Chorographia, Newcastle and Royalist Identity in the Late 1640s

> **Chorography. 1.** The art or practice of describing, or of delineating on a map or chart, particular regions, or districts; as distinguished from *geography*, taken as dealing with the earth in general, and (less distinctly) from *topography*, which deals with particular places, as towns, etc. (*OED*)

> Now of late that princely fabrick demolished and layd levell with the ground.[1]

For followers of the King during the late 1640s, the world was an extremely disorientating place. It seemed that all the landmarks by which they were accustomed to situate themselves had shifted, and the very land they stood on challenged their understanding. The 'princely fabrick' of England was being torn apart. In Mildmay Fane's poetic survey of Northamptonshire, 'The Cosmography of this County', the poet complains about how the war has disrupted previously fixed spatial relationships and considers how this has led to the dislocation of identity and allegiance:

> It alwaies in former times stood distinguished by Longetude of east & West & yet held paralell ye Hundreds to all seruices but now it is Lancht wounded & cut through by so many miridian Lines hott fiery Zealots or rather bonte feux fire brands of Cisme & seeds men of all seditions yt it acknowledges noe bounding Tropicke but striues to Lay Leuell in ye Equator both Day & Night a Like. Pesant & Peer noe difference twixt Thrones & Coblers Bulkes[2]

Fane contributes to a Royalist strand of positional or topographical poetry that decries the newly unstable latitudes. The traditional and set ways of mapping the nation have been challenged and upset by the myriad rules and structures of the Parliament. Geographical space itself has been sundered, and this is mapped onto social interaction. The body of state has been physically disrupted and 'wounded' by the weapons of civil war. The aristocracy have been reduced to the same status as the peasant; the boundaries and rules that formerly 'distinguished' between particular social spaces have been transgressed. Hierarchies and hegemonies have been attacked and destroyed, and this levelling now admits 'noe difference', emphasising an equality and

egalitarianism anathema to Royalists: 'Pesant & Peer noe difference twixt Thrones & Coblers Bulkes'. This erosion of the crucial difference between class identity and structure is seen as physical and topographical.

In his important study *Forms of Nationhood*, Richard Helgerson charts the progression of English chorographic writing in the early seventeenth century:

> Service to the country alone – with all the ambiguous meaning the word *country* then had: kingdom, nation, county, locality, countryside – was displacing service to king *and* country, just as the latter had displaced service to God and his church or service to one's liege lord regardless of country. The emergence of the country as a single, if variously significant, term for the focal point of allegiance parallels the emergence of the description, survey, or chorography as an autonomous and widely practiced genre.[3]

Helgerson considers this practice of mapping Britain greatly significant in changing attitudes about allegiance and sense of royal authority; the surveys and maps he analyses betray an increasing disestablishment of the centrality of the monarch, emphasizing instead the importance of the people and the landscape in shaping national identity. Chorographic writings emphasized localities and district prerogative. Yet these particularities 'constantly remind us of the whole of which they are part and from which they take meaning even if only by difference' (p. 138). Helgerson further traces the movement from Elizabethan chorographic writing that was rooted in conceptions of place and etymology, towards genealogical accounts of localities. He notes, 'More and more, chorographies became books where country gentry can find their manors, monuments, and pedigrees copiously set forth. It is a concern with the physical importance of place that differentiates chorographic writing from chronicle or topographical work. Chorographies are also largely Parliamentarian, physically representing the "body of England"' (p. 136). Helgerson's concept is of nationalism rooted in regional difference.

His final example, Dugdale's largely Royalist *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, was printed in 1656; Helgerson largely ignores the upheavals of the 1640s in tracing the growth of his chosen genre from the 1560s onwards. As Fane's poem shows, the war fractured local identities and profoundly undermined notions of 'Englishness' and nationhood, especially in relationship to Scotland. This disruption is evident in a chorographic work that Helgerson does not consider, William Gray's *Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine*, published in 1649. The work is a revisionist topography that emphasises the ancient role of Newcastle in protecting the rest of the Kingdom from the destructive actions of the Scots. The author strives to establish an alternative Royalist historiography and impose it on the topographical descriptions that provide the bulk of his work. This article will consider parliamentarian mappings of Newcastle in order to analyse and contextualise Gray's reconfiguration of the chorographic genre. It becomes clear that notions of 'nation' and concepts of 'England' are in a state of flux, and there

is much anxiety surrounding the definition of such terms. I argue that Royalism reacted to the death of the King by restructuring tropes, and that *Chorographia* is an example of the profoundly unsettling effect that the regicide had upon Royalist authors. The space of nation that the author of *Oxonii Lachrymae* mourned needed to be redescribed and reinscribed again. The sense of national identity was now to be found in specific loci of allegiance; *Chorographia* shows how loyalists might reassert the Royalist delineation of national spaces and thereby reaffirm the role of the King in constructing and structuring England. Gray refutes the pessimism of those such as Fane, claiming the newly ruptured spaces for the King. He maps and delineates Newcastle as a function of the King's will, an expression of Royal power. Despite the cosmetic shifts and changes the fundamentals have not changed. Monarchical power still imposes meaning upon the physical space of the nation.

Hugely influential both strategically and economically, the city of Newcastle additionally attained a great deal of cultural and polemic significance during the war period. Although in the main ignored as a locus for loyalism by *Mercurius Aulicus* and Oxford-based tract writers, the city was regularly lambasted by London pamphleteers as the entry point for thousands of popish sympathisers and continental troops. It was not coincidence, they suggested, that Henrietta Maria had landed on Tyneside when she returned from the continent; or that the Earl of Newcastle was waging such a popular and successful series of campaigns in the North-East. According to Parliament, Newcastle was the 'principall In-let of Forreine Ayde, Forces, and Ammunition, for the strengthening of that Force that intends Destruction to the Parliament, and thereby the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this Kingdome'.[4] For Parliament the city was a potent symbol of how Royalist intransigence directly led to social and economic deprivation. Newcastle became integrated into a Parliamentarian historiography and topography that used the city as a symbol to demonstrate the consequences of needless resistance to the will and interests of the people.

The explorer and trader William Lithgow visited Newcastle in 1644, just in time to see the city fall to the Scots. He published an account of the siege a year later, a 'Topography' that combined narrative description, historical observation, and long passages of meandering semi-epic verse.[5] Whilst Lithgow's work is not chorographic in intention, it provides a striking example of the contemporary Parliamentarian mappings of Newcastle. His account is site-specific: he describes the surrounding countryside, the positions of the armies, the architecture of the churches. Even the walls of the city provide a physical manifestation of the rebellious nature of the town, 'having a narrow slit in them, through which they might murther our Soldiers, and secure themselves from a just revenge' (p. 13). Lithgow's professed distance from the action, being merely an observer, gives the work a pseudo-subjective nature that is lacking in the official accounts of the siege given by General

Lesley.[6] Lithgow's account is an attempt to authoritatively historicise recent events in the city, to impose the reality of fact upon his version of the siege:

> In these turbulent times, when opinions grow variable, and the diversity of doubtfull reports more voluble than the rushing winde; yet have I adventured (like to an old practicioner, in Prose, Poesie, and unparalelled peregrination) to cast in my Myte of known Experience, upon the Brazen faces of ignorant understanders, that with the knowledge of my quotidian inspection, I may either enlighten their blindnesse, or give truth the glory of a just deserving. (p. 3)

Lithgow's epic style consciously echoes Spenser and Drayton, verse cartographers of national history and identity; he compounds this resonance through continual reference to classical paradigms, comparing Newcastle to Troy, Thebes, Athens, and other tragic cities of pagan antiquity. Lithgow portrays the citizens of Newcastle as an ungodly mob, fully deserving their fall: the merchants and aristocrats are 'altogether Malignants, most of them being Papists, and the greater part of all I say, irreligious Atheists' (p. 14); the 'vulgar condition [. . .] live rather like to the *Berdoans* in *Lybia* (wanting knowledge, conscience, and honesty) than like to wel disposed Christians' (pp. 14–15). Lithgow continually figures the rebellious city as non–English and alien: 'their brutish desires being onely for libertinous ends; *Avarice* and *Voluptuosnesse*; they have a great sensualitye, in a pretended formalitye, than the savage *Sabuncks* with whom I leave them here engrossed' (p. 15). Englishness is attained by being 'Plyable to Religion, civill order, or Church discipline' (p. 15). Playing on his reputation as an explorer of exotic Eastern countries, Lithgow anthropologically castigates and categorises the rebellious Novocastrians.

William Gray's work is a response to these Parliamentary descriptions of the topography and character of Newcastle. He claims Newcastle as an important locus of Caroline allegiance. The city had not figured large in Royalist war propaganda, but Gray uses the rebellious reputation constructed by Parliamentary writers to create, or perhaps (re)claim, a potent symbol of defiance. The printer of *Chorographia* was Stephen Bulkley, a figure closely associated with the royalist side during the war.[7] Bulkley was one of the network of provincial printers who produced and transmitted the King's Speeches and Proclamations throughout the kingdom. This activity had resulted in his being summoned to explain his actions and he had fled York. His arrival in Newcastle was reported by the London newsbook *Moderate Intelligencer*: 'But the greatest peace of news is, a Printer is come from York to Newcastle with his Presse and Letters, and is beginning to work up on the large Declaration.'[8] Bulkley's involvement in the printing of *Chorographia* implies that he remained in the North–East following the death of the King, and he may well have made contact with William Gray at this time. Gray was a burgess of Newcastle (or so he claims in the preface to the volume), although not one that played a significant or public role during the war years.[9] Bulkley's

connection with the work gives it an obvious external polemic resonance it may otherwise have lacked.

Chorographic or topographic writing was uncommon during the Civil War. Popular during the previous decades, the kind of generic categorisation of the nation seemed to serve little polemic purpose and have no audience during this period. However, the mapping or description of national space became increasingly affected by the war, as can be seen for instance with the publication in 1644 of Wenceslaus Hollar's Quartermaster maps.[10] Intended for widespread popular usage, the engravings were divided into six easily digestible sections of landscape, mapping the conflict in 'English Myles' onto the physical body of the country.[11] They reflect the fragmentary nature of the war, and are importantly Parliamentarian insofar as they do not overtly acknowledge the King's presence in their precise visualisation of the country. The lack of royal crests on the maps implies that they are disassociated from the King, despite monarchical involvement in nearly every aspect of English topography, from Royal charters for cities to Royal boundaries for counties. Furthermore, the lack of coats of arms is quite deliberate, as they do appear on Saxton's original versions from which the maps are copied. The configuration and topographic categorisation of England was therefore becoming an important political issue. Hollar's maps construct a nationhood united through a common land but divided into regional identity; a nation, furthermore, with little need for a centralised notion of a King but rather a Parliament that 'blended together the overlapping and ambiguous notions of "the country", ranging from neighbourhood to commonwealth.'[12]

In contrast to the decentralisation process physically illustrated by Hollar's maps, Charles created through his declarations and pardons an image of fragmented, county-led England focused into nationhood through allegiance to the King. The King was always an overriding presence in the construction of a county identity; allegiance to Charles was to be the prime motivation of the local areas. His civil war court at Oxford was 'almost in the heart of my Kingdome; and it brings more comfort unto me, that I am now in the hearts of my subiects'.[13] Conflating anatomical image with cartographic reality, Charles attempts to appropriate the 'body of England' rhetoric from Parliamentary usage and map the country on a localised model. The limbs work independently but to one overriding purpose, the service of the crown. Charles had continuously emphasised the political importance of reverence to the state of the King's body; during the war he began to use different forms to mediate and deliver his message. This reassessment of the King's relationship with his subjects seemingly rejects the head-body model used by Royalist political theorists in favour of a mutually beneficial relationship, almost gesturing toward the theory of a 'contract' between monarch and people. However, the model is still predicated upon a hierarchical interpretation of recent scientific writing and therefore the notion of the state it presents is that of an inclusive body ruled by the heart rather than the head, as Harvey had proved was

physiologically correct. The relationship the King posits is warmer and seemingly less exclusive but the rhetoric conceals a firm notion of bodily authority. The country was still dependent upon his will and subject to his whim; he was the delineator and creator of the absolute space of nation.

Ann Hughes has identified the importance of England's 'uniform legal system, crucially dependent at many points on local implementation' in her argument which emphasises 'the close and complex integration of central and local interests within a national culture and a national administrative and political structure.'[14] In many ways the attempted reconfiguring of a constitutional identity undertaken by Charles through 1643 and 1644 endeavoured to impose once again this kind of flexible homogeneity onto the counties under his control. Legal and judicial institutions would lead to a centrally controlled and defined national space. This was a logical extension of the government of the late 1630s and early 1640s, as John Morrill comments: 'what must not be overlooked, is that the government of Charles I became clumsily interventionist, riding roughshod over such local customs and traditions in a drive for efficiency and uniformity'.[15] The Royalist project during the 1640s, the need to define a polemic identity for those who supported the King, had little time for the subtleties of local allegiance and instead concentrated on constructing a detailed national paradigm of loyalty.

This can be illustrated through a consideration of the series of County Proclamations issued by the King during the early 1640s. These began with pardons and widened into declarations of thanks for support and, most importantly, directions for 'the better Government' of certain areas.[16] It is not just counties that Charles concentrates on, but important local areas and cities also; the city of Lincoln and the county of Lincolnshire are specifically differentiated, for instance. The Proclamations acknowledge the importance of local difference and issues but stress allegiance to the central figure of the King:

> We do hereby publish and declare, That We are graciously pleased to attribute the Crimes and Offences of Our said Subjects of that County to the power and Faction of their seducers, Who, We beleeve by Threats, Menaces, and false Informations compelled and led them into these actions of undutifulnesse and disloyalty towards Us; And we doe therefore hereby offer Our free and gracious Pardon to all the Inhabitants.[17]

Charles's attempt to create a national identity bound together through the allegiance to the King failed mainly because of local inflexibility. As can also be seen by the considering of local case-studies, it was because urban loyalties were far more complex than could be resolved through the creation of a national myth and identity.[18]

As that assertion indicates, the locus of the city had been problematised for Royalists throughout the war period. An eloquent illustration of this is found in John Denham's poem *Coopers Hill*, published from Oxford in a revised edition in 1643. The poem's purpose, in particular the mapping of an area

of London, became more polarised in the climate of the first civil war. The poet, 'Exalted to this height' of Coopers Hill / Parnassus, looks down on the Thames valley.[19] His eye is first drawn to the spire of St Paul's, a site of particular polemic significance during the late 1630s and early 1640s due to Laud's renovation and reordering of the church. There is a defiance about the spire of the Church which Denham approves of: 'Now shalt thou stand, though Time, or Sword, or Fire, / Or Zeale (more fierce then they) thy fall conspire' (lines 17–18). The reconstructed Laudian C/church will continue to stand, protected by Charles and his poets: 'Secure, while thee the best of Poets sings, / Preserv'd from ruine by the best of Kings' (lines 19–20).

From St Paul's Denham moves to consider the city itself. Denham's poetics of location creates a distance between the observer and the city of London, and defines a particular royalist identity through that distance. He describes the city obscured by the motivations of the marketplace:

> I see the City in a thicker cloud *London*
> Of businesse, then of smoake; where men like Ants
> Toyle to prevent imaginarie wants;
> Yet all in vaine, increasing with their store,
> Their vast desires, but make their wants the more.
> As food to unsound bodies, though it please
> The Appetite, feeds onely the disease;
> Where with like haste, though severall waies they runne:
> Some to undoe, and some to be undone:
> While Luxurie and wealth, like Warre and Peace,
> Are each the others ruine, and increase,
> As Rivers lost in Seas some secret veine
> Thence reconveies, there to be lost againe.
> Some study plots, and some those plots t'undoe,
> Others to make 'em, and undoe 'em too,
> False to their hopes, affraid to be secure,
> Those mischiefes onely which they make, endure,
> Blinded with light, and sicke of being well,
> In tumults seeke their peace, their heaven in hell.
> Oh happinesses of sweete retir'd content!
> To be at once secure, and innocent.[20]

The vocabulary of mistake – 'Blinded', 'imaginarie', 'vaine', 'secret', 'False', 'lost' – argues that the pursuit of 'business' clouds the judgement and inverts the natural order, encouraging treachery and crime. The concept of unlimited 'desire' returns when discussing the problems of balancing monarchy in the light of the Magna Carta 'Till Kings by giving, give themselves away, [. . .] Thus all to limit Royalty conspire, / While each forgets to limit his desire' (lines 323–330). The urban marketplace represented by London turns the honest into plotters. Men become social insects, blindly working to achieve empty desires. The city is diseased, a wordly hell. Royalism defines itself as

other to this nightmare world of consumption and corruption. Loyalist identity is a pastoral retirement that embraces the innocence and security of allegiance, of 'sweete retir'd content'. Importantly, the description from lines 41–6 which includes the heaven/hell comparison was interpolated into the early 1643 Oxford text. The lines were part of the distancing effect, the demonisation of the mercantile city. Ideological signification depends on denouncing the locus of mistake and allowing the King to provide security and stability. London becomes the city of unmeaning, a site of terrible inversions and awful actions. Royalists cling to the stability of understanding provided by the Monarch, who legitimates reality and normality.

In Gray's text the city is once again validated by the King, who gives it meaning and structure. The opening page of the work illustrates the ancient arms of Newcastle, with the motto '*Fortiter Defendit Triumphans*'. The Latin works in conjunction with the crest to express the civic defiance that is an undertone of the volume. The arms physically symbolise the link between the Monarch and the city, granted as they were by Royal mandate. In a section delineating 'The Grants and Charters to the Town', Gray lists at length the extensive royal involvement in the history and government of the town. He concludes that 'All the Kings and Queens of England successively granted unto the Town some honour or priviledge, and inlarged their Charters' (p. 20). In particular, King Richard II gave 'the Sword to be carried before the Maj[y]or, which represents royall power and authority, delegated by Charters to them, their heires and successors, from their Sovereign' (p. 20). Power has been symbolically delegated by the Monarch, but his warlike representation still leads the procession of civil government. Gray here reasserts the royal validation of civic power. The king becomes the signifier of power and even in his absence confers authority to his delegates. For Gray, this power is not simply manifested in the sword but is part of the city's fundamental structure. The structures of authority which have delineated and constructed the city cannot be destroyed; they are as important an aspect of the physical make-up of Newcastle as the city walls or the river Tyne.

The volume firmly establishes itself as a generically specific work. The title defines the work as inflexibly chorographic, although the concept of a 'survey' of the town veers close to chronicle. The title–page promises a 'briefe Description of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houses, Streets, Markets, Fairs, River and Commodities; with the Suburbs'. Gray situates his chorographic procedure firmly in a contemporary urban space rather than addressing the region or district. He manipulates the boundaries of genre and addresses a changed cultural situation. Gray inserts poems and personal anecdotes into a previously structured narrative model.[21] The text concentrates on a single city environment where most previous chorographic writing had considered entire nations or districts. This is a profound shift for Royalist writing which had previously vilified urban space as being a breeding ground for dissent and rebellion. Gray asserts the importance of the city

to a new configuration of Royalism, emphasising the ancient spaces of allegiance and reclaiming the town for the loyal. Rather than see his disruption of genre as fundamentally politicised, Gray sees the melange he presents as representing the reality of loyalty. He presents a cross-section of the town, an account which owes its structure to no generic rules but the officially sanctioned spaces of Royalism.

The preface 'To The Candid Reader' explicitly states what the purpose of Gray's project is: 'I have adventured to write of the Antiquity of this Town and Country, [. . .] that those Monuments which these late warrs have obliterated and ruin'd, may be left to posterity for *Tempus edax rerum*' (sig. A3r). The work will itself become a physical monument, a repository for images and objects that have impregnated meanings and histories. *Chorographia* will be a reminder of those things lost during the war. This kind of recording is key to the preservation of national pride and identity in the face of foreign disruption. Gray complains that 'the Records of this country are but few, and confused, being so often infested by the Scots and Danes, who consumed and fired all before them' (sig. A3r). The result of this barbarous destruction is that 'many memorable acts of Chivalry have been atchieved; but they are buried in oblivion' (sig. A3r). Gray presents himself as the preserver of the true history of the nation, witness to the noble tradition of civilised Englishness which savage enemies would destroy. So the text becomes more than a reminder: it enacts and re-presents the monuments and sites of allegiance, establishing an unbroken and vital link to the past. The title–page advertises how the volume will treat of 'The ancient and present Government of the Town', emphasizing an unbroken chronology. The conclusion of the preface decries the lack of learning of the age and the fact 'that Mechanicks will presume to step in Moses chaire, and become politicians to contradict and controle whatsoever is acted and done according to the laws divine and humane' (sig. A3v). The times have attempted to invert and dislocate traditional and established ways of living, of defining nationhood, and of delineating actions. However, these instances are simply 'phantastiques', easily defeated (sig. A3v). The space of nationhood is still defined by 'laws divine and humane', despite the present difficulties (sig. A3v).

The preface invokes Homer and Virgil as 'chronologers' of their countries, writers concerned with place and action, their purpose being 'to portrait unto their countrymen their antiquities, and noble acts'. He refers to Gildas and Beda, and his most recent ancestors, 'learned Camden, and painfull Speed' (sig. A3r). Gray places his work in an ancient tradition, but simultaneously addresses the destructive consequences of the recent war and regicide to notions of 'England'. In establishing his lineage Gray highlights the fracturing of English nationhood: where such forbears wrote histories that articulated and shaped a sense of nation, seemingly he can only consider regional instances. As Andrew Hadfield notes of Camden and Speed, 'A teleological narrative leads ultimately towards the current sovereign as a means

of bonding together the disparate elements of Britain'.[22] Gray's invocation of these antcedents demonstrates the seeming decentring of national identity following the death of the King. Asserting that it is 'impossible' that one man, 'being never so inquisitive, and laborious, should attain unto the perfect knowledge of all passages, in all places', Gray concentrates on one specific area (sig. A3r). He does not devalue the work of his literary ancestors: they are held up as models that can no longer be imitated. Instead, a newly hybrid form for delineating national identity must be defined.

Gray's descriptions of the four Churches of Newcastle demonstrate his political allegiances and highlight his emphasis on the implicit meanings of physical objects. The Church of St Nicholas (now Newcastle Cathedral) has 'a stately high stone Steeple' that 'lifteth up a head of Majesty, as high above the rest, as the Cypresse Tree above the low Shrubs' (p. 13). Such thinly veiled metaphoric language mourns the loss of the majestic head of the church (figuratively and literally: the Cypress is a funeral plant). Yet the crown spire of St Nicholas stands defiantly, and the many ancient monuments inside the church testify to the continuing importance of infusing inanimate stone with metaphoric power. The town is still a site that is physically monarchist: the infrastructure of the city remains in thrall to the King. Ambivalently, however, many of the monuments inside the church are figurative only, 'their generations and names are worne out' (p. 15). Underlining the double–nature of the language, and highlighting the metaphoric significance of buildings, is a six line riddle attributed to 'BEN. JOHNSON.' by Gray:

> My Altitude high, my Body foure square,
> My Foot in the Grave, my Head in the Ayre,
> My Eyes in my sides, five Tongues in my Wombe,
> Thirteen Heads upon my Body, foure Images alone;
> I can direct you where the Winde doth stay,
> And I tune Gods Precepts thrice a Day.
> I am seen where I am not, I am heard where I *[eye]* is not,
> Tell me now, what I am, and see that you misse not. *(p. 13).*[23]

The riddle describes an abstract 'ideal' church and also *the* Church ('Thirteen Heads upon my Body, foure Images alone'). It also specifically refers to St Nicholas's five bells and weathercocks. As the monuments impart meaning on several levels, so does the poem. Textual longevity and physicality is implicitly emphasised. The riddle also suggests the possibility of an answer or completed meaning within the church; the stability and security of allegiance.

Gray describes the interior of St Nicholas's with close attention to details of polemic significance. The Latin inscriptions of the 'sumptuous' stained glass windows are transcribed, courting accusations of papal Laudianism (p. 14). The interior of the church illustrates evidence of how rebellion is a continual process that never ultimately prevails. Gray notes the shrine of Henry IV, 'who was killed by the hands of Rebells in Yorkeshire, gathering up

a Subsidy' (p. 14). The tomb of an unknown Crusader, killed in 'sacred warre–fare' whilst recovering the Holy Land, emphasises the nobility of defending true religion in battle (p. 14). These monuments function in the same way as *Chorographia* itself, physical evidence of stability and security, illustrative of the perpetual war against the forces of inversion and corruption. The equation of religious ritual with defiant loyalism is emphasised by the subsequent descriptions of churches in the city. St John's is 'a pretty little Church, commended by an Arch–Prelate of this Kingdome; because if resembleth much a Crosse' (p. 16). Here the physical situation and architecture of the Church becomes inscribed with ideological significance. Another local church, St Andrew's, holds 'a pardon of a Pope for nine thousand years to come' (p.16). Religious relics contain and retain their power for millennia, untarnished by domestic problems. True religion and loyalty are perpetual loci and they are to be found in the very stones of the city.

With particular significance for a work that considers notions of nationhood, Gray draws attention to 'Saint Georges, or the Kings porch' (p. 15). The cult of St George had been important to the pre-war Caroline court, especially figured in the ceremonies of the Garter.[24] The Garter was an important part of Caroline emblematic iconography and representation: Van Dyck sketched the procession as a draft for a Banqueting House mural, and the Garter is ostentatiously worn by Charles, his son, and many of his household and court in various portraits of the 1630s and 1640s.[25] The martyred King is fast achieving religiously iconic significance and beginning to represent England himself, conflated as he has been with both the patron saint and the church. *Chorographia* is part of the burgeoning iconic reaction to the execution of the King outlined by Lois Potter.[26] Whilst not physically represented in picture or text, Charles is repeatedly suggested emblematically.

The primary importance of the city, and the very first function of Newcastle, as Gray would have it, was as a bulwark against the savage Scots. The Roman wall was built to keep out the 'barbarous people called Caledonii, or Picts', and when the civilized Romans leave the Britains appeal to the Saxons 'who entered and inhabited Britaine to their ayde against the Picts' (pp. 4, 7). Thus the mainspring in the evolution of what is now the English Anglo–Saxon race is this need to defend against the Scots. The Scots were continually attacking 'the religious houses of this towne, and adjacent, being above forty houses, which hath been dedicated to pious uses' (pp. 6–7). The very walls of the town were built to repel the invasion of the plague of alien Scots:

> The Towne is two miles in circuit, with trenches in the out-side of the Wall, rampered within with earth. The cause that moved them in those dayes to build this great Wall, was the often invasion of the Scots into this place and Country; they were continually infesting and forraigning this Country. (p. 9)

The Scots are evil, foreign and other. They must be expelled and ejected to keep the body politic healthy. The military and religious parallels with the

recent conflict are obvious, and further highlighted by Gray's account of the thieves in the Borders, reivers who are 'all bred up and live by theft' (p. 47). He brings the discussion in to contemporary focus when considering the mercantile gowns of the Aldermen, which had been red until the Scots decided that 'no English in authority, worthy to weare Scarlet but themselves' (p. 30). Gray figures the Scots as 'a mercenary Nation', fighting for any cause; their appropriation of the Aldermen's red underlines this aspect of their character (p. 30). Their military uniform is that of the merchant, they have no loyalty but will fight 'for any Nation for mony' (p. 30). Such attacks on the mercenary aspect of the enemy were common in Royalist propaganda. Abraham Cowley's Simon Blore is drawn to the war by his 'zeale to Plunder', for instance.[27] Royalism constructed allegiance as a duty, something untainted by financial considerations.

Gray highlights the historical importance of the nobility in responding to the Scottish invaders, and bemoans the fact that

> Since the union of both kingdomes, the gentry of this countrey hath given themselves to idleness, luxury and covetousnesse, living not in their own houses, as their ancestors hath done, profusely spending their revenues in other countries, and hath consumed of late their ancient houses. (p. 44)

Gray explicitly dates the dissipation of the nobility to 1603 and the installation of James VI and I as King, uniting the kingdoms. This had the effect of neutralising for a while the Scottish threat. In some ways this is a self–contradictory argument, as it obliquely lays the blame for the recent invasion of the Scots with the house of Stuart. Had James never become King, Charles would not have ruled, but there would also have been no war. However, the passage lays the blame rather more at the feet of an unalert and libertine gentry. The reference to their 'not living in their own houses' recalls Charles's order that the nobility return to the country. The fault is not with the King but with those that should have been supporting him, as has been expressed slightly earlier:

> This towne famous, being a bulwarke against the Scots; all the power of Scotland could never win it, since the walls were built; but of late being assisted by the English, was stormed, our churches and houses defaced, the ornaments of both plundered, and carried away, the crowne of our heads is fallen, woe now unto us, for we have sinned. (p. 38)

Newcastle, and all it represents for Gray, is figured as the state itself, unable to defend itself against internal invasion. Gray deploys the inclusive language of Charles's version of the body politic: 'the crowne of our heads is fallen'. Helgerson's concept that chorographic writings saw the country in local detail does not address adequately what Gray is doing here; this passage mourns such chorography, showing instead with regional detail how the nation state has torn itself apart. Gray's work presents itself as the only way

to respond to such internecine destruction. Concentration upon local issues is the only way to write about the devastation of the recent years. Gray's manipulation of genre means that his work, whilst purporting to be a chorography, in fact leans closer to chronicle. His disruption of the integral elements of that genre reflects the complex cultural renegotiations taking place in the aftermath of the war and the execution of the King. He intertwines popular culture, national identity, inheritance and ancient history in a cultural hybrid that coalesces around the figure of the King.

However, his disruption of genre is not radical. He does not disrupt in order to refute authority or structure. Instead, the model is of cultural variety within a physical and conceptual space of allegiance. As Charles himself considered,

> It is no new thing among so many wise men to have severall and farre different conceptions; yet none unrepugnant to reason, or dissentions from truth; as in the severall parts and dimensions of the body the limbs move severall wayes, but all to one end.[28]

The body of state, the spatial extent of Charles's dominions, is multi-discoursed and full of a variety of opinion. However, this is subjugated and subject to the 'one end', the government and authority of the monarch. The healthy and necessary discussions of his subjects are firmly placed within the configuration ordained by the King, who re-emphasises his role as the chair and head of the body of debate – whether Parliamentary, courtly, or nation-wide. Local difference is irrelevant: Royalist identity is formed through fundamental understanding of relationship to the monarch. Gray refutes recent Parliamentary histories, instead reaching back into the past to emphasize genealogical longevity and continuity. He recasts Newcastle as a beacon of a regional Royalism. He reconstructs a version of national identity by creating and using a new and hybrid genre; in doing so he emphasizes that Royalist writers are not emasculated by recent events. In fact, their duty is to create anew, to reject the reality and truth they have been presented with, and to use the stability of the past to look to the future.

University College, Dublin JEROME de GROOT

Notes

I am grateful to the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, for a fellowship during the summer of 2002 which enabled me to research this article.

1 *Chorographia, or a survey of Newcastle upon Tine* (Newcastle: Printed by S.B., 1649).
2 Houghton Library, Harvard, Eng. fMS 645, p. 29, lines 1–9.
3 *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 133.

4 *An Ordinance concerning the city of Newcastle* ([London, 1642]).
5 *A True experimentall and exact relation upon that famous and renowned Siege of Newcastle* (Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Bryson, 1645).
6 *A True Relation Of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army, Sent from his Excellency the Lord General Lesley's Quarters before Newcastle the 8th of Febr 1643* (London: Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church–yard, 1643).
7 For detailed biographical information on Bulkley, see William K. Sessions, *Bulkley and Broad, White and Wayt* (York: Ebor Press, 1986), pp. 5–38.
8 Monday 11 November, *Moderate Intelligencer* 88 (Thursday 5 – 12 November 1646).
9 His name does not appear in the lists of those who negotiated with the Scots or who were members of the Common Council between 1642 and 1644, Newcastle Common Council Book 1636–56, Tyne and Wear Record Office, MD/NC/1/1.
10 *The Kingdome of England & Principality of Wales, Exactly Described With euery Sheere, & the small townes in euery one of them, in Sixe Mappes, Portable for euery Mans Pocket. Usefull for all Comanders for Quarteringe of Souldiers, & all sorts of Persons, that would be informed, Where the Armies be* ([London, 1644] Sold by Thomas Ienner at the South entrance of y[e] Exhange, W: Hollar fecit).
11 See Katherine S. Van Eerde, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Delineator of His Time* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), for a detailed discussion of these maps. Sir George Fordham argues that the maps were copied wholesale from Christopher Saxton's maps of England and Wales (1580–4), 'A Note on the "Quartermaster's map", 1644', *The Geographical Journal* (1927), 50–52. A copy in Lincoln College Library, Oxford, callmark EN.7, contains contemporary MS notes relating to various sieges and battles fought between the summer of 1643 and 1646, indicating that the maps were used to trace the progress of the war.
12 Ann Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament and the localities during the English Civil War', in *The English Civil War*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Arnold, 1997), pp. 261–87 (p. 265).
13 *The Kings Maiesties Speech, As It was delivred the second of November before the University and City of Oxford* (first printed at Oxford, and now re-printed at London, 1642), p. 3.
14 Ann Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament and the localities during the English Civil War', p. 262.
15 *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 187.
16 Specifically Gloucester and Worcester; Oxford, Northampton, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Kent also received official commands and directions.
17 *A Proclamation of His Majesties Grace, Favour, and Pardon, to the Inhabitants of His County of Wilts* ([Leonard Lichfield, 1642]).
18 For the complexities of urban localism, see the Introduction to *The Reformation in English Towns,* ed. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1998) or Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and the Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); for general discussion relating to the problems posed by local allegiance, see J. S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630–1650* (London: Longman, 1976).

19 Text cited from Brendan O Hehir, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of Sir John Denham's Coopers Hill* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

20 John Denham, *Coopers Hill* (1643 text), lines 28–48.

21 For an extensive discussion of this model, see *Forms of Nationhood*, pp. 132–4.

22 'National and International Knowledge: the Limits of the Histories of Nations', in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, ed. Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London: Routlege, 2000), pp. 106–20 (p. 113).

23 For the dubious attribution of this poem to Jonson, see *The Complete Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925–52), VII, 443.

24 'The Garter exemplified the courtly culture of chivalry and piety, manliness and chastity', Kevin Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England: Essays and Studies* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), p. 158.

25 For instance, the 1643 portrait of the Prince of Wales by William Dobson (Scottish Portrait Gallery).

26 See *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially the chapter on *Eikon Basilike*.

27 *The Civil War*, II, 443, quoted from Allan Pritchard's edition of the poem in *The Collected Works of Abraham Cowley*, 6 volumes (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1989), i, 261–91.

28 *His Maiesties Gracious Answer To the Different Opinions of the Earles of Bristol and Dorset concerning Peace and War* (First Printed at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, and now reprinted at London for John Rivers [1642]), p. 3.

Address for Correspondence

Dr Jerome de Groot, Room C2 10C, English Department, National University of Ireland, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Republic of Ireland, e-mail: jerome.degroot@ucd.ie