Broadside Love: A Comparison of Reading with Digital Tools versus Deep Knowledge in the Ballads of Samuel Pepys

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Figure 1. "Constance of Cleveland" (Pepys 1:138-39)

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Samuel Pepys, one of the most famous diarists of the seventeenth century, chronicled the restoration of Charles II, the Great Fire of London in 1666, his duties as Secretary of the Admiralty, and, most importantly for this essay, his everyday life in which he attended the theater, had amorous excursions, and often played the lute as he sang the latest ballads. Pepys also collected these broadside ballads, arguably the most popular form of cheap print available. This essay explores the ways in which one portion of the ballads, those having to do with "Love Pleasant" (a category Pepys created and which was the

largest in his collection), deal with the notion of love as typified in cheap print. This comparative analysis will be done through the use of digital tools and slow/deep reading.

I will explore what digital textual analysis brings to the table when dealing with a large, but pre-selected, dataset in which the elements should share many common elements; how false data can be identified and winnowed out if one is just beginning work on broadside ballads; and, finally, what is the best way to interleave digital tools with slow reading.

First some background about broadside ballads, the most ubiquitous and cheapest form of print available in the seventeenth century. As Tessa Watt has calculated, "an absolute minimum of 600,000 ballads [were] circulating in the second half of the sixteenth century" and totals probably reached "between 3 and 4 million" (1993, 11). The price of ballads, usually around a penny, was well within the reach of the working class. Eric Nebeker, in his essay on "The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad," writes of the ballad phenomenon:

... in seventeenth century England, broadside ballads were everywhere. Walk into an alehouse and you would see sheets pasted to the walls—the woodcuts of lords and ladies, shepherds, milkmaids, murderers, lovers, and even murderous lovers vying for your attention. Walk the streets of London and you would see the sheets held up by ballad mongers, with heavily inked black-letter type, waiting to be bought. (2009)

¹ Jan Parker, in his editorial "Digital Humanities, Digital Futures," questions the ways in which the digital can facilitate slow reading as the digital invokes a "dizzying plurality" (2011, 5).

The English Broadside Ballad Archive, housed at the University of California-Santa Barbara and directed by Patricia Fumerton, has taken on digitizing all extant ballads and making them available via a number of modes that facilitate interaction with the digital artifact. A citation, ballad sheet facsimile, facsimile transcription, text transcription, and recording have been made available for each ballad (although color images are not available for all ballads and tunes for some are unknown; please see "The Wanton Wife of Bath" for a ballad available via all of these modes:

http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32447/image).



Figure 2. Home Page of the English Broadside Ballad Archive

According to Richard Luckett, the Head Librarian of the Pepys Library, Samuel Pepys began his collection by purchasing that of John Selden and added to it beginning in the 1660s, but probably did most of his collecting in the 1680s (Luckett 2007). Pepys was a stickler for order and, just as he ran a tight ship as Secretary of the Admiralty, "so he tried to bring a meticulous order to his own constantly and evolving library." In the case of broadside ballads, this meant that he renumbered his collection multiple times to accommodate new additions and reassigned them according to different categories he had devised (Fumerton, 2009).

For those wishing to become familiar with broadside ballads, the Pepys Collection is a good place to start, and EBBA is a digital destination that not only provides access to the ballads but also contains a number of introductory essays with bibliographies for further reading, covering everything from ballad culture to black letter to the pictorial imprints that decorate most ballads. These texts serve as a quick primer for scholars familiar with seventeenth-century culture but who might not be familiar with this type of cheap print. Once a user has acquainted herself with the context of broadside culture, the Pepys collection and its divisions, she can then delve further into the mind of a seventeenth-century ballad collector. Let us begin with Pepys' category "Love Pleasant." Kris McAbee asserts that these are not necessarily "pleasant tales of requited love'" but "rather amiable and good-humored" ballads on the topic. Her essay concludes:

The fact that "Love Pleasant" holds the largest selection of ballads in the collection seems to speak more to the shifting boundaries of Pepys's categorizations than to anything inherent in the ballad that would make it ideal for cataloging under the pleasures of love. In fact, the "pleasant"

nature of the ballads in "Love Pleasant" stems not necessarily from their depiction of successful, happy, or, even pleasing love, but rather from the rather amiable and good-humored tone of the majority of these ballads, even in cases when the ballads depict love—or in many cases, lust—gone awry. Indeed, one of the most commonly repeated phrases in this category is not an exposition on love, but, rather, a self-referential phrase marking the "cream of the jest," or the best part of the joke. (2005)

Because the category is so large, the average user, even if she read the over six hundred ballads in the category, might have trouble focusing on particular trends as specifically played out in the section. However, the category, as Pepys delineated it, was obviously important to him and to the realm of inexpensive print in general. What to focus on then and how to do it?

Almost one-third of the collection of 1,829 ballads, which are divided into ten categories according to topics Pepys created (eleven if one counts the "Promiscuous Supplement"), fall into the category "Love Pleasant," which is the largest category and encompasses about one-third of the entire collection. If one takes into account the categories "Love Unfortunate" and "Marriage" the number rises to 775/1829, or about 43%. The current cataloguing team itself has used the keyword "love" 579 times and sex/sexuality 371 (of course some of these are overlapping). Fumerton has noted that the Pepys collection reflects his passion for both "work and sex" as he collected numerous sea ballads in addition to those about love. With these sea ballads numbering only 97, however interested in sea ballads Pepys was, not nearly as many were available as those concerning love in all its various guises.

EBBA has now archived the British Library's Roxburghe Collection, is currently archiving the ballad holdings of the Huntington Library as well as the Euing Collection at Glasgow Library, and, with the award of a fourth NEH grant, will digitize the Crawford ballads at the National Library of Scotland. I spent four years immersed in this archive as the project manager while the EBBA Team at UC-Santa Barbara worked to transcribe, sing, and mount the archive online—during which time we worked primarily with the Pepys Collection. In this essay, I reflect on what long-term immersion in this set of ballads has led me to believe about this collection, particularly ballads concerning love and how these insights compare to those generated by digital tools. Is there a way to facilitate introduction to new users to the archive with these tools?

By turning to data visualization techniques, I hope to demonstrate the way in which a subjective category, defined by an eccentric seventeenth century collector, upholds McAbee's assertion of "shifting boundaries of Pepys's categorizations." Although they are "shifting," these categories still maintain some internal consistency that might not be apparent when reading the category in a linear, "usual" manner. Northrop Frye (1957) has spoken of "recurring conventional units of literature," and, in "Knowing: Modeling in Literary Studies" (2008), Willard McCarty looks at the work of Jean-Claude Gardin testing Northrop Frye's ideas about conventional units. Here computers are used to see if these units appear when doing a digital interrogation of a text:

Gardin takes what he calls a "scientific" approach to scholarship, which means reduction of scholarly argument to a Turing-machine calculus, then use of simulation to test the strength of arguments.

Frye's interest is in studying the archetypes or "recurring conventional units" of literature; he directs attention to computer modeling techniques as the way to pursue this study.

Similarly, I look at how visualizations of trends in the Pepys "Love Pleasant" ballads lend insight into the collection and may lead to additional higher-level conclusions. The "Love Pleasant" category should contain more than one of Frye's "recurring conventional units" or "pregeneric elements": romance, irony, comedy and tragedy. This mixing of pre-genres will reveal that the selection is based on shifting grounds and expose an evolution in Pepys's thinking about what the term "Love Pleasant" implies as he compiled the collection over several decades.²

Figure 3 uses IBM's Many Eyes Phrase Net to plot the occurrences of all the words in the "Love Pleasant" ballads that are joined with the conjunction "and." Many Eyes recommends "and" as a good exploratory word because it "will often highlight key related concepts," and the OED backs up the cognitive power of this conjunction as "simply connective."

² Books in the Pepys library often have as many as nine different numbers written in and crossed out on their leaves (Nixon quoted in Fumerton, 2005). The ballads fared no better as Pepys rearranged them and rebound them several times (Fumerton, 2005).

³ Phrase Net "creates a network diagram of the words it finds as matches. Two words are connected if they occur in the same phrase. The size of a word is proportional to the number of times it occurs in a match; the thickness of an arrow between words tells you how many times those two words occur in the same phrase. The color of a word indicates whether it is more likely to be found in the first or second slot of a pattern. The darker the word, the more often it appears in the first position." (http://www-958.ibm.com/software/data/cognos/manyeyes/page/Phrase Net.html)



Figure 3. "* and *."

The upper left-hand corner of the figure reveals an expected cluster of words like "fair," "honest," and "constant" as adjectives that appear in the phrase "love and _____."

Similarly, in the upper right of the phrase net "love" connects with "joy," "live," "delight," and "honour." All of these words fit easily into the comic mythos as described by Frye:

What normally happens is that a young man wants a young woman, that his desire is resisted by some opposition, usually paternal, and that near the end of the play some twist in the plot enables the hero to have his will (1957).

While this structure may seem too sophisticated for ditties about love that span only a broadside, by looking at these keywords in context (KWIC), we find that the obstacle is rarely paternal, but is instead the woman herself. She must be persuaded that the suitor really does care for her, hence the laudatory words like "fair," "honest," and "constant." Sometimes this desire is inverted, as in "The Bucksome Lass of Westminster" "Who has two hundred pound to her Portion 'is said: / Any Young-Man may have it if he'll open her hole, / But it lies at New-Castle, and all in Sea-Cole" (Pepys 3:241). However, these ballads are far outnumbered by those in which the suitor is male and spends his time cajoling the object of his affection—whether his object is marriage or sex.

The word "love" itself appears and while "joy," "live," "delight," and "honour" are connected to it, "live" leads to "dye" and "sigh." While the tone of the last two connections is clearly different, these descriptions are still idealized versions of love; thus Frye's grammar of literature is still being borne out by the romantic mode. The bottom right of the figure changes modes to reveal that a number of these ballads might be "amiable" as the words "play," "sport," "kiss," and "laugh" appear in this cluster. Here the mythos of comedy seems a more apt description, but the words that dominate this portion of the net are "grief" and "sorrow." It seems, then, that play and sport then lead to some unpleasant outcomes in the realm of love, and what might be amiable for one party is not for the other.

A common theme, though, is expectations surrounding women.⁴ In fact, the word "coy" occurs 127 times in the category—never in relation to men. "Wench" occurs another 55 times both in positive and negative contexts, while the word "lewd," though not as common, is associated with both the words "strumpet" and "harlot" among its eight hits (Figure 4).

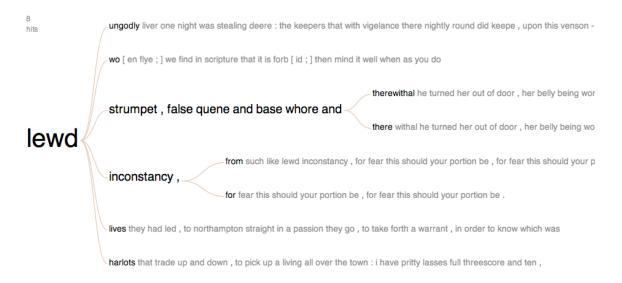


Figure 4. A word tree of the word "lewd" generated by IBM's Many Eyes.

For the sake of immediate discussion, let us focus on the eight uses of the term "lewd" which lend themselves well to a contained analysis. Notice that two are not gender-specific (the "lewd ungodly liver" and those who "lewd lives they had led"); however while the "ungodly liver" does turn out to be a ballad about "murderers and blasphemers" (of the male persuasion, Pepys, 1:232-233v), the people living "lewd lives" turn out to be female ramblers or "the Three Buxome Lasses of Northampton-shire"

⁴ McAbee's essay "Love Pleasant" (2005) discusses this trope via a number of close readings.

(Pepys 3:294). However, when we consider that verso ballads are accidental inclusions in a given category because of the material printed on the recto side, the strange topic of murderers and blasphemers becomes apparent. This is a false hit for "lewd" in the "Love Pleasant" category that requires the reader to have deep knowledge about the manner in which the collection was assembled, although one may argue that this implies there is an implicit conversation between the recto and the verso of a ballad—that one side is not simply waste paper being recycled. But, of the seven recto hits, all concern women: women who are strumpets, harlots, or inconstant. Thus, the scholar is able to look at the phrase net and realize that ribaldry in the ballads is gendered—and given that issues of gender are not contained to ballad studies, here the digital tool can either reinforce both the knowledgeable ballad scholar's hunch and the gender-minded scholar's intuition, pointing them to specific ballads worthy of slow reading.

Another interesting graphic to look at is the phrase net generated by "* is *" because the verb "to be" implies not only a relationship but an equating of the two words joined by this verb. This phrase net allows the scholar to investigate what essential qualities are linked in the seventeenth century by the most basic statement of being (Figure 5).

⁵ Ballads were often printed on both sides of a sheet. This often occurred when a ballad did not sell well and the printer wanted to reuse the paper.

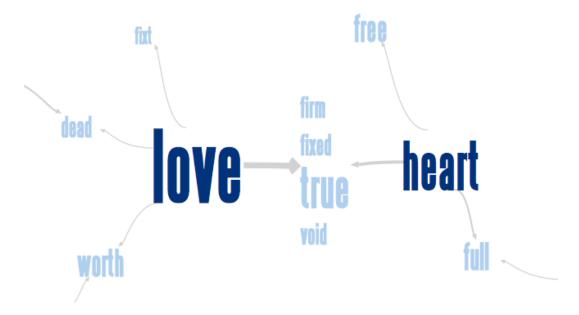


Figure 5. "Love is *" and "heart is *" portion of phrase net generated by IBM's Many Eyes.

For example, "love" also feeds into these same four words, "firm" (3 times), "fixed" (3 times), "true" (11 times) and "void" (2 times). "Heart" feeds into four words —"firm" (3 times), "fixed" (3 times), "true" (11 times), and then the unexpected "void" (1 time). However, here is where a careful researcher would again look for more context than a three-word phrase. It turns out that the unexpected "void" refers not to negative connotations, but into positive attributes. The double hit for "love is" comes from two copies of the same ballad, not an uncommon occurrence in the collection, as ballads were often reprinted. In "The Vertuous Maids Resolution" the full context of the quotation is:

Only for wealth let no man chuse,

for constant **love is void** ⁶of care;

A vertuous wife will ne'r destroy,

Your freedom but will be your joy. (Pepys 3.37, 3.54)

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⁶ I have bolded each phrase from the phrase net to make the context more apparent.

Thus, "void" becomes a positive term, as does "destroy" in the next line, and a "vertuous wife" does not destroy "freedom" but creates "joy." Perhaps then, this example should be a cautionary tale about contextual searching and the pitfalls of building simple two-word concordances.

Similarly, it turns out that the "heart" that is "void" is also joyful, but in a celebration of inconstancy. In an instance of the bawdy nature of some ballads, in "Rare News for the Female Sex" a girl of fifteen years reflects:

For what's a greater plague than a heavy maidenhead

And must I still endure it, I'd rather sure be dead,

Since this good news I hear, my heart is void of fear,

Neither Friend nor Foe, shall say me no, for ile be puncht this year.

(Pepys 3:184)

The "good news" that she has heard is "Now e'ery Lass that means to pass must all be puncht this Year" (ca. 1672-1696). This is not the greensickness of Jessica Murphy's essay in this volume that can be cured only by sex after marriage—rather it is a free expression of the "near 17 or more" women in town discussing the inability of the men to meet their sexual needs. Even though this is the only use of the word "puncht" in this context in the collection, the ballad is reprinted in 1696 with slight variation in the text: the group of women has grown from 17 to 27. This ballad is not simply another copy of the same ballad as occurred with "The Vertuous Maids Resolution" above. Instead, the woodcuts are completely different, as is the layout. In the first, Pepys 3:184, the style is reflective of ballads from the earlier part of the century (Figure 6). A deep knowledge of ballad culture allows me to analyze the layout as mid- to late seventeenth century

(without looking at the citation, I would have guessed 1660-1680) based on the half-folio size of the broadside (earlier broadsides were usually folio-sized) and the pictorial woodcuts.



Figure 6. "An Excellent New SONG, Called, / Rare News for the Female Sex. / Or, Good Luck at last." (Pepys 3:184)

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The second ballad, although not categorized as "Love Pleasant" by Pepys, is in volume 5 of the collection and instead falls into the vague "Various Subjects," most of which post-date the ballads in other volumes and are not as stringently categorized as the rest of the collection. Additionally, the ballad reveals a trend common to very late seventeenth-century ballads, the main title is in black letter and the body is in white letter—the opposite of the font choices made for Pepys 3:184 (Figures 6 and 7). This

trend continues until ballads are often entirely white letter and devoid of woodcuts. This ballad, however, seems to be transitional in that it still has woodcut decorations, but only one has figures in it, and they appear to be male. Two are of wheat or some grain—which bears little relation to the ballad other than the fact that it begins at a "Country Bakers door"—and the third is simply a floral pattern. None seem to represent the ribald nature of the ballad in contrast to the earlier version which mentions the "Punching-Office" in the caption!



Figure 7. "An Excellent New SONG, / CALL'D / Rare News For the Female Sex, / OR/

Good Luck at Last." (Pepys 5.426)

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Thus, the term "void" led to virtue in one instance and rollicking sex in another, pointing out the need for context when creating phrase nets. The link between "cupid" and "devil", however, is more straightforward in that it does finally point to some of the pitfalls (or tragedy, to use Frye's term) presented by love. In the phrase net "* is *" there is the following link between "cupid" (3 occurrences) and the devil (6 occurrences) with the word "blind" (Figure 8).



Figure 8. "Cupid is" and "devil is" "blind" from the * is * phrasenet.

We are all familiar with the phrase "love is blind," and it is one that is demonstrated to excess through the machinations of Oberon and Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but the explicit connection between the devil and that same sort of blindness is surprising. However, in "THE CUCKOLD'S Calamity" a cuckholded husband hopes for his wife to be blinded by the devil as punishment. And when one follows up on the other hits, such as "The young-mans Resolution to the Maidens Request…", the phrase refers to an event that will never come to pass:

Good sir, since you have told me when you are resolved for to marry,

I wish with all my heart till then

that for a Wife you still might tarry;

For if all Young-men were of your mind,

and Maids no better were preferred,

I think it would be when the **Devil is blind**⁷

that we and our Lovers should be marryed. (Pepys 3:212)

Similarly, in "The Countrey Lasses Good Counsel to all her Fellow-Maids" the country lass advises:

Some Men will crack and say they have house and land,

But when they go forth upon other mens ground it doth stand,

And all that they promise you true you shall find,

But that you shall see when the **Devil is blind** ... (Pepys 3:20)

However, the tables can turn as a young man laments in another ballad "The Youngmans careless Wooing":

[Most] Maids are false tho some seem holyer

[y]et I believe they are all of one mind,

[Like] unto like, quoth the Dee'l to the Collier:

[an]d they'l prove true when the **Devil is blind**,

Let no Man yield to their desire

For the burn'd Child doth dread the fire ... (Pepys 3:130)

⁷ This phrase which occurs with some variation 33 times throughout the archive, pointing to its common usage at the time. Thus, while time has preserved for us the phrase "Cupid is blind," the seventeenth century currency of the "Devil is blind" is one that is highlighted by the digital tool.

However, despite this young man's affirmation that women are to be feared, men do have sexual appetites as the word "lusty" appears 57 times and is associated with "farmer," butcher", and, most prominently, the alliterative "lad" (Figure 9).





Figure 9. "Lusty" word tree with zoon on "lusty lad."

The false hits for lewdness when analyzing "Love Pleasant" reveal aspects of Pepys's method of collection that would not be apparent to the casual user. They also point to the need to refine language parsing—and not take results at face value, without investigating trends for validity via more extensive reading of the primary texts.

Having done a quick tour of balladry, Pepys, the man and his collection, and finally the category of "Love Pleasant," with an eye to the more bawdy ballads, what can we conclude? Are there happy or unhappy outcomes for lovers? What became clear as I worked on this essay is that 1,800 separate XML files are not ideal for most of the text-analysis engines currently available. Add to this the problem that natural language parsing is not an option for these seventeenth-century ballads. I did find a program called AntConc, used by Jessica Murphy in her essay, which was very helpful in generating concordances for the entire collection, and had a handy file view so that I could click on the highlighted term and read the ballad from which the term came in full. This activity,

reading in full, brought me full circle to the thesis of my abstract—what *is* the role of data mining when dealing with fully text-encoded environments?

The temptation when faced with an archive as large as the Pepys is to let the computer narrow results and then begin reading. Instead I would caution a hybrid approach in which the introductory essays might lead one to consider a Pepys category as more pertinent to one's field of inquiry (in this case "Love Pleasant"), then the application of some text analysis tools to hypothesize about some trends, but, finally, the scholar must sit down and read the ballads in the category. At this point it is also time to question Pepys' own categorizations and use the advanced search at EBBA where there is a category for sex/sexuality. Looking at the 388 hits for the Pepys Ballads, it is clear that they run the gamut from the most innocent of the "Love Pleasant" ballads to hits outside the category involving concubines and "A Lamentable Ballad of a Ladies Fall" in Pepys' "Promiscuous Supplement."

Thus a fair amount of human selection and collation is needed, whether it comes in the form of building these datasets, possibly using different hierarchies to do so, and then comparing results. It helps to understand Pepys and his collecting habits to determine if the prevalence of love ballads is idiosyncratic, and one must read for content because natural language analysis does not work well on seventeenth-century cheap print. In a world in which so much is now available via the bright screens many of us spend our days in front of, the role of reading and the way in which it is done is evolving. Matthew Jockers sums up this interplay well:

Micro-oriented approaches to literature, highly interpretive readings of literature, remain fundamentally important. Just as microeconomics offers important perspectives on the economy. It is the exact interplay between the macro and micro scale that promises a new, enhanced, and perhaps even better understanding of the literary record. The two approaches work in tandem and inform each other. Human interpretation of the "data," whether it be mined at the macro or micro level, remains essential. While the methods of enquiry, of evidence gathering, are different, they are not antithetical, and they share the same ultimate goal of informing our understanding of the literary record, be it writ large or small. The most fundamental and important difference in the two approaches is that the macroanalytic approach reveals details about texts that are for all intents and purposes unavailable to close-readers of the texts. (2011)

This essay has also revealed details about the Pepys collection that were not available to me before I began macro-processing them, despite years of immersion in this collection. It is hoped that this work will encourage others to avail themselves of the push and pull that comes from applying both close and distant reading techniques to their own work.

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