

Divine Division: the Interregnum (1649 to 1660) as Depicted in a Broadside Ballad and an Oil Painting

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***Abstract:** This article considers two contrasting depictions of the Interregnum (1649 to 1660) — a broadside ballad, *The Parliament Routed: / OR, / Here’s a HOUSE to be let (1653)*, and an oil painting, *Charles II’s Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661 (1662)* by Dirk Stoop (c. 1610–1686). Published shortly after the dissolution of the Rump Parliament (20 April 1653), *The Parliament Routed* advocated for Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). Portraying the Rump as an inept, corrupt entity whose dissolution by the heroic Cromwell proved divinely warranted, *The Parliament Routed* elided text, tune, image, and theme, exemplifying the so-called black-letter ballads and contributing, more broadly, to mid-seventeenth-century England’s musical culture of social and political discourse. Meanwhile, painted following the restoration of the monarchy, *Charles II’s Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661* addressed an elite audience, foregrounding the role of art in reinforcing a ruler’s legitimacy, and buttressing a return to the divine right of kings. Despite their evident differences, both artefacts thus proffered propaganda, raising questions of production, dissemination, and reception, and highlighting the Interregnum-era significance of non-martial religio-political contestation.*

On 30 January 1649, King Charles I (1600—1649) ascended a scaffold erected in front of Banqueting House, London.¹ Thereupon, his execution by beheading signalled a constitutional shift, reifying England’s transition from a historical state of monarchy to a nascent republic, and ushering in what would become the approximately eleven-year-long Interregnum (lit. ‘between reigns’ or ‘between kingdoms’). More broadly, the transition proved indicative of the English Civil War, a series of wars — First (1642 to 1646); Second (1648 to 1649); Third (1649 to 1651) —

¹ Mark Parry, *Charles I* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), p. 238.

contesting the nature of England's governance, and aligning, primarily, belligerents representing the Royalist 'Cavaliers' against those of the Parliamentary 'Roundheads'. Emerging, therein, both as a politician (the member for Huntingdon 1628 to 1629; Cambridge 1640 to 1649) and a key figure in the Parliamentarians' New Model Army, Oliver Cromwell (1599—1658) came to epitomise the Roundhead cause.² Following Charles I's execution and the subsequent establishment of the Commonwealth of England, Cromwell's status assured his seats in the so-called Rump Parliament and on the Council of State, a body with executive power for which he served, *pro tempore*, as Lord President.³

Yet, despite his elevated position and the Parliamentarians' constitutional entrenchment, by 1653 Cromwell evidenced discontent. Inhering a personal religiosity forged of Puritan zeal, and having led post-transition military campaigns in Ireland (1649 to 1650), to quell an alliance between the Irish Confederate Catholics and English Royalists, and Scotland (1650 to 1651), to quell support for the then King of Scotland Charles II (1630—1685), Cromwell found in his martial prowess the providence of a particularised God.⁴ Concomitantly, he fostered an increasing disdain towards members of the Rump whom he deemed less conservative, self-protectionist, even nefarious, and hence unwilling to embrace either the army's beneficence or proposed legislation born of religious ardour. Ultimately, as Blair Worden notes, on 20 April 1653 '[m]onths of frustration, disillusionment and despair at last took their toll'.⁵ Leading a group of musketeers into the House of Commons, Cromwell addressed the chamber, stating, according to one account, '[i]t is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place; which ye have dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice. [...] Your country, therefore, calls upon me to cleanse this

² David L. Smith, *Oliver Cromwell: Politics and Religion in the English Revolution, 1640-1658* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 11.

³ J. A. Cannon, 'Council of State, 1649–60', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by Robert Crowcroft and John Cannon, 2nd edn (Oxford Reference Online), <<https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780199677832.001.0001/acref-9780199677832-e-1150>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

⁴ UK Parliament, 'The Rump dissolved', <<https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/civilwar/overview/rump-dissolved/>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

⁵ Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament 1648-53* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 335.

Augean stable, by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this house; and which, by God's help and the strength he hath given me, I am now come to do'.⁶ The chamber was thence cleared and the Rump dissolved.

Published shortly thereafter (c. 3 June),⁷ a broadside ballad titled *The Parliament Routed: / OR, / Here's a HOUSE to be let* captured the event (see Figure 1). Portraying the Rump as an inept, corrupt entity whose dissolution by the heroic Cromwell proved divinely warranted, the ballad duly opined:

Let's pray for the General and all his brave Train,
He may be an Instrument for England's blessing,
Appointed in Heaven to free us again,
For this is the way of our Burdens redressing⁸

Printed on one side of a single, 'broad' sheet of paper,⁹ *The Parliament Routed* featured text (verse) set in black-letter type, an accompanying common tune title ('*Lucina: OR, Merrily and cherrily*' [*sic*]), and three woodcut illustrations. Both the use of black-letter, rather than roman, type and the inclusion of woodcut illustrations exemplified works comprising the so-called black-letter ballads, an aesthetic grouping whose predominance in England extended from the 1620s until c. 1700, and thereby coincided with the broadside ballad's heyday.¹⁰ After this time, as Samuel

⁶ Quoted in Francis Wrangham, *The British Plutarch: Containing the Lives of the Most Eminent Statesmen, Patriots, Divines, Warriors, Philosophers, Poets, and Artists, of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Present Time*, 8 vols (London: J. Mawman, 1816), III (1816), pp. 287—88.

⁷ Percy Society, *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages*, 29 vols (London: T. Richards, 1840—52), III (1841), p. 126.

⁸ English Broadside Ballad Archive, 'EBBA 35008 - Text transcription', <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35008/xml>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

⁹ Eric Nebeker, 'Ballad Sheet Sizes', English Broadside Ballad Archive (2007), <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/sheet-sizes>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

¹⁰ Patricia Fumerton and others, 'Vexed Impressions: Towards a Digital Archive of Broadside Ballad Illustrations', in *Digitizing Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. by Brent Nelson and Melissa Terras (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2012), pp. 259—87 (p. 261).

Pepys (1633—1703) later lamented, ‘the Form... of the Black Letter with Pictures [*sic*], seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Pictures’.¹¹

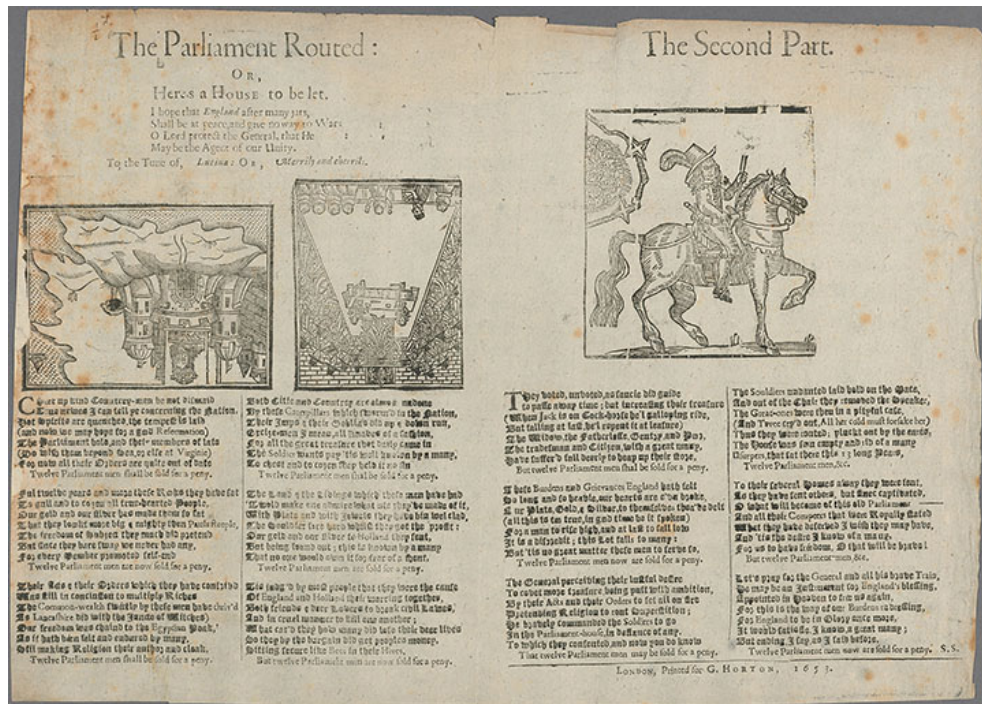


Figure 1. *The Parliament Routed: / OR, / Here's a HOUSE to be let*, 1653, Houghton Library, EBB65. Image courtesy of English Broadside Ballad Archive.

Fundamentally, broadside ballad production represented group endeavour encompassing several roles — a ballad author, a woodblock carver, a printer, and a publisher, with the latter two roles potentially being undertaken by the same person. Of those individuals involved in *The Parliament Routed's* production, varying insights may be gleaned. First, proving elusive, neither the woodblock carver nor printer are identifiable. Second, more fruitfully, the initials ‘S. S.’, which append the verse, likely signify Samuel Smithson, an author known to commonly utilise such a signature and one whom the scholar Hyder E. Rollins deemed to be amongst ‘the most important ballad-writers in London’.¹² Finally, of particular interest, is the identification of the publisher. Because whilst, as Carl Stahmer notes, seventeenth-century English broadside ballads typically included ‘incomplete

¹¹ Samuel Pepys, *My Collection of Ballads, Vol. I.* (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.), Front Matter <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32621/image>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

¹² Hyder E. Rollins, ‘Martin Parker: Additional Notes’, *Modern Philology*, 19.1 (1921), 77—81 (p. 78).

or no information regarding the printer and/or publisher’ and ‘no imprinted publication date’,¹³ in the case of *The Parliament Routed* there featured an imprint at the end of the ballad sheet reading: ‘LONDON, Printed for G. HORTON, 1653’. A later reference work produced by the Bibliographic Society offered greater biographical detail, listing: ‘HORTON (GEORGE), bookseller in London... 1647-60. Publisher of political pamphlets and news-sheets’.¹⁴

In turn, an analysis of other publications pertaining to George Horton reveals a pattern. In 1653 alone, Horton published multiple works either mentioning Cromwell in a deferential manner, for example when announcing ‘his Excellency the Lord Gen.’,¹⁵ or serving as (official) records of Cromwell’s activities, for example *The Articles Signed by His Highness Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on Friday the 16. of December, 1653*.¹⁶ *The Parliament Routed* therefore constituted part of a broader association between (Horton’s) print and (Cromwell’s) politics, and one emblematic of an age in which polemic and propaganda frequented popular publications. As Jason Peacey notes, ‘the 1640s and 1650s saw not just the print explosion with which we are all now so familiar, as well as a growing concern with the politics of the press and with manipulating opinion, but also the development and exploitation of sophisticated propaganda techniques, and the development of new kinds of relationships between authors and politicians’.¹⁷ For his part, Cromwell leveraged print thoroughly, exerting control, during the Interregnum, over both the army press and several stationers appointed in an official capacity to

¹³ Carl G. Stahmer, ‘Digital Analytical Bibliography: Ballad Sheet Forensics, Preservation, and the Digital Archive’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 263—78 (p. 267).

¹⁴ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1907), p. 101.

¹⁵ *Propositions for Peace, Presented to the High and Mighty States of Holland, by the Subjects of the Netherlands, for a Cessation of All Hostility, and an Accommodation with His Excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwel, and the Present Power in England* (London: G. Horton, 1653).

¹⁶ Oliver Cromwell, *The Articles Signed by His Highness Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on Friday the 16. of December, 1653: in Presence of the Judges, Barons of the Exchequer, and the Lord Major and Court of Aldermen, in the Chancery Court in Westminster-Hall* (London: G. Horton, 1653).

¹⁷ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 27.

serve the Commonwealth.¹⁸ Concurrently, Royalists engaged in similar practices, producing counter-publications including *The Complete Hypocrite, or a Lively Portraiture of Olliver Cromwell & the Rebell Army*.¹⁹

Thus undergirded by commercial and propagandist political interests, *The Parliament Routed* constituted one of many such cheap, ephemeral single-sheet publications²⁰ which embedded themselves within mid-seventeenth-century England's musical and societal culture.²¹ Featuring myriad topics — not least, 'Fashions, Fictions, Fellowies [*sic*], Fooleries'²² — and comprising elements — text, tune, image, theme — intended to be variably performed, read, viewed, or considered, broadside ballads enjoyed significant audience appeal.²³ Notably therein, woodcut illustrations, once dismissed by scholars who proclaimed them 'neither illustrative nor decorative in the conventional sense',²⁴ have today been reframed as integral constituents of a multimedia broadside ballad object.²⁵ Serving in part, to borrow Theodore Barrow's phrase, 'as narrative devices for the unlettered',²⁶ so too woodcut illustrations were appropriated 'again and again' by printers as 'substantiation, counterpoint, or mockery of the ballad's text or tune',²⁷ consequently

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁹ See P. D. Record, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895—1953), VII (1953), p. 113.

²⁰ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 11—12.

²¹ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 227.

²² Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *A Courtly Masque: The Deuice called, The World tost at Tennis* (London: George Purslowe, 1620), p. 6.

²³ Sarah F. Williams, *Damnably Practises: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 1.

²⁴ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. x.

²⁵ Patricia Fumerton, 'Why The Broadside Ballad?', in *The Making of a Broadside Ballad*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Andrew Griffin, and Carl G. Stahmer (Santa Barbara: The EMC Imprint, 2016), <<http://press.emcimprint.english.ucsb.edu/the-making-of-a-broadside-ballad/why-broadside-ballads>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

²⁶ Theodore Barrow, 'From "The Easter Wedding" to "The Frantick Lover": The Repeated Woodcut and Its Shifting Roles', in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 219—39 (p. 220).

²⁷ English Broadside Ballad Archive, *NEH 5: Collections and Resources Grant Proposal (for 2014-2016)*, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/content/2014_NEH_Proposal.pdf> [accessed 15 February 2022].

forging internal relationships between ballad elements, familial relationships with past ballads, and external relationships between printers and audiences.

Here, *The Parliament Routed* proved unusual, perhaps even unique, in displaying two of its three woodcut illustrations upside down. However, whilst in isolation such an irregularity may have indicated a printing error, an alternative edition of *The Parliament Routed*, now housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University (see Table 1), suggests otherwise. Utilising only two woodcuts in total, and favouring designs which differed from those of the Houghton edition, the Beinecke edition nevertheless still inverted its primary illustration. Situated contextually, these visual rotations propose a compelling narrative. Regarding the Houghton edition's two images, in the first, Charles I's conspicuous head sits atop a grand building. Having previously served to illustrate Charles's imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight,²⁸ the woodcut as shown in the Houghton edition evidenced modification, with the building now likely intended to represent the Palace of Whitehall. Meanwhile in the second image, Charles stands trial in Westminster Hall. The illustrations' rotation thus literally upended the king,²⁹ in turn visually reinforcing *The Parliament Routed's* advocacy of Oliver Cromwell and his leading role in, ultimately, realising Charles I's execution.³⁰

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| 1 | Houghton Rare Book Library at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts |
| 2 | Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut |
| 3 | Thomason Tracts Ballads at the British Library in London |
| 4—6 | King's Library (George III) at the British Library in London |

Table 1. Locations of copies of *The Parliament Routed*.

²⁸ *An Ould Ship Called an Exhortation* (1648).

²⁹ English Broadside Ballad Archive, *NEH 5*.

³⁰ Martyn Bennett, *Oliver Cromwell* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 264.

Simultaneously, *The Parliament Routed* encouraged further ‘interactive reading’³¹ via its elision of images depicting events in 1649 with text eulogising events in 1653. Throughout, this temporal manipulation served to establish Cromwell as a legitimate presence within England’s, and indeed Britain’s, ruling past, present, and future. Here the ballad’s subtitle offered a particular curiosity. Proclaiming ‘O Lord protect the General, that He May be the Agent of our Unity’, the subtitle both connoted Cromwell as the General and presented a pun on the term Lord Protector. In so doing, though, it prefigured a role which had yet to exist and one unto which Cromwell would not ascend until 16 December 1653, hence several months after the ballad’s publication. More problematically, according to the politician John Evelyn (1601—1685), the ballad’s publication engendered, as Peacey notes, ‘popular animosity towards MPs [...] because it [*The Parliament Routed*] likened MPs to “caterpillars” who had consumed the nation’s treasure, alleged that members “voted [and] unvoted as fancy did guide”, and argued that “twelve parliament men shall be sold for a penny”’.³²

Thus damning politicians of various religio-political creeds, *The Parliament Routed* reflected Cromwell’s ideological transcendence beyond the ongoing Royalist-Parliamentarian dualism and into the realm of Parliamentarian factionalism.³³ During the succeeding years of the Protectorate (1653—1659) and its associated parliaments — Barebone’s Parliament (1653), First Protectorate Parliament (1654—1655), Second Protectorate Parliament (1656—1658), Third Protectorate Parliament (1659) — the factionalist manipulation of print continued to play out publicly, rendering, as Caroline Boswell notes, ‘streets and marketplaces’, in particular, ‘not just as important, everyday social spaces – but further as sites of cultural and political significance’.³⁴ Following Cromwell’s death in 1658, however, and despite reverential posthumous publications including *The Pourtraiture*

³¹ Kelly Catherine Feinstein-Johnson, ‘Reading Images and Texts: English Broadside Ballads and Visual Culture, 1600-1800’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 2012), p. 35.

³² Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 156.

³³ For further discussion, see, for example, Paul Lay, *Providence Lost: The Rise and Fall of Cromwell’s Protectorate* (London: Head of Zeus, 2020).

³⁴ Caroline Boswell, *Disaffection and Everyday Life in Interregnum England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), p. 70.

of His Royal Highness, Oliver Late Lord Protector &c.,³⁵ Parliamentary printed predominance weakened. As Boswell suggests, ‘[i]n scattering libels, singing bawdy ballads, burning rumps and desecrating other symbols of parliamentary authority, various interests intersected in the streets and marketplaces to dismantle the legitimacy of the republican experiment’.³⁶ Concurrently, the ineffectiveness of Cromwell’s son, Richard (1626—1712), as the new Lord Protector compounded the country’s constitutional destabilisation, with the scion being effectively forced to renounce his position on 25 May 1659.

Only one year later, on 29 May 1660, Charles II, having formerly taken exile abroad, returned to London, ‘instigating’, as Martyn Bennett notes, ‘the Restoration of the monarchy and the reshaping of post-revolutionary Britain’.³⁷ In actuality, Charles’s return owed its realisation to the Declaration of Breda, a ‘Letter, with a Declaration inclosed therein’³⁸ which had been previously delivered to Parliament on 1 May. Portraying Charles as an agent of compromise and compassion, the documents nevertheless presented the notion of the divine right of kings as an immutable fact rather than a matter of debate. Adopting a direct tone, the Declaration first proclaimed ‘Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.’, before noting ‘that, as We can never give over the Hope in good Time to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made Our Due; so We do make it Our Daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in Compassion to Us and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit and put Us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that Our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to Our People as is possible’.³⁹

³⁵ Henry Dawbeny, *The Pourtraiture of His Royal Highness, Oliver Late Lord Protector &c. in His Life and Death: With a Short View of His Government, as Also a Description of His Standing and Lying in State at Somerset-House, and the Manner of His Funeral Solemnity on Tuesday November 23* (London: T. N. for Edward Thomas, 1659).

³⁶ Boswell, p. 70.

³⁷ Bennett, p. 263.

³⁸ ‘Die Martis, videlicet, primo die Maii’, *Journals of the House of Lords 1660-1666*, 11 (1660), 6—9 (p. 7), <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol11/pp6-9>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Both the Letter and Declaration also stated as their date ‘the Twelfth Year of Our Reign’,⁴⁰ hence claiming a royal continuum for Charles II which extended from the earlier reign of his father, Charles I. By extension, nowhere did the texts reference terms including ‘commonwealth’, ‘republic’, or ‘Cromwell’. In turn, this eschewing of the Interregnum and forging of a revisionist, Royalist historiography permeated Charles II’s broader self-imaging, manifesting substantially in the form of art. Painted in 1662 by Dirk Stoop (c. 1610—1686),⁴¹ *Charles II’s Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661* captured the procession preceding Charles II’s coronation (see Figure 2). A grand event, the procession, as Olivia Fryman notes, travelled ‘from the Tower of London to the Palace of Westminster, covering five miles and passing under four great triumphal arches, decorated with iconographies that glorified the Restoration and the king’.⁴² Throughout, opulence abounded, an aspect not lost on observers including the writer and gardener John Evelyn (1620—1706) who recorded in his diary: ‘This magnificent train on horseback, as rich as embroidery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver, and jewels could make them and their prancing horses, proceeded through the streets strewed with flowers, houses hung with rich tapestry, windows and balconies full of ladies, [...] the fountains running wine, bells ringing’.⁴³

Whilst the precise path via which Stoop came to paint the procession remains unknown, it appears probable to have originated from his association with the Portuguese princess, and later Queen of England, Ireland, and Scotland, Catherine of Braganza (1638—1705).⁴⁴ Her marriage to Charles II having been prearranged, Catherine left Portugal for England in late April 1662, subsequently arriving on 14 May.⁴⁵ In turn, Stoop, who ‘came to England in the suite of Katharine de Braganza,

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 7, 8.

⁴¹ Also known by names including Dirck. See RKD, ‘Dirk Stoop’, <<https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/75488>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

⁴² Olivia Fryman, ‘Coronation & Ceremony’, in *Charles II: Art & Power*, ed. by Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017), pp. 54—107 (p. 56).

⁴³ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray, 2 vols (London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), I (1901), p. 344.

⁴⁴ Reigned from 1662 to 1685.

⁴⁵ S. M. Wynne, ‘Catherine [Catherine of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta de Bragança]’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford Reference Online), <<https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/ref:odnb/4894>> [accessed 15 February 2022].

in the capacity of Court Painter⁴⁶ feasibly took passage on the same ship. If true, however, a timeline emerges in which Stoop would not have arrived in England until more than one year after the coronation procession had occurred. Therefore, rather than depicting first-hand observation, Stoop's painting could be logically assumed to have combined second-hand accounts and artistic invention, underpinned by the desire to attain regal approval. But from where might Stoop have attained the necessary accounts?



Figure 2. Dirk Stoop, *Charles II's Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661*, 1662, oil on canvas, 202.5 × 66.8 cm, Museum of London. Image courtesy of Museum of London.

Compositionally, the painting invited comparison with contemporary etchings of the procession produced by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607—1677) to accompany John Ogilby's (1600—1676) 1662 work *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in His Passage Through the City of London to His Coronation* (see Figure 3).⁴⁷ A prolific engraver, committed Royalist, and prior collaborator of Ogilby's,⁴⁸ Hollar extended his creation across twenty horizontal panels, incorporating elements, particularly regarding the depiction of the king and surrounding individuals

⁴⁶ Samuel Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S.: Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II and James II, Volume 4*, ed. by John Smith and Richard Lord Braybrooke, 5th edn (London: Henry Colburn, 1854), p. 333.

⁴⁷ John Ogilby, *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in His Passage Through the City of London to His Coronation Containing an Exact Account of the Whole Solemnity, the Triumphal Arches, and Cavalcade, Delineated in Sculpture, the Speeches and Impresses Illustrated from Antiquity: to These is Added, a Brief Narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation: with His Magnificent Proceeding, and Royal Feast in Westminster-Hall* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1662).

⁴⁸ See, for example, John Ogilby, *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro: Translated, Adorned with Sculpture, and illustrated with Annotations* (London: Thomas Warren, 1654).

— gentlemen pensioners, equerries, and yeoman of the guard — whose studied similarity seemed to recur conspicuously in Stoop’s painting.⁴⁹ Yet where Hollar afforded the rows of participants equal measure, Stoop’s snaking train instilled both a sense of hierarchy and perspective. Additionally, rather than utilising either an empty background, like Hollar, or the ceremonial landscape of London, Stoop situated the procession amidst a hardened plateau, broken only by the four triumphal arches and evincing a liminal sense of the biblical and the battlefield.

More broadly, Stoop’s painting complemented, to quote Rufus Bird, Charles II’s encouragement of a ‘particular brand of visual culture’, wherein ‘iconography [served] to glorify his reign and magnify his achievements, with the aim of reinforcing his own authority’.⁵⁰ Concurrently, as Deborah Clarke suggests, Charles II ‘exercised control over images of himself that were painted and circulated, and commissioned portraits of people at court’, so too appointing artists who ‘decorated his palaces, recorded his buildings and depicted important events’.⁵¹ Certainly, Stoop’s painting of the procession captured one such ‘important event’, although whether, in his primary role as court painter to Catherine, Stoop nonetheless received direction from Charles II remains unclear. Regardless, the nature of the work implied conformity to the overarching Carolean narrative of regal supremacy and continuity. In so doing, it immortalised in idealised form a moment whose grand theatricality sought to dispel any lingering memory of the Interregnum. Indeed, as George Savile, 1st Marquis of Halifax (1633—1695) later commented, ‘A king that discourages ceremony, is like the carpenter that sawd [*sic*] off the pieces of timber upon which he stood’.⁵²

Despite their evident differences, both *The Parliament Routed* and *Charles II’s Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661* thus proffered propaganda, centralising questions of

⁴⁹ For discussion regarding editions of *The Entertainment* see Fredson Bowers, ‘Ogilby’s Coronation *Entertainment* (1661-1689): Editions and Issues’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 47.4 (1953), 339—55.

⁵⁰ Rufus Bird, ‘Introduction’, in *Charles II: Art & Power*, ed. by Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017), pp. 10—19 (p. 14).

⁵¹ Deborah Clarke, ‘Painters at Court’, in *Charles II: Art & Power*, ed. by Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017), pp. 108—81 (p. 109).

⁵² George Savile, *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, ed. by Mark N. Brown, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), III (1989), p. 67.



Figure 3. Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Cavalcade or His Maiesties Passing Through the City of London Towards His Coronation*, panel 20, detail, 1662, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

production, dissemination, and reception, and highlighting the Interregnum-era significance of non-martial religio-political contestation. Exemplifying, on the one hand, two discrete modes of communication, the artefacts nevertheless embraced meaning-making predicated upon a common, albeit personalised, perception of divinity as residing within and directing the agency of select individuals — Cromwell and Charles II, respectively. Concurrently, each artefact could more specifically be read as buttressing the notion of the transference, or perhaps ceding, of divine (ruling) power, with, intriguingly, the recipients' direct forebear, in both instances, being Charles I. Ultimately, *The Parliament Routed* and *Charles II's Cavalcade Through the City of London, 22 April 1661* illuminated the protean applicability of divinity and division to mid-seventeenth-century England's mediated discourse, whether addressing the Interregnum explicitly or resounding with its implicit absence.

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