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EMA for A329: The Making of Welsh History

'Poor Taffy' – Satirical Print of the Welsh during the English Civil War

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Early English Books Online (EEBO)

Welsh English (WE)

'Poor Taffy' – Satirical Print of the Welsh during the English Civil War

Introduction

'O Taffy, O Taffy; Her will weep to goats and sheep, O do not laugh, ye…' (Phillips, 1874, p. 37) is a small extract of some of the satirical print which was produced mocking the Welsh during the English Civil War. This example is from a pamphlet titled *The Welshman's Public Recantation* (1642), one of many which emerged in London during the 1640s. When war broke out in 1642 most of Wales, bar the southern half of Pembrokeshire, declared support for King Charles I and Wales became a central place for raising money and enlisting recruits for the Royalist cause; permitting the king to appoint three noblemen as lieutenant-generals to govern and lead the military operations in Wales (Plant, 2012). Charles I definitely commended Wales in their support for him, declaring in 1643 that he had the greatest confidence 'in his subjectes of Wales… [because they] hath made such demonstration of their loyalty as noe parte of any of his kingdoms hath done' (Stoyle, 2005, p.12). Nevertheless, despite the Welsh people's best efforts, they acquired a very negative image in the eyes of the Parliamentarians, led by Oliver Cromwell who began an undesirable campaign against them. Wales became truly despised by the Parliamentarians once they announced their support for the king, with one pamphleteer stating that the Welsh had 'done their best…to destroy the three kingdoms' (Stoyle, 2005, p.11).

This hostile treatment of the Welsh was predominantly displayed in the form of print, where the Parliamentarian pamphleteers drew on old Welsh stereotypes which had been around for centuries, and the 'alleged' Welsh embarrassments in the Civil War battles to concoct their propaganda (Bowen, 2004, p.359). The main Parliamentarian pamphlet, *Mercurius Brittanicus* started producing an array of satirical print in London starting in late 1641 (Brownlees, 2009, p.10). Between January 1642 and May 1643 seventeen pamphlets were created attacking the Welsh (Bowen, 2004, p.362) – far more than any other non-English group received. The pamphleteers aim was to ridicule the Welsh and portray them as ignorant, stupid and backwards. The print produced normally contained mocking images and poems,

often playing on the name 'Taffy', as a negative stance on St David and to name the Welsh as thieves (Lord, 1995, p.34).

This dissertation will explore some of the satirical print published during the English Civil War; as well as analysing the more popular print which was produced, it will also delve into looking at the less addressed print, examining if these influence our understanding of how the Welsh were portrayed. Focus will also be spent on looking at grammar and Welsh stereotypes which were 'dragged' back up in the English Civil War propaganda and exploring why Wales was seen as so 'unimportant' during the War. A key, although quite forgotten figure this dissertation will discuss is the Royalist, Archbishop John Williams (1582), the only Welsh person to acquire a personal iconography during the English Civil War (Lord, 1995, p.41). A pamphlet was created of Williams ridiculing his personal life after he was locked up in the Tower of London (Lord, 1995, p.41). We will explore this print, paying close attention to why Williams has been largely overlooked and whether the satire published of him affects our understanding of the Welsh in the English Civil War.

In light of this, the first question this study will discuss in chapter one is - how does the analysis of sources that have been neglected influence our understanding of representations of the Welsh during the English Civil War? This dissertation will explore less addressed print, most of which I have found in Early English Books Online (EEBO) and in John Roland Phillips's book, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales Volume 2* (1874). Attention will then be spent on analysing these and uncovering whether our understanding of the depictions of the Welsh is swayed and if we can discover any different ways the pamphleteers mocked them. These questions will require a close comparison of the primary sources available, to arrive at a conclusion of whether the neglected print influences our perception of representations of the Welsh during the English Civil War.

Furthermore, in chapter three this dissertation will explore what the Parliamentarian's aim was in creating these pamphlets. The Welsh were seen as rather insignificant

during the English Civil War, so why did the pamphleteers satirise them so much? The pamphleteers invested so much attention and effort into producing anti-Welsh material, however the print displayed them as useless and deceitful. With this in mind, this research will examine the old Welsh stereotypes and the 'Taffy' label, with intentions to see why they received so much interest. This dissertation will review the print created in response to some of the Civil War battles, to ascertain why the Welsh obtained such a negative outlook and what the Parliamentarians were trying to achieve in publishing so many pamphlets in this period.

The secondary literature which has been produced on this subject has often been approached quite briefly, mentioning the print culture in regards to the wider theme of the English Civil War. Stoyle's book, *Soldiers and Strangers* (2005) has been an informative source for examining the Welsh dimension of the English Civil War, especially in regards to the various battles they were involved in. It has been important for analysing print which was produced following these battles - to understand the wider picture and the reason behind its production. Lloyd Bowen's article, *Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum* (2004) however has been extremely useful in finding out more about the print culture, and Bowen has certainly filled a gap in analysing the importance of how the Welsh were displayed in the English Civil War. Bowen pays a lot of attention to 'the historical construction of the Welsh image in English minds, and […] how this image came to be politicized by Welsh support for Charles I' (Bowen, 2004, p. 358). Conversely, this dissertation will aim to closely analyse the primary sources, relating them to the further questions and stereotypes mentioned previously. The questions this study will focus on are valuable and will assess something which has not been examined before in regards to closely engrossing itself in some of the less popular print which was produced -filling a gap in the current historiography.

Archbishop John Williams, who will be discussed in chapter two has been widely overlooked in the literature produced regarding the print culture of the Welsh during the English Civil War. Peter Lord's book, *Words with Pictures* (1995) is the only reference I have found of the two pamphlets made mocking his downfall after being

locked in the Tower of London, proving vital for this dissertation. This study will also seek to highlight the importance of purposeful spelling mistakes and grammar used in the print created by the Parliamentarian pamphleteers. Nicholas Brownlees's article, *Welsh English in English Civil War pamphlets* (2009) has proved extremely valuable for thoroughly filtering through the grammar which was used to mock the Welsh. His explanation of the use of 'her' to describe the Welsh - the most prominent feature in Welsh English (WE), (Brownlees, 2009, p. 223) is vital for this dissertation to understand the way the pamphleteers wrote. Collaborating this in-depth approach with the satirical print, this study intends to bring a degree of originality to the discussion of the English Civil War print culture of the Welsh; aiming to examine some sources which have not been analysed in this detailed view before or mentioned in the existing historiography.

This dissertation hopes to shed new light on primary sources which have not been thoroughly analysed before, as well as collaborating these with the purposeful WE grammar which was used and the old Welsh stereotypes. The print culture of the Welsh during the English Civil War is a topic which has not received much attention over the years, and so this study aims to emphasise just how ignorant and backwards the Welsh were portrayed in the War by the Parliamentarians, providing an interesting stance on Wales's involvement in the War. It will also show the obvious xenophobia which was present in the print of the 1640s and how the literature produced only 'fanned the kindling flames of English Cambro-phobia' (Stoyle, 2005, p.20). It is through reviewing the satirical print of the Welsh, specifically the neglected literature, that this study hopes to discover new influences, in regards to our understanding of how the Welsh were represented during the English Civil War.

Chapter 1

Satirical Print of the Welsh

This chapter will explore some of the ridiculing print which portrayed the Welsh from the English Civil War. Focusing on the more neglected print, it will explore the question – how does the analysis of sources that have been neglected influence our understanding of representations of the Welsh during the English Civil War?

The stereotypical Welshman first appeared in English print in the early sixteenth century (Lord, 1995, p.33). Complete with cheese, leeks and a reputation for dishonesty, the woodcut entitled *The Introduction of Knowledge* (1547) provided the first visual image together with satirical print to appear of the Welsh, until the English Civil War propaganda erupted in the 1640s (Lord, 1995, p.37). Literary satire of the Welsh became common practice for the Parliamentarian pamphleteers with Bowen (2004, p.362) commenting that 'Welsh stereotypes (were) being disseminated in the popular sphere with a frequency previously unknown'. The pamphlet trade certainly appealed to the seventeenth century English reader and we know this because the shear amount of print would not have been created if it was not getting read. Pamphlets poured out of London ridiculing the Welsh and it is this print we will analyse throughout this study.

One popular image in the literature created in the 1640s on this topic is *The Welshmans postures* (1643), see Figure 1 below. This image, found easily is incorporated into a lot of the historiography produced of the print culture in the English Civil War, including Lord (1995) and Stoyle (2005). Showing four soldiers dancing and stumbling around with their spears held wrongly, this image personifies what the Parliamentarians wanted the Welsh to be seen as in the English mind. It pictures them as useless at battle, one of the main tactics they wanted to portray of the Royalists, to try and 'drum' up more support for themselves. The accompanying text ridicules the Welsh too, and the use of 'her' is extremely prominent. As Brownlees (2009) adheres to in his article, 'her' is a characteristic feature of WE

used to reflect the Welshman's mental confusion (Brownlee, 2009, p.223). It can also portray the Welsh as feminine – another spin on ridiculing a seventeenth century Welshman's character. It is interesting that the text reads 'in her own Countrey' (1643), referring to the Welsh as being foreigners and portraying them as outsiders to the English Army.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 1. '*The Welshmans Postures'* (1643), found in Stoyle (2005).

A more neglected image of the Welsh created in the English Civil War found in EEBO is titled *The Welshmans publique and hearty Sorrow and Recantation* (1647), see Figure 2 below. This pamphlet was created towards the end of the Civil War and the accompanying text discusses previous battles, how the Welsh acted and what was going to happen when they died. The text reads '…those round pellets hit her in invisible miracu|lous manners […] her Country-men was killed and slaine, and dyed like rotten Muttons, before her could make her Inventories and Wills to aule her loving cou|zens' (1647). The reference to 'her loving couzens' (1647) specifically plays on the supposed incest in Wales and that they had many relations. The text

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shows the Welsh men in battle as bewildered and confused, saying that when they shot a gun 'her was in such a sweat with it, as if it had been St. Taffies day when all her cheeses are set to the fire to roast' (1647). This refers to the many battles the Welsh took part in when the Royalists were defeated and the Welsh made 'her appearances in Kenton, Naseby, and many other Battels, where there was nothing but killing and slaying of all persons' (1647). St Taffies day is referring to St David's Day and the cheese remark is another stereotypical reference of the Welsh. As Stoyle remarks, Charles I's army was 'shattered for ever at the battle of Naseby' (Stoyle, 2005, p. 163) on the 14th June 1645, and that a large proportion of the King's foot soldiers were Welsh. This is why it would have received so much attention from the Parliamentarian pamphleteers – it was an easy target for Welsh humiliation.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 2. '*The Welshmans Publique and hearty Sorrow and Recantation'* (1647), EEBO (2012).

Note how this pamphlet also uses 'her', to add to the feminine character of the skipping Welshman and to squeeze as much downgrading of the Welsh into the print as possible. The figure on the title page is mostly naked, dancing around with no shoes or clothes on - portraying the Welsh as stupid, with a simple disposition. The

mock-Welsh author, 'Shon up Morgan Shentileman' (1647) signifies them all being cousins, as Brownlees explains that 'ap' or 'up' means 'son of' (Brownlee, 2009, p.228) – allowing the pamphlets to ridicule the family lines in Wales, concluding they were all related to each other. The use of a mock-welsh author is very common practice in the Civil War propaganda. Implying that the satirical print was written by a Welsh man, about the Welsh is the ultimate disgrace. The purposeful spelling mistakes and non-standard language are another method to depict the Welsh as stupid and uneducated - a tactic which was heavily exploited by the anti-Welsh pamphleteers.

Figure 2 concludes with a section titled 'The Welsh-mans new Oath' (1647), outlining that the Welsh will never be so stupid to go to battle against the Parliamentarians again and that they are 'hearty sorry that ever her took up Armes against her cood Parliament of England.' (1647). This highlights just how much time was spent concocting the propaganda and how as Bowen comments, the Welsh 'were gullible and simple-minded and that if they had truly understood the king's position they would not have followed him' (Bowen, 2004, p.367). This plays on the simple-mindedness of the Welsh, indicating they were naive and if they had known what the King's position was – they would have never followed him. Like Figure 1, the image in this pamphlet would have sparked interest for the English Seventeenth century reader. However, unlike Figure 1, this pamphlet has been rather neglected by historians who have so far written about the print culture of the English Civil War. One reason to consider could be that the title of Figure 2 is a lot harder to decipher without some background information, requiring a full analysis, whereas *The Welshmans Postures* (1643) speaks volumes with the title alone.

Another layer of ridicule the London pamphleteers used to represent the Welsh was focussed on medicine and the profession of being a doctor. This is print which has been neglected in the historiography, showing a new way the Parliamentarians represented the Welsh – one of which has not been fully explored before. EEBO has a couple of these pamphlets, one of which is titled *The Welsh Doctor: Or, The Welsh man turned Physician, by Shinkin ap Morgan, Professor of te Medicall Arts*

and Sciences (1649). This print was created late in relation to the War, possibly after Cromwell had put the King to death in January 1649 and when as Stoyle remarks 'the patriotic flame that had burst into life…during the Civil War would run out to devour and consume England's neighbours' (Stoyle, 2005, p. 205). Hard feelings were still very much at bay for the Welsh by the Parliamentarians, as this print emphasises. On the title page there is a list of all the ways the Welsh man turned physician can 'cure all diseases in these distracted times of ours' (1649), a few of which are below.

> '6. Her will set all the bones that were broken at our late battells among her cozens, though it were in her necks.
> 7. Her will with her purge and her vomits cleare the stomack of her Church of all her Errors.
> 8. Her will do more admirable cures then her cozens in the Colledge of Phy|sitians can do by her Galen and her Hypocrates; and whereas it is caknown, that her English Doctors kill not above thee quarters of her Patients that come under her hands, her will undertake to kill them all by her excellent receits…' (1649, EEBO)

This portrays how the pamphleteers wanted the Welsh to be characterised, as useless at curing diseases and healing people, a personification for what they were like in battle. The text allows us to see a portrayal of the Welsh as not only stupid and inbred, but also as killers – a new representation which has not been shown by the more popular pamphlets. The line, 'will undertake to kill them all' (1649) is dark satire which seems to have been reserved for later on in the War, far worse than just making fun of the Welshman's posture like the earlier print. Another pamphlet which is about medicine, *The Welsh Physition* (1647) found in EEBO, references the murdering way of the Welsh also, stating that 'her will undertake to kill them all' (1647) when referring to the Welsh physician treating patients. Unlike *The Welsh Doctor* (1649) this pamphlet contains an image on the title page of a stereotypical medical man, with a hat and cloak on. The man also appears to be wearing a Tudor ruffle collar, probably representing the Welsh in their Tudor dynasty roots – the King's supporters were ''Welsh' Tudors, (and) the Welsh were stalwart supporters of

the crown' (Bowen, 2004, p.363). This reference to the Tudor period is a new way the Welsh have been represented by the Parliamentarians, influencing what we already know about the satirical print of the English Civil War. During the Tudor dynasty several Welshmen went far in the political and ecclesiastical office (Lord, 1995, p. 38) and so any excuse to downgrade them and draw on past triumphs to now show the Welshman's downfall, would have been easy pickings for the pamphlet writers in seventeenth century England.

Chapter 2

Archbishop John Williams (1582 – 1650)

The only Welsh person to acquire a personal iconography during the English Civil War was Archbishop John Williams (1582 – 1650), who as Lord comments was the 'antithesis of Poor Taff' (Lord, 1995, p. 41). Born in Aberconwy, Williams was a successful and powerful man, often not portrayed as Welsh when satirised – a suggestion of his status and power. The non-welsh view of him when mocked shows that he was respected and was not in the same bracket as the stupid and obsessed with cheese stereotypical 1640s Welsh man. Williams was a Royalist and gained his title Archbishop of York when he supported the King in Yorkshire in 1642, later going on to spend the last few years of his life back in North Wales (St John's College Cambridge, 2017). This chapter will look at two of the pamphlets which mocked him, created during the English Civil War.

Williams first appeared in a pamphlet entitled *The Bishops Last Goodnight* (1641) in a supporting role to Archbishop Laud (1573), the religious advisor to King Charles I (Lord, 1995, p.41). Two images appear on the front of this pamphlet ridiculing the anti-Puritan view Laud had, (Pennington, 2018) and which Williams eventually joined in with, when he was engaged in the House of Lords to try and accomplish a measure of Church reform earlier that year (Lord, 1995, p. 41). The wording at the top of the pamphlet reads, 'Where Popery and innovations doe begin There Treafon will be degrees come in' (1641) showing the hatred the pamphleteers bestowed upon anyone challenging the Puritan faith and who, as the pamphleteers implied, were endorsing the Catholic faith. They were suggesting that treason was the outcome of such behaviour and Williams later got imprisoned in the Tower of London by Parliament with eleven colleagues until May 1642, after he made a complaint about his treatment from the London mob to the House of Lords (Lord, 1995, p. 41).

The Decoy Duck together with the Knot in the Dragons Tayle (1642) illustrates this ill-fated turn of events in three images, shown below in Figure 3. There is also

another image of Williams on the second to last page of the pamphlet in the form of a dragon with seven heads (1642, EEBO). The dragon is associated with the symbol of Wales to ridicule the Welsh image, with the Seven heads signifying the Devil. The word 'Apocriphe' (1642), written on the dragon's body refers to a group of fifteen books not found in the Protestant version of the Old Testament in the Bible, but were included in the Roman Catholic edition, of which the writings are seen to have doubtful authenticity (The Free Dictionary, 2003-2018). This implies that Williams was a liar and a Catholic one at that – referencing his anti-Puritan views. Throughout the previous pamphlets, lying was not a theme that was mentioned, allowing us to see a new way an iconic Welsh man was represented by the London pamphleteers.

IMAGE REDACTED

Figure 3. '*The Decoy Duck together with the discovery of the Knot in the Dragons Tayle' (*1642), EEBO (2013).

The other three images in Figure 3 show the writing of the Protestation, the Tower of London and a portrayal of Williams and his eleven colleagues seemingly flying out of

a window straight into the Tower with wings attached. They are being represented as ducks and the title '*The Decoy Duck'* (1642) personifies what Williams was shown as by the Parliamentarians – a duck used to lure other ducks into a trap. Williams was shown as the ringleader in this pamphlet, luring all the other 'ducks' to their fate in the Tower of London.

Wenceslas Hollar, a Prague born artist who took an active part in the War for the Royalist side engraved a portrait of Williams in 1642. Shown wearing his ecclesiastical vestments with the Aberconwy landscape and Conwy castle in the background, Williams is pictured with a rifle to show his many abilities in this period (Lord, 1995, p. 42). A ballad was then written in 1642 about Williams, seemingly as Lord comments, the first 'Welshification of a living individual for the purpose of political satire' published (Lord, 1995, p. 42). This ballad was accompanied with an illustration playing on Hollar's portrait, replacing the landscape with William's warhorse and his cathedral accompanied by a Judge (Lord, 1995, p. 42). This was created in the same year as Figure 3 and shows just how much effort was put into mocking Archbishop Williams and his downfall. It is also interesting how this representation was taken from an original serious portrait and not concocted by the writer like most of the other print produced during the English Civil War.

Williams's place in the English Civil war resulted in him swapping sides to support the Parliamentarians, after he was ejected from Conwy Castle in 1645. He joined forces with them to take back the Castle on 10 November 1646 which was celebrated in yet more pamphlets, including *The Welsh-Mans Propositions* (Lord, 1995, p. 42), amongst others. Considering Archbishop Williams was the first Welsh man to be represented as Welsh for political satire, as well as being the only Welsh person to acquire a personal depiction during the War, it is still a question as to why he has been widely neglected in the historiography. The satirical print created about him allows us to see views of the time and what the people on the streets of London were reading in the 1640s, regarding what would have been for them - a turbulent 'celebrity'.

Chapter 3

Wales as the 'other' during the English Civil War

This chapter will focus on why Wales was seen as unimportant and as the 'other' during the War, yet why so much print was created to mock them. It will look at the Parliamentarians aim in creating these pamphlets and will analyse print in regards to the Civil War battles, the purposeful Welsh English (WE) and the Welsh stereotypes which appeared throughout the satirical propaganda.

The Parliamentarian pamphlets sold well and appealed to the English, which we can see from the large amount which were published. As Bowen comments, 'these publications were tailored for a wide and genuinely popular audience' (2004, p. 363), showing the anti-Welsh feelings were wide spread in England. It was possibly the Welsh support for the King which drove the pamphleteers to create so much material, or the hard feelings from the Welsh Tudor monarchy. The foreignness of the Welsh would not have helped their cause either with their language an area of ridicule open to the Parliamentarians. As Stoyle remarks, 'it was the survival of the Welsh language […] which served to set Wales apart' (2005, p. 14). This would have meant that an everyday Welshman would possibly not have understood fully what was being written about them in the pamphlets, although they would have known that they were derogatory. One of the Parliamentarian's aim in creating the pamphlets would have been to generate an identity of the Welsh as stupid and useless, to try and draw support away from potential recruits joining the Royalist Army. Why would anyone join sides with the King when he recruited so many inadequate soldiers from Wales? The idea of Wales as a separate nation was widespread in the propaganda, with the Welshman's national identity and political position a potentially threatening prospect to the King's rival Army. Nevertheless, they targeted this by displaying the Welsh as foolish and dim, with national stereotypes returning, driven with enthusiasm like never before.

The Welsh were often viewed as the true 'Britons', tracing back from a myth perpetuated by Geoffrey of Monmouth - they were commonly seen as the original inhabitants of the island (Bowen, 2004, p. 361). As Bowen comments, this 'image placed the Welsh on a much more elevated plane' (2004, p. 361) than their depiction in some theatre productions during the sixteenth century, such as Fluellan in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (Brownlees, 2009, p. 211). The Parliamentarian pamphleteers used the WE spelling of 'Prittish' for British, undermining the Welsh's pretences of being the true Britons and by questioning how they could claim a country for themselves if they cannot even pronounce or spell its name correctly (Brownlees, 2009, p. 217). This was part of the pamphleteer's intention to show them as deficient in English with a lack of education. A Pamphlet entitled *News from Wales* (1642) found in Brownlees's (2009) article highlights this, saying that the Welsh Parliament will provide extra funds for schooling their children, so that future generations can learn to speak and spell properly.

> 'And because her Parishes are consisting of a few pig houses […] and that
> her Schoolmasters have put poor and peggerly pensions, for her Instructions
> of her shildren, he was therefore in intention to desire her welch parliament to
> give her childs Tutors and Schoolmasters […] so her children may learn to
> make petter Orthographies, than her Fore-fathers…' (*News from Wales*,1642)

The pamphleteers state that correct language usage is essential for these children, to stop them getting ridiculed and mocked like their ancestors - a clever trick to convince the English reader that the Welsh are not only stupid, they are also inflicting this onto their children. The purposeful spelling mistakes feature very prominently - all tactics to portray the Welsh as useless at everything they do and to show the country of Wales as unimportant and insignificant. The national stereotypes which returned also helped spur this feeling on, aiming to make a mockery of Wales and its history.

One of the main Welsh stereotypes which was exploited during the English Civil War revolved around the Welsh man's diet. They were shown as heavily reliant on basic foods, such as leeks and cheese. *The Welch-Mans Complements* (1643) in

Brownlees's article (2009) shows how the Welsh diet consisted of an infinite amount of cheese, 'her shall have […] new sheeze […] old sheeze […] raw sheeze […] roasted sheeze […] stewed cheeze' (1643). Not only does this once again depict the Welsh as simple, it also shows them as humble, having to make do with the same old food again and again. The pamphleteers wrote humorously to sell the pamphlets and provide their readers with entertainment about their 'deprived' Celtic neighbours.

The other tactic of name calling deployed by the Parliamentarians was their use of the label 'Taffy'. The pamphlets were often written by a 'Taffy' or it was included within the text, being the 'name the English gave to all Welshmen, who were invariably the cousin of a cousin of a cousin' (Brownlees, 2009, p. 228). Lord also mentions the Taffy label in his book, saying that it would have been apparent in the streets of seventeenth century London, that Taffy referred to not just an individual Welshman, but to the whole nation, brought out on Saint David's day as a gesture of abuse - 'a bundle of rags' (Lord, 1995, p. 34). In Phillips (1874) Book there is a valuable example of Taffy in *The Welshman's doleful ditty to the Tune of O'home, O'home* (1642). This ballad was written after the Battle of Edgehill (1642) when the Welshman's reputation seemed permanently damaged. The Welsh apparently ran away from the battle, ill-prepared and cowardly, propelling the London press to write new material about the Welshman's failure, based on actual events rather than stereotypes or perceived gossip.

'The guns did so f – t,
made poor Taffy start,
O Taffy, O Taffy;
Her go bare foot,
then so go trot […]
Her go in frieze,
Eat bread and cheese,
O Taffy, O Taffy'
(*The Welshman's doleful ditty to the Tune of O'home, O'home,* 1642)

The above text shows a fragment of the ballad which appears in the pamphlet entitled *The Welshman's Public Recantation, or her hearty sorrow for taking up arms against her Parliament* (1642), a rather neglected pamphlet in the historiography. The repetitive tone of the ballad allows it to be very effective and the rhyming would have made it memorable and catchy. The ballad portrays the Welsh as ineffective for the job, a feminine soldier in the seventeenth century would have been deemed as useless and inept – the same as the Welsh were at Edgehill.

Fleeing from battle seemed to be a reoccurring theme for the Welsh during the English Civil War, according to the Print published at the time. Stoyle (2005) provides a clear account of the events at Tewkesbury in 1642 when according to John Corbet, the Welsh '[fled] out of the towne, hasted over Upton Bridge, and did scarce look back till safe in their own countrey' (Stoyle, 2005, p. 158). John Corbet (1594-1662) was known for pursuing the war against the King and he commented that 'the common people addicted to the Kings service have come out of blinde *Wales*' (MacGillivray, 2012, p. 18). This comment allows us to see the xenophobia which was present during the English Civil War and what serious comments were being made by high up officials rather than the satirical pamphlets. These remarks show us that there could be a lot of discrepancy with the material printed about Wales's involvement in the English Civil War battles and that we must be careful of bias accounts. Phillips's (1874, p. 38-41) book contains *An account of the Defeat at Tewksbury* (1642) which appeared in the pamphlet *True news out of Herefordshire* (1642). This print provides us with a full description of what happened at the battle according to the pamphleteers, with the Welsh being depicted as 'wild Welshmen […] ragged and inexperienced […] very bad firearm […] betook themselves to a shameful flight […] cowardice of the Welshmen' (1642). The actions of the Welsh fleeing the battle could have been true, however, it is difficult to ascertain what the truth is when so much propaganda was written about them during the course of the War. Nevertheless, the opinion amongst the Parliamentarians that the Welsh were inadequate did not seem to sway them from publishing a significant amount of print, all just to portray the Welsh in a negative light and ironically write about how unimportant they were in the English Civil War.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the satirical print which was created of the Welsh during the English Civil War, focussing on some of the more neglected print this study has aimed to discover new ways the Welsh were represented during the War. As this enquiry has proven, the Parliamentarian pamphlets reached new levels of printing to portray the Welsh. As the War continued the pamphleteers aim to publish became greater, and they 'began to launch ever-more brazen attacks upon the principality's inhabitants' (Stoyle, 2005, p. 20) allowing the print to become somewhat darker and more personal. *The Welsh Doctor* (EEBO,1649) has shown this with its reference to death, analysed in chapter one. It seems that the pamphlets got worse through the course of the Civil War because the Parliamentarians knew more about the Welsh and their newly generated failures.

The Welsh were represented as humorous and useless throughout the print, with mocking images being used cleverly to draw the readers eye in. The stereotypes which have been analysed throughout this dissertation have allowed us to see the basis for the text and why the Parliamentarian pamphleteers found it so easy to continue publishing. New ways the Welsh have been represented has been uncovered throughout this study, one of which refers to them being depicted in Tudor dress in the *The Welsh Physition* (EEBO, 1647). This refers to one of the main reasons the Welsh were treated as the 'other' during the English Civil War – their Welsh Tudor roots which began with Henry VII. Another new way a Welsh man was represented during the War was as a liar in Figure 3. Archbishop John Williams, as we have found out was a very important figure during the War and he was labelled as a liar in the above pamphlet. Williams was an actual person amongst the published cartoon images of men, bringing a degree of originality to the print created. He also swapped sides, something which quite a few officials did during the War – allowing us to see how fickle the conflict became.

The hostility between Wales and England seemed to reawaken during the English Civil War and it is clear that the 'pamphlets that had been produced […] persuaded many thousands of people to believe that they were engaged in a quasi-national conflict' (Stoyle, 2005 p. 31). For the English pamphleteers it became a mission to assert dominance over the Welsh and to confirm that Wales was not needed in the War effort, despite their enthusiasm for the King. As chapter three pointed out, many of the English Civil War battles had a detrimental outcome for the Welsh. Battles such as Edgehill and Naseby presented events for an eruption of print to be produced, and as Bowen comments the 'Parliamentarians were handed a stick with which they metaphorically beat the Welsh soldiery time and again during the war' (2004, p. 365).

For the Parliamentarians, the Welsh made it easy for satirical print to be created. They had many old stereotypes promoting mockery, a foreign language, stout support for the King and apparent failures in the battles they fought in. The defeat for the Royalists in 1649 when Charles I was executed was also a defeat for the Welsh in a lot of ways, because they had embraced the cause for many years and Parliament now ruled Britain. The xenophobia of the Welsh appeared to continue after the War ended with both the English Royalists and Parliamentarians adopting a new sense of English patriotism and pride (Stoyle, 2005, p. 205). The satirical ballad below epitomizes what was felt after the War in London 1662 and concludes this dissertation, with the feelings of the English pamphleteers exceptionally plain for all to see, as they advise the foreign nations to ''Make Room!' for:

<div align="center">

The English man is come,

Whose valour

Is taller

Than all [of] Christendome.

The Spanish, French and Dutch,

Scotch, Welch and Irish grutch [that is, grudge]

We fear not,

We care not,

</div>

For we can deal with such.

You thought when we began, in a Civil War, to waste,

Our tillage

Your pillage

Should come home at last:

For when we

Could not agree

You thought to share in our fall;

But ne'er stir Sir,

For first Sir,

We shall noose you all.'

(Stoyle, 2005, p. 205)

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Figure 1 - '*The Welshmans Postures'* (1643), found in Stoyle (2005).

Figure 2 - '*The Welshmans Publique and hearty Sorrow and Recantation'* (1647), Early English Books Online (2012).

Figure 3 - *'The Decoy Duck together with the discovery of the Knot in the Dragons Tayle'* (1642), Early English Books Online (2013).

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