

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 Stuart Hall et al., 'The Social Production of News: Mugging in the Media', in Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (eds.), *The Manufacture of News. Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media* (London: Constable, 1973), p. 335.
- 2 Raymond Williams, *Culture* (London: Fontana, 1981), p. 13. See also Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis. Mugging, the State, Law and Order* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978), Chapter 3.
- 3 Hall et al., 'The Social Production of News', p. 341.
- 4 The theory is formulated in Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989). It is given extensive discussion in David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture. Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 5 Hall et al., 'The Social Production of News', p. 337.
- 6 See Roger Fowler, *Language in the News. Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 13–15 for an account of news values and the high rating given to 'negative events'.
- 7 Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars. Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 25, notes that statistics in the period show husbands murdering wives twice as often as the converse. J. S. Cockburn, 'The Nature and Incidence of Crime in England, 1559–1625', in J. S. Cockburn (ed.), *Crime in England, 1550–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), J. A. Sharpe, 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981), 29–48, and Susan Amussen, "'Being stirred to much unquietness": Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994), 70–89, also demonstrate that certain types of crime were over-represented in popular reporting. For further discussion, see Chapter 2, below.
- 8 Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1997), p. 122.
- 9 Victor E. Neuberg, *Popular Literature. A History and Guide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 86, refers to a lost play entitled *Murderous Michael*, performed at Court by the Chamberlain's Men, 1578/9, which he conjectures was the basis for *Arden of Faversham*.
- 10 Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 68.
- 11 See Stephen Foley's analysis of an anecdote about a woman conycatcher from Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dreame* in 'Falstaff in Love and Other Stories from Tudor England', *Exemplaria* 1 (1989), 229.
- 12 For example, J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette* (London: Longmans, 1908), Chapter 2, F. S. Siebert, *The Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776. The Rise and Decline of Government Controls* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 148.
- 13 Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper. English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.10.

- 14 Stephens, *A History of News*, xiv, gives 1470 as the date of 'the oldest known news publication printed on a letter press'.
- 15 See Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), esp. pp. 335–63.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 336.
- 17 The phrase is that of Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1999), p. 178.
- 18 M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929), pp. 114–16.
- 19 This phrase comes from the title of the book by Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print. Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 20 Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 44. See also Peter Lake, with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat. Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 4.
- 21 Lake, *ibid.*, p. 7. On the commodification of scandalous news, see also Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England. News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 2.
- 22 Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 AD*, 5 vols. (London: Privately printed, 1875–94), II, 75.
- 23 *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598–1601)*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949), p. 155.
- 24 In an oration of 1610, cited in Siebert, *The Freedom of the Press*, p. 142. See also Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame*, Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos, edited by G. B. Harrison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1926), p. 9, and John Davies, *A Scourge for Paper-Prosecutors* (1625) for further examples.
- 25 The dedicatory epistle to *Martine Mar-Sixtus* (1592) is couched in similar terms. See also Dekker, *Jests to Make you Merrie*, in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 5 vols. (London, 1885, reissued New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963), vol. 2, p. 272, 'With such a tickling itch is this printed Ambition troubled ...'
- 26 Smith, *The Acoustic World*, maintains this was not so in the earliest days of the broadside (pp. 170, 179). But Nashe does not appear to be making a new point.
- 27 Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, reprinted with corrections by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), 1, 25. The reference to Latinless authors comes from *Works*, 1, 194.
- 28 Though this might be a reference to *The Choise of Valentines*.
- 29 See Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 214 and Ch. 2.
- 30 Harold Jenkins, *The Life and Work of Henry Chettle* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1934), identifies Anthony Now now on p. 37. He is also referred to in the second part of Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*.
- 31 Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 54, and p. 215, fn. 11.
- 32 Quoted in Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor, The Water-Poet, 1578–1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 68.
- 33 Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600–1660* (Oxford History of English Literature, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 46.
- 34 Capp, *The World of John Taylor*, p. 67.

- 35 For example, by Bush and Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, revised by J. W. Saunders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- 36 Sheavyn, *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 37 For example, by Neuberg, *Popular Literature*.
- 38 Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions. The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 50. Davis cites *The Sack Full of Newes* (1557), apparently a jestbook and a play.
- 39 Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 46.
- 40 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622*, p. 215.
- 41 See Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 306, n. 57, and p. 49.
- 42 Smith, *The Acoustic World*, p. 187.
- 43 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 11.
- 44 Hyder E. Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (1557–1709)* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1924). See the Index of Names and Subjects.
- 45 Quoted in Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*, p. 11. See Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, pp. 146–62, on street-ballads of news, and also Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622*, pp. 193–4. Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, p. 150, makes the important point that the ballad is a contemporary ‘news’ medium only to a very limited extent, but this assertion is conditioned by the fact that she makes a somewhat artificial distinction between ‘news’ and ‘narratives’.
- 46 Sharon Achinstein, ‘Audiences and Authors: Ballads and the Making of English Renaissance Culture’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22 (1992), 320. The production of unlicensed ballads appears to have increased in the seventeenth century. Watt suggests that in the sixteenth century, approximately 65 per cent of all surviving ballads were recorded, which is on a par with other varieties of print (p. 42). See also Rollins, ‘The Black-letter Broadside Ballad’, *PMLA* 34 (1919), 258–339, p. 281. For further discussion of the regulation of the ballad trade, see Chapter 3, pp. 71–2.
- 47 *Lanthe and Candle-light* (1608), in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, III, 178.
- 48 Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 14.
- 49 See the revisionist account of the role of playbooks in the printing trade by Peter Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- 50 Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1939, 1974), p. 93.
- 51 H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1558–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 271. On this point see also Arber, *Transcript*, II, 751, on the infighting that threatened to destabilise the Stationers’ Company in the 1580s.
- 52 W. W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 169.
- 53 In a letter to John Carleton of 17 September 1598.
- 54 Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 15.

- 55 Greg, *A Companion to Arber*.
- 56 See Arber, *Transcript*, II, 753–69.
- 57 See Arber, *Transcript*, I, 144, and Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 74.
- 58 Arber, *Transcript*, I, 144.
- 59 *Works*, 3, 105, and 1, 287.
- 60 Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 196.
- 61 Greg, *A Companion to Arber*, pp. 126–33.
- 62 Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 27.
- 63 Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 154, observes that John Taylor, along with Dekker, Nashe and Jonson, situates the ballad in this way, followed by ‘sensationalistic accounts of monsters, murders, and miracles’.
- 64 Tessa Watt, ‘Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-poet: The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade, 1550–1640’, in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print* (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1990), p. 72.
- 65 Hyder E. Rollins gives examples in his still definitive article, ‘The Black-letter Broadside Ballad’, *PMLA* 34 (1919), 258–339.
- 66 See Hyder E. Rollins’ comment in *A Pepysian Garland. Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595–1639. Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 139.
- 67 Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, pp. 150–1.
- 68 Cited in Plant, *The English Book Trade*, p. 47.
- 69 Davis, *Factual Fictions*, p. 77.
- 70 See Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 17–18, 25–9. See also Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*, Chapter 7.
- 71 See E. H. Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England. A Study of Non-Dramatic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 166–9, on the ‘factories’ of hack writers run by printers such as Wolfe and Danter. Reference is made to this practice in *The Return from Parnassus*.
- 72 See Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 49, and Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 428. Both make a case for a significant clerical input into the production of news and crime pamphlets.
- 73 Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*, p. 336.
- 74 Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender. Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 172.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 76 Laurence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 302.
- 77 Siebert, *The Freedom of the Press*, p. 148. Sir Politic Would-be in *Volpone* believes that Stone the tavern fool is a spy who ‘has received weekly intelligence ... out of the Low Countries’ (II. i).
- 78 Halasz argues at length that Habermas’s view of the public sphere as emerging in the eighteenth century is flawed, and that it ‘emerged in and around pamphlets’ in the late sixteenth century in conditions of the increasing commodification of culture (*The Marketplace of Print*, p. 163). Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, also challenges Habermas, but on the ground that ‘a popular sphere of political discourse was being created in the early 1640s’ (p. 83). See also Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*, p. 336, on the emergence of ‘public opinion’ at the end of the seventeenth century.

- 79 Mark Z. Muggli, 'Ben Jonson and the Business of News', *SEL* 32 (1992), 332.
- 80 Joad Raymond, ed., Introduction to *Making the News. An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641–1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush Press, 1993), p. 1.
- 81 See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974), p. 30.
- 82 See Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, pp. 154–60 on these ballads.
- 83 Nashe, *Works*, 1, 20.
- 84 Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 109–10.
- 85 Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 75. Anyone taking this account at face value might, if he or she went off to compare it with the actual works, be inclined to feel that historians lead rather quiet lives.
- 86 Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 203.
- 87 Hall, in Cohen and Young, *The Manufacture of News*, p. 352.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 337.
- 89 See also Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 97–8, and Lucien Febvre, *A New Kind of History and Other Essays*, ed. Peter Burke (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973), p. 192, on 'the awareness of the impossible', as only appearing in France in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He refers at this point to *Le Problème de l'incroyance*, p. 473.
- 90 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*, pp. 213–14.
- 91 Stephens, *A History of News*, p. 122.
- 92 Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 39–40.
- 93 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622*, p. 7.
- 94 *Ibid.*, pp. 142–3.
- 95 On this point, see Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution* (London: University College Press, 1993), p. 260.
- 96 Stephens, *A History of News*, p. 117.
- 97 Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories. Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1981), p. 258.
- 98 Stephens, *A History of News*, p. 80.
- 99 John Peter, *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 3 and chapter 1.
- 100 Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, p. 313.
- 101 *Deeds Against Nature, and Monsters by Kinds; Tryed at the Goale deliuerie of Newgate ... the 18. and 19. of July last, 1614.*
- 102 *A True Report of the horrible Murther, which was committed in the house of Sir Ierome Bowes (1607)*, sig. A2.
- 103 *A Brief Discourse of two most cruell and bloudie murthers (1583)*, sig. A2.
- 104 For an account of Trundle's career and publications, see Gerald D. Johnson, 'John Trundle and the Book Trade 1603–1626', *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), 177–99.
- 105 *A true Relation of the most Horrid and Barbarous murders committed by Abigall Hill of St Olaves Southwark (1658)*, p. 3.
- 106 *Murther, Murther. Or, A Bloody Relation how Anne Hamton dwelling in Westminster nigh London, by poyson murdered her deere husband (1641)*, p. 1.
- 107 William Harrison, *The Difference of Hearers (1614)*, p. 39, cited in Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*, p. 342. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 32, cites other examples.

- 108 J. A. Sharpe, "‘Last dying speeches’: Religion, Ideology, and Public Execution in Seventeenth Century England", *Past and Present* 107 (1985), 148. For other historians interested in this writing see J. S. Cockburn, *Crime in England 1550–1800*, Peter Lake, "‘Deeds against Nature’: Cheap Print, Protestantism, and Murder in Early Seventeenth-Century England", in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 273; and J. H. Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance*, and Alan MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1970). Dolan also discusses the uses to which such writing is put by historians in *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 2.
- 109 Sharpe, *ibid.*, p. 156.
- 110 See also Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977, 1986) which has been so influential in discussions of the ritual of execution, especially p. 47.
- 111 Frances Dolan, "‘Gentlemen, I have one thing more to say’: Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563–1680", *Modern Philology* 92 (1994), p. 171.
- 112 The texts are: Arthur Golding, *A brief discourse of the late murther of George Sanders* (1573), and *A warning for fair women* (1599), ed. Charles Dale Cannon (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).
- 113 Cohen and Young, *The Manufacture of News*, p. 354.
- 114 Lake, "‘Deeds against Nature’", p. 273.
- 115 Sharpe, "‘Last dying speeches’", p. 148. Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press*, p. 33, makes the same point.
- 116 See Chapter 2, below.
- 117 Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, pp. 49, 47. She discusses the subject of ballads and their claims to truth, pp. 47–53.
- 118 Hunter S. Thompson, *Songs of the Doomed* (1990), p. 184, cited in Raymond, *Making the News*, p. 22.
- 119 Natalie Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives. Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (London: Polity Press, 1987). See also Malcolm Gaskill, 'Reporting Murder: Fiction in the Archives in Early Modern England', *Social History* 23 (1998), 1–30, which looks at the nature and function of fictional elements in witness depositions in English murder trials.
- 120 Davis, *Factual Fictions* p. 69.
- 121 *Ibid.* The reference to Foucault is to *The Order of Things*, p. 40.
- 122 Roger Chartier, 'The Hanged Woman Miraculously Saved: An occasionel', in Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print. Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (London: Polity Press, 1989), p. 62. I am deeply indebted to this article for what follows.
- 123 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 124 *Ibid.*, pp. 70–3.
- 125 J-P. Seguin, 'L'information en France avant le périodique. 500 canards imprimés entre 1529 et 1631', in *Arts et Traditions Populaires*, 11 (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Laroc, 1963), p. 119. Seguin's study constitutes the seminal account of this genre.
- 126 Chartier, 'The Hanged Woman Miraculously Saved', p. 67.
- 127 Raymond, *Making the News*, chapter 4, examines the various versions of this story, and prints the accounts from *Mercurius Politicus*.
- 128 Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, pp. 65–6, gives the titles of what appear to be two earlier versions of this same story, *Histoire merveilleuse et véritable des homicides, voleries, et assassinats infinis et detestables, commis par le Capitaine la Noye* (1608),

- and *Discours au vray de la cruauté plus que barbare exerce par le Capitaine la Noue* (1610). She calls it 'an exemplary story without roots in time or place'.
- 129 Albert Camus, *The Outsider*, translated by Stuart Gilbert (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 82. The narrator finds the story in an old newspaper; this time the events take place in Czechoslovakia.
- 130 Seguin, 'L'information en France', p. 145.
- 131 Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 75–96. The pamphlet entitled *Anthony Painter The Blaspheming Caryer* (1613), an exemplary tale of the mysterious fate of a man struck down by God for cursing and blaspheming, supposedly 'translated out of French: and printed at Paris', seems like an obvious example of an English *occasional*.
- 132 Davis, *Factual Fictions*, p. 55.
- 133 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622*, p. 194.
- 134 Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', pp. 269–70, gives examples. See also Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 6.
- 135 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622*, pp. 249–50. See also Barbara Rosen's remarks on the writing of witchcraft pamphlets in *Witchcraft* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), p. 20.
- 136 Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance*, p. 46.
- 137 Many plays based on tragic domestic incidents seem, like *Page of Plymouth*, to have been lost. See Gertrude Marian Sibley, *The Lost Plays and Masques, 1500–1642* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Studies in English, vol. 19, 1933), and C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), and Chapter 4, below.
- 138 Lake, "Deeds against Nature", p. 262.
- 139 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, pp. 27–8, 377–80.
- 140 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- 141 On this pattern, see Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 81, and Garthine Walker, "'Demons in female form": Representations of Women and Gender in Murder Pamphlets of the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Writing and the English Renaissance*, eds. William Zunder and Suzanne Trill (London and New York: Longman, 1994), p. 124.
- 142 Joseph H. Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England, 1550–1640* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), lists the documentation, pp. 75–6.
- 143 For example, Davis, *Factual Fictions*, and Faller, *Turned to Account*. See also Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 114, on the close relation between 'novelistic didacticism and the didactic novel' in the later seventeenth century.

Chapter 2

- 1 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: ULC Press, 1994), p. 49.
- 2 An infant was defined as a child of eight years old or less in Tudor homicide trials. After the 1624 Act 'to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children', often referred to as the Infanticide Act, infanticide meant the killing

- of a newborn or very young infant. See Peter C. Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull, *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England 1558–1803* (Linden Studies in Anglo-American Legal History, New York and London: New York University Press, 1984), and Mark Jackson, *New-Born Child Murder: Women, Illegitimacy and the Courts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996). A *crimen exceptum* is one that is not amenable to normal principles of proof or normal court procedures.
- 3 This calculation has been made by Francis Barker, in *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1993), p. 179. He extrapolates it from the statistics of J. S. Cockburn, *Calendar of Assize Records. Home Circuit Indictments. Elizabeth 1 and James 1*. Introduction (London: HMSO, 1985).
 - 4 J. S. Cockburn, 'The Nature and Incidence of Crime in England 1559–1625', in Cockburn, *Crime in England 1550–1800*, p. 50.
 - 5 In *Tudor Economic Documents*, eds. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), 2, 339.
 - 6 J. M. Beattie, 'The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History* 8 (1975), 80–116.
 - 7 Cockburn, *Calendar of Assize Records*, p. 114, Cynthia Herrup, *The Common Peace. Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 150–1. See also J. H. Baker, 'Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1500–1800', in Cockburn, *Crime in England 1550–1800*, p. 44.
 - 8 Beattie, 'The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England', p. 87.
 - 9 This phrase comes from Joy Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1992), p. 214, but discussions of this issue can be found in a wide variety of work dealing with gender relations in the period. I have found particularly useful D. E. Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in A. Fletcher and D. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 116–36, Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society. Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), and Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 17–18.
 - 10 Barbara Rosen (ed.), *Witchcraft* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), pp. 53–8 gives extracts from these laws.
 - 11 J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England 1550–1750* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 92, 5–6.
 - 12 Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers. Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 12, 61.
 - 13 Sharpe, 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', p. 36.
 - 14 Frances Dolan, 'Household Chastisements. Gender, Authority, and "Domestic Violence"', in Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 206.
 - 15 Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Form and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 224, fn. 10 notes in passing that infanticide and murder of apprentices went relatively unattended in popular literature and ballads, compared to the murder of spouses.

- 16 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 89, Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, pp. 214, 221, and Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 238.
- 17 See Mark Jackson, 'Suspicious Infant Deaths: The Statute of 1624 and Medical Evidence at Coroners' Inquests', in Michael Clark and Catherine Crawford (eds.), *Legal Medicine in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 64–86 for an account of the Act, its implications and its history.
- 18 Sharpe, *Crime*, p. 61. Beattie, 'The Criminality of Women', calls this 'an offence unique in English law' in its presumption of guilt. He notes that in the eighteenth century judges and juries tried their best to acquit women accused of it (p. 84).
- 19 T. C. Curtis and F. M. Hale, 'English Thinking about Crime, 1530–1620', in L. A. Knafla (ed.), *Crime and Criminal Justice in Europe and Canada* (Waterloo, Canada: Calgary Institute for the Humanities; Wilfred Laurier Press, 1981), p. 124.
- 20 J. A. Sharpe, 'The History of Violence in England: Some Observations', *Past and Present* 108 (1985), p. 214. Sharpe's article is in answer to Lawrence Stone, 'Interpersonal Violence in English Society 1300–1980', *Past and Present* 101 (1983), 22–33, which in turn comments on Sharpe's article 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', cited Ch. 1 n. 7 above. See also J. S. Cockburn, 'Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent 1560–1985', *Past and Present* 130 (1991), 70–106, who makes a judicious and balanced contribution to this debate.
- 21 Cockburn, 'The Nature and Incidence of Crime', p. 56.
- 22 In another pamphlet of the same year, *A most horrible and detestable Murther committed by a bloudie minded man vpon his owne Wife*, there is an account of the plethora of recent murders in the same tone.
- 23 Quoted from Joseph Marshburn and Alan R. Velie (eds.), *Blood and Knavery. A Collection of English Renaissance Pamphlets and Ballads of Crime and Sin* (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), pp. 42–3.
- 24 Though not necessarily an official one. It has been argued that there is no evidence that the Privy Council itself regarded personal violence as particularly threatening at this time, and was seriously concerned only with criminal actions based on contempt for authority or the subversion of religion. See Timothy Curtis and Jill Grinstead, 'Personal Violence and Elizabethan Thought', in G. Lamoine (ed.), *Images et Representations de la Justice du XVIIe au XXe Siècle* (Université de Toulouse le Mirail, 1983), pp. 15–36.
- 25 Timothy Curtis, 'Explaining Crime in Early Modern England', *Criminal Justice History* 1 (1980), p. 119.
- 26 Peter Lake, 'Popular Form, Puritan Content? Two Puritan Appropriations of the Murder Pamphlet from mid-Seventeenth-Century London', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 330.
- 27 *A Warning to Servants* (1680), pp. 21, 22.
- 28 Henry Goodcole, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry after Lust and Murther* (1635), sig. A4^r.
- 29 *Two Most Unnatural and Bloodie Murthers: The One by Maister Cauerly ... The Other, by Mistris Browne* (1605), in J. Payne Collier (ed.), *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*, 2 vols. (London, 1963, reissued New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966), vol. 1, p. 11.
- 30 *Two Most Unnatural and Bloodie Murthers*, p. 19.

- 31 Ibid., p. 24.
- 32 Keith Sturgess, in his edition of the play in *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 33 discusses the incorporation of diabolic motivation as the most significant difference between the play and the pamphlet. See also Chapter 4, p. 108.
- 33 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*, p. 226.
- 34 Tim Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 21–5, gives a useful broad survey of historians' changing views on the relations between women and the law in early modern times.
- 35 Herrup, *The Common Peace*, p. 195.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 143, 151. F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder* (Essex Record Office Publications, 56, Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1970), pp. 149–50, gives several interesting examples from the Essex Sessions and Assizes records of women accused of murder and not found guilty, in the face of the testimony of witnesses. J. S. Cockburn, 'Trial by the Book? Fact and Theory in the Criminal Process, 1558–1625', in *Legal Records and the Historian*, ed. J. H. Baker (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), p. 73, notes that 'only about one-fifth of all females convicted at assizes suffered the full legal penalty for their misdeeds'.
- 37 Herrup, *The Common Peace*, p. 150.
- 38 Though not where it really mattered. T. E., *The Lawes Resolution* (1632), notes that 'In matters criminal and capitall causes, a feme covert shall answere without her husband' (sig. O7^v).
- 39 William Lambarde, *Eirenarcha: or The Office of the Justices of Peace* (1579). My quotations come from the edition of 1599 in the British Library, pp. 277–8.
- 40 Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 37.
- 41 Lambarde, *Eirenarcha*, p. 184.
- 42 Ibid., p. 241.
- 43 Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice* (4th edn, 1630), p. 232.
- 44 Lambarde, *Eirenarcha*, p. 242.
- 45 Dolan, *The Countrey Justice*, p. 24, notes that there was some debate in legal handbooks as to whether the killing of a mistress by a servant did constitute petty treason, given the anomalous nature of female authority.
- 46 Dalton, *The Countrey Justice*, p. 282.
- 47 Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) believes that 'the rate of bastardy, already high, rose as the century progressed', p. 369. Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), regards the illegitimacy rate in the period as low relative to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to modern times (pp. 19, 157–8). The viewpoint taken by Hoffer and Hull in *Murdering Mothers* who give figures to show the increase in bastardy prosecutions after the poor law of 1576, is relevant here.
- 48 Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 156.
- 49 Ibid., p. 162, citing Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1982) in support of this view.
- 50 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 16.
- 51 Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, *passim*.
- 52 Maria Cioni, *Women and Law in Elizabethan England with Particular Reference to the Court of Chancery* (New York and London, 1985); Amy Louise Erickson,

- Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), and Stretton, *Women Waging Law*.
- 53 James C. Oldham, 'On Pleading the Belly: A History of the Jury of Matrons', *Criminal Justice History. An International Annual*, vol. 6 (1985), 1–64.
- 54 Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold', Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England', in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 166–97.
- 55 Herrup, *The Common Peace*, pp. 91–2. See also Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, *passim*, but esp. pp. 250–62.
- 56 Gaskill, *ibid.*, p. 250.
- 57 J. A. Baker, 'Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550–1800', in Cockburn, *Crime in England 1550–1800*, p. 18.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 59 Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, p. 80.
- 60 Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 53, note that women were called as witnesses in secular and ecclesiastical courts, but there was some disquiet as to whether they could properly serve in this role.
- 61 F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts* (Essex Record Office, Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1973), p. 293. Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 51, does not see the procedure in this light.
- 62 A. D. J. Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', in Cockburn, *Crime in England*, p. 85. For a fuller exposition of this view see A. D. J. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1970), and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), especially chs. 14–18.
- 63 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, Chapter 2, discusses some of these.
- 64 J. A. Sharpe, 'Women, Witchcraft and the Legal Process', in Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds.), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London: ULC Press, 1994), p. 113.
- 65 Rosen, *Witchcraft*, pp. 26–7.
- 66 Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 20.
- 67 Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 208.
- 68 Rosen, in an annotation on a witchcraft pamphlet, notes that 'neither unhappiness, illness nor childbirth carried any right of privacy, and to turn away even curious strangers would apparently have been regarded as an unthinkable breach of hospitality' (*Witchcraft*, p. 250, n. 10).
- 69 Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 206, 221.
- 70 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 103.
- 71 Michael Macdonald, *Mystical Bedlam. Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 106.
- 72 Jackson, *New-Born Child Murder*, p. 78.
- 73 For instance, in *A true and just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S.Oses in the countie of Essex* (1582), it is noted in the pre-trial examination of the witnesses that 'The said Margerie sayth, that she had hard the Widowe Hunt to say, that the sayde Joan Pechey shoulde say that shee could tell what any man saide or did at any time in their houses' (sig. A5).
- 74 The pamphlet which relates this grim story is *A True and Sad Relation of Two Wicked and Bloody Murthers, The one done by the Earl of Pembroke, and his company ... the other was done by one Jane Lawson, the Wife of James Lawson* (1680).

- 75 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 109.
- 76 This ballad is to be found in *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day, 5 vols. rpt. (Cambridge: Derek Brewer, 1987), vol. 2, p. 191.
- 77 Brewer, the author of this lively account, also wrote *The Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton* (?1608), several ballads, and various pamphlets, including some on the plagues of 1625 and 1636. See Hyder E. Rollins's note on him in *A Pepysian Garland*, p. 11.
- 78 Anne Worrall, *Offending Women. Female Lawbreakers and the Criminal Justice System* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 31. See also the article on infanticide by Allison Morris and Ania Wilczynski, 'Rocking the Cradle. Mothers who Kill their Children', in Helen Birch (ed.), *Moving Targets* (London: Virago, 1993), which discusses how women are punished for breaking traditional sex-role expectations.
- 79 Allison Morris, *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 52.
- 80 See Cathy Spatz Widom, 'Perspectives of Female Criminality', in Allison Morris with Lorraine Gelsthorpe (eds.), *Women and Crime* (Cambridge: Croftwood Conference Series no. 13, 1981), pp. 33–48. She notes that Freud saw criminal women as sexual misfits.
- 81 Frances Heidensohn, *Women and Crime* (London: Macmillan, 1985), p. 47.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 83 This view, typical of nineteenth-century analyses of female criminality, is that of Mary Carpenter, *Our Convicts*, vols. 1 and 2 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864), p. 32, quoted in Morris, *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice*, p. 13.
- 84 Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 14.
- 85 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, pp. 89–90. See also Amussen, "Being stirred to much unquietness", and Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*.
- 86 Diane Purkiss, 'Women's Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England: the House, the Body, the Child', *Gender and History* 7 (1995), 408–32. See also Purkiss, *The Witch in History* (London: Routledge, 1996), especially Chapter 6, 'Self-fashioning by the witch'.
- 87 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 57.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 89 Faller, *Turned to Account*, p. 222, n. 4.
- 90 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, pp. 35–6.
- 91 See Henry Goodcole, *The Adultresses Funerall Day* for 'A Short Tract upon the hainousnesse of Poysoning' (sigs. B3^v–B4^v), which gives reasons for the special wickedness of this technique for murder, in particular that it allows the victim no time to prepare himself for death. See also Chapter 5, p. 177.
- 92 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 48.
- 93 This is the fullest and most interesting of several accounts to which this extraordinary case gave rise. Others include *An Account of the Manner, Behaviour and Execution of Mary Aubrey, Who was Burnt to Ashes, in Leicester Fields* (1687), *A Cabinet of Grief: Or, The French Midwife's Miserable Moan for the Barbarous Murther Committed upon the Body of her Husband* (1688), and *A Warning-Piece for All Married Men and Women, Being the full Confession of Mary Hobry, The French Midwife, Who Murdered her Husband on the 27th of January 1687/8*.
- 94 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 34.
- 95 See Miranda Chaytor, 'Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century', *Gender and History* 7 (1995), 378–407; and Nazife Bashar, 'Rape in

- England between 1550 and 1700', in *The Sexual Dynamics of History*, ed. The London Feminist History Group (London: Pluto Press, 1983), pp. 28–42, for discussions of the meanings of the crime in early modern England. G. R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives. Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1977), pp. 172–3, notes the extreme legal difficulties facing any woman who might have grounds to take a man to court for rape. But it was not an unknown crime, as an examination of the *Calendar of Assize Records*, ed. J. S. Cockburn, will show.
- 96 See Chapter 5, pp. 159–62 for further discussion of this case.
- 97 Amussen, "Being stirred to much unquietness", p. 76.
- 98 Patricia Crawford, 'Public Duty, Conscience and Women in Early Modern England', in J. Morrill et al. (eds.), *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 60. Crawford appositely cites Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties* (1622), p. 18, where he states that for a good wife 'a conscionable performance of household duties ... may be accounted a publike work'.
- 99 Amussen, "Being stirred to much unquietness"; and *An Ordered Society*, Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, Diane E. Henderson, 'The Theater and Domestic Culture', in Cox and Kastan (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama*, pp. 173–94; Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', and Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold'.
- 100 Mary Beth Rose, *The Expense of Spirit. Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 116; and Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).
- 101 William Le Hardy (ed.), *County of Middlesex. Calendar to the Sessions Records* New Series, 4 vols. (London, 1935–41), Vol. IV, xx.
- 102 Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Morals*, pp. 7–8.
- 103 Amussen, "Being stirred to much unquietness", p. 83, Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy. Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 147.
- 104 Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, p. 92.
- 105 John Wing, *The Crowne Coniugall* (London, 1632), p. 297, cited in Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 21. See also p. 21, n. 2.
- 106 Susan Cahn, *Industry of Devotion. The Transformation of Women's Work in England, 1500–1660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), *passim*, and Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 56.
- 107 *The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights* (1632), sig. B3^v.
- 108 Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 231.
- 109 Rose, *The Expense of Spirit*, pp. 126–9, Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, p. 41.
- 110 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 108.
- 111 Walker, "Demons in female form", p. 132.
- 112 Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, p. 138.
- 113 Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music', p. 176.
- 114 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 41.
- 115 Accounts of wife-murder in which the husband is set on by a female servant do appear, for instance the ballad 'The Unfaithful Servant' (*PB*, ed. Day, 2. 151), Thomas Cash, *Two Horrible and inhumane Murders done in Lincolnshire, by two Husbands upon their Wiues* (1604); in Thomas Brewer's *The Bloody Mother*, the woman servant plans the wife's murder, but fails to carry it out.

- 116 These ballads are to be found in *A Pepysian Garland*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, pp. 238–42, 299–334. For discussion of the unsafe household, see Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, Chapters 1 and 2.
- 117 Sharpe, 'Domestic Homicide', pp. 36–7.
- 118 Cockburn, 'Patterns of Violence', *passim*.
- 119 Cahn, *Industry of Devotion*, pp. 132–3.
- 120 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 256.
- 121 *Ibid.*, p. 257.
- 122 Cahn, *Industry of Devotion*, p. 168.
- 123 Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, p. 245.
- 124 Cited by Cahn, *Industry of Devotion*, p. 136.
- 125 Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve. Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 256.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 266.
- 127 Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture. Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 17.
- 128 Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters. Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983), p. 88. But see also Stretton, *Women Waging Law*, p. 32.
- 129 Willis, *Malevolent Nurture*, pp. 17–18.
- 130 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 149. She extends her argument to suggest that violence against a child is thus seen as 'familiar', as a stratagem for downplaying the idea that not all mothers do identify with their children.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 132 Hoffer and Hull, *Murdering Mothers*, p. 149.
- 133 See Quaife, *Wanton Wenches*, pp. 143–5 on the sexual associations of the widow. Fuller accounts of the early modern widow in society can be found in Vivian Brodsky, 'Widows in Late Elizabethan London: Remarriage, Economic Opportunity and Family Orientations', in L. Bonfield, et al. (eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 122–54, Charles Carlton, 'The Widow's Tale: Male Myths and Female Reality in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England', *Albion* 10 (1978), 118–29; and Barbara J. Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Considered', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500–1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985).
- 134 See *The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* (1619).
- 135 This notion of the witch is extensively explored by Willis in *Malevolent Nurture*.
- 136 Susan Amussen, 'The Gendering of Popular Culture in Early Modern England', in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500–1850* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 54, and Quaife, *Wanton Wenches*, p. 16.
- 137 Though I do not entirely accept the position taken by Garthine Walker in "'Demons in Female Form'" who assumes knowledge of how early modern women would or would not have responded to this writing, and argues that they would not have read it 'as women', p. 135.
- 138 Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, p. 76.

Chapter 3

- 1 'The lamentation of Agnes Bruen &c', entered 1 July 1592, 'The Burnynge of Anne Bruen', entered 10 July 1592, 'John Parkers lamentacon &c', entered 11 July 1592, and 'The Lamentacion of John Parker', entered 15 July 1592.

- 2 Entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 7 March 1608.
- 3 Entered 18 July 1637.
- 4 Entered 28 June 1605.
- 5 Entered 7 September 1594. Joseph H. Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England, 1550–1640* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 83, gives details.
- 6 Other relevant lost ballads include 'A ballett of the Murther of A boy of 3 yeres of Age ...', related to the Annis Dell crime, 'A new ballad of the life and deathe of Three Wytches Arrayned and executed at Chelmsford', 'A lamentable songe of Three Wytches, of Warbos. And executed at Huntington', and 'A warning for all wicked wives' (on Katherine Francis), details of which are given in Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England*. There are also an unnamed ballad, entered in the Stationers' Register on 15 April 1608, on Elizabeth Seabrooke [Abbot], whose murder of another woman is related in *The Apprehension, Arraignment, and execution of Elizabeth Abbot alias Cebrooke* (1608) (number 1274 in Rollins's *Analytical Index*), and the 'lamentable confession of mistres James for consenting with Lowe her servante to the deathe of her husband' (1609), related to the murder in *A true relation of the most Inhumane and bloody Murther, of Master James* (1609).
- 7 *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen (New York: AMS Press, 1964), vol. VII, 154.
- 8 Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 56, calculates rather too airily from Rollins's *Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries in the Stationers' Register* that criminal behaviour was the most popular of all ballad subjects, but he bases his figures purely on entries in Rollins's index of names and subjects. Had he used the index of titles, the information yielded would have been different. Margaret Spufford, 'The Pedlar, the Historian and the Folklorist: Seventeenth Century publishers concentrated on four topics: religion, politics, issues of identity within family, region and nation, and above all marriage, courtship and sexuality. I owe this reference to David Atkinson.
- 9 Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1999), p. 178.
- 10 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 11–12, discusses prices, suggesting that they may have been lower than a penny.
- 11 Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, translated by Gayna Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 9 ff. is typical here, but Watt, *Cheap Print*, esp. pp. 78–9, 148–50 and 167–77, is an exception and takes the woodcut seriously. The use of woodcuts to decorate the walls and chimney-pieces of rooms is well documented.
- 12 *Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1810–24), 3, 894.
- 13 *Statutes of the Realm*, 4, 240.
- 14 *Statutes of the Realm*, 4, 445, 659.
- 15 Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 383. Rollins gives an account of early attempts to regulate the publication of ballads in the introduction to *Old English Ballads 1553–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).
- 16 *The Records of the Court of the Stationers Company, 1576–1602*, eds. W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (London, 1930), p. xx.
- 17 Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 43.

- 18 In *Thomas of Woodstock*, IV.iii. Nimble, a lawyer's man, says he can 'find treason' in the whistle of a carman. See Rollins, 'The Black-letter Broadside Ballad', p. 313.
- 19 See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp. 225–31. The tune was known well before 1590, and was one of the most familiar of all ballad tunes.
- 20 Rollins, 'The Black-letter Broadside Ballad', p. 271.
- 21 Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 123–4.
- 22 Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad*, p. 149.
- 23 A. B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 40. See also *The Common Muse. Popular British Ballad Poetry from the 15th to the 20th Century*, eds. V. de Sola Pinto and A. E. Rodway (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 33.
- 24 Fox gives the example of a metrical prophecy, akin in form to a ballad and in this instance adapted to predict Cromwell's downfall from an earlier ballad made in the reign of Henry VI, circulated amongst a group of Yorkshiremen including several clerics who made copies of it and handed them on to sympathetic contacts (*Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 365). See also Smith, *The Acoustic World*, pp. 178–81 on the Cromwell ballads.
- 25 See Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp. 382 ff., for more on this subject. The similarity in format between the broadside and the proclamation, noticed by Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England* (Preface, ix), both printed on one side of a folio sheet nine by twelve inches, is suggestive. See also Davis, *Factual Fictions*, p. 48, who says that the ballad 'acted as a usurper ... of the royal prerogative on information dissemination'. Friedman (*The Ballad Revival*, p. 39) makes the point that the broadside ballad is the ancestor of the handbill.
- 26 Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 386.
- 27 John Selden, *Table Talk*, ed. F. Pollock (1927), p. 72. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp. 320–1, suggests that composers of extempore ballads and libellous verses may well have drawn upon the format and conventions of the printed broadside.
- 28 'Sir Walter Rauleigh his lamentation', printed in Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, no. 15. This collection is henceforth referred to as PG. Smith, *The Acoustic World*, p. 191, notes that the publication of 'A lamentable Dittie composed upon the death of Robert Devereux late Earle of Essex' was not published until fifteen months after the execution, when a new monarch was on the throne.
- 29 Rollins, PG, p. 89.
- 30 Rollins, PG, p. 277.
- 31 Smith, *The Acoustic World*, p. 187. See also Davis, *Factual Fictions*, pp. 48–9.
- 32 See Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad*, pp. 152–3, and Rollins, 'The Black-letter Broadside Ballad', p. 269, for examples.
- 33 Rollins, PG, p. 432.
- 34 Rollins, PG, p. 84, from *The Court and Times of James I*, 1, 418.
- 35 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England*, p. 193.
- 36 In Henry Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame* and William Kemp, *Nine daies wonder*, Bodley Head Quartos, ed. G. B. Harrison, p. 4.
- 37 Shaaber, *Forerunners*, pp. 193–4.
- 38 For example, J. A. Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), and in many other of his works, and Peter Lake, 'Deeds against Nature'.

- 39 See Walton, *The Compleat Angler* (1653), chapter 4, and Dorothy Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple (1652–4)*, ed. E. A. Parry (London, n.d.), pp. 84–5.
- 40 Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, pp. 52–3. Walton records this anecdote in *The Compleat Angler*, chapter 4.
- 41 Rollins, 'The Black-letter Broadside Ballad', p. 308. Brome in *The Antipodes* (1640) has one of his characters refer to a 'ballad-woman' who 'gives light to the most learned Antiquary in all the kingdom' (IV.8).
- 42 *Records of Early English Drama: Norwich 1540–1642*, ed. David Galloway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 115. Diane Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry 1650–1850* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 23, gives an illustration of a woman ballad-singer from the 1680s.
- 43 *Records of Early English Drama: Somerset*, ed. James Stokes, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 1, 164. *Records of Early English Drama: Norwich*, p. 126. See also *Somerset*, vol. 2, 495–6 on 'Women and performance'.
- 44 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 11.
- 45 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, especially chapter 3, Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage', p. 72, and Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad*, p. 26.
- 46 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women*, p. 48.
- 47 Smith, *The Acoustic World*, p. 195.
- 48 *The Common Muse*, Introduction, p. 15.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 50 Mayhew recorded the words of a street ballad-singer who said: 'I get a shilling for a "copy of verses written by the wretched culprit the night previous to his execution". I wrote Courvoisier's sorrowful lamentation. I called it "A Voice from the Gaol".' See *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861), 3, 196.
- 51 Davis, *Factual Fictions*, p. 56.
- 52 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977, 1986), p. 44.
- 53 See James Shirley, *The Court Secret* (1653), in *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, eds. W. Gifford and A. C. Dyce, 6 vols. (London: James Murray, 1833), V, 300, for a speech by Pedro, who wants a ballad written to celebrate his conduct on the scaffold. But see also *The Insatiate Countess*, V.ii.60 ff., for a less enthusiastic response to the idea of having 'a scurvy ballad' made of one's death.
- 54 Rollins, *PG*, p. 54 gives more details.
- 55 The text is from *The Common Muse*, no. 84, pp. 255–8. For another ballad on Essex's death see 'A lamentable Ditty composed upon the Death of Robert Lord Devereux, late Earle of Essex', in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Charles Hindley, 2 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874), 2, 202–11. See Smith's discussion of it in *The Acoustic World*, pp. 190–3.
- 56 The comparison here with 'Sir Walter Rauleigh his lamentation' (*PG* 15) is interesting. Raleigh is made to stress his guilt and folly, and details of his courageous behaviour on the scaffold are largely omitted.
- 57 He was the author of *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* (1596), a pamphlet of prison life, and a *Repentance*, now lost.
- 58 A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967), pp. 220–1, notes the traditional 'sympathy of the poor' towards the outlaw, including the highwayman, as a folk hero in ballads. On the celebration of highwaymen as ballad-heroes, and their later versions, see Roy Palmer, *The Sound of History. Songs and Social Comment* (London: Pimlico, 1996), pp. 125–7.

- 59 This is motif E422.1.11.5.1 in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-tales, Ballads, Myths, etc.*, revised and enlarged edition, 6 vols. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58).
- 60 Though there is a much later ballad about a woman highway robber, 'The Female Highway Hector' (c. 1690), which is a celebratory account of a woman who carries out a successful career of robbery, dressed as a pretty young man, and is not caught or punished (*RB*, 8, Editorial Preface to Part IV, ix).
- 61 Text from *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. Rollins, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929–32), p. 7.
- 62 Kathleen McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 46.
- 63 Rollins, *PG*, p. 299. Richard Smyth, *The Obituary of Richard Smyth* (ed. Henry Ellis, Camden Society, 1849), p. 7, notes a separate case of 'a woman burnt in Smithfield for poisoning her husband' in 1632.
- 64 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, pp. 89–90.
- 65 See Hyder E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker, Ballad-monger', *Modern Philology* 16 (1919), 113–38, for an account of Parker's career.
- 66 Six of the ballads in *PG* are set to it, and Rollins cites a number of others (p. 300).
- 67 McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists*, p. 47.
- 68 The only known copy of this ballad is that printed in 1633 by Cuthbert Wright, who had printed the quartos of the play in 1592 and 1599 (*RB*, VIII, 47–53). There is no record of its having existed before this date, and it seems likely that the publication of the ballad is related to the publication of another quarto of the play, *Arden of Faversham*, in the same year. Both use the same woodcut.
- 69 Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England*, p. 75, notes another entered in the Stationers' Register on 14 December 1624.
- 70 Text from Rollins, ed., *Old English Ballads*, pp. 340–8.
- 71 The pamphlet is reproduced in Louis Thorn Golding, *An Elizabethan Puritan* (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1937), p. 172.
- 72 Rollins, *PG*, p. 341.
- 73 I have used the version of the texts given in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, I, pp. 553–63. That in the *Pepys Ballads*, I, 126–7, contains numerous textual variants, but they do not affect my argument here.
- 74 See Simpson, *British Broadside Ballads*, p. 226, who says that the pedigree of the ballad as a work of Deloney was 'cooked' by Collier, in *Broadside Black-letter Ballads* (privately printed, 1868), p. 63.
- 75 Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 222–7. In *RB* 8, pp. 190–208, there is a selection of ballads from the 1690s grouped under the heading 'Unhallowed marriages', in which the woman's situation is always represented sympathetically. 'The Old Miser Slighted; or The Young Lasse's resolution to marry the Young Man that she Loves, and not be troubled with the groans of a gouty fornicator, for the benefit of his Riches' typifies the genre.
- 76 *RB* I, 561.
- 77 Davis, *Factual Fictions*, p. 56.
- 78 Rollins, *PG*, p. 425.
- 79 Parker was born about 1600, and his first extant ballads date from 1624/5. By the date of this ballad he was eminent as a ballad-writer, and came to be regarded as supreme in this mode. A funeral elegy to him by 'S. F.' appeared in 1656. More than 80 of his ballads and other works (including romances and in the Civil War

- years royalist pamphlets) have survived. See Rollins, *Modern Philology* 16 (1919), 113–38.
- 80 For example, Henry Goodcole, *Natures Cruell Step-Dames* (1637), or *A Pitiless Mother* (1616), as discussed in Chapter 2. A lost ballad which may have dealt with the subject of the murdering of bastard neonates is ‘a dolefull discourse of a mayd yet suffered at Westminster for burying her child quicke’, registered on 31 March 1580. The case is briefly mentioned in Munday’s *A View of Sundrye Examples* (1580), p. 87.
- 81 Jean Freedman, ‘With Child: Illegitimate Pregnancy in Scottish Traditional Ballads’, *Folklore Forum* 24 (1991), 3–18, p. 4.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 83 Although few of the Child ballads are preserved in manuscripts earlier than the seventeenth century, some of them were demonstrably in existence two centuries before this. Broadside versions also exist of many, including ‘The Cruel Mother’ (Child, 20). In this striking ballad, which exists in many variants, the woman gives birth alone and in pain. She kills and buries the child (sometimes more than one), but is later revisited by it as a revenant who rebukes her for her cruelty.
- 84 A later ballad, ‘Witchcraft discovered and punished. Or, The Tryals and Condemnation of three Notorious Witches, who were Tried the last Assizes, holden at the Castle of Exeter, in the County of Devon’ (RB 6, 706–8), is also a summary account.
- 85 See Golding, *An Elizabethan Puritan*, p. 167.
- 86 *A View of Sundrye Examples*, p. 79.
- 87 *Sundrye Strange and inhumaine Murthers*, sig. B3^v.
- 88 *Sundrye Strange and inhumaine Murthers*, sig. B4.
- 89 The ballad texts are taken from *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. Rollins, 7, 3–20, which also gives the full text of *The Cruel Midwife*.
- 90 Technically, of course, this was not a crime of infanticide as defined by the 1624 statute, still in force, since these were not neonates killed by their mother.
- 91 According to Narcissus Luttrell, who noted the progress of events during this case, the maid was acquitted. *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678–April 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), 3, 205.

Chapter 4

- 1 E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 4, 323. Subsequently referred to as *ES*.
- 2 *ES* 3, 455.
- 3 *ES* 3, 286.
- 4 Rosalyn Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare’s Company 1594–1613* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), pp. 126–7.
- 5 *ES* 2, 53–4. For a fuller account, see also Janet Clare, ‘Art made tongue-tied by authority’: *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 140–1.
- 6 *The Revels History of Drama in English*, vol. 4, 1613–1660, general editor, Lois Potter (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 170, says it was ‘written, acted, censored and acted again within six weeks of the Dutch patriot’s trial and execution’. Clare, p. 183, has further details.
- 7 See C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare’s Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. 80–124, who discusses this fascinating story in great detail.

- 8 See Charles Dale Cannon (ed.), *A Warning for Fair Women. A Critical Edition* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1975), pp. 46–7 on the date.
- 9 *Henslowe's Diary*, eds. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 62. *Beech's Tragedy* (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 130) is probably the same play.
- 10 References to these plays are in *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 123, 124, 64, 125, 126, 127, 182. See also Sibley, *The Lost Plays and Masques 1500–1642*, and Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* for further information. The two parts of *Edward IV*, also plays about a real-life transgressive woman (Jane Shore), though not a recent one, were entered in the Stationers' Register in 1599.
- 11 H. H. Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy 1575–1642* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 197, and the entry in *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 123, 124.
- 12 Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company*, p. 44.
- 13 M. L. Wine, *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, *Revels Plays* (London: Methuen, 1973), p. lix.
- 14 And perhaps also for Robert Yarrington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1601), though the pamphlet about this murder, *A true discourse of a most cruell and barbarous murther committed by one Thomas Merrey, on the persons of Roberte Beeche and Thomas Winchester*, entered in the Stationers' Register for 29 August 1594, is not extant.
- 15 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 126. See also Betty Travitsky, 'Child Murder in English Renaissance Life and Drama', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 6 (1993), 63–84.
- 16 Sidney Lee, 'The Topical Side of Elizabethan Drama', *Transactions of the New Shakespere Society*, series 1 (1887–92), pt. 1, p. 20. H. H. Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. vii.
- 17 Sturgess, ed., *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, p. 15.
- 18 The play is cited in the facsimile edition published in the series *Old English Drama*, 1913.
- 19 The ballad is entered in the [*Stationers' Register*] for 15 October 1595, as 'The Norfolk gent his will and Testament and howe he Commytted the keepinge of his Children to his own brother who delte most wickedly with them and howe GOD plagued him for it'. It was popular and appeared in many collections, including *RB* 2, 216. Yarrington changed the story from the ballad considerably to make the Italian plot of his play parallel to the English one.
- 20 The text cited is Cannon, *A Warning for Fair Women*.
- 21 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 26.
- 22 Peter Holbrooke, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England: Nashe, Bourgeois Tragedy, Shakespeare* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), p. 91.
- 23 Such as *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (with others), *Fortune by Sea and Land* (in part), and *Edward IV*.
- 24 Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, p. 75.
- 25 Sturgess, *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, pp. 16, 15.
- 26 Madeleine Doran, *Endeavors of Art* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), p. 143.
- 27 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 7.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- 29 The same story is also told, but more briefly, by Master James in *A Warning for Fair Women*, scene xv. The play has been identified as *Friar Francis*, which was

- performed by the Earl of Sussex's Men in London in 1593, with some box-office success. See *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 20. Heywood gives a second example of a murder play having this effect on a guilty woman in the audience, this time at a performance by English players in Holland.
- 30 The exception here is Lake, in *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, who, although he seems not to know of Adams' work as such, bases his analysis of the plays on the centrality of what he calls 'the sin, providential judgment and repentance triad' (p. 104).
 - 31 Viviana Comensoli, *Household Business: Domestic Plays of Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 92.
 - 32 Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Familial Transgressions, Societal Transition on the Elizabethan Stage', in Carole Levin and Karen Robertson (eds.), *Sexuality and Politics in Renaissance Drama* (Lewiston, Queenstown and Lampeter: Edwin Mellon Press, 1991), p. 118.
 - 33 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 74.
 - 34 Holbrooke, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England*, pp. 99, 86.
 - 35 Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, pp. 32–3, Frances Dolan, 'Gender, Moral Agency, and Dramatic Form in *A Warning for Fair Women*', *Studies in English Literature* 29 (1989), 201–18.
 - 36 Dolan, *ibid.*, pp. 201, 211.
 - 37 A. M. Clark, *Thomas Heywood, Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), p. 235.
 - 38 Alexander Leggatt, '*Arden of Faversham*', *Shakespeare Survey* 36 (1953), 121.
 - 39 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 51.
 - 40 McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists*, p. 228.
 - 41 Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, p. 185.
 - 42 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 52.
 - 43 McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists*, p. 124.
 - 44 Frank Whigham, *Seizures of the Will in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4.
 - 45 For examples of this, see Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, and Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*.
 - 46 Whigham, *Seizures of the Will*, p. 15.
 - 47 David Attwell, 'Property, Status, and the Subject in a Middle-Class Tragedy: *Arden of Faversham*', *ELR* 21 (1999), 328.
 - 48 Cannon, *A Warning for Fair Women*, pp. 46–8.
 - 49 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, in Appendix A includes these in his list of lost domestic plays of the period. See also Andrew Clark, 'An Annotated List of Lost Domestic Plays, 1578–1624', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 18 (1975), 29–44.
 - 50 Wine, *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, p. xl.
 - 51 Holinshed's *Chronicles* is cited from the extract included in Wine's edition of *Arden of Faversham*. Page references are given in the text.
 - 52 Whigham, *Seizures of the Will*, p. 109.
 - 53 See Wine, *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, fn. 301, l.292–5, also 458ff.
 - 54 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*, pp. 227–31.
 - 55 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 105. This is also the line taken by Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 111.
 - 56 Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, p. 134.
 - 57 For example, by Sturgess, *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, p. 19, and Wine, *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, p. lx.

- 58 Golding's pamphlet is reproduced in Cannon's edition, which is cited here. Page numbers are given in the text.
- 59 Dolan, 'Gender, Moral Agency', p. 215.
- 60 Holbrooke, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England*, p. 95.
- 61 Kathleen McLuskie, "'Tis but a woman's jar": Family and Kinship in Elizabethan Domestic Drama', *Literature and History* 9 (1983), 231.
- 62 See Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 118, Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 47, and John Taylor, *The Unnatural Father* (1621), p. 1.
- 63 By Orlin, in 'Familial Transgressions', and Dolan, in 'Gender, Moral Agency', though Lake, anxious to play down any gender-specific aspects in this drama, argues for it as a more general problem of authority (pp. 90–2).
- 64 Cannon, *A Warning for Fair Women*, pp. 224–5. See Chapter 2, pp. 66–7 on the widow in early modern society.
- 65 Orlin, 'Familial Transgressions', p. 34.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 67 Cannon, *A Warning for Fair Women*, p. 83.
- 68 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, pp. 108, 115.
- 69 Holbrooke, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England*, p. 99.
- 70 Orlin, 'Familial Transgressions', p. 37.
- 71 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, pp. 82–3.
- 72 Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, p. 116 (another discussion of this speech).
- 73 Adams, *English Domestic and Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 113.
- 74 But see Travitsky, 'Child Murder'.
- 75 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, pp. 202–3. It was apparently a two-part play, with separate tragic and comic plots. See Sisson, *Lost Plays*, pp. 80–124.
- 76 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 210. Lost plays, which seem from their titles likely to have been about witchcraft, include *The Witch of Islington* of 1597 (Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 195), and *Black Joan* of the same year. See Andrew Clark, *Domestic Drama. A Survey of the Origins, Antecedents, and Nature of the Domestic Play in England* (Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 1975, Appendix C). There was also *Doctor Lambe and the Witches*, licensed in August 1634, but probably an old play then. For which, see G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941–68), III, 73–6.
- 77 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 210.
- 78 See Chapter 2, pp. 34–5.
- 79 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, p. 236.
- 80 The text is taken from the edition of Arthur F. Kinney, *New Mermaids* (London, New York: A. & C. Black, W. W. Norton, 1998).
- 81 Anthony B. Dawson, 'Witchcraft/Bigamy: Cultural Conflict in *The Witch of Edmonton*', *Renaissance Drama* 20 (1989), 90.
- 82 Compare the speech of the madmen in Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*.
- 83 Dawson, 'Witchcraft/Bigamy', p. 85.
- 84 McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists*, p. 71.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 She is called mother in the play, but not in the pamphlet, where there is a reference to her husband.
- 87 Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed. Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 260, contrasts the 'man-dog' relationship of Cuddy with the Dog.

- 88 Purkiss says that the play 'shows the figure of the witch to be a role' (*The Witch in History*, p. 246).
- 89 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 198.
- 90 Even its most recent editor, Laird Barber, *An Edition of the Late Lancashire Witches by Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1979) takes this position. Quotations from the play are taken from this edition.
- 91 Herbert Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched and El Hombre Fiel', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 1 (1984), 215. The uncertainty as to the witches' fate seems not to have been unusual. Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', demonstrates that it was often difficult to discover even what happened to those who were convicted. Fewer were executed than might have been expected (p. 76).
- 92 For accounts of the events see Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, pp. 233–4, Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, p. 125, and Barber's edition, *An Edition of the Late Lancashire Witches*, pp. 55–67.
- 93 Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, p. 125. See also Barber, pp. 72–3, on the dating.
- 94 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, p. 233.
- 95 Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched', p. 221.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 97 *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.
- 98 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, p. 249, n. 40.
- 99 Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched', p. 212.
- 100 Adams, *English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy*, p. 205.
- 101 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 217. Barber, drawing on a different critical idiom, calls it 'an essentially good-natured play designed to provide amusement for a summer's afternoon' (*An Edition of the Late Lancashire Witches*, p. 20).
- 102 McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists*, p. 84.

Chapter 5

- 1 The expressions come from John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McLure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), vol. 1, p. 57, and Henry Fitzgeffery, *Satyres and satyricall epigrams* (1617), Book 1.
- 2 Marie-Hélène Davies, *Reflections of Renaissance England, Life, Thought and Religion in Illustrated Pamphlets 1535–1640* (Princeton Theological Monographs series 1, Allison Park, Penn.: Pickwick Publications, 1986), p. 2. See also Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers 1580–1640* (London: Athlone Press, 1984), pp. 23–4.
- 3 Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 123.
- 4 Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 1; Peter Lake, with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat. Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 4.
- 5 Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England. News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 127.
- 6 Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 1.

- 7 Ibid., p. 66. The commonplace book of William Davenport, a Cheshire gentleman, filled with transcriptions of London news, is another such example. For references to manuscript accounts of phenomena, see also Walsham, *ibid.*, p. 182, n. 76, and p. 184, n. 85.
- 8 Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, lists 17 printed primary sources on the Overbury murder and the trials of the Somersets, the products of at least 8 different publishers.
- 9 Chamberlain to Carleton, 6 July 1616, *Letters*, 2, 15.
- 10 Richard Helgerson, 'Murder in Faversham: Holinshed's Impertinent History', in Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (eds.), *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 138. Helgerson has more to say on the Arden murder in *Adulterous Alliances. Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 13–31.
- 11 Helgerson, 'Murder in Faversham', p. 137.
- 12 Abraham Holland, *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (1625), p. 2.
- 13 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 335.
- 14 By Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance*, p. 49.
- 15 The second pamphlet is called *The Horrible Murther of a young Boy of three yeres of age* (1606). The ballad was registered on 13 October 1606. For the indictment of Agnes and George Dell, see J. S. Cockburn, ed., *Calendar of Assize Records. Hertfordshire Indictments. James I* (London: HMSO, 1985), no. 163.
- 16 Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 428.
- 17 Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance*, p. 49.
- 18 Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Orlando, Fla: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1997), p. 93.
- 19 Lionel Gossman, 'History and Literature. Reproduction or Signification', in Robert H. Canary and Henry Koznicki, eds., *The Writing of History. Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. 11.
- 20 For instance, Victor E. Neuberg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 78, and Jerome Friedman in *Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution* (London: University College Press, 1993).
- 21 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 57.
- 22 Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 46.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Joad Raymond, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641–1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush Press, 1993), p. 295.
- 25 Joy Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1992), p. 211.
- 26 Faller, *Turned to Account*, p. 46.
- 27 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 128.
- 28 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, p. 214.
- 29 Walker, "Demons in female form", p. 134.
- 30 Cynthia Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Chapter 6.

- 31 Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 224–5, gives some interesting evidence for the existence of this belief in court records.
- 32 In *The Lives, Apprehension, Arraignment & Execution of Robert Throckmorton. William Porter. John Bishop. Gentlemen* (1608), an account of three men sentenced for robbery and murder along with her, Ferneseede's generally repentant conduct in prison is also mentioned.
- 33 Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 35.
- 34 There are references to the case by John Chamberlain in his letter to Dudley Carleton of 18 May 1616, in the *Calendar of State Papers*, ed. R. Lemon, ser. 1, IX, 267–8, and in Le Hardy (ed.), *The County of Middlesex Calendar*, vol. 3, p. 247.
- 35 A recent newspaper story about a case of child-murder by a mother opens with the sentence: 'A mother defied nature and instinct to murder two of her babies as they lay in their cots, a Winchester crown court heard yesterday' (*Guardian*, 20 February 2002). Media coverage of this case (Angela Cannings) and of that of Sally Clark (1999) reiterates commonplaces about the naturalness of mother-love.
- 36 See also *The Cruel Midwife* (1693), p. 2, cited in Chapter 3.
- 37 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 162.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 148. See also Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 83–4, for a discussion of cases of maternal child-murder regarded by a contemporary physician as acts of mental disorder.
- 39 See for instance Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', p. 80.
- 40 Barbara Rosen (ed.), *Witchcraft* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), p. 8.
- 41 Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1981), p. 10. On women and witchcraft, see also Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Discipline of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 251, Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 6, Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 201.
- 42 Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power*, p. 244.
- 43 Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', p. 87.
- 44 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, p. 42.
- 45 Larner, *Enemies of God*, p. 2.
- 46 Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, p. 202. See also Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, p. 68.
- 47 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 179, n. 16.
- 48 Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', p. 77.
- 49 See Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, p. 47, citing Reginald Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* (1584), pp. 7, 13.
- 50 Annabel Gregory, 'Witchcraft, Politics and "Good Neighbourhood" in Early Seventeenth-century Rye', *Past and Present* 133 (1991), 31–66.
- 51 Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, p. 43.
- 52 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 179. Wiltenberg largely excludes English witchcraft pamphlets from her account of *Disorderly Women and Female Power*, the implicit reason being that they do not qualify as 'street literature'. I have to admit to taking the definition of the term rather more loosely.

- 53 The Acts are, respectively, 5 Elizabeth c.16, 23 Elizabeth c.2, and 1 James I c.12.
- 54 This pamphlet is cited from *A Collection of rare and Curious Tracts, relating to Witchcraft in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincoln between the years 1618 and 1664* (London: John Russell Smith, 1837).
- 55 Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 92, 170.
- 56 Purkiss, 'Women's Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England', p. 410.
- 57 Rosen, *Witchcraft*, p. 332.
- 58 Macfarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex', p. 73.
- 59 E.g. *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches. Arreigned ... at Chelmsford* (1589), *A detection of damnable drifts, practized by three Witches arreigned at Chelmsford in Essex* (1579), and *A Rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile* (1579).
- 60 Rosen, *Witchcraft*, p.72. In fact, although often lively and stylish (especially the illustrations of animals) many of these look to me like stock images, with some exceptions.
- 61 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, p. 148. Further details about Bodenham are to be found in James Bower, *Dr Lambe's Darling, or Strange and Terrible news from Salisbury* (1653). See also Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, on Bodenham, esp. pp. 147–53, 171.
- 62 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 203.
- 63 Rosen, *Witchcraft*, p. 372.
- 64 By David Lindley in *The Trials of Frances Howard. Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 178.
- 65 Walker, "'Demons in female form'", p. 124.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- 67 Walker does in fact discuss this pamphlet, but her curious reading of the Browne murder ignores Golding's role, and lays part of the blame on Browne himself for his failed marriage.
- 68 Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 56.
- 69 Walker, "'Demons in Female Form'", p. 131.
- 70 He wrote five pamphlets, *The Adultrresses Funerall Day* (1635), *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry after Lust and Murther* (1635), *Londons Cry Ascended to God* (1620), *Natures Cruell Step-Dames* (1637), and *The Wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch* (1621). All except *Londons Cry* concern crimes committed by women.
- 71 Scot, *Discoverie* (1584), p. 116. On women and poisoning in relation particularly to the Somerset murder trial, see also Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, pp. 163–6, and Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, pp. 144–8.
- 72 Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 163.
- 73 Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, p. 37.

Conclusion

- 1 Headline to an article by Nicci Gerrard entitled 'The End of Innocence', in the *Observer*, 17 November 2002.

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