Sensing the visual (mis)representation of William Laud

Rachel Willie, Liverpool John Moores University

When William Laud (1573-1645) was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, he and his associate clergy defended episcopal authority by citing apostolic inheritance, but apostolic succession, with its appeal to history and lineage, was problematic. In parliamentary debates in 1640, both those sympathetic to the episcopacy and its detractors observed that appeals to apostolic antiquity presented bishops in ways that might be construed as popish. These parallels between episcopacy and the papacy were made more apparent in anti-Laudian pamphlets. In the early 1640s, a series of satirical attacks on Laud were printed and these texts comprise numerous woodcuts. Visual culture flirts with Laud's image to present a negative iconography. This article will focus upon *Canterburie His Change of Diot* (1641) to address some of the difficulties in interpreting the relationship between Church and State in mid-seventeenth century pamphlets and how visual imagery connects these representations with ideas of Popery, regicide and the body politic.

In 1633, William Laud was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. His actions as one of Charles I's chief advisers became a cause of tension within Church and State. These tensions continued after Laud's impeachment in 1640 and execution for treason in 1645.[1] His reforms in ecclesiastical worship reenergised

I would like to thank Antoinina Bevan-Zlater, Emma Depledge and Alison Searle for their comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

disputes that had never been fully laid to rest by the Elizabethan Church Settlement. Central to these dicussions were questions regarding the role and prerogative of bishops. In the late sixteenth century, these debates led to the Marprelate controversy where a series of scurrilous pamphlets attacking the bishops were printed by an illegal press (Black (2008); Raymond, esp. 27-44). In 1641, two of the Marprelate tracts were reissued, suggesting that invective from the 1590s was also pertinent to anxieties regarding godly governance in the 1640s (Hill; Pierce, 836). Print proved a fertile space for questioning whether or not there was a place for bishops in Church governance.

Critics of episcopacy viewed bishops as a relic of popery and a threat to the reformed Church; they sought the removal of bishops as part of further reforms in ecclesiastical governance. Yet others argued that, in England, royal supremacy formed the basis of Church hierarchy and in so doing became a means of endorsing episcopacy. Erastianism, which asserted that the State ruled over the Church (even in ecclesiastical matters) meant that Church and State became inextricably linked and the power of the bishops was limited by royal prerogative. Laud's reforms in ecclesiastical worship and his perceived Arminian leanings were censured because it was believed Laud was overreaching; this became a contributory factor in parliament's decision to execute him. Laudian reforms thus drew attention to tensions that had plagued

[1] The two main biographies of Laud remain Trevor-Roper and Carlton.

the reformed Church in England since its beginnings and, as Tim Harris asserts, recent research highlights that 'there was never a Jacobean consensus in the Church' that was destroyed by Laud (625). While some appreciated Laudian reforms, others believed Laud might as well have been a Catholic. Indeed, representations of Laud that circulated in cheap print alluded to his purported papal pretensions. In this article, I survey a representative sample of anti-Laudian pamphlets, focussing specifically on a 1641 play pamphlet, *Canterburie His Change of Diot*, to show how textual political protest connected to visual culture and the body in mid-seventeenth-century England. As a corollary, this article addresses some of the difficulties in understanding the relationship between Church and State in mid-seventeenth-century pamphleteering.

Canterburie His Change of Diot, which has been attributed to the Leveller Richard Overton (Wiseman (1998), 28),[2] is of particular note as it engages with debates, politics and poetics that arose as a consequence of the Reformation and were never fully laid to rest by the Elizabethan Settlement or by Jacobean ecclesiology. It is also unrelenting in the way in which it recasts previous, positive visual representations of Laud – especially those produced by Anthony van Dyck (discussed below) – and transforms the iconography of authority into an iconography of protest. As Helen Pierce has argued, Laud was not the first

[2] For discussions on how Overton resurrected the persona of Martin Marprelate, see Black (1997); Smith.

authority figure to be satirised in pictoral form, but he was the first to be the subject of such sustained visual satire (813). The pictoral attacks in *Canterburie His Change of Diot* are not unique, but the sheer number of specially-commissioned woodcuts used to narrate the text's satire is remarkable. Printers tended to recycle woodcuts and/or to use images sparingly. Woodcuts were expensive to make and images took up valuable space on the page: since paper and the production of woodcuts would make up a publisher-printer's biggest outlay, each illustration was used judiciously. The pamphlet amounts to a title page, followed by a blank page and a further six quarto pages that comprise dialogue split into four acts. The first three acts are accompanied by a woodcut and the woodcut that illustrates the third act is replicated on the title page. The images thus present a sense of circularity and deserved punishment as the text narrates how Laud feasts upon the ears of a divine, a lawyer and a physician before he is locked in a birdcage as punishment for his vicious deeds. The woodcuts not only imply a circularity to the narrative, but also present pictoral representations that enact the dialogue upon the paper stage and make the narrative of the play pamphlet comprehensible to consumers with varying levels of literacy.[3]

Canterburie His Change of Diot appears to have circulated widely and it is important to situate this and other pamphlets in the context of the visual culture

[3] For a fuller discussion of how drama is enacted upon the paper stage through text and through image, see my 'Viewing the Paper Stage'.

of the Church and ecclesiastical office in the 1630s and early 1640s. Laud himself knew about the attack when incarcerated in the Tower of London and complained about his ill-usage at being represented as locked in a cage (Laud, sigs. Aa3r-Aa3v; Pierce, 811). Laud was well-versed in visual ceremony and the deliberately facile imagery in the woodcuts combines with the biting satire of the texts to undermine official representations of the archbishop and the visual culture of the Laudian Church.

Visualising Office

Laud's reforms sought a more uniform style of church worship and the extent to which they marked a move away from Calvinist doctrine to Arminianism continues to be debated (Walsham). Even Pope Urban VIII appears to have been confused by Laud's spiritual leanings: on August 4th and again on August 17th 1633, Laud was offered (but refused) a cardinal's cap (Laud, sig. Gggg4^{v}). Yet Laud's reforms not only affected the modes of worship, but also impacted the very fabric of the church. The positioning of the altar–table-wise or altar-wise–and the addition of an altar rail changed how worshippers moved around the church: church décor not only altered the layout of the church, but also transformed the visual culture of devotion.[4] These physical changes to the

[4] See Kenneth Fincham, 'The restoration of the altars in the 1630s', *HJ* xliv (2001), 919-40, and Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars restored: the changing face of English religious worship, 1547-c.1700*, Oxford, 2007.

church, coupled with the official portrait of Laud painted by Anthony van Dyck in 1636 (figure 1), demonstrate that Laudian reforms were invested in visual imagery and the iconography of office.[5] In representing Laud, the anti-Laudian satire in the anonymous and scurrilous pamphlets amalgamates the visual culture of the Church as underpinned by the State with the visual culture of cheap print to enact political protest.[6]

Central to pictoral attacks on Laud is a recognition of his official portrait as a symbol of ecclesiastical office. Van Dyck's portrait of Laud was copied and distributed widely; there are fifty-five extant painted copies of the portrait and Wenceslaus Hollar was commissioned to produce an etching of the painting in 1640 (Pierce, 817). Hollar's etching made van Dyck's portrait more readily available and, following Laud's impeachment in December 1640, the image was replicated in anti-Laudian satire. Pierce has argued that Laud perceived the commissioning of this portrait 'as both an obligation and an extravagance', as implied by his only reference to the painting being an observation regarding van

[5] For a study that seeks to unearth Laudianism's distinctive artistic characteristics, see Parry. Marsh has explored how worshippers inhabited sacred space.

[6] As numerous scholars have observed, the apparatus of drama was used as a form of protest in pamphlets throughout the 1640s, particularly in play pamphlets. This has been connected to the closure of the theatres at the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Thus, at a time when performance was banned, the theatre was reenergised as a form of political protest on the paper stage. However, many of the anti-Laudian play pamphlets predate this ordiance for theatre closure. See Butler; Willie; Wiseman (1998 & 1999).

Dyck's high fees; this complaint, coupled with Laud briefly alluding to the portrait in his will as being an addition to the Lambeth Palace collection, suggests that the continutity of episcopal office takes precedence over the subject of the portrait (Pierce, 814). Laud thus plays a minor role within the portrait, despite the portrait being of him; instead the portrait asserts the power and authorty invested in the role of the Archbishop. At the Restoration, William Juxon then built upon this iconography by commissioning a portrait that echoed van Dyck's in posture, costume and organisation (Harmes, 184-5).

The notion of the portrait as a visual and material manifestation of episcopal authority runs parallel to van Dyck's innovations in presenting the visual image of the king. According to Kevin Sharpe, van Dyck transformed pictorial representations of monarchy, conjoining the body natural more closely to the body politic as a way to assert the authority of the monarch. At the same time, van Dyck's innovations in portraiture crossed political divides. Yet, while van Dyck's monarchical portraits asserted the power of the monarch, conditions within Church and State raised questions about the king's authority. This culminated in the severing of links between the body natural and the body politic that enabled the regicide to take place in 1649. Furthermore, after Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector in 1653, the stances in van Dyck's monarchical portraits were imitated by artists keen to legitimise the authority of the new regime; Protectorate authority was both undermined and endorsed by

unofficial representations and royalist satire (Knoppers, 3-8 and *passim*.). This ongoing appropriation of visual imagery demonstrates the fragility of the visual image as an inscriber of authority even as it is used as a means to assert power. Laud's posture in the van Dyck portrait paradoxically exudes a sense of unease and discomfort as well as nonchalance, which, arguably, makes the instability of the visual image particularly apparent.[7]

Van Dyck's portrait of Laud has been described by Sharpe as 'almost uniquely austere' in comparison to other portraits that used objects to minimise visually the political and confessional differences held by the subjects of the portraits (Sharpe (2013), 150). The use of objects created the appearance of unity amongst the nobility, but this practice came under increasing pressure as Charles' personal rule led to more vocal opposition as the 1630s progressed. Laud, however, has no properties to denote his office, which not only contrasts with the idealised landscapes of portraits of royalty and the nobility, but also with previous portraits of Archbishops (Sharpe (2013), 142-151). The gloom of the plain background is punctuated by a rich, sumptuous fabric, but Laud is leaning, almost casually, against some furniture and is dressed in cassock, ruff, surplice, chimere and Canterbury cap. Without a cross by way of ornament, or a Bible or Book of Common Prayer in the painting, Laud gazes nonchalantly at

[7] On the influence of van Dyck's ealier portrait of the Abbé Cesare Scaglia on the composition of the Laud portrait and Titian's influence on the paintings, see Pierce, 816; Jaffé, 600, and Brown, 272-4.

the viewer. In previous portraits of Archbishops in the reformed English Church, the properties of piety were prominent; most noticeably, prayer books and bibles were often clutched by the Archbishop sitting for the portrait, emphasising the importance of *sola scriptura* to the Protestant tradition. However, in the van Dyck portrait, clothing becomes the one means by which Laud's worldly position is asserted (Pierce, 815-16). This demonstrates how religious office within the Laudian Church was bound up with garments.[8]

Commented [RW1]: Figure 1 somewhere near here.

Van Dyck's visual representation of Laud thus places the authority of the Church on the Archbishop of Canterbury through his apparently austere clothing. However, for those in opposition to Laud's reforms in Church worship, ecclesiastical costume – perhaps particularly the more ornate vestments worn during church services – became representative of what they perceived to be the corrupt ceremonial practices of the Church of England.[9] In a text that was reissued in 1637, the Chaplain to Archbishop Cramner and Marian exile, Thomas Becon attacked 'Masse-mongers' (sigs. A5r-v). Becon also condemned the 'fooles cat [*sic*.] which is called a Vestment, lacking nothing but a coxcomb', partly because of how vestments were decorated:

[8] Bevan Zlatar has explored in detail Elizabethan criticism of religious 'uniform' and its perceived connection to popery (chapter 6). For a study on the centrality of clothing to early modern culture, see Stallybrass and Jones.

[9] Kirby has drawn attention the importance of the political theology of Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli to the Vestiarian controversy in England (chapter 5).

Some have Angels, some the blasphemous Image of the Trinity, some flowers, some Pecocks, some Owles, some cats, some dogs, some hares, some one thing, some another, and some nothing at all but a crosse upon the backe to fray away spirits (sigs. C12v-D1r).

The reissuing of his attack on the mass in 1637 demonstrates how spiritual and ideological tensions did not disappear as the ecclesiology and the liturgy of the Elizabethan Church Settlement gained acceptance. Instead, these disputes reemerged in the 1630s (Collinson; Morrissey). By reprinting Becon's text in 1637 when Laudian reforms were the subject of increasing criticism for their apparently papal-leanings, the visual imagery of Laudian Church worship is implicitly drawn into Becon's criticisms. As Antoinina Bevan Zlatar has noted, for Elizabethan reformists, even the apparently austere cap and surplice was construed as the 'popes liuerie', especially when compared to the plain black cassock worn by continental Protestant clergy: in this interpretation of eccelesiastical costume, episcopes in the Church of England become almost indistinguishable from Roman bishops (esp. 134-150). In this wider context, Laud's portrait is no longer representative of a plain style and a mind focussed upon spiritual affairs: it instead becomes a site of discord.

Cheap Print and Visual Protest

Anti-Laudian pamphlets replicated van Dyck's image, and in so doing re-ascribed its meaning from being an assertion of authority to weakening that authority through the use of satire, invective and parody. Some texts took the basic poise of the primate and embellished it. For example, one woodcut that appears on the pamphlet *Rome for Canterbury* and also on the ballad *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (both dated 1641; figures 2 and 3) uses the image as a way to assert Laud's alleged papal pretensions. The texts purport to be a true narrative of the rise and fall of Laud, the circumstances of his life and his imprisonment in the Tower of London for treason. In the woodcut, we are presented with the image of Laud wearing a Canterbury cap. However, he is no longer able to lean on the table next to him as a bishop's mitre has been placed on it. In the background, the curtain has been replaced by two cityscapes connected by a wide but crooked road. Two men ride on horseback from Canterbury to Rome. Here, the bishop's mitre is presented as both a symbol of Catholicism and a prized object owned by Laud. The ready and easy way between Canterbury and Rome becomes a means by which Laud's reforms in Church worship are thus presented as leading to a reconciliation between England and Rome and the restoration of Catholicism as the legitimate mode of Christianity in the British Isles.

Commented [RW2]: Figures 2 and 3 somewhere near here.

The woodcut was used again in 1643 in *The Copy of the Petition* (figure 4). Although the woodcut has had the words 'Canterbury' and 'Rome' removed,

the text develops the theme of Laud seeking greater accommodation with Rome. This time, however, it is asserted that the motive is to make the Church of England more palatable to Charles I's Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, and to persuade her to convert. Monarchy is thus brought into dialogue with Laudian reforms to present Church and State as working against the religious interests of a Protestant people.

Commented [RW3]: Figure 4 somewhere near here.

Van Dyck's image became a template that was redefined and embellished by Laud's detractors repeatedly in the months following his impeachment. However, the very lack of ornamentation in van Dyck's portrait and Laud's appearance in his robes of office ascribes a very particular kind of authority; an authority located within the physical body of the Archbishop and inherited through an unbroken line that extends back to Christ. When Laud was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, he and his associate clergy looked to *jure divino* theories as a means of asserting episcopal authority. Rather than deriving their authority from the magistracy and royal supremacy as Erastianism asserted, *jure divino* theories claimed that bishops were established through apostolic inheritance (Harmes, 175-6). These theories were relatively uncontroversial in the early Stuart Church, but Laud's reformist programme went further (Tyacke in Fincham, 57-8). Laud's reforms focussed upon doctrine and worship, looking to Elizabethan precedent to return the Church to its 'first Reformation' (Fincham in Fincham, 77). This placed pressure on *jure divino*

theories: apostolic succession, with its appeal to history and lineage, was not without its problems. In parliamentary debates in 1640, both those sympathetic to the episcopacy and its detractors observed that appealing to apostolic antiquity presented the bishops in ways that might be construed as popish (Harmes, 181-82). These parallels were even more apparent in anti-Laudian pamphlets in the early 1640s, like *Canterburie His Change of Diot*, the text to which I would now like to return.

Sensing Bodies and Spiritual Emotion

The pamphlet opens with Laud negatively commenting on the meal he is to share with a doctor, a divine, and a lawyer. After he dismisses the dishes in favour of some nourishment 'after the Italian fashion' (sig. A2v), Laud's band of fully-armed bishops enter and assist Laud in relieving the divine, the lawyer and the doctor of their ears. Dismembering combines with cannibalism as Laud awaits the ears to be prepared for his consumption. This cannibalistic feast represents mutilation of both the physical bodies of a divine, a doctor and a lawyer and the offices that they represent. Laud's reforms in Church worship lead to the divine's ears becoming muffled, thereby preventing the Word of God from being received clearly through oratory. This might allude to a frequent complaint amongst the godly that Laud controlled preaching, the number of sermons that could be heard in a week, the length of the sermon and its content

(Woolrych, 76-83). Unable to elaborate upon scripture and provide their own glosses, the godly lamented that they could not adequately serve their flocks.

Whereas Harris has queried whether there was a 'Jacobean consensus', Anthony Milton has argued that the Jacobean ecclesiastical consensus was an efficient, if conflicting, compromise between different theological traditions, which came under pressure from Laudian reforms (Milton in Fincham, 188). In this configuration, it was not so much the Church of Rome, but Papal religion as initiated by the Council of Trent (1545-63) that was deemed corrupt: rather than dismissing the Roman Church, the Church of England returned the Church to its pre-Council of Trent status (Milton in Fincham, 194-7). Despite looking to Elizabethan precedent, Laudian reforms effectively marginalised some tenets of the Elizabethan Settlement and attacked Jacobean sermon culture.

As Peter Lake has demonstrated, Laud's control of preaching refocused worship towards liturgy and ceremony. As noted previously, the very fabric of the church reorientated the godly to worship God with soul and body (Lake in Fincham, 165). For Laud, the divine Word, coupled with divine presence amplified through the visual culture of the church was paramount: prayer and preaching prepared people for the sacraments and the sermon played a lesser role in devotion (Lake in Fincham, 170). This desire to curb the cult of the sermon was not well-received by the godly, who believed the sermon was the

most important part of the service. The cropping of ears in *Canteburie his Change of Diot* thus connects to debates regarding the status of sermons and how to listen to Scripture. This cropping of ears metaphorically enacts the cropping of sermon culture; disfiguring hearing prevents the body of the believer from receiving spiritual nourishment through listening to the service. Yet, in a period where many could not read and so had access to scripture through listening to texts being read aloud to them, muffling the sense of hearing would also prove a serious impediment to receiving the divine Word.[10]

Laud's reforms in Church worship are thus presented as mutilating divine office, but he is also presented as corrupting medicine and the law. These references had very specific cultural resonances in the early 1640s, which connect to the trial of William Prynne, Henry Burton and John Bastwick in 1637. The trial and the offences that led to it centre around the importance of print as a platform from which to articulate and perform discontent and voice political protest. In 1637, the three men were accused of 'Writing and publishing seditious, schismatical and libellous Books against the Hierarchy' (Rushworth, sig. T1r). These texts attacked the role of Bishops within the Church of England, claiming that they operated beyond their divine jurisdiction and were a threat to the royal prerogative. Although the three presented themselves as defenders of Church and State against the arbitrary governance of

[10] Hunt's groundbreaking scholarship on sermon culture stresses its aural/oral nature.

the Bishops, the very attack on ecclesiastical authority was received as a potential threat to the authority of the king. After a protracted court case in the Star Chamber, the trio were duly found guilty, fined £5000 each and sentenced to life imprisonment. They were also to have their ears cropped. Prynne, who had already had his ears lightly cropped, been banned from practising law, and sentenced to life imprisonment following a previous libel conviction, had his ears cropped further and SL ('seditious libeller') branded onto his cheeks (Rushworth, sigs. T1r-V3v; Woolrych, 81). Prynne's body in particular thus became a statement of punitive justice: word and image conjoin by inscribing letters upon the mutilated body to present a physical memento of both crime and punishment. The three launched a spirited defence, and, at the pillory, vigorously contested the severity of the punishment meted out to them. The brutality of the punishment, coupled with accounts of the ineptitude of the hangman leading to greater violence against the bodies of the condemned, fostered public sympathy for the men.[11]

In 1641, the Star Chamber was abolished, and with it press censorship collapsed.[12] It was therefore possible to publish seditious texts and attention was refocused on Prynne, Bastwick and Burton. As Joad Raymond has observed, at their trial, the trio made much of the wrongs of Caroline censorship (Raymond,

[11] For a contemporary account, see Rushworth. vol. II, sigs. V3r-V3v
[12] Even though censorship effectively collapsed, many of these pamphlets were printed by anonymous publishers, or under psuedonyms such as 'the Man in the Moon'. For a thorough exploration of early modern pamphlet cultures, see Raymond.

189). However, they also alluded to their professions: at the pillory, Prynne allegedly stated that 'no degree or profession was exempted from [… Laud's] malice; here is a divine for the soul, a physician for the body, and a lawyer for the estates' (Rushworth, vol. II, sig. V3r). The focus is upon the men's professions – Prynne the lawyer, Burton the divine and Bastwick the physician – and the trio are presented as attending to the legal, spiritual and physical ailments of the nation and as being severely punished for their pains. This idea is appropriated in anti-Laudian tracts: by presenting Laud as feasting upon the ears of a divine, a doctor and a lawyer, the author of *Canterburie His Change of Diot* directly invokes remembrance of the 1637 trial. In the play pamphlet, the bishops assisting Laud to relieve the three men of their ears is symbolic of the criticism that Prynne, Burton and Bastwick levied against the episcopacy and how perceived ecclesiastical overreaching infringed upon kingly authority.

However, Laud's eating of the ears also exposes tensions between seventeenth century medical theories and the eating of human flesh. Beginning with the addition of the remains of mummies to cordials and expanding to accommodate ground up bones and the blood of the condemned, human remains were believed to cure a variety of ailments in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Working on the premise that like cured like, the vital spirits present in the blood and the ground up remains of other parts of the body were believed to possess healing qualities; corpse medicine was judged to heal by transferring

the strength of the deceased to the unwell (Noble; Sugg). In eating the ears of a doctor, a divine and a lawyer, Laud gains physical nourishment from medicine, the law and the Church; Laud cannibalises civil, spiritual and anatomical authority and while this may strengthen his body, it weakens the body politic. The act of eating the ears thus becomes emblematic of the perception that Laud seeks power beyond his jurisdiction, and gains it through oppressive measures. The illegality and popish overtones of the action are affirmed by the assertion that the meal is prepared 'after the Italian fashion'. Despite the prevalence of corpse medicine in early modern Europe, cannibalism was viewed with disdain: for Protestant polemicists, it was considered a barbaric act practiced by Catholics through the belief in transubstantiation transforming Holy Communion into the body and blood of Christ (Noble, 95). Consuming human ears thus becomes a means by which Laud is presented as a Catholic: in following 'the Italian fashion', Laud eschews royal supremacy as the basis of episcopal worship and instead ensures that divinity, law and medicine become muffled and deformed.

The specific body parts that the pamphlet highlights are also significant as it focusses upon the sensory organs of the ears and the nose. The second act of the play pamphlet opens with Laud needing to sharpen his knife. A carpenter refuses to sharpen it, lest Laud removes his ears as well and instead he puts Laud's nose to the grindstone. While, in the seventeenth century, the semiotics

of putting the nose to the grindstone have clear political and ecclesiological reonances focussed upon the subversion of authority, here I am most interested in how this image evokes the senses.[13] When Laud laments the carpenter's cruelty, the carpenter asks, 'Were not their eares to them, as pretious as your nostrils can be to you' (sig. A3r). As punishment for mutilating the hearing of his dinner guests, Laud has his sense of smell dulled. This is significant in relation to medieval ideas regarding the senses and religion that continued to hold sway within early modern culture. As Matthew Milner states, although controversial with some reformists, fasting and spiritual exercises were believed to lead to a tighter bond with God through sharpening the senses (Milner (2011) 76, 122-3, 319-21). Giving into the senses could impede spiritual progress, but holding in check sensual appetites and partaking of physical mortification was believed by some to lead to greater unity with God.

In her analysis of Olfaction in the *Life of St Francis of Assisi* by the eleventh-century Franciscan Friar, St Bonaventure, Ann W. Astell draws attention to spiritual and physical sensory activity and how the senses are spiritualised through grace:

[13] In *Boanerges: Or the Humble Supplication of the Ministers of Scotland* (1624), Thomas Scott references a now lost woodcut depicting James VI/I putting the Pope's nose to the grindstone (sig. D2r) and the satirical print, *The Protestant Grindstone* (c. 1690) presents William III as putting the Pope's nose to the grindstone (British Museum 1868,0808.3331). Around 1650, satirical images of Charles II with his nose presed to the grindstone by Scottish Presbyterians circulated (Norbrook, 220).

Even as all of the corporeal senses of the glorified body are fundamentally and habitually spiritual, touched as they are from within by the soul's constant bliss, its contact with God, so too all the physical senses of the still mortal body can be spiritualized through grace, not habitually, but in individual acts of perception (Astell, 100).

The potential for the senses to be glorified along with the body in the afterlife means that grace may move from the soul and affect the senses: spiritual and physical conjoin. By the early modern period, thoughts regarding human anatomy, mind, body and soul had been redefined, but residues of earlier epistemologies still had currency, perhaps particularly in cheap print. Following Pseudo-Dionysius, some medieval and early modern divines associated the sense of smell with the discernment of good or evil, though the Aristotelian hierarchy of sensory experience ranked touch, smell and taste as baser senses.[14] Invisible yet palpable, olfactory experience could make the individual aware of divine or demonic presence and the ability to discern good and bad smells revealed hidden truths regarding identity, morality and godliness.[15] This is taken up in *The Papists politicke projects discovered. Or a dialogue betwixt crucifix and holy-water* (1641) where bad smells are associated with the breath of Catholic priests. In considering the breath of priests, the crucifix and the holy

[14] Gavrilyuk and Coakley, 8; Ashbrook Harvey esp. 169-80. Milner (2014) has highlighted how Luther and Calvin in particular 'distrusted the senses' (Milner, 91) as they could deceive.

[15] Jonathan Gil Harris has shown how bad smells were put to devilish use on the Jacobean stage as the noxious smell of suphur had long been associated with Satan and hell (esp. 476).

water assert that priestly breath is more pestilent than '*anhelitu oris enecant homines*' – the breath that kills humans (sig. A3v).

The brutal physical humour of pushing the primate's nose to the grindstone therefore has wider cultural resonances: in being held responsible for dulling the sense of hearing and the ability of legal, divine and medicinal authority to receive God's word, Laud has transgressed the boundaries of his political and ecclesiastical authority. In punishment for this lack of discernment, Laud has his ability to discern sensually dulled and his lack of discernment is made visible. The senses thus become a site of conflict and of conflict resolution through the carpenter restoring order and meting out punishments. Grinding Laud's nose metaphorically dismisses apostolic grounds for endorsing episcopacy and reaffirms the notion that Laud's reforms covertly reintroduce Catholicism. Laud's associates might have appealed to apostolic inheritance to legitimise the role of bishops, but the carpenter as inheritor of Christ's trade denies the episcopacy any such authority. Yet putting Laud's nose to the grindstone also draws attention to Calvinist teachings.

In discussing confession and repentence, Calvin makes the following observation:

For we shall see many that will neuer sticke to say that God hath done rightly in punishing them & that their faults are as grieuous and grosse as any mens: but yet they will fall to their old byasse againe straight wayes. If God hold their nozes to the grindstone by some sicknesse or by some other crosse: then they make fayre promises. But assone as Gods hand is withdrawn from them: they shewe plainly how there was nothing but dissimulation in them. Therefore whereas wee are here commaunded to confesse our faults: let vs marke well, that wee must haue the sayd pureness and vprightnesse, which is to condemne the euill, in reconciling our selues vnto God. (sigs. K6r-v)

Whereas Calvin envisages God putting the ungodly's nose to the grindstone as a way to reveal those who truly repent, *Canterburie His Change of Diot* translates the metaphor into a representation of a physical punishment meted out to the false repenter. The play pamphlet ends with Laud's Jesuit confessor binding up his wounds and sprinkling them with holy water. The suggestion that Laud has a Jesuit confessor gestures to complaints that the Jesuits misused confession as a way to interfere in politics (Bireley, 3). Laud is thus presented as enmeshed in a web of political intrigue and further distanced from apostolic tradition through having dealings with the Jesuits. To show both Laud and his Jesuit confessor as having erred, in the final act, we witness the carpenter putting Laud and the confessor into a birdcage.

Locking Laud in a birdcage distances Laud from the reformed Church through allusion to devotional practice and to emblems. In 1635, Francis Quarles's

Emblemes were printed. This text would prove extrememely popular; it went into multiple editions and even influenced domestic interiors (Adlington, Hamling and Griffith, 541; Horden). If we consider *Canterburie His Change of Diot* in relation to Quarles's text, we see that the woodcuts in the play pamphlet not only enact and illustrate the drama presented in the text, but also gesture towards the morally didactic quality of emblems: by reading word and image together, the reader of the play pamphlet is presented with a narrative of just punishment for transgression. However, Quarles's text also draws attention to the varying qualities of love through using the imagery of the birdcage.

Emblem IV in Book II (figure 5) of Quarles's text presents Divine Love as entreating the soul to be free from the follies of the material world; these follies are symbolised by Human Love being chained to a ball and smoking a pipe. The inscription reads, 'Quam grave servitium est, quod levis esca parit' (how heavy slavery is that light food [tobacco] can cause), pointing to smoking as a marker of earthly vice that prevents grace.[16] Divine Love clutches an open birdcage to symbolise the freedom of faith. By locking Laud in a birdcage, *Canterburie His Change of Diot* suggests that Laud is tied to the material world and cannot be freed from the follies of his crypto-Catholic beliefs. However, Quarles's *Emblemes* was developed from two Jesuit emblem books, *Pia desidera* (1624) and *Typus mundi* (1627); the inter-confessional quality of word and image

Commented [RW4]: Figure 5 somewhere near here.

[16] I am grateful to Matthew Steggle for helping me to translate this inscription.

combine with the intertextual resonances of these texts that are in circulation at the same time. The symbolism of locking Laud in a birdcage becomes fractured as a consequence of conflicting meanings feeding into the visual imagery: instead, the focus is drawn to the laughing jester who is outside the cage.[17]

The satire in the anti-Laudian pamphlets appears not to be subtle. However, the final scene (in which the king and his jester laugh at the encaged men) becomes a means through which to realign episcopacy and reassert Erastian views of the relationship between Church and State. In 1638, the king's jester, Archie Armstrong, had been dismissed from the court after Laud complained that he had declared in a Westminster tavern that the Archbishop was 'a monk, a rogue and a traitor' (Carlton, 154-5). Drawing from Keith Thomas, Andrea Shannon notes that the fool partly served a medicinal purpose in the body politic, using wit to sooth, heal and tell truth to authority: with tensions between the Court and Scotland growing, Armstrong's words meant the fool ceased to perfom this function and instead allowed the wounds within the body politic to fester (esp. 99-101 & 111-112). In this context, the representation of the jester laughing at Laud draws attention to political and eccliesiological disorder. Not only is the jester revenged on Laud, but he also contains the body of Laud: the disruptive

[17] Quarles's engagement with Catholic texts was far from unique. Anthony Milton has shown how Protestant divines read Catholic texts and how the early Stuart Church developed a confessional identity that sat somewhere between Geneva and Rome. See Milton (1995).

force within the body politic is locked away and the king's authority is reinstated. But the very act of laughter also focusses attention on the passions and how laughing is an articulation of emotion.

As Indira Ghose observes, in his *Treatise on Laughter* (1579), Laurent Joubert pinpoints joy and sorrow as being at the root of laughter:

> laughable matters give us pleasure and sadness: pleasure in that we find it unworthy of pity … sadness, because all laughable matter comes from ugliness and impropriety: the heart, upset over such unseemliness, and as if feeling pain, shrinks and tightens (Laurent Joubert, *Treatise on Laughter*, 44 and Ghose)

Joubert's view that laughter stems from joy and sadness constricting the heart runs parallel with the sense of physical justice being meted out to Laud. The 'ugly' actions of Laud in eating the ears of a divine, a lawyer and a physician has led to disorder within Church and State that can only be purged through the releasing of passions elicited by laugher. Yet, as Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* noted, laughter not only cures melancholy, but can induce it if the mirth is sustained beyond the point at which the subject of the satire is aware of their absurdity (Shannon, 111-2). The emotions in the body and in the body politic are thus tenuously balanced and can easily become imbalanced through words. Emotions, then, can inhibit reasoning and expose flawed judgement.

For Thomas Hobbes, the emotions can prove obstructive to right reasoning, leading people to act against their own interests, or to bring long-term misfortune upon themselves for short-term gain, or to mistake their passions for right reason (Hobbes, esp. ch. 5). The state of nature, Hobbes asserts, is one of war but this conflict can be mediated by subjects accepting the authority of a sovereign and entering into a covenant whereby they accept the rule of the sovereign. Central to this covenant is trust. Trust is a civic virtue, but strength of passion in the state of nature means that contracts alone cannot succeed as 'the bonds of words are too weak to bridle men's ambition, avarice, anger and other passions without the fear of some coercive power' (Hobbes, 84; see also Baumgold). Only when words and the passions align can a contract be upheld. Trusting the institution of sovereignty – in whatever form it takes –enables a contract of trust and trustworthiness that accommodates everyone. Trust thus becomes a moral and a civic virtue that underpins the passions, enabling beneficent emotions to be nurtured.

Trust, therefore, lies at the heart of an ecology of ethics, but so too does the sovereign. Undermining the institution of sovereignty destroys the generous passions and encourages the breakdown of civil society. In being perceived as overreaching his authority, Laud could be construed as undermining the authority of the king and pushing the kingdoms ever closer to civil war.

Whereas van Dyck ascribed authority onto the monarch's body through portraiture, in *Canterburie His Change of Diot* authority is asserted through laughter; in presenting the king and his jester as laughing at Laud's fate, the bond between the king's two bodies is strengthened. The laughter purges the king's body of an excess of passion, thereby restoring order in the body politic and re-establishing the bond of trust between sovereign and subject.

The Politics of Woodcuts

Canterburie His Change of Diot exemplifies a mode of political writing that imagines elaborate and brutal punishments for the beleaguered Archbishop. But the number of woodcuts that adorn this short pamphlet is striking. Taylor Clement has discussed the ways in which woodcuts in cheap print were recycled across texts, becoming 'unstable signifiers' that relied upon the text and other paratexts to be cues to their meaning and interpretation (406 & *passim*). However, in *Canterburie His Change of Diot*, each woodcut specifically addresses an episode in the narrative: the first depicts Laud and his confessor imprisoned in the birdcage, the second represents Laud dining with the lawyer, the doctor and the divine, and the third comprises the carpenter putting Laud's nose to the grindstone (figures 6, 7, 8). The visual image punctuates the words and enables the drama to be enacted on the paper stage. Yet the prominence of the jester in the woodcut on the title page and at the start of act three is

Commented [RW5]: Figures 6, 7, & 8 near here.

particularly noteworthy. Dismissed as Popish, Laudian reforms become contained through laughter and the king's complicity in this laughter becomes a means by which royal supremacy is reasserted.

The relationship between Church and State and the body politic would be revisited throughout the 1640s and 50s. These texts point to the complex ways in which people viewed the relationship between Church and State in the mid-seventeenth century and how word and image was used as a form of religious and political protest. In appealing to tradition as a way of asserting a mode of Christianity that was separate from Rome, divines in England did not negate Rome's influence, but rather brought into focus the difficulties in presenting an independent episcopacy stripped of papal inflections. *Canterburie His Change of Diot* and similar pamphlets demonstrate an anxiety to reaffirm the status of the monarch as defender of the faith and upholder of order within the body politic (regardless of his shortcomings) as a means of offering protection from the perceived evils of popery.

References:

Anon., *Rome for Canterbury, or a true Relation of the Birth, and Life, of William Laud, Arch-bishop of Canterbury.* (1641).

——, *Canterburies Conscience Convicted: or, his dangerous projects, and evill intents, tending to the subversion of Religion detected: as also some particulars of those Treasons wereof he is now attainted, lying prinsoner in the Tower this present.* (1641).

——, *The Copy of the Petition presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, by the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, &c*. (1643).

——, *The Papists politicke projects discovered. Or a dialogue betwixt crucifix and holy-water*. (1641).

Astell, Ann W., 'A Discerning Smell: Olfaction amongt the Senses in St. bonaventure's *Long Life of St. Francis'*, *Franciscan Studies*, 67 (2009):91-131.

Adlington, Hugh, Tara Hamling and David Griffith, 'Beyond the Page: Quarles's *Emblemes*, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78 (2015):521–551.

Ashbrook Harvey, Susan, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006.

Baumgold, Deborah, '"Trust" in Hobbes's Political Thought', *Political Theory* 20 (2013):1-18.

Becon, Thomas, *The displaying of the Popish masse vvherein thou shalt see,*

what a wicked idol the masse is, and what great difference there is between the Lords Supper and the Popes Masse … Written by Thomas Becon, and published in the dayes of Queen Mary. London: 1637.

Bevan Zlatar, Antoinina, *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Bierley, Robert, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts and Confessors.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Black, Joseph, 'The Rhetoric of Reaction: The Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588-89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997):707-25.

——, ed., *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: a Modernised and Annotated Edition.* Cambrige: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Butler, Martin, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Brown, Christopher, *Van Dyck, 1599-1641*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999.

[Calvin, John] Arthur Golding, trans., 'The xxxi Sermon, which is the seconde vpon the eight Chapter', *Sermons of Master Iohn Caluin, vpon the booke of Iob*. Trans. Arthur Golding. 1574.

Carlton, Charles, *Archbishop William Laud.* London: Routledge, 1987.

Clement, Taylor, 'Moveable Types: the De-inviduated Portrait in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Renaissance Studies,* 31 (2017):383-407.

Collinson, Patrick, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement.* London: Methuen, 1967.

Fincham, Kenneth, 'Episcopal Government, 1603-1640', *The Early Stuary Church, 1603-1642*. Ed. Kenneth Fincham. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993. 71-92.

——, 'The restoration of the altars in the 1630s', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001):919-40.

Fincham, Kenneth and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars restored: the changing face of English religious worship, 1547-c.1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Gavrilyuk, Paul L., and Sarah Coakley, eds., *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Ghose, Indira,'The paradoxes of early modern laughter: Laurent Joubert's *Traité du ris*', *Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature* 28 (2013):19-31.

Harmes, Marcus, 'Protestant Bishops in Restoration England', *Peregon*, 26 (2009):175-96

Harris, Jonathan Gil, 'The Smell of *Macbeth*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58 (2007):465-86.

Harris, Tim, 'Revisiting the Causes of the English Civil War', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78 (2015):615-35.

Hill, Christopher, 'Radical Prose in 17th Century England: From Marprelate to

the Levellers', *Essays in Criticism* (1982):95-118.

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan Leviathan: with selected variants from the Latin edition of 1668*. Ed. Edwin Curley, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Ltd, 1994.

Horden, John, 'The Publication of the Early Editions of Francis Quarles's *Emblemes* (1635) and *Hieroglyphikes* (1638),' *The Library* 8 (2007):25–32.

Hunt, Arnold, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences 1590-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univerity Press, 2010.

Jaffé, Michael, 'Van Dyck Studies I: the portrait of Archbishop Laud': *The Burlington Magazine*, 124 (1982):600-7.

Joubert, Laurent, *Treastise on Laughter*. Trans. and annotated by Gregory David de Rocher. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1980.

Kirby, W. J. Torrance, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

Knoppers, Laura Lunger, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Lake, Peter, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', *The Early Stuary Church, 1603-1642*. Ed. Kenneth Fincham. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993. 161-86.

Laud, William, *The history of the troubles and tryal of the Most Reverend*

Father in God and blessed martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury wrote by himself during his imprisonment in the Tower ; to which is prefixed the diary of his own life. London: 1695.

Marsh, Christopher, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640: The View from the Pew', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002):286-311.

Milner, Matthew, *The Senses and the English Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011.

——, 'The Senses in Religion', *A Cultural History of the Senses: the Renaissance*. Eds Constance Classen and Herman Roodenburg. London: Bloomsbury, 2014. 87-106.

Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

——, 'The Church of England, Rome and the True Chirch: The Demise of a Jacobean Consensus', *The Early Stuary Church, 1603-1642*. Ed. Kenneth Fincham. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993. 187-210.

Morrissey, Mary, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642*. Oxford: Oxford Universiy Press, 2011.

Noble, Louise, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Ealy Modern English Literature and Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Norbrook, David, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

[Overton, Richard], *A New Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot*. 1641.

Parry, Graham, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006.

Pierce, Helen, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640-1645', *The Historical Journal*, 4 (2004):809-48.

Quarles, Francis, *Emblemes*. 1635.

Raymond, Joad, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Roper, Hugh Trevor, *Archbishop Laud.* 3rd edn. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988.

Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections From The Year 1628 to the Year 1638 Abrid'd and Improv'd.* vol. II. London: 1706.

Scott, Thomas, *Boanerges: Or the Humble Supplication of the Ministers of Scotland.* (1624).

Shanon, Andrea, '"Uncouth language to a Princes ears": Archibald Armstrong, Court Jester, and Early Stuart Politics', *Sixteeenth-Century Journal*, 41 (2011):99-112.

Smith, Nigel, 'Richard Overton's Marpriest Tracts: Towards a History of Leveller Style', *The Literature of Controversy: Polemical Strategy from Milton to Junius*. Ed Thomas N. Corns. London: Frank Cass, 1987. 39-66.

Sharpe, Kevin, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England,*

1603-1660. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.

——, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England.* London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Stallybrass, Peter and Ann Rosalind Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Sugg, Richard, *Mummies, Cannibals and Vampires: The History of Corpse Medicine from the Renaissance to the Victorians.* 2nd edn. London: Routledge, 2016.

Tyacke, Nicholas, 'Archbishop Laud', *The Early Stuary Church, 1603-1642*. Ed. Kenneth Fincham. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993. 51-70.

Woolrych, Austin, *Britain in Revolution: 1625-1660.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Walsham, Alexandra, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and "Parish Anglicans" in Eary Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49 (1998):620-51.

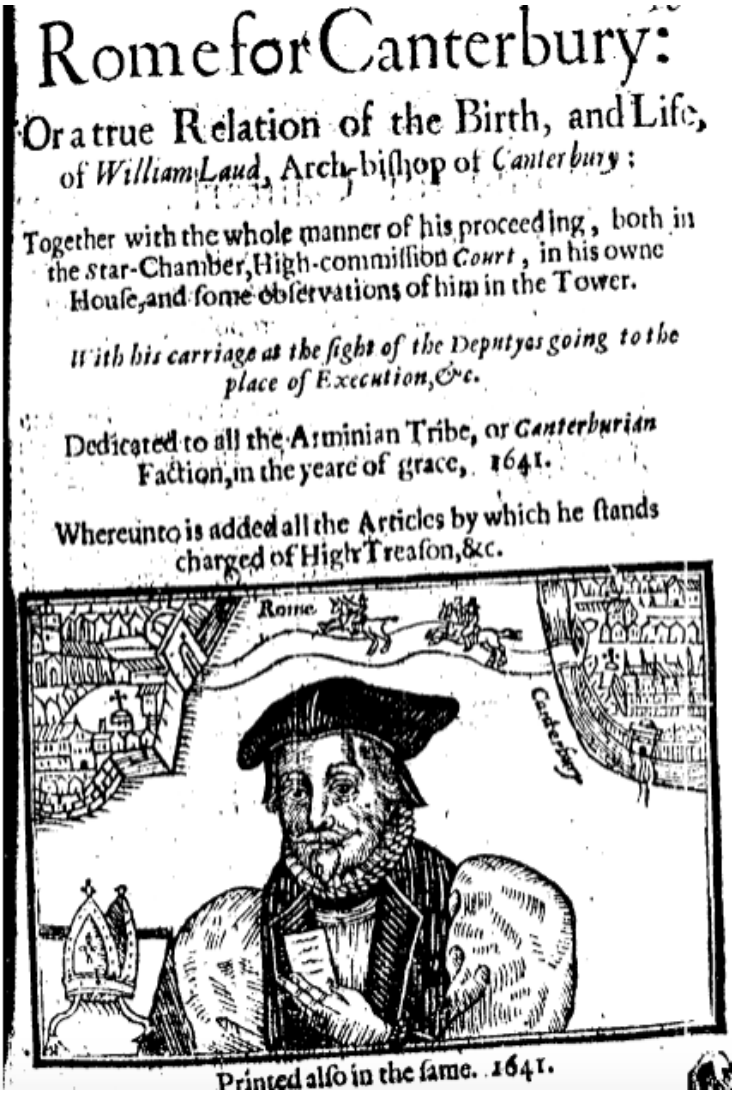
Willie, Rachel, 'Viewing the Paper Stage: Civil War, Print, Theatre and the Public Sphere', *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Potentiality, Privacy*. Ed. Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward. New York and London: Routledge, 2013. 54-75.

Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

——, 'Pamphlet Plays in the Civil War News Market: Genre, Politics and

"Context"', *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* ed. Joad Raymond. London: Frank Cass, 1999. 66-83.

Fig. 1. Anthony van Dyck, *Archbishop Laud*, c.1635 — 1637 © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Rome for Canterbury:

Or a true Relation of the Birth, and Life, of *William Laud*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*:

Together with the whole manner of his proceeding, both in the Star-Chamber, High-commiſſion *Court*, in his owne Houſe, and ſome obſervations of him in the Tower.

With his carriage at the ſight of the Deputyes going to the place of Execution, &c.

Dedicated to all the Arminian Tribe, or *Canterburian* Faction, in the yeare of grace, 1641.

Whereunto is added all the Articles by which he ſtands charged of High Treaſon, &c.

Printed alſo in the ſame. 1641.

Fig. 2. RB.31.b.1.(4.). *Rome for Canterbury, or a true Relation of the Birth, and Life, of William Laud, Arch-bishop of Canterbury*. 1641. Title page. ©British Library Board.

Canterburies Conſcience convicted:

OR,

His dangerous projects, and evill intents, tending to the ſubverſion of Religion detected: as alſo ſome particulars of thoſe Treaſons whereof he is now attainted, lying priſoner in the Tower this preſent. 1641.

To the tune of *All ye that cry O hone, O hone*: or, *The wandring Souldier.*

Fig. 3. 1475.c.8. *Canterburies Conscience convicted: or, His dangerous projects, and evill intents, tending to the subversion of Religion detected, etc.* 1641. ©British Library Board.

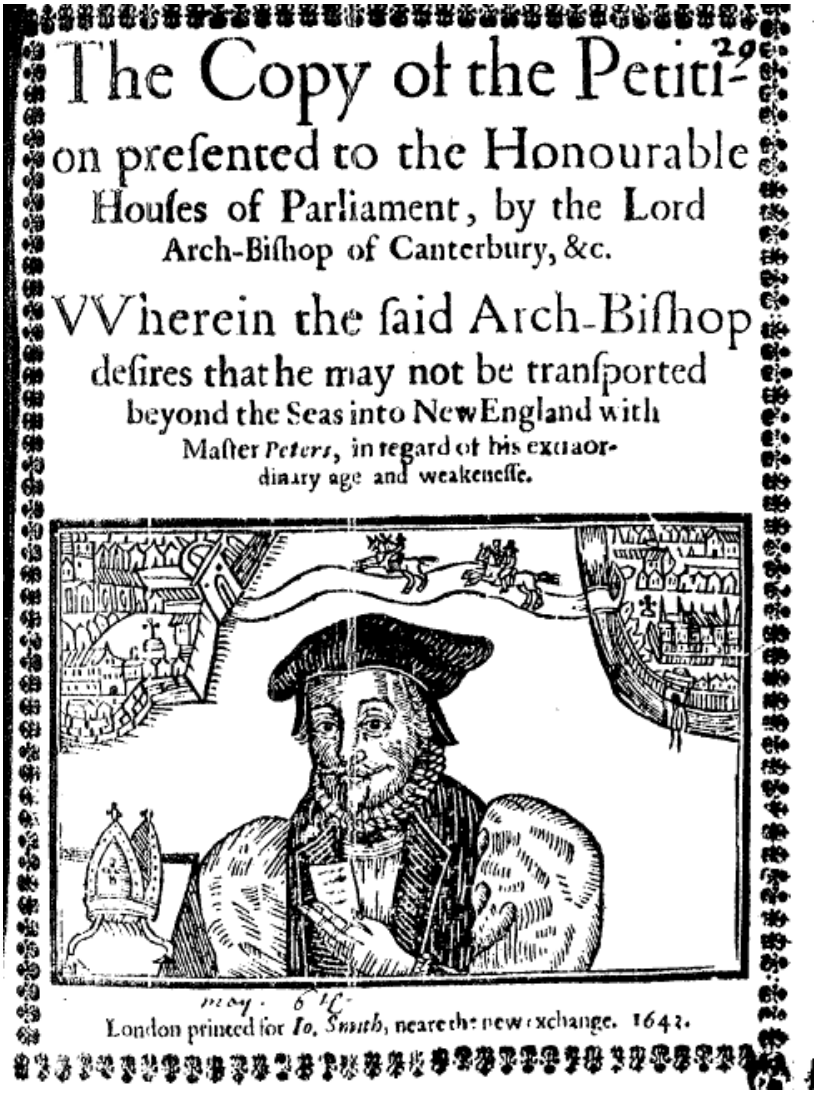
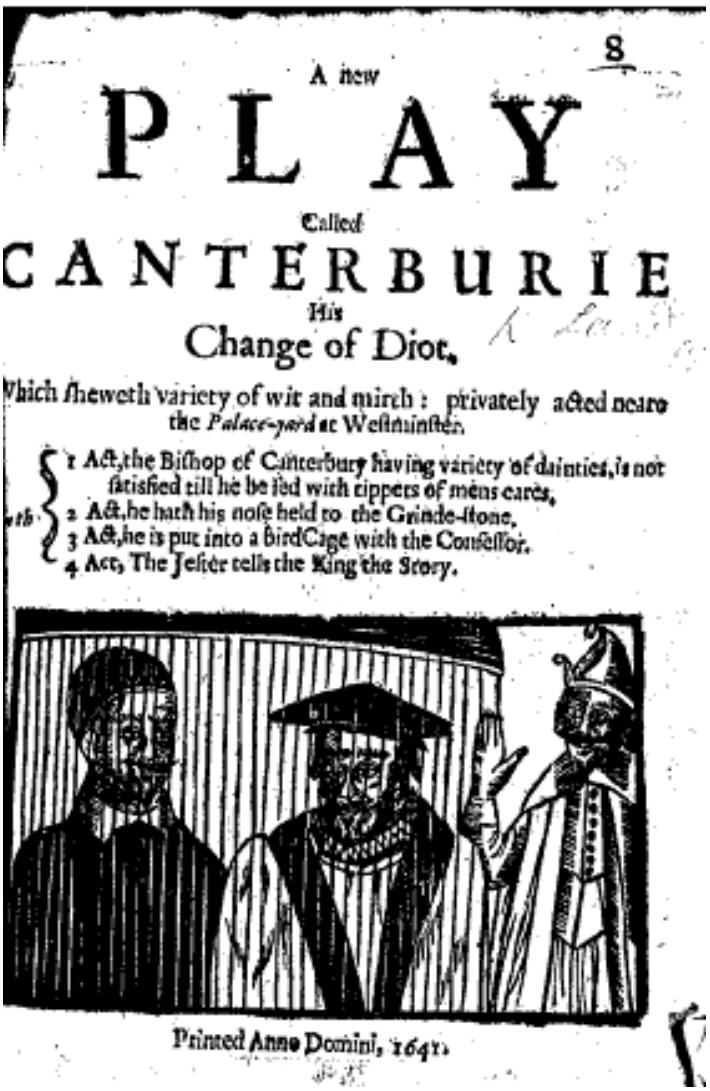


Fig. 4. E.100.(29.). *The copy of the Petition presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., wherein the said Archbishop desires that he may not be transported beyond the Seas into New England with Master Peters, in regard of his extraordinary age and weaknesse*. 1643. Title page. ©British Library Board.

Fig. 5. STC 20540. Francis Quarles, *Emblemes.* 1635. sig. F2v. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.



A new

8

PLAY

Called

CANTERBURIE

His

Change of Diot.

Which sheweth variety of wit and mirth: privately acted neare the *Palace-yard* at Westminster.

1 Act, the Bishop of Canterbury having variety of dainties, is not satisfied till he be fed with tippets of mens eares,
2 Act, he hath his nose held to the Grinde-stone,
3 Act, he is put into a birdCage with the Confessor,
4 Act, The Jester tells the King the Story.

Printed Anno Domini, 1641.

Fig. 6. By38a L364 641n. [Richard Overton], *A New Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot*. 1641. Title page. Used by permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


THE FIRST ACT.

Enter the Bishop of Canterbury, and with him a Doctor of Physicke, a Lawyer, and a Divine; who being set downe, they bring him variety of Dishes to his Table.

Fig. 7. By38a L364 641n. [Richard Overton], *A New Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot*. 1641. Sig. A2r. Used by permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Fig. 8. By38a L364 641n. [Richard Overton], *A New Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot*. 1641. Sig. A3r. Used by permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.