Ballads, Tudor Vagabonds, and Roundhead Reputations: The Restoration Afterlife of Cook Laurel

Rachel Willie

ABSTRACT This essay examines how ballad song was appropriated to present the demise of the Rump Parliament and commemorate the restoration of the monarchy. Songs not only provide a tune through which words can be performed but also weave together disparate texts through memory of past utterances and performances. The tune "Cook Laurel" establishes a mnemonic connection between parliamentarian figures and ubiquitous rascals in Elizabethan folklore and in Ben Jonson's *Gypsies Metamorphosed*, performed in 1621. This use of song emphasizes and consolidates representations of parliamentarians as rogues, thus offering royalists a way to lament the regicide and to celebrate the Restoration. **KEYWORDS:** Restoration ballads; rogue and vagabond literature; royalism in popular culture; 1517 May Day riots; scatology

PETER BURKE'S INFLUENTIAL *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978) gave rise to discussions about cultural history and popular culture that have rarely gone out of fashion in the last few decades.[1] The turn to materiality and the history of the book has led to pathbreaking scholarship on the relationship between oral and literate cultures, which has set the scene for serious consideration of the early modern cheap-print market.[2] Paralleling this interest in the circulation of texts within

This essay forms part of a special issue: "Performance and the Paper Stage, 1640–1700," ed. Emma Depledge and Rachel Willie, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (2022). To read other essays in the issue, follow this link: https://muse.jhu.edu/resolve/167.

1. See Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* 3rd ed. (Farnham, U.K., 2009), first published in 1978.

2. Early modern popular culture has been afforded much critical attention. See, for example, Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels, and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past and Present,* no. 145 (1994): 47–83; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997); and *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* vol. 1, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford, 2011).

 ISSN 0018-7895 | E-ISSN 1544-399X.

the nascent public sphere has been a growing awareness of the early modern soundscape.[3] Building on these exciting developments, this essay will examine ballads that were produced to document the Restoration of the monarchy. As I argue, some writers used ballads both to speak to the past and to consolidate representations of the political moment in and for which the ballad was written. By focusing on the popular tune "Cook Laurel," I will demonstrate how ballad song was used by royalists to "folklorize" their cause and represent roundheads as being lowborn cheats capable of all manner of skulduggery.[4] In so doing, this essay establishes a connection between Restoration textual satire and early seventeenth-century courtly performance. As I detail below, the tune "Cook Laurel" influenced the textual and aural/oral transmission of a variety of Restoration ballads; by referencing the rogue Cook Laurel in these ballads, royalists presented the singing public with continuity between parliamentarians and the vagabonds of Tudor and (early) Stuart folklore.

Representing the Stuart Restoration

Ballad writers drew on representations of the Stuart Restoration that were crafted and fashioned by royalists at the time.[5] Newsbooks such as *Mercurius Publicus* provide vital context for the ways in which the ballads I discuss in this essay appropriate the past. The opening of *Mercurius Publicus* dated May 1, 1660, represents the event as follows:

> Our Chronicles make mention of an *Ill May-day*; Let this of 1660. henceforward be called the *Good one* for ever, as having produced the most desired, the most universally satisfactory, and the most welcome News that ever came to these Three Nations since that of 29. of *May* which was the Birthday of our Soveraign *Charls* the Second, whom God preserve; viz. *His Majesties gracious Letter and Declaration sent to the House of Lords by Sir* John Greenvil *Knight, one of His Majesties Bedchamber, from* Breda. *His gracious Message, with the Declaration to the House of Commons, and His gracious Letter, with the Declaration inclosed, to his Excellency the Lord General Monck, to be communicated to the Officers*

3. See, for example, Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000); Jenni Hyde, *Singing the News: Ballads in Mid-Tudor England* (London, 2018); Christopher W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010); and Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999).

4. *Folklorize* is Mark S. R. Jenner's term to illustrate how royalists celebrated the Restoration of the monarchy and, more generally, the impetus behind the ways in which historical events take on a mythic and folkloric quality as the event is retold and transmitted in cultural memory. See Jenner, "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England," *Past and Present*, no. 177 (2002): 84–120.

5. For a comprehensive anthology of the various poems that commemorated the Restoration, see *The Return of the King: An Anthology of English Poems Commemorating the Restoration of Charles II*, ed. Gerald Maclean (Charlottesville, Va., 2000), https://cowley.lib.virginia.edu/MacKing/MacKing.html.

> *of the Armies under his Command*. In all which I refer you to the printed Copies at large, giving you only the heads of the Declaration, wherein His Majesty grants a free general Pardon to all his Subjects whatever that shall within forty days after the publishing thereof lay hold upon that grace and favour, and by any publick act declare their doing so, excepting onely such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament; such onely excepted, His Majesty promiseth upon the word of a King, that no Crime committed either against Him or His Royal Father, shall (as far as lies in His Majesties power) endamage the least either in Lives, Liberties, Estates, or Reputation; it being His Majesties desire that all Notes of Discord should be laid aside among all His Subjects.[6]

The newsbook begins by referencing chronicles as authoritative markers of history, but it alludes to the past in a way that is, paradoxically, both vague and specific. The "ill May-day" suggests a day so embedded in cultural memory that it needs no further introduction. It refers to the May Day riots of 1517; during this May Day, London apprentices, watermen, priests, serving men, and other miscreants protested against immigrants who they claimed not only deprived them of work and goods but also deprived honest native-born Londoners of their wives and daughters. No one was killed during the rioting, but, inevitably, property was damaged and people sustained injuries before order was restored. Since the rioting was believed to violate an ancient statute detailing various truces between Henry V and other princes of Europe that assured the safety of immigrants, the rioters were "adiudged and determined as gilty of high treason committed against the crown and dignitie of the king."[7] Their actions were interpreted not only as violence against foreigners but also as a crime against the Crown. In the immediate aftermath, the Duke of Norfolk rounded up many of the rioters, some of whom were brutally killed, and more rioters were condemned to death. According to John Stow, on May 13, 1517, approximately four hundred men and eleven women were called to Westminster Hall with halters around their necks.[8] In what appears to have been a carefully staged display of royal magnanimity, Henry VIII pardoned most of the rioters. The pardoned prisoners rejoiced, removed their halters, and threw them in the air. They may even have danced and sung, bringing their moment upon the scaffold to a close with a jig and a song.[9]

Other sources tell of how Henry's Spanish wife, Catherine of Aragon, begged clemency from her husband for the offenders and thus how rioters protesting against

6. See the May 1, 1660, edition of *Mercurius Publicus* (April 26–May 3, 1660).

7. John Stow, enlarged by Anthony Munday, *The Suruay of London: Containing, the Originall, Antiquitie, Encrease, and more Moderne Estate of the sayd Famous Citie . . . Written in the yeere 1598* (London, 1618), 156.

8. Stow, *Suruay of London*, 157.

9. *The London Encyclopaedia*, 3rd ed., ed. Ben Weinreb, Christopher Hibbert, Julia Keay, and John Keay (London, 2008), 279.

foreigners were pardoned through the actions of a foreigner. What this demonstrates is the chronicles' status, not as authoritative accounts of history but instead as markers of the way the past is reinvented and revised. Through these sources, the ill May Day that had the potential to undermine Henry VIII's governance thus took on symbolic significance as a moment that not only reaffirmed the monarch through his display of equitable justice but also exhibited the kindness of strangers through the queen's actions. This account of the king's toleration and Catherine's empathy for the rioters entered into popular culture. Many ballads, chronicles, and histories went on to present a different story around the basic details of the event. One of the ballads has the title "The Story of Ill May-day in the time of King Henry the viii, and why it was so called: and how Queene Katharine begged the Liues of two thousand London Prentices. To the tune of Essex good night." The ballad reaffirmed the narrative of the ill May Day and circulated in print in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, illustrating the longevity of ephemeral print and the sustained appeal of the story. The nineteenth-century Shakespearean critic and editor John Payne Collier printed the ballad in his 1868 edition of *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads*, where Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories* (1607) is given as its provenance.[10] But Collier's exposure as a forger and our knowledge of his fabrication of (and additions to) early modern documents casts doubt on Collier's reliability as an editor, further compounded by the fact that the ballad does not appear in either the 1602 or the 1607 edition of *Strange Histories*.[11] Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman date the ballad to a 1659 edition of the second part of Richard Johnson's *The Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, which Collier would have known from his copy of the 1692 reprint; in this earlier edition, the ballad lacks the final quatrain added by Collier.[12] In his notes, Collier accounts for this by commenting that praise of Elizabeth I would have been unpalatable to James VI and I in 1607, "but when Gosson reprinted the ballad about 1630 or 1640, he made the conclusion complimentary about Charles I. No copy is known which contains the original tribute to Elizabeth, and which must have appeared in 1597 or 1598."[13] Instead of assuming the quatrain was a later addition in praise of Charles, Collier packages it as fragments of a lost stanza, reassembled and modified. Furthermore, Charles Mackay's 1841 *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades* includes an edition of the ballad that also cites the 1659 *Crown Garland* as its

10. *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads, Printed in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; Chiefly in the Possession of J. Payne Collier. Illustrated by Original Wood Cuts*, ed. John Payne Collier ([London], 1868), 96–101 and 129.

11. [Thomas Deloney], *Strange Histories, of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Ladies, Knights And Gentlemen* (London, 1602; repr., 1607).

12. For a detailed discussion of Collier's textual fabrications, see Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 2003), esp. 2:959.

13. Collier, *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads*, 129. The printer is presumably Henry Gosson, though I have not been able to locate this version of the ballad.

source and omits Collier's final quatrain; it is also prefaced by a discussion of the ill May Day in which Mackay states that the ballad vastly exaggerates the details of the event and then draws from the chronicles to present a less sensational account.[14] While the publication year of the 1659 edition is tantalizing from the perspective of Restoration politics and poetics, an earlier edition, *The Crowne Garlande of Golden Roses*, exists; printed by Richard Johnson in 1631, it contains the ballad.[15]

I have lingered at length on the print history of this ballad to illustrate the difficulties of tracing in the archives the publication of ballads about historical occurrences, and how the tangled web of ballad print history can lead to further forms of mythologizing the events that they detail, which is as true of the ballads printed in the Restoration as it is of earlier ballads. However, the ballad tune itself calls into question how contemporaneous it was to the ill May Day. The tune "Essex Good Night" dates to 1601 at the earliest, as it was produced in the aftermath of the Essex Rebellion; if this is indeed the first tune to which the May Day ballad was set, then the ballad was printed at least eighty-four years after the event it documents.[16] The ballad tune also casts doubt on Collier's attributing the ballad to Thomas Deloney, who died in 1600, since there is a very clear connection between the tune and the words. Through the juxtaposition of words and music, the pardoning of the rioters is implicitly contrasted with Essex's execution so as to underscore the clemency and compassion of Henry and Catherine in comparison to the lack of clemency shown by Henry's daughter to her erstwhile favorite. However, further parallels and disjunctions can be made between the ill May Day and the Essex Rebellion. Perhaps because of Essex's popularity with the masses, his ineffectual attempt to rouse London against the court met with very few executions; the ill May Day and the Essex Rebellion thus each become representative of royal clemency.[17]

The relationship between ill May Day and its literary afterlives is, in itself, a fascinating case study of the symbiosis between performance and the paper stage, but what I am particularly interested in here is how the 1660 *Mercurius Publicus* newsbook appropriates the narrative and knowledge of the 1517 event to reflect on the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660: the invocation of the ill May Day and its tragicomic resolution resonates with the way that royalists wanted to present

14. *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades; and to the Affairs of London Generally*, ed. Charles Mackay (London, 1841), 11–22; for commentary, see 11–17. This edition was published by the Percy Society, which also published *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies of the Utmost Rarity: Now for the First Time Collected*, ed. John Payne Collier (London, 1840).

15. Richard Johnson, *The Crowne Garlande of Golden Roses: Gathered out of Englands Royall Garden*, 2nd ed. (London, 1631).

16. I am grateful to Jenni Hyde and Una McIlvenna for drawing my attention to this ballad and for discussions about it.

17. On contemporary reactions to the Earl of Essex and the way he influenced politics, see Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012).

the Restoration.[18] The return of Charles was carefully orchestrated. In early April 1660, the Declaration of Breda was signed, but it was not made public until May 1. In this document, the future Charles II magnanimously issued his intent to forgive all who might be guilty of crimes against the Crown (and specifically against his father and himself, unless instructed otherwise by Parliament) as long as they recognized his authority as the king. This was then enshrined in law in August when Parliament passed the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, which offered a free pardon to most people—with the exception of the regicides—who supported Parliament during the civil wars and Commonwealth period.[19] Although brutal retributive punishments were inflicted upon the bodies of the (dead and living) regicides, the events following the ill May Day and the circumstances surrounding the "Good one" mean that both days became represented as moments of monarchical clemency when kingly authority was reaffirmed and violence was contained. Regardless of whether the violence was registered as riots or as a conflict between Parliament and the monarch, the king is presented as having the stature to dispel it.

The newsbook focuses not only upon Charles's benevolence but also upon the month of May as a political and cultural turning point. Royalist propaganda promulgated the idea that parliamentarians were against holiday pastimes, particularly the festivities associated with May Day. Oliver Cromwell entered cultural memory as being such a fun-crushing killjoy that he even banned Christmas. Choreographing the public announcement of the Declaration of Breda to coincide with May Day implied that traditional holiday pastimes, such as dancing, singing, and merrymaking, were restored with the return of the king. The pardoned rioters who had taken their halters from their necks and (possibly) danced and sung in 1517 lived on in the seventeenth century in newsbooks and ballads that were read and sung to reflect upon the cultural and political moment. These iterations of the Restoration contain the beginnings of a narrative of periodization that presented austere Puritan parliamentarianism as giving way to a culturally rich period that heralded the Enlightenment and ushered in the Age of Reason. However, popular culture—perhaps particularly when the setting of new words collides with the music of old ballad songs—shows how the Restoration reflected upon and adapted past cultural production as much as it consciously presented itself as a new era.[20]

18. Lois Potter has surveyed the significant number of plays that were identified as tragicomedies and were written and published in the 1650s. See Potter, "'True Tragicomedies' of the Civil War and Commonwealth," in *Renaissance Tragicomedy: Explorations in Genre and Politics*, ed. Nancy Klein Maguire (New York, 1987), 196–217. On royalist interest in the generic pattern of happy ending after imminent tragedy, see Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge, 1992).

19. "Charles II, 1660: An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indempnity and Oblivion," in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, *1628–80*, ed. John Raithby, 226–34, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp226-234.

20. For a detailed discussion of the broadside ballad that takes us through the processes of writing, printing, setting to music, and performance, see *The Making of a Broadside Ballad*,

This practice of reviewing the past while claiming to look to the future meant that instead of forgetting the civil war and Commonwealth period, late seventeenth-century readers were forced to reflect upon regicide and Restoration. Leading up to (and immediately after) the Restoration, this preoccupation became manifest in the printing, circulation, and singing of ballads. By setting new ballads to old tunes, ballad writers emphasized how, far from marking a shift in cultural pursuits, the Restoration appropriated and modified past cultural events.

Ballad Texts

Ballads constitute a broad, sinuous, and omnivorous genre; from the Elizabethan period on, they were constructed as love songs, libels, news, satires, popular history, and "godly ballads." Some ballads also promulgated or cashed in on the popularity of stage plays by outlining the plots of popular dramas.[21] As single-page documents, they were cheap to produce; they cost no more than a penny, were pitched to an audience with a basic grasp of literacy, and could be learned by rote.[22] As Alexandra Halasz observes, these kinds of cheap print "simultaneously have no value and are the basis on which an economically strong business can be built."[23] Ballads are ephemeral, and of the ballads entered in the Stationers' Register before 1640, only about 8 percent are still extant.[24] Yet, for all their ephemeral quality, ballads were lucrative commodities and the rights to print them were worth protecting. From 1612 to 1620, five stationers were granted the monopoly to print ballads, and then in 1624, a syndicate of six printers, the "Ballad Partners," was formed.[25] According to Tessa Watt, this led to greater regulation of ballad printing after a lapse in recording it in the Stationers' Register from the 1590s until the 1620s.[26] Between late 1627 and 1633, no printer who was not part of the monopoly registered a ballad, but the partners continued to have competitors. After 1633, it became standard practice for the partners and rival printers to protect copyright by registering the ballads they printed during

ed. Patricia Fumerton, Andrew Griffin, and Carl Stahmer (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2016), https://press.emcimprint.english.ucsb.edu/the-making-of-a-broadside-ballad/index.

21. Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); Bruce Smith, "Shakespeare's Residuals: The Circulation of Ballads in Cultural Memory," in *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, ed. Neil Rhodes and Stuart Gillespie (London, 2006), 193–218.

22. On the cost of ballads, see Alexandra Hall, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640: An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2018), 28. For cost and production, see Angela McShane, "Ballads and Broadsides from the Beginnings of Print to 1660," in *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* ed. Joad Raymond, 344–47. Literacy is notoriously difficult to gauge in this period, and how "literacy" was understood in the early modern period can be very different from how we understand literacy now. See Heidi Brayman Hackel, "Popular Literacy and Society," in *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* ed. Joad Raymond, 88–100.

23. Halasz, *Marketplace of Print*, 26.

24. Hall, *Lost Books and Printing,* 28, 34.

25. Hall, *Lost Books and Printing,* 35–37.

26. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 45.

the year each July.[27] Indeed, Alexandra Hall observes that before the outbreak of civil war, roughly 40 percent of ballads were printed illegally.[28]

The broadside ballads of the Restoration were as diverse as earlier ballads in terms of their content, printing, and performance history, and they, too, shared an affinity with drama insofar as they were officially suppressed during the 1650s but continued to circulate surreptitiously. In an attempt to reassert control and reestablish print licensing, which had effectively broken down with the abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641, in September 1649, Parliament passed An Act against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for better regulating of Printing.[29] This act enshrined into law the punishment of whipping for anyone caught singing, hawking, or selling ballads: "Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no such Hawkers shall be any more permitted; and that they and all Ballad-singers, wheresoever they are or may be apprehended, shall forfeit all Books, Pamphlets, Ballads and Papers by them exposed to sale, and shall, by such as shall by vertue of this Act seize upon them, be conveyed and carryed to the House of Correction, there to be whipt as common Rogues, and then dismissed."[30] As with previous attempts by Parliament in 1643 and 1647 to suppress the printing of seditious pamphlets and ballads, this act had limited success, and ballads continued to be circulated and sung throughout the 1650s. Emma Depledge has illustrated how play ballads were sung and performed at dinner parties and probably at other sites, possibly as a way to circumvent the ban on performing dramas, since a ballad took less time to perform than a play.[31] Textual utterance, singing, and politics thus become more closely connected during this period; although ballads always had the potential to contain seditious and libelous material, the regicide transformed the very singing of ballads into something that could be interpreted by some as political protest, and this was capitalized upon by some ballad writers to lampoon parliamentarians and celebrate the return of the king.

One form of political protest can be found in the ballads that plotted the demise of the Rump Parliament. The Rump Parliament comprised members of Parliament who remained after Colonel Thomas Pride and the New Model Army forcibly removed members of the Long Parliament who wanted to negotiate a settlement with

27. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 45; Hall, *Lost Books and Printing*, 36.

28. Hall, *Lost Books and Printing,* 36.

29. For more on the abolition of the Star Chamber, see Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1998), 23–25. For a discussion of censorship and the Star Chamber's role in the lead-up to the civil wars, see Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008).

30. "September 1649: An Act against Unlicensed and Scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for better regulating of Printing," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London, 1911), 245–54, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp245-254.

31. Emma Depledge, *Shakespeare's Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alteration, 1642–1700* (Cambridge, 2018), chap. 1.

Charles I in December 1648. It was dissolved in 1653 and recalled in 1659; in February 1660, George Monck, general of the English army in Scotland, then secured readmission for the members of the Long Parliament who were evicted in 1648, thereby paving the way for the royalist Convention Parliament (April 1660) and the restoration of the monarchy.[32] Rump ballads are thus topical. They are also frequently scatological and sometimes elegiac. The use of the ballad as a form of eulogy was not uncommon in the early modern period: from the sixteenth century on, ballads were written to commemorate and lament the death of noblemen.[33] However, the elegiac ballads that circulated during the Restoration flirt with eulogy for satirical ends: rather than lamenting the death of the Rump Parliament, these ballads celebrate the end of an era. As I demonstrate later in this essay, the multiple threads that are apparent within the generic construction of the broadside ballad meant that it could be, and was, used by royalists to present satirical and reductive images of parliamentarians.

Ballad Tunes

The ballad's generic diversity is mirrored by its use of song. Music was both subsidiary and integral to the ballad form. Depending upon the skill of the musician, complicated arrangements could have been composed for performance at the courts of noblemen. Alternatively, ballads could have been set to familiar songs and sung by the middling sort to make themselves merry at home. Emphasizing the fluidity of popular culture, and how ballads transcended social spheres, peddlers and ballad hawkers could sing ballad tunes as a way of advertising and selling their wares.

Claude Simpson has shown that only about four hundred of one thousand known ballad tunes survive.[34] Drawing from Simpson's analysis and from a detailed study of the Stationers' Register, Alexandra Hall has noted that just 6 percent of the ballads that were entered before 1640 mention a tune and extrapolates that one-quarter of the tunes referenced in the register have been lost.[35] This might sound like a low number, but given how many ballad texts printed before the late seventeenth century have been lost, it is, perhaps, testimony to the importance of musical setting and the familiarity of tunes; multiple ballad texts were set to the same ballad music, creating a corpus of familiar songs that enabled the nonliterate to learn new ballad words through repeating them to well-known tunes.

Musical notation was seldom printed on ballads in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although music was more commonly appended to ballads printed in the late seventeenth century, it often served a decorative purpose rather

32. On the Restoration, see N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford, 2002); Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (London, 2005).

33. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 20.

34. Claude M. Simpson, *The Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1966), xv.

35. Hall, *Lost Books and Printing,* 42–43.

than indicating the tune to which the text was set.[36] The reuse of text, musical setting, and woodcuts across several ballads not only demonstrates the economics of printing but also underscores how ballads are enacted upon the paper stage and how the page is a space where oral and textual forms meet. Ballads were, as Patricia Fumerton contends, multimodal forms, and woodcuts and tunes participated in the textual and aural/oral performances by adding meaning to the text.[37] Furthermore, the songs to which some anti-Rump ballads were set may have been chosen for satirical reasons rather than because the meter of the text matched the rhythm of the music. While this might suggest that text and music become disjointed in these Rump ballads, thereby fragmenting the relationship between print and performance, this use of song emphasizes the mutual dependency of textual and oral transmission. The printing of ballad text coexisted with the setting of this new ballad text to old ballad song, and while the choice of song might be inappropriate in terms of syllabic and rhythmic unity, the song could heighten the political reflections present in the text. Melodies, as Marsh has observed, "were capable of reinforcing, altering and destabilizing textual messages in a compelling manner."[38] This connection between oral/aural and textual forms was used by ballad writers, but this did not necessarily "fix" words and music within the early modern soundscape. Rather, ballads operated at the margins of oral and literate cultures, and the relationship between text and tune was subject to negotiation and modification within this liminal space.

While many ballads were set to old tunes, the music did not necessarily predate the text or the themes present in the text. Although the dating of ballads can be difficult, many allude to recent events. Execution ballads, for example, were often printed before the execution and sold during the event, and singing was integral to the ritual of public punishment and death.[39] When the ballad addresses a topical event, it is sometimes possible to date the ballad through cross-referencing text and context. The topicality of some ballad texts means that they can be located within a chronological framework, but the music to which the text is set is more difficult to

36. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 33.

37. Marsh, *Music and Society*, 289. See also Christopher Marsh, "'The Blazing Torch': New Light on English Balladry as a Multi-Media Matrix," *Seventeenth Century* 30 (2015): 95–116. See also *Ballads and Performance: The Multimodal Stage in Early Modern England*, ed. Patricia Fumerton (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2018), https://scalar.usc.edu/works/ballads-and-performance-the-multi-modal-stage-in-early-modern-england/index. In making the case for the importance of engaging with ballads as multimodal forms, Fumerton is concerned with the relationship between theatrical performance and ballad performance. Marsh has also traced the recycling of woodcuts across a number of ballads to show how the woodcut adds to the meaning of the words and music. See Christopher Marsh, "A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England," in "Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture," ed. Patricia Fumerton with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer, special issue, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016): 245–62.

38. Marsh, *Music and Society*, 289.

39. For a detailed study, see Una McIlvenna, "The Power of Music: The Significance of Contrafactum in Execution Ballads," *Past and Present*, no. 229 (2015): 47–89 at 56–57.

uncover. Ballads were written in common meter, enabling them to be sung to various familiar musical settings that followed the scansion of the words.[40] Although some tune names were suggested more for satirical purposes than for their appropriateness for word setting, it became common in the seventeenth century for ballads to stipulate what music they ought to be sung to (or to offer a choice of tunes for the singing public); this points to an audience with some musical literacy and prior knowledge of ballad musical conventions. While this might suggest that ballads developed and evolved around rigid preexisting ballad tunes, both text and music participated in a space that was neither fully textual nor oral. Music and text were both subject to adaptation and modification within this space. As Bruce Smith observes, this relationship between words and music highlights Michel de Certeau's insight that orality and literacy are not distinct but exist in relation to each other in ways that are constantly altering.[41] Yet, for Smith, as with early modern culture, orality remains the dominant element of early modern ballads.[42] Surviving broadside ballads provide us with a partial reconstruction of a form that exists at the margins of print and oral culture. The ballad tune "Cook Laurel," the focus of the remainder of this essay, is a useful case study in addressing this fluidity between textual and oral forms.[43]

To the Tune of "Cook Laurel"

The earliest surviving reference to Cook Laurel is the fragment of a poem, "Cocke Lorelles Bote," published by Wynkyn de Worde around 1519.[44] Cook Laurel then seems to fall out of use in print until 1561, when his notoriety is reconfirmed by John Awdeley in *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes*. Awdeley's text appears to have been reprinted several times in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the title page declares that "xxv. Orders of Knaves" have been established by that archetypal knave, "Cocke Lorel."[45] In addition, William Chappell notes that Cook Laurel's boat is mentioned in a manuscript poem titled "Doctour Double Ale," and in John Heywood's *Epigrams upon 300 Proverbs* (1566).[46] The tune associated with the character at the helm of a ship of fools is also found under different titles.[47] Underscoring the relationship between theatrical production and ballad production, the tune appears in William Rowley's *A Match at Midnight* (pub. 1633) and James Shirley's *The Constant Maid* (pub. 1640) but with a different title and words. After this, the words "to be sung

40. Simpson notes that some ballads set to "Cook Laurel" have a meter that "ill fits the tune." See Simpson, *Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 132.

41. Smith, *Acoustic World*, 12.

42. Smith, *Acoustic World*.

43. "Cook Laurel" has a number of textual variants, including "Cock Lorell," "Cook Lawrel," and "Cook Lorrell."

44. Anon., *Cocke Lorelles Bote* (London, ca. 1519).

45. See the title page of John Awdeley, *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes* (London, 1603).

46. *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, vol. 1, *A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes,* ed. William Chappell (London, 1859), 161.

47. Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, 129–32.

to the tune of Cook Laurel" begin to become a commonplace on broadside ballads; the tune, under the title "An old man is a bed full of Bones," appears in all editions of John Playford's *The Dancing Master* printed between 1650 and 1725, and Marsh has identified "Cook Laurel" as being among the top fifty tunes to which ballads were set.[48] What this suggests is that in the absence of textual evidence to the contrary, oral culture connects de Worde's 1519 fragment to the text that was printed in 1561 and reissued in 1603, supporting Paula McDowell's contention that thinking of an "oral tradition" overlooks how, before the late eighteenth century, oral and print cultures were closely intertwined.[49] As we will see, through various textual and verbal utterances, Cook Laurel continued to be recast throughout the seventeenth century.

During the Tudor period, Cook Laurel became convenient shorthand for lowborn vagabonds and cheats and was used by writers to construct an image of a criminal underclass, governed by skulduggery and the language of cant. Whether de Worde's text offers the first appearance of Cook Laurel and his motley crew or the fragment is the first surviving textual representation of a scoundrel who was already well established in oral culture cannot be determined. The act of printing, however, concretizes an archetype differently than oral culture does. Orality, with its reliance upon memory, also relies upon forgetting and extemporizing as a way of disseminating ideas to the hearing audience. Through printing "Cocke Lorelles Bote," de Worde projected a Tudor rascal, and Awdeley repackaged this rogue for later Tudor and early Stuart audiences. Sometime before, during, or after these textual manifestations, the rapscallion was recaptured and reinvented in song. Once the tune "Cook Laurel" became a commonplace, the vagabond not only made a regular appearance in the sound of the broadside ballad but also infiltrated the Stuart court masque.

While ballads and masques might appear to be opposite forms of performative culture, the two forms have points of connection, emphasizing the interdependency of oral/aural and textual forms and the different performance spaces in which they are enacted. The antimasque to William Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans*, performed in 1637, featured a ballad singer. This theatrical representation of a ballad singer underscores the codependency of various performance and textual cultures. Similarly, that members of the gentry—perhaps most notably Samuel Pepys—collected ballads further highlights how they reached broad audiences while also raising questions about how ballads that were collected differ from those that were enjoyed and discarded.[50] However, as Lauren Shohet attests, the printing of masques equally demonstrates that

48. *Popular Music*, ed. Chappell, 160–61; Marsh, *Music and Society,* 236.

49. Paula McDowell, "'The Art of Printing was Fatal': Print Commerce and the Idea of Oral Tradition in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse," in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800,* ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham, U.K., 2010), 35–56.

50. Pepys was particularly fond of collecting "vaulgaria" and saw his collection as an index of the times. See Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660–1703* (Oxford, 2015), 249. However, as with all archives, the choices Pepys

elite cultures also reached a wider audience in print.[51] This further shows the difficulties in identifying what "elite" and "popular" mean in this period.[52] Both popular culture and elite culture were received by multiple audiences who interpreted and understood their symbolism and meanings to varying degrees. This porous quality of ballads, masques, and other forms of entertainment, and the ways in which they were transmitted to multiple audiences, emphasizes how textual and oral culture transcended social spheres. Firmly rooted within neither elite nor popular cultures, the words were disseminated among multiple audiences. Ballads thus became an ideal vehicle through which to satirize beleaguered parliamentarians.

The original ballad text that was set to "Cook Laurel" appears to be lost, but the tune's ubiquity attests to that ballad's popularity. Cook Laurel also makes an appearance in *Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell* (1610), attributed to Samuel Rid. Here, Cocke Lorrell is described as "the most notorious knaue that euer liued."[53] Yet rather than detail these knaveries, the text directs readers to consult Awdeley's *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes*, which is still available to purchase from booksellers. Instead, we are presented with a description of gypsies:

> I referre you to the old manuscript, remayning on record in maunders hall. This was he that reduced and brought in forme the Catalogue of Vagabonds or quarterne of knaues called the fiue and twentie orders of knaues: but because it is extant and in euery mans shop, I passe them ouer.
>
> And now about this time, when as warres abroade, and troubles domesticall were ended, swarmed in euery part of the land these Caterpillers, like slies against a plague: in the northerne partes another sort of Vagabonds (at the diuels-arse-a-peake in Darbishire) began a new regiment, calling themselues by the name of Egiptians: These were a sort of rogues, that liued and do yet liue by cousening and deceit . . . feeding the common people wholly addicted and giuen to nouelties, toyes and new fangles, delighting them with the strangenesse of the attire of their heads, and practising palmistry to such as would know their fortunes.[54]

made as to which texts to retain and which to lose demonstrate that his archive is as much a process of forgetting as remembering.

51. Lauren Shohet, *Reading Masques: The English Masque and Public Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2010).

52. See the introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, and Abigail Shinn (Farnham, U.K., 2014), 1–9.

53. [Samuel Rid], *Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell; His defence and Answere to the Belman of London* (London, 1610), sig. G3v.

54. Rid, *Martin Mark-All*, sig. G4r.

As we will see, Ben Jonson conflates the reference to Cook Laurel with the description of the gypsies in *The Masque of the Gypsies,* or *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621), and it is this text that provides the blueprint for many of the Rump ballads that are set to the tune "Cook Laurel."

In some respects, it is unsurprising that royalists celebrating the Restoration would allude to Jonson. The "Sons of Ben" and Jonson's posthumous influence upon cavaliering culture are well documented, and the masque's flirtation with the carnivalesque means that it offers ideal source material for royalists desiring to reflect upon the saturnalian qualities of the Restoration.[55] The masque was commissioned by George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham, and performed three times in 1621: first at Burleigh-on-the-Hill (Buckingham's home) in celebration of his marriage to Lady Katherine Manners, then at his father-in-law's home, and once more at Windsor Castle. It also circulated in various manuscript and printed forms.[56] The masque celebrates James's qualities as a pacifist king who is divinely ordained to wear the crown and promises James's son, the future Charles I, good fortune and marital bliss. However, as James Knowles has demonstrated, the various manuscript versions of the text appropriated Jonson's words and repackaged them to satirize the royal favorite's body and censure the body politic; verse libels derived from the masque demonstrate how it could be refashioned to voice potential criticisms of James's pacifist foreign policy.[57]

Unusually for a masque, *Gypsies Metamorphosed* is stripped of more conventional mythological allusions and imagery, and speaking roles are given to the nobility who dance. The first half of the masque comprises carnivalesque caricature as, dressed as gypsies, Buckingham and the other masquers sing, dance, tell fortunes, and pick pockets. The turning point comes with the singing of a ballad "to the tune of Cock Lorrell," which lasts long enough to enable the courtiers to have a quick wash; after the ballad, Buckingham and the other masquers reappear in their aristocratic finery, and the items they had pickpocketed are restored to their rightful owners. James's royal presence leads to the metamorphosis of the gypsies from nomadic rogues to courtiers. This celebration of early Stuart kingship recasts Stuart monarchy as the harmonious and order-restoring focal point of the body politic. However, if we consider the body of the courtier as well as the body of the king, a more complicated picture emerges.

55. See, for example, *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Pittsburgh, 1982).

56. James Knowles, "'Songs of baser alloy': Jonson's *Gypsies Metamorphosed* and the Circulation of Manuscript Libels," in "'Railing Rhymes': Politics and Poetry in Early Stuart England," ed. Andrew McRae, special issue, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 (2006): 153–76 at 155.

57. Knowles, "'Songs of baser alloy,'" 155.

Gypsies Metamorphosed echoes Jonson's earlier work *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) through its use of cosmetics to racialize gypsies through performance.[58] In her discussion of *Masque of Blackness*, Noémie Ndiaye contends that white aristocrats blacked up and used their bodies to perform "kinetic blackness" through "animalizing black dances."[59] Such "performative blackness" enabled European courtiers to appropriate "black dances for the purposes of self-emancipation."[60] In considering how white European nobility performed black dances, Ndiaye enriches our understanding of racialized power play in early modern court performance by addressing both bodily movement and the use of cosmetics. As Kim Hall has argued, blacking-up means that "blackness becomes a social idiom for interrogating issues of social order, particularly as they are related to problems of race, gender, and economics. Black figures . . . become the focal points for an extraordinary dense system of signification that, unpacked, reveals layered interconnected anxieties over difference."[61] Within the context of James's court, unruly black dancing in *Masque of Blackness* and performative blackness thus dismantle the social control that the body of the king represents. Similarly, cosmetics and bodily movement in *Gypsies Metamorphosed* destabilize courtly power by drawing the dancers into a racialized power play that exposes anxieties about difference. These anxieties are further emphasized through the ballad "to be sung to the tune of Cock Lorrell."

Whereas in the earlier masque, Anna of Denmark and her ladies-in-waiting appear in black up throughout, in the later masque, tawny paint is washed off to transform the gypsies into courtiers. This underscores the long (mistaken) association of Egyptians with gypsies and gypsies' confused status as both exoticized nomads who occupy a separate sphere and as English (or English counterfeiters) who are a common sight roaming the English land. As Carol Mejia Laperle writes, the error of believing gypsies to be descendants of Egyptians "is relevant to stereotypes of gypsies as outlandish, nomadic and foreign . . . [criminalizing] the exotic, nomadic group's resistance to the priorities of dominant rule in the . . . English commonwealth."[62] In this respect, washing away the tawny cosmetic does not reveal the noble courtier

58. For a discussion of how the use of cosmetics focuses attention on the body of the performers and especially their skin, see Andrea Stevens, "Mastering Masques of Blackness: Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, the Windsor Text of *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, and Brome's *The English Moor*," *English Literary Renaissance* 39 (2009): 396–426.

59. Noémie Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness: Early Modern Performance Culture and the Making of Race* (Philadelphia, 2022), 215.

60. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 217.

61. Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 141.

62. Carol Mejia Laperle, "Race in Shakespeare's Tragedies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Race*, ed. Ayanna Thompson (Cambridge, 2021), 77–92, esp. 84–85. For a comprehensive study of gypsies, see David Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History* (Oxford, 2018); and Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), esp. 421–22, 431–35, on the European conflation of gypsies with Egyptians and Jews.

beneath but instead casts doubt on the body of the aristocrat and draws attention to stereotypes of gypsy counterfeiting through counterfeiting the gypsy's body.[63] The transformation of the gypsies from vagabonds to virtuous courtiers at the end of the masque thus emphasizes less the ability of the monarch to transform an underclass into respectability than the fragility of social constructs.

Martin Butler argues that, although Buckingham and his fellow courtiers flirt with the disorder occasioned by their appearance as gypsies, the formal features of the masque allow the courtiers to be dissociated from the thefts and roguish behavior exhibited by the gypsies in performance. Because Buckingham had gained a reputation for greedy opportunism, his acting the part of an opportunistic gypsy had the potential to generate negative satire. In Butler's reading, rather than exposing Buckingham's perceived greed as a source of censure, the performance sanitizes him of association with recent scandals about monopolies; returning the goods stolen by the gypsies in the masque renders the courtiers' greed "sexy" and reaffirms their nobility.[64] Whereas the radical differences in text between the version performed at Buckingham's country home and the performance at Windsor have been read as exposing tensions in James's foreign policy, the panegyrical tone of the piece remains largely unchallenged. While Butler's insights prove an invaluable starting point for understanding the politics of the masque, Barbara Ravelhofer helpfully focuses upon the mechanics of performance. It is the legacies of performance and the ballad at the center of the masque that I am most interested in, as this feeds into Restoration satire.

Demonstrating how Jonson appropriates French burlesque and English folklore and blends them with his aesthetic vision for the masque, Ravelhofer exposes the importance of the ballad to the narrative structure of the performance. Whereas other masques rely upon elaborate set and properties to restore order, Ravelhofer insightfully observes that *Gypsies Metamorphosed* uses the performance of the ballad on a simple stage with minimal properties to allow courtiers time to change into their courtly robes and to assume their true personas. The ballad thus becomes the order-restoring focal point of the performance.[65] Buckingham and his fellow courtiers assume their rightful place within the body politic as a consequence of the utterance of a common ballad; the most pervasive form of popular culture thus becomes a way of asserting social order at court. This, combined with the esteem in which Jonson was held by some cavalier poets, may offer some clues as to why the ballad tune proved popular with royalists.

63. For a brief discussion of the fragile line between counterfeit gypsies and counterfeiting gypsies, see Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Z. Smith, and Lauren Working, "Gypsy," in *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam, 2021), 125–30, https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048552283.

64. Martin Butler, "'We are one mans all': Jonson's *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*," *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991): 253–73 at 258.

65. Barbara Ravelhofer, "Burlesque Ballet, a Ballad and a Banquet in Ben Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphos'd* (1621)," *Dance Research* 25 (2007): 144–55.

Gypsies Metamorphosed was printed as a duodecimo in 1640 and then reprinted in the second folio of Jonson's complete works in 1641. Shortly after, in 1642, Charles I raised his standard and civil war began. This masque does not offer commentary on the civil war or the Restoration, but elements of the masque were appropriated into royalist discourse and became a way to comment upon contemporary political anxieties. The central song was taken out of its context within the masque and circulated in manuscript form; it was also printed as a broadside ballad. Titled "A Strange Banquet: or, the Devils Entertainment by Cook Laurel, at the Peak in Devonshire, with a true Relation of the several Dishes"; the ballad went into multiple editions.[66] Here, we are presented with an image of the devil feasting upon various miscreants, ranging from representatives of the criminal underworld and the unchaste to corrupt citizens and holders of office. The feast thus cleanses the body politic of corruption; in so doing, it seems to echo humanist intellectual thought that presents the banquet as a site of sociability and civility.[67]

While the ballad printed separately from the masque ends with a bloated devil rising from the table and experiencing indigestion-induced flatulence, the song printed in the 1640 edition of the masque is extended by three quatrains to argue that the vapor emitted from the devil is made manifest on earth in the form of tobacco:

> From which wicked weed, with swines-flesh & Ling,
> Or anything else that's fit for the Fiend:
> Our Captaine and wee, cry God save the King,
> And send him good meate, and mirth without end.[68]

The ballad on its own seeks to remove monarchical discussions from the narrative, but within the masque, the song applauds James's judgment in writing tracts against the growing fashion for smoking the American import of tobacco. Tasting and smelling thus operate differently; while the eating of miscreants assumes they are being

66. "Devonshire" appears to be an error: the 1695 edition has the title as "A Strange Banquet: Or the Devil's Entertainment by Cook Laurel, at the Peak in Derby-Shire; an Account of the several Dishes served to Table. To the Tune of Cook Laurel, &c.," presumably in reference to the Peak Cavern, or "the Devil's Arse," in the Peak District, Derbyshire, which gained its colloquial name from the flatulent-sounding noises emanating from the cave and made by floodwater draining from it. Derbyshire is also the location of Bolsover Castle, one of the estates of Jonson's last patron, William Cavendish. As the Cambridge editors note, Jonson connects Peak Cavern with the devil in *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616) and references witches inviting the devil to Derbyshire to dine in *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620). See *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, vol. 5, *1616–1625*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge, 2012), 474.

67. *Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Bevington, Butler, and Donaldson, 474; Ravelhofer, "Burlesque Ballet," 150.

68. Ben Jonson, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (London, 1640), sig. E4r.

wiped out of society, farting repollutes the body politic. Order might be restored, but there is the hint that this order is transitory and smelly.

The relationship between monarchy and the textual transmission of this ballad is therefore complex and made more so by the ambiguous politics that the masque enacts. While the masque constantly alludes to kingship and consciously maneuvers the narrative back to reflect upon and (ambiguously) celebrate early Stuart rule, the printed ballad seeks to erase monarchical debates and instead focuses upon a gluttonous devil who attempts to satiate his appetite through feasting upon sinners. This tension between the different contexts in which the ballad was circulated and disseminated is also present in the ballads that appropriate the tune "Cook Laurel" and were printed or circulated in manuscript between 1653 and 1660. Here, the tune is used in ballads that document current affairs. In July 1653, "A New Ballad to the Tune of Coc-Lorrell" circulated in manuscript. This ballad details Cromwell's dissolving of Parliament and assuming of the role of Lord Protector. While it lacks the scatology of later ballads, or the feasting imagery in Jonson's text, the reference to Cook Laurel invokes the Jonsonian text and establishes a mnemonic connection between the rogues documented in Jonson's ballad and the radical parliamentarians. With the title "A New Ballad to the Tune Coc-Lorrell," the tune to which the ballad is set is afforded a greater degree of prominence, emphasizing the perceived link between roundhead machinations, Cook Laurel's boat, and underworld skulduggery.

This connection between skulduggery and parliamentary leanings is echoed, and modified, in a ballad printed in 1659. Titled "Redemption Ab Aquilone, or Some Good Out of Scotland," this broadside ballad is possibly the most hesitant of the Rump ballads set to the tune of "Cook Laurel." In 1659, it was by no means certain that monarchy would be restored, and then Monck marched on London. At first, it seemed as though he would fulfill the Rump Parliament's commands to dismantle the city gates and, in effect, instigate martial law. However, Monck played a complicated political game, shifted allegiance, and eventually supported London's call for a free Parliament; in so doing, he was largely credited with bringing about the Restoration.[69] "Redemption Ab Aquilone" alludes to this uncertainty; it both applauds Monck for his role in the Restoration and expresses fears that the Restoration might never happen. Questioning the nature of allegiance, the ballad argues that only through the restoration of the monarchy can freedom be restored. Anxiety regarding Monck's actions immediately preceding the Restoration is also present in "A Pair of Prodigals Returned," in which an Englishman and Scotsman express a desire for the Restoration to happen, although they voice concerns with Monck's dealings with London. This ballad inverts the narrative of skulduggery established in the folklore of Cook Laurel to tell a tale of redemption. Rather than presenting a devil feasting upon sinners, the ballad describes sinners' seeking absolution through anticipating the return of the monarchy and pledging allegiance to the king.

69. Harris, *Restoration*, 43–44.

The two ballads that were printed immediately before the Restoration are therefore governed by uncertainty over whether the Restoration would actually take place. Two ballads printed in the aftermath of the Restoration are much more confident about satirizing parliamentarians and appropriating scatological tropes familiar to Restoration lampoonery of the erstwhile Rump Parliament. "The Rump Roughly but Righteously Handled" absolves Monck of his political opportunism and represents the Rump Parliament as a satanic beast. Points of reference with the Jonsonian ballad are present in the celebration of the deaths of notable roundheads who have been swallowed by hell. However, this ballad's implicit intertextual reference to Jonson's ballad is eclipsed by "A Proper New Ballad of the Devils Arse a Peake, or Satans Beastly Place, or, in Plain Terms of the Posteriors and Fag-End of a Long Parliament" (1660). Here, the regicide is depicted as the start of a lamentable tale about the demise of the Rump. Feasting, vomiting, flatulence, and scatological imagery are used to lampoon various roundheads, who replace the vagabonds and sinners feasted upon in Jonson's ballad. The later ballads thus affirm the narrative that Jonson's ballad presents of order being restored through a devilishly gluttonous feast. Both Jonson's text and the oral referencing of "Cook Laurel" are appropriated by "A Proper New Ballad" to celebrate the return of monarchy and the demise of the Rump.

The image of Cook Laurel as a ubiquitous rascal became a common trope in Elizabethan folklore, was adopted by playwrights and ballad writers, and even appeared in a masque. These transitions not only emphasize how fraught attempts to define what constitutes "elite" and "popular" culture in the period can be but also demonstrate how ballads were used in multiple ways. Some forms of popular culture assisted royalists in constructing alternative images of parliamentarians, and roundheads were frequently represented in royalist newsbooks, pamphlets, and play pamphlets as lowly, intemperate, cuckolded, and damned fools. While I have discussed only a handful of the surviving ballads that appropriate "Cook Laurel" during the Commonwealth and Restoration, these ballads demonstrate that ballad song provided a prehistory to royalist satire that establishes a mnemonic connection between parliamentarians and the scoundrels of folklore. However, this very appropriation of Tudor vagabonds as a way of articulating royalist triumph and parliamentarian defeat has a destabilizing effect upon the politics presented in the ballads. Cook Laurel may have been convenient shorthand for a lowborn vagabond and cheat, but the way in which his notoriety has been constructed also means that he is romanticized; the same strategies that allowed Buckingham to be presented as, in Butler's words, "sexy greedy" rather than "ugly greedy" in Jonson's masque lend themselves to Cook Laurel. The skulduggery that is ascribed to him becomes sanitized through these narratives, which in turn limits the dangers and potential violence that a criminal underclass may present. In this context, the use of the tune "Cook Laurel" as a setting for Rump

ballads becomes less a way of celebrating the return of the king than a means through which to limit the authority of parliamentarians. Whether or not the ballads could be sung to the tune "Cook Laurel," referencing the song reaffirmed the connection between ballads and the early Stuart court and, in so doing, harnessed popular culture and the paper stage to the royalist cause. This gave royalists another means through which to lament the regicide and celebrate the restoration of the monarchy and the downfall of the Rump Parliament.

Paul Hammond has argued that Charles Stuart's return to England was carefully presented as a restoration of rightful governance in England, but the memory of Charles I's dismembered body and the knowledge of his son's libidinous body meant that kingship could never be presented and interpreted in the same way in the late seventeenth century as it had before. Royalists tried to cover the fractures in royalist ideology by greeting the Restoration with panegyric, and attempts were made throughout Charles II's reign to reaffirm kingship, but these endeavors were undermined by the numerous satirical representations of him.[70] In this context, ballads that satirize the Rump form part of a narrative of resistance to the ongoing critique of the king. Epochs, Hans Blumenberg contends, require a "visible and effective boundary figure," a person to define the age.[71] Charles II, neither a genius nor a particularly effective monarch, thus becomes the unlikely epoch-defining figure of the Restoration. British politics, culture, and science are all read through the lens of the restoration of the monarchy. While regicide and revolution do not necessitate restoration, for there to be a restoration, there has to be something to be restored. The Restoration is thus defined by what came before, even as the Restoration Settlement sought to erase the past and affirm the newness and immediacy of the present. Music assisted in this. Writing of execution ballads and the setting of new words to old music, Una McIlvenna notes, "listener-singers . . . [had] previous knowledge of the songs . . . pointing to a vast repertoire, sometimes even international, of shared musical knowledge. Such sharing and participation helped to forge communal bonds, echoed in the communal and performative means by which each member of society was expected to participate in the punishment of criminals."[72] McIlvenna's insights are equally applicable to ballads that celebrated the Restoration. As this brief survey of ballads set to "Cook Laurel" shows, through the paper stage and musical setting, Tudor folklore continued to be performed and adapted to folklorize the royalist cause and, through the use of song, royalists attempted to charm rebels "into Obedience."[73]

70. Paul Hammond, "The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II," in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660–1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester, U.K., 1991), 13–48.

71. Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 470.

72. McIlvenna, "Power of Music," 89.

73. Nathaniel Thompson, *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* (London, 1684), sig. A2r–v, cited in Marsh, *Music and Society*, 283.

The pervasiveness of Tudor folklore in seventeenth-century culture meant that, far from the start of something new, the Restoration was imbued with continuity with the past.

RACHEL WILLIE is a reader in Early Modern Literary Studies at Liverpool John Moores University. Her publications include *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647–72* (2015) and articles on martyrological discourse in play pamphlets and visual representations of William Laud.