This article (as revised and edited) has been accepted for publication by EUP in the journal *Translation and Literature*, Vol. 23.1 (2023), 1-21.

Sir Roger L'Estrange's Double *Visions* (1667): Translating Quevedo's *Sueños* for Restoration England

Roy Norton

David Arbesú has claimed that the popularity of Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) in Stuart England was much greater than has hitherto been acknowledged.[1] This contention might surprise some, since Golden Age Spain's leading satirist and one of its most acclaimed poets is little known in the English-speaking world today. There is evidence that might support the claim, however: Quevedo's name certainly crops up in English publications dating from the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Arbesú asserts that references to Quevedo in literary anthologies easily exceed in number references made to any of his Spanish contemporaries,[2] though of course such comparisons will tend to be at least somewhat impressionistic. The references are generally flattering. They tend to identify Quevedo explicitly or implicitly as the author of the *Sueños*, 1627 (strictly 'dreams', but usually translated in this context as *Visions*), and they credit him with having a pleasant style, being a great wit, and writing in an idiosyncratically complex 'Babylonish language'.[3]

A good number of the English writers who refer to Quevedo in the seventeenth century demonstrate some familiarity with his satirical writings. The *Sueños*, in which Quevedo lays bare the vices of his age, is often the work in view. For example, an anonymous author of 1699 observes how

> Men of bad Principles do frequently change their Names, and if it were possible, would change their Natural shapes too, as they do their Garbs, rather then be

> discovered, as is Intimated by Don Quevedo in his Dream concerning the Resurrection, when one pretended his Body and Soul was mismacht, another had got a head that was none of his own, and others ran away from their own Bodies, because they would not be known.[4]

This is an obvious and reasonably accurate allusion to a memorable early episode from the first *sueño* (as ordered in the first edition), the 'Sueño del Juicio Final' ('Dream of the Last Judgement'), in which the unnamed narrator observes how some souls 'con miedo huían de sus antiguos cuerpos' ('fled from their former bodies, afraid') while others 'andaban destrocando cabezas' ('went about unswitching heads'), and then sees one who, loath to accept his own soul, 'quiso decir que no era suya' ('claimed it wasn't his').[5] Likewise, in his popular collection of poems, *Maggots* – a work also influenced by Quevedo's only novel, *El Buscón* (*The Swindler*, 1626) – Samuel Wesley draws on Quevedo's lampooning of tailors in the 'Sueño del infierno' ('Dream of Hell'): 'But worse, far worse than Devils at the Gate, | Bands of Quevedo's hungry Taylors wait'.[6] Or again, in the story entitled 'Don Pedro and Paulinta', when Thomas Wright's heroine Paulinta finds her beau reading Quevedo's *Visions*, he is full of praise for its author:

> a merry Companion, with whom I have diverted many a tedious hour and melancholy Thought; if you are a Stranger to him, pray accept him from my hands, and I am sure upon better Acquaintance, you will give him the best reception he deserves.[7]

Some at least in Restoration England knew detail from Quevedo's *Sueños*, then, and a number of them expressed their enthusiasm in print.

In each of the three English versions of Quevedo's *Sueños* published in the

seventeenth century, the original five narratives were supplemented by one or more others, authentic or apocryphal, offered as additional visions. The first was the work of one Richard Croshaw: *Visions, or, Hels Kingdome, and the Worlds Follies and Abuses, Strangely Displaied by R.C. of the Inner Temple Gent.* (London, 1640). A. F. Allison describes it as 'a very free adaptation and abridgement, through the French version of La Geneste'.[8] To the five original *sueños* it adds 'The Fool Amorous', an English version of 'La casa de los locos de amor' ('The House of Men Mad with Love') of disputed attribution. Croshaw's translation appears to have had little impact. The second, Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Visions* of 1667, is the focus of this essay; full details are given in what follows.[9] L'Estrange includes the same six narratives found in Croshaw's version and adds a seventh, 'Hell Reformed'. This is an English rendering of Quevedo's 'Discurso de todos los diablos o infierno enmendado' ('Discourse of All Devils or Hell Reformed'), which had previously been published in English as a stand-alone translation by Edward Messervy: *Hell Reformed or a Glasse for Favorits … Discovered in a Vision, by D: F: Q: V: a Spanish Knight* (London, 1641).[10] L'Estrange shows no awareness of the previous English translations. A third version of the *Visions* followed his work in 1682. This reproduces L'Estrange's translation (from its fifth edition of 1673) and adds to it what is, despite ESTC's description of it as 'possibly a translation of *Los Sueños*', an entirely apocryphal supplement under the title *The Visions of Don Francisco de Quevedo Vellegass: The Second Part. Containing many Strange and Wonderful Remarques … The Second Edition with Additions carefully Corrected and Amended* (London, 1682). I am not aware of an earlier edition of this text. The work's anti-Catholic stance is suggested by some of the narratives' titles alone: for example, 'The Popish Conspiracies' and 'The Further Discovery, or Popery Displayed'. Arbesú considers this 1682 work to have influenced the anonymous 1684 novel *The Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo* described below.[11]

Returning now to Restoration responses to L'Estrange's translation, John Dunton, writing in 1691, grounds his admiration for the *Visions* on the fact that, unlike the satire of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, which for him targets a quintessentially Spanish type (the modestly-born man with absurd delusions of grandeur; the supercilious 'empty dons' of the nation), Quevedo's was more relevant to the English reader because inhabited by 'that sort of People which we have here [i.e. in England] to deal with'.[12] It is highly likely that Dunton's sense of Quevedo's relevance to Restoration Britain results not so much from the content of the Spanish original as from the substantial domestication and updating the *Sueños* underwent at the hands of L'Estrange.[13] L'Estrange's English translation, first published in 1667 under the title *The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St James*, was frequently reprinted in the next thirty years.[14] The importance of L'Estrange's translation to Quevedo's English reputation is suggested by the numerous editions, and by fact that nearly all seventeenth-century English comments come after 1667, even though works by him had been published from the 1620s. Most refer or allude to the *Visions*.

L'Estrange's approach is also held up for admiration when translation is discussed; Dunton was not alone in admiring the local and contemporary feel of his *Visions*. In the Preface to the second publication of his short career, his translation of Juvenal's Tenth Satire, Henry Higden explains that his 'modern way of translating' is informed by L'Estrange's work: 'I have rather imitated that Admirable Translation of Quevedo, that gives Life and Spirit to his Author, by making him English, in a Modish and Familiar way.'[15] Samuel Pepys wrote of the *Visions* that 'the translation is, as to the rendering it into English expression, the best that I ever saw, it being impossible almost to conceive that it should be a translation'.[16] Pepys does not mean only the best translation of Quevedo. And Luke Milbourne, while admittedly using L'Estrange's *Visions* as a stick with which to beat his arch-enemy Dryden's 1697 *Works of Virgil*, extols his approach:

> If Mr D. would have brought the whole Poem down to our present Age, and Modified his Author, as the Ingenious Sir R. L'Estrange has done by his Don Quevedo, this had been well enough; but to have it only here and there, is Aping Philips's senceless *Don Quixot*.[17]

That L'Estrange 'modified' Quevedo's *Sueños* by 'making him English in a modish and familiar way' and by evoking 'the sort of people' with whom Dunton and his English contemporaries were familiar is readily apparent. Quevedo knew nothing of the culturally specific Morris dancers and Bartholomew babies mentioned by L'Estrange, and he had never supped at the Bear at Bridgefoot (pp. 85, 162, 137).

But L'Estrange was far from alone in his cavalier disregard for fidelity. Indeed, L'Estrange's *Visions* are a less flagrant exploitation of Quevedo's reputation than, say, *The Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo Through Terra Australis Incognita* (1684), an anonymously authored novel studied by Arbesú, who considers it (alongside the spurious 1682 Book 2 of the *Sueños*) the climax of the early modern English translations, adaptations, and falsifications of Quevedo carried out with a view to promoting the English Protestant cause.[18] That the *Travels* makes Quevedo the fictional hero and putative chronicler of an imagined journey to the South Pole – the actual author claims simply to have happened upon, edited, and translated Quevedo's manuscript – implies an expectation that readers would be sufficiently familiar with the Spaniard, or rather with the Quevedo created in English readers' minds through their consumption of the English translations that preceded it, for the choice to be a selling point.[19] The real Quevedo would not have recognized himself in the *Travels*, and neither would his Spanish readers, who knew him to be a patriot and to hold a conventional attitude to the English Reformation, expressed, for instance, in his 'Letter to Louis XIII',

1635. *The Travels* constitutes, as Arbesú confirms, a satirical attack not just on the Church of Rome, but on Spain itself.[20] Spain is excoriated for, *inter alia*, the avarice of its Jesuits' colonization of the Americas, and Spaniards are described by 'Quevedo' as 'the most notable pirates of the globe'.[21]

This manipulation of Quevedo's reputation can also be seen in English publications that, unlike *The Travels*, are firmly based on his own writings. Alonso Veloso's study of the *Christian Politicks* (1720), a translation into English of the first eight (the most anti-Machiavellian) chapters of the second part of Quevedo's *Política de Dios* (1655), reveals the translator's care to avoid expressions that might provoke suspicions of sympathy with Catholic doctrine.[22] References to, for example, the veneration of saints, the Pope, and Saint Peter's founding of the Roman Church are all suppressed, as is the word 'católico', in favour of 'Christian'. This leads Alonso Veloso to describe the *Politicks* as 'a re-writing in an Anglican Protestant key'.[23] Alonso Veloso and Arbesú are in agreement, then, that the English 'Quevedo' texts they have studied are broadly (and ironically) anti-Catholic (or at least un-Catholic) and/or anti-Spanish. The present essay will proceed to assess how far we should say the same of L'Estrange's *Visions*. It will also consider how well justified is Milbourne's claim that this translation consistenly reorients the *Sueños* 'to our present age'.

Quevedo's *Sueños* comprise five self-contained narratives that the author from an early point conceived of as a cycle. In the order they were first printed in 1627, the five are as follows:

El sueño del Juicio Final ('The Dream of the Last Judgement')

El alguacil endemoniado ('The Bedevilled Constable')

Sueño del infierno ('The Dream of Hell')

El mundo por de dentro ('The World from the Inside')

Sueño de la muerte (‘The Dream of Death’)

Their unity is grounded in the first-person narrator, who gains access to the next world through a variety of means; their shared satirical intention; and their consistently dazzling style – remarkably compressed, erudite, and allusive, and displaying the linguistic brilliance and ferocious wit for which Quevedo was celebrated. The *Sueños*’ satire is directed against the corruptions, foibles, and vices of society – some perennial, some contemporary. The *Sueños* have been said to display a blend of neo-stoicism and ‘ideological aristocratic conservatism’,[24] the author sharing the ‘values of Spain’s military aristocracy’.[25] The targets of his satire are reasonably consistent across his œuvre. He parades before the reader types such as corrupt officials (judges, scribes, bailiffs), avaricious and duplicitous tradesmen (tailors, taverners, booksellers), certain nationalities (e.g. the Genoese, whose bankers bled Spain dry), old and/or unchaste women. Alongside these types come figures that seem to prompt more immediately serious moral contemplation – men who rely hypocritically on God’s mercy, say, or (movingly) a man in Hell tormented by his own conscience. Finally, Quevedo sets before us named individuals whose moral failings would have been apparent to his early modern Spanish audience because of either their place in history or their place in Hispanic folklore. Some examples are Judas Iscariot, Martin Luther, Quintañona (the paragon of duennas), or Diego Moreno (cuckold *par excellence*).

Popular from the date of their first (pirate) publication in 1627, with nine more editions by the end of 1631,[26] the *Sueños* were quickly translated into French and published with the title *Les Visions de don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas* (Paris, 1632).[27] This edition contained the five authentic *sueños* plus a version of ‘La casa de los locos de amor’ (see p. 3, above). Two years later, a further Paris edition of *Les Visions* added a seventh vision, of ‘Hell Reformed’: *Les Visions. Augmentée* [*sic*] *de l’Enfer Reformé*. We know that L’Estrange

worked from the French,[28] and his seven visions match the seven narratives found in the 1634 edition of the French translation. It seems probable, then, that either this or an edition derived from it was his source text.

In the analysis of L'Estrange's work that follows, the three texts compared are: Arellano's edition of the *Sueños* (n. 5), which is based on the 1627 first edition ('Quevedo'); Miranda's edition of La Geneste's translation, which she bases on a Rouen, 1683 edition of *Les Visions… Augmentées de l'Enfer Reformé* corrected with reference to the earlier editions ('La Geneste'); and the 1667 first edition of L'Estrange's translation (generally cited by page number alone).[29] My analysis will focus on the five authentic *sueños* and their translations.

In comparison with *The Travels* and the *Christian Politicks*, as analysed by Arbesú and Alonso Verdoso respectively, there is little that is systematic about L'Estrange's *Visions*, notwithstanding Milbourne's implied view that it represents a thorough updating and domestication of the *Sueños*. Its prose style is consistent, conforming to the 'colloquial and personal turn that so much … writing took after the Restoration', a prose style so characteristic of that age, for which in his long-standard history of the period John Sutherland held L'Estrange himself in large part responsible.[30] In that regard, Milbourne's observation holds good. But when it comes to the consistency of L'Estrange's approach to the anglicizing, Protestantizing, and updating of the *Sueños*, the picture is not so clear cut. Indeed, in several respects the visions of society the narrator offers are double visions. Rather than systematically reorienting Quevedo's satire towards Restoration England, L'Estrange does so only sporadically, with the result that attitudes and references the reader encounters regularly diverge from Quevedo's. This can be illustrated by focusing on three features of L'Estrange's work: its topographical setting and geopolitical stance; its religious outlook; and its treatment of women and sexuality.

Quevedo's five narratives unfold against a variety of backdrops: the Last Judgement;

the sacristy where the exorcism of the possessed *alguacil* (‘constable’) takes place; the pathway to Hell, and Hell itself; Calle Hipocresía (Hypocrisy Street); and the Court of Death. Relatively little space is devoted to depicting these physical settings, and the imprecision feels appropriate to the atmosphere of a dream. The characters’ attitudes and foibles are enough to identify them as Spaniards and usually citizens of Madrid, or rather, as types native to the tradition of Spanish satire, though certainly many (such as braggart soldiers, clueless apothecaries, and bakers who fill their pies with human flesh or that of vermin) were common to other proximate cultures, co-heirs to classical, medieval, and humanistic satire. Typically, however, the reader must intuit or assume this, since the Spanish *Sueños* are sparse in their specific references to Spain’s topography, and the characters tend to lack particularity.[31] By clear contrast, L’Estrange’s *Visions* are rich in topographical allusions, the English text repeatedly prompting its readers to call to mind London’s geography, to picture the city’s streets, public buildings, and communal events. The translator pays his readers the compliment of assuming they are in the know, able to decipher the denotative details he provides. Three examples follow.

Early on in the ‘Sueño del Juicio Final’ the narrator observes a parade of women initially pleased to find themselves naked in public, glad of the opportunity to show off their bodies. Their pleasure fades fast as they realize that they are about to face divine judgement, and they all begin to shy away from the divine presence. One of them, we are told, ‘había sido pública ramera’ (Quevedo, p. 98; ‘had been a public whore’), and, to delay her arrival at the Valley of Jehoshaphat, she invents the risible excuse that she has lost her back teeth and an eyebrow (probably ‘lost’ as a result of syphilis). Turning on her heel she goes back to look for them. The woman’s French equivalent is described with a faithful translation: she was a ‘garce publique’ (La Geneste, p. 238). For L’Estrange, these descriptions are too restrained: he writes instead of a woman ‘that had been as Common as Ratcliff Highway’ (p. 92). As

Restoration readers would have known, lying to the north of Wapping waterfront, Ratcliffe Highway was in an area that catered for sailors. Here Damaris Page, described by Pepys as 'the great bawd of sailors', opened her brothel, and a number of pubs in the vicinity were linked to prostitution.[32] The addition of this topographical detail summons up for English readers a location familiar to them by reputation at least.

Among the dozens of tradesmen that the narrator of the 'Sueño del infierno' happens upon during his dream journey through Hell is a band of booksellers. One, with whom the narrator engages, objects amusingly that, whereas most around him have been damned as punishment for their own 'malas obras' ('evil works'), he and his fellow booksellers have been damned 'por las obras malas que hacen los otros' (Quevedo, p. 186; 'for the evil works [i.e. terrible books] of others'), or, as L'Estrange has it, 'call'd to Accompt for Other Men's works' (p. 188). The Spanish text implies that the narrator knows this bookseller, but no specifics are given. The same is true of the French translation that was L'Estrange's direct source (La Geneste, p. 314). In L'Estrange, however, we learn that the bookseller in question had, before his demise, worked from a shop in a specific London street: 'Alas! Sir says he; Have you forgotten your old Book-seller in Pope's Head-Alley?' (p. 187). The pinpointing on the map of this man's earthly existence would have rung true to English readers, for Pope's Head Alley was noted for its booksellers' shops at this date. It led off Cornhill, and was named for a thirteenth-century inn which stood at one end.

Later in the same *sueño* the narrator encounters in some other pit of Hell a bevy of coachmen ironically confident in the prestige of their erstwhile profession, whereas the devils there to torment them remind us of the scandalous behaviour known to take place within the intimate confines of their enclosed carriages. One devil points out an individual coachman who is supremely confident that his former master, a member of one of the councils that governed Spain in the name of the king, will presently fetch him out of that place, keen to

have his services again. Quevedo's Spanish makes the point – sure to provoke a wry smile – with characteristic concision: 'Dijo un cochero (que lo había sido de un consejero, y aún esperaba que le había de sacar de allí …)' (Quevedo, p. 187; 'Said one coachman (who had served a council member and still expected he would get him out of that place) …'). L'Estrange's text accentuates the absurdity of the man's confidence, again with a reference to London topography. In the *Visions* the coachman served a judge, and 'thought 'twas no more for his old Master to fetch a Rascal out of Hell, then out of Newgate' (p. 190). Escape from Newgate Prison is one thing, escape from Hell is quite another, but the translation again places the conversation and the characters in the here and now. In this case alone of the three mentioned, L'Estrange is following the lead of La Geneste, whose devil refers to the Châtelet or the Conciergerie, both part of the Parisian prison network (La Geneste, p. 316).

There are many references besides these in the *Visions* to London topography: to Hackney, to Marylebone, Bedlam, Strand Bridge, Billiter Lane, the Fleece Tavern, Covent Garden, Charing Cross, Hyde Park, Spring Gardens, Gray's Inn, and the Royal Exchange. As readers of Restoration prose, verse, and drama are aware, this topographical concreteness is characteristic of the writing of the period.[33] It is one respect in which the English text diverges notably from the Spanish original. And the effect of these place names is enhanced by allusions to early modern English culture. L'Estrange's narrator speaks like a Restoration rake, shows familiarity with London's streets and landmarks and their associations.

He also refers to other aspects of English culture, one example being Shakespeare. The 'Sueño de la muerte' has the narrator accompanying the allegorical figure of Death to her 'court', or judgement seat. One of the types there to provoke sober contemplation is an old man who refuses to acknowledge the imminence of his death. While those around him urge him to make his confession and write his will, he insists he is in fine fettle. Such men 'dicen que se sienten buenos y que han estado de aquella manera mil veces' (Quevedo, p. 338; 'say

that they feel fine and that they've been like that a thousand times'), refusing to accept they are at risk even after they are dead. La Geneste (p. 203) follows the Spanish text closely. L'Estrange at this point has his character invoke Shakespeare's Mistress Quickly: 'Alas, Alas! they'l cry; I have been as bad as this many a time before, and (with Falstaffe's Hostess) I hope in the Lord there's no need to think of him yet' (p. 52). Mistress Quickly's words of comfort to Falstaff (*Henry V*, II.3.20) are well known for having been spoken very shortly before his fast-approaching death, and recalled by Mistress Quickly after it.

The same procedure seems to explain L'Estrange's insertion of a reference to commercial legislation too. The hackney-coachmen (simply *cocheros*, 'coachmen' in the Spanish) who are plotting a coup against the devils in the 'Infierno', sure that they are more adept in the use of the whip, are better informed in their suit than their Spanish peers. No legal footing is given for the latters' claim by Quevedo (p. 187), and the French coachmen are equally vague in formulating their legal case (La Geneste, p. 316). But L'Estrange's litigants are intent upon 'taking the Whip out of their Hands, and setting up a Trade they had never serv'd to, (which is Contrary to Quinto Elizabethae)' (p. 189). L'Estrange's reference is to legislation which sought to regulate the commercial activity of alien merchants.

Finally, as well as locating the lives of the text's characters geographically, some of L'Estrange's touches fix them chronologically too: the individuals the narrator encounters are the Restoration reader's contemporaries. The promises the man shameless in prayer makes to God in the Spanish 'Infierno' are not strongly particularized. If God causes the king to favour him, he says, he will pay for the marriage of two orphan girls, dress six paupers, and provide altar frontals (Quevedo, p. 233). Le Geneste's equivalent promises the same, except, for some reason, rather than the altar frontals, he offers God 'un cierge & un chapeau de fleurs' (La Geneste, p. 356; 'a candle and a hat decorated with flowers'). As is so often the case, L'Estrange replaces Quevedo's concision (fifteen words) with rhetorical exuberance (forty-

seven words): 'I do here engage my self, to entertain six Blew-Coats, and Bind them out to good Trades; to set up a Lecture for every day of the Week; to give one Third part of my clear gains to Charitable Uses; and another, toward the Repairing of Pauls' (pp. 240-1). The colourful detail allows us to relate the last promise to the works needed on St Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666. Such transpositions of detail are not unexpected in a Restoration context, when translation and imitation tended to fade into one other.

Yet his lack of systematic procedures makes generalization about L'Estrange's work impossible. The familiar prejudice implied by John Dunton's comment that *Don Quijote* is a satire against the 'empty dons' that are quintessentially Spanish is reflected in L'Estrange's Quevedo too. He makes explicit the nationality of the haughty rich man in 'El mundo por de dentro', adding the detail that the man's lace collar 'was right Spanish' (p. 161). Perhaps, as Arbesú suggests in relation to *The Travels*, he felt the English audience would have a particular satisfaction in reading a Spaniard satirizing his own nation.[34] An interesting question is whether they actually believed that this is what they were dealing with - that Quevedo was some kind of renegade or subversive.

The *Visions* of 'Dom Francisco de Quevedo' 'made English' by L'Estrange include a number of jibes against Quevedo's king and country. In the 'Sueño del Juicio Final', the apothecary does not deserve mercy for providing medicines to the poor free of charge because the medicine almost certainly finished them off: 'habían sido más dañosos dos botes de su tienda que diez mil de pica en la guerra' (Quevedo, p. 123; 'two pots from his shop inflicted more harm than ten thousand pike thrusts in war'). Quevedo has constructed a play on the word *bote* (both the pot in which the medicine comes and a *bote de pica*, a 'blow from a pike') as well as a jibe at the misconduct of apothecaries. Unable to replicate the Spanish wordplay in French, La Geneste comes up with a translation that makes the point but erases the wit. His apothecary kills more with 'deux petites boëttes de sa boutique' ('two small

boxes from his shop'), than 'deux milles cacques de poudre n'ont pû faire en toutes ces dernieres guerres' (La Geneste, p. 249; 'two thousand tonnes of gunpowder have been able to in these recent wars'). Working from the French text, L'Estrange cannot be faulted for missing Quevedo's *double entendre*. It is his own independent translation choice, though, to fashion a stab at the Spanish and their monarch: the English apothecary has, he writes, 'killed more people with two little Boxes, then the King of Spain has done with two thousand Barrels of Powder, in the Low-Country-Wars' (p. 104).

In summary, then, in L'Estrange's modern way of translating, the *Visions* include anti-Spanish satires involving English characters plucked fresh from the streets of Restoration London. The trouble is that these remain simultaneously pro-Spanish satires involving Spanish characters rooted in the Castile of Philip III and Philip IV. They are double *Visions* because L'Estrange did not attempt to transform his translated text systematically. Alongside the barbed comments aimed at Spain and its kings sits praise of these same monarchs, L'Estrange evidently having decided in these cases to translate what he found on the page without adaptation. Don Enrique de Villena, the necromancer who emerges from his bottle towards the end of 'Muerte', is tempted to re-enter the world when he hears the latest news concerning the Spanish Habsburg throne. Here the Spanish (Quevedo, p. 360), French (La Geneste, p. 217), and English texts are very similar:

> You know (said I) that Phillip the 3^{d}. is Dead: Right (quoth he) A Prince of Incomparable Piety, and Vertue … After him, (said I) came Philip the 4th. If it be so (quoth he) Break, break my Bottle immediately, and help me out; for I am resolv'd to try my Fortune in the world once again, under the Reign of that Glorious Prince.
>
> (p. 68)

L'Estrange follows La Geneste in heaping praise on these two Spanish kings. But again, for Quevedo the point of this passage was not so much sycophancy as wordplay, the word *cuarto* meaning 'fourth' (Philip IV ruled Spain from 1621) and also being the name of a coin of small value (somewhat like the American 'quarter'). On this Quevedo bases a joke about the corruption of the justice system: 'más justicia se ha de hacer ahora por un cuarto que en otros tiempos por doce millones' (Quevedo, p. 360; 'greater justice will be done now for/by a *cuarto* (a quarter/Philip IV) than in former times for twelve million'). A further irony – for a translation that was intended to update its model – can be found in the fact that Philip IV died in 1665, two years before L'Estrange published the *Visions*.

And for all L'Estrange's evident attempts to ground his *Visions* in London, many details are not brought into line. For instance, the narrator of the 'Sueño del alguacil endemoniado' happens upon the constable's exorcism when, in L'Estrange's version, he is on his way 'to hear Mass at a Convent in this Town' and is let into the sacristy by a friar 'of the same Convent' (p. 1). While it is just about possible that an Anglican of the Restoration period might have referred to a Church of England eucharist as a Mass, he would have been unlikely to encounter casually a friar or a convent, as in the Spanish original. Likewise, anecdotes rooted in Spanish topography interfere with L'Estrange's English setting. Take, for example, the story of the man in the 'Muerte' who has such a horror of *dueñas* (a common butt of Spanish satire, an old hag serving as something like a governess or a senior lady-in-waiting) that he cannot bear to stay overnight in the town of that name, Dueñas, in the province of Palencia. La Geneste chooses the path of least resistance here and L'Estrange follows, introducing the man as 'one that was lately Travailing from Madrid, to Vailladolid' (p. 81). These much better-known place names provide some geographical specificity, but as it happens a traveller between Madrid and Valladolid would not pass by Dueñas.

Overall we might say that in terms of their setting, L'Estrange's *Visions* are plagued

by a troubling duality, a strange double focus. The *Visions* is an English text superimposed upon a translated Spanish one. It is simultaneously English and Spanish, Hispanophobe and Hispanophile. L'Estrange's narrative is eminently readable, but it lacks cohesiveness, and the narrator's identity becomes inconsistent and confused.

The same ambivalence complicates the text's religious positioning. Unlike the English translation of Quevedo's *Política de Dios*, which as we have seen can be described as denuded of Catholic content, L'Estrange's translation of the *Sueños* leaves the Catholicism largely intact, and with seeming insouciance. He seems not to have feared the inferences this might have prompted some readers to draw. So, in L'Estrange, the priest performing the exorcism on the constable 'washt his face with a little Holy Water' (p. 4), with no suggestion that the reader is to view the practice as popish superstition. Similarly, there is nothing to read between the lines of the statement – which follows the source text of the 'Juicio Final' closely (Quevedo, p. 124; La Geneste, p. 249) – that unlike the apothecary, who was damned, the doctor and the barber were 'brought off, at the Intercession of St. Cosmus, and St. Damian' (p. 105), the patron saints of medicine. And references to the Mass are common in our English translation, often casual enough ones. In addition to the Mass mentioned at the opening of the 'Sueño del alguacil' (and discussed above, p. 15), a coachman of the 'Infierno' – one of those relying on the 'Quinto Elizabethae' – complains that he is being punished for ferrying 'the Sick, the Gowty, the Lame, to Church; to Mass; or some stragling Virgins, back again to their Cloyster' (p. 192). There are countless occasions when L'Estrange's *Visions* reflect the Catholic tradition that was the norm in France and more especially Spain.

As in other respects, however, the *Visions'* treatment of religion is not straightforwardly consistent, though, admittedly, the differences between Catholicism and Anglicanism are not as easy to pinpoint as the positions occupied by Spain and England on

the map, and there is some evidence that L'Estrange was actually well aware of the sensitivities involved here (not that he always chose to tread lightly in response). The approach he takes is eclectic, but his most interesting interventions suggest that his religious prejudices were not primarily anti-Catholic (indeed, during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81 L'Estrange was an ardent and vocal supporter of James, the Catholic heir to the thrones of England and Scotland). This translation's tendencies would not surprise anyone familiar with L'Estrange's religious bias. Describing his involvement in the Titus Oates affair, Mark Goldie writes: 'L'Estrange's willingness to normalize Catholicism is remarkable, and it probably discomforted even devoted readers.'[35] *The Visions* shows how L'Estrange's toleration of or sympathy for Catholicism is detectable in his writings of the 1660s too.[36]

There are relatively few occasions when L'Estrange intervenes to expunge Catholic references in the *Sueños*, and none that I recall which affect spiritual aspects of the faith, of the kind discussed above. One intervention comes in the 'Juicio Final' as the Apostles file in to take their places alongside Christ at the Last Judgment. The special significance of Peter, the 'holy fisherman' (Quevedo's 'el santo pescador' and La Geneste's 'le S. Pescheur') as their leader, the rock on which Christ said he would build his Church, and according to Catholic tradition the first pope, is watered down in the *Visions*. L'Estrange (p. 97) offers simply 'St. Peter'. Rather than being a matter of Catholic theology, however, this touches upon ecclesiology, and might lead us to suppose that this translation is the work of a Catholic Anglican within the established church, or, to use L'Estrange's own term, a 'reformed Catholic'.[37] The possibility is reinforced by another of the few interventions L'Estrange makes when communicating to his English reader Catholic details of the *Sueños*, also related to ecclesial identity and practice rather than core doctrine. The *Sueños* and La Geneste's French translation explain that the priest exorcizing the demoniac had draped a stole (La Geneste's 'une étolle', p. 159) over him, an action prescribed in the Roman Catholic

Church's rite of exorcism. The stole is a vestment of a Roman Catholic priest, having been removed from mainstream Church of England vestries at the Reformation. L'Estrange opts to have his demoniac draped with a 'Tippet about his neck' (p. 2). The black tippet, or prayer scarf, is a quintessentially Anglican vestment, worn by ministers to show allegiance to the Church of England. This combination of a greater theological openness than might be expected towards aspects of Catholicism and an insistence upon a distinctively Anglican approach to Church order was characteristic of many High Church Anglicans of the period. If the *Visions* has a confessional axe to grind, it is not against Catholicism.

Religious affiliations seem also to be reflected in L'Estrange's take on the hypocrites whose penances, fasts, and mortifications serve only as a 'noviciado del Infierno' (Quevedo, p. 177; 'apprenticeship for Hell'). These practices are characteristically Catholic ones, but there is no link to religious controversy; the satire is meant to encourage members of Quevedo's Catholic audience to mend their ways. La Geneste translates the passage faithfully into French (La Geneste, pp. 305-6). The English Quevedo's gloss is revealing:

> I observ'd a great many People afar off in a By-path: with as much Contrition, and Devotion, in their Looks, and Gestures as ever I saw in Men; They walk'd shaking their Heads, and lifting up their hands to Heaven; and they had most of them large Ears, and to my thinking Geneva-Bibles. These thought I, are a People of singular Integrity, and strictness of Life, above their Fellows; but coming nearer, we found them to be Hypocrites.
>
> (p. 177)

L'Estrange's hypocrites, with their big ears (like Swift's Dissenter Jack in *A Tale of a Tub*)[38] and Geneva Bibles, are Presbyterians or Puritans, the Protestant dissenters who would not

conform to the Restoration religious settlement, a group looked upon with great suspicion by Anglicans like L'Estrange. By the 1660s the Geneva Bible had long been succeeded by the 1611 Authorized Version and not reprinted since 1644, but suspicion of the 1611 translation lingered in some quarters; the *Souldier's Bible* which Cromwell's troops carried was based on the Geneva. L'Estrange translated the *Sueños* in the years between the passing of the Conventicles Act of 1664, which discouraged Nonconformism and strengthened the position of the Established Church, and the Toleration Act of 1689, whereby a *modus vivendi* was achieved between Anglicans and dissenters. So, in the English *Sueños*, the religious enemy is not the same as in Quevedo, whose target was international Protestantism as represented by figures such as Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Beza; instead it is a specific internal enemy.[39]

The target of the English Quevedo's satire can be confirmed by one or two further instances. La Geneste warms to Quevedo's topic of the scandalous activities that can take place in a closed carriage, and he adds to his original the following sentence: 'Et si l'on m'a veu avec mon Carosse devant quelque Eglise, chacun sçait bien que ma Maistresse n'y alloit iamais que pour voir ses confidents, et pour prendre l'heure, comme c'est maintenant la mode' (La Geneste, p. 318; 'And if I've been spotted with my carriage in front of some church, everyone knows full well that my mistress never went there except to meet her confidants and to make her appointments, as is the fashion now'). L'Estrange cannot resist inserting a dig against the dissenters here. The English coachman concedes that 'I have indeed carry'd my Mistress sometimes to the Church-Door, but it signify'd no more then if I had carry'd her to a Conventicle; for all her Business there, was to meet her Gallant, and to agree when they should meet next; according to the way of Devotion now in Mode' (p. 192). The implication of the reference to the 'conventicle', the non-conformist place of worship, is clear – it is by definition a place of no religion, attendance at which ought to delight the

devils of Hell. L'Estrange's special animus toward the dissenters looks all the more noteworthy if Cynthia Wall is right to claim that, in Restoration drama, whereas 'Anglican churches become sites pretty much for sexual intrigue – for *private* negotiation … Dissenting churches do not seem to appear imaginatively at all'.[40]

L'Estrange's anti-dissenter satire is at its most pointed in the 'Juicio Final', in the passage where – in Quevedo's original – the trio of Judas, Mohammed, and Luther are preparing to face divine judgement. On the first two of the three occasions when they are mentioned, L'Estrange simply reduces the trio to a duo, omitting the references to Luther (pp. 101-4), actively choosing to save him from the flames (unlike La Geneste, pp. 246, 248). Apparently, Luther was a less interesting figure in the England of the 1660s than in the Spain of the first decades of the seventeenth century. On the third occasion, however, the thundering climax of this *sueño,* Judas and Mohammed – their confidence fluctuating as they see other groups judged – are joined by a third (from the *Visions*' perspective) sinner of magnitude. The Luther present in the Spanish and French scene is replaced thus: 'And now, after long waiting, came Judas and Mahomet upon the Stage, and to them Jack of Leyden: Up comes an Officer, and askt which of the Three was Judas? I am He, quoth Jack of Leyden' (p. 110). For Luther L'Estrange has substituted Jack (more commonly John) of Leiden, who presents himself as Judas. This translation choice has clear, pointed implications, assuming the *Visions*' readers knew the story of this infamous Dutch anabaptist leader. John of Leiden set himself up as a prophet and sought to turn Münster into a millenarian anabaptist theocracy, declaring himself King of the New Jerusalem in 1534.

What is L'Estrange's point? How would it have been taken in England in 1667, when the wounds of the Civil War and Interregnum were still healing? The answer is evident if we consider the translator's own clearly defined political agenda. A known Tory polemicist, a declared royalist, and a zealous Anglican with an antipathy towards puritanism, L'Estrange is

warning those who are seeking an accommodation with the dissenters – for him, the heirs of the regicides of 1649 – that, given an inch, these extremist Protestants would not hesitate to take a mile, overthrowing the established order for a second time, betraying Charles II as Judas did Christ, as the Puritans did 'Charles king and martyr', and sending England back to the grim decade of Puritan rule! Our translator's sectarian stance, clear from his translation, is neatly summed up in his own words elsewhere: 'Presbytery is a Specifique Poyson to Monarchy.'[41] Even L'Estrange's translation work, then (as opposed to his overtly polemical tracts), feeds directly into what has been described as his long-term strategy 'closely to identify the Presbyterians with the execution of Charles I … and then to expose toleration as political disintegration, and as the source of present and future sedition'.[42] The strategy is enacted in full (albeit in miniature) in the interpolation into Quevedo's text of the reference to John of Leiden.

The reader's sense of seeing double is arguably less marked in connection with the *Visions*' treatment of religion than when it comes to the text's anglicization. The two religious outlooks present within the text – Quevedo's original Counter-Reformation Catholic one, and L'Estrange's High-Church Anglican one – overlap to a considerable degree: the two men share a prejudice favouring Catholic worship broadly understood (though Quevedo would have baulked at the suggestion that such a thing could be found within the post-Reformation English Church), and both abhorring aspects of Protestantism (all aspects in the case of Quevedo, English Nonconformism in particular in the case of L'Estrange). In the final feature of the translation to be considered, though, the double vision resolves itself completely, L'Estrange achieving a consistency absent elsewhere. We shall see how far from puritanical L'Estrange was if we consider the *Visions*' presentation of women and sexuality.

Quevedo's narrator discusses the women he encounters with a satirical mix of scorn,

mockery, and (especially in 'El mundo por de dentro') Petrarchistic sublimation of sexuality. For L'Estrange's narrator, as it has been written of that deeply characteristic Restoration hero Dorimant in Etherege's *Man of Mode* (1676), 'the discursive way of the world is masculine and predatory'.[43] It may well be because this bawdiness forms part of the English narrator's 'discursive way' that this aspect of the *Visions* manages to submerge Quevedo's voice most consistently.

In the 'Infierno' the Spanish narrator follows Judas' instructions to go off in search of individuals worse than him (Judas). The narrator soon encounters some devils ejecting beautiful women from Hell on the grounds that they do such good work in the world ensnaring men and sending them below (Quevedo, p. 255). The French Quevedo describes the sight in greater detail; he sees a troop of 'belles femmes toutes nuës (ce qui me fit pitié); si i'ûsse eu où les retirer, ie les eusse traittées bien plus humainement' (La Geneste, p. 348; 'beautiful women completely naked (which aroused my pity); if I'd had somewhere to withdraw with them, I'd have treated them much more humanely'. As L'Estrange reimagines the scene, the devils are lashing a company of 'handsome Lasses, stark naked, and driving them out of Hell (which methought was pity, and if I had had some of them in a Corner, I should have treated them better)' (p. 230). The English is close to the French here, but the phrases 'handsome lasses' and 'stark naked', and the lustful process of selection implied by the narrator's words about 'cornering' some of them, enhances the sleaziness of his attitude.

A certain coarse cynicism enters in, too, in the 'Mundo' scene in which the figure of Desengaño (in the *Visions* 'the Undeceiver') reveals to the naive narrator that the widower whose dead wife's funeral they are watching has already buried two wives and 'is already planning his marriage to a lady friend' (Quevedo, p. 288). There is no prompt in the French (La Geneste, p. 280) for L'Estrange's coarsening of the tone: 'This is the Second Wife, he has already turn'd over, and (to give the Man his Due) He has had the wit to secure himself of

a Third, while This lay on her Death-bed' (p. 149). This tone is not Quevedo's sober disillusionment. Finally, for evidence of the *Visions*' relative licentiousness, in a passage where prostitution is in view, L'Estrange without prompting extends its reach from one sex to two. In Quevedo, money can buy 'las putas y mujeres malas' – 'whores and women of ill repute', or in French 'les garces et les courtisanes', 'tarts and courtesans' (Quevedo, p. 331, La Geneste, p. 196). L'Estrange casts the net wider, and refers to 'the Girles and Ganimedes it procures, and maintains' (p. 43).

Those Restoration readers who show knowledge of the *Sueños* almost certainly garnered it from L'Estrange's *Visions* rather than the Spanish original. That is unsurprising, but it is worth bearing in mind when assessing how Quevedo was known in later seventeenth-century England. If one considers the qualities for which the *Sueños* are admired in the Hispanic world – their densely packed wordplay, deep erudition, and the grotesqueness and hyperbole of their wickedly funny caricatures – the English *Visions* differ substantially, as we have in part seen. L'Estrange's tone is conversational, urbane, sometimes louche. 'His idiom', as James Sutherand characterized it, 'is that of the tavern and the market-place with the fashionable slang of the day, appealing not to gentlemen and scholars but to men of affairs, to shopkeepers and artisans.'[44] The linguistic flair on display is of a different order, though perhaps equally engaging; L'Estrange's voice is less arch than Quevedo's, but it oozes garrulous bonhomie. The contemporary local colour he injects into the *Visions* is also eminently appealing. Coupled with his distinctive style, it makes the *Visions'* humour more easily accessible, diminishing the intellectual challenge and satirical sting of the *Sueños* but enhancing the text's readability. L'Estrange's visions are in one of the idioms Restoration readers lapped up. But the voice is not Quevedo's.

L'Estrange is evidently a translator who felt no obligation to act as the faithful

handmaid to the author he was Englishing - even Quevedo, with whom he had much in common. Each man was a zealous monarchist and each defended religious orthodoxy as he saw it (though, on the basis of this translation, it seems that the Englishman was socially less conservative that the Quevedo of the *Sueños*). Rumours that L'Estrange was a crypto-Catholic circulated persistently during his lifetime, and his preservation of so much of the *Sueños'* Catholic perspective may suggest a toleration of Roman religion which L'Estrange is disinclined to hide, though the adjustments made to passages that treat ecclesiology and Church discipline seem to reflect his own self-identification as a Reformed Catholic and not a 'papist'. The presence in the English Quevedo translation of the Spaniard's Catholic outlook is also noteworthy because it distinguishes L'Estrange's approach from that followed by the anonymous translator of the *Política de Dios.* If that text and *The Travels* contributed to the creation in the English cultural consciousness of a Protestantized (or at least a de-Catholicized) Quevedo persona, the *Visions* set up a rather different one, and the two are hard to reconcile. That is not to say that Quevedo's reputation suffers no manipulation at L'Estrange's hands, however. Whereas several passages discussed above channel the worldview of the Spanish Catholic, others – as we have seen – are entirely incompatible with it, most obviously the firm stance taken in the context of the domestic struggles over the shaping of the Restoration Church of England. It would be fascinating to find evidence of what English readers made of 'Quevedo's' particular animus against the dissenters of the 1660s, Quevedo having died in 1645. Many will have thought nothing of it, but others can only have concluded that the named author of the book in their hands was not solely – perhaps not even principally – responsible for its ideological contents. They must have deduced that the translation was a rewriting, if only a partial one.

Milbourne's praise for the thoroughgoing nature of L'Estrange's 'modifying' of his author is perhaps justified if one focuses on matters of style alone. When content is

considered, though, the inconsistencies of approach here identified must have left more probing readers of L'Estrange's *Visions* feeling that they were seeing double. Add in the combined impression made by the *Christian Politicks* and *The Travels*, and it begins to look as though Restoration England's view of Quevedo would have been alarmingly kaleidoscopic.

Pembroke College, Oxford

---

[1] David Arbesú, 'La manipulación ideológica de las obras de Quevedo en la Inglaterra del siglo XVII', *La Perinola*, 10 (2006), 317-38 (p. 318).

[2] Arbesú, p. 318.

[3] Anon., *The Dialogue betwixt Cit and Bumpkin answered* (London, 1680), sig. b2^{v}. Where quotations are taken from early modern editions, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been preserved but not italicization (the use of which tends not to conform to any readily discernible rules). Initial capitals in titles of published works are subject to regularization.

[4] *A Dialogue Between Fidelity and Honesty* (London, 1699), p. 14.

[5] Francisco de Quevedo, *Los sueños*, edited by Ignacio Arellano (Madrid, 2021; hereafter 'Quevedo'), pp. 94-6. Translations are mine except where indicated.

[6] Samuel Wesley, *Maggots: Or Poems on Several Subjects, Never Before Handled by a Scholar* (London, 1685), p. 169. See Quevedo, p. 183.

[7] Thomas Wright, *The Glory of God's Revenge against the Bloody and Detestable Sins of Murther and Adultery* (London, 1685), p. 190.

[8] A. F. Allison, *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the Year 1700: An Annotated Catalogue of the Extant Printed Versions (Excluding Dramatic Adaptations)* (Folkestone, 1974), pp. 152-3. 'Le Sieur de La Geneste', of whose translation more anon, was a pseudonym; the French translator's real identity is unknown.

[9] Quevedo's *Sueños* is the only Spanish work L'Estrange translated; for a helpfully annotated list of his other translations, see Geoff Kemp, 'The Works of Roger L'Estrange: An Annotated Bibliography', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, edited by Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 181-223.

[10] Allison, p. 152, states that Messervy also translated from the French.

[11] Arbesú, p. 327.

[12] John Dunton, *A Voyage Round the World, or, A Pocket-Library*, 3 vols (London, 1691), II, sig. A3^{r}.

[13] Dunton could be referring to the 1682 translation (which incorporates L'Estrange's translation anyway), and the same goes for Higden, mentioned below, but L'Estrange's was the dominant or 'canonical' version (Arbesú, p. 333), its seventh edition appearing two years before Dunton's work in 1689. As we shall see, comments referring to Quevedo even after 1682 continue to focus on L'Estrange's work.

[14] Allison (p. 153) lists eight editions between 1667 and 1696. It was last re-edited in 1963: Francisco de Quevedo, *Visions, As Translated by Sir Roger L'Estrange*, with an introduction by J. M. Cohen.

[15] Henry Higden, *A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satire of Juvenal* (London, 1687), sig a4^{v}.

[16] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 9 June 1667, https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/06/09/ [accessed 16 December 2022].

[17] Luke Milbourne, *Notes on Dryden's Virgil in a Letter to a Friend …* (London, 1698), pp. 135-6.

[18] Arbesú, p. 327.

[19] In addition to those already mentioned, translations of the following Quevedo works were published in seventeenth-century England: *Cartas del Caballero de la Tenaza*, the *Buscón*,

La hora de todos y fortuna con seso, plus a smattering of poetry. See Allison, pp. 151-3, and Arbesú, who also details the works falsely attributed to Quevedo in the period.

[20] Arbesú, p. 331.

[21] Anon., *The Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo Through Terra Australis Incognita … A Novel, Originally in Spanish* (London, 1684), p. 170.

[22] María José Alonso Veloso, 'Un "instante antimaquiavélico" de Quevedo en Inglaterra: *Christian Politicks* contra tiranos ateos, discípulos de Satanás', *Neophilologus*, 101 (2017), 53-73 (p. 66).

[23] Alonso Veloso, p. 70.

[24] Ignacio Arellano, 'Introducción', in Francisco de Quevedo, *Los sueños*, edited by Ignacio Arellano (Madrid, 2021), pp. 9-45 (p. 29).

[25] Francisco de Quevedo, *Dreams and Discourses – Sueños y discursos*, translated by R. K. Britton, 2nd edn (Warminster, 2008), 'Introduction', pp. 1-36 (p. 2).

[26] Arellano, p. 46.

[27] The textual history of the *Sueños* is complex, but it is argued that the French translation (of the five authentic *sueños*) is based on the family of texts born of the Spanish first edition of 1627 and not the expurgated, paganized *Juguetes de la niñez* ('Toys of Childhood') of 1631. See Marie Roig Miranda, 'Introduction', in *Les visions de Quevedo*, translated by Le Sieur de La Geneste (Paris, 2004), pp. 13-98 (p. 53); Marie Roig Miranda, 'La recepción de Quevedo en Francia', *La Perinola*, 15 (2011), 235-61 (p. 237).

[28] This is made evident by many of the comparisons carried out below, as well as being confirmed by several scholars (Allison, p. 153; Kemp, p. 216; Miranda 2004, p. 50).

[29] I have consulted the copy of L'Estrange's book in the Weston Stack of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark Vet. A3 f.8.

[30] James Sutherland, *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1969), p. 220.

[31] The 'Sueño de la muerte' is an exception, with its inclusion of several proverbial and historical characters drawn from Hispanic culture, such as the playwright Juan del Encina.

[32] *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, edited by Melissa Hope Ditmore, 2 vols (Greenport, CT, 2006), I, 256.

[33] Cynthia Wall notes 'the marked topographical specificity of plays, poems, and novels' of the period in *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge, 1998), p. ix.

[34] Arbesú, p. 334.

[35] Mark Goldie, 'Roger L'Estrange's *Observator* and the Exorcism of the Plot', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (n. 9), pp. 67-88 (p. 87).

[36] For details of the rumours regarding L'Estrange's supposed crypto-Catholicism and of the way he described his own religious identity see Goldie, and see Anne Dunan-Page's contribution to the same volume, 'Roger L'Estrange and the Huguenots: Continental Protestantism and the Church of England', pp. 109-30.

[37] Goldie, p. 87.

[38] The usual explanation for the association is that Puritans did not wear wigs and wore their hair short, causing their ears to appear more prominent: see Paula McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral: Print Commerce and Fugitive Voices in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 2017), pp. 82-3.

[39] L'Estrange omits entirely the lengthiest passage of the 'Infierno' that deals with the international Protestant 'heresiarchs and heretics' (Quevedo, pp. 252-65). The French translation preserves it (La Geneste, pp. 365-8), so the decision to re-direct the religious satire is L'Estrange's alone.

[40] Wall (n. 33), p. 184. But the milieu of Restoration drama takes in very few dissenters.

[41] Roger L'Estrange, *A Memento: Directed To all Those that Truly Reverence the Memory of King Charles the Martyr; And as Passionately wish the Honour, Safety, and Happinesse of his Royall Successour* (London, 1662), p. 237.

[42] Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'L'Estrange's Milton', in Dunan-Page and Lynch (n. 9), pp. 27-52 (p. 35).

[43] Pat Gill, 'Gender, Sexuality and Marriage', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, edited by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 191-208 (p. 196).

[44] Sutherland (n. 30), pp. 355-6.