridiculed here, then surely *Will* would have been grateful not to have married one of these unruly women; but this is not the case,

I must confess that I did amisse in loving of so many;
 O but now what a plague is this, I am not beloved of any!
 My heart is grieved very sore to think on former joyes;
 O I shall never see them more—⁸³

It is possible that many sexual conquests did not necessarily equate to achieving manhood and could in fact ruin a man's chances of marriage.⁸⁴ A similar

6, pp. 235-245; Amy Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁸¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. II, part 3, 'Slippery Will' (1603-25), pp. 503-08.

⁸² See for example *Roxburghe*, vol. I, part 1, 'The Cruell Shrow', pp. 94-98; *Roxburghe*, vol. I, part 1, 'Cuckold's Haven' (1638), pp. 148-153; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'The Batchlor's Triumph', pp. 427-429;

⁸³ *Roxburghe*, vol. II, part 3, 'Slippery Will', p. 508.

message is communicated in the ballad *Cupid's Wrongs Vindicated* in which the man is proved to be a false lover.⁸⁵ The maid, who was cheated of her maidenhead by a knave, and through whose voice the ballad is told, provides evidence which rendered her blameless in the couple's separation. This was probably an attempt on her part to protect her own reputation from accusations of being a whore or a harlot. The maid described the man in derogatory terms, such as 'the guilefull Crocodile' and 'Hienna-like', which not only equated him with beasts, but also hinted at his deceitfulness and dishonesty.⁸⁶ As it has been suggested above, drunkards were also described as beast-like, suggesting that both types of conduct were contrary to the prescriptions of normative manhood.⁸⁷ However, whereas in the previous ballad *Will's* chance of marriage was entirely lost, here there is still a chance that the false man could find another lover, although these lines are clearly meant as warning to any such ill-fated women,

The lasse which shall haue thee, Who ere has that ill hap,
Let her learne this of me, she's caught in follie's trap.
He that dissemble can with one, in such a way,
Hee'l nere proue honest man, beleeeue me what I say.'⁸⁸

The difference between the two outcomes presented in these two specific ballads can be explained by the fact that *Will* proved to be a false lover to four women, who may have gossiped about him with their friends and neighbours despite the potential damage which could be inflicted upon their own reputations, whereas the second

⁸⁴ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 39-48.

⁸⁵ *Roxburghe*, vol. I, 'Cupid's Wrongs Vindicated' (1624-60), pp. 214-20.

⁸⁶ *Roxburghe*, vol. I, 'Cupid's Wrongs Vindicated', pp. 214-15.

⁸⁷ Shepard, "Swil-bolls and Tos-pots", pp. 114-16.

⁸⁸ *Roxburghe*, vol. I, 'Cupid's Wrongs Vindicated', p. 220.

man was inconstant to only one woman.⁸⁹ Although it is possible that the second man would cheat other women out of their love and money, and this is certainly cautioned against, it is clear that his reputation had already been tarnished after just one incidence of knavery. Again, it is the man's honesty that has been called into question and this has the potential to injure not only his marriage prospects, but also anything which required credit. Men's honesty was wholly multifaceted, therefore, and encompassed their sexual conduct as well as other forms of behaviour, such as those identified in Alexandra Shepard's work.⁹⁰ It is feasible, therefore, that a man's own pre-marital sexual behaviour could significantly weaken other areas of his manliness, and could potentially prevent his achievement of full manhood. The years of youth, then, were fraught with many dangers in both sexual and non-sexual terms.

Men's reputations, sexual and otherwise, were built from the opinions of others and credit formed an integral part of social and economic relations in early modern communities. So when sexual misdemeanours resulted in bastard children, it was men's pockets that bore the brunt of the punishment doled out by secular courts. Thomas and William Burrowes were both ordered to pay 3d. a week for maintenance of Elizabeth Jones's bastard child until it reached the age of ten.⁹¹ Although Thomas was the reputed father of the child, there was no certainty of paternity because William also admitted having carnal knowledge of the said Elizabeth. Thomas, it can be seen, clearly did not learn his lesson. Just three years later he again appeared before the quarter session court as the reputed father of Hellen Armstronge's bastard

⁸⁹ Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult', pp. 1-21; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 58-65.

⁹⁰ Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', pp. 75-106; also Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, chapter 7.

⁹¹ NAO, C/QSM1/66/1, Nottingham 12 January 1603-4.

child. Hellen, who was also accused of prostitution, was ‘to be whipped until her body is bloody’, whilst Thomas had ‘to bring up [the] child at his own cost and indemnify Costock’.⁹² The focus of Thomas’s punishment was clearly economic and was meant to relieve the parish or local community of the expense of raising a child.

Bastard-bearing could have serious financial implications for a local community who would have to support the child, at least in its first years of infancy. Where there was doubt as to whether a named father could—or would—maintain payment, the courts looked for other guarantees and could require monetary assurances from third parties. It was here that men depended on their reputation and good name amongst friends, relatives and neighbours. This is perhaps somewhat of a paradox, since being named a bastard-bearer could markedly reduce a man’s worth in the eyes of the community.⁹³ After Katherine Browne had sworn under oath that Christopher Millson, a weaver from Stapleford, was the father of her bastard child the court ordered him ‘to bring bastard up at his own expense, indemnify the town of Spondon and find security for the observance of Order of Court’. Despite being a man of trade, the courts were clearly uneasy about Millson’s own ability or willingness to finance the upkeep of the child. No mention of a punishment for Katherine Browne was entered into the record.⁹⁴ Whilst it is possible that Katherine may have received informal sanction from the local community, it would seem that the court was less concerned with the moral offence than it was with the financial

⁹² NAO, C/QSM1/66/4, Nottingham 13 July 1607.

⁹³ Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 177-93; Capp, ‘The Double Standard Revisited’, pp. 70-100. For one case which highlights the lengths which some men would go to avoid being named a bastard-bearer see NAO, M461, 26 April 1583, p. 54(-26).

⁹⁴ NAO, C/QSM1/66/1, Nottingham 16 January 1603-4.

implications that illegitimate children posed to the town.⁹⁵ In this vein, family members and kin could be held accountable for the actions of their sons, brothers or cousins until the actual, or alleged, perpetrator could be brought to charge. And so Robert and George Lawe were ordered to ‘bring up at their own expense a bastard child of Joyce Tudbury begotten of Rich.[ard] Lawe’.⁹⁶ Richard, presumably a relation of Robert and George, had absconded leaving his family with the economic burden of his ill-gotten child. Moreover, Robert and George were further ordered to find and bring Richard to court, under the penalty of twenty pounds, whereupon their responsibilities for raising the child would be absolved. The court’s primary concern was to save the town of Edwinstowe from the expense this child would have inflicted on the entire community.

Relief of the community was also the concern of the Newark sessions when, in January 1604, Mary Arnold was ordered ‘to keep her bastard child in her own charge until it is six months old. Afterwards Tho.[mas] Richardson, reputed father shall bring it up at his own expense’. Whereas Mary was to be whipped on several occasions, Thomas’s part in the punishment was to be delayed until the child reached six months of age.⁹⁷ The age of the child at the time this case appeared before the Newark sessions is not known but there was always the possibility that it would not live that long, meaning that Thomas could escape payment. William Gilbert, who in 1607 was reputed to be the father of a bastard child, was not so lucky as to escape punishment. It was ordered that he was to be ‘whipped through Kirkshall on Sunday

⁹⁵ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, chapter 6. Of course, moral offences were usually the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, but there was not always a clear distinction between what constituted temporal and spiritual crime, see Sharpe, J., *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 30-40, 120-34.

⁹⁶ NAO, C/QSM1/66/3, Nottingham 28 April 1606.

⁹⁷ NAO, C/QSM1/66/1, Newark 18 April 1604.

next after Morning Prayer from one end of the town to the other until his body be bloody'. That no money was enjoined to be paid coupled with the physical—as well as public—nature of the punishment is suggestive that William was unable to pay for the upkeep of the child.⁹⁸

Men's sexual exploits could severely damage their reputation if they were named in court to have fathered illegitimate children, and the cases where economic sanction was coupled with public humiliation underline this most. Moreover, men of some social standing were not immune from such punishments for their sexual misconduct. Valentine Revill, a gentleman, was the reputed father of a bastard by Joan Fisher and was ordered in 1607 'to pay Joan Fisher before next sessions £3.6.8'.⁹⁹ One month later Revill appeared before the court again, this time, however, two other men noted to be of yeomanry status were bound by £20 each to see that he raised the child at his own expense and paid the arrears accrued for prior non-payment. Furthermore, Revill was 'to be stocked at the next Lord's Day until Divine Service be finished'.¹⁰⁰ Despite his social standing, and the comparative wealth of his companions, Revill was not immune from punishment for his sexual exploits. Whilst the amount of money involved here was substantially more than in other cases, no doubt in line with the comparative wealth of the defendant, the coupling of monetary sanction with public humiliation underlines the weight that a good sexual reputation had within early modern notions of manhood and manliness.

Further down the social scale public mockery in the stocks could be replaced by public shaming of a more violent nature or worse. For John Greyves, the putative father of Jane Wright's illegitimate child, the monetary payment he was ordered to

⁹⁸ NAO, C/QSM1/66/4, Newark 15 July 1607.

⁹⁹ NAO, C/QSM1/66/4, East Retford, 17 April 1607.

¹⁰⁰ NAO, C/QSM1/66/4, East Retford, 17 July 1607.

give was not for the upkeep of the child, but rather to repay another man the amount accrued during the mother's period of lying-in. John was also ordered 'to pay the bailiff of Retford 20/- to be spent on repair roads at their discretion' and, in the case of non-payment, he was to be severely whipped.¹⁰¹ James More was named as the putative father of Grace Salmon's bastard and was ordered to pay for the upkeep of the illegitimate child. He was to support Grace to the sum of 8d. a week, to be collected monthly, 'until the said child can eat, when More is to take child into his own care &c'; Grace was to be whipped.¹⁰² However, just two months later More again appeared at the sessions, whereupon it is evident that he had not maintained regular payment and, moreover, that the mother of the child had since died. Relief of the town was paramount in this instance and so the court warned that if More did not take charge of his child and pay the arrears owed, he was 'to be committed to gaol'.¹⁰³

Fathering illegitimate children could have a detrimental effect on a man's reputation and social worth. Bearing bastards was an entirely possible consequence of sex out of wedlock, but this did not seem to deter some young men from engaging in sexual acts or, indeed, boasting of them. In 1600 Prichard Stafford was charged 'for sayinge that he had carnal knowledge of the body of Prudence Hill often tymes' and for this he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to do penance.¹⁰⁴ At the same sessions Francis Mantiall was charged 'for suspicion of incontinence with Ralph Brookes wife, and also for suspicion of drunkenness'. Mantiall pleaded not guilty to the offence and so he was ordered to purge himself, which required him to find a

¹⁰¹ NAO, C/QSM1/66/4, East Retford, 17 April 1607. For similar cases see Dave Postles, 'Surviving Lone Motherhood in Early Modern England', *Seventeenth Century* (2006), vol. 21:1, pp. 160-183.

¹⁰² NAO, C/QSM1/66/3, Newark, 4 May 1604.

¹⁰³ NAO, C/QSM1/66/3, Newark, 10 July 1604.

¹⁰⁴ NAO, DDTS 14/26/6, (B161 (318)), 11 October 1600, p. 297.

number of compurgators, or character witnesses, who would swear under oath to his good name. If compurgation was successful then the defendant's reputation in the community would be restored; if, however, no compurgators came forward then the defendant would be found guilty of the alleged crime.¹⁰⁵ Stafford's seemingly nonchalant attitude towards his sexual misdemeanour perhaps adds weight to the argument put forward by some historians that men's reputations suffered less as a consequence of sexual looseness than women's.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, despite the comparatively small number of sexual slander cases instigated by men during the period, some men did find just cause to defend their sexual honour by means of the court system. John Gunthorpe brought a case of defamation against Elizabeth Hope who reportedly 'at Christmas last paste and in Eyleringe of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, did report and say that – the said John Gunthorpe had gotten her with child, which child she now goes withal, and that neither he nor she are married'. The court clearly sided with Gunthorpe and Elizabeth was ordered to do penance and pay 20s court costs. Her attempt either to—falsely—name a father for her child, or simply cause a mischief for Gunthorpe, evidently backfired.¹⁰⁷ Cases of sexual misconduct involving young men did not always end with their reputation destroyed, however. Robert Lynne, who was accused of fornication with Bridget Mychaell alias Hurste in 1584, pleaded guilty to the offence, but 'in open Court he promised marriage unto her', which Hurste reciprocated 'and he in token of the same gave her

¹⁰⁵ NAO, DDTS 14/26/6, (B161d (319)), 11 October 1600, p. 268. On the process of compurgation see Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 51-2, 293.

¹⁰⁶ NAO, DDTS 14/26/6, (B161 (318)), 11 October 1600, p. 297.

¹⁰⁷ NAO, DDTS 14/26/6, (B612 (25)), 5 January 1596-7, p. 210.

a grote and she gave hym a penny in token of goodwill in full promyse of the same'.¹⁰⁸

Although Anthony Fletcher has argued that a good sexual reputation, resulting from a man's own sexual encounters, was less central to manhood than it was to womanhood, evidence drawn from both popular literature and the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts discussed so far appear to make this argument more speculative than conclusive.¹⁰⁹ It is not necessarily the case that sexual reputation had less centrality within the dictates of manhood and manliness than it did in prescriptions of womanhood and female honour; it is more likely that a bad sexual reputation affected men in different ways than it affected women. Moreover, what constituted a good or bad sexual reputation for men was likely to shift over the life course, with bravado and conquest possibly tolerated more in male youth and bachelorhood than for married and propertied men in full manhood.¹¹⁰ This is not to claim that the consequences of sexual misdemeanours were as serious for men as they were for women, nor is it an attempt to argue that men were considered as culpable as women in lewd sexual conduct.¹¹¹ It is important to note that excessive pre-marital sexual practice could bring into question other important areas of a young man's reputation, and this was also true for other types of misconduct, such as drinking and fighting, if carried to excess. There is further

¹⁰⁸ NAO, M461, 4 September 1584, p. 54(-55).

¹⁰⁹ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, chapter 6. Here Fletcher argues that where sexual reputation becomes important to manhood is through the ownership of a wife's sexual behaviour. Less importance is attached to a man's own sexual conduct.

¹¹⁰ Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited', pp. 70-100.

¹¹¹ For a discussion on the differing perceptions of culpability in illicit sexual behaviour see Linda Lees, 'Thou Art A Verie Baggadge' – *Gender and Crime in Seventeenth-Century Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, 1999), chapter 2.

evidence within ballads which suggests that a man's sexual conduct could impact on his future claim to full manhood and impede or limit his spousal choice.

'Marriage', according to Lawrence Stone, 'is the legal *rite de passage* which marks the transition from youthful independence to joint responsibility in the creation of a new nuclear family.'¹¹² Such an important milestone had to be approached with care. As Susan Amussen has demonstrated, spousal choice was 'too important to be left to the contracting parties' and often involved approval from family members, friends and neighbours.¹¹³ Such is evident in the ballad *Constant, Faire and Fine Betty*, wherein the young man describes the woman he loves, who is seemingly perfect in every possible way. Nevertheless, the young man still had to seek his friends' consent before he and *Betty* could wed,

Besse, be thou contented, wee'l quickly be wed;
Our friends are consented to all hath bin sed.¹¹⁴

One of the main reasons why such care had to be taken when choosing a spouse was because once married the commitment would, for most people, be life long.¹¹⁵ As Elizabeth Foyster has stated, legal divorce was expensive and discriminated against women; moreover, the wider community disparaged separation and desertion.¹¹⁶ It was, therefore, necessary to exercise caution when choosing a spouse.

¹¹² Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), p. 46.

¹¹³ Susan Amussen, 'Gender Order in Families and Villages', in Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 95-133, quotation on p. 108.

¹¹⁴ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Constant, Faire and Fine Betty', pp. 273-9, quotation p. 278.

¹¹⁵ Also, care had to be taken in marriage selection by both parties, not just men, to ensure protection of property rights and heritance rights.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter? Marital Discord and Gender Control in Seventeenth-Century England', *Rural History* (1993), vol. 4, pp. 5-21. For a fuller discussion on desertion and

Despite evidence within the ballads that some bachelors participated in excessive and immoral behaviour, such as those presented above, concerns over spousal choice seem to have been voiced more by men than by women.¹¹⁷ This is hardly surprising when it is considered that all of the known ‘professional’ ballad writers were men.¹¹⁸ Moreover, such attitudes could be understood in terms which suggest that there existed misogynistic overtones within such source material.¹¹⁹ There was certainly an expectation within popular literature that, in regards to male-female relationships, women were more likely than men to undermine both social order and hierarchies, and this is indicative of the anxious nature of patriarchal manhood which has been described by Mark Breitenburg and, to some extent, questioned by Alexandra Shepard.¹²⁰ Ballads such as *Advice to Batchelors, Or The Married Man’s Lamentation* caution young men to beware getting married at all:

separation see Amussen, ‘Gender Order in Families and Villages’, pp. 124-29, in which Amussen argues that ‘as legal divorce or re-marriage were impossible for most people, alternatives were tolerated’, p. 125. This difference of opinion between Foyster and Amussen could suggest that toleration of alternatives to legal divorce could be dependent on a number of variables which may include who instigated the separation, the area, the age of the people involved, the time period and number of children.

¹¹⁷ This is not to say that ballads which voiced concern over choosing a husband did not exist; they did. Ballads such as, ‘A Warning for Maids’, ‘Advice to the Ladies of London’ (after 1686) and ‘The Crafty Maid’ are examples wherein the central message is directed at women to take caution when choosing a husband; see *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, pp. 41-46; vol. III, part 2, pp. 369-72; vol. III, part 3, pp. 652-55.

¹¹⁸ Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650*, pp. 22, 323.

¹¹⁹ Gowing, ‘Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour’, pp. 225-34; Judith Bennett, ‘Misogyny, Popular Culture, and Women’s Work’, *History Workshop Journal* (1991), vol. 31, pp. 166-188. Compare with Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, chapter 1; Fletcher, ‘Men’s Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England 1560-1660’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1994), sixth series, 4, pp. 61-81.

¹²⁰ Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Shepard, *Meaning of Manhood*.

You batchelors that single are may lead a happy life;
For married men are full of care, and women oft breed strife;¹²¹

Of course bachelors, the target audience here, should have taken heed of the voice from which this ballad is told. The ballad is given as a warning from a husband who was not wise in his choice of wife and who, it is later revealed, was abused both physically and verbally by his wife.¹²² The husband described how he was bewitched by his wife's beauty to the point where he lost his reason and let her take the authoritative position in their marriage. So, the counsel offered within this ballad is twofold: firstly, a man should always keep a tight rein on his reason, especially in the task of choosing a wife and, secondly, that it was ultimately the husband who should govern the household. Such clear patriarchal moralising sets forth the prescriptions of full manhood, to which young men should aspire and, it can be argued, hints at the fact that such an ideal could never be met.

The process of selecting the right kind of woman for a wife is demonstrated in the ballad *Clod's Carroll*, wherein a bachelor discussed his spousal options with one of his female friends.¹²³ And so, the ballad is presented as a dialogue between the man and woman, wherein the discussion centres on at which age a woman would be best suited to being a good wife. The man, it seems, was desperate to marry:

This single life is wearisome: faine would I marry,
But fear of ill chusing Makes me to tarry:¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. III, part 2, 'Advice to Batchelors; Or, The Married Man's Lamentation', pp. 376-82, quotation p. 376.

¹²² The target audience could equally be maids, or newly wedded wives, as it is possible that the ballad could be instructive. However, this seems unlikely, as there is no retribution for the deviant wife. The focus is centred entirely on the pitiful life of the enslaved husband.

¹²³ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Clod's Carroll', (1601-1640?), pp. 265-72.

¹²⁴ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Clod's Carroll', p. 266.

However, it was the woman and not the man who described the drawbacks in each age group of women. She claimed that young women were over zealous and would be difficult to tame, that a woman of middle age would no longer be a virgin and that an older woman would drive her husband mad.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the man decided that he would seek to marry a widow with money; but his decision to marry proved to be his undoing. The second part of the ballad is presented as 'one year later' and the female friend met with the man to discover how successful his first year of marriage had been. Here it is revealed that his wife was 'anything that euill is' which included being abusive, both verbally and physically, being a gossip and being an adulteress.¹²⁶ The message within the ballad seems to be that it does not matter how much care was taken when choosing a wife, because all women would be the ruin of their husbands, again illustrating the misogynistic tendencies of ballad culture. Perhaps acting as a counterbalance to this is the fact that the female friend described herself to be the perfect woman, and yet the man did not think to marry her. Furthermore, it was the woman who was given the authoritative position in this ballad, as it was she who could foretell what marriage would be like for the man, whereas he had to experience it before he could know.

However, nowhere is the advice to be cautious when selecting a wife more pronounced than in the ballad *The Countryman's Care in Choosing a Wife*.¹²⁷ The ballad, as the title suggests, is presented as a speech given from a 'brisk youngster' who was desperate to find a wife, but found fault with ten different types of women.

¹²⁵ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Clod's Carroll', pp. 266-67.

¹²⁶ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Clod's Carroll', pp. 270-71. For a discussion on the destructive potential of jealousy within Renaissance literature, see Breitenburg, 'Anxious Masculinity: Sexual Jealousy in Early Modern England', *Feminist Studies* (1993), vol. 19:2, pp. 377-398.

¹²⁷ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Countryman's Care in Choosing a Wife; Or, A Young Batchelor Hard to be Pleased' (1672-1695), pp. 597-99.

For each kind of woman the ‘youngster’ could conjure a stereotype which prevented her from being marriage material. For example, a girl raised at the Court would be sexually permissive, many would have tried the hostess’s daughter and a cook-maid would be a scold.¹²⁸ The only sort of woman who would be able to satisfy this young bachelor, it appears, was a rich farmer’s daughter as she would be a good housewife, she would be virtuous and also she would be rich all of which were qualities that would underpin patriarchy.

It is possible that ballads which were concerned with advising care when choosing a wife, such as those discussed above, were representative of what has been termed a ‘crisis of order’, which some historians argue to have existed throughout the early modern period. Male anxieties were fuelled by an apparent increase in female threats to patriarchy, most of which were instigated by uncontrollable, lewd and aggressive wives. However, the extent to which this ‘crisis’ was real, imagined in the mindset of seventeenth-century moralists or simply did not occur at all has been a cause of debate for historians.¹²⁹ Moreover, ballads highlight the dissolute, immoral and disorderly behaviour of both men and women and, as it has been shown, could also hold young men to account for their sexual transgressions.¹³⁰ Indeed, as it has

¹²⁸ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, ‘The Countryman’s Care in Choosing a Wife’ (after 1672), pp. 598-99.

¹²⁹ Compare David Underdown, ‘The Taming of the Scold’, pp. 116-136, with Martin Ingram, ‘Scolding Women Cucked or Washed’: A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England?, in Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker eds., *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1994), pp. 48-80; see also Susan Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725’, in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds. *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), pp. 196-217; Lees, ‘*Thou Art A Verie Baggadge*’, chapter 2.

¹³⁰ Foyster, ‘A Laughing Matter?’.

been suggested above and, moreover, as Lyndal Roper has claimed, men could pose just as much—if not more—of a threat to patriarchal stability than women.¹³¹

Conclusion

It has been suggested in this chapter that the prescriptions of manliness for male youth during the long seventeenth century were double-edged. On the one hand moralists, authorities and parents alike sought to control and temper the high spirits of young men and, on the other, male youth were almost expected to behave in a rough and dissolute manner. In order for patriarchal authority and social stability to be maintained, male youth had to learn and begin putting into practice the skills needed to achieve full manhood. So, male youth were instructed that moderation was the key to achieving manhood as it necessitated the ability for self-control and self-governance—the cornerstone of patriarchal or full manhood—and this remained constant throughout the entire period. What also remains in continuance is a sense that male youth defined their own set of principles which governed their own concepts of manliness. It was through drinking, playing and fighting that young, manly reputations could be won, fought over and lost. It was bravado—sometimes in direct competition with the ideology of patriarchal manhood—which shaped and underpinned the identity of male youth. Youthful manliness was defined as much by relationships with women as it was through male camaraderie.

Whilst young men were expected to be sexually consummate, and therefore have some level of sexual experience, casual sexual encounters could both bolster and undermine reputation. Youthful bragging of sexual conquests—real or imagined—was part-and-parcel of male comradeship, but bastard-bearing could

¹³¹ Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, chapter 5.

prove to be the undoing of a man. Tentative evidence drawn from the secular and ecclesiastical courts of Nottinghamshire, which needs to be compared and contrasted with other regions throughout England, suggests that men who were named fathers of illegitimate children could expect punishments which affected both their worth and their reputation. Credit of all kinds could be weakened by sexual misdemeanours. Finally, it can be seen through an examination of popular ballads that normative or full manhood was to a large extent reliant on the behaviour of women and, particular care was needed when choosing a wife. Young men were advised to be cautious when choosing a woman to marry and, as it will be suggested in chapter five below, husbands were ridiculed if they could not control their wives, whilst drunken husbands relied on their wife's good conduct and counsel. A good sexual reputation was a necessary requirement of the prescriptions of both manliness and manhood. The way in which this was achieved shifted according to the life cycle. It was a young man's own sexual conduct on which his reputation stood, whereas a husband's sexual reputation was bolstered or ruined through the behaviour of his wife.

Chapter 5.

‘Maruailous Acts of Manhood, full of wonder, and strange merriments’: Manhood¹

Behave thy self so in thy Family, that those below thee may both love and fear thee.²

Be honest in your ways; spare in your words; plenteous in good workes.³

Manhood represented the firmest stage of life for men. In humoral terms, manhood also represented the most stable life phase because the heat of youth had begun to cool, but the coldness of old age had not yet set in.⁴ It was during these years that all of the lessons of childhood and youth were to be mastered and put into practice. In strictly patriarchal terms, manhood was marked out from any other life stage because economic independence had been achieved, a marital union had been forged, children and heirs were born, a household had been created and credit was accrued amongst friends, companions and neighbours. Manhood presented the opportunity for men to pass on to their sons all their own fathers had taught them. Above all else, manhood represented the pinnacle of the life course, and after it had been reached there came the eventual decline into old age. However, as it will be shown, all men did not necessarily meet the patriarchal dictates of full manhood. Some men lacked a good reputation because they were unable to govern their households, or were

¹ John Wright, *Tom Thumbe, His Life and Death: Wherein is Declared Many Maruailous Acts of Manhood, Full of Wonder, and Strange Merriments* (London, 1630), frontispiece.

² Brabazon Aylmer, *Advice of a Father: or Counsel to a Child, directing Him how to demean himself in the most important passages of this Life* (London, 1688), p. 38.

³ Sir Henry Slingsby, *A Father's Legacy: Sir Henry Slingsbey's Instructions to his Sonnes* (London, 1658), p. 61.

⁴ Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: a Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615); Samuel Haworth, *Anthropologia, or, A Philosophic Discourse Concerning Man Being the Anatomy both of His Soul and Body* (London, 1680).

cuckolded, whilst others were unworthy of credit because they absconded from their familial duties, or were habitual drinkers. Moreover, manliness for adult men could be claimed outside of a purely familial setting and, as the long seventeenth century unfolded, martial honour provided one such method through which this was possible.

This chapter will examine the prescriptions of full manhood, and it will be argued that whilst the patriarchal dictates of manhood, in terms of marriage, householding status and independence, remained current throughout the long seventeenth century these were essentially idealistic and possibly unrealistic for most men. An examination of ballads and cheap print will reveal that a common theme of popular culture was the inability of men to govern effectively their households, particularly their wives, which is suggestive of the 'anxious patriarch' paradigm of early modern manhood. Following this, considerations of portraiture, which depict married couples of the social elite, will be made and it will be argued that these represent the importance of unity and affection within the prescripts of early modern marriage, whilst evidence drawn from the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts will be used to suggest that men further down the social scale could, and did, abscond from their patriarchal duties. The significance of fatherhood to concepts of manhood will then be considered, wherein it will be argued that it was largely the responsibility of fathers to ensure the manliness of their male offspring. The extent to which conviviality within the community impacted upon manhood will then be examined, and evidence drawn from both popular literature and court records will indicate that drinking and merriment formed an integral part of the manliness of adult men, whilst at the same time such acts could contravene the patriarchal dictates of manhood. Finally, through an examination of portraiture, this chapter will explore the possibility that manliness could be both won and lost through military service and

martial honour. It will be argued that whilst there were very clear prescriptions on the ways and means to achieve and maintain full manhood, these were largely idealistic and could be directly contested by those who stood to gain from them.

Marriage and Household Formation

Historians have long since recognised the importance of marriage to early modern society; indeed Miriam Slater described it as ‘the weightiest business’ in 1976.⁵ Historians have also noted that the mean age at which men and women married during the seventeenth century was comparatively late. Lawrence Stone claimed that girls tended to marry at around the age of twenty-two or twenty-three in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. He further claimed that marriage patterns for boys altered considerably depending on whether they were the son and heir or a merely younger brother, but he went on to contend that the mean age at first marriage for boys in the squirarchy was somewhere between twenty-four and twenty-six in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.⁶ Elizabeth Foyster suggested that marriage occurred relatively late in life, ‘with most men marrying in their mid to late

⁵ Miriam Slater, ‘The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper-Gentry Family in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present* (1976), vol. 72, pp. 25-54; Slater, ‘The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper-Gentry Family in Seventeenth-Century England: A Rejoinder’, *Past and Present* (1979), vol. 85, pp. 136-40; Sara Heller Mendelson, ‘The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper-Gentry Family in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present* (1979), vol. 85, pp. 126-35; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), Stone, *Road to Divorce, England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); J. A. Sharpe, ‘Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1986), fifth series, 36, pp. 69-90; Steve Hindle, ‘The Problem of Pauper Marriage in Seventeenth-Century England: the Alexander Prize Essay’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1998), sixth series, 8, pp. 71-89.

⁶ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 46.

twenties'.⁷ Working from the figures put forward by Wrigley and Schofield, Amy Froide has argued recently that 'between 1600 and 1750 the average Englishwoman did not marry until age 26, and men waited even longer to marry, until age 28'.⁸ Moreover, Froide has suggested that at least one-fifth of the population never married during the period, and that this is most likely a conservative estimate.⁹

To complicate matters further, Steve Hindle has suggested that 'institutional factors' were not only meant to prevent marriage along the lines of age, but to prevent marriage in terms of social status. Hindle argued that restrictions in the marital practices amongst paupers were particularly invoked during the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Indeed, Keith Wrightson has claimed that during the early modern period, marriage and family formation 'was a privilege rather than a right'¹¹. Alexandra Shepard has used the arguments put forward by Hindle and Wrightson to suggest that histories of manhood need to take such demographic data into account, as an increasing number of men were debarred from the house-holding status which patriarchal manhood necessitated.¹² Nevertheless, as this chapter will demonstrate, cultural representations of men frequently assumed that marriage between men and women would take place and often discussed the prescriptions of manhood in such

⁷ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 41-2.

⁸ Amy Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 2; Froide's figures are based on the work of E. A. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: a Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 255.

⁹ Froide, *Never Married*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰ Hindle, 'The Problem of Pauper Marriage', pp. 71-89. 'Institutional factors' include apprenticeship and the poor law; see Hindle, 'The Problem of Pauper Marriage', p. 76.

¹¹ Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 2002 edn.), pp. 66-70, quotation p. 70.

¹² Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 210, 252.

circumstances. It may be the case that the boundaries of manhood shifted over the course of the seventeenth century in real terms, which further polarised men along the axis of social rank, and this may have impacted upon the classification of what comprised patriarchal manhood, and who had potential to make claim to such status.

Nevertheless, for those men who did marry, there was also the danger that unruly wives would undermine their authority and, therefore, their claim to manhood. Wives who spent their time gossiping with their friends and neighbours were a threat to their husband's reputation. Moreover, the threat could be directed at more than one aspect of a husband's manhood. Gossiping would have taken time and concentration away from the duties which a wife should have been undertaking; consequently, a husband's ability to govern the household properly could be called into question. Furthermore, gossips tended to be in competition with each other, and so wasted their husband's money on the latest fashions and luxuries,

A wife must also have a beaver of the best,
That shee may flaunt it out, and gossip with the rest:¹³

Thus, participation in gossiping could impact on the economic stability of the household. In addition, a gossiping wife demonstrated a lack of respect for her husband. This is depicted in the ballad *Advice to Batchelors, Or A Careful Industrious Wife*, wherein it is claimed that a good wife would always obey her husband and not participate in idle gossip, as she would know this would offend him.¹⁴

Further to this, gossiping would usually take place in female dominated areas, away from men, and so it would be possible for a group of women to participate in

¹³ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Batchelor's Feast' (1628-67), pp. 60-66, quotation p. 64.

¹⁴ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'Advice to Batchelors, Or A Careful Industrious Wife', pp. 373-375.

uninhibited speech about anything, or anyone. Hence, it is feasible that men, particularly husbands, feared gossips, as they could have been the subject under scrutiny; this is evident in the ballad *Cuckold's Haven*,

When these good Gossips meet In Alley, Lane, or Street,
(Poore men, we doe not see't!) with Wine and Sugar sweet
They arm themselues, and then, beside, their husbands must be
hornify'd.¹⁵

Here, it is hinted at that gossips were generally thought to be sexually permissive, and so the gossip that would be exchanged was likely to involve stories of the husband's sexual impotence and the need to have extra-marital sex with another man. Hence, gossiping wives could undermine their husband's manhood in three fundamental ways: their household governance, economic stability and sexual performance. However, gossiping was not the only way to endanger a husband's manhood.

In many ways, scolds were a larger threat to manhood than gossips, as a scold was likely to abuse verbally friends, neighbours and peers, as well as her husband.¹⁶ According to David Underdown, there was an 'epidemic of scolding' in early modern England; although, as Elizabeth Foyster has recognised, the evidence he

¹⁵ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Cuckold's Haven' (1638), pp. 201-207, quotation p. 205.

¹⁶ It is important to note, however, that men as well as women participated in scolding and barratry; although scolding has been considered a female dominated crime. This is also true of sexual slander. See Linda Lees, *'Thou Art A Verie Baggadge': Gender and Crime in Seventeenth-Century Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire* (Nottingham Trent University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1999), chap. 5; David Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 116-136, especially pp. 119-120; Laura Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal* (1993), vol. 35, pp. 1-21.

provides does not fully substantiate this claim.¹⁷ Nevertheless, there is evidence within the ballads examined which would suggest that women, who were abusive verbally, were a cause for concern during the seventeenth century.

If a woman be troubled with a tatling tongue,
Whose too much vaine babbling her neighbours doth wrong,
I iudge for her mouth it's something too long,
Therefore she must cut [it] short while she is yong.¹⁸

The disquiet presented here is directed towards the neighbours, but the severity of the punishment, a slit tongue, suggests that scolding behaviour was a cause of anxiety. Moreover, the concern becomes greater when that verbal abuse is directed at husbands by their wives. Scolding wives subverted their prescribed gender norms by being unquiet and disturbing the peace. Further to this, scolds also subverted their husband's prescribed gender norms, as the husband would be proved an ineffective head of household if he could not control his wife's behaviour.

If a scold was not kept in check by her husband then it was likely that she would invert the gender order; such is the case in the ballad *My Wife Will Be My Master*, in which the husband is forced to undertake housewifery and the more he attempts to please his wife, the more he is made a slave,

Her bed I make both soft and fine, and put on sheets completely;
Her shoes and stockings I pull off, and lay her down most neatly:
I cover her and keep her warm for fear I should distaste her;
I hug her kindly in my arm, yet still she'l be my master.¹⁹

¹⁷ Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold', pp. 116-136; Elizabeth Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter? Marital Discord and Gender Control in Seventeenth-Century England', *Rural History* (1993), vol. 4, pp. 5-21.

¹⁸ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Doctor Do-good's Directions' (1633-1652), pp. 306-311, quotation p. 308.

¹⁹ John Payne Collier ed. *Roxburghe Ballads* (London: Longman, 1847), 'My Wife Will Be My Master' (1640), pp. 85-89, quotation pp. 87-8.

As the husband was ultimately the head of the household, he should have been able to govern his wife's behaviour through reason and wisdom, or else by strength. Thus, it must be questioned, as one ballad does, on whom the blame should fall for the behaviour of an unquiet wife. *The Cruell Shrow* presents a woeful example of a husband who cannot control his scolding wife. It is revealed that the husband can do nothing without his wife abusing him verbally and, sometimes, physically. This abuse takes place in both the home and in public places, such as the street and the tavern. However, the husband recognises that the responsibility for his wife's behaviour essentially lays with him,

Then is not this a pitteous cause? let all men now it trie,
And giue their verdicts, by the Lawes, between my wife and I;
And judge the cause, who is to blame,—Ile to their Judgement stand,
And be contented with the same, and put thereto my hand.²⁰

Nevertheless, taking responsibility for the problem did not vanquish it, as the ballad finishes by informing the audience that his wife continued her scolding conduct and, it is assumed, never repented for her behaviour. Thus, the husband's manhood could not be restored.

There is evidence to suggest, as previously alluded to, that scolds were often physically, as well as verbally, abusive. Violent wives disrupted the order of society and, in effect, turned the world upside-down. Elizabeth Foyster has demonstrated that physical strength was central to manhood.²¹ Therefore, it can be further argued that men who were assaulted physically by their wives during the early modern period, could be subject to ridicule from their peers and neighbours. It was unnatural for a woman to rule her husband physically, and so this type of behaviour was

²⁰ *Roxburghe*, vol. I, part 1, 'The Cruell Shrow' (1601-1640), pp. 94-99, quotation p. 98.

²¹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, especially chapter 2.

perceived as over-turning the natural and social order as ordained by God. There is evidence within the ballads to suggest that husbands who tolerated violent behaviour from their wives were considered to be fools; hence the husband in the ballad *The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife* comments,

For I, like a fool, must needs got to be wed,
To bring a slut, and a whore, and a scold, to my bed;
Beside, she will fight with me every day
She is such a devilish quean, I do say.²²

It is interesting to note that the husband in this case claims that he needed to marry; thus adding weight to the argument put forward by Keith Wrightson that marriage was as an aspiration to be achieved.²³ What is more, the man presumed that his wife would be deviant in one way or another, suggesting that all women were prone to weaknesses in their behaviour. Perhaps this was an attempt to lessen the blame which could be laid on him for the behaviour of his wife. Although, it is more likely that the 'lamenting cuckold' had just not achieved manhood, and would certainly have been the focus of mockery for being so afraid of his wife that he was 'ready to bepiss my breeches for fear'.²⁴

It has already been mentioned that the wife in the ballad *Advice to Batchelors, Or The Married Man's Lamentation*, ruled her husband both verbally and physically. The 'lamenting husband' shared the same fate as the husband in *My Wife Will Be My Master*, wherein he was forced to undertake wifely duties such as cooking, cleaning and tending to the children. If the husband complained to his wife,

²² *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Cuckold's Lamentation of a Bad Wife', pp. 635-637.

²³ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, pp. 69-70.

²⁴ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Cuckold's Lamentation', p. 637.

or did not complete the tasks, then ‘hey boys, slap goes she’.²⁵ Thus, the scolding wife and the enslaved husband, as portrayed through ballads, depict the chaos of a world turned upside-down. And so it is possible to argue that this type of ballad was didactic or advisory: the husbands warn bachelors about their daily strife and unhappiness, thereby reasserting the idea that husbands should head the household. In addition, this type of ballad, as discussed in chapter four above, also stressed that it was important to be careful when choosing a spouse. This point is brought more sharply into focus when it is considered that scolding and violent behaviour in a wife was symptomatic of her committing adultery.

Adulterous wives posed the greatest threat to a husband’s manhood in two fundamental ways: they brought into question the husband’s sexual potency and, also, they demonstrated that the husband did not have sexual ownership of his wife. Historians have been unable to agree as to the extent in which a man’s reputation was dependent on his own sexual conduct. It is true that women were more likely than men to defend their sexual honour through the courts; but that does not necessarily suggest that the need for a good sexual reputation was absent in the prescriptions of manhood.²⁶ Elizabeth Foyster has provided a convincing argument that the need to have, and be able to demonstrate, sexual potency was central to how men judged their own, and others’, claims to manhood.²⁷ It is also possible to argue, as Anthony Fletcher has, that a man’s sexual reputation was dependent on controlling the

²⁵ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, ‘Advice to Batchelors; Or, The Married Man’s Lamentation’, pp. 376-382. The selected phrase is repeated at the end of each stanza within the ballad; thus emphasising the violent nature of the wife.

²⁶ Gowing, ‘Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London’, pp. 1-21.

²⁷ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*.

behaviour of his household and this included the 'sexual ownership' of his wife.²⁸ These conflicting views illustrate the complexities of how the prescriptions of manhood were constructed, perceived and enforced. There is evidence within the ballads, though, which does suggest that a man's sexual performance was most likely to be judged and condemned through the behaviour of the wife.

Married men were expected to be sexually competent. Each of the husbands in the ballads *The Cooper of Norfolk*, *Cuckold's Haven* and *The Discontented Married Man* recognised that their sexual incompetence would result in their wives taking extra-marital lovers; thereby undermining their position as head of the household and, potentially, as father to any children conceived.²⁹ It was essential to prescriptive notions of manhood that men were sexually able and willing. Broadside ballads, then, conjure a sexualised identity which early modern men should have strived to accomplish. Consequently, it is possible to argue that manhood was constructed from a number of characteristics that could be achieved, tried and tested in a number of ways, and of which marriage was just one.

A poor sexual performance could mean that, as well as not being able to govern his wife's behaviour, the husband also might not be able to rule his apprentice. Such is the case in the ballad *John and his Mistris*, wherein the husband has neglected his wife through his tendency to drink.³⁰ The wife in the ballad explains to her husband's apprentice, *John*, that she is looking for a lover, and through a process of eliminating all other men, she chose him. At first, the apprentice was apprehensive, but his apprehension was not due to loyalty towards his

²⁸ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995), chap. 6.

²⁹ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Cooper of Norfolk' (1675); 'Cuckold's Haven' (1638); 'The Discontented Married Man', pp. 134-141; 201-207, 379-384.

³⁰ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'John and his Mistris', pp. 395-398.

master, rather it was born from his shame at being inexperienced in sexual conduct. *John's* 'mistris' teaches him all he needs to know, but warns him that he cannot pursue his new found talent with other women,

Now, Johnny, you talk like an ignorant mome,
You can have such pleasure no where but at home;
Here's fifty broad pieces, for what you have done,
But see that you never a gadding do run.³¹

It is made clear within this ballad that the husband's ineffective sexual appetite has undermined his manhood in three ways: his wife became an adulteress, his apprentice proved to be disobedient and became his wife's lover and, furthermore, *John* was paid for his service, presumably with the husband's money. There were, therefore, economic consequences for impotence, in addition to the ridicule which the cuckolded husband would be subjected to by his peers and neighbours.

Impotence, or a poor sexual performance, was likely to be brought to the attention of friends and neighbours when a wife undertook extra-marital sex with another man to cure her 'greensickness'.³² Making the sign of the horns was a popular device employed by neighbours to mock the cuckolded husband.³³ The horns could be real animal horns, ones made from sticks, or else implied by holding the two fore-fingers against the head. This form of mockery could also be utilised by an unruly wife who would inform her husband that he was a cuckold, thereby being disobedient in more ways than one,

³¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'John and his Mistris', p. 398.

³² It was commonly believed that women would become ill if they did not have adequate sexual encounters; the illness was thought to be due to an excess of 'seed' and was known as 'greensickness'.

³³ Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1984), no. 105, pp. 79-113, especially pp. 86-7.

O what a griefe it is!
My wife hath learn'd to kisse, and thinkes 'tis not amisse;
She oftentimes doth me deride, and tells me I am hornify'd.³⁴

The humorous lyrics presented in popular broadside ballads, such as this, demonstrate that a husband's sexual reputation was potentially heavily reliant on his wife's behaviour.³⁵ However, it is the actions which a husband took to remedy the situation, brought about by the disobedient wife, which dictates whether or not his reputation, and therefore his manhood, could be restored.

Elizabeth Foyster, in her article on gender control, claimed that there were three methods by which a husband, whose reputation had been tarnished by a disobedient wife, could restore his manhood: through receiving monetary compensation, through claiming his wife was mad, or by accepting his wife for her weaknesses.³⁶ There is evidence which supports this claim within the ballads examined. For example in the ballad *The Cooper of Norfolk*, the deceitful wife and her lover trick the *Cooper* into leaving the house, as the lover, who was a brewer, promised him much work at his own house.³⁷ Once the *Cooper* left, the brewer went straight to his house to visit the wife. However, the *Cooper* had forgotten some of his tools and so had to return to his house, whereupon he found the cheating couple. The brewer, to avoid being beaten, offered the *Cooper* all his money to settle the dispute. The money was accepted, and proved to be enough to ensure a good

³⁴ *Roxburghe*, vol. I, part 1, 'Cuckold's Haven' (1638), pp. 148-153, quotation p. 149.

³⁵ For a discussion on the role of laughter in popular ballads see, Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?', in which Foyster argues that the audience could react with a high, moralising laughter, which would further stigmatise the position of the cuckold, or else they could laugh from a fear that they too could be subjected to ridicule. See esp. pp. 8-11 for laughter at cuckolds.

³⁶ Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?', pp. 5-21.

³⁷ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Cooper of Norfolk' (1625-1660), pp. 134-141.

pension for the *Cooper*. It also bought forgiveness for both the brewer and the cheating wife,

Thus money can pacifie the greatest strife; For *John* never found fault
with his wife.
Hee left of his Adz, his Saw and his Knife, And after liu'd richly all
days of his life.³⁸

Monetary compensation, in this case, proved to be an agreeable method of restoring the *Cooper's* damaged reputation.³⁹ It could be that here the act of adultery was seen more in terms of a property crime than a sexual one, wherein the brewer had stolen goods (the wife) from the *Cooper*. Although there is a further message within the ballad that honour, or credit, should not be sold.

Monetary compensation was not the only way to restore manhood, claims that a scolding wife suffered from madness was another means of restoration; as is depicted in the ballad *A Caution For Scolds*.⁴⁰ This ballad describes the loud and disobedient behaviour of a man's wife at a feast they were hosting. The party consisted of at least forty people, all of whom were men and women from high social standing, which suggests that the hosts did not come from a meagre background. The scolding wife, it is revealed, was displeased with her husband for spending a lot of money entertaining their guests, and she was not afraid of displaying her anger in front of them,

“I shall be ruin'd at this rate, This is enough to consume an estate.”

³⁸ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Cooper of Norfolk', p. 140.

³⁹ It is important to note that the compensatory method of restoration was also more passive than the husband's first reaction, which was violence. It is possible, therefore, that this method of restoration underpinned other notions of manliness, such as reason and wisdom.

⁴⁰ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Caution For Scolds' (1685-8), pp. 508-510.

Before she any more words did reply, She made both bottles and dishes
to flye; Both friends and husband she there did abuse, Asking how he
dare be so profuse.⁴¹

This behaviour would have undoubtedly damaged the husband's reputation amongst his friends, and would have weakened his claim to manhood. Not only has the wife demonstrated that she could challenge her husband's authority, but also she did not show any respect or submission to him in public, a clear indication of disobedience. An outburst, such as this, called for a drastic remedy at which point a doctor was consulted. The doctor's diagnosis was that the woman was mad and he claimed he could 'take the lunacy out of her brains'.⁴² The doctor proceeded to bleed the woman and shave her head, but she continued in her abuse until the doctor states,

I'll cut your tongue, and when a gallon you have bled,
'T'will cure that violent noise in your head.⁴³

The woman at once repents of her raucous behaviour and promises never to abuse her husband again. The husband's reputation was thus upheld because it was madness—possibly feigned—which left his wife uncontrollable, and not his lack of effective governance. Moreover, the wife would have been subject to humiliation because she had had her head shaved.

The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds provides the final method by which manhood could theoretically be restored: acceptance.⁴⁴ This ballad is given as a discussion between ten men who have each been cuckolded by their wives. The men form a 'Society of Confessing Brethren', which suggests that each man was initially

⁴¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Caution For Scolds', p. 509.

⁴² *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Caution For Scolds', p. 509.

⁴³ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Caution For Scolds', 510.

⁴⁴ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds', pp. 481-483.

ashamed of his situation. When, however, they all learn that they were not alone, they decide that they could not be held accountable for the inevitable weakness of women and so accept that they are cuckolds. It is interesting to note that each man came from a different trade, including a baker, a tailor, a merchant and a doctor. Therefore, the 'Brethren' represent men from various social standings; thus, it is hinted at that men from all ranks could be cuckolded. The inevitability of women being prone to weakness is particularly highlighted in the doctor's speech,

“Come, come,” said the Doctor, “the best of us all
Cannot be our wives' keepers, they are subject to fall,”⁴⁵

However, it should be pointed out that the likelihood that each of these men restored their manhood through accepting their woeful position is slim. As Elizabeth Foyster has explained, the cuckold who accepted his wife's adultery became the most mocked and hated sort of man: a wittol.⁴⁶ The central joke of many ballads was actually at the expense of men who did not act to restore their honour from being made a cuckold, and their ornament of ridicule transformed from the cuckold's horns to the bull's feather.⁴⁷ Such men may have felt better being in the company of other cuckolded wittols, but the fact that they all met in a tavern and found relief by drowning their melancholy in liquor suggests they had not only failed to restore their manhood, but were also further ruining it themselves.

It has been suggested through an examination of popular seventeenth century broadside ballads that manhood was, to a large extent, reliant on the behaviour of

⁴⁵ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds', p. 483.

⁴⁶ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 109, 137, 194-8.

⁴⁷ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'Bull's Feather', pp. 418-420; *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'Cuckold's Haven' (1638), pp. 201-207; vol. II, 'Household Talke; Or, Good Councill for a Married Man', (1620-40?), pp. 60-67; 'The Merry Cuckold', (1635), pp. 463-468. See also Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*, p. 309.

women and in particular on that of wives. A husband's sexual reputation was underpinned, or undermined, through the behaviour of his wife. It was, therefore, the level of success of a husband's 'ownership' of his wife's sexual behaviour on which his own sexual reputation was measured. In most cases a poor sexual reputation could have economic consequences. The gossiping scold would waste her husband's money on buying luxuries to compete with her friends, and adultery could result in monetary compensation. A male adulterer might offer a woman money so she would sleep with him, as in *The Biter Bitten*, or be forced to pay for sleeping with another man's wife as was demonstrated in *The Cooper of Norfolk*. The adulterous wife might pay her lover to keep their secret, such was the case in the ballad *John and his Mistris*. However, the adulterous wife may have had a more damaging effect upon her cuckolded husband's manhood. Often cuckolds would find solace in alcohol, like the 'Brethren' of contented cuckolds, but it was through drunkenness that manhood could be most seriously threatened. The reason for this, it can be argued, is because manhood was fundamental to preserving the patriarchal order during the seventeenth century. Thus, it was an essential requirement of manhood to be able to govern the household effectively and sustain economic stability. Excessive alcohol consumption, as has been shown here, prohibited a man from doing this.

The most effective way to govern the household was through the joint government of a husband and wife. The husband would be the head of the household but, rather paradoxically, would rule in a partnership with his wife.⁴⁸ Such is the message in ballads such as, *The Careful Wife and the Comfortable Husband*, *The Householder's New-yeeres Gift*, *The Careful Wife's Good Counsel* and *The Cheerful*

⁴⁸ Susan Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725', in Fletcher and Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder*, pp. 196-217.

Husband.⁴⁹ The central message within each of these ballads is that a successful marriage is one built on working in a partnership,

Goe thou and ply they labour,
and I will worke with thee⁵⁰

Such was the comfort offered from the wife to her husband in the ballad *The Householder's New-yeeres Gift* when their hard work had yielded little harvest. However, the responsibility for familial and economic stability, as *The Cheerful Husband* illustrates, ultimately lays with the husband,

For while I live, I hope to keep,
With pains and care, my family⁵¹

Thus, notions of early modern manhood as presented through broadside ballads were, at least in part, centred on an ability to govern effectively the conduct of the household, conserve its economic stability, and this was achieved through a partnership between man and wife.

Affection, as much as partnership, was an important aspect of early modern marriage. Christopher Durston has argued that 'during the seventeenth century, it was widely believed that the most successful marriages were those in which the partners had been drawn together by mutual affection'.⁵² Keith Wrightson claims that, 'courtship among the lesser gentry, however, was a more personal, intimate and

⁴⁹ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Careful Wife and the Comfortable Husband'; 'The Householder's New-yeeres Gift', pp. 165-169, 169-174; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 2, 'The Careful Wife's Good Counsel', pp. 478-480; *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Cheerful Husband', pp. 515-517.

⁵⁰ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'The Householder's New-yeeres Gift' (1598), pp. 169-174.

⁵¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'The Cheerful Husband', p. 517.

⁵² Christopher Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 57.

romantic process'.⁵³ Anthony Fletcher, after an examination of nine case studies of married couples, concluded that early modern marriages contained an internal dynamic that was 'consisting of the hopes and desires, the strength of will and the emotional inclinations of the partners concerned'.⁵⁴ There is evidence of affection in marriage within the portraits examined.

The portrait of James II and Anne Hyde, painted in the 1660s, provides an opportunity for historians to gain a visual understanding of affection in marriage.⁵⁵ This is particularly pertinent here as James and Anne married secretly after Anne discovered she was pregnant. Therefore, this was clearly not a match decided upon and arranged by parents or family advisors.⁵⁶ Within the portrait James and Anne evidently share an affectionate union. Both figures are turned towards each other with their knees almost touching and James looks in adoration at Anne. A feeling of intimacy is achieved through the closeness of the couple both in proximity to each other and also to the spectator. The far-reaching landscape which can be seen in the background of the painting also underlines the feeling of intimacy. Moreover, a pillar, signifying stability, is shown behind the pair. This is very similar to the composition of the portrait of Arthur Capel and his wife Elizabeth the Countess of Essex.⁵⁷

The prescriptive model of the family directed that the husband was sovereign to his wife and family during the early modern period but, also, that marital and

⁵³ Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 73.

⁵⁴ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 172.

⁵⁵ See plate 18 in Appendix A below.

⁵⁶ John Miller, *The Stuarts* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004), p. 144

⁵⁷ See plate 19 in Appendix A below.

familial stability was best achieved through the partnership of husband and wife.⁵⁸ It can be also seen that partnership was not only ideal within marriage, but also a practical reality.⁵⁹ Evidence of partnership within marriage is depicted in the 1639 portrait of Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, and his wife Alatheia.⁶⁰ Oliver Millar has suggested that this portrait was commissioned to record the revival of the ‘Madagascar Scheme’, which sort to colonize the island under Arundel with the King’s permission.⁶¹ If this is indeed true, as is likely due to the attention given to the island on the globe within the painting, then it seems strange that Alatheia would also appear within the portrait. Moreover, Alatheia is a prominent feature within the composition of the painting, being positioned in front of her husband who is also partly hidden behind the globe. Arundel holds the Earl Marshal’s baton, a signifier of authority, in his hand above the globe. It could be argued that the authority is directed over his wife; however, this seems unlikely. As the baton is positioned over the globe it is more probable that his authority was concentrated over the Madagascan Island. Moreover, Arundel looks towards his wife as if seeking her advice or approval of the colonization. Thus giving Alatheia an amount of authority herself within the marriage. This point is further exemplified as Alatheia is in possession of tools of navigation, offering her importance both in the planning and

⁵⁸ For example see Susan Amussen, ‘Gender Order in Families and Villages’, in Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 95-133.; Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725’, pp. 196-217; Bernard Capp, ‘Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England’, in Paul Griffiths et al eds., *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 117-145, especially pp. 126-7.

⁵⁹ Wrightson, *English Society*, pp. 89-104.

⁶⁰ See Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, with Aletheia, Countess of Arundel (1639?) by Anthony Van Dyck, in Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1982), p. 99.

⁶¹ Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, p. 99.

the logistics of the colonization process. This is suggestive that partnership existed at least within Arundel's marriage, but it cannot be assumed that all marriages followed the example presented here by Thomas and Alatheia Howard.⁶²

Within the portrait of Arthur Capel and his wife Elizabeth, both affection and partnership remain key to notions of marriage. As mentioned above, the composition of the portrait bears a resemblance to that of James and Anne Hyde, and this is not surprising since both were painted by the same artist.⁶³ Of particular significance within this portrait is the sword which Capel brandishes. It is positioned between the couple and Elizabeth's gaze is drawn toward it. Swords were often a reference to the phallus, and there is no reason to suppose that this is not the case here.⁶⁴ It is evident within the portrait that Capel acts as a protector within the marriage, as Elizabeth sits in a sheltered area protected from the outside world by her husband. Moreover, Capel is situated in the traditional position of authority, and so this portrait underlines the argument trumpeted by early modern moralists who state that husbands were the ultimate head of the household.⁶⁵ It does not, however, weaken the possibility of a marriage centred on affection and partnership.

It must be remembered that the discussion of marriage presented above is grounded on an examination of men and women of the upper echelons of the social strata. As previously stated, the pendant and companion portraits identified were commissioned by those of the highest social standing, the monarchy and nobility, and not of those from the middling and lower orders. Conclusions made here cannot

⁶² Also see plates 20-21 in Appendix A below.

⁶³ See plates 18-19 in Appendix A below.

⁶⁴ Steinburg, L., 'Steen's Female Gaze and Other Ironies', *Artibus et Historiae* (1990), vol. 11:22, pp. 107-128.

⁶⁵ 'Sir Anthony Van Dyck's Portraits of Sir William and Lady Killigrew, 1638', *Tate Papers* (2004), vol. 1; date accessed 06.08.2005.

be assumed true of those of the immediately lesser ranks, or of the mass population of seventeenth century society. It is important, therefore, to recognize the inherent limitation of this sort of primary source material; evaluations can only be made of the upper, and to some extent upper-middling, levels of society.

Once married, it was the duty of a husband to provide for and protect his wife and family.⁶⁶ In order to fulfil such duties effectively, husband and wife were to live within the same household under the same roof. Robert Burnam of London was so concerned with how badly his reputation had suffered because he and his wife lived separately that in 1645 he published a public declaration, which proclaimed he was a good husband and trumpeted his Christian nature. Several witness statements supported his announcement.⁶⁷ His wife, it appears, had previously published two libels that whole-heartedly blamed their separation on Robert Burnam. According to Burnam, separation, except in cases where adultery had been committed, was ‘abominable and contrary to the rule of Christ’.⁶⁸ Indeed, it was the jurisdiction of the church courts to examine presentments of separation cases, and it would appear that not everyone in Nottinghamshire during the late sixteenth century took such emphatic views on the matter as Robert Burnam.

Nicholas Whelpdale of Mansfield Woodhouse was brought before the archdeaconry court of Nottinghamshire on the 4th August 1565 for ‘not living with his wife’. The judge warned him to live with his wife according to the law and ‘did

⁶⁶ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; Susan Amussen, ‘The Part of a Christian Man’: The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England’, in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 213-233., pp. 213-233; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, especially chapter 3.

⁶⁷ Burnam, R., *A Remonstrance, Or a Necessitated Vindication of Robert Burnam* (London, 1645).

⁶⁸ Burnam, *A Remonstrance*, p. 13.

commande him to use her as he ought to do, and as becometh an honest man for to use his wife as well as in deedes as in wordes'.⁶⁹ The implication is that a husband's reputation for honesty was achieved and maintained through proper relations with his wife, which would include both their sexual and non-sexual relationship. The possible threat of adultery, which marital separation could muster, perhaps deeply concerned Nottinghamshire authorities. Separation could have dislocating effects on the community, both socially and economically.

Husbands and wives living apart from each other had the potential to disrupt community life, particularly in economic terms. Putting to one side the financial implications of adultery, wherein familial income could be directed away from the family and spent on extra-marital partners, it was the husband's duty to provide for and protect his wife and family. Separation could leave women impoverished and dependent on friends, neighbours and the parish. So when in 1581 John Tynker of Blyth admitted 'that he lyveth from his wife in her defalt', he was ordered to 'fetche her again' under the penalty of ten pounds.⁷⁰ The amount of money involved is suggestive of the importance placed on husbands and wives living conjugally. Moreover, it could well have been a motivating force for John Tynker to re-assert his authority over his wife. If their living apart was her 'defalt' as Tynker claims, then she was in effect eschewing her husband's patriarchal authority.

In some cases, though, the submission of wives to their husbands was never realised, even when ordered by the ecclesiastical courts. In April 1583, Robert Bee of North Collingham was enjoined to live with his wife when it was claimed that he 'and his wife doe lyve a sonder'.⁷¹ Less than a month later he was again brought

⁶⁹ NAO, M461, 4 August 1565, p.3.

⁷⁰ NAO, M461, 6 May 1581, p. 54(-17).

⁷¹ NAO, M461, 24 April and 15th May 1583, p. 54(-25).

before the archdeaconry courts to explain why he and his wife still lived apart, when he stated that ‘he hath done his indevor to fetche her whome to his house, but she hath flatly denied hym, neyther wyll she yelde herself to hym’. The case was adjourned and, unfortunately, no mention of how it was resolved appears in the records. It would seem that Robert Bee had been taken at his word on his efforts to bring his wife home, or else she had moved away from the area; in any case Bee did not suffer any formal punishment for living separately from his wife.

Isabell Nevell did not receive the same favours as Robert Bee. Isabell appeared before the court in the summer of 1565 to answer why she did not live with her husband.⁷² The judge ordered her ‘to seek diligently for her husband and thenceforth to remain and cohabitt with him’. It was her responsibility to find her husband who, it would seem, had abandoned her and his patriarchal duties. In addition to this, the judge further ordered that ‘Isabell should no longer remain in Carleton’. The circumstances of the Nevells’ separation is not known, but it can be surmised that without male authority Isabell would most likely have been considered an economic burden, and possibly a social nuisance, to the rest of the community in Carleton once her husband had left her. There is evidence to suggest that so long as husbands still provided for their wives their separation could be tolerated. A case in point is that of Edward Jackson who was brought before the East Retford sessions in April 1583 because he ‘lyveth from his wife’.⁷³ Jackson claimed that ‘althoughe he does lyve from her [his wife] yet forth he releve her to his abylytie’ and furthermore the ‘Vicare doth affyrme the same’. Jackson’s case was dismissed. It can be seen that the financial imperative of their marriage union was being maintained even if conjugal living was not. That the vicar of the parish provided evidence to support

⁷² NAO, M461, 2 June 1565, p. 1.

⁷³ NAO, M461, 26 April 1583, p. 54(-26).

Edward Jackson's claim is indicative that the spiritual function of marriage was perhaps of less significance than its socio-economic purpose within community life.

Nevertheless, a husband's duties not only required him to provide for his wife and family, but also obligated him to protect them too. Susanna Cawton received no such protection from her husband. James Cawton first appeared before the sessions at St Peter in June 1617 to divorce or legally separate from his wife.⁷⁴ In July of the same year the defendant, Susanna Cawton, appeared to answer why she could not live with her husband, wherein her lawyer Mr Allen alleged that 'it was impossible for the defendant to live in the same house as her husband, without risk to her life and detriment to her health'. Mr Allen continued to state that

the plaintiff [James Cawton] had used insulting words to and badly and inhumanely beaten the defendant and laid violent hands on her, and had and still detains her clothes or some of them, and withheld nourishment from her although due to her by law as his wife, so that the defendant was deprived of all necessaries for the support of her life, so that she was destitute and could not support herself and proceed with this action.⁷⁵

James was ordered to pay Susanna two shillings a week by way of alimony, return all her clothes for her own use, and to pay her court costs as well as his own. The case closed with James Cawton's excommunication, which was a very serious punishment. James had completely eschewed his husbandly duties and had in fact acted against the prescriptions of patriarchal authority. By physically harming his wife, and denying her clothes and nourishment, James Cawton was disregarding the responsibilities which patriarchy afforded him. The penalty for such contestation was to be cut off from the Church, the centre of community life. Marriage, it can be argued, provided the testing ground of manhood, wherein a man's ability to protect

⁷⁴ NAO, M463, 19 June, 3 July, 17 July, 23 July, 25 September and 16 October 1617, pp. 369-70.

⁷⁵ NAO, M463, 23 July 1617, p. 369.

and provide for his wife and family were key. A husband's reputation for honesty was linked directly with his spousal relationship.

The testing ground of manhood within a familial context has most often been linked with sexual behaviour: the test is that of a man's ability for self-control and asserting his authority over others.⁷⁶ There was almost certainly a sexual component to prescriptions of manhood, and a man's reputation could suffer for sexual misdemeanours. Both the secular and ecclesiastical courts held women *and* men accountable for sexual crimes. There was no distinction, for example, between the punishments given to Robert Vittyte and Frances [?] when they appeared at the Newark quarter sessions in April 1604: both were 'to be stript to the waist and whipped, for incontinence, till their bodies are bloody'.⁷⁷ The punishment received by both parties was public, humiliating, and painful. Blame was not apportioned more on one side than the other, suggesting that both were equally culpable for their crime. It could be claimed that Frances was punished for her unchaste behaviour, whilst Robert was punished for his inability to control his passions, but as there is no real evidence to support this suggestion the point should not be over-stressed.

⁷⁶ Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1999), no. 162, pp. 70-100; Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1959), vol. 20:2, pp. 195-216; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Amussen, *An Ordered Society*; Laura Gowing, *Women, Sex and Honour: The London Church Courts, 1572-1640* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1993); Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', pp. 1-21; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Contrast with Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England c.1580-1640', *Past and Present* (2000), no. 167, pp. 75-106; Garthine Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996), sixth series, 6, pp. 235-45.

⁷⁷ NAO, C/QSM1/66/1, Newark, 18 April 1604.

Public humiliation was a common method of punishing those men who committed sexual offences, such as fornication and adultery, both of which appeared before the church courts. Penance, as a form of shaming ritual, would take place in very open places, such as at church or in the market place.⁷⁸ The idea was to disgrace the character of the offender and deter others from committing similar crimes. In January 1626, Edmund Garland was ordered to do penance on three days ‘with Capital letters on his breast and back for keepinge a house of bawdrie’.⁷⁹ The crime committed and punishment received had no real bearing on Edmund’s own sexual activities, although this is implied, but was more concerned with the exportation of sin and vice that bawdrie houses were thought to propagate. Such establishments, too, lacked the order and authority expected within society. The public humiliation of Edmund Garland must have been considered a fitting punishment for such a crime.

Thomas Lee of Bilsthorpe felt the full force of the church courts’ utilisation of public shaming in September 1583, when he appeared before the court ‘suspected to have lived incestuously with his wyfes sister’.⁸⁰ For this offence, to which he pleaded guilty, Thomas Lee was ordered to do penance in Nottingham Market Place on Saturday, Newark Market Place on Wednesday, Mansfield Market Place on Thursday and Retford Market Place the following Saturday. He was also to do penance in his own parish church on ‘foure Sundayes, and once at Eykringe and Winckbourne’.⁸¹ The extent of this punishment reflects the perceived severity of the crime committed; Thomas was to be publicly shamed on ten separate occasions, half

⁷⁸ Dave Postles, ‘Penance and the Market Place: A Reformation Dialogue with the Medieval Church, c. 1250-1600’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2003), vol. 54, pp. 441-468.

⁷⁹ NAO, M463, 21 January 1625-6, p. 430.

⁸⁰ NAO, M461, 17 September 1583, p. 54(-33).

⁸¹ NAO, M461, 17 September 1583, p. 54(-33).

of which were to occur within the same week, at several different locations. He was to be made an example of within his own and wider communities. Moreover, this punishment would interrupt his life quite severely, having to take time away from his work and family in order to travel to these places to carry out the penance. There is no suggestion within the records that his wife's sister was formally punished for her part in the crime.

There was clearly a sexual component to male honour, which could be undermined by a man's own behaviour, but there is evidence to suggest that this did not form the centrepiece of a man's reputation. Richard Clarke, who was presented for fornication with Katherine, another man's servant, pleaded guilty to the charge, as did William White of Ruddington who was suspected of adultery with his own servant; Edward Burche also pleaded guilty for committing adultery with the widow Joan Sheele.⁸² All three men were ordered to do penance. That these men did not contest the charge suggests that submission to the courts and acceptance of punishment was perhaps one method through which reputation could be resorted, as doing penance provided an expiation of the sexual misdemeanour committed.

On occasion the crime committed bore less relation to the outcome of the case than whom the defendant knew. Anthony Wolley of St. Peter's parish, Nottingham, was brought before the church court suspected of adultery. To this accusation he pleaded guilty, but claimed that 'Mr Mayre of Nottingham hath taken order for his punishment'.⁸³ Two weeks later he appeared before the court again and produced a document sealed with the common seal of the Mayor of Nottingham; the case was dismissed. In this instance, despite pleading guilty to the crime,

⁸² NAO, DDTS 14/26/6, 11 October 1600, 319; NAO DDTS 14/26/7, 17 April 1602, 497; NAO DDTS 14/26/7, 17 April 1602, 498.

⁸³ NAO, M461, 8 January 1582-3, p. 54(-21).

punishment was circumvented because of whom Wolley knew and so it is possible to suggest that because of this Wolley felt he could freely admit his sexual exploits with relative impunity, whilst at the same time submitting to the authority of the court. But other men, such as Edward Reade of South Collingham, did contest the charges of adultery made against them. Reade stood accused of committing adultery with the wife of John Brittaine, which he denied, and presented four compurgators, or witnesses, to state the same under oath.⁸⁴ The charge against him was consequently dismissed.

It can be seen that in Nottingham during the early modern period, despite the efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities, men often fell short of the prescriptions of manhood. There is evidence of men living separately from their wives and eschewing their patriarchal duties and of others engaging in illicit sexual relations and committing adultery, and it has been suggested that such conduct had economic as well as social implications.

Fatherhood and Parental Relations

Given the prominence which patriarchy has enjoyed in previous histories of early modern men, it is odd that more attention has not been given to fatherhood and its role in shaping early modern ideas surrounding manhood and manliness. However, in recent years, studies of fatherhood from an historical perspective have become more prevalent. This can be seen, for example, in the *Journal of Family History*, which in 1999 ran a special issue on fatherhood.⁸⁵ The author of the introduction to this special issue, Robert Griswold, commented on the growth of academic interest in fatherhood. Griswold claimed that, 'to understand fatherhood historically [...] is to

⁸⁴ NAO, DDTS 14/26/7, 19 May 1602, 505.

⁸⁵ 'Special Issue on Fatherhood', *Journal of Family History* (1999), vol. 24:3.

explore a major part of what it means to be a man, to define a key part of masculine identity, to uncover the shifting boundaries between manhood and womanhood'.⁸⁶ It is interesting that Griswold has highlighted the importance of considering fatherhood in relation to manhood, a connection which has so far received very little attention within the current historical debates concerning early modern manhood.⁸⁷

I received the unfortunate news of the death of my son George by the small-pox, a very beautiful, apt, understanding child. It was a great affliction to me; but God gives, and God takes, and blessed be the name of the Lord.⁸⁸

This is the diary entry which Sir John Reresby wrote concerning his fourth son's death on April 5th 1689, having heard only seven days prior of George's illness. It is not a long passage, but it is one which clearly and concisely lays bare the emotional bond between a father and his son. The Puritan Minister Henry Newcome also demonstrated affection for his children particularly his son Daniel in his diary entries, describing Daniel as his 'finest boy' and Harry as his 'best child'. Newcome further describes occasions where he sat with the children all evening, helped his sons with their Latin, tended to his son Peter when he was sick, and felt saddened when he had to discipline the children.⁸⁹ These are not the musings of men who did not care for their offspring. Rather, these diary entries, amongst many others which

⁸⁶ Robert Griswold, 'Introduction to Special Issue on Fatherhood', *Journal of Family History* (1999), vol. 24:3, p. 251.

⁸⁷ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; Amussen, 'The Part of a Christian Man', pp. 213-233; Foyster, 'A Laughing Matter?' pp. 5-21; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern*; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited', pp. 70-100.

⁸⁸ Reresby, *Memoirs*, 5 April 1689, p. 570. It is thought that George was born in April 1678 making him circa 11 years old, p. 138.

⁸⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke ed., *English Family Life, 1576-1716* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 156-60. [Henry Newcome (1627-1695) 1657-65; passages referred to 8 August 1658, 23 October 1661, 4 February 1662, 7 February 1662, 19 February 1662, 8 July 1662, 6 October 1664].

both Linda Pollock and Ralph Houlbrooke have identified, suggest that fathers played an active role in rearing their children.⁹⁰ And, furthermore, that fathers formed emotional bonds with their children.

As it was suggested in chapter three above, the purpose of the conduct manuals, which take the form of a father's advice, was to instruct male youths on how to become a man and how to govern their own behaviour, and that of inferior others, in a manner befitting manhood. But books of fatherly advice could also be manuals of instruction for men on how to act as fathers. The information provided not only counselled male youths on how to become men, they also offered a useful guide to the kind of advice fathers should be able to give their sons—a template for fatherhood if you like. That this advice was presented as fatherly counsel is suggestive that it was to fathers that sons looked for instruction and example of how to act like a man. There is a further suggestion that these lessons were best learnt during the years of adolescence.

Caleb Trenchfield's advice manual to his son, *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Greenhead*, printed in 1671, provides tantalising evidence which is suggestive that fathers had hands-on experience in rearing their children from as young as babes. The advice given from father to son, to which I am referring, is concerned with bringing up children. Trenchfield questions the medical advice trumpeted by physicians of how best to feed babies and infants, using his own experience of raising ten children, in advising his son how best to look after very young children.

He writes:

And though the Physicians generally decry the use of Milk, as too too Phlegmatick, and not convenient; yet doth not my own experience as much assert it; there being ten of you, who I believe vye with such a

⁹⁰ Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children, Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*.

number of any one mans in the world beside, for health, strength and straitness, who have been all true Trojans at a milk-bowl⁹¹

Whether or not he actually had any dealings with feeding the children, or directed what they were fed, or sought female advice on the matter to pass on to his son, is questionable. But this particular passage is telling that men could and did make it their business to know, and have opinions about, what made the best nourishment for small children. Moreover, it was considered appropriate that a father should impart this kind of knowledge to his male offspring. The passage is also suggestive that Trenchfield read medical treatises concerning the health and welfare of all family members, thus taking responsibility for his family's well being as well as for his son's education on becoming a man. This responsibility, as Ben-Amos has suggested, did not diminish as children grew older and this is illustrated in prescriptive advice literature.⁹²

One thing which becomes most apparent in reading the diary of Isaac Archer is the complex, difficult and often fraught relationship he had with his father William; and this continued throughout his lifetime until William Archer's death in the summer of 1670.⁹³ Even after his father's death, William's influence over Isaac does not wane.⁹⁴ There is little question that relationships between parents and offspring remained important to both parties even after children had grown up, left

⁹¹ Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Greenhead, Or, The Fathers Counsel to his Son, An Apprentice in London* (London, 1671), pp. 153-4.

⁹² Ilanna Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and Their Offspring in Early Modern England, *Journal of Family History* (2000), vol. 25:3, pp. 291-312.

⁹³ Archer, *Diary*, 131/1670, 25 August 1670, pp. 122-3.

⁹⁴ For Matthew Storey's general overview of the diary see Archer, *Diary*, pp. 1-26.

home and started their own families.⁹⁵ It has been seen in chapter three that boys were expected to learn and practise manly attributes from a very young age, and it was suggested that in the first instance such educative lessons were provided by the father, or by father figures within the immediate family and kinfolk.

It has been suggested here and in chapter three above that during the early modern period fathers did have an active role in the upbringing of their children and, moreover, that it was the father's responsibility to ensure that male children grew up knowing the attributes of manhood, and how to behave as a man should. Certainly there is evidence, at a prescriptive level, to suggest that this was indeed the case. Being focused on the prescriptions of the father-son relationships meant, however, that some limitations have occurred, as it has focused on the upper-middling and higher ranks of the social strata, and it has excluded the role of women from consideration. Perhaps more serious than this, though, is the sense that fatherhood was a duty that had to be undertaken, rather than a relationship that could be enjoyed, which this kind of source material invokes. Diarists' accounts, such as those discussed in chapter three above, reveal that fathers were involved in rearing their children but, more than this, they lay bare the emotional bonds made between fathers and their children. Early indications point to the conclusion that fathers were not passive or marginal figures within the family, nor were they necessarily authoritarian dictators, but they were instrumental in ensuring the mental, physical, moral, and future well being of their offspring.

⁹⁵ Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding', pp. 291-312; Elizabeth Foyster, 'Parenting Was for Life, Not Just for Childhood: the Role of Parents in the Married Lives of their Children in Early Modern England', *History* (2001), vol. 86, no. 283, pp. 313-327; Lisa Klein, 'Lady Anne Clifford as Mother and Matriarch: Domestic and Dynastic Issues in Her Life and Writings', *Journal of Family History* (2001), vol. 26:1, pp. 18-38.

Community and Conviviality

It was suggested in chapter four above that drinking formed an integral part of the manliness of male youth, who competed with their fellows in acts of bravado and bragging. Here it will be examined to what extent drinking and conviviality played a role in the reputation of adult men who could claim full manhood. ‘Good fellows’ is the term applied to a group of men who often went drinking together, and their friendship rested only on their drinking habit. Frequently the ‘fellows’ would hide from their wives in taverns when they should have been at work. Such is the case in the ballad *A Messe of Good Fellowes*, wherein the *fellows*, after drinking all day in the tavern get up to leave but end up ordering more drink.⁹⁶ The two men in the ballad *Mondaye’s Work* describe how they got drunk the night before and so were in need of the ‘hair of the dog’. Instead of going to work, the pair head for the tavern. The two men were clearly aware that they should not waste the day drinking, and their greatest fear lay in being found by their wives,

But if my wife Jone
Knew where I were gone,
Shee’d call me to a parley.⁹⁷

The fickleness of the ‘good fellows’ is described in the ballad *The Good-fellow’s Advice*, wherein the ‘fellow’ finds himself friendless and without credit once all his money was spent,

Now I have spent my meanes,
And have no money to pay,
I’m quite bereft of friends.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Roxburghe*, vol. II, part 1, ‘A Messe of Good Fellowes’ (1634), pp. 143-148.

⁹⁷ *Roxburghe*, vol. II, part 1, ‘Mondaye’s Worke’ (1632), pp. 149-153.

⁹⁸ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 1, ‘The Good-fellow’s Advice’ (1601-1640), pp. 261-267.

Here the 'fellow' had spent all of his household's income on ale, and the second part of the ballad is his lamentation of not being more careful with his money. It is revealed that the way he sought to replenish his estate was to give up drink, take counsel from his wife, and live under her rule. Nevertheless, it can be assumed this was a course of action never taken, as it was due to start 'Next Munday', a day that may never come.

The means by which to replenish the estate presented above was a method which was undertaken by other drunkards in the ballads examined. Drinking, it appears, was most likely to damage a man's reputation through his inability to conserve financial stability. For married men, advice on the ills of drinking and the necessity to save money for the future was commonly voiced by the wife, and could come in the form of a threat. Such is the case in the ballad *A Merry Discourse*.⁹⁹ Here the wife finds that her drunken husband has been pawning her possessions in order to fund his drinking habits. At first she is angry at her husband's behaviour and threatens to beat him in public if ever she found him in the tavern. The husband, however, seemed less concerned with the physical abuse he might have had to endure, than he was with how badly his reputation would be affected if his neighbours found out his wife would ever beat him. The threat works, and the husband vows to surrender his habit and work hard to support them both.

The wifely counsel in the ballad *A Dainty New Dialogue Between Henry and Elizabeth* is a little less brash and a little more imploring.¹⁰⁰ Here the dialogue is focused upon a discussion between a sot of a husband and his wife who is trying to counsel him against drinking. At first the husband, *Harry*, thought that his wife's language was abusive and he accused her of scolding, when in reality she was trying

⁹⁹ *Roxburghe B*, vol. I, 'A Merry Discourse' (1634-7?), pp. 325-331.

¹⁰⁰ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Dainty New Dialogue Between Henry and Elizabeth', pp. 664-666.

to make him realise he had been a bad husband. The wife, *Elizabeth*, claimed that it was because of her labour and financial sense that the husband and children had survived, because he spent all the money he could get in the alehouse,

To me and my children thou hast been unkind; And what should have served us at home to maintain Thou hast in the ale-house wasted in vain, Amongst merry fellows, and such as thou art, Whilst I sat at home with a sorrowful heart.¹⁰¹

It is revealed that *Harry* pawned their goods, spent all their money, and was imprisoned because he was in debt due to habitual drinking. Throughout all this *Elizabeth* had provided for and supported both him and their children, and towards the end of the ballad *Harry* is made to realise that he had neglected his family. He asks his wife's counsel wherein she advises,

Remember your children, and think upon me; Look well to thy business, take heed what you spend And have a care how you borrow or lend.¹⁰²

It is interesting to note that in this case, even though *Elizabeth* had effectively headed the household all the time her husband was a drunkard, she did not advise him to be ruled by her; thereby reinforcing the patriarchal order. Thus, *Harry* replies 'Thy counsel is good wife, a counsel I will take'. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if drunkenness was one method by which a man could harm his manhood then, for married men at least, it was through his wife's advice and support that he could restore it.¹⁰³

There is further evidence within the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts records which suggests that many early modern men

¹⁰¹ *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Dainty New Dialogue', p. 665.

¹⁰² *Roxburghe*, vol. III, part 3, 'A Dainty New Dialogue', p. 666.

¹⁰³ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 40-44, 47-8, 80, 109, 118, 120.

disregarded the prescriptions of manhood. On the 12th May 1612, John Thacker of Warsop appeared before the church court ‘for not sendinge his children to catechisme & for drinking in the alehouse in prayer time’.¹⁰⁴ The suggestion is that John was not performing his familial duties, by not ensuring his children went to church lessons, in favour of drinking in the alehouse. John denied the accusation and was dismissed with a warning. The focus of the church courts was less concerned with *whether* or not men drank excessively than *when* such drinking habits occurred. Thomas Stubbin of Mansfield was accused of ‘drinckinge in the alehouse in tyme of divine service’ and was ordered to purge himself, which would involve finding a number of witnesses who would testify to his good name.¹⁰⁵ George Williamson of Blythe was also charged ‘for beinge in the ale house in tyme of divine service’.¹⁰⁶ George, however, justified his whereabouts explaining ‘that by reason of a showre of rain he did gow into the alehouse upon the Sobaoth daye & there staid in tyme of divine service’. Seemingly the excuse worked and he was dismissed.

Whilst the ecclesiastical courts were concerned with ensuring men’s and women’s attendance at church services, the presentments of non-attendance do reveal that merriment functioned as an important role in male sociability. William Oakes and Richard Lincolne, the churchwardens of Tuxford, both denied ‘that theie did playe ay cardes or drincke in tyme of divine service’, but William did admit ‘that he was present in the alehouse whilst others were drinckinge’.¹⁰⁷ George Elliott of Broughton was dismissed with a warning ‘for pipinge in the alehouse upon the

¹⁰⁴ NAO, M462, 12 May 1612, p. 316.

¹⁰⁵ NAO, M462, 13 April 1616, pp. 350-1. See pp. 148-9 above; Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*, pp. 51-2, 293.

¹⁰⁶ NAO, M462, 27 July 1613, p. 332.

¹⁰⁷ NAO, M462, 1 October 1612, p. 320.

Sabaoth daye in tyme of service'.¹⁰⁸ Drinking and social activities could take place in the home as well as the alehouse. James Dring of St. Mary's parish, Nottingham, appeared before the church courts 'for keeping company drincking in his house divers Sabboath dayes in tyme of divine service'. He admitted that 'he hath some tymes had strangers in his house that woulde not goe to church in the after noone service tyme', and was dismissed with a warning.¹⁰⁹ Gabriel Buxton was likewise dismissed with a warning when he was accused of keeping 'companie drinking in his house in sermon time'; he explained that 'Perepont Kinder came to fetche his cloake & so called for drinke' and 'that hee was at the reading of the first lesson'.¹¹⁰ Evan Breedon of Edwinstowe was ordered to pay the court fees when he admitted 'keepinge a piper in his house and dauncinge'.¹¹¹ Drinking and game playing provided the basis of male interaction and sociability. These cases come to light not because fellows drank together, but because of *when* they drank together, and for the most part they were dismissed with a warning. It is when acts of merriment became habitual that a man's reputation could come under question.

James Hartley of North Collingham appeared before the courts charged 'for dronkeness and [being] a comond dronkard and a comond swearer and a sower of discord'.¹¹² He was ordered to produce six witnesses to testify that he was not guilty of any of the listed faults. James managed to find four men willing to speak for him. All swore that 'he ys not a common dronckard' and claimed the same for swearing, but when James swore 'that he ys not a sower of discord' all of his compurgators refused to be sworn. Consequently, James was ordered to do penance in the church.

¹⁰⁸ NAO, M462, 19 May 1610, p. 311.

¹⁰⁹ NAO, M463, 8 October 1631, p. 467.

¹¹⁰ NAO, M463, 15 December 1627, p. 439.

¹¹¹ NAO, M463, 3 June 1617, p. 367.

¹¹² NAO, M461, 18 November 1584, p. 54(-55).

Although not a common drunkard, an offence that could result in serious punishment, James Hartley's behaviour had seemingly disrupted community life to the extent that he had to be publicly shamed. The message was clear to other men in North Collingham: lack of self-control would result in a tarnished reputation. The curate of Saundby's reputation was called into question by Thomas Parnell, who claimed 'that Mr Tuke lieth at the alehouse drunk 24 hours together'.¹¹³ Parnell further called Tuke 'Rogue & Rascall & beggarly priest and did bid him kiss his great sow on the arse'. For this outburst Thomas Parnell was ordered to do penance and to pay the court fees, and when he refused to do so he was excommunicated. Questioning another man's—a clergyman's—reputation resulted in Parnell's exclusion from the church. Reputation, then, was key in upholding manhood.

So it can be seen that merriment, drinking and dancing formed an integral part of male social interaction, which could sometimes lead to trouble with the ecclesiastical courts for missing Church services. But there are instances within the records that reveal more serious problems associated with drinking. For instance, Thomas Coates of Ollerton was accused of incontinence with the wife of Whalehead, of the same parish, or at least with attempting her chastity. In his defence, Thomas swore 'that hee being merrie with drinke did offer to kisse the said Whalehead's wife' and he was consequently dismissed with a warning. Ostensibly this court case appears to be a rather rash over-reaction on the part of either Whalehead, his wife, the authorities or all three, in bringing a charge of incontinence—which in legal terms is a lack of sexual restraint and could result in fairly harsh punishment. But we should read this case as one that reveals the fear and anxiety felt by early modern society concerning the possible disorder and unruliness resultant from drinking. We

¹¹³ NAO, M463, 1 August 1626, p. 433.

can assume that had Thomas Oates been sober, he would not have attempted to kiss another man's wife.

Henry Jameson, a husbandman from Burton Joyce, was charged with being a common drunkard in 1604.¹¹⁴ On the 4th June 1634, Robert Halesthorpe of Kellam was charged 'for commyng home drunck the 23rd of March last being a Sundaye and beating his wife in tyme of divine service'. When this case was entered into the records Robert Halesthorpe was not present at court, and so did not answer the charge, and was therefore cited 'viis et modis'.¹¹⁵ Roughly translated, this means 'by ways and means', and essentially meant that an order to appear in court would have been pinned to the defendant's door. Unfortunately no further mention of this case appears in the records, and so we must assume that Halesthorpe either received some form of informal punishment doled out by the local community, or else he escaped the charge. From the evidence provided in such a short record, it is not clear whether Halesthorpe's drunkenness, his failure to attend Church, his violence towards his wife or a mixture of all three was considered to be the worse crime committed. All that can be said with some surety is that drink and violence played a part in this episode of disorder.

There were very clear messages on the prescriptions of manhood: men were to marry and provide for their wife and family, they were to safeguard their sexual and non-sexual fidelity and they were to exercise self-control. These prescripts were trumpeted by moralists, in popular culture and by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Each of these dictates of male behaviour was couched in patriarchal terms, with the ultimate goal of maintaining social order. What the evidence presented here suggests is that whilst the authorities tried to enforce such codes, they

¹¹⁴ NAO, C/QSM1/66/3, Newark 20 October 1605.

¹¹⁵ NAO, M463, 4 June 1634, p. 481.

were frequently questioned, contested and flouted in the daily lives of men and women during the early modern period. For the most part, the men discussed above were among those who should have been able to stake a claim to full manhood. Getting drunk and committing sexual misdemeanours were actions which openly defied the patriarchal doctrines of manhood.

Martial Manliness and Gentility

During the early modern period it was possible for men to exert and display their manliness, and therefore their masculine identity, through means outside of a purely familial setting. As the seventeenth century unfolded, martial honour became increasingly important to and visible in representations and perceptions of manliness. In this final section of chapter five, the extent to which martial manliness was a feature in the paintings of elite men during the long seventeenth century will be explored. Whilst evidence of the prominence of martial honour, which can be drawn from such source material as portraiture, can only be applied to those in the upper echelons of the social strata, it would seem that the related qualities of courage, strength and fortitude were equally important further down the social ranks. It has been shown in chapter four above, for example, that some young men participated in acts of bravado, violence and fighting in order to assert their masculine identity through claims of manliness, as the status of full manhood was, as yet, unattainable. Moreover, certainly by the end of the seventeenth century, tales of courageous soldiers became prevalent in broadside ballads.¹¹⁶ Such politically charged songs

¹¹⁶ *Bagford*, vol. II, 'The Soldier's Return' (1690-93), pp. 338-340; 'The Valiant Soldier's Misfortune' (1690), pp. 350-352; 'The Soldier's Departure from his Love' (1685-88), pp. 355-358; 'The Courageous Soldier of the West' (1690), pp. 365-368; 'The Courageous English Boys of Severall Trades and Callings' (1691), pp. 381-383; 'Jack French-Man's Defeat' (1708), pp. 386-389.

and ditties reinforced that manliness and honour could be achieved through acts of bravery and soldiery. A fuller discussion of this aspect of manliness across the social strata lies outside the remit of this thesis. Here, what will follow, is an examination of the evidence for and significance of martial manliness in the portraiture of elite men during the early modern period.

Men dressed as soldiers, or with military connotations, appear frequently in the paintings examined.¹¹⁷ This is hardly surprising when it is considered that so much of the period concerned is plagued by war, within England, Britain and Ireland and on the Continent. The first painting to be discussed here could actually have featured in chapter three above, as it is a portrait of prince Charles, whilst still a boy, dressed as a military leader.¹¹⁸ This portrait is important for two reasons. Firstly, as Charles was probably only twelve years old in this portrait, it reinforces the notion of the ‘mini-man’ outlined in chapter three above and, secondly, this portrait demonstrates many of the central aspects of martial manliness which could be accomplished through soldiery, violence and battle.

The element of war is clearly depicted within this portrait. In the bottom left-hand corner a decapitated head can be seen. According to Malcolm Rogers this is actually Medusa’s head.¹¹⁹ Medusa is symbolic of destruction and the horrors of war and this is also true of snakes which can be seen around the head.¹²⁰ An axe lies across the head; this symbolises the power possessed by the Royalist forces. In the

¹¹⁷ See plates 24-32 in Appendix A below.

¹¹⁸ This portrait was painted by William Dobson probably in 1642-3. The painting is reportedly a commemoration of the boy’s participation in the battle of Edgehill, but there is no firm evidence to support this. See Malcolm Rogers, *William Dobson 1611-46*, (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1983), pp. 35-6.

¹¹⁹ Rogers, *William Dobson*. p. 36

¹²⁰ Cooper, *Traditional Symbols*, pp. 146-51

background, to the left, a cavalry war scene is depicted. War scenes demonstrated power and organisation and they have been incorporated into many of the portraits examined.¹²¹ John Miller, Barry Coward and David Smith have all agreed that the battle of Edgehill was inconclusive, so here the war scene could simply be a celebration of the young prince's survival through his first battle.¹²² This is important as it is a certification of the boy's physical strength, courage and military prowess.

The positioning of Charles' arms links him to two important aspects of the picture. Firstly, he is holding a baton in his right hand. The baton is representative of authority and military office and appears numerous times within the portraits examined.¹²³ The fact that he has this object in his right hand is important for two reasons. Firstly, the right hand is the hand of power and so this adds power to authority; secondly, the baton is positioned over the battle scene and this is suggestive that Charles had power and authority either within or arising from battle. Another important aspect which Charles' arm links him to is the helmet which his left hand rests on. The page holding the helmet probably indicates loyalty. This could be Charles' loyalty to his father. The helmet is symbolic of heroism, therefore suggesting that prince Charles was considered to be, or considered himself to be, a military hero.¹²⁴ Having the left arm raised a little also makes it possible for the hilt of Charles' sword to be clearly seen. As discussed in chapter three above, the sword

¹²¹ See plates 6, 9, and 32 in Appendix A below.

¹²² Miller, *The Stuarts*, p. 102; Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age England, 1603-1714* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), p. 207; David Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603-1707: The Double Crown* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 137.

¹²³ See plates 7-8, 10, 19, 25-28, 31 in Appendix A below.

¹²⁴ Helmets are another common feature within the portraits examined. See plates 5-6, 18, 31 in Appendix A below.

when depicted with young males was a motif which signified the promise of future manhood. The sword is clearly an important feature within portraits of men, as well as boys, and there are many examples of this.¹²⁵ A final point must be made about this portrait; the way in which Charles is dressed is to emphasise his high social ranking and wealth, two key features of patriarchal manhood. Moreover, the entire portrait has been concerned with depicting the young prince as already in possession of many of the qualities required to achieve patriarchal manhood.

The 1629 portrait of Horace, Lord Vere was very much a portrayal of his career as an army officer.¹²⁶ D. J. B. Trim has claimed that those researching the seventeenth century have largely ignored Horace Vere, and this is largely because he was the younger of two brothers. Whilst both brothers enjoyed successful military careers it is the older brother, Francis, who is remembered, partly because he was ‘a gifted self publicist’.¹²⁷ Horace Vere did, however, have his portrait painted and it embodies his own military career. Within the portrait Vere is dressed in armour. This is black, and was most likely only a decorative suit rather than one used for battle. More importantly, within the portrait, there is an inset painting of a battle scene. This painting within a painting could well be representative of Vere’s military activities during the 1620s.¹²⁸ The portrait is entirely concerned with promoting the virtues of martial honour, but portraits could also mark promotion and social advancement.

¹²⁵ See plates 24-32 in Appendix A below; although in plates 29, 30, 32 the sword motif has been replaced with either a gun or a canon.

¹²⁶ See Horace Vere (1629) attributed to Michael Jansz Van Miereveldt (National Portrait Gallery, London).

¹²⁷ D. J. B. Trim, ‘Vere, Horace, Baron Vere of Tilbury (1565-1635)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn.), accessed 30.09.04.

¹²⁸ Although his campaigns abroad were militarily unsuccessful, Vere was given a hero’s status in England; see Trim, ‘Vere, Horace, Baron Vere of Tilbury’.

Being promoted to a higher office was an achievement which was often marked by a portrait. Two examples, which will be discussed, are those of Francis Bacon and Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl of Manchester.¹²⁹ Bacon was both promoted in office, to Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage, gaining the barony of Verulam, in the year 1618. It is possible that the portrait of Bacon dated circa 1618 was commissioned specifically in honour of his recent social advancement, not least because within the painting Bacon is wearing his Lord Chancellor's robes. Edward Montagu also had his social advancement celebrated by a dedication of himself in oils on canvas. Montagu, however, was more extravagant than most having two portraits completed within relatively quick succession in the early 1660s. The two paintings were obviously commissioned to celebrate his promotion in office and progression in social status. According to Ian Gentles, Montagu was quick to welcome King Charles II to the throne at the Restoration, and was rewarded for doing so. In 1660 he was created Lord Chamberlain, among other desirable positions, and in 1661 Montagu was made a Knight of the Garter.¹³⁰ Both portraits exemplify the promotions; in both Montagu is holding the Chamberlain's rod and wearing, in one, the mantle of the Garter and, in the other, the robes of the Garter.¹³¹

Knights of the Garter unashamedly flaunted their high social rank and authority through the visual medium of portraiture. Men, such as King James I, George Villiers the 1st Duke of Buckingham, Edward Montagu, and later King George I, were painted wearing their red and white Garter robes. It was not,

¹²⁹ See Sir Francis Bacon (1731, based on 1617 original) by an unknown artist (National Portrait Gallery London); see also the two portraits of Sir Edward Montagu (1661-5; after 1661), both by Sir Peter Lely (National Portrait Gallery, London).

¹³⁰ Ian Gentles, 'Montagu, Edward, Second Earl of Manchester (1602-1671)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn.), first accessed 30.09.04.

¹³¹ Robert Carey was also painted with the Chamberlain's rod, see plate 14 in Appendix A below.

however, always the robes which have been illustrated within portraiture. The Greater George and the Lesser George medallions, the blue ribbon of the Garter, and also the Garter itself, have all been included in the paintings examined. Charles I, being less of an exhibitionist than his father, was seemingly more inclined to only wear the blue ribbon in his portraits.¹³² The 2nd Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, was less inclined to subtlety in his 1597 portrait.¹³³ Here, Devereux is fully robed and dominates the entire canvas. The Garter emblem, which is on the left shoulder of the mantle, has been included within the painting even though, in the position which he stands, this probably would not be seen. Devereux's Greater George is clearly visible as the chain is worn on top of his robes and mantle.

Charles II was also painted, on many occasions, wearing his Garter attire. Visible within the 1685 portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller are his mantle, Garter, and Greater George.¹³⁴ However, this portrait is more refined than that of Devereux. Charles was almost always painted sitting, perhaps due to his very tall stature, as he is in this portrait. Andrew Wilton described the painting as having a 'relaxed pose and conversational air' which ambiguously presented Charles as both a man and a monarch.¹³⁵ Despite this, though, high social rank, power and authority are clearly important features within this painting. This is demonstrated through the Garter paraphernalia and also through the inclusion of Charles's crown and royal orb on the table next to him.

¹³² William III is also painted wearing the blue ribbon of the garter, see plate 4 in Appendix A below.

¹³³ See Robert Devereux (1597) by Marcus Gheeraerts II (National Portrait Gallery, London).

¹³⁴ See Charles II (1685) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (National Portrait Gallery, London).

¹³⁵ Andrew Wilton, *The Swagger Portrait: Grand Manner Portrait in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John, 1630-1930* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1992), p. 96.

Conclusion

Manhood was represented as the pinnacle of the life course and the age in which men would reap all of the benefits of patriarchal authority. Despite the prescriptions of full manhood, which were very much couched in patriarchal terms, it would seem that many men during the period were either unable—or unwilling—to achieve and maintain such a social standing. It was seen in chapter four above that great care was needed in choosing a wife, and some of the reasons why have been explored within this chapter. Disobedient and rowdy wives were the downfall of their husbands' reputation. Gossiping, violence and adultery were just some of the lewd and dissolute behaviour of wives that was cautioned against within popular culture. To some extent, such ballads were didactic in their meaning and could be used to instruct behaviour and enforce social norms and, because they were relatively inexpensive, such messages had the potential to be heard or read by a socially diverse audience. The importance of both partnership and affection within marriage has been highlighted here, and this could work to bolster a man's reputation. However, it has also been suggested that men, as well as their unruly wives, could damage their own claim to full manhood. Absconding from patriarchal duties and committing adultery were primary methods through which a man could undermine his own credit and social worth.

Normative or full manhood was both grounded and dependent on a man's ability for reason and self-government. Adhering to the principle of moderation and abstaining from an excessive consumption of alcohol was one way through which reason could be safeguarded. Nevertheless, as an examination of broadside ballads alongside records from the Nottinghamshire secular and ecclesiastical courts suggests, such advice often fell on deaf ears. Just as drinking rituals formed an

integral part of the manliness of youth, drinking and conviviality comprised a central role in the male sociability of adult men. Men who would have been able to claim full manhood—married house-holders with economic independence—often took part in activities which directly contested patriarchal principles. So, even where full manhood was enjoyed, such principles did not necessarily form the centrepiece of men's reputations and social identities. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that manhood could be achieved outside a purely familial setting. Martial honour, it can be argued, provided one of the means by which men who would normally be debarred from full manhood—boys, male youth, unmarried and old men—could enjoy a type of manliness which was not dependent on relations with women or even house-holding status.

Chapter 6.

‘Being in all parts a man compleate’: Conclusion¹

For sucking Babe and tender Impe, the Spring resembleth right,
Which into Sommer glides apace, like blade devoid of might
When Spring is past, then marcheth on, the Sommer tricke and gay,
Which likened is to lusty youth, strong dapper, lacking stay.
When youthfull fancies mellowed be, then Autumn steppes in place,
Twixt young and old, of judgment ripe, with medley hairs on face.
Old crookebackte Hyems last of all, with trembling pace appears;
With furrowed face, cleane bald, or els all whyte and milky hayres.²

For Levinus Lemnius, the Dutch humanist and physician, the life of a man followed the four seasons: childhood equated to spring, youth to summer, manhood to autumn and old age to winter. The highpoints of a man’s lifetime, according to Levinus, were clearly youth and manhood. Childhood was understood to be the weakest stage of life, ‘devoid of might’, as it was. The years of youth were described to be ‘lusty’ but all too fleeting. Manhood, the third life phase, was given to be the firmest or most stable stage of life, whilst the signs of approaching death and bodily weakness marked the onset of old age. This idea of a climb to, summit and decline from manhood was current throughout the entire long seventeenth century . So, manhood during the early modern period was understood to be and recognised as a specific phase in the life course which was marked out by reaching adulthood, and discourse surrounding the male body has made this clear.

The body was a matter of debate and contestation during the long seventeenth century, and anatomical understanding could comprise knowledge from such disparate sources as Scripture, classical learning, scientific thought, personal

¹ I. T., *The Just Down[fall of] Ambition, Adultery, and Murder* (London, 1616), fol. 12.

² Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions: Generallye applicable, expedient and profitable for all such, as be desirous and carefull of their bodylye health*, trans. Thomas Newton (London, 1576 edn.), fol. 31.

experience and popular belief. Opinion on the bodily paradox of degree or difference had the potential to be voiced from all social levels as great tomes of anatomy, which were directed at physicians and learned men, were concurrently accompanied by smaller tracts, pamphlets and recipe books for women and the not so well-educated masses of men.³ Corporeal difference was marked out by means other than genital morphology, and often more outward body parts were discussed in specifically gendered terms in an attempt to distinguish male and female bodies from one another. More than this, though, and again not specific to genital development, was the recognition that the body could mark out differences within the male sex as much as it could between the two sexes. In essence, the male body provided a visual—and outwardly so—indication of a boy's rise to and a man's eventual decline from manhood. In particular, the growth and appearance of facial and other body hair, coupled with the changing colouration and texture of that on the head, indicated this passage through life. Lemnius, cited above, was all too aware that beards came with the onset of manhood and hair, if it remained at all, started to whiten with age.

Whilst such corporeal indicators of the rise to and decline from manhood are evident during the period, they are not without their own specific problems in trying to identify the outward appearance of manhood. Beards could be tamed and shaven, altering their appearance, fullness and texture. More than this, men could choose to be clean shaven and, from the middle of the seventeenth century, it would appear that this did indeed become the fashion. Greying or loss of hair could also be disguised by the wearing of wigs. As wig-wearing became increasingly popular in the Court of Charles II, following the trend in France, the fashion was increasingly adopted by

³ For men's role in domestic medicine see, Lisa Smith, 'The Relative Duties of a Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, c.1685-1740', *Journal of Family History* (2006), vol. 31:3, pp. 237-256.

those men of means. The outward decline from manhood was a fact of life that the wealthy and so-inclined could circumvent. Even those who were at first averse to the idea could come round, as the diarist Samuel Pepys did. The social distinctions of manhood along the lines of age and status, which were perceptible through physical and bodily differentiation, could become more or less defined as fashions changed. What remains clear, however, is that manhood was understood as a specific stage of life throughout the entire early modern period.

In addition to its meaning of a distinct phase of the life course, manhood was understood in terms of rank and social status. It was the stage of life which offered men all of the rewards associated with patriarchal authority, such as marriage, householding, children, a trade, office, credit or other means of wealth, as well as physiological stability. This dual connotation has meant that much of the earliest work on early modern manhood has been focussed almost entirely on the third life stage: manhood, and there has been some assumption made that all men aspired to achieving patriarchal manhood.⁴ Historians have been unable to agree on the extent to which manhood was grounded in patriarchal terms. Working within the feminist sense of patriarchy, the earliest histories of early modern men were conducted

⁴ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: New York: Routledge, 1994); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination 1500-1800* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995); Susan Amussen, 'The Part of a Christian Man': The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England', in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 213-233; Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999). The works of Alexandra Shepard and Bernard Capp are important exceptions in this regard; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* (1999), no. 162, pp. 70-100.

primarily within the bounds of male-female relationships and presented a sense that the early modern period was one 'abounding with anxious patriarchs', because the reputation of married men was totally reliant on the sexual conduct of their wives.⁵ More recently, the focus has shifted to include male-male relationships, including male friendship and camaraderie, and so the centrality of patriarchy to manhood has begun to come under scrutiny.

The prescriptions of what Susan Amussen has termed 'normative', Shepard 'hegemonic' and here 'full' manhood were closely tied to the principles of patriarchy, and this status was indeed intended to be exclusive. Necessarily excluded from such a social standing were women, boys, unmarried men and those dependent on wage labour. Moreover, such patriarchal prescripts of manhood were idealistic and, therefore, largely unrealistic. In addition, they followed very similar guiding standards throughout the long seventeenth century. Full manhood was always equated with the economically independent and married householder; what did differ across the period, however, was just who could lay claim to this status and how far it could be questioned. As much as one-fifth of the population never married and, as Steve Hindle as suggested, restricting pauper marriage was just one way in which the authorities sought to control those at the very bottom of the social scale, increasingly making marriage 'a privilege rather than a right'.⁶ For increasing numbers of men, full manhood was unattainable, if it was desired at all.⁷

The suggestion that increasing numbers of men could not achieve full manhood is potentially misleading. In particular, it might be argued that mounting

⁵ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 5.

⁶ Steve Hindle, 'The Problem of Pauper Marriage in Seventeenth-Century England: the Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1998), sixth series, 8, pp. 71-89; Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 2002 edn.), p. 70.

⁷ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 246-253.

numbers of men were not considered to be men at all. If full manhood was attainable only through marriage, economic independence and house-holding status, then what of those men who did not achieve such social standing? Is it to be assumed that they were somehow labelled a breed of lesser- or non-men? The answer is of course no. As the dominant sex men found ways of maintaining and reasserting their authority over those other men, women and children who were their social and familial inferiors.⁸ Through examining an assortment of ideologies which can be considered collectively as the prescriptions of manliness, it is possible to witness the complex nature of early modern masculine identities. Adopting such an analytical framework makes it possible to identify the extent to which such ideologies shifted in meaning and emphasis across the life course and the social strata. So the men and boys, who were necessarily debarred from full manhood because of their age and status, could demonstrate their manliness, and therefore their masculine identity, in ways outside of the patriarchal prescriptions of manhood. In addition to this, the extent to which the dictates of full manhood were inculcated during the years of childhood, and encouraged through expressions of manliness, can also be more readily observed.

Whilst boys were necessarily debarred from achieving the status of full manhood, they were perfectly able and indeed encouraged to demonstrate attributes of their manliness. Both boys' minds and bodies were physically weaker than those of their older counterparts, and they lacked the physiological surety which manhood—in terms of adulthood—would ensure.⁹ This has led some scholars, such as Will Fisher, to suggest that boys were thought to be a different gender from men. This was not the case. Boys, even in their infancy, were identified in explicitly male

⁸ Robert Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

⁹ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 28-32; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 29-30, 47.

terms despite their sexual immaturity.¹⁰ Not only was children's education purposely gendered during the early modern period, which was meant to prepare boys and girls for their future roles as husbands and wives in adulthood, it was also status specific, with sons of noble and wealthy birth receiving the most comprehensive instruction with lessons in grammar, Latin, arithmetic, history, scripture and the classics.¹¹ Conduct books, which were directly targeted at young boys, taught the patriarchal principles of full manhood in an expectation that those sons of the middling sorts and above would begin to learn such attributes whilst in their years of childhood. Moralists and parents alike sought assurances that male children would grow to maturity and acquire full manhood, and this can be witnessed in both portraits of boys and in diarists' accounts of their sons' accomplishments. Whilst the experiences of those boys from the lower sorts cannot be judged in this regard, the expectation that male children of a higher rank could both display their manliness and learn the skills which full manhood necessitated can be identified. Moreover, it is evident that the lessons of manhood continued into the years of youth.

It is this subtle difference between manhood and manliness which allows for competing and contradictory male identities to exist concurrently. It may that these can be listed as 'subordinate', 'marginalized' and 'alternative' as Alexandra Shepard has, but this suggests that there existed some level of choice by which men could openly choose what sort of man they wanted to be.¹² Instead, it would seem more appropriate to the early modern period if such distinctions were not drawn so

¹⁰ Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly* (2001), vol. 54:1, pp. 175-179.

¹¹ Martyn Bennett, 'Gender and Education in the Early Modern Period', *Defining Gender, 1450-1910* (Adam Matthew Publications, 2003).

¹² Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; the categories are based on the model put forward by the sociologist Robert Connell, see Connell, *Masculinities*.

markedly. Competing male identities are evident across the long seventeenth century, mutable according to context and drawing selectively on characteristics and traits from the defining principles of patriarchal or full manhood. There existed, then, a complex web of male identities which could concur with, compete against or select only parts of the dominant ideology of full manhood and its patriarchal principles. This is most apparent during the years of youth.

Known as the ‘lusty’ years, youth was defined by high spirits, wilfulness and misrule. According to humoral theory, youth comprised the hottest time of life for men, meaning that lust, desire and virulence were at their height. At the same time, though, youth was the stage of life wherein high spirits were in need of tempering and harnessing, as it comprised the years in which the most important steps to achieving full manhood would be taken. Whilst the advice from conduct writers, moralists and parents cautioned that moderation provided the key to achieving manhood, it can be seen that such counsel was not always acted upon, though this was, in some cases, regretted later.¹³ Nevertheless, it would appear that at least some level of misrule was to be expected if not tolerated during the youthful years. For some young men, bravado and boasting were key to prescriptions of manliness. Drinking, gaming and fighting provided the staging ground on which young men’s reputations could be won, fought over and lost, and this remained the case throughout the long seventeenth century. Sexual virility and conquests provided a paradox for young men. On the one hand they were expected to have some sexual knowledge, if not experience, and on the other, too many sexual encounters ran the risk of begetting illegitimate children or limiting the potential to find a suitable and respectable spouse. Again the maxim of moderation comes to the fore of advice

¹³ Archer, *Diary*, 1648-9, 1650-2, 1651-3, 1655-6, pp. 46, 48, 50.

regarding youthful exploits. Unable to stake a claim to full manhood because of their age, marital and social status, young men asserted their manliness through the means available to them. Their reputations were built around an ideology which invoked some of the principles of patriarchy, whilst at the same time directly contesting them. However, young men were not the only participants in such activities and those men who could claim full manhood did not always conform to its patriarchal dictates.

There were very clear prescriptions for adult men to adhere to: they should marry, set up an independent household, father children and govern effectively their 'little commonwealth', all in accordance with the dictates of patriarchy. It would be unwise, though, to equate manhood with patriarchy regardless of the dominance of patriarchal ideology within the dictates of full manhood.¹⁴ Furthermore, it would be imprudent to assume that all men wanted to assume patriarchal status, or work to underpin its gendered and social values, once such a standing had been achieved. William Coe, for example, a householder and man of gentlemanly status, was partial to both drinking and gambling, and he recorded a number of occasions within his diary when both of these activities impeded his patriarchal duties within the family.¹⁵

Early modern men and women were well aware of the contradictions and differences apparent between male identities, and these are most evident along two axes: age and social status. Whilst the patriarchal dictates of full manhood remained current throughout the long seventeenth century, the prescriptions of manliness were susceptible to change and mutability.

¹⁴ Anthony Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household in Early Modern England', *History* (1999), vol. 84, pp. 419-436.

¹⁵ See, for example, Coe, *Diary*, 15, 17, 19, 24, 26, 31 January 1694, 20 February 1694, 13 January 1695, 23 May 1696, pp. 207, 213, 216.

Appendix A: Plates



1. A Lady of the Grenville Family and her Son (1640) by Gilbert Jackson (© Tate, London, 2007).



2. Charles II (1630) by an unknown artist (National Portrait Gallery, London).



3. Mrs Salesbury with her Grandchildren Edward and Elizabeth Bagot (1675-6) by John Michael Wright (© Tate, London, 2007).



4. William III (1657) after Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).



5. Charles II (1638) by Anthony Van Dyck and Studio (National Portrait Gallery, London).



6. Charles II (1639) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).



7. Henry Prince of Wales (1603) by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (National Portrait Gallery London).



8. Henry Prince of Wales (1610) by Robert Peake the Elder (National Portrait Gallery, London).



9. James II (1639) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).



10. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Son (1602) by an unknown artist (National Portrait Gallery, London).



11. Five Children of Charles I (1637) after Anthony Van Dyck (National Portrait Gallery, London).



12. The Duke of Buckingham and his Family (1628?) after Gerrit van Honthorst (National Portrait Gallery, London).



13. The Capel Family (1640) by Cornelius Johnson (National Portrait Gallery, London).



14. The 1st Earl of Monmouth and his Family (1617) attributed to Paul Van Somer (National Portraits Gallery, London).



15. Sir Thomas More, his Father, his Household and his Descendants (1593) by Rowland Lockey (National Portrait Gallery, London).



16. The Saltonstall Family (c.1636-7) by David Des Granges (© Tate, London 2007).



17. The Family of Sir Robert Vyner (1673) by John Michael Wright (National Portrait Gallery, London).



18. Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, and James II (1660s) by Sir Peter Lely (National Portrait Gallery, London).



19. Arthur Capel, 1st Earl of Essex and Elizabeth, Countess of Essex (1653) by Sir Peter Lely (National Portrait Gallery, London).



20. Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1618) by Daniel Mytens (National Portrait Gallery, London).



21. Alatheia, Countess of Arundel and Surrey (1618) by Daniel Mytens (National Portrait Gallery, London).



22. Sir William Killigrew (1638) by Anthony Van Dyck (© Tate, London 2007).



23. Mary Hill, Lady Killigrew (1638) by Anthony Van Dyck (© Tate, London 2007).



24. Captain Thomas Lee (1594) by Marcus Gheeraerts (© Tate, London 2007).



25. Unknown man in a slashed black doublet (c.1605) attributed to Sir William Segar (© Tate, London 2007).



26. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (1623) by Daniel Mytens (© Tate, London 2007).



27. Sir Thomas Pope, later 3rd Earl of Downe (c.1635) by the British School 1600-99 (© Tate, London 2007).



28. William Style of Langley (1636) by the British School 1600-99 (© Tate, London 2007).



29. Endymion Porter (1642-5) by William Dobson (© Tate, London 2007).



30. Portrait of an Unknown Officer (1645) by William Dobson (© Tate, London 2007).



31. Sir John Drake (1646) by Edward Bower (© Tate, London 2007).



32. Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1670-5) by Gerard Soest (© Tate, London 2007).



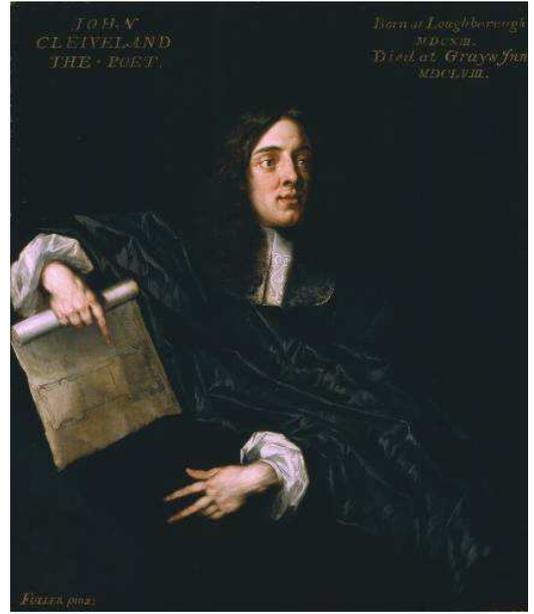
33. Philip 4th Lord of Wharton (1685) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).



34. James Sotherby (c.1690) by John Riley (© Tate, London 2007).



35. George Puleston? (1625-30) by John Souch (© Tate, London 2007).



36. John Cleveland? (c.1660) by Isaac Fuller (© Tate, London 2007).



37. Portrait of Gentleman with Dog, probably Sir Thomas Tipping? (c.1660) by Gilbert Soest (© Tate, London 2007).



38. Richard Colman (c.1662) attributed to John Greenhill (© Tate, London 2007).



39. Samuel Pepys (1666) by John Hayls (National Portrait Gallery, London).



40. Frans Mercurius Van Helmont (1670-1) by Sir Peter Lely (© Tate, London 2007).



41. John Banckes (1676) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).



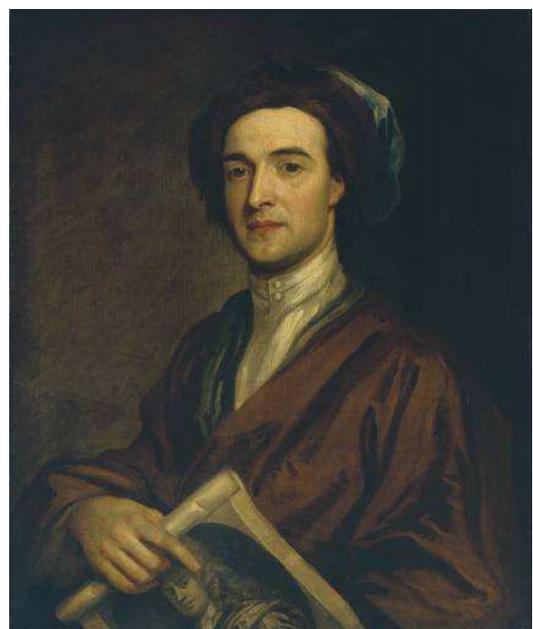
42. Portrait of a Gentleman, probably Arthur Parsons MD? (1683) by Simon Du Bois (© Tate, London 2007).



43. Robert Colman (c.1690) attributed to Mary Beale (© Tate, London 2007).



44. First Marquess of Tweeddale (1695) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).



45. John Smith the Engraver (1696) by Sir Godfrey Kneller (© Tate, London 2007).

Appendix B: Full List of Portraits

Boys:

1. Walter Raleigh – unknown, 1602
2. Henry Prince of Wales – 1603, Marcus Gheerearts the Younger
3. Henry Prince of Wales – 1610, Robert Peake
4. Henry Prince of Wales – c.1610, Robert Peake (b)
5. Charles I – Robert Peake, 1610?
6. Charles II – unknown, 1630
7. Thomas Howard 5th Duke of Norfolk – Van Dyck, 1635-6
8. Children of Charles I – Van Dyck, 1637
9. Charles II – Van Dyck studio, 1638
10. Charles II – Cornelius Johnson, 1639
11. James II – Cornelius Johnson, 1639
12. Grenville son – Gilbert Jackson, 1640
13. Charles II – William Dobson, 1642
14. William III – after Cornelius Johnson, 1657
15. Edward Bagot – John Michael Wright, 1675-6

Family:

16. Sir Thomas More – Rowland Lockey after Hans Holbein, 1593
17. Lady Ann Pope – Gheerearts, 1596
18. Robert Carey – attrib. Paul Van Somer, 1617
19. George Villiers – Gerrit Van Honthorst, 1628?
20. Endymion Porter – Van Dyck?, 1632-3
21. Sir Richard Saltonstall - David Des Granges, 1636-7
22. Arthur Capel – Cornelius Johnson, 1640
23. Thomas Browne? – William Dobson, mid-1640s
24. Streatfeild? – William Dobson, 1645?
25. Sir Robert Vyner – John Michael Wright, 1673

Lone men:

26. William Cecil – Unknown, 1590s
27. Captain Thomas Lee – 1594, Gheeraets
28. Robert Devereux 2nd Earl of Essex – Marcus Gheeraerts, 1597
29. Thomas Cecil 1st Earl of Exeter – Unknown, early 17thC
30. Unknown Man in a slashed doublet – c.1605, attr. Sir William Segar
31. William Shakespeare – Attrib. John Taylor, 1610
32. George Villiers 1st Duke of Buckingham – Attrib. William Larkin, 1616
33. Charles I – Attrib. Abraham Van Blyenberch, 1617-20
34. Sir Francis Bacon – Unknown, 1731 (based on 1618 original)
35. John Fletcher – Unknown, 1620?
36. James I – Daniel Mytens, 1621
37. James Hamilton Earl of Arran – Daniel Mytens, 1623
38. William Hamilton 2nd Duke of Hamilton – After Adraien Hanneman, 1625-50
39. George Puleston? – John Souch, 1625-30
40. William Harvey – Unknown, 1627
41. Thomas Howard 2nd Earl of Arundel & Surrey – Rubens, 1629

42. John Milton – Unknown, 1629
43. Baron Horace Vere – Attrib. Michael Jansz Van Miereveldt, 1629
44. Charles I - ?, 1630s?
45. Charles I – Daniel Mytens, 1631
46. Thomas Wentworth – Van Dyck, 1633-6
47. Thomas Killigrew – After Van Dyck, 1635
48. Sir Thomas Pope – British School, c.1635
49. Sir William Style of Langley – British School, 1636
50. Baron John Belasyse – Gilbert Jackson, 1636
51. William Style of Langley – British School 1600-99, 1636
52. Henry Frederick Howard 3rd Earl of Arundel & Surrey – Pierre Lombart, mid 17thC
53. 1st Earl William Craven – Unknown, late 17thC (based on 1640s original)
54. Sir Edward Verney – Van Dyck, 1640
55. Ferdinando Fairfax - ?, 1640s?
56. Sir Henry Gage – Weesop, 1640s
57. Sir Thomas Aylesbury? – William Dobson, 1641-2?
58. Prince Rupert – Attrib. Gerard Honthorst, 1641-2
59. Endymion Porter – William Dobson, 1642-5
60. Baron John Byron – William Dobson, 1643
61. Sir William Compton – William Dobson, 1643
62. Richard Neville – William Dobson, 1643
63. James Compton – William Dobson, 1644-5
64. Portrait of an unknown Officer – Dobson, 1645
65. Sir John Drake – Edward Bower, 1646
66. Oliver Cromwell – Robert Walker, 1649
67. James Graham 1st Marquess of Montrose – After Gerrit Van Honthorst, 1649
68. Thomas Killigrew – William Sheppard, 1650
69. George Monck 1st Duke of Albemarle – Studio of Peter Lely, 1650s
70. James Hind – Unknown, 1651 (woodcut)
71. Sir William Compton – Henry Paert (elder), after Van Dyck, 1655
72. Oliver Cromwell – Attrib. Samuel Cooper, 1655 (miniature)
73. Andrew Marvel – Unknown, 1655-60
74. Sir Peter Lely – Peter Lely, 1660
75. John Cleveland? – Isaac Fuller, c.1660
76. Portrait of a Man with Dog, Sir Thomas Tipping? – Gilbert Soest, c.1660
77. Marquess of Tweeddale – Peter Lely, 1660s?
78. Edward Montagu 2nd Earl of Manchester – Peter Lely, 1661-5
79. Edward Montagu 2nd Earl of Manchester – Studio of Peter Lely, after 1661
80. Horatio Townsend – Peter Lely, 1662
81. Richard Colman – attr. John Greenhill, c.1662
82. James Butler 1st Duke of Ormond – After Peter Lely, 1665
83. Samuel Pepys – John Hayls, 1666
84. Thomas Hobbes – John Michael Wright, 1669-70
85. Henry Howard Duke of Norfolk – Gerard Soest, 1670-5
86. William Legge – After Jacob Huysmans, 1670

87. Prince Rupert – Studio of Peter Lely, 1670
88. Frans Mercurius Van Helmont – Lely, 1670-1
89. George Villiers 2nd Duke of Buckingham – Peter Lely, 1675
90. John Banckes – Godfrey Kneller, 1676
91. Johan Frederick Margrave of Brandenburg & Ansback – Richard Thompson, 1678-9
92. James Scott – Godfrey Kneller, 1678
93. James Butler 1st Duke of Ormond – William Wissing, 1680-5
94. Charles II – Attrib. Thomas Hawker, 1680
95. John Cholmley – Attrib. Jacob Huysmans, 1680
96. Sir Roger L'Estrange – Attrib. John Michael Wright, 1680
97. John Murray 1st Marquis of Atholl – Jacob De Wet, 1680
98. Sir Neil O' Neill – John Michael Wright, 1680
99. James Scott – After William Wissing?, 1683
100. Portrait of a Gentleman, Arthur Parsons MD? – Simon du Bois, 1683
101. James II – Godfrey Kneller, 1684
102. John Bunyen – Thomas Sadler, 1684-5
103. Philip 4th Lord of Wharton – Kneller, 1685
104. Lord Mungo Murray – John Michael Wright, 1688
105. James Sotherby – John Riley, c.1690
106. Robert Colman – attr. Mary Beale, c.1690
107. William III – Attrib. Thomas Murray, 1690s?
108. First Marquiss of Tweeddale – Kneller, 1695
109. John Smith the Engraver – Kneller, 1696
110. Sir Godfrey Kneller – Godfrey Kneller, 1706-11
111. George I – Godfrey Kneller, 1716

Man & Wife:

112. Thomas & Alatheia Howard – Daniel Mytens, 1618
113. Sir William Killigrew and Mary Hill – Van Dyck, 1638
114. Thomas & Alatheia Howard – Van Dyck, 1639?
115. William III & Princes Mary – Van Dyck, 1641
116. Sir Thomas & Dorothy Browne – Attrib. Joan Carlile, 1641-50
117. 2nd Baron Arthur Capel – Peter Lely, 1653
118. James II & Anne Hyde – Peter Lely, 1660s
119. Henry Hyde & Theodosia Capel – Peter Lely, 1661-2

Brothers:

120. Lord John & Lord Bernard Stuart – Van Dyck, 1638-9

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