

SPEAKING ENGLAND: NATIONALISM(S) IN EARLY MODERN LITERATURE
AND CULTURE

A Dissertation

by

CHRISTOPHER L. MORROW

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2006

Major Subject: English

SPEAKING ENGLAND: NATIONALISM(S) IN EARLY MODERN LITERATURE
AND CULTURE

A Dissertation

by

CHRISTOPHER L. MORROW

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Howard Marchitello
Committee Members,	Margaret J. M. Ezell
	Douglas Brooks
	James Rosenheim
Head of Department,	Paul A. Parrish

August 2006

Major Subject: English

ABSTRACT

Speaking England: Nationalism(s) in Early Modern Literature and Culture.

(August 2006)

Christopher L. Morrow, B.A., University of Wyoming;

M.A., Texas A&M University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Howard Marchitello

This dissertation explores conceptions of nationalism in early modern English literature and culture. Specifically, it examines multiple definitions of nation in dramatic works by William Shakespeare (*Cymbeline*), John Fletcher (*Bonduca*), Thomas Dekker (*The Shoemaker's Holiday*), and Robert Daborne (*A Christian Turned Turk*) as well as in antiquarian studies of England by William Camden (*Britannia and Remains Concerning Britain*) and Richard Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*). This dissertation argues that early modern English nationalism is a dynamic phenomenon that extends beyond literary and historical genres typically associated with questions of national identity, such as history plays, legal tracts, and chronicle histories. Nationalism, this dissertation demonstrates, appears in Roman-Britain romances and tragedies, city comedies, and both dramatic and prose accounts of piracy. Nation appears in myriad voices – from ancient British queens to shoemakers and pirates. And the nationalisms they articulate are as varied as the genres in which they appear as nation is negotiated both across and within these works.

Furthermore, this dissertation illustrates that not only are concepts of nation and national identity being explored, the very terms on which to construct nation are being defined and re-defined. Nation is variously filtered through a myriad of issues including the influence of the monarch (particularly James I), origin, language, gender, class, ethnicity, religion and national rivals. This dissertation also discusses works which move us beyond our pre-conceived notions about nation by advocating more corporate cosmopolitan models. The models are based on such qualities as membership, occupation, productivity and the pursuit of wealth rather than birth order or location. These corporate and piratical nationalisms extend beyond the confining geopolitical borders of most concepts of nation.

Early modern English nationalism is not singularly defined by the monarch, the church, the legal system, or even antiquarian studies of Britain and England. It is not singularly defined by any one voice or text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people. First, I would like to thank Howard Marchitello for his guidance, insight, and patience. He exemplifies what a dissertation advisor should be. I would also like to thank my committee: Margaret J. M. Ezell, Douglas Brooks, and James Rosenheim. Their guidance not only throughout this dissertation but throughout my graduate career has been invaluable. It a better project because of their participation.

I am also grateful to the Melbern G. Glasscock Center for Humanities Research and the Department of English who provided essential financial support for research and conference travel and the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens for permission to reproduce images from their collections. Also, Steve Smith, Director of the Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, was understanding and allowed me some flexibility crucial to this project in its final stages.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my wife, Becky. I would have neither been able to start nor finish this project without her patience, perseverance, and support. And, finally, I am grateful for my two toddlers, Alex and Nate, who always seemed to know just when I needed to be interrupted for a few minutes of rough-housing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
II ‘YOU SHALL FIND US IN OUR SALT-WATER GIRDLE’: MASCULINE ROMAN IMPERIALISM, FEMININE BRITISH DEFIANCE, AND THE EARLY MODERN NATION.....	19
Background	27
<i>Cymbeline</i>	38
<i>Bonduca</i>	78
Conclusion.....	111
III ANTIQUARIANISM, ANGLO-SAXONISM AND THE “DISCOVERY” OF ENGLAND	113
Camden’s <i>Britannia and Remains</i>	124
Verstegan’s <i>Restitution of Decayed Intelligence</i>	164
IV “CRY TREASON TO MY CORPORATION”: COMMUNAL IDENTITY AND CORPORATE NATIONALISM IN DEKKER’S <i>THE SHOEMAKER’S HOLIDAY</i>	187
V FREE MEN OF THE SEA: PLUNDERING PIRATES AND NEGOTIABLE NATIONALISMS IN DABORNE’S <i>A CHRISTIAN TURNED TURK</i>	235
Corporation and Cosmopolitanism.....	255
Geography and Conversion	270
Internal and External Threats	284

CHAPTER	Page
Ward's Re-conversion.....	295
VI CONCLUSION.....	299
WORKS CITED.....	303
VITA.....	315

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1 Title Page, Richard Verstegan's <i>Restitution of Decayed Intelligence</i>	169
2 "The Manner of the First Bringing and Preaching of the Christian faith, unto Ethelbert, King of Kent"	179
3 "Primi Noui Evangelij fructus"	180
4 "Schismaticorum in Anglia crudelitas"	181
5 Title Page, <i>Newes from Sea</i>	263

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the final scene of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, King Harry, wooing his soon-to-be bride, Katherine, daughter to the French King, asks her to teach him the terms in which to plead "his love-suit to her gentle heart" (5.2.101). She replies, "Your majesty shall mock at me. I cannot speak your England" (5.2.102-03). In addition to being coy, Katherine's response shows her lack of command over English language and grammar and, furthermore, an apprehension about this lack. Her error is, of course, the grammatical confusion of the language, English, with the country, England. The English nation, while merely a slip in this line, is crucial in the scene, as Henry's marriage to Katherine is also a marriage of France and England, one that will block Harry's view of "many a fair French city" still untouched by war (5.2.293). More importantly, this marriage will also make Harry the heir to the French throne and expand the English domain. Despite her coyness and lack of proper English, Katherine will presumably be forced to "speak England" through her marriage to Henry and, specifically, through the production of an heir.

But, ultimately, we know that Katherine's role is passive and she cannot "speak England" because Henry, in his role as monarch, already speaks for the nation. In fact, in many ways he is the nation – as King Charles refers to him when he commands "Bar

This dissertation follows the style of the *MLA Manual of Style*.

Harry England, that sweeps through our land / With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur” (3.5.48-49).

History plays operate in terms of nation by privileging the voice of the monarch. England, and in turn Englishness, are actively shaped by its sovereign. Both prose and dramatic chronicle histories, such as Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* and Shakespeare’s *Henriad*, reinforce this notion by telling the story of nation through the lives and exploits of these figures. In *Henry V*, we begin to see the strain of this model. But more than using the conflict with France to define England, Henry also has to negotiate the competing nationalities within his own army. With captains representing the four countries which will form modern Britain – England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland – *Henry V*, written and staged in 1599, foreshadows the ascension of James I and the unification of the crowns. This unification is only tenuously held together in the play. In his famous lines, Macmorris, the Irish captain, rhetorically asks “What ish my nation?” (3.3.61). We are not sure with whom or which nation Macmorris identifies. Is it his country of origin, Ireland? Is it the unified idea of Britain which encompasses them all? Or, perhaps, it is England, an identity he adopts by functioning as one of Harry’s “band of brothers.” He does not get an answer in part because there is not one – at least not one everyone can agree on. Macmorris’s simple question and ambiguous status suggests that the notion of national identity singularly located in the monarch is becoming impractical. It does not cast a wide enough net. Perhaps the questions we should ask, then, are: What is nation in early modern England? How is it constructed and who speaks it?

Nation on the most basic level is a geo-political entity. It has geographic borders and a government which to varying degrees exercises control over the land contained within those borders. But, more importantly for our purposes, nation is an idea and an identity. Locating the advent of nationalism as an idea in the 18th century, Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, argues that the idea of the nation emerges out of and reacts against two cultural systems: religious community and the dynastic realm (12). As Anderson sees it, the decline of these two systems allowed the beginning of nationalism. Anderson defines nation, then, as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). It is limited because even at its broadest conception it has boundaries outside of which lie other nations and sovereign because of the destruction of the “divinely-ordained hierarchical dynastic realm” (7). The community which Anderson conceives of as a “deep, horizontal comradeship” is imagined because its adherents share an identity without actually knowing one another. Examining the processes through which the nation is created, Anderson utilizes Benjamin’s concept of “homogeneous, empty time,” asserting that “simultaneity is . . . transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar” (24). Thus, for Anderson, the novel and the newspaper are the two forms that capture this simultaneity and therefore link their readers into the national community. This power of newspapers and novels to create a national community is based on more than temporality. They are supported by language and print. Anderson asserts that “print languages laid the basis for national

consciousness” by opening communication below Latin and above spoken vernaculars, by providing a new fixity to language, and by creating new and more accessible “languages-of-power” (44-45) and that these print-languages also enabled the bourgeoisie to become the “first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis” (77). In Anderson’s formulation, Katherine’s mistake may not be a mistake at all because language is a key to defining nation and, as we shall see in Chapter II, early modern writers also identified the close connection between language and nation, in some cases even equating them.

I would like to extend Anderson’s concepts of nation back into the early modern period. While the cultural systems of religion and monarchy were still dominant, we can detect nascent forms of early modern imagined communities. Further, though it lacked a clearly-defined “middle class,” early modern England experienced disruption in its class system through the emergent merchant class. Printed texts and the use of the vernacular also were on the rise. Though the novel had not emerged as a definite genre, I would argue that printed literature, and drama in particular, served a similar function. For Anderson, novels were important to nation because multiple characters exist in the same society without ever knowing one another (24). The literary nationalism which I would like to explore is more explicit than that. Rather than miming the imagined community as these novels do, early modern literature explicitly tries to create and define it. They try to write it.

Like Anderson, Richard Helgerson, in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, also sees the rise of vernacular as essential to the formation of

nation. Nation, for Helgerson, is constructed linguistically as Elizabethan humanists write England through their works consisting of a wide range of genres including poetry, religious texts, legal tracts, maps, and drama. Helgerson identifies two central issues of importance to the “writing of England”: 1) the negotiation/conflict between the nation and questions of the monarch and monarchic power, and 2) “the inclusion or exclusion of various social groups from privileged participation in the national community and its representations” (9). Helgerson also notes the larger exclusionary process, asserting that the nation is also created through a distinction from other nations. He further adds that in this nationalistic writing, “some other interest or cultural formation—the nobility, the law, the land, the economy, the common people, the church—rivals the monarch as the fundamental source of national identity” (10).

Similar to Helgerson, this dissertation explores multiple constructions of nation found in works including Roman Britain plays, antiquarian texts, a city comedy, and representations of piracy. The chapters that follow do illustrate both of Helgerson’s central concerns that nation in this period is heavily implicated in questions surrounding the monarch and monarchic power, that these texts attempt to determine who gets to establish nation, and that, often, rival nations are essential in defining the nation. I also argue that nationalism must negotiate itself in relation to the monarch and in many instances rivals the monarch as the principal determinant of nation. However, whereas Helgerson identifies these rivals in large cultural institutions such as law, church, and economy, this dissertation demonstrates that early modern English nationalism is much more localized and unstable than a location in these large cultural formations would

allow. These works do not define nation; they struggle to define it through issues below monolithic institutions such as law and the church, favoring instead issues such as origin, language, gender, and class.

Like Anderson's imagined community and Helgerson's forms of nationhood, these works create England by defining it for readers and asking, both implicitly and explicitly, for these readers to accept these definitions and help form the imagined community of England. In doing so, these works define nation across a variety of issues including origin, language, gender, class, ethnicity, social and economic mobility, conceptions of Britain, and religious and national rivals. Allen Carey-Webb, noting that in this period identity is coded by gender, ethnicity, class and race, argues for the addition of nation to this list (7). This dissertation demonstrates that nationalism itself is coded by these other elements. We find, however, that rather than set up *a* rival to the monarch as the source of national identity, they construct many sources, both across the texts we will examine and within them. Nation and national identity are not just implicated in one of these issues; it is implicated in all of them to greater or lesser degrees. English nationalism is a dynamic construct that draws from numerous discourses in its conceptual formation in these written works. Nation is inseparable in this period from questions of monarchic power, language, class, gender and so on. In fact, these discussions of nation are found in more than just history plays, legal texts, and maps; they are found in romantic and tragic plays set in a prehistoric past, as well as contemporary city comedies, and both prose and dramatic representations of popular but ambiguous figures such as the English pirate John Ward. These works compete with

each other and within themselves to negotiate what it means to be English. We do not see a definition of nation emerge from these works; we see many.

More than theatrical texts, these works all made their way into print in the 17th century. As printed texts, they can participate in nationalism by creating imagined communities in their readers, readers who can themselves negotiate nation through these texts. D. F. McKenzie, in his lectures titled *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, asserts that “if a medium in any sense affects a message, then bibliography cannot exclude from its own proper concerns the relation between form, function and symbolic meaning” (2). I reverse this equation asserting that if the medium affects the message, then any study of the form, function, and symbolic meaning of nationalism must also include the study of the medium in question. Thus, this dissertation remains sensitive to the materialization of these texts in print and how that materialization affects the discourse of nation within them.

Throughout the following chapters, I will demonstrate early modern English nationalism as it is negotiated in numerous ways across a variety of texts. We see many Englands appear throughout these chapters, from Englands defined in opposition to Britain, to masculine Englands, to Anglo-Saxon Englands, to Englands where you don’t even need to be English and Englands where the chance at social and economic mobility is available for shoemakers as well as fishermen from Kent. It is to a description of these chapters that I would now like to turn.

In the first chapter, “‘you shall find us in our salt-water girdle’: Masculine Roman Imperialism, Feminine British Defiance, and the Early Modern Nation,” I

examine two plays that are set in Roman Britain, William Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and John Fletcher's *Bonduca*. Written within five years of each other, both of these plays stage the dramatic conflict between ancient Britons and Imperial Rome in a struggle for control over the island of Britain. I argue that by staging these conflicts, these two plays also attempt to define the relationship between Rome and England. The residue of the Roman colonization of Britain pervades early modern England not only in physical reminders (such as roads and ruins) but also conceptually, since early modern England styled itself as the re-birth of classical Rome. Rome, then, is situated ambiguously in these plays as both as imperial force to be defied and a model to emulated (indeed, will be emulated). British defiance, in these plays, while nationalistic, is ambivalent and mitigated.

By returning to these early origins of people in Britain, these plays, I will argue, expose a national origin upon which to construct early modern England. Though set in the distant past, the implications of the construction of nation in these plays resonates in contemporary England. Specifically, both of these plays construct Britain and England as separate nations. It is clear that the audience is not meant to see the ancient Britons as their ancestors but to recognize their influence on early modern England. The same is true for Rome as well. Ultimately, the result of ancient British defiance and Imperial Roman influence is early modern England.

More than merely being interested in origin and Roman influence, these plays explore the role of gender in the construction of the nation. Specifically, they examine power and gender as it interacts with sovereignty. Both plays feature strong women who

deliver the most nationalistic lines in their respective plays. We shall also see how these women are not allowed to participate in the nation since it becomes, in both plays, a strictly masculine affair. These plays work to construct spheres in terms of gender, leaving the domestic space for women and the national one for men. Women, in these instances, are better suited as objects of desire or symbols of nation than as agents of nation.

Finally, this chapter remains sensitive to the function of print culture in both of these dramatic works. Though neither play possesses a complicated print history, both bear signs of their context in the burgeoning print world of early modern England, signs which have direct implications for the construction of nation. *Cymbeline* stages implicit and explicit concerns over the stability of texts and the lack of authorial control over interpretation even as a comparison between a manuscript copy and the printed 1647 edition of *Bonduca* reveals a shift in the depiction of major characters that changes the way we read nation in the play.

In the second chapter, “Antiquarianism, Anglo-Saxonism and the ‘Discovery’ of England,” we turn from the dramatic to the antiquarian. Retaining a focus on the histories of ancient Britain, we examine how antiquarians William Camden and Richard Verstegan explore Britain’s past in order to outline their visions of the English nation. Though the dissertation primarily investigates conceptions of nation in dramatic works, this chapter’s emphasis on prose antiquarian texts demonstrates parallel tracks on the same basic subject matter. In fact, the chapter opens by discussing two speeches by Bonduca and Caratach, two major characters from *Bonduca*, which Camden includes in

Remains Concerning Britain (1605). Like Shakespeare and Fletcher, Camden and Verstegan are interested in how these origins help define early modern England. And, also like their dramatic counterparts, these two antiquarians are willing to shape this origin to fit their specific needs.

Camden and Verstegan come to their similar subjects from vastly different positions. A Protestant, Camden was commissioned to write the history of the reign of Elizabeth I, served as Headmaster at Westminster School and was appointed Clarenceux, King of Arms, a prestigious position in which he oversaw the genealogical and heraldic record for a large portion of England. From these positions, Camden in his antiquarian projects, notably wrote the massive *Britannia* (1586), and the shorter and less narrative, *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605) – both of which appeared in numerous contemporary editions. Verstegan, on the other hand, was a Catholic recusant who plied his skills to publish anti-Protestant propaganda which resulted in his fleeing England for France and eventually Antwerp. Though condemned to death by a decree from the Queen, Verstegan remained a staunch English nationalist and in 1605 published *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In antiquities Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation*.

Given these different perspectives, especially in religious matters, we might expect to see spectacular differences in the authors' constructions of the English nation. If so, Camden and Verstegan disappoint, as both antiquarians subordinate religion in their definitions of nation to larger concerns such as language, the influences of conquest and ethnic identity. Many critics view Camden's works as a glorification of the British.

However, this chapter demonstrates that that is not the case. Camden makes it clear that while he does celebrate the geographic island of Britain, this does not include some of its early inhabitants – the ancient Britons. Furthermore, he separates these Britons from the early modern English, pointing out numerous times that the Britons are now known as the Welsh. Nation, for Camden, is defined primarily through its people. He locates the origin of the English not in the confluence of Rome and ancient Britain, but in the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons or (as both he and Verstegan refer to them), the English-Saxons. Camden acknowledges the influence of Rome and ancient Britain in the formation of contemporary England but makes it clear that the central locus of Englishness lies in the Anglo-Saxons, even downplaying the influence of later invaders such as the Danes, the Picts, and the Normans. Mixing is acceptable for Camden as long as the essential core remains based on the Anglo-Saxons. Verstegan is not so lenient. This chapter illustrates how Verstegan also locates English identity in the Anglo-Saxons, but rather than acknowledge the influence of other peoples on the island, he attempts to cleanse the record of their influence. He argues repeatedly throughout his work that the English-Saxons are the English.

Whereas Camden defined his nation primarily ethnically, Verstegan sees nation much more linguistically. Language is also important to concepts of nation for Camden but similar to his perceptions of ethnic mixing, linguistic mixing enhances contemporary England as long as it does not overwhelm the Anglo-Saxon influence. Verstegan, on the other hand, advocates the primacy and purity of England and Englishness, even criticizing the great English poet, Chaucer, for mixing English and French words. More

than merely discussions of language, their emphasis on the importance of language to national identity can be seen through their publication of these antiquarian texts in English. Camden's *Remains* (1605) was born English and his *Britannia* (1586) was translated by Philemon Holland five years after the first publication of *Remains*. Both works move the antiquarian project into the widely known, and more nationalistic, vernacular. Verstegan takes it a step further by not only writing in English but explicitly preferring it to Latin. This chapter examines these antiquarian projects in the context of their print history. We begin with the shift in Camden's project from the Latin editions of *Britannia* to the English translation in 1610, as well as multiple editions of Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain*. We place Verstegan's *Restitution* in the context of his larger activities as both writer and printer of anti-Protestant propaganda.

Though it does not achieve nearly the level of propaganda we might expect, religion does, ultimately, appear in these plays. Camden acknowledges the influence of Catholicism, even citing Christianity as one of the primary reformers of early Anglo-Saxon savagery. Despite the heavily polemical nature of his other works, Verstegan's emphasis on religion is subdued. While he does depict the positive influence Catholicism in his discussions and illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon conversion to Christianity, he does so subtly and without staunch anti-Protestant statements. Both men agree more than we might expect in defining Englishness based on their versions of Anglo-Saxonism, the role of language, the influences of invasions, and ethnic identity. While Verstegan takes a restrictive view of these influences in his construction of

England, Camden is more cosmopolitan, allowing other influences, such as the Britons and the Normans, to add to what he sees as the greatness of England.

Returning to drama in the third chapter, “‘Cry treason to my corporation’: Communal Identity and Corporate Nationalism in Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*,” we examine another play that uses a historical context to define contemporary ideas of nation, one which like Camden’s project imbues nation with a cosmopolitan element. Thomas Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* traces the rise to Lord Mayor of the historical Simon Eyre and, in doing so, offers a radically different version of nation. Demonstrating the proximity of their compositions for the stage and textual emergences in print, I will argue that this city comedy responds directly to the model of nation in *Henry V*, a model which is based on honor, martial conflict and adherence to the monarch’s goals of national expansion. This model grants even the commonest Englishman membership in what Harry famously refers to a “band of brothers.” Written soon after *Henry V*, Dekker’s play shifts the emphasis of nation away from the individuality of the monarch and into a community of shoemakers by not only depicting a character, Lacy, who rejects that model, but also another, Rafe, who is forced into it and fails to enjoy the promises of honor and class elevation promised in Harry’s St. Crispin’s Day speech.

Class itself is problematized in Dekker’s play through the interactions between courtier and citizen. The traditional lines between these two classes are blurred by the marriage plot of the courtier, Lacy, and the citizen’s daughter, Rose, as well as by the social ambiguity of Hammon who is neither firmly defined as courtier or citizen.

Furthermore, the play dramatizes the social and economic mobility of numerous characters, most notably Simon Eyre, a mobility that is not marked by participation in martial conflict but rather by participation in the corporation of shoemakers. This corporation acts as a parallel model of nation, but one that is based on occupation rather than birth or status. As the acceptance of Lacy both while disguised as the Dutch shoemaker Hans as well as after his true identity as a courtier has been revealed demonstrates that membership in this community crosses both national and class borders. This corporate model of nation is based on community rather than the individual – a community that is marked by productivity, commerce, and a skilled trade. Furthermore, the mobility this community offers does not include assimilation. We do not witness the creation of more courtiers but rather the elevation of citizens. Despite their upward mobility, the shoemakers remain artisans and merchants as opposed to a character like Hammon, who despite being labeled a citizen behaves more like a courtier. This chapter demonstrates how Dekker rejects the model of nation advocated by Harry and establishes an alternate band of brothers. Dekker's band of brothers is based not on class, country of origin, or even honor, but rather on productivity and participation in a corporate community of artisans and merchants.

Chapter V, "Free Men of the Sea: Plundering Pirates and Negotiable Nationalisms in Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk*," serves as a capstone for the entire dissertation. Specifically, it explores representations of the notorious English pirate, John Ward, as depicted primarily in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612). Speaking to his fame in early modern England, Ward is also the subject of two prose

pamphlets and two ballads, all written in the early 17th century. The prose texts, in particular, serve as the primary source texts for Daborne's play and the chapter examines Ward broadly throughout all three printed texts. This chapter examines the ramifications that these representations of piracy have on early modern constructions of nation. In this period, a nation's commercial, martial and imperial goals were often implemented on the open seas. As floating pieces of sovereignty, these ships carried the nation into open seas where it not only interacted with other nations but also was beyond the immediate reach of the state. Pirates exploited this lack of control to work against sanctioned national enterprises of other countries, as well as their own. They posed both a literal threat to nation through the interruption of maritime trade and the loss of wealth. But more importantly, they posed a conceptual threat because on the sea they were free to redefine themselves, their relationship to their nation, and their concepts of nation. Thus, representations of pirates offer an ideal perch from which to witness the instability of constructions of nation and national identity. And, the English pirate Ward, as the subject of numerous representations, becomes an ideal figure to explore the negotiation of nation.

Physically disconnected from but conceptually significant for concepts of nation, the piratical nation forms a site of disruption in which many of the terms of definitions of nation resurface. Thus, this chapter examines piracy and nation through the lens of arguments from previous chapters in the dissertation. Specifically, it explores how pirates, like shoemakers, strive for economic mobility and form a cosmopolitan nation that is defined more by occupation (in this case, piracy) than country of origin. The

pirate's ships, like the shoemaker's shop, consist of men from both the Ottoman Empire and Christian European countries. These pirates, we will see, construct an alternate model based on merit and ambition rather than birth or even geography and establish an alternate polity away from the control of the state.

With a glance back to the chapter on antiquarians, we find that Ward and his fellow pirates reject any connection between geography and national identity, especially Camden's linking of characteristics to the land from whence one originates. Like both chapters which explored Roman Britain, these representations illustrate the external threat of foreign powers, such as the Romans and Normans. In these texts, however, that threat is represented by the Ottoman Empire, who threatens England not only on a state level through foreign conquest but also on an individual level through the conversion of English Christians to Turkish Muslims. Daborne's play, as stated in the prologue, is more concerned with this conversion than Ward's piratical activities. But as in our discussions of Camden and Verstegan, the role of religion does not quite take the form we might expect. Specifically, while there is a great deal of focus on Ward's conversion, this chapter demonstrates that the conversion process is ultimately more concerned with nation than it is with religion. Furthermore, reminiscent of Camden and Verstegan, denominational difference is surprisingly absent. There is, however, a call in both the play and one of the pamphlets for Christians to put aside their difference and ally themselves against the Turkish threat.

More than merely depicting external threats to national identity, Daborne's play also resonates with the first chapter through its exploration of the role of gender. As in

Shakespeare's and Fletcher's plays, women pose a direct threat to the affairs of nation as the two Turkish women in the play are responsible for converting both the Jewish merchant, Benwash and the English pirate, Ward. More than merely sirens, however, these powerful women are portrayed misogynistically through their lust, infidelity, and villainy. While Daborne does include the cross-dressed Alizia (taking the name Fidelio) as a positive Christian woman who tries to stop Ward from converting and remains true to her betrothed, she remains in masculine garments throughout the play and commits suicide upon the death of her fiancé. Like Innogen who takes a eerily similar name in *Fidele*, Alizia is silenced in the play and removed from the larger issues of nation.

Though the play ends with Ward's fortunate re-conversion to Christianity and tragic death, the historic Ward was actually alive and well as a pirate operating out of Tunis when Daborne's play was staged. While Daborne may try to control the dangerous instability represented by Ward, even his re-conversion rings hollow as it is only when faced with capture and torture that he decided to return to the flock. Some critics have used this ending to argue that Ward cannot escape either his Christianity or his Englishness. But what it ultimately demonstrates is that the threat to definitions of nation comes not from the Turks, women, Romans, or the Normans, but from Englishmen themselves. Ward demonstrates that national identity is not something that is innate or predetermined, but rather something that is negotiable and in Ward's case, available to the highest bidder.

This dissertation examines a number of dramatic and prose texts that explore exactly what Ward demonstrates, that nation emanates from its inhabitants. We will see

numerous dramatists and writers across genres and subgenres negotiating their version of nation in their writings. It is, ultimately, they who “speak your England.”

CHAPTER II

‘YOU SHALL FIND US IN OUR SALT-WATER GIRDLE’: MASCULINE ROMAN
 IMPERIALISM, FEMININE BRITISH DEFIANCE, AND THE EARLY MODERN
 NATION

“Witnesse hereof is Britaine, which liing without the world, is by the might of the
 Romans reduced into the world”

—Aegisippus, quoted in Camden’s *Britannia*¹

In Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, Posthumus and Giacomo wager whether or not Innogen, as a representative of all British maidens, will remain faithful to Posthumus. Though Giacomo fails to provoke Innogen to infidelity, he attempts to convince Posthumus that he has been successful. He recounts a series of intimate details which he acquired by hiding in a trunk stored in her bedroom. Giacomo begins his narrative not with an account of Innogen’s body, but rather a description of the tapestry that adorns her bedroom:

First, her bedchamber—

Where I confess I slept not, but profess

Had that was well worth watching – it was hanged

With tapestry of silk and silver (2.4.66-69)²

¹ Typography but not spelling has been modernized for all early modern texts cited in this dissertation.

² Citations of *Cymbeline* and *Antony and Cleopatra* are from Greenblatt, ed. *The Norton Shakespeare*.

Innogen's tapestry and the story it depicts are offered in Giacomo's narrative as evidence of Innogen's character. Giacomo attempts rhetorically to equate the cloth tapestry with Innogen's character and chastity, inaugurating a thematic connection between character and cloth/clothes that the play will later explore in relation to Posthumus.³ This tapestry is, however, significant in more than its role as memorized detail of an intimate chamber. The story that Giacomo sees on the tapestry depicts the first meeting of Antony and Cleopatra:

Proud Cleopatra when she met her Roman,
 And Cyndus swelled above the banks, or for
 The press of boats or pride: a piece of work
 So bravely done, so rich, that it did strive
 In workmanship and value; which I wondered
 Could be so rarely and exactly wrought,
 Such the true life on't was. (2.4.70-76)

Though significantly shorter, this description recalls a similar one in *Antony and Cleopatra*, written a few years prior to *Cymbeline*. Like the original description by Enobarbus noted for its sensuality, this description of Antony and Cleopatra's meeting is

³ In Act 1, scene 1, when questioned about praising Posthumus too much, the first gentleman draws on cloth imagery, answering, "I do extend him, sir, within himself; / Crush him together rather than unfold / His measure duly" (25-27). The connection between cloth and character also reappears when Innogen informs Cloten that the "meanest garment / That ever hath but clipped [Posthumus's] body is dearer / In my respect than all the hairs above thee / Were they all made such men" (2.4.128-31); Cloten later insists on dressing in Posthumus's clothes as he takes his revenge; and Innogen misidentifies Cloten's corpse as Posthumus's based on these clothes. See David Bergeron's "Sexuality in *Cymbeline*" for a discussion of Innogen's use of clothes to demarcate Cloten and Posthumus as well as Cloten's attempts to use Posthumus's clothes to attain "the strength and manhood that Posthumus represents" (163).

erotically charged: the river “swells” and the boats “press.” By highlighting the sensuality and sexuality of this encounter, Giacomo attempts to convince Posthumus that their encounter was equally charged. In this equation, Giacomo the Italian becomes Antony the aggressive, imperial Roman sexually conquering the foreign and therefore exotic Innogen.

However, as we remember from *Antony and Cleopatra*, the aggressor eventually becomes the prey. In Enobarbus’s account, Cleopatra’s beauty and the extravagance of her barge “pursued up [Antony’s] heart upon the river of Cyndus” (2.2.92-93). Smitten by Cleopatra, Antony invited her to dinner but she refused, inviting him instead. “[C]ourteous Antony, Whom ne’er the word of ‘No’ woman heard speak,” (2.2.228-29) accepted the invitation. Cleopatra assumes the role of aggressor and conquers Antony who was himself there to conquer Egypt. Thus, audience members who follow the intertextuality will realize that Giacomo is implying that not only was he successful, but that Innogen, in fact, became the aggressor.

The allusion also invites the audience to consider the overall relationship between and characteristics of Antony and Cleopatra.⁴ Like *Cymbeline*, *Antony and Cleopatra* is a play that on one level explores the romantic relationship of lovers forbidden by their societies to be together. On another level, it interrogates the interaction between gender and nation: an interaction that in *Antony and Cleopatra* is significantly marked by slippage between the genders. Proceeding from their meeting,

⁴ Rhonda Lemke Sanford, in “A Room Not One’s Own: Feminine Geography in *Cymbeline*,” also briefly notes parallels between Cleopatra and Innogen that extend beyond the allusion, specifically their association with the land and Antony’s and Posthumus’s accusations of their infidelity (73-74).

Cleopatra's masculine-like control over Antony continues throughout their relationship as well. Camidus, upon hearing that Antony's plan to fight by sea where his forces are weaker rather than by land where his forces are stronger, claims, "So our leader's led, / And, we are women's men" (3.8.68-69). Camidus's language links the private realm of romance to the public realm of martial leadership.⁵ Despite Antony's own awareness that he is subject to "strong Egyptian fetters" (1.2.105), his affection for Cleopatra still leads him to abandon the battle against Caesar's fleet when he sees her navy flee (3.10). Though she does not directly influence his tactical decision, she still represents that which keeps Antony from behaving as a proper Roman.

Apparently, Antony's improper behavior occurs in the bedroom as well. While speaking to her attendants, Cleopatra fondly recalls, "Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed, / Then put my tires and mantles on him whilst / I wore his sword Philippan" (2.5.21-23). On a literal level, Cleopatra's and Antony's role-playing demonstrates the playful nature of their relationship. Symbolically, however, the cross-dressing is much more significant. In this anecdote, Cleopatra appropriates the masculine realm and simultaneously relegates Antony to the feminine – a move which to this point has been more implicit than explicit. Furthermore, and more significantly, this cross-dressing crosses nation as well as gender. More than merely wear clothing indicative of the opposite sex, these items are markers of nation as well. Antony wears an Egyptian headdress while Cleopatra dons his sword – and not just any sword, but the sword that

⁵ Interestingly, Camidus's lines and the concern over feminine influence in the public martial realm echo Iago's observation of Desdemona's influence over Othello, "Our general's wife is now the general" (2.3.292-93).

played a crucial role in Roman history since he used it at Philippi to defeat Brutus and Cassius. In a reversal of Theseus's boast to Hippolyta in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "I wooed thee with my sword, / And won thy love by doing thee injuries" (1.1.16-7), the conquered becomes conqueror; and, in the process, the conventional male becomes the conventional female.

Cleopatra's involvement in the affairs of state, however, does not stop at bedroom games. Despite being referred to by Romans as "Egypt" throughout the play, she does not remain the passive symbol of her kingdom, ready to mark its conquest through her conquest. Instead of pining at home while Antony engages Caesar's navy, she insists on participating, telling Enobarbus, "A charge we bear i'th' war, / And as president of my kingdom will / Appear there for a man" (3.7.16-18). Echoing Elizabeth's lines at Tilbury, Cleopatra conceives of herself as a man; unlike Elizabeth, she actually shows up on the battlefield. Cleopatra, as a Queen, would normally influence the public realm through the production of an heir. Through language, she adopts the responsibilities of a male ruler and effectively fabricates her own masculinity. However, since her venture into the martial realm ends with her fleeing the battle, *Antony and Cleopatra* ultimately confirms the misogynistic stereotype that women are not capable of effectively participating in public masculine realms.

Cleopatra reemerges from this stereotype at the end of the play when she commits suicide. This suicide, in the opinion of many critics, approximates Roman masculinity much more than Antony's suicide does. Placing the asp to her chest, she chides her servant into silence, "Peace, peace. / Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,

“/ That sucks the nurse asleep?” (5.2.299-301). At the moment when she is the most masculine, she invokes imagery most associated with the feminine – that of the maternal. The sharp distinction between the masculine and the feminine collapses. Thus, she becomes mother to her own sovereignty and independence not by producing heirs but by avoiding Roman power, colonization, and appropriation. She is only able to escape Roman power on a personal level. The dysfunctional maternity of the asp removes *her* from Roman control, but not her country.

It is exactly this personal (as opposed to national) appropriation and subjugation that she is concerned over when she decides to commit suicide. In one of her more famous utterances, she worries over being taken to Rome where she will witness “Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness / I’th’ posture of a whore” (5.2.216-17). Though no doubt a humorous allusion to the use of boy actors on London stages and specifically to the boy actor delivering that exact line, Cleopatra’s sentiment still contains apprehension over the vulnerability of her gender as well as her inability to control constructions of her gender while in Roman captivity. Her lines demonstrate her concern that the boy actor, with his pre-adolescent voice and his portrayal of her as whore rather than as ruler of Egypt, will make a mockery of her greatness and that this performance by a boy will serve to re-place her in the feminine realm of object of desire or conquest, thereby disempowering her.

While Cleopatra’s concerns may be self-centered, Shakespeare’s are not. Shakespeare uses the relationship between Antony and Cleopatra to explore more than the angst of lovers denied happiness by their societies; he explores the relationship

between Rome and Egypt, between conqueror and conquered, between male and female. He demonstrates that the slipperiness of these binaries, especially gender, confuses attempts to locate nation. Caught between her love of Antony and her desire for an independent Egypt, Cleopatra, in an attempt to secure a sovereign nation, tries to become both the mother and father of Egypt. Her attempt resonates in early modern England, a country that was both struggling to secure its own sovereign identity as well as emulate its Roman colonizers by itself becoming an imperial power. Given these burgeoning imperial drives and the English cultural memory of England as a Roman colony, it is easy to find concerns over English nationalism coursing throughout Shakespeare's Mediterranean tragedy.

While critics often examine Shakespeare's Roman and Italian plays in terms of their commentary on English society and culture, the allusion to *Antony and Cleopatra* in *Cymbeline* suggests that we need not roam so far a field to find Shakespeare exploring early modern English nationalism. Written in proximity to one another, the similarities between these two plays extend beyond a single allusion to a thematic intertextuality. While *Antony and Cleopatra* is not the focus of this study, the play provides the backdrop against which this chapter will examine issues of gender, colonization, and Rome in Shakespeare's romance. In *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare engages many of the issues of gender and nation briefly outlined above, shifting the focus from exotic Egypt to ancient Britain, an ambiguous setting both familiar and foreign to early modern audiences. Shakespeare is not alone, however, in his interest in these issues and the use of ancient Britain to explore them. Strongly suggestive, if not directly allusive, of

Antony and Cleopatra, John Fletcher's tragedy, *Bonduca*, which depicts the tragic demise of the British queen, Boadicea, known for her defiance of Roman imperialism, was also written within a few years of *Cymbeline* and interrogates similar issues from the perspective of tragedy. The proximity of these plays to one another, coupled with their similar interests, suggest an instability in Jacobean England over definitions of the early modern English nation as well as how gender and the conception of ancient Britain function in that definition. In addition to exploring these concerns, this study will also consider how topical issues of nation, specifically James I's desire to establish Great Britain through the unification of Scotland and England (which, of course, already includes Wales), affected the depiction of nation in these plays. Written in an England reacting to a concept of Great Britain but set in ancient Britain, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and Fletcher's *Bonduca* negotiate complex definitions of nation. Thus, this chapter is sensitive to the conceptual and literal differences between England, Great Britain, and ancient Britain in these plays and will negotiate through the complex interrelationship of these "nations" in order to ascertain the nationalism of the plays. Appearing in dramatic works that found textual form in the age of burgeoning print culture, the definitions of nation in these plays possess a decidedly materialistic element that previous critics have overlooked. Thus, this study will demonstrate how implicit anxieties of texts and print culture in *Cymbeline* and the explicit textual history of *Bonduca* significantly influence the complex negotiations of nation which occur in these plays.

Background

Before turning to the readings of *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca*, it will be useful to sketch out a little more fully some of the issues explored in both plays – such as the depictions of Rome, the use of origin, the role of gender – and the material histories of the plays. As we shift our attention from *Antony and Cleopatra* to *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca*, we are immediately aware that while our imperial aggressor may have remained the same, the objects of conquest have shifted significantly. Rather than examine the issues of nation and gender that stem from this imperial threat in the exotic setting of the Mediterranean, these plays do so in the antiquarian setting of the ancient British past. Rome's object of desire is not exotic Egypt, but rather domestic Britain; the contested land is not upon a distant shore, but underneath the audience's feet. Roman imperialism in these plays does not occur in a land most of the audience will never see and can only imagine, but on their own turf, where architectural and cultural evidence of this Roman imperialism is still visible. Despite this geographical proximity, a cultural and national gap remains between the Britons of the plays and the English of the audience. Though the English were no doubt expected to locate their origins in the Britons, the plays do not suggest that the two peoples are equivalent. It is the very nature of the connection between the ancient Britons and the early modern English that these two plays attempt to define.

Setting the plays in Britain focuses attention on the British past and transforms perceptions of Rome, leaving Rome ambiguously situated in relation to both ancient Britain and to early modern audiences. Rome exists in these plays as both armed

aggressors to be defied, battled, and ultimately repulsed from the country *and* as a site of honor and point of emulation. This dual identity of Rome may be indicative of Rome's place in the cultural imagination of early modern England. Linda Woodbridge asserts that whereas "Elizabethan England conceptualized itself mainly as the 'feminine' society vulnerable to invasion," Jacobean England identified with "Rome the possessor of empire, enjoying the golden age of Augustus" (343).⁶ Early modern England, thus, conceived of itself as the cultural heir of Augustan Rome, in contrast to the early modern popish Rome which still existed. This contemporary desire to be similar to or identified with Rome appears in the plays themselves. For the ancient Britons as well as Cleopatra's Egyptians focused on defending their nations, their relationship with Rome was clear: Rome was an imperial aggressor to be defeated. However, *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* do not recreate this straightforward antagonistic relationship between Rome and Britain. Though Rome is defied in both plays, this defiance is mitigated and ambivalent, suggesting that though some struggle by the ancient British is good, distancing themselves from the influence of Rome is not.⁷ After all, Shakespeare, Fletcher, and their audiences knew how the story ended. They knew that the British attempts to hold off the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, *and* Normans all failed. Therefore,

⁶ Woodbridge notes that three conceptions of Rome existed in early modern England: 1) Rome as imperial invader 2) Rome as invaded by Goths, and 3) Rome of Augustus enjoying its colonies but not expanding them. Woodbridge maintains that it is the third conception with which England identifies. She adds that James chose to associate himself with neither the masculine aspect of Roman imperialism, nor the femininity of endangered England, opting instead for the third "perhaps hermaphroditic 'peaceful empire' concept" (343).

⁷ Jodi Mikalachki, in *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, sees the early modern acceptance of Roman influence as the lesser of two evils. She argues that "A fear of originary feminine savagery was what consistently drove early modern historians and dramatics of ancient Britain to take refuge in the Roman embrace" (114).

given the remnants of these invaders all around – including architecture, ruins, and language – it also seems reasonable that they could have viewed that England as a result of the cultural influence and assimilation of those different invaders⁸ (though as we shall see in the next chapter, certainly a great deal of ink was spilt asserting that the English culture survived the Norman conquest and occupation unchanged). Willy Maley, however, attributes the ambivalence toward Rome in *Cymbeline* to associations between British and Roman imperialism in opposition to English insularity: “a new English nation grew into an empire virtually overnight, then sealed its fate through an act of union that resulted in a net loss of English sovereignty in favour of a British empire modelled on the Roman one that had only just been shaken off” (149). Thus for Maley, resistance to Rome was an English trait while the emulation of Rome was British. However, as we shall see, neither play negotiates the dynamics between concepts of Britain, England and Rome this neatly. This chapter will examine how this ambiguous relationship is negotiated in the plays and how these playwrights depict the English nation through the ancient interaction of Britain and Rome.

Part of negotiating this relationship between Rome and ancient Briton in *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* includes exploring the past and searching for a national origin for early modern conceptions of nation. While identification with Rome provided a partial source of identity for early modern England, the result of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman conquests was the burial of ancient Britain. The previous invasions

⁸ Garrett A. Sullivan, in “Civilizing Wales: *Cymbeline*, Roads and the Landscapes of Early Modern Britain,” quotes Camden discussing the civilizing influence of Rome, thereby suggesting that knowledge of Rome’s importance to English identity might have been more than implicit (paragraph 25).

effectively erased British stories of origin, an erasure with which, as we shall see, *Bonduca* is explicitly concerned. These plays, therefore, seek to uncover (and ultimately to re-create) these “erased” origins. Through the dramatization of these stories, the plays expose a national origin upon which to build an early modern nation. Colin Kidd, in his study of British identities, concludes that “an ethnic origin myth had to be calibrated against other ideological priorities” (288). It is in this calibration against other ideologies that the search for origins ceases to become disinterested. As Allen J. Frantzen argues in *Desire for Origins*, the search for origins is not only not disinterested, but, in fact, is more of a construction project than an archeological one.⁹ Speaking of *Cymbeline*, Avraham Oz, in “Extending Within: Placing Self and Nation in the Epic of *Cymbeline*,” argues that the concept of nation “plays a major role in creating an integrated communal myth to inform the ideology of a given ‘imagined community’” (82), while John Curran is even more specific, positing that “Shakespeare in *Cymbeline* joins his learned contemporaries in their effort to reimagine their nation’s ancient past according to the new humanist historiography [which cast the Britons as barbarians] but simultaneously to continue to view the ancient Britons as a positive reflection of themselves” (277). According to Curran, these Roman Britain plays sought to “reveal” an “inherent British virtue” (278). Like previous critics, Jodi Mikalachki agrees that the early modern articulation of national identity was concerned with the nation’s antiquarian origins. However, she takes a slightly different view on what they found there; she argues that “[e]arly modern English nationalism was shaped by [a] central

⁹ See, specifically, Chapter 4 of Frantzen’s *Desire for Origins*.

contradiction between a longing on the one hand to establish a historical precedent and continuity, and an equally powerful drive on the other to exorcise primitive savagery from national history and identity” (4). While this study does not ultimately recognize the same savagery in the plays that Mikalachki does,¹⁰ it certainly agrees that early modern writers perceived their ancient Briton ancestors as in need of the Romanizing influence that will inevitably occur. By staging these origins, Fletcher and Shakespeare are doing more than merely revealing the history of British/Roman conflict or the virtue of the British: they are actively participating in the construction of an origin for the purposes of participating in an early modern discourse of nationalism. It is upon these origins which are presented as historical but are (in fact) constructed, that their individual conceptions of the nation are founded.

Interestingly, the construction project of both of these plays begins at roughly the same time, since they appeared on the London stages within a couple of years of one another. Though precise dating of early modern dramatic texts is difficult, scholars, with the help of Simon Forman’s journal entry in 1611, place *Cymbeline*’s provenance as 1609 or 1610, while W.W. Greg, in his introduction to Fletcher’s play, asserts that *Bonduca* probably arrived on the early modern stage shortly afterwards, in either 1611 or 1613-14 (x). Though many critics have noted that these plays appear at a time when a concept of Britishness was being re-negotiated in part as a result of James I’s ascension to the throne in 1603 and his subsequent appeals for uniting the island into the empire of

¹⁰ As Mikalachki argues, this savagery came to be understood completely in terms of female excess. While a compelling argument, the savagery that Mikalachki identifies does not seem in *Cymbeline* much different than many typical Shakespearean villains and certainly down-played in *Bonduca*, a play to which Mikalachki gives surprisingly little attention.

Great Britain, Leah Marcus observes, in *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*, that the debate for union had effectively reached a stalemate by the time *Cymbeline* came to the stage (146). Though the specific debate over union may have solidified, anxieties of identity clearly had not. Certainly, both *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* dramatically stage concerns over Britishness whether the question of union was settled or not. Britishness and Englishness in this period are terms that lack coherent and consistent definitions. For example, though *Cymbeline* does not appear in print until the First Folio of 1623, Dr. Simon Forman describes in his diary a performance that he attended in 1611, a description that has become critically important in attempts to date the play. In the first line of this description, Forman writes “Remember also the storri of Cymbalin king of England in Lucius time” (xiv). While no evidence of its original 1611 billing exists to confirm the accuracy of Forman’s label, in the Folio, the running title reads *The Tragedie of Cymbeline* and the title on the Contents page reads *Cymbeline, King of Britaine*. Given the play’s setting as well as its many references to Britain, Forman’s use of the name “England” could easily be seen as a mistake.¹¹ Why does Forman describe *Cymbeline* as King of England in a play where England seems to be completely absent, in a play that some critics have seen as promoting British nationalism and supporting James’s desire for a unified Britain? Does Forman merely commit a slip of the pen or does he recognize that while England is explicitly no where in the play, it is implicitly everywhere? Like Forman, much modern criticism has failed to recognize the

¹¹ For a more in-depth discussion of Simon Forman’s entry, see Leah Marcus’s *Puzzling Shakespeare*. Marcus also points out that Forman’s description contains a number of errors or differences, including no mention of the political theme or Jupiter’s presence in the play and, in one instance, conflating Posthumus and Cloten.

complexity of these two terms, often using them interchangeably. That neither *Cymbeline* nor *Bonduca* ever mention England does not necessarily restrict them from participating in an English nationalism that asserts itself in the face of the emergent desire for British union. Furthermore, the Britain invoked in *Bonduca*'s opening lines and in *Cymbeline*'s "published peace" is not necessarily the same Britain invoked in the cultural imagination of the audience by James's desire to unite the island and create Great Britain, a desire that was partially (and one thinks unsatisfyingly) realized in a royal proclamation on 20 October 1604 in which James declares "Wherefore Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regall Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in maner and forme hereafter expressed, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, including therein according to the trueth, the whole Island"¹² Only in title, but Great Britain had been formed. Even Maley, who is one of a few scholars sensitive to conceptual distinctions between Britain and England, elides the ancient Britain of the plays with James's early modern Britain. In his study on British identity in *Cymbeline* and to a lesser extent, *Bonduca*, Maley argues that the plays are a celebration of the British union of Scotland and England. Maley points out that "[p]art of the Stuart myth of course was to portray Britishness as a kind of *homecoming*. British identity is represented – like Protestantism, in fact – as a return to original wholeness, to unity and integrity, to a pre-existent identity that was dormant during centuries of foreign tyranny,

¹² Later in the same proclamation, he repeats his desire to be referred to as the King of Great Britain, this time justifying the title through his own royal power rather than the truth of the island: "Wee doe by these Presents, by force of our Kingly Power and Prerogative, assume to Our selfe by the cleerenesse of our Right, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c."

Roman and Norman” (emphasis added 149). In her recent article titled “Delving to the Root: *Cymbeline*, Scotland, and the English Race,” Mary Floyd-Wilson examines Shakespeare’s use of Scottish and English chronicle history sources to argue not that the play celebrates Jacobean notions of Britishness but that “*Cymbeline* spins out an English historical fantasy in which the Scots submit to Anglo-British rule and the English emerge as a race unaffected by Britain’s early history of mingled genealogies and military defeats” (102).¹³ This chapter adopts a position between the pro-British perspective of Maley and Floyd-Wilson’s English exceptionalism. I argue that, rather than nostalgically gazing backward at the untainted British past, these plays implicitly acknowledge and embrace the influence of Rome, an influence which is essential in the construction of an English, rather than an emergent British nationalism.

One of the primary obstacles to an unambiguous British homecoming such as Maley sees is the significant role that gender plays in depiction of nationalism in these plays. It is the function of gender in the nationalism of the plays that many critics, who focus on the topicality and/or nationalism of this play, overlook.¹⁴ Jodi Mikalachki and her book, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, represent a significant exception. Similar to my own assertions concerning nation, Mikalachki argues that these plays examine and construct origin through “the projection

¹³ Overall, Floyd-Wilson argues that the play clears the way for the Saxons, rather than the Britons, to be the progenitors of English history, allowing all of Britain’s early martial activity to be ascribed to the Scots (107).

¹⁴ For an excellent reading of *Cymbeline*’s topicality, see Leah Marcus’s impressively researched section on *Cymbeline* in her book, *Puzzling Shakespeare*. She reads Shakespeare’s play as a political allegory, celebrating James’s desire for a unified Britain. While many of her links between James and the play are difficult to dispute, this study, as we shall see, disagrees with such a pro-Stuart reading.

of female savagery onto native origins” as a reflection of “early modern concerns about contemporary gender relations – particularly the perceived threat to social stability from unruly women” (115). And, more significantly, she maintains that texts that explore ancient Britain effect “the desired masculinization of native origins by their progressive domestication of the savage queen” (149). Certainly, on some level, both plays dramatize uncontrolled British femininity and both plays strive to contain and control that femininity. However, the “unruliness” of the queens and the “domestication” of their femininity is not without its ambiguity. After all, Bonduca represents our tragic hero, defending her Iceni tribe from Roman conquest. However, unlike Cleopatra, she takes up this struggle on the battlefield rather than in the bedroom, in the masculine realm rather than the feminine one. Thus her “savagery” may be perceived as merely her willingness to operate in the affairs of men. The same savagery can be perceived in Cymbeline’s queen, who uses her influence over Cymbeline, much like Cleopatra with Antony, to guide the affairs of the state. The Queen does, however, commit evil actions, attempting to murder Cymbeline’s daughter and admitting to plotting against Cymbeline as well. As a result, her status as one of Shakespeare’s villains is relatively secure. However, both Bonduca and the Queen also serve as the loci for British nationalism in the plays, delivering the most pro-Britain speeches. From the perspective of British nationalists facing the prospect of further Roman imperialism, these lines and sentiments, in the case of the Queen and her son, Cloten, seem incongruous with the villainous nature of the characters. This incongruity forces us to question why such nationalistic lines emerge from the mouths of villains, especially when the lines echo

James I himself and suggests the complexity with which these plays approach the questions of nation and gender. Thus, like *Antony and Cleopatra*, these two plays explore the dual operation of power and gender in relationships between sovereigns and sovereignties, ponder the role of masculine and feminine realms in the creation of nation, and suggest more subtle definitions of England and Britain.

In addition to sharing similar settings, foreign enemies, and thematic explorations, Fletcher's *Bonduca* and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* also share similar publication histories, histories that are relatively unmarked by controversy. And, in order to better understand the deployment of nation in early modern England, we will need to remain sensitive to how the material culture of print operates within and on these plays. Neither of the plays was printed before the death of its respective author. Both of them first appeared in print many years after their first appearance on early modern London stages; and they were both printed in large collections that celebrated the work of their individual author. While Shakespeare's First Folio brought *Cymbeline* to print in 1623, it would be another twenty-four years before the publication of Beaumont and Fletcher's folio in 1647. However, in the approximately thirty years between theatrical and print appearances, a manuscript copy of *Bonduca* was produced. In the introduction to his edition of this manuscript, Greg maintains that the manuscript was most likely produced for a private collector and that the scribe responsible for it would have been the book-keeper for Shakespeare's and Fletcher's company, "The King's Men," either Anthony or Edward Knight (v-vi). Though the manuscript has not been positively dated, Greg suggests that it was prepared between 1625 and 1635 (x). Preceding the fifth act in

the manuscript, the scribe indicates that the first two scenes and the first part of the third scene of the fifth act are not included in the manuscript. He adds that “the occasion. why these are wanting here. the booke where [it] by it was first Acted from is lost: and this hath beene transcrib’d from the fowle papers of the Authors w^{ch} were found:” (90). In the time between its active place in the company’s repertory and the preparation of the manuscript, the play’s prompt-book had apparently been misplaced. Upon trying to prepare a fair copy, the scribe had to resort to the author’s (or authors’) foul papers. If we are to believe the scribe, then *Bonduca* must have not enjoyed a great deal of popularity in the intervening years—at least not enough for the company to keep more diligent tabs on the prompt-book. Why, then, the need to produce a fair copy of a play that has fallen out of the repertory? Greg speculates that it was prepared for a private collector but does not elaborate on the evidence he uses to make this suggestion. Even if a private collector indeed wanted a copy of *Bonduca*, what explains the interest in this play after ten to twenty years? Barring the discovery of the private collector’s diary or records, we will probably not be able to answer this question with any degree of certainty. That this manuscript could have appeared within a few years of the publication of *Cymbeline* may indeed be more than coincidence. The plays, though differing in genres, embrace and interrogate many similar concerns over Rome, gender and nation. Thus, *Cymbeline*’s publication in 1623 could have prompted enough interest in Fletcher’s play about the militant British queen to commission a manuscript copy of the unpublished play.

More than merely printing history, print and the early modern book culture play significant roles in the development of and our understanding of early modern nationalism and takes different forms in each of these plays. The diction, imagery, and influence of print culture course throughout the language of Shakespeare's play, actively participating in the construction of nation. The significance of print culture and textual issues in Fletcher's play takes a more passive role, appearing not within the play itself but in its textual history. In the sections that follow, this chapter will consider each play separately, exploring the ways in which each of them negotiate similar issues of depicting Roman-Britain in early modern England. In doing so, it will also illustrate what these figurative elements of print culture in *Cymbeline* and the textual history of *Bonduca* tell us about the construction of early modern English nationalism in these plays.

Cymbeline

Shifting our attention to *Cymbeline*, we will first explore how notions about texts affect the thematic explorations of the play. While the print history of *Cymbeline* is not significantly checkered by textual ambiguities, as many other plays in the period are, *Cymbeline* and its nationalism are nonetheless deeply marked by concerns over textual instability, ambiguity, efficacy in the material production of texts. Superficially, the influence of print culture appears in the high number of instances of and references to writing that appear in the play. This writing usually takes the form of letters but is also used to preserve memories (such as Giacomo's record of what he finds in Innogen's

room) and to express one's opinion (such as Posthumus's declaration, upon thinking Innogen false, that he will "write against" women, "detest them, curse them" (2.5.32-33). Accompanying the references to and instances of writing in the play is the apprehension over the efficacy of both oral and written texts and their ability to represent the truth and be read accurately. As Leah Marcus describes it, "Reading in *Cymbeline* may be enticing, but it is also directly and repeatedly thematized as fraught with dangers, almost inevitably 'misreading'" (140).¹⁵ Thinking, at one point, that Pisanio forged the letters from Posthumus, letters which as we know were faithful though based upon a false oral report, Innogen exclaims, "To read and write / Be henceforth treacherous" (4.2.318-19). At the root of many of the deceptions, misunderstanding and twists that attract criticism of the play are these texts and doubts over whether or not they represent the truth. Print and the explosion of printed matter create the façade of fixity and stability of texts, a façade which this play ultimately exploits. Though we can see through this façade, the notion of fixity and print held sway, at least in the rhetoric, of early modern printers and authors. Print certainly allowed for the illusion of greater control and standardization through its enhanced abilities of production and dissemination. Print did not, as evidenced by Ben Jonson's many reader prefaces, ensure the fixity of interpretation. These issues over the perceived fixity and stability of texts, the ability to interpret them correctly and the possibility of misinterpretation appear throughout the play and will appear from time to time in this discussion. While

¹⁵ Marcus goes on to acknowledge that the presentation of textual authority in the play could undermine any specific political reading of the play, including creating "a potential for multiplicity and diversity in performance that Stuart *Cymbeline* did not – by definition – could not, have" (144). Though I certainly agree with the interpretative instability that the play explores, I demonstrate that not all texts face the same problems.

Shakespeare embraces this façade and seems to endow written texts with more authority than oral reports, he gives “fixed” texts, those most closely resembling printed ones, even greater weight. This concern over textuality influences the definition and deployment of nationalism since the play negotiates the instability of texts and utilizes the authority of fixed texts in the “deliverance” of nation. But, as the play demonstrates, even the fixed texts are not fully reliable. This unease over the interpretation of texts emerges in both the plot concerning Innogen and Posthumus’s marriage as well as the plot over British defiance of Roman tribute. These plots will structure the remaining reading, as we focus first on the marriage and wager plot and the ramifications of the wager’s failure before shifting our attention to the tribute plot and the ramifications of Cymbeline’s failure to continue to defy Rome.¹⁶

Like *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, on one level, seems caught up in depicting the trials and tribulations of two lovers separated by their society, who want nothing more than to be together even if it means their deaths or the loss of their kingdom. Antony and his Egyptian queen find only death, whereas Innogen and Posthumus find themselves together, but at the cost of their sovereignty. While not tragic in terms of life, their story is tragic in terms of nation and power since Innogen is removed from royal lineage by the reappearance of her lost brothers and Britain submits to Rome. Like their more conventionally tragic counterparts, Innogen and Posthumus’s love is deeply implicated in questions of gender and nation. Innogen becomes symbolic

¹⁶ Oz also recognizes the thematic links between these two plots in *Cymbeline*. Specifically, he asserts that both plots dramatize the charged process by which “the parties negotiate self-assertion through the knowledge of the other” (83).

of and is even referred to as Britain in the same way that Cleopatra is figured as Egypt. Questions of gender and nation also course throughout the play, which, it is important to remember, is titled not after the lovers but the king who keeps them apart. Set in Britain rather than far away Egypt, this play strikes closer to the hearts of English audiences since it explores their past as well as their historic and contemporary relationships with Rome.

Our heroine, who in many ways represents Britain itself, is Innogen, the daughter and sole remaining heir to Cymbeline and the throne of Britain. Her character and her relationship to Posthumus spark implicit explorations of nation and gender that complement the more explicit explorations of the tribute plot. There is some textual discrepancy surrounding this name; it appears as “Imogen” in the Folio, while Dr. Forman uses “Innogen.” Either source could be mistaken. Forman could have misheard or the compositor who set the type or scribe who produced the copy that is thought to have been used as the source text could have misread “m” for “nn.” Though many editions assume Forman to be mistaken and use the name as it appears in the Folio, the name Innogen is shared with the wife of Brutus, an ancient King of Britain, whose story would not have been unfamiliar to early modern audiences. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, after Brutus, the great grandson of Aeneas, liberates the Trojans remaining in Greece, he leads his people to Albion, defeats the giants currently living there and claims the island for his people. Brutus, then, names the island, Britain, and his people, Britons, after himself, becoming not only the founder of Britain but also the source from

whence it derives its name (Geoffrey of Monmouth 35-55).¹⁷ In a play so concerned with nationalism, alluding to the Brutus myth through the use of Innogen instead of Imogen is not beyond the realm of possibility (or even probability, given early modern transmission errors). Linda Woodbridge points out that Jacobean ideology identified James with Brutus as well as Augustus. Woodbridge writes, “appropriating the title ‘new Brutus,’ James created himself as an anti-Brutus: uniting England and Scotland reversed Brutus’s dangerous division” (344). However, while Brutus’s Britain was divided among his three sons into portions which came to be England, Wales, and Scotland, according to Monmouth’s account, this division occurred after his death and was evidently done by his sons (Geoffrey of Monmouth 56). Regardless of the division of the kingdom, Brutus was an important point of identification for James as Brutus was the first monarch of the entire island. Thus, by identifying with Brutus, James attempted to legitimize his desire for union by invoking an origin when the island was unified under one monarch. This identification carried the added bonus of linking James’s reign to the classical world and even more legitimacy. Thus, Innogen over Imogen makes all the more sense in a play that dramatizes ancient Britain and alludes to questions of union throughout. Innogen’s presence in the play does not shift the play toward supporting James’s union, especially since, as we shall see, Innogen loses her status as heir to Cymbeline’s throne. Thus, until she loses this status, the name, Innogen, is more appropriate given Cymbeline’s anxiety over his daughter’s potential to become mother of Britain like Brutus’s wife by producing its next male king. Since Innogen fails in this

¹⁷ This account is, of course, generally considered more mythical than historical. Certainly, as we will witness in Chapter III, Verstegan deals with and refutes many of the origin myths concerning Britain.

regard, it makes the attribution of Innogen over Imogen ironic rather than unlikely and gestures toward the complicated relationship between nation and gender. Even the Folio version of Imogen evokes this legendary British wife. By her very name then, Innogen places the readers in the context of explorations of nationalism.

Endangering her potential to become mother of Britain, Innogen falls in love with and weds Posthumus Leonatus, thereby contradicting her father's wishes for her to marry his wife's son and his stepson, Cloten. As a child, Posthumus's two brothers died "in the wars o'th'time" (1.1.35). Racked with grief, Posthumus's father, who himself fought the Romans with Cymbeline's uncle, and his mother also died, leaving Posthumus an orphan. In reward for his family's sacrifices, Posthumus was raised and nurtured by Cymbeline. Despite Posthumus's close relationship with the royal family and his almost surrogate role as Cymbeline's son, Cymbeline is outraged when he learns of their marriage and banishes him from Britain by the time the play begins. In exile, Posthumus joins his friend, Filario in what seems to many critics to represent early modern Italy more than first-century Rome. As discussed earlier, *Cymbeline* reproduces a deep seated ambivalence over how to conceive Rome. This ambivalence may also account for what many critics note is a disjointed sense of time in the play. On the one hand, the play is set during the reign of Cymbeline which occurred near the time of Christ's birth. However, there are elements in the play that seem also to indicate a time much closer to the 16th/17th centuries. Leah Marcus argues that

Shakespeare ingeniously (albeit anachronistically) separates two levels of Roman influence in the play – that of the ancient Rome of Caesar

Augustus, associated with the ideals of James I, with peace and benevolent code of law, and that of the Renaissance Rome of the degenerate Italians, associated rather with perversion, bawdry and amorality (126)

Giacomo himself, both by name and behavior, certainly seems to be more a representative of Italy than Rome. There are numerous references to Giacomo as an Italian. Furthermore, “Frenchman,” one of the characters at Filario’s, is identified only by his nation. While it is significant to the central issues of the play that these men are defined by their national identity, these national tags are anachronistic in a play set during the Roman Empire. France and Italy were concepts and terms used much more during the seventeenth century than the first. By hinting at an early modern Italy, Shakespeare also invokes early modern England. Collapsing ancient Rome and early modern Rome works also to collapse ancient Britain and early modern Britain, thereby suggesting that anxieties of nation for ancient Britain speak to early modern national anxieties. Not locked in the distant past of pre-Saxon, pre-Norman Britain, the issues of nation and gender are thus intimately connected to the construction of the early modern nation as well.

A representative of ancient Britain in seemingly early modern Italy, Posthumus is admired by all whom he meets. He reencounters a Frenchman who in Orleans had apparently intervened and stopped a quarrel between Posthumus and another Frenchman that occurred when the men “fell in praise of [their] country mistresses” (1.4.48-49). Posthumus claimed that British ladies, and Innogen in particular, were “more fair,

virtuous, wise, chaste, constant, qualified and less attemptable” than any in France (1.4.51-52). Giacomo, an Italian, overhearing the conversation comes to the defense of Italian women, thereby spawning the wager over whether or not Innogen will be unfaithful to Posthumus. That the men in this scene are primarily identified by their nationality prepares the audience for the nationalism implied in their wager. Posthumus defines Britain, and specifically British women, in relation to other nations, claiming that they surpass those of other nations in qualities befitting ladies. Already symbolic of Britain by name and by status as heir, Innogen now symbolizes Britain through her gender as well. Given women’s role in the production of heirs and the inability of men completely to control or assure paternity, women already occupy a significant role in the construction of nation, a significant role which could be a source of apprehension for many men. Therefore, it is all the more intriguing that Posthumus, abroad in Europe, voluntarily lays the defense, reputation and even definition of nation on Innogen. Once the wager is made, Posthumus forfeits any control of how Britain is portrayed and this may help explain the depth of his reaction upon “losing” the wager. After he has been convinced that Innogen has betrayed him, Posthumus laments the essential role played by women, rhetorically asking, “Is there no way for men to be, but women / Must be half-workers?” (2.5.1-2). Posthumus’s sentiment foreshadows the conclusion of the play which is focused on removing women from the public sphere and the operation of the nation. Furthermore, at the end of Posthumus’s misogynist diatribe, he claims that he will “write against them, / Detest them, curse them” (2.5.32-33). Already personally aware of the “evil” nature of women, his only motivation for writing against them would

be to publicize their nature, warning other men. This motivation, coupled with such passionate misogynistic invective, would no doubt also have called the Swetnam controversy, a printed pamphlet wars on the nature of women, to the minds of the audience. This allusion not only references printed texts, it references ephemeral texts with questionable authorship and, given the number of responses and counter-responses, even more questionable veracity – issues of texts dealt with in this play as well.

However, long before Posthumus's rant, Innogen meets Giacomo and gets the chance to defend her nation. Providing an oral report of Posthumus's actions, Giacomo tells her that Posthumus has been carousing and womanizing while in exile, even mocking a Frenchman who is pining for his distant love. Innogen responds, "My lord, I fear, / Has forgot Britain" (1.6.113-14). Literally, she probably means that Posthumus has moved on and forgotten about his life in Britain. Innogen could also be saying that she fears Posthumus has forgotten what it means to be British. If Giacomo's story is true, then Posthumus has forgotten his nation and no longer behaves according to its principles. Either way, Britain here also represents Innogen as that which Posthumus allegedly forgets.

While it is not uncommon for male monarchs and princes to be referred to as their nation, such as repeated references to King Harry in *Henry V* as England or even Harry England, the connotations are different when applied to a woman. While Henry seems to be representative of the nation's sovereignty or even imperialism, Innogen (and, as we shall see later, Bonduca) seems to be representative of the nation as object of

desire or conquest.¹⁸ Innogen and specifically her chastity become the route to conquering the British nation, if only in the reputation of its maidens. This attempt to conquer her chastity and the reputation of British ladies parallels the attempted conquest that occurs later in the play with the Roman invasion. Interestingly, when these later attempts occur, conceptions of Britain are gendered as feminine, thus linking Innogen's chastity to that of the nation. When faced with the possibility of Roman invasion, Cloten informs the Roman ambassador that the Britons shall wait in "their salt-water girdle" (3.1.77), metaphorically reminding the Roman of the oceans surrounding Britain as well as the defensive benefits that they grant the island. In addition to casting Britain as female, the metaphor casts "endangered society as a body protected by clothing against rape" (Woodbridge 334)¹⁹ and thus recalls the importance of Innogen's chastity in definitions of nation. The metaphoric connections between nation and sovereign and between nation and woman are conjoined in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Alexas, one of Cleopatra's attendants, says upon entering the stage "Sovereign of Egypt, hail!" (1.5.34). A few lines later she begins to relay a message to Cleopatra from Antony. "'Good friend,' quoth he, / Say the firm Roman to great Egypt sends / This treasure of an oyster" (1.5.42-43). Cleopatra shifts from being sovereign of Egypt when addressed by one of her people to just Egypt when addressed by Mark Antony. Though he might be more interested in a carnal rather than national conquest, Antony refers to himself as *of Rome*

¹⁸ For a discussion of land gendered as feminine and the prevalence of the imagery of sexual congress and rape to describe masculine acts of conquest through surveying and mapping, see Rhonda Lemke Sanford's "A Room Not One's Own: Feminine Geography in *Cymbeline*."

¹⁹ See Linda Woodbridge for a detailed discussion of the link between female body and the body politic in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

while Cleopatra *is* Egypt. Similarly, in *Cymbeline*, when Giacomo is fabricating his story concerning Posthumus's behavior in exile, he refers to him as a "jolly Briton" (1.6.68) as well as what according to Giacomo is a popular nickname for him in Italy: "The Briton Reveller" (1.6.62). Like Mark Antony, Posthumus *is of* Britain while Innogen *is* Britain. Posthumus can act for the nation, while Innogen is acted upon and is cast as Britain embodied.

Her lack of agency is seen most clearly when she successfully defends her nation by seeing through the deception of Giacomo's report but still is ultimately unable to control the representation of herself to Posthumus. Giacomo, through the ruse of the emperor's gift, gains access to her bedroom that night and begins building his case against Innogen.²⁰ As part of his deception, he writes down a detailed description of the room. Included in his observations is a "cinque-spotted" mole on her left breast (2.2.38). Though he claims that writing it down is unnecessary as it is etched in his memory, Innogen and specifically her mole becomes a fixed text from which Posthumus will, incorrectly, read her infidelity. Thus while the text might be fixed, its interpretation is not. From the beginning of the scene, Innogen is associated with texts and printed texts.

²⁰ He gains access to her bedroom, of course, by hiding in a trunk supposedly containing a gift for the Emperor and emerging from it after Innogen falls asleep. Cynthia Lewis, in her article on mode of perception in *Cymbeline*, fittingly describes Giacomo's ruse as a "black parody of birth" (348). Certainly this perverted form is the closest Innogen comes to motherhood in the play (since she allowed the trunk into her private bedroom). It also resonates with the other perverted maternities in the play: the villainous (and only true) mother, the Queen and, *Cymbeline's* own assumption of the mantle of motherhood which we shall examine later. While still sensitive to the sexuality of the scene, Rhonda Lemke Sanford sees this invasion by Giacomo not as a birth but as a rape through his attempt to conquer her through mapping and description. For discussions of Giacomo's "rape" of Innogen, see Catherine Stimpson's "Shakespeare and the Soil of Rape" in *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982) 56-64 and from a more general perspective of female space and forced male entry, see Georgianna Ziegler's "My Lady's Chamber: Female Space, Female Chastity in Shakespeare," *Textual Practice* 4.1 (1990): 71-90.

While in order to maintain historical accuracy, any book that Innogen reads would be a manuscript book, all signs in the scene gesture toward printed texts. Deciding to go to sleep, Innogen tells her servant, “I have read three hours then. Mine eyes are weak. / Fold down the leaf where I have left. To bed.” (2.2.3-4). Though we cannot determine for certain, it seems probable that Innogen appeared on stage with an anachronistic printed text rather than a manuscript book. Her casual treatment of the text through her command to dog-ear the leaf (i.e. page) in order to mark her place is indicative of a print rather than manuscript culture, since books and specifically vellum leaves in the first century would have been so valuable as to most likely discourage such rough treatment. The book receives further attention in the scene when Giacomo notices that she was reading the story of Philomela, another rape victim. It is significant that Giacomo spots the book immediately following his discussion of the mole, further linking Innogen’s body to printed texts. A similar link occurs later in the play when Belarius tells his two “sons” about the evils of the court. He tells them that good deeds do not always translate into an accurate report or reputation. Contrasting his negative, no doubt oral, reputation, he says “O boys, this story / The world may read in me. My body’s marked / With Roman swords” (3.3.55-57). He offers his body as the fixed text to counter his ephemeral and presumably oral reputation, asking his sons to “read” his body. Similarly, Cymbeline links the gender and texts upon learning of the Queen’s treachery; he asks “Who is’t can read a woman?” (5.6.48). That Innogen’s body becomes a text is also affirmed by the vast number of allusions in the scene to mythological and historical women, available to early modern audiences in texts, primarily in printed texts,

including two texts by Shakespeare himself – one of which, *The Rape of Lucrece* was already in print at the time of *Cymbeline*'s appearance on the London stage. As soon as Giacomo emerges from the trunk, he refers to himself as “Our Tarquin” (2.2.12), casting Innogen as Lucrece and tying Innogen to a printed text. The printed text of *The Rape of Lucrece* is further tied to Innogen when she is found by the Romans. She tells Lucius that the corpse she is found next to is that of her dead master, “Richard du Champ” (4.2.379). Many editions note that Richard du Champ (Richard of the Field, in English) might easily be an allusion to the London printer, Richard Field, who printed Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*. Given the internal connections between Innogen and printed texts and specifically to *The Rape of Lucrece*, this allusion seems more and more likely to be part of a larger pattern of connecting Innogen to texts.

Giacomo returns to Italy with his written record of her room. But rather than deliver the written text of his encounter, he delivers his report orally to Posthumus. In the early moments of the description, Posthumus remains unconvinced, even when Giacomo shows him the bracelet he stole off her arm. Posthumus speculates that she could have sent to bracelet to him. It is only when Giacomo resorts to the authority of texts that Posthumus begins to believe. Specifically, Giacomo asks him if she wrote of sending the bracelet to him in her letter. Filario remains unconvinced and urges Posthumus to demand more proof. Filario drops into silence as soon as Giacomo recalls the text of her body. Posthumus misinterprets the significance of the mole. Despite the repeated allusions to rape in the bedroom scene, Posthumus never considers the

possibility of force or deception. Like any text, Innogen is helpless to control her use by any of her readers. Though the defense of the nation is laid upon her lap by the wager, she remains unable actually to defend the nation, despite her best efforts.

Posthumus ultimately accepts Giacomo's fabrication and begins his tirade against women and, more specifically, against Innogen. Giacomo's deception has significant ramifications for the construction of nation in the play by causing Innogen, to this point our representative of Britain, to think abstractly about her nation, her place in it and its place in the world. After he has been tricked by Giacomo into believing that Innogen was unfaithful, Posthumus sends orders to his servant, Pisanio, to kill her. Pisanio, believing in her chastity, encourages her to leave Britain, prompting Innogen to ask,

Where then?

Hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day, night,
 Are they not but in Britain? I'th' world's volume
 Our Britain seems as of it but not in't,
 In a great pool a swan's nest. Prithee, think
 There's livers out of Britain (3.4.135-40)

In these lines, Innogen struggles to come to terms with the realities of her situation and, in doing so, imagines Britain as a nest in a pool, as a place of domestic sanctity on the water. This image is all the more striking since it strangely echoes Giacomo's lines during the wager arrangements when he warns Posthumus, "You may wear her in title yours; but, you know, / strange fowl light upon neighboring ponds" (1.4.77-78). In his lines, Innogen/Britain, rather than the world, is the pond vulnerable to the strange fowl

about to descend upon it. In both lines, the birds will descend and occupy Britain like invaders. However, in Innogen's lines, Britain is a place distinguished and set apart from the world of the pond, while in Giacomo's lines Britain is one of many ponds awaiting fowl. Innogen's conception of nation in this image is insular. Britain is apart from the rest of the world and different from it.²¹ Innogen's use of nest also evokes Britain as a more domestic place and by extension more feminine.

Innogen's lines also capture the tension of a Britain defined by political boundaries in relation to one defined by its natural island geography. Similar to Cloten's reference to Britain's salt-water girdle, her lines suggest Britain to be an island on the sea of the world; and, by defining the nation as the island, she echoes James's desire to have "British geopolitics . . . determined by the natural, unmodified landscape of the island" (Clark 232). However, the play makes it clear that Wales conceptually and literally is outside of Britain. It is a wilderness outside of the king's control. By going to Wales, Innogen leaves Britain but not the island. So, while her lines suggest a nation defined by geography, her actions reveal the reality of Britain as a nation on the island not of the island. Garrett Sullivan astutely observes that the distinction of Wales as outside of Britain "requires that we see that Britain really refers to England, that the court of Cymbeline is an English one" (paragraph 14). While we cannot merely substitute "England" everywhere we read "Britain" in the play, Sullivan's observation

²¹ In contrast, Jodi Mikalachki argues that Innogen's lines, in opposition to the evil Queen's, are not isolationist because they acknowledge the outside world. Mikalachki, specifically, argues that they suggest a place outside of Britain where she may receive better treatment (108). While I agree that she does acknowledge the rest of the world, it seems to be a difficult concept for her, one that she is reluctant to embrace. Mikalachki also points out that, at least visually, Innogen never regains her feminine state as she remains in male clothes throughout the rest of the play.

does note the *suggestion* of England in the geopolitical construction of Britain. Cymbeline's Britain is the geopolitical shell of (more than a symbol of) England. Innogen's lines also engage the insularity of some of the other pro-British sentiments by recognizing that Britain, presumably due to its location on an island, seems to be separated from the world. However, through the use of "seem," these lines also may recognize the illusory nature of this separation, something other pro-British characters in the play fail to do.

In addition to providing the terms with which to define its place in relation to the world, the geography of the island works to defend the nation directly. When Posthumus, dressed as a common British soldier, vanquishes Giacomo in hand to hand combat, Giacomo laments,

I have belied a lady,
 The princess of this country, and the air on't
 Revengingly enfeebles me; or could this carl,
 A very drudge of nature's, have subdued me
 In my profession? Knighthoods and honours borne
 As I wear mine titles are but of scorn.
 If that thy gentry, Britain, go before
 This lout as he exceeds our lords, the odds
 Is that we scarce are men and you are gods. (5.2.2-10)

Though his logic is flawed due to mistaking Posthumus for a commoner, his lines cite a direct tie between his mistreatment of Innogen and his defeat in combat. No doubt

echoing a Renaissance belief that women were closer to nature, he claims that the very geography of Britain is seeking revenge on him by making him weak for his crimes against Innogen. He also concludes that the British nobility must be gods since Posthumus as a “commoner” fought so well. Thus, Britain in the course of Giacomo’s interaction with Innogen moves from being a pond awaiting strange and foreign fowl, to a nest on the sea of the world and finally – and mistakenly – to the nation of gods. Though Giacomo’s logic and conclusion are flawed and Britain is not actually depicted as the nation of gods (though some in the audience may have liked the attribution), his lines illustrate the nationalism of the wager plot and work to collapse the distinction between the plot concerning the conquest of Innogen’s chastity, which we have been examining, and the plot concerning the tribute to Rome, which we will turn to now.

Though the main plot of the play seems to revolve around Posthumus’s and Innogen’s relationship, Romano-British relations consume a great deal of stage time and ultimately serve as a vehicle for the artificial resolution of the lovers’ relationship. In the early acts, we learn that Britain has defaulted on its annual tribute to Rome and that Rome is seeking to re-establish it. Posthumus, while in exile in Italy, predicts that Britain, not afraid of Rome, will not pay. His foreshadowing materializes when in Act 3, scene 1, Cymbeline, his unnamed evil Queen and her equally villainous son confront the Roman emissary Lucius. Not only do they not pay the tribute, but they make it clear that they are willing to fight to preserve their independence from Rome. Echoing Innogen’s insularity, Cloten informs Lucius that “Britain’s a world / By itself” (3.1.12-13) and the Queen implores Cymbeline to remember

The kings your ancestors, together with
 The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
 As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
 With banks unscalable and roaring waters,
 With sands that will not bear your enemies' boats,
 But suck them up to th' topmast. A kind of conquest
 Caesar made here, but made not here his brag
 Of 'came and saw and overcame.' With shame –
 The first that ever touched him – he was carried
 From our coast, twice beaten; (3.1.14-26)

Both the Queen and Cloten make it perfectly clear that Britain not only has the right but also the power to assert its sovereignty. Its island geography both allows it to exist independently and to defend itself. Certainly, few Jacobean audience members would find fault with such patriotic lines, especially when these lines, though spoken by villains, echo James I. Speaking of his dual monarchy and his desire for greater union, James claims in his speech to Parliament on March 29th 1603 that through the union of the crown, the island

is now become like a *little world within it selfe*, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this Nation are now quite cut off: The other part of the Island being euer before . . . the place of landing to all strangers, that was to make inuasion here (James I 272).

His lines almost directly replicate Cloten since both men conceive of Britain as its own world. Like the Queen, James also recognizes the innate defense of such an island and the safety that an island nation possesses. While James invokes the dual nations of the island united in his crown, the Queen defines Britain based on natural rather than political geography. Her lines, while nationalistic, are not accurate since her Britain does not constitute the entire island. The reality of the situation fails to support this definition, since the Romans seem to have no trouble footing their armies on the island, using Wales, a place outside of Cymbeline's control,²² as their landing point. While the Queen seems oblivious to this possibility, James clearly is not. He realizes that controlling the entire island means controlling all of the access and staging points, seeking union by reminding Parliament that Scotland has served as a landing point for invading armies. As Garrett Sullivan notes in his study on the role and significance of Wales in the play and in early modern England more generally, Milford Haven (the Roman landing point) "functioned in the English cultural imagination as the site of either triumphal entry or martial invasion" (8) and that "Shakespeare suggests that Wales is the geographical site across which English cultural struggles take place. Thus both Milford Haven and Wales are landscapes across which English concerns of invasion and identity are articulated" (11). The importance of Wales as a site for English identity both in the play and in contemporary anxieties²³ directs the audience away from the pro-union British nationalism of the Queen, her son, and James and to the struggle for an English

²² As Leah Marcus observes, Wales is a separate country and Cymbeline's control only extends to the Severn river (134-5).

²³ See Sullivan, 9-10.

identity.²⁴ As critics have noticed, by putting these seemingly patriotic lines in the mouths of villains, their patriotism (as well as their resistance to Rome) is undermined.²⁵ That these lines echo similar lines made by James I seems to link the insularity of the Queen to desires for union and ultimately suggests that the play is more interested in English nationalism than British union, a suggestion that will bear more fruit as we approach the conclusion of the play.

In addition to citing the geography of Britain, the Queen also invokes the past and specifically British ancestors as reasons to defy Rome and assert British sovereignty. She reminds Cymbeline of Caesar's two failures while downplaying his eventual victory, calling it a *kind* of conquest. With this description, it is clear that her version of the past is colored by the context of her lines supporting resistance to Roman invaders. The use of the past to structure the present echoes meta-textually with this play, which is itself a depiction of the past nation as well as an implicit construction of early modern nation. Anticipating Giacomo's claim that British geography is responsible for his defeat, the nationalism in her lines is founded on the natural properties of the island. She claims that the land itself will repel the invaders. Cloten quickly adds to his mother's lines, asserting that the kingdom now is even stronger than it was then and Rome, by virtue of no longer having Caesar, is weaker (3.1.34-37). Recalling Posthumus's prediction that Britain will not pay the tribute, he tells Filario that

²⁴ Furthermore, as Sullivan illustrates in his article, Anglo-Welsh relations were marked by the Welsh anxiety that national integration within a British culture would mean assimilation into an English identity.

²⁵ Floyd-Wilson deals with the incongruous nature of these characters differently by linking them to rebellious Scots which, thus, "recasts their British patriotism as Scottish bravado and justifies the play's celebration of Britain's willing submission to Rome" (108).

Our countrymen

Are men more ordered than when Julius Caesar
 Smiled at their lack of skill but found their courage
 Worthy his frowning at. Their discipline
 Now wing-led with their courage, will make known
 To their approvers they are people such that mend upon the world.

(2.4.20-26)

Posthumus's foreshadowing, like the Queen's arguments, also uses the past to influence the present. In both cases, this previous British military strength and its ability to confound and insult if not defeat Caesar is cited as the reason to cease the tribute and invite further conflict. Implicit in even these lines of defiance is respect for Roman greatness as personified for the British through their admiration of Julius Caesar as they attribute previous Roman dominance to him.

Following the lead of his wife and stepson, Cymbeline refuses to pay the tribute and also cites the past. However, rather than return to that previous conflict with Caesar, Cymbeline claims that it "becomes a warlike people" to throw off an imperial yoke and return to the independent sovereignty of the British king responsible for the law of Britain, Mulmutius. While Posthumus's, the Queen's, and Cloten's defiance seems based on previous martial conflict and the potential for success in future martial conflicts, Cymbeline looks back to a time of Britain before Roman influence and seeks to return there. Shortly later he informs Lucius, "I am perfect / That the Pannonians and the Dalmations for / Their liberties are now in arms, a precedent / Which not to read

would show the Britons cold” (3.1.70-73). Not only does he want to resist the Romans by invoking a pre-Roman past, he sees not resisting when other countries are doing so as a potential blow to British reputation and standing. Additionally, resistance to the Romans has precedents in the past, as well as in the resistance offered by other nations. Similar to Innogen’s chastity which served as a symbol of British nationalism in the wager plot, the desire and ability to resist Rome become markers of British nationalism here in the tribute plot.

When later faced with his last opportunity to pay the tribute and avoid martial conflict, Cymbeline cites the will of the British people, claiming that “Our subjects, sir, / Will not endure his yoke, and for ourself / To show less sovereignty than they must needs / Appear unkinglike” (3.4.4-7). Though early modern kingdoms are typically conceived of as extensions of the monarch, in these lines the monarch and the struggle for independence from Rome become extensions of the people. Cymbeline resists not because he wants to, but because the people’s desire to resist would undermine his sovereignty if he did not. That Cymbeline is not nearly as assertive, since his Queen is suggestive of the gender relations in the play, as the feminine is more dominant in the British court than the masculine. Cymbeline’s defense of his decision to resist Roman demands is starting to sound almost apologetic, as if under the weight of these diverse reasons he is powerless to choose any other course but resistance. Oz sees Cymbeline’s invocation of his subjects here as “nothing more than a contrived excuse for his royal (or, at most, family) strategy” (92). Even if Cymbeline overstates or misstates the desires of his subjects, the very act of contriving excuses for his defiance of Roman

tribute demonstrates his admiration for Rome. It is almost as if he attempts to shift blame for the resistance away from himself onto a variety of different factors. This displacement itself seems “unkinglike.” At the moment when the British king should be asserting his power, he seems disempowered.

Part of Cymbeline’s disempowerment may derive from his relationship with Rome. The interaction between Britain and Rome is complicated by Cymbeline’s prior history with the Empire. Cymbeline claims to have acquired much of his honor from Caesar; he tells Lucius, “Thy Caesar knighted me; my youth I spent / Much under him; of him I gathered honour, / Which he to seek of me again perforce / Behoves me keep at utterance” (3.1.67-70). His own Roman training becomes yet another reason for his resistance. Thus, the resistance becomes emulative, because it is only by acting Roman that Cymbeline asserts his country’s independence. Cymbeline attempts to maintain his Roman honor through antagonistic armed conflict with Rome. Rome for *Cymbeline*, both monarch and play, is ambiguous. Rome exists both as a point of emulation as well as armed aggressor.

Despite this disempowerment, Cymbeline does defy the Romans in open conflict. With the help of his lost sons, Guiderius and Arviragus; the exiled noble, Belarius; and Posthumus, the British resoundingly defeat the Romans and take many of them, including Lucius, prisoner. Before shifting attention to the specific battle and the masculinity of the defenders, we will continue to examine Cymbeline’s disempowerment, which stands in stark contrast to the masculinity of these British defenders. Surprisingly, Cymbeline’s disempowerment continues and even increases

after the British are victorious. Rather than revel in his British victory and proclaim Britain free of the Roman imperial yoke (for which his people would not stand), in an astonishingly odd turn Cymbeline agrees to pay the tribute. He tells Lucius,

Well,

My peace we will begin; and, Caius Lucius,
 Although the victor, we submit to Caesar
 And to the Roman empire, promising
 To pay our wonted tribute, from the which
 We were dissuaded by our wicked queen,
 Whom heavens in justice both on her and hers
 Have laid a most heavy hand. (5.6.458-65)

The play does not end with a glorified and independent Britain, but rather with a Britain merged with Rome.²⁶ Rather than acknowledge his desire for further peace and possibly even an attempt to base his Britain on a Roman model, Cymbeline forgets his past claims to pre-Roman British sovereignty or to the warlike nature of his people. Instead, he claims that the only reason he resisted the Romans in the first place was due to the advice of his wicked queen, who both delivers some of the most pro-British lines in the play and attempts some of the most despicable deeds, including plotting to kill the king and his daughter. While many of her deeds qualify as wicked, in the context of his capitulation, Cymbeline's lines also imply that her wickedness, at least partially, lies in

²⁶ Mikalachki asserts that this merger with Rome which follows the death of a central female figure who led British resistance is a pattern that appears in multiple Jacobean dramas set in ancient Britain, including R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman*, and Jasper Fisher's *Fuimus Troes, or the True Trojans* (97).

her nationalistic fervor. As Mikalacki phrases it, “Her intervention in this matter, her disruption of the masculine network of kinship, promises, and honor that binds Cymbeline to Rome, is what constitutes her wickedness” (98). But by placing the blame on the Queen’s wickedness, Cymbeline completely glosses over the previously stated natural, civic, and precedent reasons for asserting national independence. Rather than demonstrate British ability to pay the tribute according to their own terms as some critics have asserted, Cymbeline’s decision to pay the tribute and his explanation for this decision invalidates the entire British resistance. Assigning responsibility to the Queen doesn’t show Britain powerful enough to resist Rome and dictate the terms of the tribute; it suggests that the very act of resistance was itself wicked.

While some of his earlier lines hinted at his disempowerment, Cymbeline’s admission of his Queen’s influence over him confirms it. Nationalism and gender continue to be a conflicted affair. Only through the Queen’s death is Cymbeline able to escape her control and act independently. His independence, however, is short-lived. Amazingly, he gives it away by immediately *voluntarily* subjugating himself to Rome. Like Antony, who was accused of not behaving properly Roman as a result of Cleopatra’s influence over him, Cymbeline’s defiance of Rome was directly connected to a woman. As early as the second act, a lord speaking to the absent Innogen describes Cymbeline as “a father by thy stepdame governed” (2.2.55). Though put in the context of the familial sphere, the use of “governed” still indicates a role in the public sphere, a role which, of course, Cymbeline’s explanation acknowledges. His dominance by the Queen and her son even incapacitates him when they are away. After the Roman army

lands on the British coast, Cymbeline laments, “Now for the counsel of my son and queen! / I am amazed with matter” (4.4.27-28). Unlike the Queen who takes control during the meeting with the Roman ambassador and like Antony, Cymbeline is unable to operate in the public realm of the state, a realm typically associated with the masculine, without the guidance or at least presence of his queen. Though he is the monarch, Cymbeline is disempowered by his Queen who controls the state through her influence over him. If indeed the public realm of the state can be considered masculine for the British as with the Romans, then this influence over power is an inversion of gender hierarchy as well – an inversion which, according to the play, must be corrected for the nation to function.

Like Cleopatra, Cymbeline’s nameless queen represents a powerful woman, influential in the affairs of men. Both *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Cymbeline* make it clear that these women are acting outside of acceptable provinces and must be reformed or contained. Taking an allegorical perspective, Leah Marcus posits that “Through the wicked queen, Shakespeare marginalizes the image of Elizabeth and its association with the valorization of England’s ‘virginal’ isolate intactness, in favor of the Stuart vision of internationalism and political accommodation” (128). While the Queen does stand opposed to the internationalism and accommodation that will shortly grip the play, it does not seem to entirely repudiate Elizabeth’s influence on the play’s concept of nation or her virginity’s importance to it. Through the successful defeat of the Romans in the narrow lane, Britain remains un-pierced and virginal. The virginal intactness further suggests a limit to the internationalism and accommodation of the play as well as their

ability to compromise the integrity of the nation. Recall that Britain, as already illustrated, anachronistically conforms to the geopolitical shape of England. This geopolitical shape combined with its preserved virginity is more suggestive of Elizabeth and England than James and the British union.

Though certainly pro-British and possibly alluding to Elizabeth I, the Queen remains outside the boundaries of proper behavior through her scheming and plotting, including plans to murder both Cymbeline and Innogen. While these actions place her on the wrong side of the moral divide, and afford her no sympathy, it is significant to note that ambition, particularly sovereign ambition, is a stereotypically masculine trait. The Queen's villainization could be viewed as more a response to her participation in the masculine realm of state power than to her murderous plots. The very expression of her pro-British sentiments and defiance to/of the Roman ambassador, arguably her only sympathetic moment, participate in the public realm of power. However, the sympathetic link between the Queen and British nationalism is severed as she disappears shortly after her act of defiance. Silenced throughout the remaining acts, her silence becomes terminal when we learn of her death (which Cymbeline attributes to divine intervention) and her miraculous deathbed confession. This confession, delivered by the doctor, is the tool by which the play takes the Queen out of the masculine realm of the state and places her back into a more "proper place," one where she wields no control in the affairs of men, which, in this case, is found in death. Recalling Mikalachki's assertion concerning the domestication of the queen, her ultimate treatment goes beyond reform to removal. She is not domesticated; she is destroyed, suggesting that her type of

nationalism, which focuses on Britain without recognizing Roman influence, is not something that can be assimilated into the nationalism of the play. While the eradication of this insular British nationalism through the deaths of the Queen and Cloten might suggest a more pro-union outlook in the play, we must be careful not to equate a Roman-British union with an English-Scottish one, as previous critics have. While certainly the latter union is topical to early modern audiences, as we shall discuss in greater detail later, the dynamics of the two unions are markedly different. Some critics have also observed that since the Queen is dead and Innogen, still in male clothing, is silenced, the play ends by removing all the women from the conclusion and thus from the definition of nation. Though all the “women” have disappeared, the femininity associated with Britain and British nationalism assuredly has not.

Though divine intervention saves Cymbeline from the overpowering influence of his Queen and his lost sons save him from the Romans, Cymbeline continues to be associated with femininity. At the end of the play, Cymbeline is reunited with his sons, Guiderius and Arviragus, who were stolen at birth by the banished lord, Belarius. Raising them in the mountains of Wales, Belarius tries to shield the sons and rightful heirs to the British throne from the intrigues of court life. Their martial prowess, which shows through as they insist on fighting the Roman invaders, stands in contrast to Cymbeline’s feminine disempowerment. Interestingly, the boys decide to fight not out of a sense of nationalism as much as out of sense of masculinity and necessity (despite Belarius’s claims to the contrary). They want to fight because it is the masculine thing to do and, of course, this motivation is also directly opposite to their biological father’s

motivation, which Cymbeline claims was the result of the feminine influence of the queen. Arviragus asks, “What pleasure, sir, find we in life to lock it / From action and adventure?” (4.4.3-4). Only by entering the martial realm can they find happiness and satisfaction in life. Believing themselves to be outcasts of Britain, they also choose to fight the Romans out of self-defense, arguing that, in the din of war, they can participate on the British side unnoticed. Sullivan argues that “the salient fact [of their resistance] is not the defeat of the Romans but the display of valour which reveals them as worthy both of the court and the Romans” (18). However, it is this display of valour that sets them *apart* from the feminized British court and allows them to negotiate their relationship with Rome on their terms. In fact, it is their participation, specifically their (along with Posthumus’s) defense of the narrow lane that ultimately insures the British victory. Britain, or at least the defense of Britain, is reduced to a narrow lane. It is in this lane that the British defenders, acting out of their sense of threatened masculinity, thwart Roman penetration. The use of a narrow lane suggests the imagery of a vagina,²⁷ making the Roman advance suggestive of rape imagery such as that seen in *Henry V* when war is metaphorically conceived of as rape. After Henry cites Katherine as the reason for his truce, Charles responds “Yes, my lord, you see them perspectively, the / cities turned into a maid – for they are all girdled with maiden walls that war hath never entered” (5.2.295-97). Similarly, when the British are ultimately victorious, the lane

²⁷ Woodbridge also recognizes the metaphoric connection between the narrow lane and female genitalia, adding that this battle preserves Britain’s chastity by repulsing the Roman advance (334-35).

transforms from the possible location of rape to the birth canal of the nation, restoring not only Britain, but, as we shall see shortly, Cymbeline's heirs as well.²⁸

In fact, Belarius and Cymbeline's two sons stood and defended the lane when the rest of the British army fled. Posthumus berating an anonymous Lord who fled, recounts that they

[m]ade good the passage, cried to those that fled
 'Our Britain's harts die flying, not her men.
 To darkness fleet souls that fly backwards. Stand,
 Or we are Romans, and will give you that
 Like beasts which you shun beastly, and may save
 But to look back in frown. Stand, stand.' (5.3.23-28)

In these lines, British men are defined as those who do not flee. By this criterion, four defenders, all either lost or exiled from Britain, are the only true Britons present. Here, Posthumus also claims that the defenders are Romans and will behave as Romans by killing those Britons who run. These lines are clearly a two-pronged attempt, and an ultimately unsuccessful one, to keep the British army from fleeing. However, it is still significant that the comparison between the defenders of the lane and Romans has been made, especially given Cymbeline's already noted ties to Rome and Roman honor. The dual identification works, as it did with Cymbeline, to create the defenders as possessing

²⁸ The sexuality of their defense of the lane stands in direct contrast to the thwarted sexuality that characterizes much of the play. Bergeron, for instance, demonstrates how all the characters in the play have incomplete sexualities and are unable to achieve sexual fulfillment and thus procreation. Bergeron also points out that the thwarted sexuality of Posthumus and Cymbeline's sons stem from external conditions (banishment and isolation). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that it is these men who participate in the restoration of sexuality to the play and to the birth of the nation.

both British and Roman traits,²⁹ something the concept of nation in the play will ultimately do as well. Furthermore, within the gendered reading of their defense of the narrow lane, the lines add to their association with masculinity through their repeated calls for the British to stand,³⁰ a euphemism for an erection.

In contrast to the masculinity of his kidnapped sons, Cymbeline is gendered as feminine upon their reunion. However, before fully acknowledging them as his sons, Cymbeline needs more proof than Belarius's oral claim of their lineage. Specifically, Cymbeline wants to see a sanguine mole shaped like a star on his neck (5.6.364-66). It is only through the fixed text of Guiderius's body that the boy is restored to the royal family and ultimately as heir to the British throne. Not surprisingly, no corresponding text is needed for Arviragus's legitimacy. Bumping Innogen from the head of the line of succession, the fixed text of the body is required to complete the delivery of the nation from what the play sees as the negative influence of women. Guiderius's mole removes Innogen from symbolizing and defining nation through her offspring in that same way that her mole was crucial in her "failure" to defend her nation by illustrating the chastity and purity of British maidens. Just as she was ultimately unable to control her participation in the definition of nation between Posthumus and Giacomo, the return of Guiderius removes her from participation in defining nation through her potential status as mother. However, the replacement of Innogen with Guiderius is the culmination of a process that began earlier in the play. When Pisanio instructs Innogen to flee Britain, he

²⁹ Not to mention Posthumus's repeated transfers between British and Roman disguises and armies.

³⁰ Including using the term four times in the spaces of the four lines of Act 5, scene 3.

also tells her to cross-dress (at least publicly, change her gender) and seek employment as a servant for Caius Lucius, the commander of the Roman army.³¹ While seemingly innocuous, Pisanio's instructions imply that the move from Briton to Roman is a move across gender as well as nation. In order to find refuge with the Romans, Innogen needs to disguise her femininity and become masculine. Thus, Pisanio's instructions also implicitly suggest associations between femininity and Britain and between masculinity and Rome – associations that are rife, here, in the conclusion of the play, especially as Innogen, as critics have noted, remains in her masculine garb even after revealing her identity. Not only is Innogen stripped of her femininity, her maternity is stripped of any national influence as well.

Innogen's natural maternity is replaced by a much more unnatural one. Echoing the gender confusion and untraditional maternalism of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cymbeline, upon ascertaining that the boys are indeed his sons, co-opts this "delivery" of the nation:

O, what am I?

A mother to the birth of three? Ne'er mother

Rejoiced deliverance more. Blest pray you be,

That, after this strange starting from your orbs,

You may reign in this now! (5.6.369-73)

³¹ Jodi Mikalachki sees Innogen as a counter-example to the Queen's female savagery that impedes the development of nation. She points out, however, that in order to represent respectability and civility, Innogen's identity (both national and gendered) has first to go through various permutations.

Not only does Cymbeline conceive of himself as a mother, he is the happiest mother ever.³² Cymbeline's assumption of the private maternal domestic role is noteworthy here given that only recently has Cymbeline's queen, the only biological mother in the play, died.³³ A woman ruled him during his marriage and once he is freed from that situation, he uses the language of maternity to describe his relationship to his children. Having been deprived of participating in their nurture, he reclaims their nature from a feminine perspective, extending to the imagery of birth. This reclamation of nature is also significant given legitimacy issues, since maternity was vastly easier to prove than paternity. By claiming maternity rather than paternity, Cymbeline could be attempting to solidify an unstable sense of legitimacy. Furthermore, having already referred to Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus as the "liver, heart and brain of Britain" (5.6.14), Cymbeline also becomes, in a manner of speaking, mother of Britain. Notably, his first action as mother of Britain is to disinherit his only female child. "O Innogen, / Thou hast lost by this a kingdom" (5.6.73-74). Heir to the throne during her brothers' absence, their reunion makes her unnecessary to succession. While it conveniently allows the lovers to be reunited (since the roadblock was Posthumus's slightly less than royal status) and certainly Innogen seems happy with the result, she is disempowered by her father/mother through her banishment from the public realm of the state. In fact,

³² Interestingly, Mikalachki argues that Cymbeline rejoices more because his maternity is one that is separated from natural maternity, seen as a dangerous source of authority for early modern women (145).

³³ Bergeron sees Cymbeline's claim of motherhood as a way of highlighting a procreative act which to this point has been impossible due to the character's incomplete sexualities, adding that the "birth" represents spiritual renewal and family reunion" (167). However, Cymbeline's sexuality is still thwarted through his physical inability to be the mother than he invokes; the restoration of order seems to come not with the restoration of the sons but the union of Britain and Rome (itself as I argue shortly, a procreative act).

Cymbeline's femininity supplants the femininity that faced the throne had the sons never been recovered. Not only does it remove the threat of conquest through a potential loss of chastity, it removes Innogen as mother to the next king and, by extension, to Britain altogether. Thus, Cymbeline, while adopting a mantle of femininity, effectively co-opts maternity and the nation from the female, Innogen, at the same time he maintains the femininity of the British monarchy despite the masculine emergence of his sons. In fact, Cymbeline removes Innogen altogether from the homosocial exchanges that mark the end of the play. Writing of these homosocial exchanges, Leah Marcus argues that Cymbeline's reconciliation with Posthumus represents England's acceptance of Rome and Cymbeline's reunion with his sons, England's acceptance of Wales. Even if this allegory stands, Posthumus's reconciliation (with the loss of Innogen's status) seems predicated on his inability to affect the identity of the nation. Thus, even if he is allegorical of union, the allegory preserves English identity in the face of union. And this would seem counter to James I's notion of Great Britain. Marcus is not alone in reading this play and its abrupt conclusion as an allegorical endorsement of James's union. Maley argues that *Cymbeline* is "a play that ostensibly celebrates the union of England and Scotland but which figures it, provocatively and controversially, cloudily enwrapped in a *rapprochement* between Britain and Rome" (148). Floyd-Wilson also sees the union of England and Scotland in the conclusion of this play; however, rather than an analogy to the creation of Great Britain that James envisions, Floyd-Wilson finds that it "signifies ancient Britain's advancement toward civility and provides a historical model of submission for Scotland to emulate in its union with England" (108). I agree

with Floyd-Wilson that the conclusion of *Cymbeline* is not an allegorical endorsement of James's plan for union. There are significant ways in which the unions are different, ways which suggest not the endorsement of Great Britain but recognition of the plurality of English identity.

Pro-union arguments also cast Cymbeline as a James-like unifier. However, this might not be an identification that James would appreciate. After all, it is this father, feminized at the end as mother of Britain, who agrees to pay the tribute to Rome despite a British victory. Rome, as we know, is both a colonial invader and the empire which, by the early seventeenth century, Englishmen will strive to emulate. What's left, then, is a Britain that possesses the masculine strength to maintain its independence but only through the help of Cymbeline's sons who have not been subjected to the feminizing influence of ancient British monarchy. The feminine qualities of Britain, signaled by Cymbeline's turn to maternity, result in Cymbeline's decision to subjugate his country to Rome.³⁴ This feminization of Britain results in the need for corrective influence by masculine Rome. Mikalachki maintains that "[a]lthough this new status also consigned Britain to a feminized role, it avoided the savagery of the purely British nationalism articulated by the ancient queens." Though she doesn't draw any distinctions between

³⁴ Critics vary widely over the motivation for Cymbeline's decision with some critics attributing it to an extension of themes related to the romance-plot of the play rather than in the context of the play's negotiation of nationalism. For example, Cynthia Lewis sees Cymbeline's decision to pay the tribute not as a sign of his femininity or his admiration of Rome as this study does but rather as an expression of "the unconditional good will that Inogen has given Posthumus" and she compliments the "spirit of mercy" that marks the final scene (360). More popular are topical or historical explanations of this decision, see Emrys Jones, "Stuart *Cymbeline*," *Essays in Criticism* 11 (1961): 89 who sees the resolution as a tribute to James's peace-making policies and Glynne Wickham who, in "From Tragedy to Tragi-Comedy: *King Lear* as Prologue," *Shakespeare Survey* 26 (1973): 36, attributes the tendency toward regenerative tragic-comedy to the political consciousness of people spared invasion and war by the peaceful accession of James I.

Britain and Rome, she does argue that the masculine embrace of Rome produces “a civil, masculine foundation for early modern English nationalism” (114). Though the play does not specifically invoke the metaphor of the union as a marriage, with Rome’s and Britain’s respective masculine and feminine associations, the metaphor is not far from the surface. In his speeches to Parliament on 29 March 1603 and 30 March 1607, James uses this metaphor in his arguments for union. His claim in the 1607 speech that “Vnion is a mariage” no doubt echoed his first speech to Parliament in 1603 when he argued, “I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; . . . I hope therefore no man will be so vnreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King vnder the Gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wiues” (272). While James may not be the first monarch to describe metaphorically the monarch-country relationship as a marriage, he might indeed be the first to fear polygamy within the metaphor. James describes England and Scotland as wives who need to be joined in order to legitimize the union of monarch and country. The constant in this desire for union is the role of James as masculine head. James controls both variables of the union and therefore the union will increase rather than decrease his power. Cymbeline’s union is the exact opposite. Rather than increase Cymbeline’s power, the union of Rome and Britain decreases it since he subjugates his country and his self to Rome. Rather than represent the husband and head, Cymbeline and Britain represent the wife. In the 1607 speech to Parliament, James alters the marriage metaphor slightly when he informs the English parliament that in the union, “you are to be the husband, [the Scottish] the wife: you conquerors, they as conquered” (James I

294). Even in this instance, the model of union jars with the one presented in Shakespeare's play. In the play, the conquerors metaphorically take the role of wife while the conquered become the husband. Also, despite his willingness to bestow the title of husband on the English parliament, he is still very much in charge, a fact which he subtly and not-so-subtly reminds it of throughout the speech. With these differences, it is difficult to read Cymbeline's union as an analog for James's. Furthermore, though it is easy to elide the Britain of Shakespeare's play with the Great Britain of James's imagination, they are markedly different. As we have already seen, the Britain of *Cymbeline* does not encompass the entire island (as Milford Haven and Wales seem to exist outside of the kingdom, or at least outside the control of the king). Even if Shakespeare was attempting to evoke Great Britain with this antiquarian setting of Britain, *Cymbeline*'s kingdom becomes a cog in a union rather than the unified whole. The play, then, does not cast a longing eye back toward an independent Britain (which presumably James is restoring) but rather it demonstrates a once proud Britain that is able to defend itself only through the help of its sons who have not been subjected to the feminizing influence of British monarchy. It illustrates Britain as a crucial component of early modern identity, but only one component. Though contemporary apprehension over feminine monarchy may seem to point to Elizabeth I, the time that has passed since Elizabeth died is not insignificant. Given Cymbeline's appropriation of the mantle of maternity and thus the feminized masculinity of Cymbeline's court, the play seems to cast its eye not toward Elizabeth but toward James. Though she does not unpack the implications of gendering the decision as I do here, Anne Parten asserts that Britain, like

Innogen, voluntarily accepts “the role of second among equals.”³⁵ Taking a more pro-Roman approach, Sullivan concludes, “the play is deeply invested in repudiating ancient British culture, represented in all its (imagined) patriotic provincialism by the Queen and Cloten and embracing the civilizing influence of Rome” (19). Sullivan continues by asserting that due to James’s strong identification with Rome in his strategies of rule, “*Cymbeline*’s interest in a landscape and culture civilized by Rome inevitably echoes James’s ambitions for a united kingdom” (20). Rather than an either-or situation, I argue that the happy resolution of the play stems from Britain’s willingness to acknowledge and embrace its role as colony, recognizing the benefits of a relationship with Rome. While certainly the play’s and James’s views of the importance of Rome to England seem to agree, that the play advocates the British union does not automatically follow.

But even this resolution, it seems, needs the printed text for legitimacy, legitimacy that we have seen previously in the bodies of Innogen and Guiderius. While actual printed texts, such as (possibly) Innogen’s bedtime reading, are anachronistic in the play, fixed texts, reminiscent of printed texts do appear as bodies, literal corpus. The only other fixed text comes in the form of the Jupiter’s tablet laid on Posthumus’s chest by the ghosts of his family. Written cryptically, the text is unreadable to Posthumus, so the Roman soothsayer is asked to interpret it. In what seems to be an excellent case of hindsight, the soothsayer interprets the text in such a way as to confirm recent events and, as critics have noted, plays loosely with etymology in the process, concluding that

³⁵ Like Lewis, Anne Parten, “Masculine Adultery and Feminine Rejoinders in Shakespeare, Dekker, and Sharpham,” leans toward defining the decision outside the context of nationalism, suggesting that the subjugation stems from a broader value of concord over equality.

the tablet “promises Britain peace and plenty” (5.6.459). Despite nowhere mentioning Rome on the tablet or in the interpretation, Cymbeline follows the interpretation with his decision to pay the tribute, linking the promise of peace and plenty to this decision. Thus, Cymbeline uses the interpretation to lend legitimacy to his submission to Rome – joining the fixed text of the British tablet to the interpretation of the Roman soothsayer, recalling Giacomo’s imposition of meaning on Innogen’s body. Interestingly, the ability of the soothsayer is implicitly called into question since immediately following Cymbeline’s pronouncement he is forced to revise his interpretation of a previous vision. Like Posthumus’s desire to publicize his misogynistic beliefs earlier in the play, Cymbeline also turns to print and ends the play by ordering, “Publish we this peace / To all our subjects. Set we forward, let / A Roman and British ensign wave / Friendly together” (5.6.478-81). Although, in this context, publish probably means to make public, the word, for the early modern audiences, would be entangled with issues of print.³⁶ Although Cymbeline does not specify his medium, it is likely that early modern audiences would assume the avenue of print culture. Thus, despite concern over the veracity of interpretations, printed and fixed texts are what ultimately solidify the concept of the nation. This residual concern over meaning here also suggests that the text of *Cymbeline*, whether conscious or no, recognizes the possibility of multiple nationalisms stemming from multiple texts, a possibility this dissertation explores.

³⁶ While not directly referring to print, James I ends his speech to Parliament on 30 March 1607 with an odd assurance that his word is good. And, as in the play, he turns to texts as the locus of legitimacy. He tells them, “For I will not say anything which I will not promise, nor promise anything which I will not swear; What I swear I will signe, and what I signe, I shall with GODS graces euer performe” (McIlwain 305).

Furthermore, rather than nostalgically gazing at the ancient British nation, Shakespeare preserves innate British martial prowess and celebrates Roman influence. By becoming subjugated to Rome, Britain's culture is assimilated into and merged with Roman (a relationship that we shall see explored more explicitly in Fletcher's *Bonduca*). What emerges from this play could be a look at the origin of the early modern English state which retains the spirit and character of early modern Britons but is also the cultural and intellectual heir to classical Rome. It is, thus, an English nationalism which emerges in this play as it recognizes its past and current debt to the Roman Empire and stands opposed to the insular British nationalism of the Queen, Cloten, and James I. Though the villainy of the Queen and Cloten makes their deaths more palatable, we cannot forget that these characters are also marked by a staunch British nationalism: a nationalism that refuses to acknowledge outside influence. Recalling Maley's assertion that *Cymbeline* represents a "homecoming" of Britishness free from foreign influence, we have now seen that *Cymbeline* does not celebrate a return to Britishness but a Britishness modified and improved by Romanness: in short, Englishness. In fact, Britain, as an independent state, dies along with the villains. It is not Britain, or even Great Britain, that is explored in this play, but England. While this play celebrates definitely internationalism and union, it does not support James I's desire for British unification. It appropriates the terms of union not to define Great Britain but to define England. Only by recognizing and crediting Roman influence on the origins can the play maintain and promote Roman influence on early modern England. *Cymbeline* may begin the play as King of Britain but he ends it, in Forman's description as "Cymbalin

king of England.” Like all good romances, *Cymbeline* ends in marriage – not of Innogen and Posthumus, married before the play begins – but of Rome and Britain, a marriage that paves the way for the emergence of the English nation.

Bonduca

While *Cymbeline* ultimately satisfies our generic expectations of Shakespeare’s late romances with its happy, albeit somewhat problematic, resolutions, John Fletcher’s *Bonduca* wades through the mire of gender, the British past, and the harsh reality of Roman conquest and colonization from the perspective of a tragedy. In this tragedy, Fletcher dispenses with the romantic plight of the lovers and concentrates on the relationship between Britain and Rome. With the generic change, our savage queen also moves from villain to tragic hero. Like Shakespeare’s play, *Bonduca* brings a strong legendary British queen, Boadicea,³⁷ to the London stage. More than merely spouting nationalistic lines of defiance in the face of Roman demands for tribute, however, Fletcher’s queen also fights for the independence of her country in the face of Roman defilement and occupation. No mere matter of money or abstract principles of insularity, *Bonduca* fights for independence. Both Queens resist the imperial desires of Rome in favor of British sovereignty and both plays, rather than sing the praises of their defiant

³⁷ Though she does not specifically discuss Fletcher’s *Bonduca* in much detail, Jodi Mikalachki provides a detailed examination of contemporary anxieties over and representations of Boadicea. She finds that very few works presented this historical Queen in a positive light with the bulk of them violently rejecting her and her barbarism, adding that this rejection of Boadicea may reflect anxieties about Queen Elizabeth I. I find that Fletcher’s play presents the British queen in a much more ambivalent light. As we shall see, while Caratach argues that she is in need of reform and blames her for the British defeat, the play itself is not ready to agree with Caratach’s conclusions. Furthermore, it seems that Fletcher downplays both *Bonduca*’s personal motivations for resisting Rome in favor of more nationalistic motivations and he lessens the savagery and barbarism that others attribute her.

ancestors (dare we say, foremothers), depict these women ambivalently. While the queens espouse national pride and independence in their speeches, the plays nevertheless suggest that the queens are in need of reform by the males around them. While Cymbeline's queen is clearly more villainous than her counterpart in Fletcher's play, both women are not allowed the strong form of British nationalism that they endorse. In both plays, their views of their nation are tempered by both British and Roman men who seek to establish a more moderate compromise. Like Shakespeare's play, nation and gender are not presented in black and white terms. Both plays are marked by an ambiguity as they explore these issues, an ambiguity that is reflected in much of the criticism.

As much of the criticism of *Bonduca* amply demonstrates, the play defies easy categorization. Both the criticism and the play are marked by ambivalence and ambiguity. For Paul Green, *Bonduca* is primarily a pro-Roman play; for Ronald Boling, it is pro-British; and for Andrew Hickman, it is a play that presents both sides and then encourages the audience to use its discriminatory powers to choose.³⁸ Yet, other criticism speaks to the topicality of Fletcher's play. Julie Crawford suggests that the play "articulates an important cross-section of anxieties and conceptual shifts about women worthies and male homosociality that alludes to the court and reign of James I" (358) and John Curran sees both *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* as participating in the contemporary debunking of the Galfridian Brute myth which traced the origin and

³⁸ See specifically Paul Green's "Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca*," Ronald Boling's "Fletcher's Satire of Caratach in *Bonduca*," and Andrew Hickman's "*Bonduca*'s Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*."

lineage of Britain back to Brute. At the heart of these varied critical responses to the play are Caratach and Bonduca, neither of whom (unlike Innogen) can be satisfactorily identified as the representative of proper Britain or Britishness in the play. With the exception of Ronald Boling, who argues that the play depicts Caratach as “an obsessive crackpot who repeatedly impedes the British cause and spoils dramatic effects,” (404) most discussions of these two primary British characters view them with varying levels of ambiguity. Much of this ambiguity stems from the nature of the two British leaders’ interaction with and against the Roman imperial invaders.

The ambivalence toward Rome expressed through Caratach’s love of Roman honor and his eventual surrender and Bonduca’s unwavering resistance may be a reflection of the same ambivalence toward Rome witnessed in *Cymbeline*. While gender and nationalism in Shakespeare’s play are embedded in the morality of villainy in the figure of the Queen, Fletcher poses the questions of gender in the construction of the early modern nation in his heroic and tragic figure. As we shall see, in addition to her staunch resistance to a force to which everyone in the audience knows she will ultimately lose, Bonduca’s gender certainly poses an obstacle for the type of nation that Caratach seeks, while her status as queen of the Iceni, a British tribe, raises questions of Britishness and Englishness in early modern England.

Though titled in the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher as *The Tragedy of Bonduca*, the play, I would like to suggest, is not as concerned with the fall of the British queen as much as with the subsequent fall of the British nation. In fact, after the defeat of her army, Bonduca, like Cleopatra, chooses to commit suicide rather than face shame

and possible further defilement in Roman captivity. While tragic, her death occurs at the end of the fourth act with the fifth act depicting the death of Bonduca's nephew and Britain's last heir, Hengo, and the surrender of the British general, Caratach. If indeed this play could be characterized as a tragedy, it may not be the tragedy of a person but rather of a nation.

Even then, the British nation at stake in this play is unclear. Though Bonduca is British, she is not the queen of all Britain (despite the title to the manuscript). While other British tribes presumably aid her revolt against the Romans, Bonduca's dominion is not Britain but the Iceni tribe. When Bonduca appears on the battlements of her fort in defiance of the Romans, Junius reminds the audience of her specific tribe by calling her the "Iceni" queen (4.4.6).³⁹ Other than this one instance, the play generally portrays her as representative of Britain. The Romans, however, rarely refer to her by name and never as the British queen. Thus, while Britain seems united, Fletcher undermines this unity by subtly reminding the audience that Bonduca is queen of only one tribe.

Furthermore, despite her past victories over the Romans that include sacking three cities and routing the IXth legion (all of which conveniently occur before the play begins), the Romans do not seem to fear her. Contemplating the impending battle, the Roman commander Swetonius tells Demetrius, "I'll tell ye all my fears, one single valour, / The virtues of the valiant *Caratach* / More doubts me then all *Britain*" (1.2.253-55). Though they do not fear her as an agent *in* the conflict, they value her as an object

³⁹ All citations from *Bonduca*, unless otherwise noted, are from Cyrus Hoy's edition in volume 4 of *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*. Though this chapter primarily utilizes Hoy's edition, it does remain sensitive to differences between Hoy's text and the manuscript version.

of the conflict. Having routed the British army, Swetonius orders pursuit, telling his captains, “There’s nothing done / Till she be seiz’d; without her nothing won” (4.1.70-71). Note that Swetonius is not after Bonduca’s defeat or even her death; he wants to control her (something which he is ultimately unable to do). Thus, for the Romans, her status is representative of their desire to quell the British rebellion. Though he fears Caratach, he needs Bonduca in order to be victorious, implying that through seizing Bonduca, he can also seize Britain. Like Innogen, she becomes the nation rather than an agent of it. However, the manuscript here differs slightly but significantly from the printed text of 1647. Specifically, the manuscript reads “ceasd” (line 1799)⁴⁰ instead of the Folio’s “seiz’d.”⁴¹ Possibly even more remarkable is that the difference goes unmentioned in both Hoy’s edition and Greg’s transcript of the manuscript. While the meanings of the words are quite similar, the slight difference in meaning as well as additional suggested meanings change Swetonius’s objective significantly. Specifically, the manuscript version of the objective is both more lenient and more sinister. On the one hand, “cease” means “to stop,” suggesting that Swetonius only wants her to stop, not necessarily capture and control her. However, “cease” also means to stop existing or pass away, a definition available to early modern audiences, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (“cease, v,” def. 4). This substantive difference also has implications for our discussion. The manuscript use of “cease” casts Bonduca more as an agent in the

⁴⁰ All citations of the *Bonduca* manuscript are from W. W. Greg’s transcription.

⁴¹ Hoy’s edition is based on the 1647 Folio version of the play.

conflict than the object of the conflict. Certainly Bonduca's active role in the definition and defense of her nation also suggests Bonduca more as an agent than an object.

While the Romans seem to cast Bonduca as the symbol of her nation, this symbolism is not clear-cut. While Fletcher's play stages Britishness, this depiction is ambiguous. While Nennius, Bonduca's daughters, and Hengo function significantly in the play, the question of Britain is explored through two principal characters: Bonduca and Caratach. Without critical consensus, how one views the play's judgment of these two characters depends on the relationship one sees between Britain and Rome. On the surface, the play illustrates Bonduca's actions as rampant and in need of control, specifically control from the masculine, honor-centered Caratach. Having recently defeated the IXth Legion, Bonduca opens the play boasting of the British strength in comparison to the Romans:

Caesars soft soul dwells in 'em;

Their mothers got 'em sleeping, pleasure nurst 'em,

Their bodies sweat with sweet oils, loves allurements,

Not lustie Arms. Dare they send these to seek us,

These *Romane* Girls? Is *Britain* grown so wanton?

Twice we beat 'em, *Nennius*, scatter'd 'em,

And through their big-bon'd *Germans*, on whose Pikes

The honour of their actions sit in triumph,

Made Themes for songs to shame 'em and a woman,

A woman beat 'em, *Nennius*; a weak woman,

A woman beat these *Romanes*. (1.1.7-17)

Bonduca is in disbelief that the Romans having been beaten twice would send Swetonius to defy her. In addition, her victory over them, their defeat at the hands of a woman, enables her to emasculate them. Bonduca's conception of her nation is one with the strength and power to continue to defy the Romans. While maintaining gender hierarchies, Bonduca paints a Britain where even the weak women are strong enough to defeat the mighty Roman legions. Bonduca adds a virulent anti-Roman element to Cymbeline's Queen's nationalism, an element definitely present in the Queen's nationalism but not as explicit or developed. Rather than support her lines of national pride and prowess, however, Caratach follows this speech by chiding his Queen. He tells her, "So it seems / A man would shame to talk so" (1.1.17-18). Rather than present a united front against the Roman aggressors, the British argue over the proper way to refer to the Romans and recent British victories over them. Caratach's attempts to mend her speech lead Bonduca to accuse her General of "doting" upon the Romans (1.1.55).

Caratach answers this accusation by painting a very different picture of the Romans and the Britons. He claims to love the Romans as a soldier loves an enemy. The Romans, according to Caratach, are just as honorable, as valiant, and as diligent as the Britons, concluding that there is no taint in the Romans that he has not also witnessed in the Britons. By asserting that they share the same strengths as well as the same weaknesses, Caratach equates the two nations and the two peoples. He then reminds Bonduca that the British army was also guilty of running away from battle, thereby

drawing further similarities between the two nations. In fact, adopting her language, he tells her,

Yes, *Bonduca*,
 I have seen thee run too, and thee, *Nennius*;
 Yea run apace, both: then when *Penyus*
 The *Roman* Girl cut thorow your armed Carts,
 And drove 'em headlong on ye down the hill;
 Then when he hunted ye, like *Britain-Foxes*,
 More by the sent then sight: then did I see
 These valiant and approved men of *Britain*,
 Like boading Owls, creep into tods of Ivie,
 And hoot their fears to one another nightly. (1.1.96-105)

Caratach inverts Bonduca's hierarchy with the Roman "girl" now chasing the Queen and her British troops, even suggesting, it seems, that the men's onset of cowardice was Bonduca's fault. Thus, he checks the uncontrolled national pride of Bonduca by leveling the difference between Britain and Rome. Bonduca, learning her lesson, tells Caratach, "for now I love these *Romans*" (1.1.150). She, however, has mis-learned the lesson, as he makes clear by responding that both extremes of love and hate are "unwise." His goal was not to make her love the Romans, who after all are invading their land; he is trying to show her their worth and value. Fletcher understands that the Roman presence on British soil effectively shaped and enabled early modern English society and culture. Therefore, to paint them as weak cowards would be also to paint England with the same

strokes. From the perspective of potential emulation and the knowledge that Rome will eventually be victorious, it is important to cast the Romans in an honorable and more equitable light. Furthermore, Caratach's chiding of Bonduca echoes Avraham Oz's assertion, which draws on Mikalachki's work on Boadicea and Benedict Anderson's definition of nation as an imagined community, that "the British 'imagined community' may regard such awkward female intervention as representing the dark or hazardous sides of its communal existence, lacking the proper measure of civility and respect for the Other" (82). For Oz, and for Caratach it seems, it is this measure of civility and respect which informs the ideological deployment of nation. Both suggest that lacking the proper respect for a national Other against which to define one's nation undermines and threatens these very attempts at definition. While, certainly, the Iceni Queen lacks respect and civility for the Roman Other, Caratach's relationship moves beyond identifying Rome as the respected Other to depicting it as a mirror of emulation for Britain and for himself.⁴² And, while female intervention in these plays may be considered dark and hazardous, I would argue that more than showing a lack of respect, this female intervention is perceived as dangerous for its unwillingness to acknowledge *masculine* Rome as a proper role model. It is also interesting that though Caratach is technically a subordinate of Bonduca, he seems to be the play's voice of reason and the person responsible for correcting the Queen's passions and guiding her toward recognizing Rome's more ambiguous position in relation to Britain. His role as reformer will become even more evident as the play continues.

⁴² Certainly, this national emulation of classical Rome resonates with the literary emulation of classical literature that marked early modern England.

Returning to Caratach's view of the Romans, his love of the Romans does not extend past resisting them. However, even in his resistance, Caratach acknowledges the eventual result of the Iceni struggle. Caratach stresses the importance of fighting the Romans, asserting that peace is an option except "where we grapple for the ground we live on" (1.1.159). While he recognizes their honor, he also realizes that they are invaders trying to "measure out more ground / To adde to *Rome*" (1.1.166-67). Caratach does not claim to be fighting for the British culture or the British monarchic line; he is fighting for the ground, the physical island. His goal is not to preserve the British monarchy but the British land. In the end, however, he does neither. He adds, "That hardy *Romane* / That hopes to graft himself into my stock, / Must first begin his kindred under ground, / And be alli'd in ashes" (1.1.171-74). Caratach indicates that the Romans are not only there to conquer but to colonize through Roman and British intermixing. In expressing this concern over his stock, Caratach's language metaphorically revolves around ground and crop imagery. Though superficially Caratach speaks of resistance, his image implicitly acknowledges later Roman influence by maintaining that Roman corpses will be required to serve as the fertilizer for the colonization of the island, out of which will spring the result of the grafting of Roman civilization onto the British. Grafting, a horticultural term, involves the creation of a new plant by splicing two different plants or parts of plants together. At least in our modern sense, grafts are done in order to create a better plant. While the *Oxford English Dictionary* does not indicate a positive or negative association with "graft" in early modern usage, Caratach does not explicitly state or even imply that the resulting hybrid would be a detriment to either

culture. Furthermore, the image of Roman corpses nourishing the roots of later English and British culture is reminiscent for later generations of the Roman ruins that mark the English countryside. So while Caratach opposes the Roman army, Fletcher uses him to implicitly acknowledge that Rome will be successful and explicitly recognize their noble qualities. Thus, the confluence of Rome and Britain that was purely political in *Cymbeline* now extends to ethnicity and race in *Bonduca*.

The imagery of buried bones and the language of horticulture reappear as Bonduca and her daughters pray to the gods for a British victory. Her eldest daughter asks the gods “To make thy great work full, thy justice spoken, / An utter rooting from this blessed Isle / Of what Rome is and has been” (3.1.35-37). Echoing Caratach’s language, she asks for the opposite. She wants the Romans removed down to the roots. Similarly, Bonduca invokes buried corpses in her land, but, unlike Caratach, she refers to her ancestors rather than the Roman dead. She tells the gods, “Oh rise, ye valiant bones, let not base earth / Oppress your honours, whilst the pride of *Rome* / Treads on your Stocks, and wipes out all your stories” (3.1.14-16). Rather than graft the Romans onto British stock, Bonduca warns the gods that without their help, the Romans will tread upon their stock, in presumably the manner which Caratach foresees. Furthermore, Bonduca is rightly concerned about their history as well as their identity being erased by the Roman invasions. Certainly, part of what Fletcher, Shakespeare, and other playwrights seem to be doing with plays set in Roman Britain is “recovering” or creating those stories for early modern audiences.

However, we cannot be too quick to assume that the depictions of these ancient Britons are unambiguous points of nostalgia for early modern audiences. In fact, Fletcher may be attempting to lessen, rather than increase, an early modern identification with the ancient Britons. The paganism of the British may be another way of dissuading early modern audiences from viewing the ancient Britons unambiguously as their ancestors. Before the large armed confrontation between the Romans and the Britons begins, Nennius, Bonduca, her daughters, and various druids prepare a sacrifice to their pagan gods to strengthen them while simultaneously weakening the Romans. While the Roman Empire, during this period, was also pagan, Rome would convert to Christianity long before the Britons and Anglo-Saxons and, at least until the Reformation, was the center of Christianity. According to some accounts, Rome was also responsible for bringing Christianity to the British Islands. Bonduca's paganism and use of sacrifices is emphasized while the religion of her Roman opponents is much less conspicuous. Seeming to spar with the British much more than with the Romans, Caratach again chides their way of thinking and approaching the impending battle. Rather than defeating a weakened army, Caratach feels that their victory will be better if they fight a strong one. He tells them to

Cease [their] fretfull prayers,
 [Their] whinings and [their] tame petitions;
 The gods love courage arm'd with confidence,
 And prayers fit to pull them down: weak tears
 And troubled hearts, the dull twins of cold spirits

They sit and smile at.

Before unpacking this passage, I would like to point out another textual difference between the Folio and the manuscript. Specifically, where Caratach describes Bonduca's prayers as "fretfull" in the Folio, he describes them in the manuscript as "fearefull" (line 1263). While again not a major difference in meaning, the difference is significant nonetheless. To fret or "to distress oneself" refers to an internal problem; it implies that the external cause of the distress is not as significant as the internal reaction; and, it suggests that distress is illegitimate. Whereas, "to fear" is more of an external problem; the fear and concern is appropriate for the external cause and the reaction is legitimate. Thus, the Folio's use of "fretful" is clearly more dismissive of and derogatory toward Bonduca, suggesting that her reaction to the Roman threat is not appropriate or even necessary. In both texts, however, Caratach here again tries to correct Bonduca's behavior, claiming that the gods are more responsive to masculine traits such as courage or confidence than they are to tears and troubled hearts. Only in the Folio edition (which uses "fretful") is there an indication of weakness or worry in Bonduca's prayer. In the manuscript version, which lacks weakness or tears, Caratach's chiding could perhaps be a sort of internal stage direction for playing Bonduca. Or Caratach could be acting out of the misogyny in both plays and over-reacting to the prayer that calls for the destruction of the Roman army. The latter seems even more likely when he then demonstrates the "proper" prayers, asking the gods to,

Let Rome put on her best strength, and thy *Britain*,

Thy little *Britain*, but as great in fortune,

Meet her as strong as shee, as proud, as daring
 And then look on, thou red-ey'd god: who does best,
 Reward with honour; who despair makes flie,
 Unarme for ever, and brand with infamie. (3.1.68-73)

He does not ask the gods to ensure a British victory but rather to ensure that both nations are at their best when they engage in battle. Whereas Bonduca repeatedly strives to place her country as superior to Rome, Caratach wants to equate the two countries and reveal them to be the same. Though he acknowledges the size difference between Rome and “little Britain,” he equates their fortune, strength, pride, and daring. For Caratach, victory and the preservation of the British nation take a back seat to a fair fight because only the fair fight can yield honor (personal or national). While Caratach’s sentiment may be explained through conventional warrior posturing, it is noteworthy that masculinity (as he defines it) takes precedence over national defense. He would rather lose and preserve his honor than defend the nation against the Romans.

Furthermore, in addition to reforming the female Queen, Caratach’s paganism is much different than Bonduca’s. He ends his prayer by striking the altar, causing the flame to go out. He claims that this act is his sacrifice. While Bonduca wants to remain, consulting the gods, Caratach tells her the gods have given them permission to fight, that the rest depends on their resolution and that “our valours are our best gods” (3.1.82). Though he never repudiates his pagan gods, Caratach’s actions here seem to diminish their importance. Instead of relying solely on the gods for intervention, Caratach seems

to favor a mode of accountability that may be more sympathetic to some early modern audiences by virtue of seeming less pagan.

Caratach's attempts to reform Bonduca go beyond trying to change her perception of the Romans to her treatment of them and include reforming her daughters, as well. Hungry and out of food, Roman corporal Judas and four common soldiers are caught by the British while out scavenging for food. After being led onto the stage with halters around their necks, Bonduca orders them to be hanged. When Judas gets saucy with the Queen, stating that he would rather hang with meat in their mouths than beg for pardon without eating, Bonduca orders, "Torment 'em wenches: I must back; then hang 'em" (2.3.16). The Romans, facing impending torture and execution, are not quick to surrender their wills. The first soldier, upon hearing the daughters call for the whips, is not beyond making a bawdy joke as he tells them, "Would your good Ladyships / Would exercise 'em too" (2.3.30-31). What is interesting in this scene is that the Roman soldiers do not fear Bonduca (and later her daughters), despite her previous victories. Though the atrocities which some accounts of Boadicea allege she committed against the Romans are not highlighted in Fletcher's play, it is not unreasonable to assume that early modern audiences knew of these atrocities, making the Roman's lack of fear of Bonduca all the more surprising. This lack of fear disempowers Bonduca, who, despite threats of torture and execution (which would presumably have been carried out) cannot strike fear into them. Their tranquility and even impudence in the face of certain death is rewarded when Caratach enters and spares them.

As he corrected Bonduca's rampant nationalism in the previous act, Caratach further reforms and disempowers the British queen not only by stopping the execution of the hungry Romans, but by feeding them, "Why, who shall fight against us, make our honours, / And give a glorious day into our hands, / If we dispatch our foes thus?" (2.3.43-45). Once again emulating the Romans, Caratach is unwilling to sacrifice honor for victory. However, Caratach, as critics have demonstrated, is beginning to out Roman the Romans. Bonduca's threat of hanging is no worse than the Romans received from their own commanders. After telling Petillius that they will not fight until they receive more food (and certainly their foraging trip came in place of their duties as soldiers), Petillius tells them that they will hang, which is, in his words, "a sovereign help for hunger" (1.2.87). Bonduca's actions, in addition to echoing the Roman threat, would have served to benefit the British cause. Furthermore, the value of the soldiers, as Caratach himself notes, is substantial. He claims that these Romans would be worth twenty Britons, and yet he does not keep them as prisoners. Caratach only asks that the Romans repay his hospitality by fighting him in battle and by delivering a challenge to their general.

Later in the play, Roman soldiers again fall into British hands. This time, rather than foraging for food, these captains were looking for love. Spurred on by a letter from Bonvica, Bonduca's youngest daughter, that claimed she would not only marry a Roman captain, Junius, but would also facilitate the surrender of her mother, Junius and his soldiers are captured. The daughters, then, prepare to execute them with archers, mocking his love by describing their executioners as Cupid delivering the love of the

British princesses to the captives. In addition to the ironic phallic connotations of the arrows, the women are operating in the masculine realm by having them executed, but they are using the domestic space and “language” of love to do so. However, true to the previous pattern, Caratach saves the Romans from the British femininity of Bonduca and her daughters which, according to him, damages rather than defines the nation. Still refusing to compromise honor for victory, he chastises the daughters:

He that stirs to execute,
 Or she, though it be your selves, by him that got me,
 Shall quickly feel mine anger: one great day given us,
 Not to be snatch'd out of our hands but basely;
 And must we shame the gods from whence we have it,
 With setting snares for Souldiers? I'll run away first,
 Be hooted at, and children call me coward,
 Before I set up stales for Victories:
 Give 'em their swords. (3.5.72-79)

Of course, Caratach's speech indicates that femininity operating in the masculine realm needs to be controlled as well as showing that he would rather sacrifice his honor and be called a coward than win dishonorably. Because the Romans were not defeated on the field of battle, they were not truly defeated, and therefore must be returned to the Roman army to fight against the British. In addition to reforming the cruelty of the British femininity, Caratach carves a space in which the British princesses are supposed to be powerless: the battlefield. By allowing the Romans to be defeated in battle and

discounting all other methods of victory as dishonorable, Caratach attempts completely to disempower the female rulers since they will not be engaged in combat. More than merely fighting for honor, Caratach debilitates female rule and power. The exception to this is, of course, Bonduca herself, who does wield influence and power with great success on the battlefield – at least temporarily.

Despite Bonduca's past martial success, prayers, expectations, and numerical superiority, the Roman army defeats the British. According to Caratach, the premature timing of Bonduca's charge with the armed carts proves to be the demise of the British forces. Caratach blames Bonduca:

The woman fool. Why did you give the word
 Unto the carts to charge down, and our people
 In grosse before the Enemie? we pay for't,
 Our own swords cut our throats: why? ---- on't,
 Why do you offer to command? the divell,
 The divell, and his dam too, who bid you
 Meddle in mens affairs? (3.5.128-34)

As she leaves to “help all” (3.5.135) (presumably on the battlefield or possibly the wounded), he instructs her, “Home, / Home and spin woman, spin, go spin, ye trifle” (3.5.35-36). Not only does he claim that the Britons lost by fighting one another, Caratach attributes the fault of their loss to Bonduca's decision, and he attempts to reduce her from a proud and bold British queen who for a time staved off Roman colonization to a domestic woman who does not wield influence in the affairs of men.

Though a staunch proponent of nationalism, Caratach rhetorically disempowers Bonduca because of her inability to engage the Romans in a nonviolent way. Thus, he constructs the battle in a manner reminiscent of the conclusion of *Cymbeline*, associating Britain with femininity and Rome with masculinity. Though Fletcher's play leaves these associations more implicit, Mikalachki demonstrates how Holinshed's account of Boadicea does indeed cast the British rebellion in gendered terms by casting the whole British polis as feminine and by highlighting the British mutilation of women (13-14). However, historical accounts provide no justification for Caratach's view of the battle. According to Holinshed, as well as Tacitus and Dio Cassio, Bonduca does not lose her final battle out of a premature attack but rather from confronting Swetonius in an area that negated her numerical advantage. Holinshed writes, "The onset was giuen in the straits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in comparison to their enemies" (501). Though still an error in tactical judgment, it is not an error based on over-zealousness but rather an error of inexperience. As in *Cymbeline*, the narrow topography favors the smaller army. While in Shakespeare's play it allows the four Britons to withstand the entire army, for *Bonduca*, it enables the Roman army to defeat a much larger British army. It would be easy to overstate the connections here since Fletcher chose not to include details of the battle with which he must have been familiar. But it is worth speculating as to the cause for such an omission. In accordance with the trend of the play to this point, omitting a geographical reason for the failure enables Fletcher to blame Bonduca herself for the defeat. It would make more sense for Fletcher to use this information to redeem his tragic hero and make her more sympathetic.

Instead, it seems we are led to the conclusion that Bonduca's error, if this is indeed a tragedy of person rather than nation, is nothing more than her gender.

However, we should not be too quick to follow Caratach's account. While his is one voice, the play itself suggests something different. Interestingly, the closest historical figure for Fletcher's character is Caractacus, a Briton used to contrast Boadicea in contemporary accounts. That Caratach is used to contrast Bonduca certainly suggests a correlation between Caratach and Caractacus. Reading historical accounts, Mikalachki argues that Caractacus is a "figure of exemplary manliness, invoked to counterbalance the overwhelming female savagery of Boadicea, and to re-establish British masculinity" (103). To a point, this assertion seems to hold true for Caratach as well. However, it is worth our time to verify if the play indeed paints Caratach as the masculine civilized counterbalance to Bonduca's feminine presence. In order to explore Fletcher's depiction of Caratach, we must first turn to those he strives to emulate: the Romans. Penusus, the Roman captain who cowardly decided to stay behind rather than be a part of the impending "slaughter" of the Roman army, claiming that the Britons are too barbaric an enemy to warrant Roman death, watches the battle from a distance. Beginning Act 3, scene 5, Penusus and Drusus enter above the stage and observe and comment on the battle. As the two armies engage, Penusus laments, "They are gone, / Gone, swallow'd, *Drusus*; this eternall Sun / Shall never see'em march more" (3.5.12-14). To which, Drusus later responds, "They are gone indeed, Sir" (3.5.25). Their commentary is interrupted by the appearance of the daughters and their captives, the threats of execution, and the release of the Romans by Caratach. During this time,

Penyus and Drusus never indicate that they witnessed any of the “domestic” events going on below them. After everyone from this encounter leaves, Drusus has to awaken Penyus. There seems to be no explicit reason why this is one scene. Even in the manuscript, which was allegedly copied from Fletcher’s foul papers, this comprises only one scene. The long scene continues through the British defeat, Caratach’s accusation and his own fleeing. Drusus awakens Penyus, telling him, “Awake, Sir; yet the Roman Bodie’s whole, I see’em cleer again” (3.5.90-91). Penyus does see the armed carts and the British reinforcements to which Caratach presumably later refers. Framed by Penyus and Drusus’s observations, the pivotal point in the battle seems to occur during the daughter’s attempt to execute the Roman soldiers. Therefore, it seems significant that Caratach’s attempts to preserve the integrity of the battle come during the battle itself and even during a turning point. Rather than in battle gaining his honor and protecting Britain, Caratach is making sure that the daughters do not dishonorably defeat these Roman captains. In fact, when Bonduca’s carts do begin to charge, Fletcher explicitly illustrates Swetonius’s forces being joined by Junius and the other Romans who narrowly escaped execution. So while Caratach explicitly blames Bonduca for the loss, the play seems to implicate Caratach in that loss as well.

Having been defeated at the hands of the Romans, the two characters respond quite differently to their situation. Their responses signal their differing views of Rome. With her fortress under siege and facing certain defeat, Bonduca and her daughters appear on the battlements to talk to the Romans. There, Bonduca remains firm in her resolve and makes it clear that she is not going to submit to Rome:

If *Rome* be earthly, why should any knee
 With bending adoration worship her?
 She's vitious; and your partiall selves confesse,
 Aspires to the height of all impietie:
 Therefore 'tis fitter I should reverence
 The thatched houses where the Britains dwell
 In carelesse mirth, where the blest houshold gods
 See nought but chaste and simple puritie.
 'Tis not high power that makes a place divine,
 Nor that the men from gods derive their line.
 But sacred thoughts in holy bosoms stor'd,
 Make people noble, and the place ador'd." (4.4.19-26)

One has to hand it to Bonduca, she maintains an antagonistic relationship with Rome despite pressure from all sides. Caratach's attempts at reform are ultimately unsuccessful and even undermined. Rather than equate the nations as Caratach would have, Bonduca places the great Roman empire beneath the thatched houses of Britain's commoners. She continues, however, by claiming that the greatness of a place – a country – comes not from high power or a royal line but from the “sacred thoughts” of the people. Bonduca clearly has no interest in the British emulation of Rome or the grafting of their two societies. Significantly, at no point in her speech does Bonduca indicate that a people's nobility comes from the stereotypically aristocratic ideal of honor, as Caratach has repeatedly tried to tell her. In fact, these lines participate in the

disjunction between monarchy and other loci as the primary determinants of nation, first identified by Richard Helgerson. Her view of the greatness of Britain, like Benedict Anderson's view of nation, seems to be a communal one based on the people instead of a monarchic conception of nation in which the king or queen defines nation.

Rather than shrink in fear or surrender and suffer Roman defilement and degradation (much as Cleopatra feared), Bonduca orders her daughters to commit suicide with her. In fact, when they command her to yield, Bonduca responds, "I am unacquainted with that language, Roman" (4.4.9). Here Bonduca explicitly marks their national difference and claims that surrender is not in her vocabulary. Though she literally understands their language, the connotations that language has for colonization are ripe in this scene, as her lines are reminiscent of Katherine telling Henry in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, that she "cannot speak his England" (5.2.101). Though the Romans plead with them not to do it, and the younger daughter even asks that she be spared, all three British women, like Cleopatra, do (voluntarily) commit suicide.

Another noteworthy connection to Cleopatra in this scene is problematic maternity. Whereas Cleopatra envisions herself nursing the asp at her breast in a process of reverse breast feeding whereby the fluid flows to the mother bringing death, rather than from her, bringing life, Bonduca's maternity also delivers death when she encourages her own children to commit suicide.⁴³ Though Bonduca is motivated out of the desire to protect her daughters, Swetonius, witnessing Bonduca's instructions to her

⁴³ As Mikalachki points out, one of Boadicea's more savage acts, recounted in Holinshed, was to parody maternal nurture by removing the breasts of women and sewing them to the victim's mouths (14). It speaks to the more ambiguous portrait of Bonduca that Fletcher is painting that he does not include this barbaric act. Though Fletcher does not include it, it certainly ties Bonduca to the dysfunctional maternity of both Cleopatra, Cymbeline's Queen, and even Cymbeline.

daughters, calls her “unnatural woman” (4.2.93). This label is exacerbated by the younger daughter’s pleas for mercy, pleas directed not at the conquerors but at her own mother. Nowhere in this scene are the previous Roman atrocities inflicted on Bonduca and her daughters mentioned. In fact, the only reference to these atrocities is met with swift and staunch misogyny. In Act 3, scene 5, as the daughters are arguing with Caratach over their treatment of and plans for the Romans, the younger daughter (notably the same who will later plead for mercy), tells Caratach, “By ----- Uncle, / We will have vengeance for our rapes” (69-70). To which, Caratach responds, “By ----- / You should have kept your legs close then; dispatch there” (3.5.70-71). Clearly, Bonduca has good reason to avoid being captured by the Romans.

Not only is she preserving herself and her daughters from further defilement at the hands of the Romans (so much for Roman honor), she is also maintaining her independence; though, like Cleopatra, this independence is unfortunately personal rather than national. As in *Cymbeline*, the result is not total British defeat. John Curran, speaking of these two plays, notes that “in each case, the surrender provides an affirmation of British strength and courage” (282). In her last words, having already consumed the poison, Bonduca tells the Romans, “nay, so much / I hate to prosecute my victory, / That I will give ye counsel ere I die. / If you will keep your Laws and Empire whole, / Place in your Romane flesh a Britain soul” (4.4.149-53). Her counsel captures some of the ambivalence between Rome, Britain, and early modern England. On a literal level, Bonduca is privileging the British soul over the Roman one in what seems to be a clear statement of national or ethnic pride. My soul is better than your soul. But,

her lines are slightly prophetic though reversed, since it is “through” the English body that Imperial Rome soul will, in a sense, survive past its fall. If early modern England was indeed the rebirth of classical Roman grandeur, then England figuratively adopts the soul of its predecessor.

Uncharacteristically for a tragedy, *Bonduca*'s death occurs at the end of the fourth act rather than at the end of the play. It is between the fourth and fifth acts that *Bonduca*'s textual history becomes significant. *Bonduca* first appears on the London stage in either 1611 or 1613-14; a manuscript version of the play, based on the author's foul papers, appears between 1625 and 1635; and, it finally reaches publication in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio in 1647. The largest deviation between the manuscript and printed versions of the play comes in Act 5 where the manuscript is missing two complete scenes and part of a third. Rather than being placed in a reader's preface or dedication, an explanatory note is inserted by the scribe at the top of the page between the acts, breaking the flow of the narrative. While certainly dramatic texts are meant to be performed, this copy, probably produced for a private collector, was clearly meant to be read. And, here the scribe intrudes on the reading process to fill in and explain the gap. His note begins with the lines, “Here should be A Scaene of the Solemnitye of paenius his ffunerall: mournd by Caracticus:” These initial lines are struck through. The remaining note reads:

Here should A scaene be between Iunius. & petillius: (Iunius mocking
petillius for being in loue wth Bonducas Daughter that Killd her

selfe: to them: Enterd Suetonius: (blaming petillius for the Death of
paenius.

The next scene. the solemnitye of paenius his funeral mournd by
Caracticus:

The beginning of this Scaene betweene petillius & Iunius is wanting. –
the occasion. why these are wanting here. the booke where by it was first
Acted from is lost: and this hath bene transcrib'd from the fowle papers
of the Authors w^{ch} were found:

A number of things are remarkable about this passage. It tells us a great deal about the provenance of the text since we know that the scribe is using the author's (or possibly authors') foul papers only because he could not find the prompt book. Thus, he shows a clear preference for the collaborative theatrical text rather than the author-centered one. In other words, his manuscript tries to reflect performance rather than authorial intentionality. It is also interesting that rather than just note the missing scenes, he provides synopses of missing material, synopses that while accurately if perhaps slightly reducing the content of scenes, are out of order with the prompt book which is supposed to have served as the copy text for the Folio edition of 1647. His first attempt at the order was actually correct. In the Folio text, the scene containing Penysus's funeral procession past Caratach precedes the scene containing Swetonius's accusation of Petillius for Penysus's death. The inconsistencies and the synopses themselves open

questions about texts and the role of the scribe in the creation (in addition to the production) of the manuscript text. The scribe tells us that the prompt book is missing but not whether the foul papers are complete or not. It is not clear whether or not those scenes were initially written by Fletcher or added later in the collaborative creation process of the early modern theater. Why does he get the order correct and then reorder them? And, how does he know what the scenes depict if they are missing? Since the foul papers are not extant, it is impossible to learn the text from which he was working. It could have contained cryptic notes about expansion and/or Fletcher's plan for those two scenes. Or, was he perhaps recalling his memory of a performance or his work on the initial prompt book some 10 to 20 years previously? Possibly. Yet another possibility is that the scribe demonstrates a significant sense of his own agency and felt that the scenes made more logical sense in his order since Swetonius blames Petillius for Penysus's death before Penysus's funeral procession appears on stage. The final possibility, while not founded on hard textual evidence, is that the scribe purposefully withheld those scenes. In order to even speculate that this might be a possible option, we must explore the deleted material in more detail than the scribe allows. This material is also of possible importance since it may signal later additions/revisions at the production stage.

With Bonduca and her line dead and the British forces completely defeated, Caratach, along with Bonduca's young nephew Hengo (presumably the only royalty left, though he is not mentioned with Bonduca in Holinshed) flees into the wilderness,

climbing upon a rock that affords them protection.⁴⁴ The initial scene of Act 5 finds Caratach and the boy on the rock, Hengo sleeping and Caratach railing about Bonduca and the destruction that he blames her for, calling her at one point the “agent for adversities” (5.1.4). He also claims that Bonduca’s fury has betrayed the “strong man’s valour” (5.1.7). It seems significant that rather than her country, her nation or her people, her actions, according to Caratach, betrayed the valour of strong men, strong men who would no doubt have been better served by Caratach, himself a valorous man. In fact, the closest Caratach comes to fretting over the nation is when he describes the land as becoming a “wilderness of wretches” (5.1.16). As the funeral procession for Penysus enters, Caratach asks the identity of the deceased and upon learning that it is the Roman captain, he asks that the body be set down so he can pay proper respect to it:

. . . even your foes,
 Your wild foes, as you call’d us, are yet stor’d
 With fair affections, our hearts fresh, our spirits,
 Though sometimes stubborn, yet when vertue dies,
 Soft and relenting as a virgins prayer. (5.1.50-54)

⁴⁴ Jodi Mikalachki argues that, while on the rock, Caratach treats Hengo maternally and, in doing so, echoes the male bonding as well as the transgendered maternity that ends *Cymbeline*, a male bonding that she describes as “the last preserve and final retreat of pure Britishness” (105). This pure Britishness is, of course, polluted by the presence of Rome. Mikalachki continues by asserting that “the moving spectacle of the old warrior nursing the last sprig of British manhood thus suggests an imaginative attempt to construct a native, masculine genealogy proceeding directly from ancient Britain to the Saxon heptarchy, [because of the proximity between Hengo’s name and Britain’s first Saxon ruler, Hengist,] and excluding both women and Rome from the national past,” (105). While certainly the association between Hengo and Hengist alludes to the Anglo-Saxons, whose influence on England we shall examine in the next chapter, it is not consistent with Caratach’s character to try to elude the presence of Rome. As we witnessed previously in the funeral procession, Caratach is still very much concerned with connecting Britain to Rome. The allusion to the Anglo-Saxons only adds to the composite nature of English identity, acknowledging not only ancient Britain and Rome but the Anglo-Saxons as well.

In these lines, he appeals to the men to recognize the Roman qualities within them, seemingly separating the Britons from the Romans merely by their bouts of stubbornness. It is quite ironic that the equation of the Romans and Britons comes in a request to honor the Roman who felt that the Britons were too barbaric to warrant dying and that the Romans had no chance against such superior numbers. Caratach mourns a man for his honor who, out of cowardice, refused to take the field of battle. Caratach's Romanophilia seems to be as out of control as Bonduca's insular nationalism.

After Caratach mourns the Roman captain, Hengo asks him if the Roman was a good man. Caratach responds by comparing him to Hengo's father:

This worthy Romane

Was such another piece of endlesse honour,

Such a brave soul dwelt in him: their proportions

And faces we not much unlike, boy: excellent natures,

See how it works into his eyes, mine own boy. (5.1.70-74)

Caratach equates the dead (and cowardly) Roman captain with Hengo's father. Not only were they alike in their honor and bravery, they even looked alike! Although the relationships are not clear, Hengo is referred to as Bonduca's nephew and seems to be in line to inherit the British throne. Therefore, his father was probably Bonduca's brother and presumably ruled the Iceni before Bonduca. Much like the plays themselves, Caratach draws on the past to influence his present. He sees Roman qualities in Hengo's father as a method of convincing Hengo to love the Romans as he does. Up to this point,

Hengo had steadfastly resisted the Romans much like his aunt, Bonduca. Unlike Bonduca, however, Hengo quickly learns his lesson and claims to love the Romans, weeping for Penysus.

The Romans learn the hiding place of Caratach and the boy and though Judas is the first to point out their location, it is not entirely clear how the Romans manage to find them. However, coming on the heels of Caratach's interruption of the funeral train, it might be safe to speculate that it was Caratach himself, and his Romanophilia, which betrayed their location. Junius orders Judas and his followers to watch over them and to treat them honorably, and we soon learn that that is the last thing they plan to do. They plan on using hunger to lure at least one of them out of their defensive position atop the rock. It is at this point that the manuscript resumes the story after the missing sections of the play. Before turning to the end of the play, we will briefly consider what these "missing" or purposefully deleted scenes add to the play. Primarily, these scenes reveal Caratach's continuing his misogynistic diatribe against Bonduca as well as his love of the Romans, which reaches dangerous levels. He not only continues to equate Rome and Britain, but does so to the point of comparing Hengo's father to a cowardly dead Roman captain. These scenes also suggest that Caratach is responsible for their discovery and thus responsible for the ultimate demise of the British nation. Taken as a whole, these omissions construct a play that casts Caratach as a more sympathetic character than Fletcher's entire play would have him. Without the continued misogynistic attacks on Bonduca, the manuscript could also be seen as sympathizing with Bonduca a little more

than the full play. Interestingly, the previous substantive changes that we have discussed also cast Bonduca in a more sympathetic light, giving her more agency and legitimacy.

The manuscript picks back up in the third scene. As Junius discusses fellow captain Petillius's recent demotion in an aside, Judas uses food to tempt the two men into making themselves vulnerable. On the point of starvation, a condition that Judas himself recently suffered, Hengo lowers himself to retrieve the food. By virtue of allowing Hengo to get the food, Caratach also allows Hengo to be attacked by the Romans. While Hengo did "insist" on going, Caratach's ability as proper guardian must certainly be questioned. As Boling points out, Caratach's actions come full circle to the detriment of the British nation as Judas takes his opportunity and, rather than treat the British honorably as commanded or reward the Briton with the same courtesy afforded him, kills Hengo. After Hengo dies, Caratach laments,

Farewell the hopes of *Britain*,

Thou Royall graft, Farewell for ever. Time and Death

Ye have done your worst. Fortune now see, now proudly

Pluck of thy vail, and view thy triumph: Look,

Look what thou hast brought this land to. Oh fair flower,

How lovely yet thy ruines show, how sweetly

Even death embraces thee! (5.3.160-67)

Deprived of a woman to blame it on by Bonduca's suicide, Caratach turns to Fortune to blame for the state of Britain. Returning to the language of growth, Caratach describes Hengo as a royal graft and sees the hopes of the country disappearing with his death. It

is unclear, however, how Caratach imagined Hengo as a graft. The only possibility it seems would be having Hengo, presumably the new ruler of the Iceni, submit to the Romans and thus subject the British nation to the hybridization that will follow, thereby echoing *Cymbeline*'s conclusion. Adding that his death has brought Britain low, Caratach vows to fight the Romans, taunting them to come up after him so that he can "shake [their] souls" (5.3.171). However, Caratach's noble defense of Britain is short-lived and literally interrupted by Swetonius, the Roman General. Swetonius calms him, assuring Caratach that "I'll use thee like thy self, the valiant Britain" (5.3.174). In the transcript of the play's manuscript, the word "Roman" appears in brackets in front of Britain. The use of brackets in other places indicates a word that was struck through by the scribe. Thus it seems that the scribe initially labeled Caratach as a Roman (or perhaps even as a Roman Britain) only to correct the "error." Thus, in the manuscript, the scribal strike through, still easily readable, performs the emulation that Caratach has seemingly been striving for all along. Seeming to forget about his nation, Caratach surrenders as an honored captive, merely requesting that Hengo be given a proper burial. The play ends with Caratach heading for Rome and Swetonius ordering that Caratach's praises be sung throughout the camps. It is ultimately unclear how this Roman retirement should be read. Are we to see it as emblematic of the successful grafting of the two nations or as the last British general abandoning his defeated nation, thereby ending British resistance to Roman imperialism and cultural assimilation? The nation gets lost in these final moments. Though the battle is over, the play leaves the fate of Britain unresolved, with the audience being asked to supply the rest.

What then are we left with? Rather than the peace of *Cymbeline* with the flags of the two nations waving together, *Bonduca* ends with all of the British soldiers put to the sword, their female monarch and their last royal heir dead, and their greatest hero off to well-praised but certainly ambiguous retirement in Rome. Though Bonduca's resistance is a victory of sorts, it is a hollow one. Unlike the treaty that ends *Cymbeline*, this play ends with Roman victory. How are we then to read the Britishness of the play? While on some levels, Fletcher's play is a celebration of Bonduca's resistance, this celebration is partially mitigated by Caratach's criticisms, whatever his own faults may be. The play allows no space for women in the celebration of the nation by consistently reforming their "errors," blaming them for martial defeats and eventually completely removing from the masculine realm of the public. Despite the misogynistic bent of the play, Caratach himself plays a considerable role in the tragedy of the nation and clearly cannot be viewed as an unambiguous hero and thereby undermining the misogyny for which he serves as the play's spokesman. Thus, Fletcher seems to show not the birth of an early modern British union of Scotland and England but rather the death of Britain and its subjugation to Rome, a death which enables the emergence of the English nation through the Roman grafting of Britain. Like Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, Fletcher's *Bonduca* ends with the death of the British nation and the beginning of Roman Britain – a combination that foreshadows and suggests England. While Shakespeare celebrates the union of Rome and Britain, Fletcher makes the integration of identity more explicit and depicts it as an inevitable but not necessarily unfortunate result.

Conclusion

Though they are both set in ancient Britain and both explore the relationship between ancient Britain and Rome, and both significantly feature discussions of gender and origin in the construction of nation, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and Fletcher's *Bonduca* ultimately depict different nationalisms. Though both plays also depict ambivalent relationships with Rome and both conclude with a combination of the two nations, Fletcher's play, as a tragedy, presents a darker picture of this relationship. Though the play seems to celebrate Roman virtues such as valor and honor, it undermines this celebration through Bonduca's resistance, Penyus's cowardice, Caratach's rampant desire for honor and both refers to the previous raping of Bonduca's daughters and depicts the Roman's dishonorable murder of Hengo. As the tragedy of *Bonduca*, the play presents a reluctant acceptance of Roman conquest. While *Cymbeline* also presents Rome with a degree of ambiguity, the divide is not over whether or not the Romans are honorable or not but rather over the type of British nationalism adopted by its characters. Dramatizing the independent spirit of the ancient Britons, *Cymbeline* rejects insular British nationalism in favor of a concept of nation that recognizes and embraces outside Roman influence. Likewise, in both plays, gender plays a significant role in the definition of nation as women, in these plays, pose a threat to masculine ideals of nation. In Shakespeare's play, the women, both virtuous (Innogen) and villainous (the Queen), serve as the loci of this insular nationalism that must be corrected. While the women of Fletcher's play also need to be "corrected" by the men, their transgression is not the insularity of their nationalism but the tenacity of it. Bonduca and her daughters seek to

preserve Britain at all costs, even if that means tossing aside the typically masculine ideals of honor and fair play, which are themselves interrogated in the play. Like the presentation of Rome, however, the role of the women in nation is not without some ambiguity. Though Fletcher's play explicitly blames Bonduca for the loss, it implicitly awards some of the blame to Caratach. Ultimately, however, the women in both plays are removed from the masculine sphere of nation. Bonduca, like Cleopatra, commits suicide and dies a noble death, and while it allows for Roman conquest, it does not allow for the disgrace of Britain through her status of symbol of nation. In Shakespeare's play, the Queen dies and Innogen loses her status as heir. Not content merely to remove the women from the masculine realm, *Cymbeline* co-opts the feminine and uses gender as the construct through which Rome and Britain would form a union which foreshadows not Great Britain but England.

CHAPTER III
ANTIQUARIANISM, ANGLO-SAXONISM AND THE “DISCOVERY” OF
ENGLAND

"The Historian beeing captived to the trueth of a foolish world, is many times a terror
from well dooing, and an incouragement to unbrideled wickednes."

—Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595)

“*Geography* without *History* hath life and motion, but very unstable and at random; but
History without *Geography*, like a dead carkasse, hath neither life, nor motion at all”

—Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Foure Books* (1657)¹

"Desire for origins . . . does not recover unity but instead uncovers disunity and unites
incompatibilities."

—Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins* (1990)

When last we left Bonduca and Caratach in Fletcher’s play, *Bonduca* (1613), the Iceni queen had committed suicide in the face of Roman conquest and her general, having failed to protect the British heir, had surrendered and was heading for an honored captivity and retirement in Rome. Though certainly, as we witnessed in the previous chapter, Fletcher felt no need to maintain strict historical accuracy in his exploration of the nexus of origin, gender, and nation, it is clear that Bonduca and Caratach are dramatic parallels for the historical figures of Boadicea and Caratacus. Nor is Fletcher the only early modern writer interested in the respective stories of these two Britons.

¹ Quoted in Mayhew’s Introduction to the recent facsimile of Camden’s *Britannia* (vii).

Writing years before Fletcher,² antiquarian writer William Camden, in his *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605), picks up Caratacus's tale where Fletcher will end it: with Caratacus in Rome. Noting that Caratacus had defied the Romans for nine years before being vanquished, Camden prints the speech that Caratacus allegedly delivered to the Roman emperor, Claudius upon his arrival at Rome:

Had my moderation and carriage in prosperitie, beene answerable to my Nobilitie and Estate, I might have come hither rather a friend than a captive; neither would you have disdained to have entred amitie with me being nobly descended, and soveraigne over many people. My present state, as it is reproachfull to me, so it is honorable to you: I had horsemen, munition, and money, what marvel is it, if I were loathe to lose them? If you will be soveraigne over all, by consequence all must serve you: Had I yielded at the first, neither my power, nor your glorie had beene renowned, and after my execution oblivion had ensewed: But if you save my life, I shall be for ever a president and prooffe of your clemencie.

(205)

In this speech (included in the section of Camden's book entitled "Grave Speeches and Wittie Apothegmes of woorthie Personages of this Realme in former times" or shortened to "Wise Speeches"), Caratacus seems to have a much different relationship with the

² While *Remains* was published in 1605, six to nine years before *Bonduca*'s estimated provenance, R. D. Dunn posits that "a book in English about the antiquities of England began to take shape probably in 1593/4 and was complete or nearly complete in 1596/7" (xxxvi). He also maintains that preliminary work on the Wise Speeches section (in which Caratacus's speech appears) began three years before the first edition of *Britannia* in 1586.

Romans than does Fletcher's Caratach. Caratach strove to emulate the Romans; he clearly wanted to be like them, even if it meant subjugating Britain to Rome. While Caratacus does assert a similarity between himself and Claudius reminiscent of Caratach, rather than try to *become* like the Romans, Caratacus posits that they are already similar. He claims a pre-existing equality between himself and Claudius based on their mutual noble descents and positions as rulers, suggesting that Claudius and Caratacus could even have possibly been friends. He also defends his defiance of Rome, claiming that it enhanced the honor of Claudius's victory. As a result of his "wise speech," Caratacus is granted the clemency that he seeks. Upon being pardoned and becoming proof of Claudius's mercy, Caratacus is given a tour of Rome and asks, "Why doe you (*saide hee*) so greedily desire our poore cottages whenas you have such stately and magnificall pallaces?" (205). Unlike his plea for clemency, this observation illustrates the inequalities between Britain and Rome and by recounting it Camden both reminds his readers of the poor state of pre-Roman Britain and undermines Caratacus's assertion of equality.

In Camden's *Remains*, Caratacus's speech is followed by one by Bundica or Boadicia.³ Like Caratacus, Boadicea inspired the Britons to defy Rome and attempt to throw off the yoke of bondage. Unlike Caratacus however, she clearly marks the difference between the British and the Romans. According to Camden, she proclaims "Let the Romaines which are no better than Hares and Foxes understand that they make

³ There are multiple spellings this name in early modern works, ranging from Bonduca and Bundica to Boadica and Boodicia. For the purposes of consistency, I will use Boadicea, which seems to be the standard among modern accounts of the Iceni queen.

a wrong match with Woolfes and Greyhoundes” and then releases a hare from her lap to symbolize Roman fear (206). Camden’s only comment is that “the successe of the battell proved otherwise” (206). While undoubtedly speaking of her eventual and famous defeat (recounted in *Bonduca*), he fails to mention the multiple successful engagements Boadicea had against the Romans. Also, despite Camden’s gloss, it is significant that Boadicea asserts British dominance in a clear statement of nationalism. The nationalism of both Caratacus’s and Boadicea’s speeches is ultimately undermined: Caratacus through his later admission that Rome is much better off than Britain and Boadicea through the ultimate outcome of her resistance to Rome. The failed or hollow nationalism of these speeches raises questions about Camden’s inclusion of them in a chapter seemingly designed for glorifying the noble rhetoric of British ancestors, in a work seemingly devoted to illuminating and thereby glorifying British antiquity.

Remains is not the only text in Camden’s corpus where we encounter these two ancient British heroes. Though appearing in English in 1610 by virtue of Philemon Holland’s translation (five years after the publication of *Remains*, which is often described as an appendix to Camden’s larger work) Camden’s *Britannia* was first published in Latin in 1586 and appeared in four more editions or impressions before 1605.⁴ Camden’s much larger, more comprehensive chorographical description of Britain also discusses Caratacus and Boadicea in a section entitled “Romans in Britaine.” These references, which were published first but actually accessible to the majority of English readers second, differ from Fletcher’s account. We learn that Caratacus does not

⁴ Camden’s *Britannia* had subsequent editions or impressions in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600 and 1607.

surrender to the Romans but is betrayed by another British Queen (not Boadicea). While Camden does not repeat this information in *Remains*, choosing instead to focus on the Briton's time in Rome, it is consistent with a much more defiant and nationalist Caratacus than that found in Fletcher. In *Britannia*, Camden's account of Caratacus is an extended quotation from Tacitus's *The Annals* and neither text includes Caratacus's comment on the relative wealth of the two nations. Similarly, Boadicea's moment of rhetorical and spectacular hubris which appears in *Remains* does not appear in *Britannia*.⁵ Though Camden recounts Boadicea's resistance (again citing Tacitus), he does not include her boasting. He does, however, include a summary of a speech from Tacitus⁶ that is not in *Remains*: prior to the battle with Swetonius, Boadicea informs her troops that she has not taken the field of battle "as a Ladie descended of no noble progenitors, to make either Kingdome or riches her quarrel, but as one of the common people, in revenge of her libertie lost, her bodie sore whipped, and her daughters chastity assailed by unclean handling" (51). Interestingly, Boadicea personalizes her motivations and claims to act not for the nation but for herself. But in doing so she casts herself as one of the many commoners and creates a community among her troops

⁵ The omission of both Boadicea's "hare" speech and Caractus's national comparison are interesting. They both come not from Tacitus but from other writers: Caratacus's comment from Joannes Zonaras' *Compendium of History* in the 12th century and Boadicea's speech from Dio Cassius' *Roman History*.

⁶ It is worth noting here, that Camden relies almost solely on Tacitus to tell Boadicea's story. At the beginning of the account, the text shifts from italics (which are generally used in the 1610 edition to mark quotations) to roman (generally used to indicate Camden's prose). In a parenthetical aside in roman font, Camden writes "for in matter of government in chiefe the Britans make no distinction of sex" (50). This comment directly contradicts much of the concern over gender and sovereignty that we witnessed in Fletcher's *Bonduca*. While it is possible that the switch to roman text was necessitated by available type in the print house, it still seems significant that of all the text on the page, the compositor set only this parenthetical and one other introductory sentence in roman. Furthermore, that line does not appear in *The Annals* (see p. 157).

reminiscent of Henry V's "band of brothers" in his St. Crispin's Day speech in *Henry V*. Why should Camden include Boadicea's Henry-esque speech in one text and an explicit example of her ridiculous overconfidence and naivety in another? Why include Caratacus's speech to Claudius which asserts their similarities over their differences and not include the fact that he had never willingly surrendered? This brief comparison of the accounts of Caratacus and Boadicea in Camden's *Britannia* and *Remains* signals both the close relationship between these works as well as their subtle differences in focus and emphasis. While the aim of this chapter is not to speculate on Camden's specific motivations for these decisions, it will address the types of nationalisms that provide the foundation for these differences and Camden's antiquarian projects, *Britannia* and *Remains Concerning Britain*. It will focus on how, similarly to Shakespeare and Fletcher, Camden turns to ancient Britain and its relationship with Rome for enlightenment; how he expands that search to include later colonizers such as the Anglo-Saxons and Normans; how by using chorography and the history of Britain and the British, he searches for and defines the origins of the English and thus also contemporary England; and how the publication history and the individual projects of these works participated in Camden's construction of nation.

Also like Shakespeare and Fletcher, Camden is not alone in his antiquarian search for nation. Camden engaged his nationalist project from the comfort of Westminster School, where he would eventually become Headmaster, and substantially revised it from the security of his post as Clarenceux King of Arms, to which he was appointed by Elizabeth I. In this position, Camden conserved and interpreted the

genealogical and heraldic records for England south of the River Trent. Another antiquarian, Richard Verstegan took up an antiquarian study of England in his *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* from the confines of Antwerp where, as a Catholic recusant, he was in hiding in exile from Elizabeth I. Verstegan published from the outside of English society both literally and figuratively. While he was able to attend Oxford, he left without taking a degree, probably because he refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. After Oxford, he became a goldsmith (and acquired skills that would greatly enhance the engravings which illustrate his books) and was very involved with the publication of anti-Protestant propoganda, including setting up a secret press in Smithfield to print *A True Report of the Death and Martydom of M. Campion, Jesuite and Prieste*, after which he fled to Paris. In France, he continued to engrave, edit, and print works for the Catholic cause. In 1592, he published *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis* which contained many woodcuts "representing the hanging, quartering, and beheading, or butchering of popish martyrs" (Wood 393) and resulted in the English ambassador's attempting to convince the French to "extradite" him back to England "there to receive reward" (Wood 394). Verstegan relocated to Antwerp where he would live out the rest of his unusually long life.⁷ In 1605, he published *Restitution* (one of his only non-polemical works)⁸ in Antwerp.

Given that Camden was a Protestant who was commissioned to write the history of Elizabeth I's reign and Verstegan was a Catholic hiding from the English state, we

⁷ According to Rolf H. Bremmer, Verstegan died in 1640 at about the age of ninety (144).

⁸ Bremmer observes that "in the context of Counter-Reformationist activities, Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* is the odd man out" (145).

might expect to see an ideological clash of the titans in both their approach to and definition of national origin – especially given that strident intertwined relationship between religion and nation. However, as we shall see, despite these polar differences, Verstegan’s and Camden’s projects show marked similarities since they both explore the history of Britain, “the most famous Iland, without comparison, of the whole world” (Camden, *Britannia* 1). Religion is pushed to the side in favor of more central issues such as language, influences of conquest, and ethnic identity. Not only are Verstegan and Camden interested in interrogating the same areas of their national history, they are doing so (or at least publishing their results) at virtually the same time. Camden’s *Remains Concerning Britain* appears in the Stationer’s Register on 10 November 1604 and was published before 7 April 1605⁹ and Verstegan’s *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* was entered on 21 March and 6 May 1605 and, given its title page date, published by the end of the year, placing the actual publication dates of these texts within months of each other. Additionally the texts were similar enough in nature to affect their sales. Anthony Wood claims of Verstegan’s text, “I am verily persuaded had the said book been published two years before, (I mean before the first edition of Cambden’s [sic] *Remains*, which first saw light in 1604) it would have been more cried up, and consequently would have sold more” (394). Whether or not the advanced publication is responsible, Verstegan’s work lagged behind Camden’s in more than sales. Camden’s and Verstegan’s critical fates have been quite different. Even when discussing Camden and the study of a national language, most scholars either refer to

⁹ The date of 7 April 1605 derives from a reference to *Remains* in a letter from Richard Carew to Sir Robert Cotton (Dunn, xxxvii).

Verstegan in passing or ignore him entirely. Despite Eleanor N. Adams's assertion that Verstegan's "work is more scientific than Camden's" (44), Camden has become, in Wyman Herendeen's words, "the father of modern British history" (146) while Verstegan has slipped further into obscurity. This bias also extends to the manner in which their works are classified today. *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the end of 1972* lists Camden's works under the heading, "Histories and Surveys" (48), while *Restitution* appears under "Dictionaries" (7). Nor have scholars fully recognized the similarities and intertextual relationship between these two works. Even Allen J. Frantzen, who examines the political motivations of Anglo-Saxon scholars since the Middle Ages, describes Verstegan's work as primarily a "linguistic history," significant because it prints a list of "our most ancient English words" (Verstegan 188).¹⁰ Philip Goepp notes that, in addition to being the "first such list in print," it is linguistically accurate. Of the 685 words that Verstegan lists, Goepp notes that 615 are noted either in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* or the *Oxford English Dictionary* to be Old English (249). According to Goepp, Verstegan's "uncanny accuracy" begins to correct notions of "linguistic naiveté in this pre-scientific era" (255, 252).¹¹ Without overshadowing Verstegan's linguistic achievement, it is important to note that attention to Old English did not consume the bulk of his study. Of Verstegan's

¹⁰ Frantzen includes a similar quotation ("our most ancient Saxon words"). He does not attribute this citation but I presume it is from Verstegan. Significantly, I have not been able to locate the usage of "Saxon" in this context in Verstegan's work. Verstegan does, however, use "English words" quite regularly. Philip Goepp, who also cites the phrase "Saxon words" without attribution, may also be Frantzen's source. By emending "English" to "Saxon," Frantzen elides the nationalist tendencies of Verstegan's diction.

¹¹ Sandra Glass further argues that the accuracy of both Camden and Verstegan created a "spirit of confidence in Saxon ancestry" that greatly influenced seventeenth-century writers (101). Glass's assertion, then, highlights the potential effect of the "accuracy" of the past on the present.

ten chapters, six detail Anglo-Saxon culture, history, and religion, while only four deal directly with language and only one of those could be properly classified as a "dictionary." The other three list respectively the etymologies of Anglo-Saxon proper names, the surnames of England divided into English-Saxon, Danish, and Norman names, and the ancient titles of honor and names of dishonor. As I shall demonstrate throughout this chapter, Verstegan's work constitutes much more than an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Conversely, while *Remains* may not have quite the linguistic focus of *Restitution* it does include a chapter devoted to language which lists some Anglo-Saxon words and a long list of Christian names commonly used by the English.

Despite its partial linguistic focus, Verstegan's *Restitution* has a great deal in common with Camden's *Remains* and, as we shall see, his *Britannia* as well. In the preface to her 1917 study, *Old English Scholarship in England 1566-1800*, Eleanor Adams metaphorically describes past scholars, such as Camden and Verstegan as "the pioneers, who blazed a trail which has now become a broad highway" (5). In 1990, Frantzen, examining these same critics, closed this highway for construction, arguing that these Anglo-Saxonists, more than recover Anglo-Saxon England, create it. Frantzen asserts that these scholars, motivated by a "search for origins [that] is never disinterested" (xii) have both consciously and unconsciously allowed their biases to influence their scholarship. Moreover, as Edward Said (to whom Frantzen is heavily indebted) argues in *Beginnings: Intention and Method*, these origins are located in order "to indicate, clarify, or define a *later* time, place, or action" (5). Thus, in addition to constructing Anglo-Saxon England, scholars have used their creation as the building

blocks to construct their own time, place, church, and nation.¹²

In his examination of Renaissance scholars in England, Frantzen identifies two separate areas of Anglo-Saxon inquiry. Frantzen argues that the bulk of this Anglo-Saxon scholarship, led by prominent figures such as Matthew Parker and John Bale, looks for and "finds" the origin of the English Protestant church.¹³ He classifies the work of Verstegan and Camden in a second strand which focused on "the development of a national linguistic history and a distinct sense of national language" (48). Furthermore, Frantzen notes that this "movement toward institutionalization [of the English language was] in league with larger, nationalist impulses" (48). The full title of Verstegan's work, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation*, suggests that this text is much more than "in league" with larger nationalist impulses. Though not explicit in their praise, Camden's titles -- *Britannia* and *Remains Concerning Britain* -- also betray their nationalist impulses. I would suggest that this nationalist element may have been partially responsible for the popularity of these works. All three went through multiple editions before 1640. The remainder of this chapter will examine in greater detail the nationalist impulses of these three works, focusing on how their explorations of early modern Anglo-Saxonism are colored by an early modern nationalism and how they reveal their own desires for a distinctly English nation through the creation, rather than historical

¹² This subjectivity that both Frantzen and Said identify is not a new concept nor is it one which does not affect modern scholars, myself included. The distinction that I will make here is that Camden and Verstegan rather than inadvertently allow their biases to influence their examination of early Britain, actively examine and present early Britain with an agenda based in contemporary constructions of nation.

¹³ See Chapter 2, "Origins, Orientalism, and Anglo-Saxonism in the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" of *Desire for Origins*.

definition, of the Britons, the Romans, and Anglo-Saxons, or as they refer to them, the English-Saxons.

Camden's *Britannia and Remains*

While much of the early antiquarian movement was conducted in Latin, what concerns us is the transition of these texts from Latin to English -- not just translating them from one language to another but the cultural factors that led to this translation and the effects of these translations on culture. This linguistic move is important in terms of nationalism both by increasing the status of the vernacular and by reaching a greater percentage of the nation. Language is one of the foundational marks of a nation. Indeed, as we shall see later, Verstegan will even equate language with nation. Thus, the very transition of texts from Latin into the vernacular has a strong nationalist component. These texts by virtue of being in the vernacular (whether in translation or original) are now part of the nation. As these antiquarian texts become more predominantly English, they switch from only addressing the learned (Latin-reading) audiences to a more general English-speaking audience, able to read and write but not (university) educated or able to read Latin. English texts reach out not only to the educated elite but also to the emerging "middling sort." Thus, not only is the audience and readership of these texts larger, it is broader. While he locates the origin of nation in the 18th century, Benedict Anderson's concepts of nation do seem relevant here and worth a brief discussion. Anderson sees print, vernacular language and the novel in particular as crucial elements in the creation of a "deep, horizontal comradeship" which

forms the basis of nation as an “imagined political community” where individuals do not know one another but share a communal national identity. There is no reason the shared readership of these antiquarian texts could not experience the same phenomena. By constructing the origin of Anglo-Saxon in a broad community of literate English, these texts, whether purposefully or not, create a shared sense of origin which can be utilized to construct a shared sense of the early modern English nation.

Therefore, I am more interested in this transition to English than its Latin roots, as I contend it is with English that the early modern nationalism of these texts take root. We begin, then, not with Camden’s *Britannia* but with its pseudo-appendix: *Remains of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise Speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphes* (1605). In the second edition, published in 1614, either Camden or his printer dropped the reference to *Britannia* by deleting the phrase, “*of a Greater Worke,*” and also inserted the phrase “*But especially England*” after Britain. While the first change may be an example of allowing the work to stand more on its own, the second suggests that Camden or his printer see the focus on Britain not as defining a new Britishness or supporting the creation of Great Britain, but rather defining and illustrating England – a suggestion that we will develop more fully as this exploration of Camden continues.

Both the 1605 and 1614 editions of *Remains* contain dedications to Sir Robert Cotton and both dedications gesture toward *Britannia*: Camden describes the work being dedicated as “being only the rude rubble and out-cast rubbish (as you know) of a

greater and more serious worke” (3).¹⁴ In fact, despite the self-deprecating sentiment of the line (which was a fairly standard rhetorical device in early modern printed texts), Camden’s assessment is also somewhat accurate. *Remains* does, in large part, consist of material that did not “fit” into the project of *Britannia*. This is not to say that *Remains* is a miscellaneous collection of chapters assembled at the last minute when Camden could not find a good place for them in *Britannia*. As R. D. Dunn illustrates, there is evidence that Camden conceived of two different books in the early stages of his research, particularly the fact that “Camden’s notes for the *Britannia* are consistently written in Latin; his notes for the *Remains* are consistently written in English” (Dunn, xvii). Dunn also points out that some material appeared first in *Britannia* and then in *Remains*, while other material appeared first in *Remains* and then in *Britannia*, and some material in both books clearly came from the same sources (xvii). If *Remains* was indeed an appendix to *Britannia*, one would expect a clearer pattern of material between the two texts. Specifically, we might expect the material in *Remains* to either not appear in *Britannia* or to appear in a more abbreviated form. Furthermore, after the 1610 English translation of *Britannia*, Camden devoted his attention to subsequent revisions and expansions of *Remains*, the same sorts of activities he had done for *Britannia* over the previous two decades – all of which suggests that despite its anonymous publication and self-deprecating description, *Remains* was a book that Camden valued more than

¹⁴ With no author listed on the title page, the dedication is signed anonymously as M. N., which as R. D. Dunn observes, are the last letters of Camden’s first and last name. With the references to *Britannia*, it seems that Camden’s identity may not have been very hard to ascertain. However, the fact that *Britannia* was still in Latin when *Remains* was first published may have complicated identification of Camden among the English-speaking audiences.

“rubble” and “rubbish.”

Camden’s antiquarian project began in the late decades of the 16th century with the publication of *Britannia* in 1586. In the reader’s preface to the 1610 English edition, Camden informs his readers that “Abraham Ortelius, the worthy restorer of Ancient Geographie arriuing heere in England, aboue thirty foure years past, dealt earnestly with me that I would illustrate this I’e of Britaine, or (as he said) that I would restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to his antiquity” ([flower symbol]4^f).¹⁵ It is from these “earnest dealings” that *Britannia* initially emerges.¹⁶ Though its title is nationally and/or geographically specific, its early audience was not. Both Mayhew and Dunn assert that *Britannia* participated in a more “Europe-wide republic of letters” (Mayhew, xiv; Dunn xvi). Mayhew describes Camden’s project as “a cosmopolitan investigation of a specific national identity” (xv). By “cosmopolitan,” Mayhew no doubt means that the investigation is not colored by local bias and is aimed at a European audience of many nations. According to R. D. Dunn, the 1586 edition seems to be “intended primarily for the European reader” (xvi). However, as we examine the 1610 English edition,¹⁷ I shall ultimately argue that *Britannia* is a localized nationalistic investigation of what ultimately is the cosmopolitan national identity of many nations. The cosmopolitan nature of *Britannia* contrasts with *Remains*, which was published in the decidedly “unantiquarian” and “unlearned” English. As Graham Parry describes it, *Remains* was

¹⁵ This signature mark is in the symbol of a flower that I am unable to replicate electronically.

¹⁶ According to Robert Mayhew, Ortelius, seeking to produce an atlas of the classical world, sought to include a topographical essay by Camden with the map of Britain (xiv).

¹⁷ While translator interference is, by nature, likely, in the absence of evidence that Holland actively altered a passage, I will adopt the convention of referring to the author rather than the translator.

“more popular in intent, written in English for an English audience, and more patriotically coloured than the larger work” (45). While explicitly nationalistic or patriotic statements are more common in *Remains*, we shall find a much more fully developed definition of English national identity through Camden’s exploration of origin and history in *Britannia*. Furthermore, though the longer work may have been originally intended for a cosmopolitan audience, this emphasis on a European audience shifted dramatically when Philemon Holland, under Camden’s guidance, (Collinson 140) translated *Britannia* into English.¹⁸ The popularity of *Remains* may have even been a factor in the decision to translate the longer antiquarian text into English and helped introduce it to English audiences. Given the unique relationship and publication history of these works, *Remains*, for English-speaking audiences, stands as both prologue to and epilogue of Camden’s *Britannia*. Thus, it is only fitting that this chapter’s examination of Camden shall begin and end with *Remains*.

Of the two works by Camden under examination here, *Remains* makes the most explicit references to the glorification of the English nation. It is a project that constantly reminds its readers that it serves a nationalistic end of demonstrating the richness of both the English past and present. Unlike *Britannia* which begins with a chronological history of Britain from its first inhabitants to the Normans and then turns to more detailed accounts of local regions on the island, *Remains* is a reference work,

¹⁸ R. D. Dunn writes that a result of the additions and the translation into English, *Britannia* “had become a book comprising all of British antiquity and was intended for the British reader” (xvi). Significantly, Dunn, similar to Parry, describes *Remains* as “a book written in English about England” (xxxiv) but describes the English version of *Britannia* as aimed at “British readers.” The shift from England to Britain in the otherwise insightful apparatus to Dunn’s edition is indicative of the critical reluctance to explore distinctions between Britain and England in these works – works which as we shall see are very committed to helping draw that distinction.

containing chapters on subjects ranging from the island's inhabitants and their languages to etymologies of specific names and surnames. It also includes lists of epigrams, worthy speeches, allusions, poems and so on. Later editions added chapters extolling the virtues of the English language, descriptions of coats of arms, money, apparel, artillery weapons, and lists of proverbs.

While many chapters in *Remains* consist of encyclopedic lists, the first two chapters, "Britaine" and "The Inhabitants of Britain," provide a coherent narrative and include a short description of Britain and its inhabitants: the British, the Scottish, and the English. These two introductory chapters cover some of the same material that is developed more fully in the early sections of *Britannia*.¹⁹ Examining Camden's manuscripts, R. D. Dunn notes that these chapters, written before Elizabeth I's death, were originally intended as a single one, titled "England and Englishmen," until Camden decided to expand the scope to include Scotland and Wales (362). The change reveals two things. First, it highlights a sharp distinction in Camden's work between "English" and "British," a distinction also encountered in *Britannia*. Second, it suggests that Camden originally intended a more localized national focus for the book. While the British are only one of the three types of inhabitants, there is a definitional gap between the term, "British" within the text and the term in the chapter title. Within the chapters, "British" refers to a type of people, while in the titles, "Britaine" refers to a geographical entity, the island of Britain. His first line clarifies this point as he writes, "I have purposed in all this Treatise to confine my selfe within the bounds of this Isle of

¹⁹ R. D. Dunn cautions that we should not conclude that these chapters are merely a condensed version of the early parts of *Britannia* (362).

Britaine” (5). Furthermore despite these self-imposed boundaries, it is clear throughout *Remains* that Camden is still mostly interested in England.

In the third chapter, Camden discusses the languages of the island. After noting that the first inhabitants spoke British (or Welsh as he notes “we now call it”) and that Latin followed as the next dominant language, he turns to the “English-Saxon” tongue, where he describes the highlights of the history and development of the language and discusses its interaction with other languages. The second edition of *Remains* adds an essay by Richard Carew, titled “The Excellencie of the English Tongue.” While the essay is not by Camden, its inclusion by Camden corresponds to the predominant focus on English throughout *Remains*.

This focus on England over Britain is much more explicit in later chapters. Specifically, introducing his discussions of allusions, rebuses, and anagrams, he informs his reader that “I will briefly shew our Nation hath beene no lesse pregnant [in such word play], then those Southerne which presume of wits in respect of situation” (133). Camden uses the lists of past wits and rhetorical devices to assert England’s²⁰ legitimate place in continental intellectual life. While Britain’s separation from the continent has been used as a source of pride and distinction for the island and its inhabitants, it has also served to disconnect them from the intellectual circles of greater Europe. These allusions, rebuses, and anagrams, according to Camden, will illustrate England’s equal abilities in the exercise of wit. Similarly in the introductory paragraphs of the “Wise

²⁰ While Camden does not specify England in this particular line, his use of “our” does. As we shall discuss later, Camden almost always uses first-person possessive pronouns when dealing England, the English, and the Anglo-Saxons.

Speeches” chapter, Camden writes, “I commend them to such indifferent, courteous, modest Readers, as doe not think basely of the former ages, their country, and countrimen; leaving to others to gather the pregnant *Apothegmes* of our time, which I know will finde farre more favor” (204). While Camden claims to acknowledge that contemporary speeches are better than those of former “woorthie Personages,” his comment ultimately attempts to equate those formers speeches and speakers with contemporary ones. He claims to address readers who do not hold a poor opinion of the past, their country, or countrymen, but in doing so, he also creates the desired reader, implying that readers who are courteous and modest (after all, who would not like to be considered courteous and modest?) are those ones without negative opinions of the speeches he includes. Once readers accept Camden’s definition, they also must accept the worthiness and legitimacy of the speeches to follow. Finally, introducing “Epigrammes,” he writes,

In short and sweete Poems, framed to praise or dispraise, or some other sharpe conceit which are called *Epigrammes*, as our countrie men now surpasse other nations, so in former times they were not inferior, if you consider ages, as the indifferent reader may judge these. (294)

Whereas the first two comments that we examined sought to equate England and its past with Europe and the English present, Camden here merges and extends those two claims, asserting that in terms of the creation of epigrams England, formerly equal, now surpasses the continent. Together these three comments illustrate a nationalistic motivation behind the inclusion of these allusions, rebus, anagrams, wise speeches, and

epigrams as well as suggest the nationalistic motivation of the rest of the book as one that seeks to increase the stature and reputation of the nation.

While these types of comparative sentiments are the form of nationalism that is the most evident and the most superficial, nationalism also exists when writers attempt to control nation by defining what constitutes a nation as well as by describing or delineating a nation's past. Camden ends *Remains* with a chapter devoted to illustrating "a number of choise Epitaphes of our nation for matter and conceit, some good, some bad, that you may see how learning ebbd and flowed" (320).²¹ A list of epitaphs seems a fitting way to end *Remains*, signaling the end of the text and suggesting that *Remains* serves as an epitaph for British antiquity by shifting questions of identity as defined by origin clearly onto the Anglo-Saxons. (Certainly, the comments we examined above lend credence to this suggestion.) Though Camden ends the books with a Latin phrase which conveys a fairly standard sentiment to the reader to pardon Camden and his work, he introduces the phrase with another Latin phrase, "*Mortuorum vita in memoria vivorum posita est*" (359) which R. D. Dunn translates as "The life of the dead lies in the memory of the living" (522). While the ultimate phrase can be found concluding many early modern texts, the penultimate one resonates with a nationalist project. After all, the life of the past lives in and thus is controlled by the histories of the living. It is from within this idea that we move past superficial comparative nationalism to witness a more substantial version of nationalism which focuses on defining the nation.

²¹ While beyond the focus of this dissertation, one of the interesting things about this chapter is its relationship to class. Similar to the rest of the chapters, there is a decidedly royal and aristocratic (both secular and clerical) focus to the chapter. However, as the chapters progress, the epitaphs shift down the class hierarchy to include a goldsmith, a doctor, a student and "young man of great hope," a man who armed himself with ale, and an actor (Richard Tarlton).

Of course, the foundation of any definition of a specific nation is what defines a nation in general. Thus, before we can explore Camden's definition of Englishness or Britishness, we must explore how Camden conceives of nations overall. He provides a hint of this conception in the opening chapters of *Remains*. At the end of the chapter, "The Inhabitants of Britain," Camden includes a numbers of sayings that link nations and specific attributes or characteristics. For example, Camden cites Camerarius,

The Germans are warlike, plaine meaning and liberall, the Italians proud, vindicative and witty, the French well made, intemperate, and heady; the Spaniards disdainers, advised, pilling and polling; Englishmen stirring, trading, busie, and painfull, (19)

and cites a Welsh source that asserts "[a]s Welshmen do love fire, salt, and drinke; the Frenchmen, women, weapons, horses: so Englishmen, do especially like good chere, lands, and traficke" (20). These lines share the assumption that characteristics and nationality are linked,²² much like assumptions about characteristics and ethnicity. Thus, if characteristics of people are linked to or define a nationality, then nation is more closely defined by its people than by its geo-political parameters. Nations are thereby composed of a group or type of people, also like ethnicity. Camden makes this association explicit in *Britannia* when he discusses the ways in which the island of Britain has been conceptually divided. Camden informs his readers that countries are typically divided "either *Naturally* according to the course of rivers, and interpose of

²² The early modern linkage between traits/characteristics and geography has recently been labeled by Mary Floyd-Wilson as "geohumoralism" in her impressive recent work on the construction of race and ethnicity in early modern English drama See *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*.

mountains: or *Nationally*, according as the people inhabite them: or *Diversly* and *Civilly*, according to the wils and jurisdiction of Princes” (154). While modern concepts of nation are often primarily geopolitical, mixing Camden’s civil and natural definitions, Camden aligns nation with people. Furthermore, the assumed connection between a people or nation and characteristics is also oftentimes related to a similar notion regarding geography, specifically, the idea that geography and/or climate helps determine characteristics. This concept emerges in the opening of *Remains* when Camden, after asserting that the inhabitants of Britain by God’s providence surpass or at least equal other inhabitants of the earth in mind, body, and deportment, he also refers to “the disposition of *Aries*, *Leo*, and *Sagittary*, & *Jupiter*, with *Mars* Dominators for this Northwest part of the world, which maketh them impatient of servitude, lovers of libertie, martiall and courageous” (13). While Camden makes an additional link between astrology and behavior, the determinant for astrology is geography, thereby linking behavior and geography. As we shall see, the very nature of *Britannia* as a chorography (or, an “exact description of some Kingdome, countrey, or particular Province”) (Heylyn, qtd. in Mayhew xvii) mixes history and geography to suggest a strong link between geography and the definition of nation.²³ Using the idea that Camden defines nation as a people, a people influenced by their geography, we now turn to *Britannia* to examine Camden’s richer development of his definition of the English

²³ In terms of nomenclature however, Camden makes it clear that a nation of people names their geographical location rather than being named by it: “I will take this for granted and proved, that ancient Nations in the beginning, had names of their owne: and that afterwards, from these, the Greeks and Latines, by wresting them to the analogie or proportion of their speech, imposed names upon regions and countreys: to speake more plainly, That people were knowne by their names, before regions and places, and that the said regions had their denominations of the people” (25).

nation through British antiquity.

Britannia begins with a set of prefatory chapters that cover the history of Britain, the derivation of its name, its first inhabitants and their manners and customs, the invasions of the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, differing conceptual divisions of Britain, descriptions of the titles and degrees in England, and a description of English law courts. The progressive nature of these essays suggests that the final chapters describing England are the end result of the history delineated in the previous sections.²⁴ Thus, in these prefatory essays which comprise *Britannia*'s first 180 pages, Camden focuses on the origin of Britain as a concept and as a people, traces its evolution through time, and describes what he sees as its ultimate state. As evidenced by Camden's multiple editions, concepts of nation are just as unstable as texts. As this dissertation demonstrates, ideas about nation are susceptible to competition, alteration and rejection in subsequent editions by the author or by new texts by new authors, such as Verstegan.

Following the prefatory sections is a series of maps and essays devoted to a large number of localized regions or counties. These essays, which are more comprehensive than the introductory essays and extend up to contemporary times, constitute the bulk of

²⁴ Interestingly, in his introduction, Peter Mayhew asserts that "*Britannia* traced in large part the features present in modern Britain to some patriotic purpose and divorced from the ancient and prehistoric world of Britain" (xvii). While Mayhew does not refer specifically to those features, it is certainly plausible that he is referring to these two chapters which describe early modern England. I would counter, however, that these features are not cut off from the ancient world but the implied result of it. Furthermore, Mayhew's assertion is not sensitive to the British/English distinction that Camden himself makes here – Camden's text specifically shifts to discussing England and not Britain or Britannia in these chapters.

Britannia.²⁵ Tellingly, Camden organizes these county descriptions according to the kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy,²⁶ a clear nod to the influence of the Anglo-Saxons on the definition of England, an influence in Camden's work that this chapter seeks to demonstrate.

Significantly, Camden's work has been perceived as primarily a history of Roman Britain designed to illustrate and legitimate classical roots and influences. As Joseph Levine writes, "The *Britannia* was, therefore, first and principally a commemoration of Roman Britain; Elizabethans were to be reminded of their direct and immediate descent . . . from classical antiquity, as a province of the Roman Empire, the equal of any other" (93-94). And, in his study of Camden's influence in the early modern collections of Roman antiquities, Leslie W. Hepple, citing Levine takes as a given that "Camden's work painted the Kingdom as inheritor of the Roman province of Britannia" (170). It is odd, however, that Hepple, in the footnote to Levine's quote, notes that "William Rockett has recently dissented from this standard view of the primacy of Roman Britain in Camden's structure of *Britannia*" (172). Indeed, Rockett identifies three objectives in Camden's work: 1) depict the history of the ancient Britons, 2) reveal the origin of the English people, and 3) "to seek out and identify the British cities mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*, the Antonine Itinerary, and other

²⁵ Though the localized nature of these essays push them beyond the scope of this project, the sub-national identities of these counties and their relationship to the larger identity of Englishness and even Britishness would constitute an interesting way of exploring Camden's *Britannia*.

²⁶ In his introduction to *Remains*, R. D. Dunn claims that the organization in *Britannia* is based on the Roman provinces. While Camden, in the section titled "Division of Britaine," does discuss the different Roman divisions of the island, he ends by discussing the Saxon division and includes a "Chorographicall Table" derived from "The Saxons Heptarchie" which corresponds to his localized divisions.

ancient geographical guides” (831). He also astutely observes that “Camden shaped Britain’s history into a narrative of national definition, portraying the formation of nationalities in the first division and in the second and third perambulating their separate territorial regions” (833). While he recognizes the nationalistic element of the long essay with which Camden begins, he does not unpack the formations or the nationalities for their significance in relation to the “national definition” and therefore he does not recognize the importance of the Anglo-Saxons to both the narrative and the nation which Camden defines. Nor does Rockett recognize that more than merely being misunderstood by modern critics, Camden’s work actively works against notions regarding Roman-Britain to establish the Anglo-Saxons as the primary progenitors of England and Englishness.

If indeed as these critics have asserted, Camden’s work seeks to establish Rome as the cultural and national ancestor of England, it would follow that Camden would make explicit comparisons between Roman Britain and early modern England. And, he does. However, his comparisons establish not the similarity between the Britons and early modern English but their difference. He repeatedly casts the descendants of the ancient Britons not as English but as Welsh. In his reader’s preface, Camden notes that his project required “recourse to the British, or Welsh tongue (so they now call it) as being the same which the primitive and most ancient inhabitants of this land used” ([flower symbol]4^v). Before even beginning his chorography, Camden establishes a linguistic link between the ancient Britons and the early modern Welsh. He then begins *Britannia* by considering Britain and its first inhabitants. In this discussion of the early

Britons, Camden frequently uses a marginal gloss to remind readers of the connection between the ancient Britons and the early modern Welsh that he asserted in the preface. These glosses first appear as Camden is tracing the lineage of the Britons back to the sons of Noah. So, while he is looking backward, he is orienting his early modern reader by identifying his subject of study in contemporary terms. In the space of two lines, both “Britains” and “British” are glossed respectively: “i. Welchmen” and “or Welch” (10).²⁷ A few pages later, the temporal connection is made more explicit when he informs his reader that “our *Britans still at this day” use the term, bard, for poet and glosses “our Britans” as “Welchmen” (15).²⁸ Clearly, for Camden, Welsh and British were interchangeable labels and while Wales was certainly politically a part of England, culturally and nationally it was not. J. O. Bartley characterizes the ambivalent role of the Welsh in early modern England as “the most remote and strange of provincials and the nearest and most intimate of foreigners” (48).²⁹

In the same section of the preface, Camden adds that his project also required recourse “to the English-Saxon tongue which our Progenitors the English spake” ([flower symbol]4^v). In addition to specifying the English progenitors, Camden elides any difference in nomenclature between the early modern English and the Anglo-Saxons. Despite the fact that the first section deals with a Britain that predates the English or the Anglo-Saxons, Camden feels compelled to foreshadow their presence by

²⁷ Additionally, in a subsequent gloss, Camden refers to “the British or Welch tongue” (14).

²⁸ Toward the end of this section, Camden moves the Welsh from the margins to the narrative itself, referring to “our Welsh Britans” (21).

²⁹ Baker, in *Between Nations*, also has a detailed and extended discussion of early modern Welsh in relation to Fleullen from *Henry V* (44-62).

using examples to establish the link between the English and the Anglo-Saxons at this early stage in the project. Discussing the usefulness of language in establishing lineage, he claims that even if histories were lost or corrupted, language could establish “that we Englishmen are descended from Germanes, the true and naturall Scots from the Irish, [and] the Britons of Armorica in France from our Britans” (16). Further, while using town name suffixes to establish a linguistic proximity between the British and the Gaules, Camden provides the example of English town name suffixes as a “sound reason . . . that we Englishmen are sprung from the Germanes” (20). When Camden begins to examine the etymology of the name of Britain, he writes, “And even we ourselues in England, called in our naturall speche Englishmen, are named by the *Britans,³⁰ Irishmen, and the highland Scots, *Sasson*, that is to say, Saxons” (23). Asserting the link between the English and the Anglo-Saxons as examples is significant in that by using it to illustrate something else, the link’s veracity is taken for granted since it is not the element up for discussion or examination. Thus even at points in Camden’s historical narrative which focus primarily on ancient Britons, Camden repeatedly reminds his readers that the English are descended from the Germans while the Britons under examination are precursors of the Welsh.

It is important to recognize also that whereas for modern readers geographical and national labels (such as America or Britain) are generally equivalent, for Camden, this is not the case. Britain, in Camden’s *Britannia* as well as *Remains*, is conceived of as both an island and a people. I would extend this distinction to the titles and suggest

³⁰ Again, glossed as “Welchmen.”

that the Britain to which Camden refers in the titles to these works refers specifically and exclusively to the concept of Britain the island rather than Britain as a nation of people. The history, ultimately, is not of the British people or nation so much as the island, its many inhabitants and the traces that they left on it. The first few pages alone clearly establish this concept because Camden provides a geographical description of the island and its distinction from the rest of Europe (1-4).³¹ The rest of the project confirms this emphasis by examining the different peoples who first inhabited or subsequently invaded the island (Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans) as well as by focusing on geography throughout the project. In the section titled, “The Division of Britaine,” Camden discusses the historical divisions of Britain as a geographical entity rather than a national one, noting that the division of the island into England, Wales, and Scotland is not the most ancient division (154) – that honor goes to Ptolemy who distinguished Britain the Great³² from Ireland, or the Britain the Less (155). Either way, Britain is clearly a feature of geography and not solely a people or nation. Dividing his discussion of Britain in *Britannia* according to the Saxon heptarchy merges geography and nation and to some extent replicates the Saxon appropriation of Britain that Camden discusses elsewhere. While this observation that Britain primarily denotes the island rather than the people seems obvious in a chorography, it is a distinction which can easily be

³¹ In fact, the only reference to England in these opening pages identifies England as a nation as opposed to Britain identified as not only an island but one of “those fortunate islands” (4). Specifically, Camden mentions ambassadors in Rome who upon hearing that Pope Clement VI had elected Lewis of Spain as Prince of Britain and that Lewis was gathering an army to invade, “hastened to all speed into *England*, there to certify their countrey men and friends of the matter” (4).

³² Thus, it seems that James I’s conception of Great Britain attempted to merge the Ptolemaic geographical concept of Britain with a national/political one.

overlooked, as evidenced by the general conception that Camden's works seek to legitimate and define the British and Roman influence on early modern England.

Without remaining sensitive to this distinction, it would be easy to assume that Camden serves a British rather than an English concept of nation.

From here, we shall examine Camden's construction of the peoples and nations that have occupied the island of Britain as well as how Camden's discussion of these previous occupants affects the definitions of Britain's current occupants. While many of his larger overall references to Britain or Britannia refer to the island rather than the people, he does discuss these first inhabitants from which the island derives its name. And this name represents a good amount of their continuing legacy and influence. Having asserted that geographical names are often derived from the names of inhabitants, Camden turns to the etymology of Britain as it applies to the island's first inhabitants. Noting that these early inhabitants had a lot more pressing concerns than recording their origins for posterity and that as a result there are a variety of opinions concerning the origin of the British name, Camden briefly recounts nine different opinions including Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Brutus.³³ Camden immediately begins discounting most of them out of hand. He is not so quick, however, to abandon the Brutus myth. Though Camden notes that "were [the reports of Brutus] true, certeine, and vndoubted, there is no cause why any man should bestow farther study and labor in searching out the beginning of the Britains," he quickly adds that "for mine owne part, it is not my intent, I assure you, to discredit and confute the storie which goes of him, for

³³ See Chapter II.

the upholding whereof, (I call *Truth* to record) I have from time to time streined to the heighth, all that little wit of mine” (6). While reserving the right to examine the Brutus myth, Camden assures his readers that he is not looking to discount the myth but does not guarantee that he will not. Soon after, he adds, “Let euery man, for me, judge as it pleaseth him; and of what opinion soever the Reader shall be of, verily I will not make it a point much materiall” (6). Camden is definitely being overly conciliatory toward his readers who subscribe to the Brutus myth as well as clearly unwilling to either accept the Brutus myth or obliterate it outright.

Despite his hedging, his opinion on the Brutus myth quickly becomes clear. Camden begins by discussing numerous ancient authorities who make no mention of Brutus and, according to Camden, collectively claim “that the name of that Brutus was never heard of in the world” (7). Noting that Hunibald had claimed that a Trojan, Francio, was the founder of the French nation, Camden writes that “Hence they³⁴ collect, that when our countrey-men heard once how the French-men their neighbors drew their line from the Trojans, they thought it a foule dishonour, that those should outgoe them in nobilitie of Stocke, whom they matched every way in manhood and proësse” (7). Though he does not specifically discount the theory, he does suggest the Brutus myth is a fabrication resulting from a national rivalry with France. Camden then lists a number of different countries who have claimed to derive from ancient nobility, including the Scottish, the Irish, and the Danes, and observes that these nations have since cast off

³⁴ Camden does not specify exactly who he means by “they.” Presumably, he is referring collectively to the multiple authorities that he has just cited. The ambiguity of the attribution could suggest that the assertion is actually Camden’s.

these mythic ancestors and questioned why the British have not done the same: “Why the Britains should so sticke unto their Brutus, as the name-giver of their Iland, and to the Trojane originally, they greatly wonder” (7). Thus, Camden illustrates that not only does the Brutus myth lack evidence, it lacks a level of believability as well. It is not entirely clear to whom Camden is referring in these lines. The desire to hang on to the myth distinguishes them from their national peers who seem to have outgrown their mythic origin stories. Camden’s use of “Britains” when referring to those who maintain this myth is interesting. Given the nature of the sentiment, it seems he is referring to contemporary people but using a term that, at least in his work, is an archaic term for early modern Welsh. Either way, Camden does draw a distinction between those who believe the Brutus myth and the English. Camden then lists a variety of European writers and even quotes a couple of native writers who refute the Brutus myth as historical truth. Consequently, Camden’s own theory on the origin of the name, Britain, far separated in the narrative from his discussion of the Brutus myth, is that the name comes from the British word for painted or colored, *brith*, and refers to the fact that early Britons often painted their bodies (26).

Despite this later assertion, Camden is categorically unwilling to discount the Brutus myth with any kind of finality. Beyond Monmouth, Camden neither discusses nor cites any authorities that support the myth and plenty that repudiate it. Camden is then able to shift the entire blame onto these authorities and claim,

For mine owne part, let Brutus be taken for the father, and founder of the
British nation: I will not be of contrarie minde. Let the Britans resolve

still of their originall, to have proceeded from the Trojans (into which stocke, as I will heereafter proove, they may truely ingraffe themselves) I will not gain-stand it. . . . Let Antiquitie heerein be pardoned, if by entermingling falsities and truthes, humane matters and divine together, it make the first beginnings of nations and cities more noble, sacred, and of greater maiestie. (8-9)

Camden expends a great deal of rhetorical energy on contextualizing the Brutus myth and specifically his relationship to it. This level of energy alerts us to the greater implications that this discussion, which takes up only a few pages of this massive tome, has on the project as a whole. Despite choosing only sources which discount the theory, Camden is willing to concede the veracity of the myth and in the same breath assert that fictionalized accounts should be excused since they seek to ennoble their origins.

Camden is referring to the Brutus myth that he just accepted as accurate. It would be tempting here to conclude that Camden as an early modern Englishman “accepts” the Brutus myth despite contrary evidence because it ennobles his own origins. However, as we have seen, Camden draws a sharp distinction between the Britons and their Welsh ancestors and the English and their Saxon ones. In fact not only does he claim to accept the myth, in the parenthetical aside, he claims that he will later himself prove the connection between the Britons and the Trojans. However, his acceptance of the Brutus myth is not nearly as clear-cut as he would like his readers to believe.

It is toward that connection that we now turn. This connection emanates not from the Brutus myth but from the Roman invasions. Having briefly described the

origin of the island's first inhabitants, their customs and manners, and the etymology of the name, Britain, Camden embarks on the longest section of this introductory essay, "Romans in Britaine."³⁵ As we witnessed in Shakespeare and Fletcher, the British are in large part defined by their long interaction with Rome. Camden traces this interaction from the initial invasions of Julius Caesar to the downfall and destruction of the British through the invasion of Germanic tribes, comprising approximately 60 folio pages. Camden thus recounts the long history of British resistance to the Roman attempts at colonization. It is through this resistance that the Britons are, in large measure, defined. John of Weathamsted, as cited by Camden, writes of the Britons, "Wherefore to conclude, let this suffice the Britans for the beginning of their Nobilitie, that they be courageous and valiant in fight, that they subdue their enemies on every side, and that they utterly refuse the yoke of servitude"(8). It is worth noting that because a great deal of this narrative is cited directly from Tacitus, the point of identification is often not with the British but with the Romans – the effect of which slightly distances Camden's project from the ancient Britons. Despite the frequent British uprisings, as Camden recounts, the Romans did eventually effectively subdue the ancient Britons and transform the island of Britain into a Roman province. Camden is quick to point out that Roman colonization is not necessarily a negative. "This yoke of the Romanes although it were grievous, yet comfortable it proved and saving unto them: for that healthsome light of Iesus Christ shone withal upon the Britans [and] . . . chased away all savage

³⁵ While the length of this section might suggest a special affinity toward the ancient Britons and then the Roman-Britons, it could just as easily stem from the wealth of classical sources available for Camden to access, especially since long pieces of this section are quoted directly from Tacitus.

barbarism from the Britans minds” (63). In addition to bringing Christianity and civility to the British island, the Romans, Camden tells us, also brought “the liberall Arts,” “the lawes of the Romanes,” “goodly houses and stately buildings,” and roads complete with rest stops, mile markers, and memorial tombs and sepulchers to remind travelers of their own mortality (62-64). It is clear from Camden’s accounts that despite being a people who are marked according to John of Weathamsted by their courage and valiance, their ability to subdue enemies on every side, and their utter refusal of “the yoke of servitude,” the Britons significantly benefited from Roman colonization. This results in the same type of ambivalence that we witnessed in *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* where the Romans represent a threat to ancient British identity and nation but also serve as arbiters of civility and Christianity.

But in addition to bestowing upon the ancient British architecture, manners, customs and religion, the Romans, according to Camden, left something much more essential to national identity: lineage. Toward the end of this chapter, “Romans in Britaine,” Camden considers the garrisoned Roman soldiers and Romans who traveled to Britain on personal or imperial business who married British women and began families in Britain. Camden thus concludes “[t]hat Britans may more truely ingraffe themselves into the Trojans stocke, by these Romanes who are descended from Trojans” than a number of other groups who also claim Trojan lineage (88). Thus, as promised some 70 odd pages previously, Camden has both fulfilled the Brutus myth and ultimately discounted it by demonstrating a link to the Trojans not through Brutus but through Rome. He continues: “the Britans and Romans in so many ages, by a blessed and joyfull

mutuall ingraffing, as it were, have growen into one stocke and nation” (88). It is ironic that after spending a great deal of time detailing the British resistance to Rome both before and during the colonization of Britain that the grafting of these two nations is “blessed,” “joyful” and even “mutual.” This union also insures the continued presence of Rome in the British identity beyond the withdrawal of Roman presence. More than ruins and coins (a discussion of which ironically constitutes the next section of *Britannia*), Romans left a part of themselves behind as well. Britain is not striving to emulate Rome; in some way, it still is Rome. Thus, the claim to Roman lineage did not leave with the Roman armies, while the security of the island did. As Camden writes, the Romans “left Britaine bereft of her youth, wasted with so many musters and levies, dispoiled of all succour and defence of garrison, unto the cruell rage of Picts and Scots” (87). So while the Romans are responsible for a great many improvements to Britain, they are also responsible, Camden implies, for its destruction by harvesting the young men of Britain.

It is this destruction to which Camden turns after a short discussion of Roman and British coins in a chapter aptly titled, “The Downfall or Destruction of Britain.” The bulk of this chapter consists of long quotations from Gildas the Briton. As we all know, Britain was left open to attacks from the Picts, and Scots called upon the Saxons to help who were all too willing not only to help but to take Britain for themselves. Gildas describes the Saxons as “most fierce,” “fouly infamous,” and “odious to both God and man” and asserts that “nothing was ever devised and practiced more pernicious, nothing more unhappy unto this land” (109) than asking the Saxons for assistance. While he

spares no kind words for the Saxons, Gildas is not exactly enamored of the British either. In fact, he details a long list of sins including fornication, drunkenness, lewdness, pride, envy and immorality which the British people committed once the Romans left. In one of his more colorful indictments of the British people, he claims that they were “like unto foolish and senselesse horses, resisting the bridle of reason, and refusing to admit the bit (as they say) into their close-shut mouth, leaving the way to salvation, narrow though it were, ran up and downe at random all in the broad way of all wickednesse which leadeth directly and readily to death” (109). So, while the Saxons are not exactly described in glowing terms, the British are not the innocent valiant people that they were when the Romans set their sights on the island. Thus, the implication in Gildas’s account is that the Saxons were sent as punishment from God or at the very least that their wickedness led directly to their conquest.

What is even more significant than Gildas’s account is Camden’s reaction to it. Immediately following the account, Camden writes, “When we shall read these reports, let us not be offended and displeased with good Gildas for his bitter invectives against either the vices of his owne countrey men the Britans, or the inhumane outrages of the barbarous enemies or the insatiable cruelltie of our Fore-fathers the Saxons” (110). The rhetorical strategies that Camden employs here are useful because he assumes that some of his readers might take offense at Gildas’s discussion of the Britons, the Scots and Picts, and the Anglo-Saxons and uses first-person plural to try and diffuse this potential reaction, including the reader in his desired reaction rather than insisting on a particular reaction. Furthermore, he draws a sharp distinction between the ancient British nation

(presumably now comfortably infused with Roman stock) to which Gildas belongs and the Saxons who are the fore-fathers of England – once again utilizing the first-person plural to include and thus coerce the reader into identifying not with the victims but with the “odious” and cruel invaders, the Saxons.

The pronoun usage in this section is indicative of Camden’s use throughout the work. The ancient British are referred to in the third-person while the Anglo-Saxons are referred to in first-person. In addition to identifying English progenitors firmly in the minds of his readers, Camden’s pronoun usage also works to collapse any distinction between the early modern English and the Anglo-Saxons. While Rome, for Camden, plays an influential role in the construction of England, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons are much closer. This relationship is reflected in the terms he uses to describe the Anglo-Saxons. While in the chapter titled, “The Downfall or Destruction of Britain,” he refers to them as Saxons, the subsequent section devoted to the Anglo-Saxons, however, is titled, “English-Saxons,” while a marginal gloss near the first couple of lines clarifies that it is indeed the Anglo-Saxons under discussion. On the next page, Camden informs his reader that the proper names, Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, were used to distinguish these peoples, “although generally, there were called English, & Saxons” (128). Later he asserts that they “planted themselves in Britaine, . . . became one nation, and were called by one generall name, one while Saxons, another while, Englishmen, and English-Saxons” and ends by listing sources for ascertaining the differences “of those that are in Germanie” (131). Camden further solidifies the direct connection between England and the Anglo-Saxons when he discusses the Saxon heptarchy and notes that the most

powerful prince was called, “King of the English nation” (136), concluding that there was always a monarchy, even when “England” was split into seven Saxon kingdoms.

The insistence on the direct and immediate connection between the Anglo-Saxons and the “us” of Camden’s readership leads me to question Camden’s goals. This immediacy of this connection on one level equates Camden’s readers with the people he describes as insatiably cruel and which Gildas describes as “odious to both God and man.” Returning to Camden’s comments following the long passage from Gildas, we find Camden attempting to repudiate that part of the connection. He writes

But since that for so many ages successively ensuing, we are all now by a certain engraffing or commixtion become one nation, mollified and civilized with Religion and good Arts, let us meditate and consider, both what they were, and also what we ought to be: lest that for our sinnes likewise, the supream Ruler of the world, either traslate [sic] other nations hither, when wee are first rooted out, or incorporate them into us, after we are by them subdued. (110)

In some ways, Camden seems to contradict the immediate link between the Anglo-Saxons and Camden’s readers by not only mentioning the changes that have since occurred but also claiming that multiple groups of people constitute one nation, presumably England. This idea of the grafting of multiple peoples into one is prevalent in Camden, as we have already discussed in relation to the Britons and Romans as well as the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The exact components of this particular “commixtion” are unclear: he could be referring to a mixing of the Britons and Saxons or even just

referring to the Germanic groups. Either way, this notion of a mixed yet singular nation is a characteristic of Camden's particular nationalism which we have previously witnessed. It is too simple to say that Camden maintains a cosmopolitan view of nation. While this is partially true, it is also true that he maintains a stronger link between his readers and the Anglo-Saxons than with any other group. This link is evident even in these lines, when Camden refers to the "successively ensuing" ages. Whatever mixing has occurred, the implication is that the Saxons have lost their cruelty partly through their continuity – their successive ages which allowed this mixing to occur. Further, while the ancient Britons found civility through the Romans, it is not another group of people but rather "Christianity" and "good Arts" which tamed the English-Saxons. Though it is not explicit, the continuity applies not to the ancient British (remember the title of this section refers to the end of Britain) but to the Anglo-Saxons. This continuity is also problematic given subsequent history of the British Isles. Though Camden has not come to that point in the island's history, the readers should be well aware of the Danish and Norman invasions that were to follow the Anglo-Saxon one. Even the hypothetical situation with which he ends the section seems to address concerns over Norman influence. He warns that not learning from the sinful behavior of the Britons (by which he implies that the Saxon invasion was a result of God's providence) could result in another nation invading and subduing England. While certainly a fairly standard hell and brimstone sentiment, it seems significant that the result of such an invasion would be the incorporation of "them into us." Defining a country is typically the right of the conquerors rather than the conquered. The native inhabitants either

become part of the new state or are pushed out altogether. To describe the invaders as becoming part of the Anglo-Saxons seems to be a reversal from when Camden was examining the Britons. By casting the Anglo-Saxons as the core identity into which invaders and subduers are incorporated, Camden could be not only commenting on a hypothetical future but alluding to the Danish and Norman invasions as well, both of which influenced but did not (according to Camden) overwhelm the identity of early modern England. It is to Camden's description of the Danish and Norman invasions that we now turn.

Following a brief chapter on the English-Saxon names, Camden includes an almost equally brief chapter on the Danes in which he recounts the Danish invasions and English resistance. At one point in the margin, Camden writes, "The Danes afflicted England 200 yeeres, and reigne about 20" (143). The most prominent thing to note is that the word "Saxon" has disappeared from Camden's nomenclature both in the sentence and chapter, even though he is still clearly discussing historical figures and kingdoms labeled today as Anglo-Saxon. Furthermore he makes it clear that while the Danes may have been in England for a while, they were rarely in control, since the English managed to keep the Danes from reigning for the better part of 200 years. Within the chapter itself, the Danes do not seem to exert much influence beyond "racing cities, firing Churches, and wasting countries" (142) – certainly not any influence over national identity. This stands in stark contrast to the English-Saxons of whom Camden claims, "For in a short space, their State, for number, for good customes and ordinances, for lands and territories grew to that heighth, that it became most wealthy and puissant,

yea, and their conquest in some sort full and absolute” (132). Camden goes on to note that except for a few areas of the island protected by rough terrain, the rest of the country became united in one nation, name, and language (133). In addition to their quick and total (cultural rather than geographical) conquest, the English-Saxons, according to Camden, “for the space now of 1150 yeeres, have kept after a sort uncorrupt, and with it the possession also of the Land” (133). Thus, Camden again asserts the direct line between the English-Saxon and the early modern English, this time in geographic and linguistic terms.

This statement also seems to ignore the Norman invasion and conquest, both of which definitely had a profound influence on Anglo-Saxon control of the land and language. While he fails to mention the Normans in his assertion of the longevity of Saxon control, he does, of course, devote a section of his work (following the chapter on the Danes) to discussing the Normans. In the space of two pages, Camden discusses how the Normans got their name, traces the lineage of William the Conqueror back to Rollo, recounts William’s claim to England, provides a brief history of the invasion, and reprints William’s dying words. He packs quite a bit into the first two pages, at the end of which, he rhetorically asks, “But why doe I so briefly run over this so great alteration of the English state?” Camden’s answer:

Haue therefore, if you thinke not much to read it, what my selfe with no curious pen, (haply with as little studie and premeditation, howbeit according to the truth of the Historie) wrote, when being but young, not well advised nor of sufficiencie to undergoe so great a burden, I purposed

to set forth our Historie in the Latine tongue. (145)

At which point, Camden includes a more detailed version of the events. It would be tempting to claim that Camden is making the fairly conventional early modern move of being overly modest. In many ways, his sentiments are similar to those conventions. What seems unique however is the summary that precedes it. It is almost as if Camden is attempting to steer his reader away from the longer version, claiming that the longer cited essay is fundamentally flawed by virtue of his youth and lack of preparedness. By calling the entire piece into question, he, by extension, calls whatever content matter is enclosed within into question as well. Camden had opportunity in one of his many subsequent editions to revise the immature piece had he wanted. The preface-like disavowal of the piece and the fact that it was not apparently revised before 1610 both suggest that Camden did not regard this section of his history very highly.

In addition to rhetorically distancing the Norman invasion, Camden works to bring William closer. For example, Camden makes it a point in those two pages to establish the familial link between Edward the Confessor and William (145) but only notes of Harold that he was “the sonne of Godwin, and Great Master or Steward of King *Edwards* house” (145). William’s claim to England was based on an alleged promise from Edward that William would succeed him. There is apparently no corroboration of Edward’s promise and the common view is that either the promise was hollow or completely fabricated by the Normans. Camden allows for almost no ambiguity in his two-page account, stating the promise as factual truth and even asserting that Harold “usurped the Kingdome” (145). Camden also quotes William, at his coronation, when

he claims, “The Kingdome was by Gods providence appointed, and by vertue of a gift from his Lord and Cosen King Edward the Glorious, granted” (145). So, more than a gift from Edward, William’s conquest of England, according to William, was part of God’s plan as well. At this point, Camden offers his first evidence which partially contradicts this account. He quotes William’s dying words from the “Historie of Saint Stephens in Caen of Normandie” which he prefaces by saying “And yet if we list to beleve” (145). As his final words, recounted in this history, William claims, “The Regall Diadem which none of all my predecessors ever wore, I got & gained by the grace of God onely, and no right of inheritance” and adding later, “with much effusion of bloud I tooke it from that perjured King Harald” (145). Harold’s reputation is cleared in this passage not by Camden’s antiquarian investigation but by William’s words recounted in a Norman history which Camden allows us to believe or not believe. However, Edward’s claim to the throne was also not based on the right of inheritance, a fact which, as Camden relates in the longer essay, Harold argues nullifies Edward’s promise to William: “the Realme of England could not be given by promise, neither ought he to be tied unto the said promise, seeing the kingdome was fallen unto him by election and not by right of inheritance” (147). So while William may seem to be renouncing his claim to the throne, he is not necessarily bolstering Harold’s. Furthermore, even if we are to believe that William admitted that he had no cause to invade and conquer England, it was still ordained by God. While the divine claim is made by the figure who gains the most from it, it is significant that Camden does not offer another voice to contradict this claim. Thus, William’s dying words open a fissure

between lineal and divine succession – a fissure which Camden declines to close, leaving the reader unsure of how to read William’s conquest of England.

In the longer juvenile essay, Camden’s sympathies seem to lie more with William than Harold. Camden does list many of Harold’s positive attributes and notes his “especiall favour with the people” (146). He then recounts how Harold proclaimed himself king without “the due complements and solemnitie of coronation,” noting that this was “a breach of ancient custom” which “exceedingly provoked and stirred up against him, the whole clergie and Ecclesiasticall state” (146). This account also contradicts Harold’s claim to William that he was elected (see above) since as Camden notes Harold crowned himself “quickly preventing all consultations whatsoever” (146). Camden also points out that after defeating the Norwegians, Harold “grew odious unto his own people, because he had not divided the spoile among his souldiers” (149) and “in a furious fit of anger and indignation, went within a little of laying violent hands upon the verie person of the Embassadour” (149). In contrast, Camden informs his readers that “William gave [Harold’s ambassadors] a gentle answer, and dismissed them with great courtesie” (149). Camden continues by telling us that in an effort “to preserve and maintaine the state of Christendomee, and to spare the effusion of Christian blood,” William sent a monk to offer Harold the following options: 1) resign his kingdom, 2) acknowledge William as his superior lord, 3) settle the matter in personal combat with William, or 4) allow the Pope to decide the matter (150). Harold, as we know, chose none of the above by choosing the unspoken fifth option – a Norman invasion. While Harold’s decision is not that interesting, Camden’s description of it is.

He claims that Harold referred the decision to God to decide on the field of battle “as one have no rule of himselfe” (150). While Camden could possibly mean that Harold had no choice or even that he was directed by God, there is a lack of control implied here that is disturbing in a king. There is also a contrast in the relative Christianity of both men since William’s options are developed out of religious concerns and save lives and Harold’s choice is “given to God” to decide in a particularly bloody way. It forces one to wonder why God couldn’t have used a single combat between Harold and William to decide this issue as well.

While it seems that Camden’s sympathies lie with William, the depiction of William is not without some ambivalence. At the end of the cited essay,³⁶ Camden tells us that William “abrogated some part of the ancient positive lawes of England, brought in some *Customes of Normandie*, and by vertue of a decree, commanded, That all causes should be pleaded in the French tongue. The English he thrust out of their ancient Inheritances, [and] assigned their lands and Lordships to his souldiers” (152). The Normans under William established not only a new legal system and language but a new aristocracy as well. Camden uses language as an excellent barometer for determining the depth of a particular conquest. Thus, while he does not discount Norman influence, neither does he celebrate its totality or longevity.

In the end of this chapter on the Normans, the last historical chapter in the

³⁶ Again, the end of the essay is ambiguous. However, the typeface switches from small italics to a roman font. There is also a shift from discussing the invasion to discussing the aftermath.

introductory essay,³⁷ Camden writes “Well, these nations that seated themselves in Britaine, whereof remaine the Britans, Saxons, or English men, and Normans intermingled with them: the Scots also in the North: whereupon came the two Kingdomes of this Iland, to wit, England and Scotland, long time divided, but most happily now in the most mightie Prince King James, under one imperiall Diademe conjoined and united” (154). Thus, Camden connects the cosmopolitan nationalism witnessed throughout *Britannia* directly to the question of union that faced early modern England and the succession of James I. On first glance, Camden seems to be casting James and specifically his desires for union as a natural unification of the people on the island. Characteristic of Camden’s work throughout, however, it is not that simple. While on the surface the statement seems pro-union, the exact terms of the union are unclear. It is not clear, for example, what exactly Camden is uniting. After all, there seems to be a fundamental difference in his statement between the nations which seated themselves in the British Islands and the kingdoms which appeared later. Nation here seems to be more ethnic and less political. James is clearly uniting the kingdoms but the role of nation and the people is unclear. Nor is it clear which people constituted which nations or when. All Camden tells us is that the people out of which both kingdoms emerged was a confluence of Britons, Saxons/English, and Normans.³⁸ This, however, is not the first instance in which Camden discusses his subject matter with an eye toward James.

³⁷ Chapters that follow are more descriptive and less historical: “The Division of Britaine,” “The States and Degrees of England,” and “Law Courts of England.”

³⁸ Interestingly, he leaves out Roman in this instance, possibly because he has already established their influence on the ancient Britons.

In his chapters devoted to the Scots and Picts who invaded Britain before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, Camden opens the chapter devoted to Scots with a disclaimer,

I must certifie the Reader before hand, that everie particular hath reference to the old, true, and naturall Scots onely: whose of-spring are those Scots speaking Irish, which inhabite all the West part of the kingdome of Scotland . . . and who now adaies be termed *High-land men*. For, the rest which are of civill behaviour, and bee seated in the East part therof, albeit they beare now the name of Scottish-men, yet are they nothing lesse than Scots, but descended from the very same Germane originall, that we English men are. . . . In which regard, so farre am I from working any discredit unto them, that I have rather respectively loved them alwaies, as of the same bloud and stocke, yea and honoured them too, even when the Kingdomes were divided: but now much more, since it hath pleased our almightie, and most merciful God, that wee growe united in one bodie under one most Sacred head of the Empire, to the joy, happinesse, welfare, and safetie of both Nations, which I heartily wish and pray for. (119)

Basically, Camden bends over backward to make sure the reader understands that Camden is not talking about James when he talks about the barbaric nature of the Scots. Furthermore, he sheds light on later discussions of James's unification by suggesting that the similarities in people reach back all the way off the island, further distancing the

Britons from influence in the identity of early modern England. This common origin also casts James's unification of the crowns as a reunification of the people. However, Camden co-opts the idea that James's succession represents the reunification of ancient Britain. While Camden agrees that the nations descend from one people, the people in Camden's view are Anglo-Saxon. Thus, the reunification is national rather than monarchical or geographical – James is not restoring the island, but the people. Finally, while Camden uses terms like unite, conjoin, and so on in these discussions of union, his idea of union, no doubt disguised by Camden's hyperbole, seems to be vastly different from James's. Specifically, while Camden does note the presence of one body, he is still quite specific that there are two nations inside. Camden's union maintains the integrity of the individual nations – admitting only the creation of an Empire, not the creation of a unified national identity.

Returning to Camden's assertion with regard to the connection between the eastern Scots and the English, Camden resorts to language. Camden claims that the Scottish use “the same language with us, to wit, the English-Saxon, different onely in Dialect, a most assured argument of one and the same originall” (119). Language and national identity, thus, are intrinsically linked for Camden as language is used here to establish a common origin even if there have been variations (i.e. dialects) along the way. While Camden's most explicit discussions of language appear in *Remains* rather than *Britannia*, as we shall see, his ideas about language seem to parallel his discussion of national identity.

Returning to *Remains*, we find that the chapter on language is second only to the

two chapters already discussed, “Britaine” and “The Inhabitants of Britaine.” At one point in order to stress his ancestors’³⁹ jealousy of their native language, he recounts an anecdote of “those Britans which passed hence into *Armorica* in France, and marrying strange women there, did cut out their tongs, lest their children should corrupt their language with their mothers tongues” (32). In addition to being a particularly brutal anecdote, it speaks to definitions of national identity in significant ways. It demonstrates that for the Britons and by implication the “English-Saxons” as well, that language was, in some ways, more important to national identity than bloodline. The concern is more linguistic than essential. Camden, in *Britannia*, discusses numerous examples of intermarrying and the effects of such “commingling,” to use his word. This anecdote also betrays the masculine anxiety over maternity and its effect on identity and lineage as it is moderated through language – a concern we examined in detail in the chapter on Roman-Britain plays. While men cannot remove women from the reproduction equation, the violence to the womens’ bodies removes their language and could possibly provide a cathartic release for this chauvinistic concern. This anecdote further taps into early modern concerns over controlling womens’ language. After all, in addition to the physical tongue, the Britons, here, removed the metonymic tongue as well.

This concern over the purity of language is also evident when he discusses the history of languages on the British Isles. After discussing the prevalence of the British (i.e. Welsh) and Latin language, Camden asserts that “[l]astly, the English-Saxon tongue came in by the English-Saxons out of Germany, who valiantly and wisely performed

³⁹ Again, described by Camden as “our Ancestors.”

heere all the three things, which implie a full conquest, viz. the alteration of lawes, language, and attire” (23). In addition to repeating assertions concerning the totality of the Saxon conquest, Camden’s use of “lastly” does not account for the influx of French with the Normans. This is not to say that Camden ignores the Normans. Rather, it seems that Camden uses the term, “lastly” to signal language to dominate the island. While he notes the practice of the Normans to yoke foreign language under theirs, to force the education of their language to schoolchildren, and to make French the language of the courts, Camden asserts that “in all that long space of 300 yeares, they intermingled very few French-Norman words, except some terms of law, hunting, hawking, and dicing” (31-32). Thus, what was implicit in *Britannia* – that the Norman invasion did not have the same influence on English identity as the Anglo-Saxon invasion – is made explicit through Camden’s discussion of language in *Remains*.

Despite this emphasis on purity, jealousy concerning language, and the less than expected influence of Norman on English, Camden is not opposed to intermingled language. The same ambivalence witnessed in *Britannia* concerning ethnic identity is reflected in linguistic identity. While there is some emphasis on purity, mixing is acceptable as long as the essential core remains English. For example, while he notes that Norman-French did not have a significant effect on in all areas of the English language, he also asserts that “the glory of our tongue before the Norman Conquest is this, that the olde English could expresse most aptly, all the conceiptes of the minde in their owne tongue without borrowing from any” (27). How exactly the influx of Norman French causes English to lose its comprehensiveness is not entirely clear.

However, it is clear that while French may not have completely replaced English, some borrowing and mixing occurred. Camden later writes, “Whereas our tongue is mixed, it is no disgrace” since both European and learned languages do it as well, claiming in another area in the chapter that English “is (and I doubt not but hath beene) as copious, pithie, and significative, as any other tongue in Europe” (29). Camden also makes it clear that some of the mixing which has occurred, indeed a great deal of it, was voluntary rather than the result of an invasion. After noting that the Normans after 300 years had only affected language in a few key areas, Camden asserts, “whenas wee within these 60 yeares, have incorporated so many Latine and French, as the third part of our tongue consisteth now in them” (32). It seems that this statement is not delivered as a lament but rather as further evidence of the ineffectiveness of the Normans in having a serious impact on language and by implication nation as well.

The acceptance and even celebration of the mixing of English with other languages is amplified in the 1614 edition of *Remains* which adds an essay by Richard Carew titled “The Excellencie of the English Tongue.” In this essay, Carew sets out to prove that English “is matchable, if not preferable before any other in use at this day” (37). To judge languages, he establishes four categories: significancy, “easines to be learned,” copiousness, and sweetness. He then discusses English based on these four attributes during which he not only acknowledges the mixing of language but uses it to establish the “excellencie” of English. Specifically, Carew claims that the copiousness of English is founded on the diverse languages spoken at different times on the British isle from which English could draw (40). English’s sweetness also stems from this

borrowing and mixture of language. Carew argues, “Now we in borrowing from them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of wordes to the French, the varietie of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like bees)⁴⁰ gather the honey of their good properties and leave the dregges to themselves” (43). Thus, much more than being something that is *not* a disgrace, mixing in Carew’s essay *is* one of the primary reasons that English is such a great language and by extension England is a great nation.

Verstegan’s Restitution of Decayed Intelligence

Carew’s and Camden’s views on language and nation vary drastically from the aforementioned Richard Verstegan who was undertaking a very similar project at about the same time as Camden. While Verstegan’s *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* has not received the critical attention of Camden’s and has generally been mislabeled as a linguistic rather than cultural history, Verstegan has his own notions concerning the mixing of language and nation. Verstegan believes in both the primacy and purity of English and England.⁴¹

As already noted, much of Verstegan criticism revolves around his list of Anglo-Saxon words. But, rather than "objectively" print a dictionary of Old English words,

⁴⁰ Bees often appear metaphorically to represent the state – the use here concerning language suggests further the close connection between language and state.

⁴¹ In fact, D. N. C. Wood, in “Elizabethan English and Richard Carew,” has even suggested that Carew’s essay may have been written to refute Verstegan’s notions regarding the purity of language. Whether or not the idea is accurate, it does speak to the intertextuality between the works of these two men. As this chapter demonstrates, they speak to one another either knowingly or unknowingly.

Verstegan makes it clear that this language is worthy of study over the more predominant Latin. Thus, he takes the early modern efforts to legitimate English as a language worthy of "serious" writing a step further. Whereas this movement usually justified English by equating it with Latin, Verstegan promotes English *over* Latin. Equating language with origin, he marginalizes Latin on the grounds that it is not the language native to his "English nation." Even in the very act of creating the dictionary, he is nationalistic in his promotion of English—asserting not only that English is worthy of study but that, in comparison to Latin, it is more worthy. F. J. Levy, in *Tudor Historical Thought*, contends that for Verstegan and other Renaissance Saxonists interested in the study of English, "The Saxon language had an elemental purity which was superior to the more decadent Latin tongues" (143). In fact, the assertion of English over other languages is featured in Verstegan's chapter title, "Of the Great Antiquitie of our Ancient English Tong; and of the prosperitie, woorthynes and amplytude thereof. With an explanation of sundry of our most ancient English words" (188). In demonstrating the worthiness of Old English over other languages, Verstegan argues that this language is the "Teutonic-tong" (188) by connecting English to other Germanic languages. He argues that "the aforesaid old and true French [of the Franks], was in effect all one with our ancient English" (201). He writes that what we call French is actually the language of the Gauls, who, in his words, "having lost their ancient language, . . . learned a broken or corrupt kynd of Latin" (200). By breaking down the origins of French, Verstegan places early modern French in the same category as Latin. Indeed, he characterizes French as a lesser form of Latin, further degrading the validity

of its presence in English and England.

Verstegan's list is not meant to educate his readers about the language as much as it is designed to separate those words in current usage that are not "ancient English words." Thus, he is linguistically purifying (or cleansing) English of influence from "lesser" languages. After criticizing Chaucer as "in deed a great mingler of English with French" (203), Verstegan concludes that

wee should as litle need to borrow words, from any language,
extravagant from ours, as any such borroweth from us: our tounge in it self
beeing sufficient and copious enough, without this dayly borrowing from
somany as take scorne to borrow any from us. (206)

Verstegan elevates and subsequently promotes the English language as worthy of remaining distinct and pure. This assertion represents a radical development in the more conservative project to legitimate English. Verstegan wants to move English to the top and then to cleanse it of any influence from any languages with a different origin.

It is also significant that Verstegan makes little distinction between Old, Middle, and Elizabethan English, despite major linguistic differences. Consequently, Verstegan ideologically equates and unifies "English" language from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. By historically homogenizing the English language, he sets the stage to also homogenize English culture. As we can see, Verstegan's presentation of Old English is far from objective; it is inextricably tied to the larger political and national impulses that seek to purify and unify England. As Frantzen notes, Renaissance explorations of Anglo-Saxon culture led by men such as printer John Day and

Archbishop Matthew Parker typically revolved around the establishment of the English church. As a Catholic exile living in Antwerp, Verstegan obviously approaches the same nationalistic project from a different perspective since his ties to these impulses are explicitly linguistic and implicitly religious.

Though Verstegan devotes only one chapter to a list of Old English words, language and the location of linguistic origin remain key concerns. However, as demonstrated in the previous discussion, language is consistently connected to a larger desire which seems to be much more nationalistic. These concerns can be seen immediately in the paratextual matter, where Verstegan includes two dedications. The first one is dedicated to King James I, in which Verstegan presents the product of his "travaile" and connects James to the Saxons: "your Majestie is descended of the chiefest blood royall of our ancient English-Saxon kings" (†2^r). In further justifying James's position on the throne, this connection legitimates Verstegan's work and makes a direct link between present day England and Anglo-Saxon England—a link that as we shall see Verstegan will make much more explicit in the text itself. Verstegan's second preface is anomalous, in that rather than dedicate his work to a person or a specific group of people, he dedicates it to "To the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation." In a small piece of marginalia printed in the dedication, Verstegan tells his readers that "Men are naturally desyrous to know their descents" (†3^v). In the dedication itself, he expands on this notion by writing that it is natural for his readers to hear of their ancestors, which, according to Verstegan, "they should in deed bee as desyrous to imitate, as delighted to understand" (†3^v). Verstegan, unlike later Anglo-Saxon scholars such as those identified

by Frantzen, is open about his desire for origins, indeed, celebrating it as his purpose and asserting that it is natural and therefore "right." Also in this dedication, Verstegan writes that,

Englishmen cannot but from Saxon originall deryve their descent and offspring, and can lack no honor to be descended of so honorable a race, and therefore are the more in honor obliged to know and acknowledge such their own honorable and true descent. (†††)

Thus, Verstegan displays what Herendeen calls the "patriotic impulse that led authors to the 'Renaissance discovery of England'" (144). Having patriotically asserted the link between the English and the Saxon people, Verstegan ends his dedication. And, through this link, he continues simultaneously to construct both the Anglo-Saxons and the English.

Verstegan begins his work with Chapter One, titled, "Of the Originall of Nations and Consequently of that nation from which Englishmen are descended." Interestingly, throughout the chapter, it becomes evident that the nation from which Englishmen are descended is not the English-Saxon nation because for Verstegan, English and English-Saxon are essentially the same. But rather, the English are actually descended from the ancient German nation. Thus though they couch it in slightly different terms, Camden and Verstegan identify the same origin – one decidedly not Roman-Britain. Verstegan begins with the origin of all nations—the Tower of Babel. The title page (see Figure 1) carries an engraving of the Tower under which is written *nationum origo* [origin of

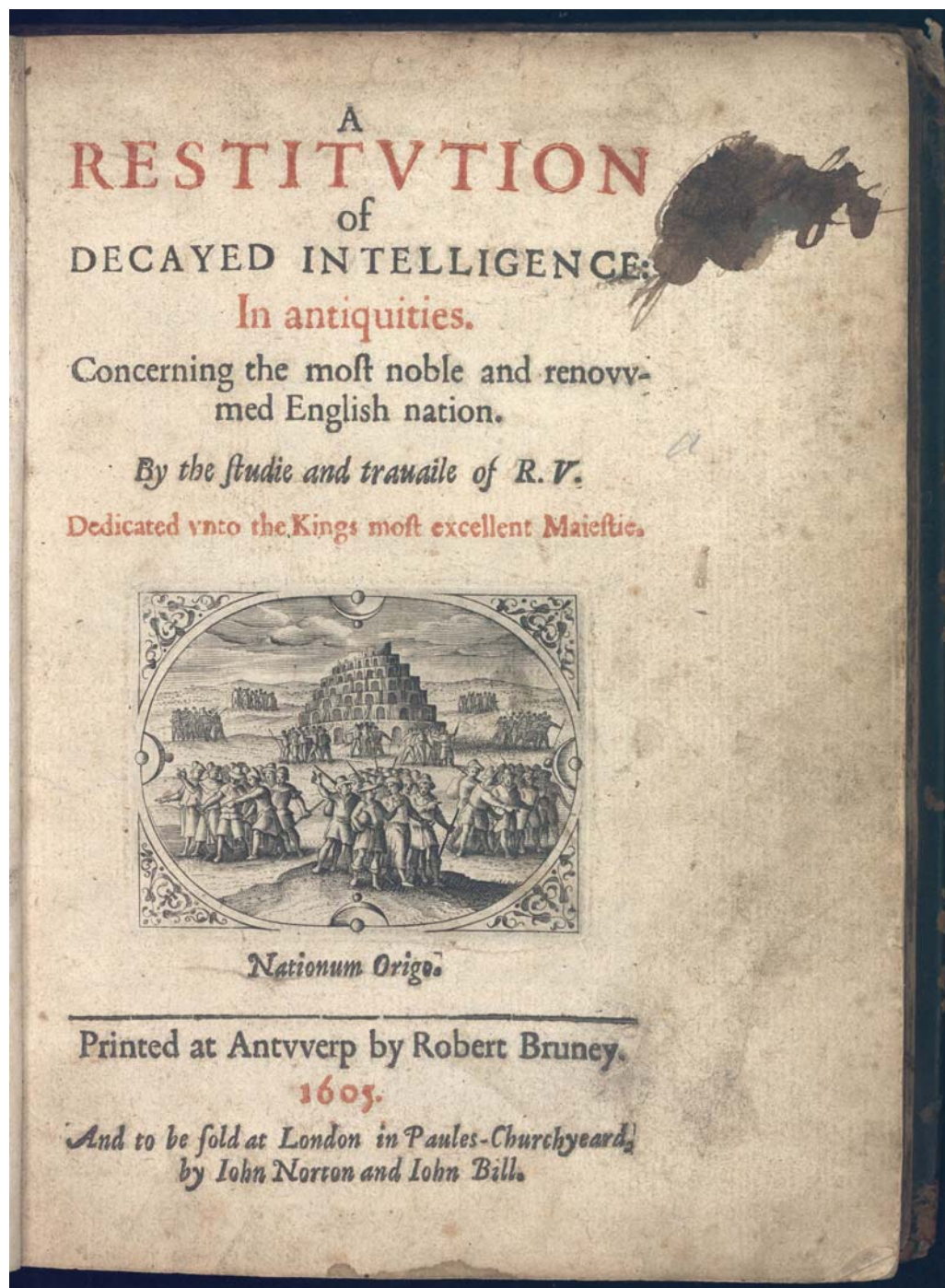


Figure 1. Title Page, Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*.
(Antwerp, 1605).

nations]. The use of Latin here is ironic in that Verstegan, as we have seen, promotes English over Latin.⁴² He also uses the Tower, commonly used to explain the diversity of human language and by extension, the diversity of nations. Once again, we find Verstegan making an intimate connection between language and nation that makes it problematic to discuss one without the other. Though it only occupies nine verses of the Bible, Verstegan expands the Tower story to include not only a more detailed description of the Tower but also to note that there were 72 languages.⁴³ After God punishes the builders by giving them different languages, Verstegan writes, "And thus by reason of this difference of speeches thus-many new distinct and different nations were begun" (6). From this account, there is no indication of any difference between national and linguistic history. This lack of any distinction continues as Verstegan, in explaining the origins of the Saxon people, explains the origins of their name. After presenting and discounting other theories on this origin, Verstegan concludes that "this name then of Saxons they undoubtedly had . . . of their use and wearing of a certaine kynd of sword or weapon invented and made bowing crooked much after the fashion of a sythe" (21). This sword in Old English was called a "seaxes." The origin of "Saxon" helps illustrate Verstegan's motivations not as much by his conclusion but by the

⁴² Either Verstegan or his printer could be responsible for this use of Latin on the title page. Regardless, the appearance of Latin is ironic given the contents of the volume. Given his background operating a printing press, Verstegan may have worked closely with Bruney on the title page. To this point, I have not been able to identify the engraver's artist or history. However, Wood notes that Verstegan often produced drawings from which engravings were made (393).

⁴³ Verstegan also points out that the problems were instigated by Nimrod. Leslie Ross notes that Nimrod is part of a larger extra scriptural tradition (247) in which Verstegan was most likely working. Many of the scholars examining Verstegan's linguistic achievements have often sheepishly referred to his use of the Tower of Babel to explain the origin of language as a common misguided trend of the time. But it seems important to note that as Frantzen points out, this story was used as late as 1772 by L. D. Nelme to explain language diversity (54).

theories he disproves to get there.⁴⁴ Having first asserted that the Saxons were a subset of the Germans who were one of the 72 groups at the Tower of Babel (9-14), Verstegan disproves two of these theories because they assert origins other than German.

According to Verstegan, some people believed that the Saxon was descended from *Saxo*, one of three brothers from India (17), while other historians argued that the Saxons were descended from the *Sacae*, a people in Asia (18). He refutes both of these theories by asserting that "Saxon" was a name applied by other Germanic tribes to them rather than a name they took themselves. Finally, the last theory maintains that the name derives from the Latin word for stone, *saxum*, to which Verstegan answers that neither the Saxons nor the surrounding German peoples who would have applied the name to them had enough knowledge of Latin to do so. Thus, in refuting these theories, Verstegan is able to maintain the Germanic purity of the Saxons. This will be much more important as Verstegan's history progresses, where Verstegan diverges from Camden. While both repeatedly identify their origins in the Saxons, they identify the origins of the Saxons in very different places.⁴⁵ Camden recounts many of the same arguments that Verstegan mentions including Verstegan's conclusion that the Saxons are named after a weapon. Though Camden as in other places will not definitely and unilaterally provide an answer, he does say that the theory that the Saxons descended

⁴⁴ Verstegan takes a pseudo-scientific approach to his study, always refuting opposing arguments in addition to presenting his own. Huppert notes that "Renaissance historians were far from under the spell of their sources, especially when the sources were medieval" (52). While not uncommon, this method does make Verstegan's history seem more "objective" despite our distance and ability to clearly see his biases.

⁴⁵ It is also worth noting that Verstegan focuses exclusively on the Saxons while Camden discusses the etymology of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. Camden does make it clear that England has its origin in all three groups, which, according to Camden, are generally called English and Saxons (128).

from the *Sacae*, a nation in Asia, is “to bee preferred before the rest” (129). The marginal note is not quite so equivocal, reading “Saxons, from the Sacae in Asia.” While they both agree on the importance of the Saxons in English identity, Verstegan is much more focused on language and establishing links to Germany than Camden is.

Furthermore, whereas Camden treats the Saxons as those ancestors who would ultimately become the English, Verstegan makes no distinction between the early Saxons and the early modern English. For instance, after relating the narrative of the Tower of Babel, Verstegan experiences a self-conscious moment. He writes,

And heer leaving this to wre, by these new languaged masons thus left unfinished, I must among them begin to lay the foundatió of another buylding, upon which the noble and honorable English *name and nation* must afterward bee erected. (emphasis added 5)

In addition to illustrating that Verstegan himself metaphorically sees his history as a kind of creation, this passage also illustrates that he does not draw a distinction between the subject of his history, the Anglo or English Saxons, and Jacobean Englishmen. He is not “buylding” the English-Saxon name and nation, but the English name and nation. This sentiment reappears often throughout his work. Notably, in the fifth chapter, when Verstegan discusses the arrival of the Saxons, he describes Hengest and Horsa as the “first bringers of Englishmen into Britain” (118). While equating the Saxons and Englishmen, he also indicates the distinction between Britain and England that he makes in order to erect the “noble and honorable English name and nation.” Britain, in this equation, preexists England but is subservient to it. Britain becomes the “noble and

honorable" England by virtue of the arrival of "Englishmen." Thus, he marginalizes anyone who derives his or her descent from any people except the "English-Saxons."

Returning briefly to the dedications, it should be noted that Verstegan refers to King James I, as "King of Great Britain," while he addresses not Great Britain but only the English nation in the second dedication. This is a distinction of which seventeenth-century readers would undoubtedly have been aware. Verstegan continues this distinction between Britain and England, devoting the entire fourth chapter to a description of Britain that includes an examination of the origins of the British (or Welsh). In doing so, Verstegan dispels the popular notion that the British are the descendents of Troy (92-93), and opts instead to argue that they are descended from King Brute, a much less noble origin (89-90). Indeed, as Levy asserts, "[Tudor] Saxonism had the advantage of reducing the British History to scenic background" (143). Situating the discussion of British origins in the same chapter as the geographical description of Albion or Britain, Verstegan literalizes this argument. Clearly, the Welsh or British are not to be confused with the English-Saxons and, in turn, are not part of the "most noble and renowned English nation."

Verstegan turns in the fifth chapter to purging England of the Scots and the Picts who invaded Britain and began to encroach upon the British nation. Relying heavily on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's description of Britain, Verstegan writes that the "King of Ireland, coming out of that Ile into the north parte of Britaine, vanquished the british [sic] inhabitants, and became the first king in that countrey, of the Scottish nation; for so were the people which he brought with him out of Ireland called" (114). The result of

this account is to set the Saxons and, thus, the English distinctly apart from the other segments of the British population. Contrary to what we witnessed in Camden, those inhabitants of the Scottish nation are clearly not English. Rather than necessarily describe Anglo-Saxon England, this need to segment and explain the origins of the different peoples in the British Isles reflects heavily on Jacobean England. David Baker notes, in *Between Nations*, that toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, questions of British national identity were beset by questions of English, Scottish, and Irish national identity.⁴⁶ Significantly, this notion of the subjectivity of history may not have been foreign to Renaissance scholars. In 1599, La Popelinière, described by George Huppert as a "working historian," argues that historians mostly depict events "not according to former times and customs but according to the age in which the writer lives" (qtd. in Huppert, 49).

Having cleansed the English of the British, the Scottish, and the Irish, Verstegan turns to the presence of Danes and Normans. Their "arrivals" appear in the sixth chapter, significantly titled, "Of the Danes and the Normannes and their Coming into England. And how the English people have stil notwithstanding remayned the corps and body of the realme" (155). Thus, Verstegan makes it clear from the beginning that English-Saxons remain distinct throughout the invasions. In addition, Verstegan implies that the Danes and Normans are closer to the English than are the British, Scottish, or Irish because both the Danes and the Normans were originally part of Germany. Verstegan writes of the Normans, "This people as before I have said of the Danes, are

⁴⁶ See specifically the Introduction and Chapter 1.

not other wise to be accompted of then moste anciently to have bin of the Germain nation" (165). Verstegan does not, however, mention the Saxon resistance, the Dane Law, or King Alfred in this section⁴⁷ despite the fact that he makes it clear that the Danes are unwelcome when they "came now againe by warre to trooble and molest the English-Saxons" (155). Regardless of why Verstegan chose to omit this material, the effect portrays the relationship between English-Saxons and their German "cousins" as more peaceful than it actually was. His conclusion supports this because he asserts that England is not a "mixed" nation as a result of the invasions. He writes, "wee not to bee accompted mixed by having only some such joyned unto us againe, as somtyme has one same language and one same originall with us" (187). Despite this statement of compatibility, Verstegan clearly illustrates through his history that the Danes were repulsed from England and that the "moste part of the gentlemen of Norman race extinguished." Thus, the English-Saxons remain the "maine corps and body of the realme" (187). Verstegan also devotes his attention to delineating the machinations during the occupations through which the succession of English-Saxon kings—despite exiles, deaths, and two different invasions and occupation—eventually regains the English throne and remains intact. He does not, however, make the connection between the Saxons and James I explicit; King James I of Great Britain, as King James VI of Scotland, would not seem to be a "true" Englishman in Verstegan's definition.⁴⁸ In his

⁴⁷ The only reference to King Alfred appears in the fifth chapter, "king Alfred, did afterward devyde it into shyres"(150).

⁴⁸Regardless, Glass notes that after Verstegan's work "Stuart kings become eager to acknowledge their Saxon ancestors" (92), thereby, perhaps, attesting to the possible influence of Verstegan's work in early modern England.

attempts to preserve the English-Saxon as untainted, he portrays the Danes and Normans as both the same as and very different from the English.

Casting the Danes and Normans as distant cousins may also have served in Verstegan's larger cultural description of the Saxon, the chapter on "the ancient manner of lyving of our Saxon aneectors" (55). In this chapter, he details the social classes, the names and explanations of the months, the government, the justice system, and English-Saxon idols. Relying primarily on Bede, he also relates the Saxon migration to Britain, the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms, and their conversion to Christianity. Overall, Sandra Glass characterizes Verstegan's depiction of the Saxons by contending that Verstegan "minimized aggression and internal strife and portrayed civiled, pious, and literate Saxons" (92). In fact, Verstegan makes it clear that the Saxons were invited. Having been "thus abandoned" by the Romans, King Vortiger of the British requested the help of the Saxons in defending against the Scots and the Picts (116). Furthermore, Verstegan continues to understate the continued "migration" of the Saxons, concluding, "Thus the Saxons who at the first came unto the ayd of the Britans, became about two hundreth yeares after, to bee the possessors and sharers of this best parte of the whole Ile of Britaine among themselves" (133). Not conquerors, the Saxons are given the more passive role of becoming the "possessors and sharers."

Whereas Verstegan minimizes wars and conflicts between the British and the Saxons, he highlights Saxon paganism. Of a total of ten illustrative woodcuts,⁴⁹ seven depict pagan idols. The others portray fossils found in England, the arrival of the Saxons

⁴⁹ Anthony Wood observes that these illustrations made the work popular and "advantaged the sale of it much" (394).

in Britain, and the "first bringing and preaching of the Christian faith, unto Ethelbert king of Kent" (144). While the paganism of the Anglo-Saxons is dealt with in great detail, Christianity, other than one woodcut and references to saints such as Edmund, lurks only in the shadows. This emphasis on the paganism of the Saxons cannot be attributed to a lack of religious fervor in Verstegan. As we have already discussed, this work is anomalous in its lack of polemics. Despite his obvious religious fervor, the Saxons are presented as primarily pagan, possibly in an attempt to work against the English Reformation Saxonism movement in England during the 1560s and 1570s and, as we shall see, subtly reassert English Catholicism.

Headed by Reformationists like Matthew Parker, the Saxonist movement prior to Verstegan focused on establishing the origins of the English nation and church. Benedict Scott Robinson has recently contended, in his study of Matthew Parker, that "this polemical scholarship [of the Reformationists] set out to reform the English past by reforming its texts, purging them of the 'corruptions' of Catholic writers, readers, and scholars" (1061). In doing so, Robinson continues, Parker endeavored to "construct a purified past to testify to the truth of the English present" (1061). Yet, as a Catholic recusant living in Antwerp, Verstegan's participation in English nationalism is anomalous at best. Possibly, Verstegan's work may be seen as an attempt to re-appropriate a distinctly pagan and subsequently Catholic Saxon past recently co-opted by Protestants.

As evidenced by emphasis on the paganism of the Saxons, Verstegan does not confront the Protestant strain of Anglo-Saxonism head on. After all, his work is

dedicated to James, who though more lenient to Catholics than his predecessor, was still a Protestant. One of the subtler ways in which Verstegan could be undermining this Protestant project is through his engraving “The Manner of the First Bringing and Preaching of the Christian Faith, unto Ethelbert King of Kent” (see Figure 2). Those responsible for bringing Christianity into England are clearly visually Catholic though not described textually as Catholic. Notice specifically that the religious men have both the hair styles and wardrobe of monks and one of them carries a staff with a tapestry on which a crucifix appears. While he does not point it out specifically, Verstegan through his engraving makes it clear who bears the credit for bringing Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons. Compare this image to two engravings from *Theatrum*. The first (see Figure 3) depicts Elizabethans destroying churches and specifically pulling down a crucifix, while the second (see Figure 4) depicts a man being hanged who looks remarkably like the monks responsible for bringing Christianity to England. While these engravings do not appear in *Restitution* their similarities are striking. Taken together, they suggest not only the Catholic influence on the Christianity of England but also that the Protestants are removing Christianity, not just Catholicism, from England. Furthermore, in accordance with Catholic practice, biblical quotes are presented in Latin which, given the use of vernacular throughout the rest of the text and the importance which Verstegan himself places on the vernacular, seems even more significant.⁵⁰ Thus, Verstegan’s approach subtly reminds his reader where the credit for English Christianity lies.

⁵⁰ Bremmer also points out that these biblical citations are the only occurrences of Latin in the text (170).



Figure 2. “The Manner of the First Bringing and Preaching of the Christian faith, unto Ethelbert, King of Kent.” From Richard Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*. (Antwerp, 1605) 144.



Figure 3. "Primi Noui Euangelij fructus." From Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis*. (Antwerp 1587). 23. This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.



Figure 4: "Schismaticorum in Anglia crudelitas." From Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis*. (Antwerp 1587). 29. This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

Camden is also not beyond giving credit where credit is due when it comes to national origins and religion. In his reader's preface, Camden heads off potential criticisms by justifying certain aspects of *Britannia*. One of these aspects is his inclusion of "some of the most famous Monasteries and their founders" ([flower symbol]5^f). He answers this potential criticism in the reader's preface by asserting that "our" ancestors were Christian and that "there are not extant any other more conspicuous, and certain Monuments, of their piety, and zealous devotion toward God" ([flower symbol]5^f). Furthermore, he adds "Neither are there any other seed-gardens from whence Christian Religion, and good learning were propagated over this isle, howbeit in corrupt ages some weeds grew out over-ranckly" ([flower symbol]5^f). Camden defends his decision to include monasteries by defending the monasteries themselves, seeing them as monuments to the Christianity of English ancestors and downplaying their corruption as not unique and not widespread.

While Camden does discuss early exposures to Christianity such as King Lucius's request to Pope Eleutherus for Christian instruction (67) as well as the arrival of Christianity with Joseph of Arimethea during the infancy of the Church (68),⁵¹ it is clear later in *Britannia* that Camden sees Christianity really taking root when it is introduced to the Anglo-Saxons. Citing both Bede and Gregory the Great, Camden recounts how Gregory sent Augustine, "whom commonly they call the Apostle of English men," into England. Camden then writes,

No sooner was the name of Christ preached, but the English presently

⁵¹ In the margin near this account, Camden writes "Bale, Matthew Parker, Iohn Fox" (68).

with such fervent zeale and devotion consecrated themselves unto Christ, that they tooke incredible paines in propagating Christianitie, in celebrating divine service, performing all functions and duties of pietie, buildings Churches and endowing them with rich livings, so that there was not another region in all Christendome that could make reckening of more monasteries richly endowed. . . . And like as Britaine was called . . . a plenteous province of Tyrants; so England might truly be named, a most fruitfull Iland of Saints. (137)

Despite the fact that the name of Christ had been preached before, it was only when it was preached to the English that it was able to take root and flourish. In addition to locating the origin of Christianity on the island of Britain to this specific instance, Camden does not attempt to hide its Catholic origins – even touting the number of monasteries, a feature notoriously and infamously catholic for the early modern English, as evidence for how powerful the conversion to Christianity was.

What we are left with is two men with widely divergent backgrounds and experiences, undertaking similar projects with relatively similar results and yet the Protestant antiquarian Camden ends up defending (at least partially) Catholic influence on early modern England while the radical Catholic ends up defining nation in very narrow linguistic and ethnic, but not religious, terms. Given this, how then does religion factor into their projects of nation? Neither of these projects ignores religion, but then again neither of these projects makes religion the driving force for their concept of nation. To each of them, it almost seems as if religion is not an integral part of defining

a nation. If true, this stands in stark contrast to early England as a geo-political entity in which it is impossible to discuss the state without also considering religion since religion is regulated, indeed mandated, by the state. Furthermore, it is too easy to say that religion is not part of nation. One thing this study seeks to demonstrate is that all significant discourses in the period are routed at least somewhat through nation – gender, origin, religion, class. It does seem that each of these writers have other elements which they see as more crucial to the definition of nation. For Camden, nation seems to be a function of geography and the many inhabitants who have occupied, inhabited, invaded, and lived there. Ultimately Camden's form of the English nation is very cosmopolitan and open; it consists primarily of the Anglo-Saxons but also includes influence from the Britons, the Romans, and the Normans. The sum is greater than its parts. Verstegan, on the other hand, is much less tolerant and takes a much more hard-line approach to ethnicity, to language, and finally to nation. Drawing little to no distinction between the Anglo-, or English-, Saxons and the early modern English, Verstegan sees the ancestors of the English as Germans. He works consistently and thoroughly throughout his work to purge added influences from his construction of nation, even attacking Chaucer for using words from other languages. In the margins immediately preceding the start of the "dictionary," Verstegan writes "Our tounge is most copious yf we please to make our moste use thereof" (206). His interest in recovering Anglo-Saxon words does not seem anthropological but rather restorative – which is to say ideological.

In some ways, these conceptions of nation are mirrored in the religious position of each antiquarian. Camden's cosmopolitan conception of nation is willing to

recognize the contributions of various inhabitants both Roman and Catholic and overlook the flaws of some inhabitants such as the early Saxons, who Camden relates were “odious to both man and God” (109). One look at Verstegan’s *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis* demonstrates that Verstegan has no problem advancing his cause and while he does not actively and explicitly push his Counter-Reformationist agenda, he is firm in his convictions. Verstegan, unlike Camden, doesn’t encourage the readers to speculate on anything. If anything, Verstegan’s subtle reminders of Catholic influence combined with his uncompromising view of people, language, and nation do not illustrate a secular anomaly but rather a savvy strategy of defining origins in solid terms resistant to Protestant myth-making -- as pagan at worst, Catholic at best.⁵²

We know how the story ends. Despite his emphasis on the Anglo-Saxons, Camden becomes the “father of modern British history” and Verstegan, known contemporarily as a radical Catholic, is labeled a linguist. Though Verstegan’s nationalistic appropriation of Anglo-Saxon language and culture has been relatively ignored by modern scholars, this does not mean that his work was obscure in the seventeenth century. Not as popular as Camden’s works, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* reaches a fifth edition by 1673. Though Verstegan never reconciled with the country of his birth, his project may have. While subsequent editions did not

⁵² Donna B. Hamilton has gone even further and asserted that Verstegan’s *Restitution* provides the documentation, if not the arguments, of “the key positions on English religious-political policy that the English-Catholic leadership has disseminated in the 1580s and 1590s” (1).

experience much revision,⁵³ one significant change appears on the title page. Originally printed in Antwerp to be sold by in London by John Norton⁵⁴ and John Bill, the 1623 edition is printed in London, this time *by* John Bill, "Printer to the King's Majestie." Verstegan's works move from being banned by the state (*Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis*, 1592) to becoming part of its output. Like Matthew Parker, Verstegan looks to the past to understand the present. But, unlike Parker who purified the past to construct the present, Verstegan uses the "truth" of England's past to purify its present.

⁵³ One of the most significant changes it seems was that the engravings were re-cut and reversed. The reversed illustrations were used throughout the 17th century editions. (Davidson 42).

⁵⁴ Not surprisingly, John Norton also participated in the publication of some of Camden's works.

CHAPTER IV

“CRY TREASON TO MY CORPORATION”: COMMUNAL IDENTITY AND CORPORATE NATIONALISM IN DEKKER’S *THE SHOEMAKER’S HOLIDAY*

In the previous two chapters, we have witnessed the construction of nation along a variety of lines, including language, origin, and gender. Nation, both as England and as Britain, occupies a central role in these Roman-Britain dramas and antiquarian studies and their interrogation of nation is explicit. Verstegan, Camden, Shakespeare, and Fletcher all use the past as their vehicle for exploring and defining nation either as the context for their work or as its primary focus. In the case of *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare even adopts a Roman-Britain setting but fails to remain consistent since elements of early modern society creep into the play at various points, most notably while Posthumus is in Italy.

While he doesn’t stretch back to the Roman occupation, Thomas Dekker, in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, also sets his city comedy in England’s past. Rather than invent fictional characters operating in contemporary London, Dekker chooses the historical Simon Eyre to be the central character around which much of the action in the play revolves. Simon Eyre was an actual Lord Mayor of London but, not all accounts indicate he was a shoemaker. John Stow, in *A Survey of London*, lists Eyre as an upholsterer and then a draper. Given that historically shoemakers were not eligible to be elected mayor, it is likely that Eyre was not a shoemaker. Dekker most likely depicts Eyre as a shoemaker based on Thomas Deloney’s collection of stories about shoemakers,

The Gentle Craft (1596-99). Widely accepted as Dekker's primary source text, Deloney claims that Eyre becomes a shoemaker later in his life. Unlike Deloney however, Dekker gives no indication that Eyre has been anything but a shoemaker.¹ Regardless of his occupation, the events in the play do correspond to events in the actual Eyre's life from 1434 to 1446 (Chandler 175). W. K. Chandler, in "The Sources of the Characters in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*," illustrates that Dekker did not stop there but surrounded Eyre with other historical figures, notably Sir Roger Otley (Lord Mayor), or allusions to other historical figures such as Conand Askew, John Hammon, Sir John Cornwall and John Lovell. Like Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, however, this play seems to collapse the temporal gap between its setting and its production, making the past familiar and easily recognizable in the contemporary.² Other than historical names there is hardly anything about the context of the play that firmly located it in the early 15th century, which Chandler describes as "a realistic Elizabethan setting" (183). The present can be found in this past even through these historically-identified characters. Many critics have commented on the close parallels between Sir Roger Otley, the Lord Mayor in Dekker's

¹ While many critics regard Dekker as merely dramatizing Deloney's account of Eyre's life, Thomas Worden asserts that, more than mere adaptation, Dekker parodies Deloney's text (451). W. K. Chandler also points out that Dekker "seems to have corrected Deloney's historical inaccuracies in so far as was consistent with the plot (175). In this case, it seems that Dekker not only did not correct the error regarding Eyre's occupation, he extended it.

² Dekker's repeated use of "portagues" as currency in the play dates the play not to the mid-15th century but to the present of his audience. Thomas Worden points out that this Portuguese coin did not become generally circulated in England until 1599 (454).

play, and John Spencer, mayor of London 1594-95.³ Also, given the prominence of citizens in the play and the emphasis on citizen issues, there is little doubt that many in the early audience would have seen part of their lives or concerns reflected on the stage. The collapse between the 15th century setting and the 16th century production is more fluid and seamless than *Cymbeline*'s and this, no doubt, can be primarily attributed to a smaller chronological difference and societies which are by the very facts of their existence more similar. But, it is also significant that the play does not concern itself with questions which would draw attention to history. Despite its historical context, Dekker's play would never be confused with a history play. History plays are concerned with broad affairs of state, government and monarchy. They dramatize the national story through the figure of monarch and generally bear that monarch's name. The characters are important in how they participate in constructing the nation's history. While it is probably too much to describe history plays as realistic, they do utilize the "real world" (or their perception of it) as their primary referent. For this reason, they primarily remain grounded in their historical (though certainly will also allude to current events).

City comedies as a genre are typically more slippery. At the core definition, a comedy set in London qualifies as an early modern city comedy. These plays focus on the people of London and their concerns rather than broad affairs of state. Also known as citizen comedies, they center their plots on common laborers and the emergent merchant class rather than monarchs. Conflicts, albeit comedic, are more apt to occur

³ John Spencer, famous for his anti-theatricalism, also tried to keep his daughter from marrying an indebted courtier. Like the Lord Mayor in Dekker's play, Spencer is also unable to stop the marriage. For more in-depth discussions of the parallels to and significance of John Spencer, see Charles Whitney, Amy L. Smith, David Novarr and Marta Staznicky.

between different classes of Londoners than between warring countries or multiple claimants to the English throne. Most modern critics focus on this play as a city comedy and explore how Dekker's work interrogates and explores the intricacies of life in early modern London. Very few recognize or even explore this historical gap. Most critics categorize this play as city comedy and focus on issues directly relevant to the urban relationships dramatized – marriage, class, gender, economics and the material culture of early modern London. And, while those issues are definitely at work in the work, there is more to the historical elements than setting.

I am not suggesting that Dekker's play is a history play or should be read as such. However, Brian Gibbons, in *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of the Satiric Plays of Jonson, Marston, and Middleton*, asserts that city comedies have a satiric mode distinct from "chronicle plays like Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*" (1). Using Gibbons, Simon Morgan-Russell, in "'How far is it, my Lord, to Berkeley now?': English Chronicle History and the Rise of the London City Comedy," argues that Dekker's play is transitional in what he sees as the shift from the English chronicle history to the city comedy – a shift that is based on Helgerson's argument that chorographical representations of England opened a conceptual gap between the country and its monarch. Morgan-Russell concludes that Dekker's play addresses the problems of representing time and space that plagued history plays, being "unable simultaneously to dramatize chorography and chronicle" (255). Gibbons and Morgan-Russell both recognize that Dekker's play resists being easily categorized as either a history or what we traditionally think of as a city comedy. Morgan-Russell addresses this ambiguity in

generic terms, defending Gibbons' classification based on the play's use of a "historically-documented figure" in Simon Eyre. For most critics, myself included, being a comedy set in London makes the play more of a city comedy than Eyre's role makes it a chronicle. The historical context, however, is not merely window dressing. As in Shakespeare and Fletcher, this historical context contributes to the commentary on the present that the play offers.

While Morgan-Russell does detect a more complex relationship between *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and history plays, he restricts his discussion to generic elements. I will argue that this relationship, while marked by these generic elements, extends deeper to interrogate some of the larger concerns of history plays as well. Specifically, Dekker's play does indeed engage the question of nation and ultimately offer its own version. It is by exploring Dekker's use of a historic context that we can begin to uncover his construction of nation. While Dekker does not overtly discuss this historical context, the presence of Simon Eyre clearly locates the play in mid-15th century England. Dekker includes a king in his play but never reveals his name. As Chandler points out, historically Dekker's king is Henry VI. With Shakespeare's three plays devoted to him, Henry VI is already a well-known figure on the London stage. The parallel is one that early modern English audiences would no doubt have recognized. It is curious, however, that with the use of so many historical names that Dekker chooses not to name his king. It could be that no introduction is necessary for such a well-dramatized king. But by not naming him, Dekker also leaves room for ambiguity. I will argue that the play invokes not Henry VI but his more famous father, Henry V. While

Chandler maintains that chronology only leaves Henry VI as an option, other critics are not as certain. Alexis Lange suggests that Dekker gives his audience “a glimpse of the victor of Agincourt, in a playful mood” (7). L. M. Manheim also recognizes Hal in Dekker’s play, arguing that the apprentice-friendly Henry V is a better fit for Dekker’s king and adds that identifying him as Henry VI is not without its own anachronism.⁴ More recently, David Scott Kastan adds that this identification is “less historical than romantic” since the persona of Henry V is a more “comforting portrait of royal benevolence to guarantee the middle-class energies that are articulated” (334). Kastan almost seems to suggest that the identification is important only as a type rather than a historical parallel. Indeed, much of the evidence for the link to Henry V⁵ comes not from specific moments in Dekker’s play but from our interpretations of the characters of the kings involved and which is most appropriate. And this evidence is scant given the relatively small amount of time that the king is onstage in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*.

There are, moreover, other connections between Dekker’s king and Henry V, connections which ultimately may suggest a more historical than romantic parallel. Indeed, city comedies are typically more romantic than historical, using the “real world” as their point of departure rather than their referent. In many ways, Dekker’s play is more romantic and idealized than realistic in its portrayal of early modern London life. More than the typical city comedy, *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* grounds itself in the

⁴ Specifically, Manheim notes that the king’s reference to himself as a “batchellor” to Rose (21.93) is itself anachronistic since Henry VI was married a year prior to Eyre becoming Lord Mayor. The king’s marital status is one of the reasons that Chandler cites to establish the parallel to Henry VI.

⁵ The identification of the king as Henry V is popular enough to allow both David Novarr and Du-Hyoun Kang to link Hal to the king with little to no explanation.

historical and but its departure is not as fantastic as generally recognized. Specifically, it grounds itself historically through its connections to *Henry V*. When the King asks Eyre his age when they meet, Eyre proudly proclaims that his beard has no grey in it. He continues, “Yet I’ll shave it off and stuff tennis balls with it to please my bully King” (21.29-30).⁶ As Bethany Blankenship also points out, this seems to be a clear reference to Henry V and the French “gift” of tennis balls to mock his youth (468). In addition to making a more explicit connection between the two kings, it also suggests a historical significance, especially since these tennis balls are often perceived (and even linked directly in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*) to Henry’s decision to invade France. Given that the England of Dekker’s play is currently at war with France, the tennis balls, here, specifically referring to Shakespeare’s famous history, point to more nuanced connection between Dekker’s play and *Henry V*, a connection that is more concerned with broader issues than has previously been recognized.

Far from being mere coincidence, I will argue that Dekker’s play not only refers to Shakespeare’s but is, in fact, a response to it. Dekker’s concern with history extends past context to some of the root ideas about nation present in *Henry V*. By examining the connections between the two plays and by reading *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* as a reaction to Shakespeare’s play, we will see that Dekker internalizes the arguments about nation and dramatizes both the rejection and replacement of this nation with his own.

The Shoemaker’s Holiday may not be a history play but it does appropriate and

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, all citations of Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* are from Arthur Kinney’s *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*. There are no Act divisions in this edition of the play, therefore, the citations only include scene and line numbers.

renegotiate matters of state generally reserved for this genre and it is only by linking this play to *Henry V* that the heart of Dekker's play can be understood.

Before examining this reaction, we will explore the relationship between these two plays more closely. Henry V would have been much more in the minds of the audiences than his son. After all, both Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and Shakespeare's *Henry V* appeared on the London stage in 1599. While dating the first appearance of early modern plays is an inexact science at best, Steve Sohmer, examining allusions in *Henry V* to the Earl of Essex and to the timing of Essex's campaign in Ireland, concludes that the play must have initially been staged in April or early May of 1599 (paragraph 12). Similarly, a manuscript copy of Dekker's play was made available to the Lord Admiral's players by July 15, 1599 (Lange 4). Based on Henslowe's payment to Dekker for his part in *Agamemnon* on May 30, Lange surmises that Dekker surely wrote *The Shoemaker's Holiday* over the next six weeks. If accurate, these dates would not only make the initial appearance of *Holiday* after *Henry V*, it would also make its composition after the appearance of Shakespeare's play.⁷ The chronology of these two plays also points to a link between Henry V and Dekker's king. Returning briefly to Eyre's lines about the tennis balls, one thing Blankenship misses is that Eyre refers to the king as his "bully King." While it is a common term of endearment or familiarity, Pistol in *Henry V* uses it to describe none other than the king himself, "I love the lovely

⁷ *Henry V* has also been considered a candidate as the opening play for the Globe Theatre on 12 June 1599. Even this later date would have given Dekker time to see and respond to Shakespeare's play.

bully” (4.1.48).⁸ Thus, there are two references to *Henry V* in Eyre’s brief lines. The more important connection, then, is not between the king and Henry V but between *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* and *Henry V*.

Both plays were very popular and if publication is any indication, their popularity continued into the first half of the seventeenth century with both plays appearing in print multiple times. In addition to being staged in 1599, both plays appeared in quarto the following year in 1600. *Henry V* also appeared in quarto in 1602, and 1619 before being included in the 1623 First Folio as well as subsequent folios of Shakespeare. By comparison, Dekker’s play also had multiple quartos, following the 1600 quarto with editions in 1610, 1618, 1624, and 1631.

While Dekker’s play does not enjoy the modern popularity of Shakespeare, both plays have captured the attention of modern critics and been the subject of countless books and articles in modern literary scholarship. Despite this popularity and the connections we have explored above, few critics have examined these two plays in relation to one another. There have, however, been recent exceptions to this trend -- notably, Thomas Worden and Alison A. Chapman. Worden, in “Idols in the Early Modern Material World (1599): Deloney’s *The Gentle Craft*, Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, and Shakespeare’s *Henry V*,”⁹ explores the “materiality of ideology” (433) in these works while Chapman, in “Whose Saint Crispin’s Day Is It?: Shoemaking,

⁸ Firk’s name, itself, may be a reference to Pistol. When Pistol is demanding a ransom from a French soldier, he threatens: “Master Fer? I’ll fer him, and firk him, and ferret him” (4.4.28).

⁹ Interestingly, while Worden compares Dekker’s and Shakespeare’s plays, he does not discuss why he chose to select these two works. He even suggests that Pistol “recalls” Firk, placing *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* as the earlier play without actually discussing the chronology of the plays.

Holiday Making, and the Politics of Memory in Early Modern England,” examines the same three works to delineate the struggle for control over England’s commemorative practice by the monarch and the cobblers. She argues specifically, *Henry V* sought to “contain the shoemaker’s threat to the ritual calendar” (1491). These scholars critically establish that Shakespeare’s and Dekker’s plays explore similar themes and concepts but fail to realize the closer relationship between them. More than a play which shares concerns with and alludes to Shakespeare’s history, *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* is a play that engages it and the central nature of this engagement is the exploration of nation.

To say that Dekker’s popular city comedy is concerned with the definition of nation may seem, at first glance, to be ill-conceived. After all, here is a play that operates on an interpersonal level in an urban context. Its characters, for the most part, are of regional importance, if any, and none of them make great speeches about the nation or its inhabitants. They are not constantly referring to England or Britain or comparing themselves to the inhabitants of other nations. In fact, “England” only appears twice and “English” once -- each in relation to the war with France. As in *Henry V*, in Dekker’s play, England is currently at war with France. But, unlike *Henry V*, the war is more of a backdrop than the focus. This is not to say, however, that it is not significant to understanding the play. The war itself does not specify a link to Henry V over his son, Henry VI, who also warred with France. But there are moments that suggest that this war is more closely tied to Henry V. In *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, when Dodger provides Lincoln with information about the war, he refers to a battle

“upon the eighteenth day of May” – a far cry from the October 25th Battle of Agincourt.

However, Dodger’s description continues,

Five long hours

Both armies fought together. At the length

The lot of victory fell on our sides.

Twelve thousand of the Frenchmen that day died.

Four thousand English, and no man of name

But Captain Hyam and young Ardington. (8.6-10)

Though the date and the numbers do not correlate, Henry’s description of English losses at Agincourt rings familiar. “Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, / Sir Richard Keighley, Davy Gam Esquire; / None else of name, and of all other men / But five and twenty” (4.8.97-100). While the battle that occurs off stage in Dekker’s play is probably not the Battle of Agincourt, the overwhelming victory coupled with similar battle reports do evoke the more famous battle. Dekker did not have to specify the correct date or number of deaths to conjure Agincourt in the minds of his audiences.

Agincourt may also be recalled through the minor character of Askew. Askew, in Dekker’s play, is Lacy’s cousin whom Lacy pays to take his place commanding English troops in France so that he can stay behind in England and court Rose. Chandler asserts that Askew may very well be Conand Askew who “was with the Gloucester lances in the Battle of Agincourt” and “who, on July 13, 1436, was in charge of a body of men-at-arms and archers who were about to proceed to Calais at an almost

contemporary date with Dekker's account" (178).¹⁰ It is impossible to say whether or not Askew and his role at Agincourt would have been recognizable to Dekker's audiences. Regardless, it is an interesting parallel that again brings Henry V to mind.

By focusing the play on shoemakers (despite his central character not historically being one), Dekker used a context in which any reference to a battle with France would probably resonate with Shakespeare's play through the patron saints of shoemakers, Crispin and Crispianus. Though their exact history is unknown, it is generally believed that they were two Roman brothers who moved to Gaul and preached by day and worked as shoemakers by night.¹¹ Alison Chapman points out that Henry's "emphasis on fraternal solidarity recalls contemporary portrayals of Crispin and Crispianus" (1484) and she goes on to argue that Henry's invocation of St. Crispin is one of the ways in which he attempts to re-assert the power to create holidays in the hands of the monarch rather than the shoemakers. If Chapman is right, then it is significant that Dekker does not try to reclaim the saints. In fact, he does not mention them at all, choosing instead to invoke the English patron saint of shoemaker's, St. Hugh. Though Deloney's account apocryphally recasts Crispin and Crispianus as Englishmen, St. Hugh is much more strongly tied to English shoemakers. But, Hugh was never formally canonized, calling his sainthood into question. By having his shoemakers repeatedly call upon "St. Hugh,"

¹⁰ Chandler identifies Conand Askew using the third edition of Sir Harris Nicholas's *History of the Battle of Agincourt* (London, 1833) and the second volume of the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Henry VI* (London, 1907).

¹¹ In *The Gentle Craft*, Thomas Deloney tells an apocryphal version of their story, casting them as Englishmen.

Dekker invokes questions of nation in his play.¹² While Dekker does not specifically reference the canonized brothers, the confluence of shoemakers and a war with France with similar battle reports surely warrants closer examination.

Before turning to Dekker's response, it will be helpful to discuss Shakespeare's *Henry V*, and specifically the St. Crispin's day speech, briefly. The physical embodiment of his nation, "Harry England," as he is referred to by the King of France, seeks to expand the glory (and even the physical boundaries) of England through conflict with France and attempts to forge a national identity with troops from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. David Baker, in *Between Nations*, challenges the popular critical notion that the play celebrates the English nation and argues that "the several British nationalisms that find an often ambiguous articulation in *Henry V* trouble any sense of sturdy Englishness the play might promote, and even disrupt . . . the exultant rhetoric of England's ideal king" (25). It is this "exultant rhetoric" and the attempt to solidify a concept of nation that interest us here more than Henry's relative success or failure. While it is beyond the purview of this chapter to offer a full-scale discussion of the complexity of *Henry V*'s nationalism, I would like to look at how Henry attempts to define nation and specifically the responsibilities of its members. For this, we look no further than the St. Crispin's day speech.

Before the Battle of Agincourt, Harry addresses his troops and delineates the benefits of participation in this martial conflict. Addressing concerns over their smaller

¹² Interestingly, Hugh was the son of Arviragus, king of Powisland in what today would be Wales. As we saw in the second chapter, Arviragus is also a character closely associated with nation in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*.

army, he tells his soldiers that “The fewer men, the greater share of honour” (4.3.22) and that while he does not covet gold, he does covet honor. Furthermore, this honor will continue on long after the battle, “And Crispin/Crispian shall ne’er go by / From this day to the ending of the world / But we in it shall be remembered” (4.3.57-59). Thus, fighting for England will bring not only honor but immortality through history.

More than an individualized honor, Harry’s version of nation is based on a myth of community, a myth of a fraternal brotherhood created fighting for England:

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.
 For he today that sheds his blood with me
 Shall be my brother; be he ne’er so vile,
 This day shall gentle his condition.
 And gentlemen in England now abed
 Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
 And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
 That fought with us upon St. Crispin’s day. (4.3.60-67)

From a practical standpoint, Henry is giving his soldiers nothing more than a pre-battle pep talk to rally his smaller army against the larger, better-fed French army. But, in doing so, he offers a communal version of nation based on participation in the martial struggle against France. By fighting, the soldiers are offered not only an equal place in Henry’s band but also a kind of social mobility. Specifically, Henry promises a leveling between noble and common soldiers that will even lift the common above those gentlemen back in England. As Chapman notes, this “‘gentling’ [is] explicitly

dependent on creditable military service” (1486). The benefits of this participation, moreover, are restricted only to those in the army. Those idle men back in England not only are denied admission to this band of brothers, their very masculinity is questioned. For Henry then, serving the needs of the nation, as defined by the monarch, and forging a national identity through conflict with France represent the best and only routes to being a proper English gentleman. For the lower classes in *Henry V*, martial valor becomes the “only lawful means of social and economic advancement” (Chapman 1482).

Given the close connections between Shakespeare’s and Dekker’s plays and the fact that many of these links involve wars with France, Henry’s version of nation and how it operates seem relevant to Dekker’s exploration of the city. Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* is in many ways a response to *Henry V* and the nationalism laid out in the St. Crispin’s Day speech. As we have already discussed, there are multiple points of contact between Dekker’s and Shakespeare’s play. To this point, we have been establishing these links by focusing on similarities. Now, we will shift our focus to look at more of the differences. In terms of the similar contexts between the two plays, one of the biggest differences is the role of France. There is very little anti-French sentiment in Dekker’s play. For the most part, the war with France falls into the background and, furthermore, France does not seem to pose a serious threat to the prosperity or sovereignty of England. There does not seem to be any urgency to this war. In fact, like a good comedy, Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* ends with a marriage and a banquet. The last lines in the play are delivered by the king who proclaims “When all our sports

and banquetings are done, / Wars must right wrongs which Frenchmen have begun” (21.210-211). While a battle does occur during the time of the play, the war is not completed and apparently can wait until the end of the party. Ultimately, war and the nation’s cause is subordinated to banquets and sports and not just one, all of them. More than a defense of nation, this war is apparently about vindication for wrongs the French have committed against the English. While certainly nations can be wronged, vindication is much more an individual trait than a national one. Additionally, notice that the king refers to “Frenchmen” rather than “France” in these lines. This diction does signal an emphasis on people over an abstract concept of nation. Nor should we forget that *Henry V* strongly links the personal insult of Harry by the Dauphin and his gift of tennis balls to Harry’s invasion of France. So while these share a context, the conclusions of this context are quite different. *Henry V* ends with Harry married to the daughter of the King of France and with a treaty that ends the war; *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* ends with war painted as a more individualistic pursuit and one that can be subordinated to sport and banquets, themselves communal. These communal needs of the nation come before individualistic ones. Despite Henry’s calls for a fraternal community of veterans, nation in *Henry V* is still firmly located in the individual of the monarch. As we have seen with writers such as Camden and Verstegan, there are competing definitions of nation that are located in more of a shared identity – English, British, Saxon – what Benedict Anderson calls an imagined community. There is also a strong sense of community in the version of nation constructed by Dekker’s play.

This dichotomy between the communal, based on a group that shares an identity, and the individual first appears in the opening scene of the play. Turning back to this opening scene, we can delineate how this context changes and what these changes ultimately say about nation. The first scene opens with the Lord Mayor and the Earl of Lincoln discussing the relationship between the Mayor's daughter, Rose, and the Earl of Lincoln's nephew, Lacy. They both agree that the two young lovers should not marry, though for markedly different reasons: the Lord Mayor claims that his daughter is of too low a birth and the Earl, for his part, describes his nephew as "unthrift" (1.17) who, after spending all of his money "became a shoemaker in Wittenberg" (1.29) to avoid the shame of bankruptcy. While the Lord Mayor views Lacy's acquisition of an occupation positively, Lincoln has a "better trade" (1.45) for him. Lacy is to command "all those companies / Mustered in London and the shires about / To serve his Highness in those wars of France" (1.47-49). More than merely serving the monarch and his country, Lincoln, much like Henry, makes it clear that through this path lies honor and glory. After the Lord Mayor exits, Lincoln tells his nephew:

Remember, coz

What honorable fortunes wait on thee.

Increase the King's love which so brightly shines

And gilds thy hopes. I have no heir but thee,

And yet not thee if from a wayward spirit

Thou start from the true bias of my love. (1.80-85)

Thus for Lacy, the roads to honor, status, and financial wealth all run through France.

While Lincoln's version of honor is rooted in material wealth, Lacy's is not as base. He responds to his uncle, "My lord, I will for honor (not desire / Of land or livings, or to be your heir) / So guide my actions in France / As shall add glory to the Lacy's name"

(1.86-89). Freed of the base desires of land and wealth, Lacy claims his actions in

France will be guided by honor in the abstract. Ironically, Lincoln immediately responds by rewarding his desire for honor (which is detached from material gain) with 30

portagues. To a small extent, Lacy's pursuit of honor extends the individual, seeking

honor not for personal gain but to enhance his family's name. However, this

"community" of his name is relatively small and still functions in Harry's version of

nation which recognizes those of "name" and involves fulfilling the martial needs of the monarch. Nowhere in his lines is there a concern for or even a conception of an abstract

nation. He is not fighting *for* England. Lincoln echoes Lacy and, even more so, Henry

when he continues "Fair honor in her loftiest eminence / Stays in France for you till you fetch her thence" (1.92-93) and ends by telling Lacy, "Do not stay. / Where honor

becomes, shame attends delay" (1.96-97). In these early moments of the play, the

pursuit of honor, personified as a woman, becomes the object of desire which the good

English gentleman should pursue. As in *Henry V*, conflict with France, as dictated by

the monarch, becomes the route to honor. It is this type of honor that also grants

inclusion into fraternal brotherhood that constitutes nation, as membership, for Harry, is

predicated on the individual quest for honor through martial conflict.

This Henry-esque version of honor and participation in the nation is short-lived, however. As soon as Lincoln is off-stage, Lacy tells his cousin, Askew:

I have some serious business for three days,
Which nothing but my presence can dispatch.
You, therefore, cousin, with the companies,
Shall haste to Dover. There I'll meet with you,
Or if I stay past my prefixed time,
Away for France; we'll meet in Normandy. (1.100-06)

As soon as his uncle is out of ear-shot, we learn that Lacy is not ready to join his troops in preparation for a war with France and that it is possible that he will not join them until after they reach France. It is not until later that the audience learns that Lacy never had plans of joining his command in either Dover or France. The hedging in this lines, however, does suggest that he might not make it at all. Honor becomes secondary to what he describes to Askew as “serious business.” While his exact reason is unclear at this point, we get a hint in the next scene when Rose dispatches her servant, Sybil, to “learn perfectly / Whether [her] Lacy go to France or no” (2.64-65). All mystery is removed at the beginning of scene 3, when Lacy enters disguised as a Dutch shoemaker. Alone on stage, he tells the audience:

How many shapes have gods and kings devised
Thereby to compass their desired loves!
It is no shame for Rowland Lacy, then,
To clothe his cunning with the Gentle Craft,

That, thus disguised, I may unknown possess

The only happy presence of my Rose.

For her, have I forsook my charge in France. (3.1-7)

Lacy's "serious business" turns out to be neither serious nor business. He is motivated by his love for Rose and a desire to be near her. Amy L. Smith, in "Performing Cross-Clandestine Marriage in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*" takes a more cynical approach and argues that Lacy's love for Rose may indeed be business since his interest in her may be primarily economic (342). In this case, rather than ignore his uncle's view of economic advancement in favor of love, he rejects the martial path to riches for the marital one. Whatever his specific motivations, they outweigh any consideration of honor or country. In a slightly different context, honor plays a role here as well. Citing the precedence of gods and kings, Lacy claims that his disguise as a shoemaker brings him no shame, the term opposite honor in the critical dialectic in play here. From Lincoln's perspective, it would seem odd worry about the dishonor of a lower class disguise over that of disobeying the monarch and turning on his back on his duty. Rather, Lacy seems to be rejecting honor as it is portrayed by Lincoln (and I would argue by extension Henry) and seeking it through marriage. By appearing as a Dutch shoemaker, in some ways, Lacy has turned his back on England as well. His assumption of a Dutch identity then seems symbolic of his refusal to fight for England. Also, it is important to remember that this disguise could be no more shame than actually working as a shoemaker, which Lincoln points out in the first scene, Lacy had done in Wittenburg to avoid the shame of bankruptcy. Lacy seems rhetorically to be pre-occupied with shame but begins to re-

define honor and shame in his own terms. Lacy seemingly chooses his individual desires over the larger concerns of his country or community. But, in doing so, he chooses to join a community that of shoemakers.

Lacy is paralleled in the first scene by the shoemaker, Rafe. Shortly after Lacy informs his cousin of his “serious business,” we are first introduced to Simon Eyre and his band, including his wife as well as his men, Hodge, Firk, Rafe, and Rafe’s wife, Jane. Together, Eyre tells Lacy and Askew, they are “suitors for this honest Rafe” (1.136). Rafe has recently been pressed into the army and his companions are trying to get him out of his military service. As both David Novarr and David Scott Kastan point out, the threat of impressment was real for the London working class in 1599 as from 1596 to 1599 “the number of impressed soldiers had begun to increase dramatically as the Irish situation worsened” (Kastan 329) and “rumors of English losses were running about London in July, 1599” (Novarr 234). Add the renewed threat of Spanish invasion and the concerns about forced military service were real for Dekker’s characters as well as his audience as the gap between the setting and the production closes again.

Trying to get Rafe out of this service, Eyre offers to provide seven years worth of free boots (1.139); Firk bawdily suggests that Jane will be undone from missing Rafe; and Hodge complains about pressing a man within his first year of marriage. Despite these arguments, Lacy claims, “it is not in my power. / The Londoners are pressed, paid, and set forth / By the Lord Mayor. I cannot change a man” (1.154-56). Lacy’s claim that the men are selected by the Lord Mayor may be accurate but there is a disingenuousness in these lines. Lacy can “change a man.” We have already seen him

set up a plan for not going to France immediately and just two scenes later we are going to see Lacy change himself. If a colonel (as Lincoln describes Lacy's position) can use a disguise to avoid France, surely a soldier whose death would not warrant mention on a battle account could do the same. This route is not open to Rafe. This crucial distinction exemplifies Ronda Arab's assertion based on Dodger's battle report that "it is commoners – soldiers like Ralph, recruited from the artisan classes – who are responsible for keeping the nation intact in every way" (196). Through this service and responsibility, whether chosen or not, Rafe and other citizens begin to represent the nation. Certainly Rafe bears a connection to the nation that warrants further examination when he returns from the war with France.

For now, Lacy assures him "Thou shalt not want, as I am a gentleman" (1.195) then turns to Rafe's wife and tells her, "Woman, be patient. God, no doubt, will send / Thy husband safe again. But he must go, / His country's quarrel says it shall be so" (1.196-98). In some of the most blatantly nationalistic lines in the play, Lacy specifically cites the needs of the country and claims that Rafe has no choice but go, even more solidifying Rafe's connection to nation. Lacy also assures Rafe that he shall not want, and while a nice sentiment, it cannot help but cause the audience to question how Lacy will keep this promise to Rafe while he is in London and Rafe is in France. Rhetorically, Lacy seems to advocate Henry's view of nation, claiming that duty requires Rafe to participate in the country's "quarrel." It is unclear why this duty does not also compel Lacy to serve. What is clear is that Lacy cannot deliver his recent

promises to Rafe and Jane. These empty assurances suggest Lacy's nationalism may be nothing more than an act to cover his tracks.

This opening scene is interesting in that Dekker sets up two characters who both have the chance to join Harry in France but neither wants to go. Lacy and Rafe also share motivations in that both men would prefer to be "in England now abed" to be nearer their love than seek honor and status in France. Lacy, the gentleman, is able to avoid this fate, while Rafe, the shoemaker's apprentice, is not. Their differences, however, do extend a little deeper. Though he is assisted by Askew, Lacy's operation is more individualized. He takes the initiative, arranges for someone to take over his command, and disguises himself as a shoemaker to avoid service in France. On the contrary, Rafe's resistance to military service is more communal. He does not even speak out in his own behalf, allowing Simon Eyre and his entire shop to argue for his freedom. His silence emphasizes the split between the individual and the communal when Lacy acts independently to avoid service and Rafe relies on his membership in a community of shoemakers to argue for him. His community is unable to save him. According to Lacy's notion of the "country's quarrel," the Henry-esque community of nation as defined by martial conflict takes precedence over the collective wishes of the shoemakers. While the shoemakers fail to re-assert their community in this instance, Dekker, at this early stage, is setting the conflict between these two communities.

Furthermore, when they face the reality that Rafe must go to France, Eyre specifies that Rafe need to "Fight for the honor of the Gentle Craft, for the Gentlemen Shoemakers, the courageous cordwainers, the flower of Saint Martin's, the mad knaves

of Bedlam, Fleet Street, Tower Street, and Whitechapel” (1.234-38). Unlike Lincoln and Lacy who focused on honor and material gain, Eyre tells Rafe to fight primarily for the community of shoemakers. There is also a local dimension to Eyre’s statement when he encourages Rafe to represent mad knaves from four areas of London: an asylum, a street known for its “freaks and oddities,” Eyre’s street,¹³ and an overcrowded and crime-ridden suburb (255 n. 238). Other than Eyre’s street, these choices are a little odd. The one trait they share is that they are all out of the mainstream. They could also be topical allusions to other shoemakers since lost to us. This possibility would, at least, preserve the consistency of Eyre’s exhortation and does seem logical given the reference to Eyre’s street. “Mad knaves” is also a term that Eyre uses to refer to his shoemakers (1.185; 10.180; 21.162), making it possible that he is referring generally to shoemakers in those areas. Regardless, Eyre encourages Rafe to fight, not for himself or for Eyre, but for a larger community, in this case, one consisting primarily of shoemakers. This emphasis on the communal is also reflected in that Eyre, together with Hodge and Firk, give Rafe money. Rafe, in turn, gives his wife a pair of shoes, noting that while rich men give rings, “our trade makes rings for women’s heels” (1.254). He continues by highlighting that this pair of shoes was “cut out by Hodge / Stitched by my fellow, Firk, [and] seamed by myself” (1.255-256). More than a simple gift to his wife, these shoes represent the collaborative effort of his whole shop. It also demonstrates Rafe’s role in the shop and suggests another, more practical, reason why Eyre and his laborers may not want Rafe in France. In some ways then, Eyre and his shoemakers epitomize a version

¹³ Simon Eyre refers to himself earlier in this scene as “the mad shoe- / maker of Tower street” (1.130-31).

of community invoked by Harry in *Henry V*. This community, however, resists the drive for honor and martial conflict rather than being formed by it. And, like Lacy and his individualism, this focus of community seems to ignore nation in the place we would most expect to see it: Rafe's reasons for fighting.

Even in the betrayal of one's duty, an abstract concept of nation fails to appear. In scene iii, after Lacy appears onstage disguised as Hans, a Dutch shoemaker, he claims that by forsaking his charge in France, he has "Incurred the King's displeasure, and stirred up / Rough hatred in mine uncle Lincoln's breast" (3.8-9). His crime is not against England but against the king and his uncle. While in this period the monarch was often symbolic of nation, it is striking that Dekker remains focused on the monarch as an individual rather than as a symbol, especially given the numerous symbolic linkings in Shakespeare's *Henry V*.¹⁴ Similarly, when Lincoln learns of Lacy's desertion, he again structures Lacy's actions in relation to the king and himself, asking, "Dares he so careless venture his life / Upon the indignation of a King? / Hath he despised my love, and spurned those favors / Which I with prodigal hand poured on his head?" (8.24-27). Like the war with France, Lacy's behavior is perceived as a personal slight rather than a betrayal. While he is accused of being a traitor in the final scene, in these lines, Lacy's actions do not reach that level of severity, they merely incur displeasure or indignation. The Lord Mayor describes Lacy's desertion as "neglecting the high charge the King imposed" (16.5). There is even some sympathy for Lacy in

¹⁴ Throughout *Henry V*, there is slippage between the personal identity of Harry and his role as symbol of England. He is referred to variously as "England" (2.4.9; 3.5.37; 3.5.68; 3.6.111; 4.2.37), "Harry England" (3.5.48), and "brother England" (5.2.10).

these lines. Neglect is certainly a more passive accusation than traitor. Neglect literally requires no action while treason is typically associated with an action of some sort. This verb use seems to downplay the significance of the behavior. Describing the orders as “imposed” also suggests not only that Lacy was not in agreement but that maybe the orders were unnecessary or even an intrusion. Though he is eventually charged with treason, these accusations are quickly pardoned. There are ultimately no serious consequences. Instead of seeing Lacy as letting down his country, the play subtly distances itself from the martial course advocated in *Henry V* by shedding sympathetic light on Lacy’s decision and by casting it as a personal rather than national betrayal. As a comedy, the play also suggests that Lacy’s actions are acceptable and even honorable because he acts out of love.

On the other hand, Rafe, despite also being in love, is not as lucky as Lacy. He returns lame from the war in France. When he first enters the stage, Hodge recognizes him but Margary Eyre wife does not, “Perdie, I knew him not” (10.78). Rafe responds by wishing that “you saw me, dame, as well / As when I went from London to France” (10.80-81). So, in addition to being injured, he has become unrecognizable to some of those people who were close to him. He immediately asks about his wife and is told that by acting “more stately than became her” (10.106-107), Jane was driven away by Eyre’s wife and though they have not heard from her directly, they have heard that she lives in London. For his service to his country and king, Rafe ends up physically disabled, unrecognizable, and has lost his wife. He finds his wife serendipitously by being asked by a servant to make a pair of shoes for a bride exactly like the ones he had given Jane.

When he delivers the shoes, he recognizes the bride as his wife, Jane. Like Margary Eyre, she fails to recognize him to which Rafe comments that “My lame leg and my travel beyond sea made me unknown” (18.15-16). One cannot help at this point but think of Lacy. Both men have ended up in disguises of sorts: Lacy’s intentional and Rafe’s a product of war. Rafe’s less than ideal return should also remind us of Lacy’s promise that Rafe “shall not want” and his assurance to Jane that “God . . . will send / Thy husband safe again” which was, of course, followed by Lacy’s declaration that their country’s quarrel required Rafe’s presence. Rafe’s return is also a far cry from that promised to soldiers by Harry in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*. Returning briefly to the St. Crispin’s day speech, Harry tells his soldiers,

He that outlives this day and comes safe home
 Will stand a-tiptoe when this day is named
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
 He that shall see this day and live t’old age
 Will yearly on this vigil feast his neighbors
 And say, ‘Tomorrow is Saint Crispin.’
 Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars
 And say, ‘These wounds I had on Crispin’s day.’ (4.3.41-48)

Like the imaginary soldier in Henry’s speech, Rafe returns with scars from the battle. However, he does not return the proud soldier ready to display his scars. His scars are already on display and far from being ready to remind himself of the battle, as we have already witnessed, he wishes that he returned in the same condition in which he left.

When Hodge asks him about news from France, Rafe would prefer instead to talk about news in England and more specifically how Jane is (10.92-96). Hodge does not return to the issue and the status of France is not discussed. Given this lack of interest in the news from the battlefield, it seems unlikely that

. . . . Then shall our names,
 Familiar in his mouth as household words –
 Harry the King, Beford and Exeter,
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester –
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered.
 This story shall the good man teach his son,
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by
 From this day until the ending of the world
 But we in it shall be remembered. (4.3.51-59)

While Rafe is not strictly speaking forgotten, we cannot dismiss the fact that Eyre's wife fails to recognize him, his position in the shop has been filled by Lacy disguised as Hans, and his wife is preparing to marry another man. To be fair, Jane initially resists Hammon's overtures and it is only when he produces "news" of Rafe's death that she acquiesces. She resists even in the face of potential hardship when she is cast out of the workshop by Margary for reasons which are never really clear. Jane's eventual resistance seems to be based more on security than love. After all, early modern widows of common soldiers were very much at risk of destitution, poverty, dislocation, etc. Though we have not discussed him in detail yet, Hammon, who offers Jane this security,

is clearly able bodied and it is never explained why he “remained abed” instead of serving in France. Despite Jane’s virtuous resistance, it is clear that he does not experience the version of life after battle described in Henry’s speech. Rafe fails to find either honor or riches in France and even is worried about his ability to work given his new condition. This worry, at least, is assuaged by Hodge who points out that shoemakers can be productive with “but three fingers on a hand” (10.101). While Rafe does not receive a hero’s return, he is welcomed whole heartedly back into the workshop. As Kastan points out, this welcome is itself a bit of an idealization, attempting to demonstrate the ability of the community to protect its own (330). Kang points out that the reality was often much worse for returning veterans. He see the crippled Rafe’s return as “the most potentially destabilizing force in the play” because it evokes the wandering vagabonds, many of them veterans, which plagued London and the English countryside in the 16th century (1043). Through Rafe, Harry’s idealization of war and a soldier’s participation does not seem to stand up to Dekker’s scrutiny. Given these shared contexts, I argue that Dekker purposely contradicts this image of the common soldier’s return from war.

The literal army in Dekker’s play failed to become a “band of brothers” for Rafe. His community remained in England while he served in France. Not only does Dekker’s play reject Harry version of community, it offers a replacement. After he learns that his wife is marrying Hammon, Rafe plots to recover his wife by providing “a lusty crew of honest shoemakers / To watch the going of the bride to church / If she prove Jane, I’ll take her in despite / From Hammon and the devil, were he by” (14.73-76). In almost the

reverse image of Harry's army forming a community, in this play a community of shoemakers form an army. This shoemaker militia coalesces to capture Jane, thus paralleling Henry's army which ultimately captures France through Catherine. The one difference here, of course, is that Jane does not symbolically represent nation in the way that Catherine represents France. In fact, Jane and even Rose, by drawing men away from service to their nation, stand opposed to the abstract conception of nation. Rafe tries to avoid military service for his wife Jane and Lacy does not go to France to fight on behalf of England so that he can be near Rose. Interestingly, Lincoln even personifies honor as feminine when he tells Lacy that honor waits for Lacy to "fetch her thence" (1.93). Dekker replaces the conquest of the symbolic female with the conquest of the real.¹⁵ While the relationships between Lacy and Rose and between Rafe and Jane do not, themselves, have larger symbolic resonance, they do have larger impact. Just as Catherine is captured with the help of the English army, Jane is recovered with the help of the shoemaker army.

This group of shoemakers arrives on stage with clubs and cudgels, no doubt serving also as a kind of representation of the apprentice mobs in contemporary London. They successfully provide the threat of violence under which Rafe is not only able to recover Jane, but also convince Hammon that the ring and clothes with which he has showered Jane still belong to her and will not be returned. But more than just a threat of violence, this group operates more as a militia than an unruly band of commoners and artisans. Military terminology surrounds the group, evoking even more strongly a

¹⁵ For a more complete discussion of gender in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, see Ronda A. Arab, Ivan Cañadas, and Amy L. Smith.

connection to Harry's "band of brothers." Before they even appear onstage, Firk refers to them as "a mess of shoemakers" (16.175). "Mess" is a military term often used to describe the crew of a naval ship. Once onstage, this use of military vocabulary intensifies; Firk refers to them as "brave soldiers" (18.209) and himself as their "captain" (18.210). Even Firk's description of the breakfast which Simon Eyre provides in the same scene rings with military terms. He describes the venison pasties as walking like "sergeants" and the beef and brewis "marching in dry fats" (18.230; 231).

Furthermore, though Firk tries to fashion himself the leader of this shoemaker army, it is clear that there is no single leader. Hodge, Firk and Rafe all provide leadership at different points. For the most assertive moments for the pseudo-army, they act in unison, twice responding not to a command but rather spontaneously jumping to the defense of their companions (18.37-38; 18.60-61). Even when Hammon offers to buy Jane from Rafe, the shoemakers jump in together to tell Rafe to refuse (18.100). Shortly afterward when Lincoln learns that Simon Eyre is going to defend the marriage of Rose and Lacy to the king, Lincoln asks his servant, Dodger, "Dares Eyre the shoemaker uphold the deed?" To which, Firk responds "Yes, sir, shoemakers dare stand in a woman's quarrel, I warrant you, as deep as another, and deeper, too" (18.184-186). Though Lincoln's question is about an individual, Firk answers communally. As we have seen already with the militia, this is not an instance of Eyre symbolically representing shoemakers in the way in which a monarch represents a nation.¹⁶ In his oft-

¹⁶ Stephen Maynard does argue that Dekker sets Eyre up as a "new type, the chief of a new tribe" to engage the king more as an equal than a supplicant (337-338). While certainly Eyre holds a position higher than most of the other citizens in the play, he still functions more as a community leader than sovereign.

repeated lines, Eyre claims that he is nobly born or has a princely mind but repeats that he is no prince. Certainly, literally this is true but his repetition of it also works against reading Eyre as fulfilling a sovereign role in his community of shoemakers. More so, it is Firk asserting the role of the shoemaker community as a defender of women. This community does not defend women because Eyre does. The implication in Firk's lines is that Eyre defends women because he is a shoemaker and though he does not participate in the militia, his actions are an extension of it – albeit with his new rank of Lord Mayor a higher extension of it.

This community of shoemakers also resembles an army in the loyalty that it commands. When Lincoln and the Lord Mayor learn that Firk knows Hans, they ask him where he is and eventually offer to bribe him for the information. Even though he actually broached the idea of a bribe, his response is quite telling. He informs them, “No point. Shall I betray my brother? No. Shall I prove Judas to Hans? No. Shall I cry treason to my corporation? No. I shall be firked and yerked then” (17.105-104). While he does take the money and gives them information, he gives them false information to throw them off the trail, which he reveals to the audience after Lincoln and the Lord Mayor leave the stage. Treason is generally a term relegated to a national or monarchical level. While betrayal can occur on an individual basis, treason is generally reserved for the betrayal of a monarch, nation or state. And although Lacy's behavior could certainly fall into the category of treason, it is not described as such until the very end of the play. Yet, in this scene, we have treason applied not to a nation or a king but to a community based on occupation. Corporation, Firk implies, stands in for nation.

Firk places the guild or corporation at least on the same level and possibly above nation. What is important for Firk is not England, but the shoemaker's guild. After working to resist and criticize the portrayal of nation and military service of the kinds offered in *Henry V*, Dekker offers his audience an alternate model. Specifically, he rejects the monarchic nationalism of *Henry V* and replaces it with a corporate nationalism that is more open, tolerant, and fair than Harry's version. As we discussed previously, when Rafe is set to leave for France, it is shoemakers first and select parts of London second which Eyre encourages Rafe to honor by fighting. Thus, this corporation becomes the nation for which he fights and to which he returns. Alison Chapman makes a quite similar argument for *Henry V*. She argues that *Henry V* "becomes not only an efficient fighting machine to oppose the French but also the *corporate expression of English patriotism*" as it was expressed by shoemakers (emphasis added 1490). Chapman does not assert that Shakespeare responds directly Dekker but rather that *Henry V* is responding to the cultural role of the shoemaker in calendar and ritual making practices in early modern England. Chapman does, however, point to a struggle between monarchic and corporate practice. Written after *Henry V*, Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* exposes the shortcomings of Harry's monarchic version of nationalism based on martial valor, individual honor, and an insular definition of nation. Rather, Dekker delineates a "corporate expression of English patriotism" in response to *Henry V* which is based, instead, on productivity and community.

By rejecting the martial pursuit of honor and glory for one's country advocated by *Henry V* and constructing a counter-army consisting of shoemakers which protects its

own, Dekker's corporation stands in for nation and offers the road to prosperity that Harry promises in the St. Crispin's day speech. As previously discussed, Dekker does not load his play with overt nationalism, opting instead in places to ignore nation in moments where it is logical to invoke it, such as Lacy's desertion, or to substitute a different term where England should exist, as in Eyre's advice to Rafe to fight for the honor of shoemakers. Through this substitution, Eyre sets up the corporation of shoemakers as the replacement for nation.¹⁷ Of all the characters, Eyre comes closest to what we would see as being nationalistic. When he realizes that he cannot save Rafe from service, Eyre begins to sing his praises, comparing him favorably to Hector of Troy, Hercules, Termagant and asserting that "Prince Arthur's Round Table . . . ne'er fed such a tall, such a dapper swordsman" (1.181-183). By referencing these figures, particularly Hector and Arthur, Eyre casts Rafe as a national hero. While Eyre's comparisons do not seem to be accurate or even prophetic since Rafe returns home injured and without fanfare, the association between nation and shoemakers in a play which does not explicitly deal with nationalism is significant.

Eyre also associates his shoemakers with nation in the way in which he refers to them. In addition to "mad knaves" which he uses three times and "scoundrels" which appears here and there, he also refers to them in national terms, calling them "mad Greeks" (4.143), "Babylonian knaves" (10.187-88), "my Mesopotamians" (11.60), "mad Cappadocians" (17.55-56), and "my fine dapper Assyrians" (17.63). We might be

¹⁷ In her examination of bodies and gender in this play, Ronda Arab also connects the shoemakers to nation. She writes, "the artisan body is inscribed into the sphere of elite power and written as vigorous, vital, and crucial to the nation; it is, in fact, the measure of national value, the foundation of nation" (183).

tempted to chalk these labels up to Eyre's very interesting and esoteric vocabulary. But, it seems more significant than that. He uses these national identities to describe his shoemakers and uses very exotic ones. These terms are not, it should be pointed out, used derogatorily in these instances. The effect is to cast the shoemakers, all English, in a multi-national light. The important aspect of their identity is not their nation of origin, but rather their occupation of origin. He does, however, also cast them as English. While he only employs the other nationalities once each, he refers to his shoemakers as "true Trojans" three times in the play (4.144; 10.193; 21.157). While not superficially a reference to England, as we witnessed in the previous chapter, the Brutus myth of English origins was still prevalent in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. By invoking Trojans, Eyre is no doubt referring to this myth which casts Englishmen as descendants of Troy and maintains both the multi-national and exotic feel of these labels. But, by also labeling the shoemakers as Trojans, Eyre also taps into the importance of origin in national identity and by associating Trojans with shoemakers suggests the replacement of nation with the cosmopolitan corporation of shoemakers.

The cosmopolitan element to this corporation of shoemakers is also evident when Eyre and his shoemakers encounter Lacy disguised as Hans in the fourth scene. As Lacy/Hans enters the stage, he is singing a characteristic Dutch drinking song which, according to Peter M. McCluskey would have provoked anything from a "knowing chuckle" to a "guffaw," depending on the audience's perception of foreigners (44-45). Either way, the song, along presumably with his costume,¹⁸ immediately identify him as

¹⁸ Traditional Dutch stage clothing consisted of "baggy breeches and a large felt hat" (McKinney, 256)

a foreigner, specifically Dutch. As the largest minority population in sixteenth century England (McCluskey 43), the Dutch posed a serious threat to the livelihood of English craftsmen. As Kastan points out, for shoemakers, the Dutch would have been especially problematic since by 1599, the number of Dutch shoemakers “had swelled to 131, well over a quarter of the total number paying the required quarterage to the Cordwainers’ Company and about the same number as the Company’s 152 yeomen” (326). Given contemporary national politics, one would expect Hans to be greeted with distrust, or even outright disdain, by other shoemakers. Quite the opposite, Firk tells Eyre,

Master, for my life, yonder’s a brother of the Gentle Craft! If he bear not Saint Hugh’s bones, I’ll forfeit my bones. He’s some uplandish workman. Hire him, good master, that I may learn some gibble-gabble. ‘Twill make us work the faster. (4.58-63)

While Firk does point out his status as a foreigner, he also calls him a brother. Firk mocks his language by describing it as “gibble-gabble,” but also encourages Eyre to hire him. While Firk does not completely ignore nationality, he does not treat Hans as the “real and present danger of sizable proportions” (McKinney 247) he would have represented as a Dutch shoemaker. It is possible that the danger is mitigated by Hans’ status as faux-Dutch. But, if so, it would be for the audience who knew it was a disguise, not for Firk who did not. Thus I do not think it can be used to explain Firk’s reaction. Firk still perceives difference (and throughout the play will comment and mock this difference) but does not allow that difference to compromise the community

of shoemakers. Furthermore, we cannot forget that Firk for much of the play occupies to role of clown and mocks indiscriminately.

Examining the role of the Dutch in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, Peter McCluskey argues that Dekker skirts the “unspoken prohibition against anti-immigrant satire” and “satirizes immigrants obliquely, emphasizing their inferiority to Englishmen while exploring the possibility of their assimilation in English society” (43, 44). McCluskey also concludes that ultimately the play is ambivalent toward immigrants and suggests improved relations between native and foreigner (51). While I will not argue that the Dutch in the play are not the objects of satire or humor, it seems that there is more to the acceptance of Hans than has been previously recognized. Specifically, this acceptance suggests that being Dutch is secondary to being in the cosmopolitan corporation of shoemakers. This corporate model of community is characterized by virtue of its cosmopolitan nature. What we have then is a different kind of imagined community -- one based on skilled labor, craft, or even guild rather than geography and language. Nation, as it is traditionally defined for Dekker is subordinated to an idea of nationalism that expands beyond borders of nation laid out by Verstegan, Camden, Shakespeare, Fletcher and others to form a cosmopolitan community rooted in occupation, productivity, and inclusivity. While other versions of nation work to define who to exclude, Dekker's does just the opposite.

Returning to Hans' encounter with Eyre and his men, there is a practical reason, as Firk points out, for hiring Hans. With Rafe in France, they are a man short. It does seem significant that while Rafe is fighting the French, his role in the shoemaker's shop

is filled by a Dutchman. While he, through conscription, is enforcing Englishness abroad, the shoemaker's shop is much more transnational. Initially, Eyre does not want to hire Hans, claiming that they have plenty of journeymen. Hodge is not willing to take no for an answer in this case. He tells Eyre, "Fore God, a proper man and, I warrant, a fine workman. Master, farewell. Dame, adieu. If such a man as he cannot find work, Hodge is not for you" (4.75-78). Without ever having met Hans, Hodge identifies as both a "proper man" and a "fine workman" and all he actually knows about Hans is that he is Dutch and most likely a shoemaker. He threatens to quit for a man whom he has never met and who, being Dutch, supposedly represents a threat to his own livelihood. Occupation seems to trump nation in this case. Hodge's threat to leave Eyre's employ over not hiring Hans is immediately reiterated by Firk who is also ready to quit for someone he does not know. Rather than face these two desertions, Eyre relents and agrees to hire Hans.

As soon as Eyre hires Hans, Hodge tells him, "Hans, thou'rt welcome. Use thyself friendly, for we are good fellows; if not, thou shalt be fought with, wert thou bigger than a giant" (4.128-131). Hodge's greeting to Hans reiterates that they are strangers even as Hodge tells him to be friendly. Embedded in these lines is also evidence of self-policing of their community as they threaten to fight him if he is not friendly. Likewise, Firk gets him immediately to buy the beer. As we shall discuss later, Hans fits right into the shop and even crucially aids in Simon Eyre's rise by brokering the deal with the Dutch ship captain.

Once he is accepted into the shop, he becomes a member of their community and a stakeholder in this corporate nationalism. As with Rafe and Jane, it is only through being a shoemaker that Lacy is able to reunite with his love, Rose. After they are reunited, they plan to use Simon Eyre's new status as Lord Mayor as protection for their marriage. This will, of course, require Hans to reveal to Eyre his true identity as Rowland Lacy. Significantly, this revelation occurs off-stage. By scene 17, the truth of his identity has been revealed. Eyre opens the scene by noting that "This is the morning, then – say, my bully, my honest Hans – is it not?" (17.1-2) to which Hans responds in un-accented English, "This is the morning that must make up two / Happy or miserable; therefore if you—" (17.3-4). At which point, Eyre interrupts and assures Hans/Lacy, "A way with these 'ifs' and 'ands,' Hans, and these 'etceteras.' By mine honor, Rowland Lacy, none but the King shall wrong thee" (17.5-8). Eyre clearly knows his true identity but yet still refers to him twice in the space of five lines as Hans. In fact, throughout the rest of the play, Eyre continues to refer to him as Hans. The deception and disguise is not even commented upon by Simon Eyre, or for that matter any of his shoemakers. They register neither surprise nor betrayal. In fact, not only are they not bothered by it, they go to the same lengths to ensure Lacy and Rose's marriage that they do to help Rafe recover Jane. A marker of the inclusiveness of this cosmopolitan corporation, Lacy is accepted whether Dutch or aristocratic. The important element of Lacy's identity is his status as shoemaker rather than his class, language, or origin. It is also important here that for Lacy, being Dutch is a disguise but based on his experience in Wittenburg, being a shoemaker was not. Their unabashed acceptance of Lacy, even after the revelation, is

even more compelling when we remember that Lacy refused to intervene on behalf of Rafe and even made promises concerning his wants and safety that he did not keep.

Lacy's status as a courtier does not block his acceptance into the community of citizen shoemakers. Despite this acceptance, class is still important in the play; after all, class is at the heart of the resistance to Lacy's and Rose's marriage. Class, furthermore, often serves as a marker for nation, or at the very least, a marker of the ways in which different classes figure in national identity/identities. For instance, in the battle reports, only upper classes figures are listed by name, the rest are not just unnamed but "without name." Class also is one of the primary reasons that Lacy was able to avoid military service and Rafe was not. Questions of nation are questions typically reserved for aristocrats and monarchs, instead of shoemakers and citizens. Dekker may be accessing the dichotomy of the court and the city through questions of nation. The court as represented by the king and the nobility are traditionally the center of national identity, often bearing titles directly linked to physical spaces within the nation. Citizens and their concerns, on the other hand, are generally perceived more locally, only concerned with and influencing the happenings within the city. Class is one of the elements that maintains distinctions between these two groups. As class distinctions themselves break down in the play so does the association of nation primarily with the court as we lose a practical marker of difference upon which we can hang ideas about and definitions of nation.

Hammon, for instance, is a perfect illustration of the class uncertainties that mark this play. Hammon is a liminal figure. When he first appears in scene v, he is hunting,

a popular pastime of aristocrats. Losing his game on the Lord Mayor's pale (and unbeknownst to him to the Lord Mayor's servants), he encounters the Lord Mayor who invites him and his cousin to be his guests for the night. Left alone on stage at the end of the scene, the Lord Mayor comments to the audience,

This Hammon is a proper gentlemen,
 A citizen by birth, fairly allied.
 How fit for an husband were he for my girl!
 Well, I will in, and do the best I can
 To match my daughter to this gentleman. (6.63-67)

The Lord Mayor identifies Hammon as a citizen, though clearly a well-connected one, despite his idle behavior and ability to hunt instead of work. Later, he refers to Hammon as a "proper gentlemen of fair revenues" (11.38). Lacy, the free-spending courtier, is clearly unacceptable to the Lord Mayor as a candidate for Rose's husband. Hammon, a citizen, does not work but clearly has a large amount of wealth, probably even more than Lacy. So Lacy represents birth but not means while Hammon functions as the negative image of Lacy, having means but not birth. This mirroring and the Lord Mayor's choice clearly demonstrated the slippage that is occurring over the valuations of birth and money.

Shortly later, when the Lord Mayor offers to force Rose to marry Hammon, Hammon shifts his focus from Rose to Jane, claiming that "It is not wealth I seek; / I have enough, and will prefer her love / Before the world" (9.53-55). Hammon's rhetorical preference for love and his wealth would seem to locate him closer to courtier

than citizen. Marriage as a means of social and financial mobility was typically associated with those trying to rise into the ranks of the nobility but was increasingly being used in contemporary England by the nobility to maintain or replenish their wealth (as indeed Lacy may be doing). What is odd, however, is that for Hammon love itself is even more important than the individual woman as he switches quite easily from chasing Rose to chasing Jane. For Hammon, perhaps, it is success in love that trumps actual love.

Ronda Arab negotiates this social ambiguity of Hammon by arguing that he is a citizen with an upward gaze who looks to the aristocracy for his identity, whereas “Eyre insists that the middle be defined by the world of work below” (189). Extending this idea out, despite whatever mobility the shoemakers encounter, their identity remains essentially the same. They revel in their citizen identity based on work, production, holiday and festival. Dekker dramatizes an essential difference between status and identity since the shoemakers experience mobility without assimilation. In this way, then, Hammon, as Ivan Cañadas asserts, becomes the other against which the shoemakers can “affirm their communal identity through an act of collective self-assertion” (133).

The other noteworthy thing about Hammon’s class status is the *way* in which the Lord Mayor identifies him as a citizen. Despite noting at different points that he is “fairly allied” or has “fair revenues,” he calls him a citizen *by birth*. While he might be speaking of Hammon’s presumed rise to a status where he is able to hunt and does not have to marry for wealth, the use of birth as an identifier of citizenry is striking. After

all, it is typically the aristocratic classes who are the most concerned with birth. The notion of class based on birth also typically stands in opposition to social mobility as, then, birth becomes secondary to the skills required to become successful. This odd inversion of citizen and courtier is also reflected in the conflict between Lincoln and the Lord Mayor. Though at the end of the play Lincoln admits that Rose is of too low a birth order for his nephew (21.69), at the beginning of the play he tells Lacy that the Lord Mayor has the exact same problem: “I know this churl even in the height of scorn / Doth hate the mixture of his blood with thine. / I pray thee, do thou so (1.78-79).

Lincoln could be solely trying to dissuade his nephew from the match but his argument goes against logic. After all, the Lord Mayor himself has already invoked the difference in their birth as a reason against their marriage, asserting that “Too mean is my poor girl for his high birth. / Poor citizens must not with courtiers wed” (1.11-12). But the very fact that Lincoln raises it as a possibility, which is all the more plausible given the Lord Mayor’s accurately-stated opposition to the marriage, clouds the clarity of class distinction in the play.

This clarity is further complicated by the numerous instances of social mobility in the play. Simon Eyre moves from shopkeeper to Sheriff to Lord Mayor in less than 22 scenes (something that historically took a number of years). Eyre’s promotions affect his shoemakers as he redistributes his mobility. Hodge moves from foreman to shopkeeper, Firk becomes the foreman, and Hans gets a huge return on his loan to Eyre (10.177-180). All benefit from Eyre’s promotion which he got as a result of shrewd business deal with a Dutch sea captain that significantly increased his wealth. Further

mobility is not out of the question. At the beginning of scene 13, Hodge encourages his men to work by telling them, “Ply your work today; we loitered yesterday. To it, pell-mell, that we may live to be Lord Mayors, or Aldermen at least” (13.2-5). In Hodge’s lines, future promotions for these shoemakers depend on time and work. Lord Mayors were chosen from the Alderman who served for life. After a Lord Mayor’s year-long term, he would return to being an alderman (Whitney 169). While in the context of Dekker’s play such promotion seems reasonable, in reality, it would be much more difficult for apprentices and journeymen to rise to alderman, who tended to be wealthy and often merchants as opposed to artisans. The reality of the situation, however, is secondary to the promise of it in the play. After his promotion to Sheriff, Eyre echoes Hodge and tells his men, “Be as mad knaves as your master Sim Eyre hath been, and you shall live to be sheriffs of London” (10.180-182). Later, Hodge again encourages Firk to work, noting that “They say seven of the Aldermen be dead, or very sick” (13.44-45). Though neither Firk or Rafe see themselves becoming alderman, Rafe does note that this will speed Eyre’s path toward Lord Mayor (13.47-48). Again, promotion is based on seniority and work as the city will need citizens to replace these aldermen.

In Simon Eyre’s case, these sicknesses and deaths lead to becoming Lord Mayor, though as we have seen, shoemakers were not eligible and Simon Eyre, historically, was probably not a shoemaker. One possible explanation for Dekker’s choice of Simon Eyre as a shoemaker rather than the more historically accepted draper could be the inherent class confusion of shoemakers. Alison Chapman asserts that “sixteenth- and seventeenth-century depictions of shoemakers repeatedly associate them with a general

disruption of the social order” and that stories of shoemakers becoming gentlemen were common in the popular literature of the period (1469). Often referred to as the “gentle craft,” shoemaking was associated with higher class status through puns on the word “gentle.” Even Harry in the St. Crispin’s day speech refers to the battle as having the ability to “gentle his condition.” Puns between gentle as it applied to the nobility and to shoemakers appear in Dekker’s play as well. Eyre himself exploits his status as a shoemaker. One of his favorite phrases, which varies with most occurrences, is “Prince am I none, yet I am nobly born, as being the sole son of a shoemaker” (7.54-55). Once again, there is an emphasis on birth in these lines that seems out of place. St. Hugh, another patron saint of shoemakers, was the son of a Briton king who became a shoemaker to “avoid the tyranny of the emperor Diocletian” (Worden 440). In Deloney’s *The Gentle Craft*, Hugh sings about shoemaking and Eyre’s favorite phrase is probably an allusion to the first line, “A Prince by birth I am indeed” (qtd. in Worden 441). Similarly, when Crispianus learns that his brother, Crispin has had a son – also both royalty “forced” into the gentle craft – he comments that “a Shoemaker’s Son is a Prince born” (qtd. in Worden 442). Eyre’s lines seem to be an allusion to one or both of these lines. In either case, Eyre sees himself as of a higher station based solely on his status as shoemaker. Additionally, he equates nobility with the profession of shoemaking, both being determined by birth. The only significant difference in Eyre’s use of this phrase comes in scene xvii when he defends his decision to defend Lacy to his wife. Noting that Lacy was instrumental in facilitating his mobility, Eyre asserts that he will not leave him, “Prince am I none, yet bear a princely mind” (17.25). In all, Eyre

uses this phrase six times,¹⁹ frequently disrupting markers of class difference in the play even as he is experiencing a great deal of mobility.

Though Lacy begins the play at a relatively high status, like the shoemakers, he experiences an elevation of his class status. Indeed, as we shall see, this elevation is a result not of his birth order but his participation in the corporation of shoemakers. True to his word, Eyre petitions the king on behalf of Lacy and rather than hold Lacy as a traitor for not going to France to command a portion of the army as ordered, the king actually defends Lacy's marriage, asking Lincoln, "Doth thou not know that love respects no blood, / Cares not for difference of birth or state" (21.113-114). The king continues by also blurring the lines between courtier and citizen:

The maid is young, well-born, fair, virtuous,
 A worthy bride for any gentleman.
 Besides, your nephew for her sake did stoop
 To bare necessity and, as I hear,
 Forgetting honors and all courtly pleasures,
 To gain her love became a shoemaker.
 As for the honor which he lost in France,
 Thus, I redeem it. Lacy, kneel thee down.
 Arise, Sir Rowland Lacy. (21.115-125)

¹⁹ In addition to the cited instances, Eyre uses this phrase on 10.183-184, 11.18-19, 21.19-20, and 21.42-43.

The king does not see their difference in station as a problem, essentially equating citizen and courtier. Also, rather than be punished for his disobedience and desertion, Lacy achieves knighthood and while this honor is conferred by the king, the king makes it clear that this honor is a result of his actions, including becoming a shoemaker. As Chapman puts it, “shoemaking, paradoxically, becomes Lacy’s avenue to knighthood” (1478). This stands in direct contrast to *Henry V* where the route to social and economic mobility is martial rather than occupational. Despite the revelation of Lacy’s true identity and his recent knighthood, Eyre still claims Lacy as a member of the community of shoemakers, complimenting the king on “this honor you have done to my fine journeyman here, Rowland Lacy” (21.131). Thus, this community crosses class as well as national boundaries. For their service in helping Lacy, the king awards the shoemakers additional privileges to buy and sell leather at Leaden Hall.

While the king remains the ultimate authority in the play, the shoemakers prove to be an influential and powerful cosmopolitan community. Furthermore, the shoemaking corporation represents the route to mobility and honor for everyone from Firk to Lacy. Interestingly, the only shoemaker not to experience this increase in status is Rafe who participated in the foreign wars. It is clear that Dekker is engaging the myth of martial conflict, nation, and honor as set forth by Harry in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*. Rather, Dekker illustrates that the cosmopolitan corporate nationalism of the shoemakers entails a community which crosses traditional national as well as class boundaries and focuses on occupation and communal values over individual honor and conflict against other nations.

Many critics have pointed to the lack of realism in Dekker's portrayal of class and social mobility. Kastan refers to the play as "a fantasy of class fulfillment" and this idea (and in some cases even the term fantasy) has been repeated in much of the criticism that follows. Certainly, there is a level of idealization occurring in Dekker's play from the acceptance and treatment of a Dutch shoemaker, to the interactions between master and apprentice in the workshop, and the harmony and mobility offered to the community of shoemakers. As critics have illustrated, the economy situation of the late 16th century was moving away from the guild structure and toward "the development of an undervalued and underprivileged working class" (Arab 186). These idealizations and fantasies are no more extravagant than those in *Henry V* and indeed Dekker's play, on many levels, seeks to expose those idealizations and set up new ones in their place. In some ways, all concepts and definitions of nation are idealizations, trying to define an abstraction such as nation is always a process of projecting those qualities and values one most advocates and using the power of national identity to disseminate those qualities and values. The idealizations in Dekker's play only serve to highlight more the nationalist project of the play – a project which negotiates the difference between the court and the city by moving nation from being something defined by the monarch to being defined by the citizens.

CHAPTER V

FREE MEN OF THE SEA: PLUNDERING PIRATES AND NEGOTIABLE

NATIONALISMS IN DABORNE'S *A CHRISTIAN TURNED TURK*

Dekker's *A Shoemaker's Holiday* chronicled the rise of Simon Eyre from shopkeeper to Lord Mayor. While as we discussed in the previous chapter, many critics see Dekker's play as a fantasy of social and economic mobility, we cannot deny that the late 16th and early 17th centuries were marked by rapid economic prosperity that fueled the emergence of what would eventually be called the middle or merchant class. In fact, the central marriage plot of Dekker's play dramatizes the tension between the landed elite and the wealthy members of this nascent group. The wealth that fueled the mobility of the unlanded was the product of commerce and trade both within and across national boundaries. Maritime trade, in particular, constituted a quick, albeit not risk-free, route to increased wealth. After all, Simon Eyre himself can credit maritime trade with his promotion because it is only through purchasing and reselling the cargo of a Dutch sea captain that Eyre gains his incredible wealth.¹

Sea travel at this time was certainly no sure thing. Antonio, in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, also builds his wealth from maritime trade and it is the wreck of three of his ships that forces him to default on the famous loan from Shylock.

Similarly, Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* opens with Barabas counting his wealth and

¹ This transaction is, however, shady. Eyre is able to turn around the cargo for profit because one way or another, the cargo or the Dutch sea captain's possession of it is illegal. Given that pirates often operated by selling their plundered goods cheaply, it is even possible that Eyre is dealing with a Dutch pirate.

speculating on the return of his ships. Though all of his ships arrive safely, Barabas's concern for them and his interrogation of returning merchants regarding what ships of his they had recently seen consumes the first 100 lines of the play. Of course, the sea was used for more than transporting goods back and forth. Being on an island, the English were well aware that the sea could be a convenient avenue for moving armies as well. These martial fleets were just as susceptible to the uncertainties of sea travel as were the commercial ones. Historically the Spanish armada and dramatically the Turkish fleet in Shakespeare's *Othello* were both thwarted by storms at sea. Both islands, Cyprus and Britain, are dependent on the sea for both protection and prosperity. Cyprus, however, also represents a liminal space between the Christian West and the Ottoman East. While in *Othello* this Ottoman threat is avoided due to the natural defenses of the sea, Malta, in *The Jew of Malta*, is not so fortunate. Both in the Mediterranean Sea, Malta and Cyprus represent a middle ground between the Christian East and the Turkish West.² Not long after being assured that all of his ships have arrived safely, Barabas is informed that "A fleet of warlike galleys, Barabas, / Are come from Turkey, and lie in our road" (1.1.145-46). We learn in the next scene that they are there to collect tribute or invade the island and, of course, the Turkish threat becomes one of the major plots throughout the remainder of the play. In addition to tempests and invading armies, merchant shipping was at risk of being attacked or captured by enemy warships specifically deployed to capture cargo from other nations. Known as privateering, this form of piracy was particularly prevalent during the reign of Elizabeth

² More than merely a site of physical contact and conflict, the Mediterranean Sea "was the site for transference, exchange, and mixture" (Vitkus 22).

I. English privateers such as Francis Drake added to the nation's wealth by attacking Spanish shipping from the New World. As Barbara Fuchs points out, privateering was "England's belated answer to Spain's imperial expansion" (45). But the relationship between privateering, piracy, and nation, as we shall see, was not always clearly defined.

As Barabas is getting reports on the safe returns of his ships, the second merchant tells him, "Sir, we were wafted [conducted] by a Spanish fleet, / That never left us till within a league, / That had the galleys of the Turk in chase" (1.1.95-97). It is not entirely clear whether the Turkish ships are aggressors or prey. Galley, in this period, refers to any ship propelled by primarily by oars ("galley, *n.*" def. 1a). Using manpower, galleys would overtake their enemy and use large groups of soldiers to board and overpower opposing crews. Though European privateers and pirates would have more likely been found on an armed ship that relied predominantly on sails, commonly referred to as a "man of war," this reference to galleys could suggest that the Turkish ships were attempting to prey on Barabas's fleet. Either way, the Spanish ships are clearly serving as an escort to protect the merchants from aggressive ships. This escort also illustrates the clear link between nation and private economic expansion since these privately owned merchant ships sail not only under a national flag but also with a national escort. Whatever their intentions, there was a strong link in this period between the Ottoman Empire and piracy. The Mediterranean Sea was particularly plagued by pirates operating from the Barbary coast. Though piracy was by no means exclusive to the Ottoman Empire, Barbary corsairs were "the most infamous" (Fuchs 49). Fuchs also points out, "the Barbary states offered a powerful attraction to European pirates, for they

afforded safe markets for disposing of stolen goods and ports at which to replenish stores and repair ships” (50). It is clear from this brief discussion that the sea serves as a boundary as in John of Gaunt’s famous speech when he describes Britain as “this fortress built by nature for herself / Against herself infection and the hand of war” (2.1.43-44). The sea is, however, also space where boundaries are blurred, contested, and crossed in terms of nation, class, and religion.

This chapter seeks to explore aspects of this blurring in the liminal space of the sea and how the sea and the activities of the pirates who sailed upon it function in the representation and construction of national identities on the London stage. Specifically, it will focus on representations of John Ward, possibly the most notorious English pirate in the early modern world, relying primarily on Robert Daborne’s dramatized account of Ward, titled *A Christian Turned Turk*, but also utilizing two contemporary pamphlets. I will examine how these accounts of Ward’s piracy as well as his conversion to Islam influence ideas about nation and national identity. Specifically, this discussion contextualizes representations of Ward and ideas about nation in the critical terms of previous chapters, focusing on the corporate nationalism and cosmopolitanism of Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, the significance of geography in the antiquarian works of Richard Verstegan and William Camden, the danger external and internal threats to nation such as those found in both the antiquarians and the Roman-Britain plays of Shakespeare and Fletcher and the role of gender in constructions and definitions of nation from *Bonduca* and *Cymbeline*. It will conclude by considering the implications Ward’s reconversion to Christianity and tragic demise.

Before turning to Daborne's play, it will be helpful to return to Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, which, while it does not deal specifically with pirates, raises many of the issues which we shall encounter as we explore Daborne's play.

Malta, the island upon which the play is set, has a long history of being occupied by different nations, including but not limited to the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Byzantine, and eventually the Spanish. Located south of Sicily and west of Tunis, the island of Malta possessed high strategic value for travel from the western to eastern Mediterranean. By both geography and history, Malta is a transitional space. In 1565, the Ottoman Empire tried to conquer Malta but sustained heavy losses and was ultimately unable to conquer the island. This famous siege would have no doubt been in the minds of Marlowe's audience when *The Jew of Malta* appeared on stage in the early 1590s, especially since the Ottomans, themselves, arrive before the end of the first scene. The political situation on Malta is certainly tenuous. The Turkish fleet arrives early in the play to demand payment on an overdue tribute. The Maltese initially agree to pay the tribute if they are given the time to levy the amount. Before they return, however, the Spanish offer to send a fleet to defend the island, steeling their resolve to resist the Ottoman Empire. When the conflict comes to head, this uncertainty continues as the Turkish invaders breach the city and temporarily take control before being ousted once and for all by the re-triumphant Christian rulers.

Standing at the center of this confusion and oscillation between the Turkish invaders and the Christian rulers is none other than Barabas. In fact, the Jewish merchant has played a central role in national relations throughout the play. After all, it

is the Jewish merchants that bear the burden of the unpaid tribute. By initially refusing to give half of his wealth as required by Ferneze's decree, Barabas forfeits all of his wealth, thus providing a significant portion of tribute which will presumably preserve the state from Turkish invasion. As a Jew in Christian Malta, Barabas's ambiguous position parallels the ambiguity of the political situation. He is both inside and outside of society. When he first learns of the Turkish fleet, he displays nationalistic bravado to the fellow Jews who bring the news. He tells them, "Why, let'em come, so they come not to war; / Or let'em war, so we be conquerors—" (1.1.149-50). He quickly reveals his true thoughts in an aside: "Nay, let'em combat, conquer, and kill all! / So they spare me, my daughter, and my wealth" (1.1.151-152). The sense of group unity and national defense are replaced by purely individualistic concerns of wealth and well-being, concerns which parallel those of the pirates.

This selfish concern continues in the next scene when Ferneze approaches the Jewish merchants about paying the tribute. Barabas immediately casts himself outside of Maltese society and thus outside of the sphere of responsibility, asking "Are strangers with your tribute to be taxed?" (1.2.59). Barabas sees himself as an outsider based on his Jewish identity. Like Shylock, he is clearly allowed to live and work but not fully be a part of mainstream society. While religious and national identities in the period are typically linked due to the interconnections between church and state, for Jews living in Christian Europe their religious and national identities clashed. In some cases, religion was even mandated by the nation. Religious identity and national identity were inextricably linked. Since religion is significantly implicated in nations, Jews were

essentially blocked from Christian European national identities. Anti-Semitism in these countries further pushed Jews to the margins and further damaged possibilities of national loyalty. While Ferneze's response does not cast the Jewish merchants as equal members of Maltese culture, he does assign them some responsibility for the tribute (though, of course, his decree gives them all of the responsibility). He responds, "Have strangers leave with us to get their wealth? / Then let them with us contribute" (1.2.60-61). Despite the pronouns which work to separate "us" from "them," Ferneze includes the Jewish merchants in the community of the island. Because they derive their wealth from the society, they are responsible for helping to protect it. After he has ordered the seizure of all of Barabas's wealth, Ferneze cites the needs of the community over the individual. Barabas asks if Christianity is based on theft and Ferneze responds "No, Jew, we take particularly thine / To save the ruin of a multitude: / And better one want for the common good / Than many perish for a private man" and ends by "graciously" allowing Barabas to remain in Malta and re-accumulate his wealth (1.2.99-103). In this interchange, the play ponders community versus individual and inside versus outside. The shared needs of the island come before the individual needs of Barabas. Barabas straddles the line between in and out, serving roles on both sides.

Barabas continues to function in communal affairs after the Maltese have decided not to pay the tribute after all. Having uncovered Barabas's villainy and thinking him dead, Ferneze orders him to be thrown over the city wall – literally cast out from the city. Waking from the potion that made him appear dead, Barabas encounters the Selim Calymath, son of the Grand Seignior of the Ottoman Empire, explains how he came to

be on that side of the wall, and “rests at [his] command” (5.1.83). Calymath asks for a way to “make Malta ours” (5.1.85) and Barabas offers to lead 500 soldiers underground to the middle of town to open the gates for the rest of the Turkish army. In reward for his help, Calymath promotes Barabas from “stranger” to governor. Considering his situation, Barabas decides that being governor of a Malta that hates him is not in his best interest so he negotiates with Ferneze to oust the Turks. Specifically, Ferneze agrees to assemble a large sum of money from the citizens of the town in return for helping get rid of Calymath and his army. Barabas, after striking the deal, comments

And thus far roundly goes the business:
 Thus loving neither, will I live with both,
 Making profit of my policy;
 And he from whom my most advantage comes
 Shall be my friend. (5.2.110-114)

Barabas participates in national affairs but pursues an individual goal, increasing his wealth. In some ways, he barter his national loyalty for personal gain. Barabas’s country of origin is unclear. Rather than define himself solely based on birth country, he is willing to define himself (at least partially since he will remain Jewish) based on the highest bidder. The use of “policy” here is interesting. In this period, policy possessed a variety of meanings related to the state or government. It also could mean, however, a crafty trick or stratagem (“policy, *n.*” def. 4b). While Marlowe’s intended meaning is probably the latter, the connotations to commonwealth and the state cannot be entirely dismissed. Even when he clearly exists as an outsider, a villain detrimental to society,

he still operates in national affairs. In fact, he is even more influential than he was before. It is impossible to locate Barabas's loyalties anywhere other than himself. More than his willingness to maim and destroy, I would argue that it is his lack of a stable national identity that makes him truly dangerous to Malta and Christian society.

Calymath is not portrayed nearly as villainously as Barabas, despite his desire to conquer the island. After all, he grants the Maltese a month to put together the tribute in an effort to avoid bloodshed. His loyalties and national identity are known and stable.

Despite this loyalty and stability in Calymath's identity, Marlowe avoids essentializing and thereby regulating identity. Calymath is only one of two Turkish characters in the play. The other, Ithamore, is a slave purchased by Barabas. It is actually the sale of Turkish prisoners by the Spanish that violates the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Malta. Since Barabas buys the Turkish Ithamore at this sale, he is, in effect, active in this reversal as well. Like Barabas, Ithamore is motivated by personal desires and has a strong dislike for Christians. After both bragging about their villainous deeds, Barabas comments "we are villains both: / Both circumcised, we hate Christians both: / Be true and secret, thou shalt want no gold (2.3.217-19). Ithamore helps Barabas carry out his evil plots, including poisoning the convent and murdering the friar. Ithamore is quick to betray Barabas to win the love of the courtesan, Bellamira. Marlowe makes it impossible to characterize Turkish identity based on these two characters. Calymath conducts himself fairly and honorably. He extends the deadline for the tribute and he honors his promise to make Barabas governor if he helps him conquer Malta. In contrast, though Ithamore's betrayal of Barabas is morally the right

decision, he bases his decision on his carnal desires rather than on a sense of justice. Ithamore actually comes closer than Calymath to the early modern stereotype of the Turks – cruel, violent, carnal, and treacherous.³

In addition to complicating the notion of Turkishness, Marlowe also blends some of the stereotypical characteristics of Jews and Christians as well. The depiction of the Jewish merchant, Barabas, is easily recognizable to those familiar with early modern English drama. In fact, Barabas is often perceived as a prototype for Shakespeare's Shylock. The stereotypical portrayal of the Jewish merchant focuses mainly on a hatred of Christianity and an overwhelming greed and desire for material wealth. As we have already seen, Barabas, through his manipulation of the relationship between the Maltese and the Ottoman Empire, is motivated primarily by his greed. His greed even leads him to have his daughter pretend to convert to Christianity in order to retrieve a stash of gold he hid in his house which has been turned into a convent. And, though he is willing to live under their protection to pursue material gain, he clearly hates Christians. He is even disloyal to his fellow Jewish merchants. When his fellow Jewish merchants come to him for counsel regarding the recent arrival of the Turkish fleet and to inform him of a summons to the senate-house, he indicates that they should all go and tells them, "If anything shall there concern our state, / Assure yourselves I'll look— [*Aside*] unto myself" (1.1.170-71). Though he insinuates solidarity with the other Jewish merchants,

³ There are numerous studies which examine the representation of the Turk in the period. Specifically, C. A. Patrides, in "The Bloody and Cruell Turke": The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," explores foundation of these stereotypes about the Turk, demonstrating that Turks were often perceived as the scourge of God. Recent studies have argued that these representations are more complicated. See specifically Nabil Matar, Jonathan Burton, and Daniel J. Vitkus. Stephan Schmuck, in "From Sermon to Play: Literary Representations of 'Turks' in Renaissance England 1550-1625" surveys critical thinking about the depictions of the Ottoman Empire.

his aside clearly indicates that he is not concerned out “our state.” Through he self-identifies as a Jew throughout the play, he does seem to have any loyalty to the people he calls his “countrymen.” Despite only a minor presence in the play, these Jewish merchants contrast with Barabas both through their desire for solidarity and through their willingness to pay the tribute, which they indicate in unison, “O my lord, we will give half” (1.2.80). While Marlowe does not give any indication of their motivations for agreeing to the tribute, “O my lord” suggests that it is a desire to keep their community intact. After all, their options were to give half their estate or convert to Christianity.

These traits, however, are not exclusive to Barabas. Marlowe also complicates his depiction of the Christians. While their hatred does not lead them to mass murder as it does Barabas, they certainly hate the Jews as well. Though Ferneze begins by asking for aid in paying the tribute, it soon becomes clear that it is not really a request. When Barabas asks if they expect the Jewish merchants to contribute equally, Ferneze reveals his true motivations.

No, Jew, like infidels.

For through our sufferance of your hateful lives,

Who stand accursed in the sight of heaven,

These taxes and afflictions are befall'n,

And therefore thus we are determined. (1.2.62-66)

Despite his initial argument that the protection of Malta is the responsibility of all who benefit from its security, his darker reasoning comes out here. The Jews have to pay because it is their fault. He attributes the unpayable tribute not to being default on

paying the Ottomans, but rather to having allowed the Jews to operate within Malta.

This, of course, casts the Turks as the “scourge of God” which as Patrides points out was a common explanation for the Turkish threat in the period (130). It also shows the Christians utilize their religion to justify a hatred of the Jews as well.

More than merely demand tribute, the Christians also make conversion part of the decree. As already noted, if the Jews refuse to pay, they must convert to Christianity and if they refuse that they must forfeit their entire estate. Barabas, of course, balks at the decree to give up half of his estate and refuses to convert as well. Ferneze responds, “Sir, half is the penalty of our decree, / Either pay that, or we will seize on all” (1.2.91-92). Faced with this clear ultimatum, Barabas does relent, saying “you shall have half” (93). But, despite just offering two clear choices, Ferneze refuses, “No, Jew, thou hast denied the articles, / And now it cannot be recalled” (1.2.95-96). The fact that the merchants only get one chance to accept the decree is not mentioned in the decree and directly contradicted by Ferneze’s either/or statement after Barabas’s initial rejection. So, the Christian governor does not honor his word, either. His ultimatum is empty. The decree is fitted with trappings that make it seem humane and just, such as it being a “request” (1.2.49), containing a missionary function of possibly converting Jews to Christianity, and even spinning the loss of his wealth as a good thing when Ferneze tells him, “Excess of wealth is cause of covetousness: / And covetousness, oh, ‘tis a monstrous sin” (1.2.126-27). Despite this glossing, the removal of all of his wealth including his house and his ships (a primary means of acquiring wealth) after his compliance strikes one as vindictive and cruel, especially when we learn that his estate

“amount[s] to more than all the wealth in Malta” (1.2.137). While the Turkish tribute is a real threat, it becomes an afterthought to stripping the Jewish merchants of at least half of their wealth. After all, there is no indication that the Christians took only what they needed, nor that they were willing to return the seized riches after they decided to rely on Spanish protection rather than pay the tribute.

More than exclusive terrain of the Jewish merchants, other Christians also display this emphasis on riches. Though we may expect and do actually find a level of greed from Bellamira, the courtesan, it is the mixture of greed and religion in the friars that disrupts easy stereotypes linking vice and greed. After his daughter, Abigail converts to Christianity (sincerely this time), Barabas wants to exact revenge on the friars. Speaking to Jacomo and Barnadine, friars from two different orders, Barabas convinces them that he has seen the error of Judaism and that he would like to convert to Christianity. However, he offers them more than just his conversion. He begins to tell them about the many riches he has in house, the unsold merchandise in Alexandria, two ships currently at sea, and the debts he is owed at cities across Europe. He caps it off, “All this I’ll give to some religious house. / So I may be baptized, and live therein” (4.1.77-78). This offer causes the friars to begin arguing over whose house he should join, even to the point of insulting each other’s orders, with Jacomo telling Barabas that “their laws are strict” (4.1.83) and Barnadine telling him, “They wear no shirts, and they go barefoot too” (4.1.85). Shortly later, when Jacomo thinks that he will be successful, he comments, “Oh, happy hour wherein I shall convert / An infidel and bring his gold into our treasury!” (4.1.162-63). From these passages, it is difficult to believe that the

friars are more interested in spreading Christianity than they are acquiring wealth. This greed even leads Jacomo to strike Barnadine's corpse (not knowing he is dead). Faced with the idea that he killed a fellow friar, Jacomo prefers to escape and begs Barabas to let him go rather than confront the consequences of his apparent actions. Clearly, these friars are not models of Christianity. In fact, the Christians in this play possess some of the vile traits which they locate in Barabas. This is not to suggest that their villainies are equal but it is important that we do not forget that, like Barabas, the Christians in the play operate based on greed and are willing to pursue their goals through violence.

By refusing to allow the identities of his characters to fall into neat categories, Marlowe disrupts the very foundations upon which national identities are built. His characters demonstrate a fluidity that resists essentialized constructions of identity. National and religious identity is not something innate but constructed – not something permanent but something mutable. *The Jew of Malta* illustrates the difficulty of defining what it means to be Jewish, Christian, or even Turkish. Barabas seems to go a step further and abandon nation altogether. As we have already witnessed, he seems to possess neither solidarity with nor loyalty to his fellow Jewish merchants. Though he is willing to interfere in national politics, he does not want to lead. In an early soliloquy, he says

I must confess we come not to be kings;
That's not our fault: alas, our number's few,
And crowns come either by succession,
Or urged by force; and nothing violent,

Oft I have heard tell, can be permanent.
 Give us a peaceful rule, make Christians kings,
 That thirst so much for principality. (1.1.128-34)

Barabas backs up his language at the end of the play when he readily gives up the governorship to create an environment in which to pursue his trade. Barabas is completely unconcerned with the communities of which he is a part, both the community of Jews and the community of Malta. His individualism directly confronts any attempts at national unity or identity. In some ways, then, Barabas becomes a prototype of the pirate, focusing on the accumulation of wealth against the constrictions of a national identity and possessing no regard for human life.

Not only do pirates, like Barabas, barter their national identity for wealth, they also pose a direct threat to the nation and its wealth. Unsanctioned pirates threaten the nation through the plunder of a nation's wealth, the destruction or reduction of a nation's ability to conduct maritime trade, and the loss of a nation's sailors through impressments and slavery. Though prevalent during Elizabeth's reign, privateering was sharply curtailed under James I, who issued numerous proclamations against piracy. Despite these efforts during his reign, "piracy against shipping of all nations became much more common in the Atlantic and Mediterranean" (Jowitt 4-5). As Barbara Fuchs asserts, piracy "increasingly interferes with England's conception of itself as a merchant state" (46), especially given the Jacobean state's emphasis on trade. After all, ships, whether designed for war or trade, are in many ways an extension of the nation. They fly national flags, consist primarily of sailors from the nation, and advance the cause of the

nation martially, commercially, and imperially. They are, essentially, floating pieces of sovereignty which operate away from the watchful eye of the authorities. Privateers generate chaos and uncertainty with the tacit (and sometimes explicit)⁴ approval of a nation. Pirates do so in spite of the nation. Rather than three distinct categories, merchants, privateers and pirates exist on a spectrum. Some pirates were even known to disguise themselves as merchants in order to get closer to likely targets (Fuchs 47). Pirates exploit the lawlessness of the sea as well as their freedom from both literal and conceptual control by the nation. They may sever legal and perhaps even economic ties with their nation, but not conceptual ones. As Claire Jowitt observes, “a pirate’s life beyond the law – and outside the boundaries of conventional European society – creates a potential site for the expression of other unorthodox beliefs and patterns of behaviour” (4). The concern of this site of disruption is evident by the number of pirates which appear in early modern texts, including both dramatic and prose tracts. In these cases, we are not, after all, dealing with actual pirates but their representations in early modern England – how these representations attempted to control, co-opt, and shape the disruptions of piracy and pirates.

The popularity of pirates in this period can be found in the wide range of texts from passing references to pirates in plays such as Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* to plays, such as Heywood and Rowley’s *Fortune by Land and Sea*, in which pirates are central to the plot. Rather than focus on pirates across this spectrum, this chapter will focus on one: the notorious English pirate, John Ward. By the end of the first decade of the

⁴ After all, Elizabeth I directly funded Sir Francis Drake’s exploits.

seventeenth century, Ward was the most famous pirate in early modern England. In James I's proclamation against pirates issued in 1609, he mentions Ward by name, referring to the piracies committed "by Captain John Ward and his adherents, and other English pirates" (355). Ward is mentioned twice more by James as he proclaims it illegal to have dealings with Ward or any other pirates.⁵ Ward is also the subject of two prose tracts and two ballads devoted to his exploits.⁶ The ballads are titled "The Seaman's Song of Captain Ward, the Famous Pirate of the World, and an Englishman Born" (1609) and "The Famous Sea-Fight Between Captain Ward and the Rainbow" (ca. 1620). The pamphlets are the anonymous *Newes from Sea, Of Two Notorious Pyrats Ward the Englishman and Danseker the Dutchman* (1609) and Andrew Barker's *A True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Ouerthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates* (1609). In fact, *Newes from Sea* was issued twice in 1609. While the texts are very similar, the title of the alternate issue replaces "*Newes from Sea*" with "*Ward and Danseker*," the dedication and reader's prefaces are omitted, the woodcut illustrations appear in different locations, and the type has clearly been reset despite, both having been printed for N. Butter and both sold at this shop. The reader's preface of *Newes from Sea* is directed "To him that desires newes; whosoever he be, or, To the Reader" (A4^r). In the very first sentence, the anonymous author addresses his audience, "thou hast heard

⁵ Ward's name is also used casually in Donne's Elegy 14, "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife." The persona of the poem, to become better acquainted with the citizen a couple of questions, one of them -- "whether Ward / The traffic of the Midland seas had marred" (lines 23-24).

⁶ Gerald Maclean also illustrates Ward's continued popularity, noting specifically that he became "the champion of free trade" (231) until the 19th century.

mucho talk of one captain Ward, and I know thou desirest to understand what he is” (A4^r). Thus, the pamphlet claims to fill a specific need of more information about the pirate. While reader’s prefaces often justify the existence of the text that follows, this one, in light of the other references to Ward, does suggest that early modern Londoners were familiar with Ward and wanted to know more, pointing to the popularity of pirates in the period. These pamphlets and ballads also illustrate that despite their status as outlaws operating independently on the open seas, pirates are still closely tied to nation. *Newes from Sea* and “The Seaman’s Song” identifies Ward (and Danseker)⁷ by their nations of origin in the title and *A True and Certain Report* identifies as one of “our apostate countrimen” in the first page of the dedication.

No doubt capitalizing on the popularity of this English pirate, Robert Daborne, three years later in 1612, uses these prose texts as his source for his dramatization of Ward’s activities in *A Christian Turned Turk*. Interestingly, despite the interest in Ward, Daborne’s play does not seem have to done well in the theater. In his preface, Daborne defends his decision to print what he calls his “oppressed and much martyred tragedy,” claiming that he does so “to publish my innocence concerning the wrong of worthy personages, together with doing some right to the much-suffering actors” (151).⁸ Vitkus, in the commentary, suggests that the reason his play was not well received could have been due to the sympathetic portrayal of Ward and Danseker or the dramatized conversion to Islam could have been perceived as offensive (232). Lois Potter adds that

⁷ There is also a ballad devoted to Dansiker, titled “The Song of Dansekar the Dutchman.”

⁸ All citations from Daborne’s play come from Daniel J. Vitkus’s edition in *Three Turk Plays*.

it could also have been a result of Daborne's fictional ending in which Ward (still living in 1612) dies (132).⁹ Despite Daborne's role in its publication, the play is poorly printed with missing stage directions, misattributed speech tags, and an incomplete dramatis personae (Potter 131).

Daborne changes the focus slightly by not identifying his protagonist by name and describing him in religious terms as a Christian rather than as an Englishman. He also demonstrates the close ties between nation and religion. While to "turn Turk" is a religious activity (converting to Islam), it is also a national one. The threat of conquest from the Ottoman Empire was a dual one – conquest of land and polity and conquest of religion. And, both of those threats are implicated in "turning Turk." Furthermore, since Englishness is defined by the monarchy as not only Christianity but Protestantism, the conversion to Islam would have also been a repudiation of nation.

Daborne, in the prologue to his play, seems to address the shift of emphasis to religion. He writes, "What heretofore set others' pens awork, / Was Ward turned pirate; ours is Ward turned Turk" ("Prologue," lines 7-8). Citing this line, many critics use it to focus predominantly on Ward as a Turk rather than as a pirate. But, I think too much emphasis is placed on this line. First and foremost, it seems that Daborne is trying to distinguish his drama from the prose texts. Those pamphlets trace Ward from being a fisherman in Kent to becoming a notorious and ruthless pirate in the Mediterranean. Daborne's play, in contrast, begins after Ward is already well-known for his piracy.

⁹ Potter also suggests a couple of possibilities for "worthy personages" who could have been offended by the play. Specifically, the family of Sir Francis Verney who may have been the model for another pirate in the play, Francisco or a patentee of the King's Revels, Lording Barry, who after being jailed for debt, fled the country and became a pirate (133-34).

Therefore, Daborne is warning his readers that the play is not about Ward *turning* pirate. Noting that the ballads and prose texts made no mention of his conversion to Islam, Nabil Matar suggests “Daborne underscored this motif because English society had not reacted as negatively to Ward’s sin of apostasy as he thought they should” (*Islam* 54).¹⁰ Daborne does claim to be “leaving piracy / To reach the he art of villainy” (“Prologue,” lines 13-14). This does not, in my mind, diminish the importance of his piracy in understanding the play. It is, however, impossible to separate Ward the pirate from Ward the Turk. While this chapter will consider the implications of Ward’s conversion to Islam, it will contextualize this conversion in a larger examination of Ward as a pirate and the implications this piracy has for constructions of national identity.

Representations of piracy, an act both intimately linked to and disruptive of the nation, become an ideal location to examine negotiations of nationalism in the period. Indeed, other critics have noticed this linkage. Potter describes piracy as “a threat to traditional English values” and Jowitt and Fuchs locate the piratical threat more specifically in terms of nation. Jowitt asserts that “the renegade was an important dramatic character in the articulation of concerns about the stability of English national identity” (16) and Fuchs notes that “their potential for destabilizing the consolidation of the English nation” (49). Pirates then offer a locus for issues regarding the construction of nation and the instability of these constructions to bubble to the surface. It is these constructions and their negotiation that this entire project has been tracing, from Roman-Britain plays, English antiquarian texts, city (or citizen) comedy and now representation

¹⁰ Matar points out that Daborne also leaves the theater to join the church. This move further contextualizes Daborne’s stated interest in Ward’s conversion as opposed to his piracy.

of the pirate, John Ward. As we shall see, the negotiations in these texts about Ward revisit elements from the multiple versions of nationalisms which have been explored in previous chapters – class, religion, chorography, foreign threat, and gender. The remainder of this chapter will explore Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* in the context of these different nationalisms. Ward, the pirate, ultimately, demonstrates both the varied ways of constructing nation and, like Barabas, problematizes any attempts to define fully what English nationalism looked like in the period. As we have witnessed throughout the previous chapters, nationalism is a dynamic process which engages a variety of issues and notions.

Corporation and Cosmopolitanism

In Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, we witnessed the formation of an alternate model of nationalism based on the corporation. This corporation allowed the social and economic mobility that was denied these artisans and merchants under the martial national model. Dekker's play ultimately rejected the form of nationalism set forth by plays such as *Henry V*, which was based on honor and participation in martial conflict – participation, however, that came with risk but little reward. In its place, the shoemakers adopted a corporate nationalism. Bound by trade, this community crossed such traditional boundaries as geopolitical borders and class. Like Dekker's shoemakers, pirates resist class status quo and seek to increase their economic standing. But rather than work within the system of artisans and merchants which only afforded limited mobility to Hodge, Rafe, and Firk, they abandon that system altogether and,

ironically, work against it by attacking merchant shipping. By stealing cargo and reselling it at low cost, pirates both interrupt and imitate legitimate trade. This is not all bad for merchants in England because, given the low cost of the goods he purchased, Eyre could have been buying from a Dutch pirate. The pirates also reject traditional models of Englishness based on service to the monarch, as service which we saw in Dekker's play could be both physically and economically dangerous. Because they are rejecting society, pirates also privilege economic over social mobility.

In the case of the English pirate, John Ward, both the prose pamphlets and Daborne's play make sure the audience is aware of the state of Ward's birth. The first sentence of *Newes from Sea* begins, "This Ward, as base in birth as bad in condition . . . his parentage was but meane, his estate lowe, and his hope lesse" (B1^r). Barker's description is much more colorful. He describes Ward as "a fellowe, poore, base, and of no esteeme, one as tattered in cloathes, as he was ragged in conditions, the good past, that he could boast of himselfe, might bee, that he was borne in the Towne called Feversham in Kent, and there lived as a poore fisherman" (B1^v). These pamphlets not only clarify that Ward was born to the lower class, they both link this birth to his condition. They do not specify a causal relationship but their proximity to one another and the use in both instances of comparatives do suggest that one led to the other. *Newes from Sea* even includes a woodcut illustration of "Wards Skiffe when he was a Fisherman" which depicts two men fishing out of a small boat.

Despite not focusing on Ward's life before becoming a pirate, Daborne also reminds his audience about Ward's birth. The opening chorus informs the audience that

“Their trivial scenes might best afford to show / The baseness of his birth, how from below / Ambition oft takes root, make men forsake / the good they enjoy, yet know not” (“Prologue” lines 9-12). In fact, the chorus is describing those scenes that the audience will not see. It does serve the purpose of both informing the audience of Ward’s birth and placing the blame for his behavior in ambition. This responsibility is something, which we will see, that is questioned in the play. Ward’s birth status reappears a short time later. Ward takes a French merchant ship, which a fellow pirate, Francisco, had been pursuing. Francisco demands half of the spoils and Ward refuses. Angered, Francisco insults him “A little calmer, sir! You are not in Kent, / Crying ‘Herrings, seven a penny!” (4.97-98).¹¹ He adds, later, “Poor fisher’s brat, that never didst aspire / Above a mussel boat” (4.103-04). Through Francisco, Daborne reminds his audience of both Ward’s county of origin and his previous occupation. Later, after he has been betrayed by Voada, Ward himself refers to this past life wishing for the “content this soul did know / when a poor fisherman possessed it” (13.152-53). While Daborne’s stated focus is on the religious conversion, these references also help illustrate the economic prosperity afforded through piracy.

It is clear that Ward rejects the model of Englishness based on birth or to paraphrase Daborne’s preface, forsakes the good he enjoys but knows not. Francisco’s claim of half of the spoils sparks in Ward a reflection on merit versus birth. He says,

My merit – shall I thrall them? The sway of things
Belongs to him dares most. Such should be kings,

¹¹ This edition of Daborne’s *A Christian Turned Turk* does not include Act divisions. Therefore, citations will only provide scene and line numbers.

And such am I. What Nature in my birth
 Denied me, Fortune supplies. This maxim I hold:
 He lives a slave that lives to be controlled. (4.83-87)

Ward packs a lot into just a few lines. He poses a world based on merit and ambition rather than on Nature and on an essentialized notion of identity and status. For Ward, identity, be it national or not, is not innate or predetermined. It is something which can be shaped by merit and ambition. This idea also opens a space for nationalism as an idea which can be negotiated and defined. Not only did he escape Kent and a model of Englishness based on birth, Ward also escaped the constrictions of this birth to become, in his words, a king. Rather than determined by birth, this royal status relies on agency as the key to success. The use of “Fortune” here seems slightly odd given that it still does not allow the individual agency which Ward glorifies throughout the rest of the passage. Even if “Fortune” does not have the element of free-will Ward seems to crave, it is typically understood as random rather than based on class, birth, or even nation. Therefore, it is also open to anyone rather than the privileged elite. For Ward, the course of piracy becomes that which frees men from oppression.

Barker’s *A True and Certain Report* tells a slightly different story. Describing Ward’s gathering of a crew “whose dispositions . . . were as untoward as his own” (B1^f), Barker asserts that Ward was “not contented with that good and honest means [that] was allowed him” (B1^f). Thus, Barker makes it clear that neither society nor the facts of Ward’s existence were responsible for his betrayal. According to Barker, the culprit was “his melancholy disposition” (B1^f). Barker places blame squarely with the

individual. Barker also recounts Ward's speech with which he attracted his crew: "My mates, quoth he, whats to be done? Heres a scurvy world, and as scurvily we live in't, we feede here upon the water, on the Kings salt beefe, without ere a pennie to buy us a bissell when we come ashore, heres brine meat, but to revell, suppe, and be merry, every one at the proper charge of his owne purse" (B1^r-B1^v).¹² Ward's argument, as retold by Barker, claims that the sailors are provided basic provisions but nothing more. Their motivations then are economic. They want a little money so that they can enjoy something beyond the King's salted beef. According to Barker, their needs are met, but not their wants. This reference links their provisions to the monarch and assigns, I would argue, responsibility for their level of comfort (or, discomfort) to the monarch.

Daborne is not as quick as Barker to blame the individual. Though Dansiker, the Dutch pirate in Daborne's play, receives a pardon from France (provided he serves as a French privateer), he decides to burn the pirate fleet while it lies in the harbor of Tunis. He explains to his men:

With the hateful style of robbers, let's redeem our honor
 And not return into our country with the names
 Of pardoned thieves, but by some worthy deed,
 Daring attempt, make good unto the world
 Want of employment, not of virtue, forced
 Our former act of spoil and rapine. (5.13-18)

¹² I was unable to locate a definition for the word, "bissell." It is possibly an error and should read "vissell," perhaps an alternate spelling of "vessel." If so, then Ward's speech is directly about the lack of mobility afforded law-abiding sailors as opposed to the possibilities for advancement offered by the pirate life.

While he does show a desire to return to his country, he lays the responsibility for his plundering at his nation's feet. He defends the virtue of his men and himself by claiming that it was unemployment which caused them to seek the lawlessness of pirate life.

This idea is echoed in other moments in the play. When two sailors sneak into Benwash's house with the intentions of robbing him, the first sailor describes necessity as what "makes us thieves" (10.40-41) and then adds, "We were bred in a country that had the charity to whip begging out of us when we were young, and for starving, manhood denies it. You know what must necessarily follow" (10.47-49). Again the nation is implicated in the turn to piracy. This time, however, unemployment is implied through the need to beg in the first place, but not specifically identified. The sailor suggests more that how the country shaped them resulted in their choices by punishing beggars. The combination of this reluctance to beg and their own masculinity lead them to a life of thievery.

We could possibly write these statements off as justifications spoken by pirates and thieves. Yet Daborne has other characters make similar statements. The French merchant, Ferdinand, also suggests responsibility of the nation in creating pirates. Speaking to both Ward and Sares, he claims "We are no pirates, sir. Our country yields us more honest means of living" (6.313-14). The implication is, of course, that a country's ability to provide employment is linked to the production of pirates. Pirates, in Daborne's play then, become a symptom of the failure of nation – the failure of the nation to provide for its inhabitants. The individuals are relieved of responsibility in multiple instances. Barbara Fuchs also points out that the end of the war with Spain "left

thousands of unemployed seaman in the port towns” (48). In the absence of legitimate means of employment, piracy probably represented an attractive option to what Fuchs labels as “masterless men” (48). In these instances, piracy would be a literally turning away from nation by moving directly from military service for the nation to opposing martially the economic interests of the nation. Vitkus points out that “life on a pirate ship, even as a low-ranking crew member, was much freer and more profitable than serving as a seaman on a law-abiding merchantman, and piracy was certainly preferable to life under the miserable conditions that existed on royal ships” (*Turning Turk*, 149-50). Thus, for some Englishmen, piracy seems to have been an attractive option for economic mobility.

Becoming pirates also meant becoming disconnected in some ways from strict definitions of nation. Being “free men of the sea” meant that the community to which they belonged was no longer defined by the land from which they originated. This detachment from geopolitical boundaries is paralleled in Dekker’s play through the cosmopolitanism of the shoemaker’s corporate nationalism. Lacy, disguised as a Dutch shoemaker, was able to become a member of the community due to his trade skills. This membership continued even after he had been revealed not only to be English but to be of noble birth. Coincidentally, a Dutchman functions in the transnational community surrounding John Ward, as well. After all, both pamphlets and the play recount the activities of both Ward, an English pirate, and Dansiker, a Dutch one, without explaining

their connection.¹³ Furthermore, the nationality of the third pirate with whom Ward allies, Francisco, is never specified. Like Dekker's play, national identities become secondary to participation on a pirate ship which operates almost as an independent sovereignty.

Like the shoemaker's shop, the pirate's ships are made up of men with various countries of origin. Though we often think of pirates as commanding a single ship, these pamphlets demonstrate that a pirate had multiple ships under his command. In *Newes from Sea*, the narrator's ship is chased by three ships "whome we after proved to bee confederates of Wards" (D2^v). While the use of confederates could be a way of simply identifying them as pirates, when aboard the merchant ship, they refer to their "Captain Ward" (E1^v). The men on Ward's pirate ships proved to be a mix of English and Turk. The narrator tells us that while they first thought they were all Turks, upon closer inspection, the sailors and seafaring men, and notably the leaders of the ship, were English (D2^v). Since it is clear from the rest of the account that there were Turks with them, it is reasonable to assume that the soldiers used for boarding and overcoming the crew of merchants ships were Turkish. Barker's account also illustrates this mix of nations. Describing Ward's outfitting of his fleet after taking a "great Argosie," he tells the reader that Ward "put into her a hundred and fifty Englishmen, and two hundred and fiftie Turkes, over whom he made Abraham Croften Captaine and himself Generall" (C2^v).

¹³ While the early modern texts do not explain this connection, it is probably related to their status as two of the most famous pirates of the period.

Interestingly, this mixture is not clearly represented on the woodcut illustration on the title page (see Figure 5). This woodcut depicts two ships facing off against one another. The ship on the left is flying the flag of St. George and is armed with 5 cannons on the starboard side. The ship on the right is flying the crescent moon flag of the

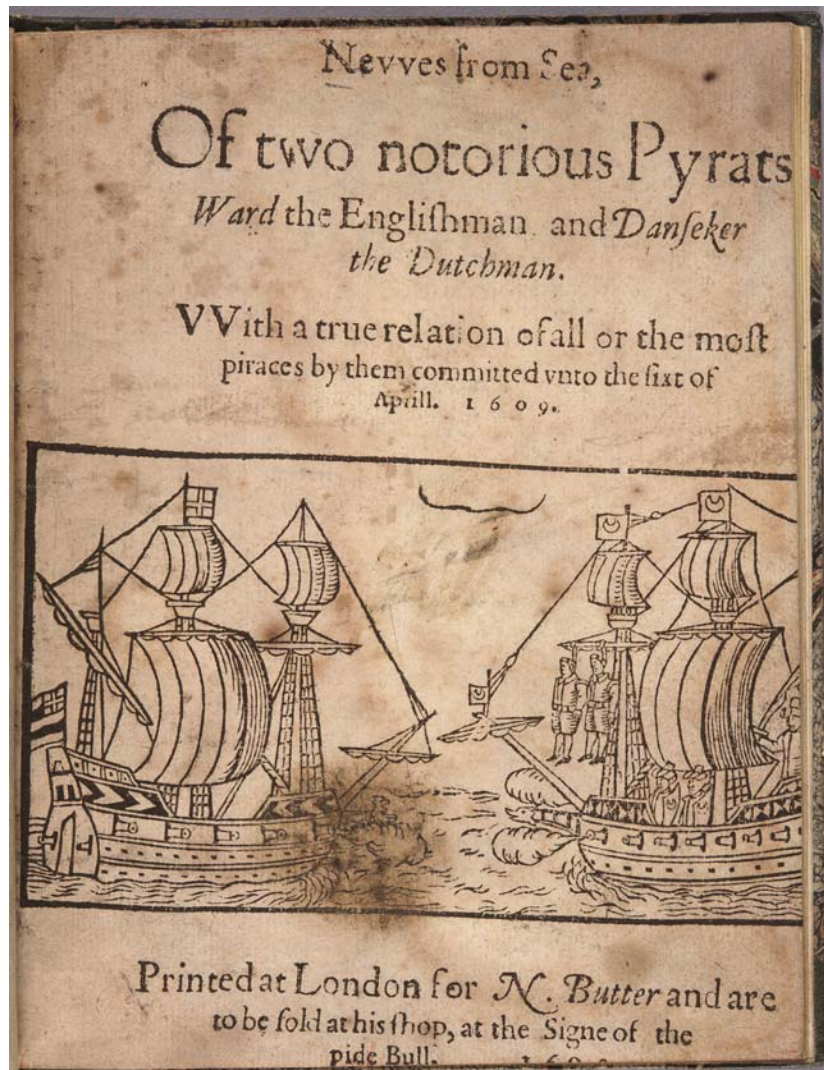


Figure 5. Title Page, *Newes from Sea*. (London, 1609). This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

Ottoman Empire and is armed with 8 cannons on the port side (so that the cannons are, in effect, facing each other). There are three pirates visible on the decks of the seemingly Ottoman ship, all wearing turbans and at least two of them with shields emblazoned with the crescent moon. More gruesomely, however, there are two men, with European clothes, hanging from the yardarm, sending the unambiguous message to surrender or face death. This image is addressed directly in the pamphlet. Nabil Matar, in *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, asserts that this frontispiece focuses on divine retribution and shows “Ward and Danseker hanging from the mast of a ship – an act of pure fabrication since Ward died over a decade later of the plague” (58). While, as we shall see this image would be quite appropriate for Daborne’s play, Ward does not die at the hands of the Turks in this pamphlet or, for that matter, die at all. It is more likely that it illustrates the cruelty of pirates and their association with the Ottoman Empire. The narrator does witness Ward’s ships overtake a French merchant ship whose merchant and master suffer the same fate as the two men on the cover image. There is no indication in either the pamphlets or the play that Ward or any of his ships ever sailed under the flag of the Ottoman Empire. However, piracy was often associated with the Ottomans. In fact, Turkish identity itself is ambiguous in these contexts.¹⁴ The author of this pamphlet describes the pirates “as beeing indeede more renegadoes than Turkes, for what conference wee had wee received from them in Italian” (C4^v). Calling them

¹⁴ More than solely in these contexts, “Turk” is an ambiguous term and can mean Turkish, North African, and even Muslim. This chapter adopts the term as an umbrella under which all of these terms can fit. Part of the danger that Turkish identity poses to Christian European ideas of nation is its lack of specificity and its ability to consume other national as well as religious identities, evidenced by the Italianate Turkish pirates above and, eventually, Ward himself. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use Turk as this broad term unless otherwise noted.

“renegades” implies that they are Italians who like Ward have converted to Islam. So, Turkishness, like piracy, seems to be cosmopolitan.¹⁵ The play, however, does not highlight the mixed nationalities of the pirate ships. It does not, for instance, specify the nationalities of Ward’s sailors, such as Gallop and Grismund. While they speak of their “country,” we can never be absolutely sure to which one they refer.¹⁶

Ward maintains a strong allied relationship with the Turks which, much like the shoemakers, is based not on national identity or loyalty but crosses those lines for the sake of economics. In *Newes from Sea*, the narrator explains that through gifts and promises, Ward made “the great Turke so much his friend, as that he had free recourse and liberty to make merchandise of what purchase soever he got and brought into the country. And by this also the Turkes much inriching themselves are not a little pleased with Ward’s continual concourse into those parts” (B3^f). Ward is able, in fact encouraged, to sell his illicit booty of wares and slaves in Tunis safely. Instead of increasing the wealth of this own country, he increases the wealth of the Ottoman Empire. This symbiotic relationship is reflected in Daborne’s play, most notably when he sells the French merchants to Benwash. In all of these instances, nation becomes subordinated to other concerns, chiefly economics.

¹⁵ Like Islam, Christianity crosses national boundaries but unlike Islam is a subordinate element of national identities. While the Dutch and the English certainly share a community based on Protestantism, their national identities remain distinct. “Turkishness” includes both religious and national components. To “turn Turk” is not just to convert to Islam, it is to become Turkish (as it is broadly defined). Islam and Turkishness are exclusively synonymous in this period in a way that Christianity and English cannot be.

¹⁶ The two sailors who attempt to rob Benwash do find Gallop’s trousers while he is committing adultery with Benwash’s wife, Agar. They describe them as “French” but, of course, plundering merchant ships would provide ample opportunity to acquire articles of clothing from various nations. Their mixed attire, then, could possibly also attest to this cosmopolitanism.

Ward and his fellow pirates turn away from their national identity to pursue wealth. They, like Dekker's shoemakers, reject a monarchial model of Englishness – in this case, one which casts them as poor fishermen living on salt beef. However, unlike Dekker's shoemakers, they are able physically, if not figuratively, to disconnect themselves from the nation. In doing so, not only are they able to set up an alternate cosmopolitan notion of identity, they construct an alternate nation (or anti-nation). In many ways, just as the merchant ship abroad is a surrogate for nation, the pirate becomes a surrogate (albeit unsanctioned) for a monarch. Our first encounter with Ward in Daborne's play associates the notorious English pirate with sovereignty. Gismund describes his captain as "Heroic Captain Ward, lord of the ocean, terror of kings, landlord to merchants, rewarder of manhood, conqueror of the Western world" (1.22-24). While Gismund's hyperbole could be an attempt to impress or scare the merchant whom he is addressing, Gismund's description casts Ward in all-powerful terms and, specifically, sovereign of the sea. As we have already seen, Ward describes himself as a king as well when he claims that those who dare most "should be kings, / And such am I" (4.84-85). Additionally, in the ballad, "The Famous Sea-Fight Between Captain Ward and the Rainbow," Ward asks the English ship to send a message to James I: "Go tell the King of England, go tell him thus from me, / If he reign King of all the land, I will reign King at sea." (verse 10, lines 1-2). In these representations, Ward clearly sees himself as a sovereign. Examining Rowley and Heywood's *Fortune by Land and Sea*, Fuchs also finds the "vision of the piratical realm as a parallel state" (55).

In this parallel state, the pirate stands in for the monarch. Sovereigns are typically marked by wealth and power, both of which Ward possesses. This rhetorical link between Ward and sovereigns can also be found in the pamphlets when discussing his wealth. In *Newes from Sea*, we learn that Ward has “growne very rich by the spoile of many nations,” that “he hath built a stately house, farre more fit for a Prince, than a pirate,”¹⁷ and that “he is made equall in estimation with the Bashaw” (C4^r). Bashaw is an earlier form of the Turkish title of pasha, which is “the highest official title of honour in the Ottoman Empire” (“Bashaw” def. 1a). His wealth then puts him on the level of rulers and princes. Barker uses similar tactics to describe Ward’s wealth. He informs his readers that, in Tunis, Ward lives “in a most princely and magnificent state” (C2^v). Barker takes the association further, claiming “I doe not know any Peere in England that bears up his post in more dignitie, nor hath his Attendants more obsequious unto him” (C2^v). He continues by describing how suitors must first go through an intermediary before getting to present their request to Ward himself. While certainly based on wealth, both pamphlets’ descriptions of Ward draw numerous parallels between the pirate and a ruler, from his bearing, to the obedience he commands and the process for gaining audience with him. According to these prose tracts, Ward has both the wealth and the power.

More than mere rhetoric, Ward’s power is evident in Daborne’s play as well. Ward operates his ship in the same manner as a king. When Gismund suggests that Ward leave some of the French merchants alive to bear witness to the victory, Ward tells

¹⁷ The ballad, “The Seaman’s Song of Captain Ward” also describes Ward’s residence, “Now he buildeth stately / A gallant palace and a royal place” (verse 12, lines 2-3).

him, “How dare you, sir, give us directions?” (4.28). Gismund responds that he is “a gentleman / Equal unto your self” (4.29-30) and is immediately struck by Ward who reminds him, “I am before you.” (4.31), adding shortly later, “Know that our word shall be a law” (4.33). While Gismund tries to level the hierarchy of the ship, Ward reacts violently to preserve it. Like a monarch, Ward claims to have the power of law in his decrees. This is not to say, however, that either the pamphlets or the play set up Ward and the alternate polity of the pirate ship as a more attractive option. In fact, in this sovereign realm the instability created by oppression is amplified. Pirate ships are famous for their mutinies and Ward’s ships are no exception. In *Newes from Sea*, Ward’s sailors mutiny against their captain because he broke one of his own laws. It was probably not as much the violation of the law as the lack of punishment that angered his men. The law was “that if any one in his Drunkenness, or otherwise falling out, should kill or stab any man in that disorder, he should presently be bound to the dead mans backe and both cast into the sea” (C3^f). After stabbing a master’s mate in the ship, some of his sailors begin a mutiny, which Ward was only able to quell by promising “amendment” and “satisfaction” in “mild termes” (C3^v). Barker also discusses a mutiny where Ward is able “by his Temperance and perswasion, [to] very worthily allay it” (C3^f). It could be the same incident, but Barker does not specify the motivations behind it. Ward must be careful to maintain his control. The pamphlets illustrates that violence is not the best way to quell a mutiny.

In another instance of mutiny, Ward’s men feeling that he was not “yielding them their due shares” stole one of his laden ships in the middle of the night and sailed it

to, ironically, Malta (Barker C4^f). This particular mutiny could be the one which inspired the mutiny in *A Christian Turned Turk*. Like the sailors in Barker's mutiny, Gismund and Gallop lead a mutiny not to overcome and kill Ward but rather to steal his ship. Though Gismund was struck by Ward for declaring himself equal to the pirate captain, it is Gallop who leads the mutiny, though it is never perfectly clear why. We do get a hint of why when Gallop and Gismund arrive in Tunis to sell their twice-stolen wares. Upon seeing Gallop count the money and put it in his purse, Gismund tells him, "But that's the wrong way, sir. Your fellows expect their equal shares" (6.104-05). Gallop responds by providing two ducats to buy the men drinks, adding "I'll deal like a commander with 'em, as men do their followers. That is, as you have followed me to earn means, so now you shall follow me as long to get your earnings" (6.111-13). Gallop is clearly taking control of the new ship and acting "like a commander." This vague reference could easily be Ward, his prior commander. Remember also that according to the pamphlet, it was the unfair division of wealth that led to the mutiny against Ward. So, clearly, while pirate ships do seem to represent an alternate polity, it is a very unstable one and one where issues like unfair wages boil up more frequently than they do in London. These allusions to pirates as surrogate monarchs also expose the lack of any innate conceptual connection between the geography of nation and the authority of the monarch. In doing so, they also undermine the connection between a definition of nation and the monarch.

Geography and Conversion

In the third chapter, we examined antiquarian works by William Camden and Richard Verstegan which focused on the definition of Britain and England through the history of the island. Limiting their focus to the island itself, both Camden and Verstegan chronicled the many people who invaded the island, as well as the effect of these varied identities on the definition of early modern Englishness. Both writers maintained strong links between identity and the land. Geographic notions of nationhood define the nation and its inhabitants based on the physical land it constitutes. While geo-political borders are essential in determining the parameters of the physical nation, their role in the identity of a nation's people is not as clear. Definitions of nation are often conceptual and abstract, not always related to the physical earth. In these representations of the English pirate, Ward, the connection between land and national identity becomes suspect. In the very first scene, when the French merchants, Ferdinand and Albert, realize that Ward and his compatriots are pirates, they try to strike a bargain, telling Ward, "If't be our moneys that you covet, willingly we give it up. / Only deprive us not of our fair home, our country: do, but land us" (1.29-30). The merchants offer money in exchange for the safe return to their country, or any land for that matter. Land becomes the antithesis of the sea in terms of the pirate. Of course, what they fail to realize is that already in possession of their money, Ward can make even more by selling them as slaves – literally depriving them of their country and, perhaps just as importantly, depriving their country of them. Ward responds: "Is't not a shame / Men of your qualities and personage / Should live as cankers, eating up the soil / That gave you being

(like beasts that ne'er look further / Than when they first took food)?" (1.33-37). For Ward, reliance on the land strips agency. Land is not a marker of identity but rather a constraint of it. Sea life becomes that which frees men of these constraints.

Gismund, reinforcing Ward's sentiment, returns us to the responsibility of nation for creating pirates. He tells the merchants,

And now for sustenance,
 Want of a little bread, being giving up
 His empty soul, should joy yet that his country
 Shall see him breathe his last when that air he terms his
 Ungratefully doth stifle him? (1.47-51)

Not only does the nation constrain one's identity, according to Gismund, this loyalty to nation in spite of harsh economic conditions will ultimately be fatal. Again, land (and this time, the air above it) restricts rather than defines these men. They attempt to detach national identity from the moorings of geography. As Gismund phrases it, "We are of the Sea!" (2.35).

Despite their desires to be free of nation, the play is not as quick to separate nation and geography. Davy, the Master of the French merchant ships, describes the pirates as "A race of thieves, bankrupts that have lain / Upon their country's stomach like a surfeit; / Whence, being vomited, they strive with poisonous breath / To infect the general air" (2.44-47). Here, they are not only still connected to nation: they are a rotten part of it which the country expels in an attempt to restore itself to health. Despite Davy's formulation, even cast out from the country, pirates are still linked and

dangerous to the nation. More ambiguously, when Ward is deciding whether or not to sell Raymond and his two sons, the second son tells him: “The soil that bred you, sir, does not bring forth / Such hideous monsters” (6.245-46). The second son maintains the connections between identity and land but places Ward outside of that model, implying that he must have come from somewhere else. It couldn’t have been England. While the play does not ultimately draw any conclusions between land and identity, the pirates open a disruptive space whereby identity is not a condition of land and it is possible to become, to borrow a phrase from the author of *Newes from Sea*, “free men of the Sea” (E2^v).

Even the Turks hold onto the significance of land. When the Governor of Tunis and Crosman, the Captain of the Turkish Janissaries, visit Ward’s house in Tunis with the purpose to convert him to Islam, Crosman fishes for information, suggesting “It may be that our clime stands not to give / That full content, the air you drew at home, / And therefore purpose shortly a return” (7.10-12). Crosman wants to know if Ward is planning to return to England, thinking that because he is an Englishman, this climate may not suit him in the same way that a more northern one would. Ward immediately rejects this idea: “I have no country I can call home” (7.13). Ultimately, Ward seems to be disconnected from the geographic nation altogether, not even addressing the issue of whether or not he can accept the different climate. Land for Ward is not important.

The Governor offers to fill this void in Ward’s existence with conversion to Islam. This conversion, known colloquially in the period as “turning Turk,” not only involves religion but nation as well. There is no need to re-hash here the close

relationship between religion and nation in the period. But it is worth noting that while it is difficult to separate nation and religion for Englishmen, the religious tumult in the 16th century allowed people such as Verstegan both to be staunch English nationalists and adhere to a religion banned by the state. In early modern England, “Turk” included both religion and nation.

Religion was also a facet of the antiquarian histories that we explored in the third chapter. These antiquarian works recount the conversion of the pagan Britons and Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. For the most part, Verstegan and Camden subordinated the issues of religion to larger issues such as language, the impact of conquest, and ethnicity. This is not to say that religion and specifically conversion is not important in these antiquarian works, only that it is not the most important. Though Protestant, Camden does recognize the benefits of Catholicism to the history of England and Verstegan, as a Catholic, subtly stresses the role of the Catholic Church in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. Daborne’s play takes up conversion as one of its central foci. But, Ward’s conversion moves in the wrong direction – away from Christianity. As promised in the chorus’s introduction, Daborne spends a great deal of energy dramatizing the conversion of Ward from Christian to Turk. Therefore, we will turn to the process of conversion which Ward undergoes and explore how the significance of religion in nation here correlates to what we witnessed briefly in Verstegan and Camden.

It is interesting that as much as Ward insists on his independence and how quick he is to leave his nation, he is so tentative to forsake his religion. The Governor,

Crosman and Benwash gang up to attempt to convince Ward to convert to Islam. They use peer pressure by informing him that the Governor was also not born a Turk and attempt to cater to his worldview by claiming that life, liberty, wealth and honor “are common to all!” (7.31). They even add that if there is a preference “’tis on Mahomet’s side” (7.32). Given what we have seen from Ward already – namely his desire not to be controlled and his ambition – this argument should be fairly attractive. Benwash turns the Christian perception of the Turks into a reason to convert, pointing out that “If this religion were so damnable / As others make it, that God which owes the right, / Profaned by this, would soon destroy it quite” (7.38-40). Benwash uses the logic inherent in this negative perception of the Islam to undermine it. This twist does not work on Ward who asserts that destroying Islam stands opposed to the Christian value of mercy and would take away the possibility of Christian conversion. He finishes his statement by saying “But for my part / It is not the divinity but nature moves me, / Which doth in beasts forced them to keep their kind” (7.44-46). As we have seen, Ward resists the essentialization of his identity based on his birth order, arguing instead for a world which rewards ambition. Yet, here, he clings to it. In other moments, he rejects Nature in favor of Fortune but returns to Nature as his reason to remain a Christian. Perhaps, the play advocates the notion of pre-determined identity – a notion which Ward in his unsympathetic moments resists and embraces when he is nobly defending his religion. But, if so, given the inconsistency, Ward seems to be the wrong spokesperson for such an idea. We could also read these lines as window-dressing covering whatever real motivations he may have. After all, there is ample evidence that he does not believe

what he is saying. To this point, he has displayed no concern for what the early modern English would recognize as Christian values. The Turks raise the stakes by indicating to Ward that they will trust him more and that his safety and profit would be better enhanced if he converts. To which, Ward responds:

What's mine of prowess, or art, shall rest by you
 To be disposed of; but to abjure
 My name – and the belief my ancestors
 Left to my being! I do not love so well
 The earth that bore me, to lessen my contempt
 And hatred to her, by so much advantage,
 So oblique act as this should give her. (7.73-79)

While he is willing to share his success with the Turks, he is not willing to convert. Despite seemingly casting off his national identity with ease, turning on his religious identity is not as easy. Like Verstegan and Camden, he does look to origin or at least lineage, invoking his ancestors and his name (also a marker of lineage) as reasons to remain Christian. The last line reiterates his distaste for the land – the physical nation. Maclean argues Ward “refuses to forswear his native land and ancestral religion, though hated, because doing so would be to acknowledge their authority over him” (241). According to this reading, conversion would undermine Ward’s sense of agency. However, as Maclean himself, points out, “To ‘turn Turk’ was not simply to become a renegade by converting to Islam but also to assert a dangerous degree of individual agency in defiance of one’s native country, family, and religion (228). Ward seems to

be stalling, but it not clear why. One could argue that Daborne is emphasizing value of religion over nation through Ward's resistance. And, that, indeed, may be the case.

While Ward and his sea-faring ambitions are disconnected from nation, Ward has not rejected Englishness as much as he has rejected certain definitions of it – definitions which suggest Ward should be content with the life of a fisherman, or definitions which suggest that one's identity is a product of geography. "Turning Turk" consisted of more than a religious conversion; it was also a national one. Being a pirate didn't make Ward not English, but being a Turk would. After all, besides suggesting that followers of Mohammed *most likely* "thrive best," the Turks provide no religious reasons for conversions. I would argue that conversion here is just as much a national decision as a religious one.

If we turn to when Ward finally relents to the pressure to convert, we can find more evidence of this interconnection.¹⁸ Failing to appeal to Ward's reason, the Turks try to appeal to his lust. They bring out Voada who is able to succeed where her brother, the Governor and Benwash failed. To sum up their interaction, he falls in love and she tells him bluntly, "Turn Turk – I am yours" (7.127). He does agree shortly thereafter. While we turn to the implications of Voada doing what the men could not in the next section, I want to focus here on Ward's conversion. Thinking about his decision, Ward remarks "What is't I lose by this my change? My country? / Already 'tis to me impossible. / My name is scandalled? What is one island / Compared to the Eastern monarchy" (7.179-82). He immediately thinks about the conversion in terms of nation

¹⁸ For more information on the conversion of Christians to Islam both as it is represented on stage and occurred historically, see the work of Nabil Matar, Daniel J. Vitkus, and Jonathan Burton.

rather than religion. With no apparent concern for spiritual well-being, he thinks of his country as his first loss. He seems to repudiate his country twice. Here and in a previously cited moment when he claims he has no home to go back to. In both instances, his inability to live in England is constructed passively as something not available to him, rather than something he rejected or betrayed. According to this justification, turning Turk is merely formalizing a pre-existing condition. Daborne fails to mention in the play that Ward repeatedly applied for pardon to James I beginning October of 1607 – before his conversion to Islam (Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 148). The second and third verses of the ballad, “The Sea-Fight,” describes Ward’s request and James I’s subsequent denial. Daborne’s omission casts Ward’s conversion in a more negative light. He adds to it when Ward not only converts, but denigrates England by comparing it in size (and no doubt status) to the Ottoman Empire, implying his conversion is somewhat of a promotion. This reasoning definitely corresponds with his ambition.

Ward, however, is not completely sold on the idea as evidenced by indecision over the next hundred lines. After Ward’s soliloquy, Alizia enters the stage. Alizia’s ship was captured by Ward earlier in the play. Fearing for her safety, Alizia disguised herself as a boy named Fidelio. According to the stage direction, she enters after the soliloquy. However, since she immediately begins trying to change Ward’s mind, it seems more likely that she entered earlier. She tells Ward that his conversion is “the denial / Of your redeemer, religion, country, / Of him that gave you being” (7.198-200). While finally someone is interested in the religious aspects of conversion, nation and

lineage are still certainly implicated in his decision. She continues by highlighting the religious aspects in greater details, telling him, for instance, “Sell not your soul for such a vanity” (7.206). Though he claims to be troubled by her words, she deviates from focus on his salvation by pointing to the “contempt [that] is thrown on runagates, / Even by these Turks themselves” (7.218-19) and tells him to remember the constancy of Ulysses’s. When, finally, he shows hesitation, she suggests that “heaven’s hand doth stay [him]” (7.229). Runagates, or renegades, is a term generally reserved for religious and national traitors and Ulysses is known for remaining loyal to his homeland in face of temptations. Alizia does invoke arguments for not converting, which we would expect (such as the conditions of one’s soul) but also maintains the connection between religion and nation.

While Alizia’s arguments are effective, they are quickly counteracted by the re-appearance of Voadá, the sight of whom quickly returns Ward to his impending conversion. Daborne provides multiple opportunities for Ward to remain faithful to Christianity. Getting ready for the conversion ceremony, three men, all sold into slavery by Ward, enter the stage on their way to the port. Like Alizia, they also have prescient knowledge of the situation and immediately begin trying to convince Ward not to convert. Ferdinand tells him that “we will forget / That we were sold by you, and think we set / Our bodies ‘gainst your soul” (7.261-63). They offer up their bodies in slavery in exchange for his soul. Similarly, the second son claims “Our blood, our father’s blood – all is forgiven, / The bond of all thy sins is cancelled. / Keep but thyself from this” (7.266-68). Not only will the individuals no longer blame Ward for their slavery,

his sins will also be forgiven. Finally, Albert requests “Let us redeem our country’s shame by thee, / We willing will endure our slavery” (7.269-70). Daborne also seems to be highlighting Ward’s betrayal by giving him so many opportunities (and many different arguments) to change his mind. Once again, despite the heavily personalized and religious nature of their argument, there is still an element of nationalism. Albert, a French merchant, does not specify what his country’s shame is or how Ward’s loyalty to Christianity will redeem it.¹⁹ Given that his concern is enduring slavery, perhaps he feels that his capture and subsequent enslavement bring dishonor to his country, a dishonor that will be counter acted by saving Ward’s soul. Another possibility could be France’s adherence to Catholicism, but that is unlikely given the overall lack of denominational distinctions in the play. In fact, the only representatives of Christianity in this play are French. Alizia, Ferdinand, Albert, and the second son of Raymond all display a genuine concern for Ward’s salvation and in the case of the men are willing to sacrifice part of themselves to save him. Examined from a contemporary English religious perspective, it seems unusual that the voices of Christianity in this play originate from a Catholic nation, even under the more sympathetic reign of James I. There are few, if any, references made in the play to Catholicism or Protestantism. The play shifts the debate from Protestant versus Catholic to Christianity versus Islam (and to some extent Judaism). This is not to say, however, that some of the concerns over conversion did not resonate with the early modern English in terms of factional Christianity. England is a country which in 75 years experienced numerous forced

¹⁹ One possibility is that Albert is an English merchant instead of a French one. He is identified in the *dramatis personae* as a French merchant but he is picked up by Ward off the coast of Ireland.

conversions of the entire nation. And like Ward's indecision, these types of conversions are often not very strong.

Despite such selfless and generous offers, Ward chooses to go through with the conversion (after being spoken to by Voadia). He declaims "Heaven would be glad of such a friend as I am? / A pirate? Murderer? Let those can hope a pardon care / To atone with heaven. I cannot; I despair" (2.275-77). He claims that God would not forgive him for his recent crimes and therefore he has no reason not to "turn Turk." This is significant in that it illustrates that Ward does not believe in Islam; he still believes in a Christian god and worldview which perceives Islam as sinful. This conversion doesn't seem all that sincere. Moreover, the use of the word "pardon" here is telling in that it is not a term generally reserved for sins and religious forgiveness. Quite the opposite: it is more of a legal term, dispensed by monarchs, for crimes against the state. While "pardon" would probably be more likely in a pirate's lexicon than "forgiveness," this allusion cannot be dismissed given the multiple other connections between this conversion and nation. Ward could be referring specifically to his denied requests for pardon.

Through a dumb show, Ward "turns Turk." Immediately afterwards, the sincerity of Ward's conversion is questioned. Dansiker, hearing from his men about Ward's conversion, does not believe it. Sares responds, "I saw him Turk to the circumcision. / Marry, therein I heard he played the Jew with 'em, / Made 'em come to the cutting of an ape's tail" (9.2-4). Early modern Christians believed that circumcision was "abrogated by the coming of Christ and the new covenant" (Vitkus, "Notes," 237)

and therefore was associated with Islam and Judaism. They suggest that Ward is not as committed to his new religion as converting might suggest since there is the possibility that he was not actually circumcised.

The prose texts which Daborne used as his primary source texts are relatively quiet on the subject of Ward's conversion. According to *Newes from Sea*, Sir Anthony Sherley sent Ward letters trying to persuade him to abandon "this detestable life" (C1^r). The anonymous author tells us that Ward remained unswayed, answering "that he would give no credit to any faire promises, or hazard his life on the hope of words, but would rather venture himselfe among the Turkes, then into the hands of Christians" (C1^v). Ward does not exactly specify a preference between the two groups, but he certainly illustrates that he would rather associate with Turkes than *trust* Christians. This pamphlet also suggests that more than adhering to one religion or another, Ward was more of an atheist. During a violent storm, one of his followers suggested they go to prayer. Ward "bad them pray that would pray, for his owne part he neither feared God nor the Devill. Thus was his heart hardned with sinne, neither willing nor able to imbrace and advise or counsell" (C4^r). Not specifically an atheist since he presumably believes in God, Ward does not, however, allow religion to guide his life in any way. Thus, it seems that a conversion would be based on motivations other than religious faith. Though he is not specifically referring to Ward, the author constructs conversion to Islam as the natural by-product of piracy. He writes "Theeving is their living, blood is their exercise, tyranie is their practice: Christians are turned Turkes, and Turkes are the sons of devils, then what

good can be expected of them?" (E3^f). The conversion of Christian pirates, in general, is directly linked to bad behavior, again omitting any religious motivation.

While Barker does not focus on Ward's religious conversion either, he does delineate the national conversion of Ward. After presenting gifts to the King of Tunis and acquiring the support of the Tunisian admiral, Croslymon,²⁰ Barker tells us that Ward

growing bould, he was at length a suter to the King, that he might be received as a subject, or if not so, yet at all times, either in adversity or prosperitie, himself and what the sea could yeeld him, might be ever sanctuaried under his Princely protection, and in recompense thereof, he vowed, he would for ever after, become a foe to all Christians, bee a persecuter to their Trafficke, and an impoverisher of their wealth, onely (belike the divell not yet having his full gripe one him) he desired, his owne Countrey might be excepted out of his taske... (B4^v)

This is clearly an agreement that operates on a state level. Ward gets protection, through good times and bad, and the King gets Ward's loyalty and his trade (which, of course, enriches his nation). Though it is not strictly a conversion, there are a couple of religious elements embedded within it. He opposes his fealty to the Ottomans with a religion rather than with another country, becoming an enemy of Christians. In fact, in a request attributed to the devil's not yet complete control of Ward, the pirate asks that

²⁰ Croslymon is no doubt an analogue to Crosman. Both men are influential in Ward's integration into their world. It is interesting that Voada, "Crosman's sister" does not appear in either pamphlet.

England get an exemption from his plundering. This is not to say that Ward actually left the English alone. The list at the end of the pamphlet of English ships taken by Ward illustrates otherwise.

While religion seems to take an uncharacteristic back seat to nation in this conversion, it is at the forefront of the solution. The author of *Newes from Sea*, discussing the atrocities committed by renegade pirates, tells his readers, “All Christendome should be made up into one hand for the revenge thereof” (E3^r). Ward echoes this sentiment when not too long after his conversion, Voada turns away from him, and, not surprisingly, he regrets his conversion. After he has stabbed himself, he proclaims

Or may, O may, the force of Christendom
 Be reunited and all at once requite
 The lives of all that you have murdered,
 Beating a path out to Jerusalem
 Over the bleeding breasts of you and yours. (16.309-13)

Both *Newes from Sea* and Daborne’s play call for the unification of Christianity as the antidote to Islam. This call puts the lack of denominational distinctions into context and may help explain why French merchants are allowed to become the sympathetic voices of Christianity despite their presumed Catholicism. Like cosmopolitanism and the subdued discussions of Catholics and Protestants in Camden and Verstegan, this trans-denominational impulse undermines foundations of national identity which are based on

a specific denomination. Under a re-unified Christianity, these distinctions no longer function as appropriate markers of nation.

Internal and External Threats

Clearly this call for reunification is responding to a threat and it is a threat that is both national and religious. In both the second and third chapters, we witnessed the construction of national identity in relation to external (as well as internal) national threats. In Fletcher's *Bonduca* and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, the construction of early Britain was threatened by Rome. With the perspective of history, specifically knowing the positive contributions that Rome ultimately made to the formation of the early modern England, both Fletcher and Shakespeare treat the Roman threat somewhat ambiguously – something to be resisted but something also to be embraced. The threat present in representations of Ward is not retrospective but contemporary and lacks the same ambiguity. Like Verstegan's work, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, which worked conceptually to eliminate various threats to English identity, Daborne's play and the prose accounts of Ward casts the Turks as well as the Jewish characters as threats to identity which must be eliminated. As in the previous works, these external groups also become convenient routes to self-definition. As we shall see, however, these threats are not always clearly demarcated, nor are they always where we expect them.

Not surprisingly, these oppositional constructions often take the form of rivalry, competition or even outright hatred of one's foe. During the battle between Ward and the French merchant ship, Ward enters with the corpse of an unnamed friend. When

Gismund sees the fallen sailor, he comments “I always thought / Fortune had marked him out to die by the French; / He had so much of the English spirit in him” (3.29-31). The idea that it is appropriate for someone so English to die at the hands of the French reminds the audience of the long standing rivalry between the two nations. By the same token, his death by a Frenchman *confirms* his Englishness as well. Further, this moment illustrates that more than become completely disconnected from nation, pirates – represented here by Gismund – still maintain national pride and identity but have rejected traditional models of what it means to be English.

In this play, however, the French get a reprieve from being the primary threat to English identity. Daborne lets his audience immediately know the primary threats in the play – the Turks.²¹ He describes Ward turning Turk as “the heart itself of villainy” (“Prologue,” line14). However, the Turk essentially disappears for the first five scenes with no Turkish characters appearing on stage until the sixth scene. Upon first entering the play, Crosman, a soldier in the Turkish military and only male Turkish character, is immediately concerned with the conversion of Ward. He tells Agar, “That’s he in the Judas beard. Use but thy art, he’s thine” (6.355). By connecting Ward to Judas through his beard, Crosman foreshadows Ward’s conversion and more importantly reveals the “use” to which the Turks want to put Ward. Thus, Daborne represents the primary (certainly first) goal as converting the Christian pirate. Shortly later in this same scene, Crosman tells Benwash, “The knight is as good as ours already. Besides, I have

²¹ Recent critics have demonstrated that the relationship and representations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe were not always negative. See specifically the work of Nabil Matar as well as Jonathan Burton’s recent book, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama 1579-1624*.

procured the Governor in person to regret him. / All that art can by ambition, lust, or flattery do, / Assure yourself this brain shall work him to” (6.437-441). As we have already seen, they use all of these methods to convert Ward, eventually succeeding with lust. Maclean asserts that “the Turkish danger is not its military threat, either directly staged or internally feared, but the treacherous duplicity of those seductive temptations that make pursuing Eastern promise a certain road to damnation” (234). The threat, then, is cast not on the national level, as we witnessed in *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca*, but rather on a personal level— attacking not England but the English. According to Matar, this threat was quite real since “thousands of European Christians converted to Islam in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century” (15). Though while each conversion is an individual decision, the sum of these decisions has implications for the nation both literally, by losing subjects, and conceptually, by losing control of national identity.

The realities of the Turkish threat are also evident in these representations. In the dedication to his prose pamphlet, Barker notes that the Turkish pirates who have taken “many Ships of London and others parts of England” are often led by Englishmen. He adds, “...without the help of which English, the Turks by no means could have governed and conducted them through their unskillfulnes and insifficiencie in the art of Navigation” (A2^r). By aiding the Turks in their maritime attacks on English shipping, converted Englishmen have a tangible affect on the nation. Ward makes a similar remark at the end of the play when he recants his conversion. He claims

Ungrateful curs, that have repaid me thus

For all the service that I have done for you.

He that hath brought more treasure to your shore
 Than all Arabia yields! He that hath shown you
 The way to conquer Europe – did first impart
 What your forefathers knew not, the seaman's art. (16.297-302)

Ward enriches the Ottoman empire literally by bringing his plunder to Tunis but also figuratively by revealing how to conquer the western Christian nations and by teaching them about seafaring.²² Thus, Ward himself becomes part of the threat. In fact, I would even argue that while the Turks are clearly villains in the play, they are not as dangerous as Ward.

Another unusual threat comes from Benwash, the Jewish merchant,²³ who also converts to Islam. In some ways, Benwash opens up the space through which Ward can convert. As Jonathan Burton points out, Benwash “plays a critical role in the traffic between Christian pirates and a Turkish market” (199). We have also seen also that he participates in early attempts to convert Ward. Our first reference to Benwash is as the “renegado Jew” (5.37) which identifies him as a Jew who has converted to Islam. Renegado/runagate is also terms that is applied to Ward multiple times after he has converted. This label, which Vitkus notes is generally reserved for Christian converts (“Notes,” 234), rhetorically links Benwash and Ward long before the pirate joins Benwash as a Turk. After Ward's conversion, he is referred exclusively as either “Turk”

²² Barbara Fuchs points out that “perhaps the most infamous of the English renegadoes' achievements was the transfer of nautical technology to the Barbary pirates” (51). Thus, Ward was not alone in the technological betrayal of his country.

²³ Both Daniel J. Vitkus and Jonathan Burton examine the representation of Jews in Anglo-Turkish relations in greater detail.

or “false runagate,” but never as English or Christian. Conversely, just as Barabas is both Maltese (at least marginally) and still Jewish, Benwash maintains both identities, as we just saw with “renegado Jew.” Furthermore, despite converting prior to the beginning of the play, he is referred to predominantly as a Jew. Being both Turkish and Jewish destabilizes constructions of national identity by blurring some of the foundations upon which this identity is built.

Significantly, Benwash discusses his conversion before Ward is tempted. He tells his servant:

Thou hast forgot how dear
 I bought my liberty, renounced my law
 (The law of Moses), turned Turk – all to keep
 My bed free from these Mahometan dogs.
 I would not be a monster, Rabshake – a man-beast,
 A cuckold. (6.73-78)

Married to a Turkish woman, Benwash asserts that the only way to keep his wife from cheating on him is to “turn Turk.” Ironically, of course, his plan fails when Gallop, a Christian, cuckolds him, an event which eventually leads to both his and his wife’s death. He does, however, set the precedent for conversion. His conversion maintains a number of similarities with Ward’s. Both men do convert for reasons other than religious belief. And, both men convert for members of the opposite sex.

The role of women in both of these conversions calls out for a closer examination of gender in the play. As we explored in *Bonduca* and *Cymbeline*, the negotiation of

gender was central to construction of nation. Gender for both Shakespeare's and Fletcher's play was itself a threat to the English nation, just as Rome was. Both plays featured powerful women characters who participated both literally and rhetorically in the concerns of the nation. In fact, they are some of the most assertive voices of nation in both plays. Like Bonduca and Shakespeare's unnamed Queen, Daborne's Agar and Voada are perhaps the two strongest characters in the play. And, given their roles in converting a prosperous merchant and a knowledgeable, skillful, and wealthy pirate, they also act nationalistically. These women, essential to Daborne's play, are nonexistent in the pamphlets. Given the close connections we have already witnessed between the play and the pamphlets, this addition seems significant and draws attention to the question of gender.

For the most part, the representation of women in *A Christian Turned Turk* is negative. More than merely strong characters, Agar and Voada are clearly villains as well. Lust primarily fuels the villainy in these women. In the first scene in which they appear, Voada expresses a preference for the "Dutch cavalier Dansiker" (6.4) over the newly-arrived Ward. When Gallop enters in the same scene, Agar exclaims "Thou powerful god of love, strike through mine eyes / Those awful darts of thine" (6.36-37) and then laments her inability to act upon her desires after Benwash assigns Rabshake to watch over her: "I tell thee, I am undone: Rabshake is my overseer" (6.97-98). Also in this scene, Voada and Agar examine the captives, including Alizia now dressed as a boy with the name Fidelio. Taking a fancy to the cross-dressed Alizia, Voada proclaims, "I must enjoy his love, though quenching of my lust did burn the world besides" (6.100-

101). True to her word, Voadia immediately turns away from Ward after the conversion is complete, choosing instead to pursue Fidelio/Alizia. This scene firmly establishes lust as the primary motivations of these two women – a motivation that clearly will supercede all other concerns. The construction of women as primarily driven by lust is not only dramatized through their behavior, it is explicitly stated. After being assigned to ensure Agar’s loyalty and informed that his life depends on it, Rabshake comments “I fear my days are but short then, if my life lasts no longer then I can keep a woman honest against her will” (6.91-92). He claims that if a woman wants to be unchaste, he will not be able to stop her. Rabshake assigns the same determination to women’s lust that Voadia gives her own when, hyperbolically, she is willing to burn the world to quench her desire.

Interestingly, for a moment, Benwash disagrees. After being assured by Agar of her honesty, Benwash brags to Gallop:

Hereafter know a Turk’s wife from a Christian’s.

You are one of those hold all women bound

Under the domination of the moon,

All wavering. Now you have seen one of the sun, sir.

Constant, you slave, and as she is, with us are millions more. (6.427-432).

While Benwash stands up for women, this belief in their constancy is short-lived.

Reminiscent of Giacomo and Posthumus’s wager, he is also making a nationalistic/religious argument since this constancy is limited to the wives of Turks. In doing so, he constructs the identities and personalities of women as not pre-determined

by Nature but rather determined by the society or culture. Women are not innately chaste or unchaste, the religious and national identity of the husband is the determinant and this identity is definitely negotiable. This statement is also something of a false negative: while it defends women against those men who group them together as unchaste, the fact that the women in the play fail to live up to these expectations proves not Benwash's defense but the definition of women which he mocks in it.

Neither Agar nor Voada maintain any loyalty to men in the play. Agar makes Benwash a cuckold despite his best efforts and Voada betrays Ward in favor of Fidelio at her first opportunity, telling him, "But I hate thee more / Than all thy wealth made me love thee before" (11.26-27). Not only does she now hate him, the only reason she ever loved him was for his money. Greed led her to pursue him; lust led her to leave him. But women, in this play, pose more of a threat to men than cuckoldry. As we have already seen, either directly or indirectly, these two women are responsible for the conversions of Benwash and Ward. Ward managed to withstand numerous arguments before Voada with her beauty and the promise of "being his" swayed Ward to turn Turk ("Where beauty pleads, there needs no sophistry" (7.165)). Agar and Voada literally pose a danger to the national and religious identity of men. After Ward has made his final decision and exited to perform the ritual, Ferdinand comments, "no hell I see's so low / Which lust and women cannot lead us to" (7.281-82). Voada is a danger to his soul, as Ward confirms later when he laments "My soul for her I lost" (13.39). Furthermore, Ferdinand removes a certain level of responsibility from Ward. He does

not only blame Ward's lust, he also blames women (presumably for helping generate that lust).

Similarly, when he is confronted by Benwash for sleeping with his wife, Gallop quickly shifts the blame to Agar. He tells the Jewish merchant, "This whore hath betrayed me: now she hath wrung what she can out of me, she hangs me up for a dried neat's tongue. She is an insatiate whore, sir, hath enticed me by the pander, your man: I was chaste before I knew her, sir." (16.64-67). Though we have no evidence to directly refute his statement, given that he is a pirate, participated in the mutiny against Ward, expressed his desire for her from their early encounters, and is now facing an angry husband, it seems more likely that he merely blaming her out of self-preservation. Despite its obvious insincerity, this sentiment fits in perfectly with the misogyny of the play overall and bears little difference to other assertions which blame women for the shortcomings of men. For instance, Francisco, witnessing Voada's betrayal of Ward, claims "This shows the greatest plague heaven keeps in store / Falls when a man is linked unto a whore" (11.34-35). His perception of women differs little from the numerous others we have seen. This misogynistic perception of women is not exclusive to one man (or even just men who are betrayed), as it is expressed by a wide variety of men: Rabshake, Gallop, Ward, Ferdinand, and Francisco.

While certainly they are the most assertive, Agar and Voada are not the only representations of women in the play. The French woman, Alizia, who cross-dresses as Fidelio, paints a radically different picture of women. When her ship encounters Ward, Lemot asks her to "hide / At least thy sex" (2.6-7). Thinking of her betrothed, Raymond,

she comments “Since I am denied his arms, let my virginity / Be offered unto him in sacrifice. / ‘Twill be some comfort his love a maiden dies” (2.11-13). As a man, she faces the possibility of death at the hands of the pirates. As a woman, she faces death, as well as rape. She chooses to hide her gender, not seemingly for her sake, but for Raymond’s. Furthermore, she remains true to Raymond even in the face of vigorous pursuit by Voada and, living up to her assumed name (i.e., fidelity), she chooses to commit suicide and die with him rather than live without him (15.57-58). She is loyal, honest, and good. As we have already seen, she even pleads with Ward in an effort to ensure his salvation. Though we should note that this positive example of women spends almost the entire play dressed as a man. This faithful cross-dressing also parallels *Cymbeline* where Innogen, in an effort to preserve her chastity, dresses as a boy and adopts the name of Fidele.²⁴ Like Alizia, she is the positive representation of a woman in opposition to a villainous woman. Both Shakespeare and Daborne subordinate this representation under men’s garments and ultimately deprive them of a significant voice in the construction of the nation. While Agar and Voada operate independently of men throughout the play, Fidele/Innogen and Fidelio/Alizia are ultimately subordinated to men. Innogen is effectively silenced as soon as she is reunited with her husband, Posthumus. Similarly, when Alizia finds Raymond, he has been mortally wounded and she chooses to commit suicide – thus permanently silencing

²⁴ Raymond and his two sons in Daborne’s play also parallels Belarius and the two princes. Both groups stand outside of the feminine influence in their respective plays – either through self-imposed exile or captivity.

her. The parallelism between these two plays could be coincidental but both plays relegate women to the margins where they are unable to influence nation.

Whether coincidentally or purposefully, Daborne's use of the name Voada alludes to a woman notorious for her participation in the affairs of the nation, Boadicea. Dramatized as Bonduca in Fletcher's play by the same name, this Iceni Queen warred, successfully, against the Romans. She is referred to by various names, most of which bear some close resemblance to Boadicea. Voada is one of the names which she goes by.²⁵ It is impossible to say whether or not Daborne or even his audiences would have been aware of the allusion. The connection is more likely given that both Fletcher's *Bonduca* and Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* appeared almost simultaneously with Fletcher's play appearing either in 1611 or 1613-14 and Daborne's play appearing between 1609-1612. (As a matter of fact, *Cymbeline* is also believed to have been written and stage in 1609-1610.) Furthermore, Voada and Bonduca are strong non-Christian women willing to participate in the affairs of the nation – be it ridding the island of the Romans or securing the alliance of a successful pirate. Both women are also villainized for their assertiveness. Like *Bonduca* and *Cymbeline*, Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* seems to perceive women not only as a threat to men, but also to the nation at large.

²⁵ Specifically, she is referred to as Voada by Boece, while Holinshed calls her by the similar name, Voadicea.

Ward's Re-conversion

Ward's dramatic life as a Muslim is also extremely short-lived. Things begin to go badly for him almost immediately after he converts, beginning with the loss of Voada. Furthermore, the time that elapses between his conversion and his death seems very short. Daborne's play seems to suggest both through his reluctance to convert and his short time as a Muslim that Ward's conversion, while real, is not substantial.

Historically, however, this was not the case. Both Burton and Matar note that Ward took a Turkish name though they do not agree on the exact name. According to Matar, it was Wardiyya (*Britain*, 6), while Burton lists it as "Issouf Reis" (131). Rather than acknowledge the depth of this conversion, Daborne portrays it as Ward's ruin.

Both Matar and Burton point out that "there is not a single play or poem about an English convert who lives happily ever after as a Muslim" (Matar, *Islam*, 52). Not surprisingly, Daborne's play ends with Ward's repudiation of the Turks and the piratical life, as well as his repentant return to Christianity. With his final words before he dies from a self-inflicted stab wound, he tells the Turks and his fellow pirates:

Lastly, O may I be the last of my country
 That trust unto your treacheries, seducing treacheries.
 All you that live by theft and piracies,
 That sell your lives and souls to purchase graves,
 That die to hell, and live far worse than slaves,
 Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just,
 And that despair attends on blood and lust. (16.315-21)

Ward's final lines make for a cathartic ending to Daborne's play. Ward denounces Turks and pirates and returns to Christianity immediately prior to his dramatic death. However, the actions surrounding his return to Christianity parallel those surrounding his conversion to Islam. Voada remains the prime mover for Ward, illustrated when he tries to convince her to save him a mere 30 lines before his change of heart.

Furthermore, it is only when faced with the punishment of the Turks that he decides to worry over the fate of his countrymen and repent. As Vitkus notes, Ward also wants "to avoid torture and humiliation at the hands of [his] captors" (*Turning Turk*, 157).

Whereas becoming a Muslim was something Ward decided out of free will, his return to Christianity seems forced. It is only when he realizes that he has no other options to re-enter Turkish society does he return. Included in these efforts are bribing the authorities with the amount of riches that he can acquire and even offers to resort to cannibalism.

He tells one of the officers, "allow me / But every week a Christian. I am content / To feed upon raw flesh. If't be but once a month / A Briton, I'll be content with him"

(15.117-20). While ostensibly a Turk when he makes the offer, it seems significant that it is a renegade who first raises the possibility of cannibalism. Ward moves from the cannibalism of Christians, and notably Britons, to repentance very quickly. Ultimately his re-conversion rings hollow. Gerald Maclean argues that "in Daborne's moral-nationalist scheme, an Englishman cannot not want to be English, and indeed cannot willingly stop being so" (226). For Maclean, Englishness is an innate and undeniable identity. However, given the unbelievable circumstances under which he "sees the light," this explanation seems too tidy. The play, whether intentionally or not,

repeatedly undermines attempts to essentialize and fix national identity. National identity is negotiable. If indeed Daborne's purpose is to define Englishness as innate and inescapable, he seems to have failed.

This failure is especially evident since Ward was alive and well as a *renegado* pirate in 1612. Ward retired in Tunis and lived for another ten years, dying probably in 1623 from the plague. Given the interest in the activity of John Ward suggested through the pamphlets and the play, Daborne's audience may well have known that Ward had neither repented nor committed suicide. Why then have Ward commit suicide when he was alive and well? Many critics see Daborne's fantasy as a form of "divine retribution" (Matar, *Islam* 58). Barbara Fuchs suggests that it is "textual retribution for the pirate's cultural duplicity" (52) and Jowitt notes that the "heinous rejection of Christianity is punished through death or dismemberment" and results in the pirates "realising the error of their conversion [and] recogni[zing] the superiority of Christianity through reconversion" (16). Though I still maintain that Ward's recognition is as believable to early modern audiences as his death, Daborne's ending, undoubtedly, is nice and clean and gives the audience a satisfying closure. It attempts to close the disruption of piracy and conversion and to contain the definition of nation by illustrating a return to English identity in the end. But, ultimately, this ending is a fantasy, a fantasy of stability in national and religious identity. Despite its attempts to define the nation in clear terms, this play demonstrates more than anything the instability and negotiation of nation as it is filtered through such elements as class, cosmopolitanism, external threats, and gender. Maclean concludes that *A Christian Turned Turk* is "a play of competing national

identities. It is a play about turning, about conversion, and perversion, and about what these mean in terms of the construction of different and competing national identities” (246). While Maclean recognizes the negotiation of nation across national boundaries, he fails to see the negotiations within national boundaries. Ward struggles to define himself not only in relation to the Ottoman Empire and Islam but also in relation to England itself.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

While the term early modern is currently enjoying critical popularity in studies of 16th and 17th England and English literature, it is still also common to see the more specific terms of Elizabethan and Jacobean (or more generally Tudor and Stuart) used to define literature written to during these monarch's (or monarchic families') respective reigns. These terms are convenient for locating literature within a specific period of time but, like "early modern" and "Renaissance," are nonetheless problematic. The use of Elizabethan and Jacobean closely link the literature to the monarch and in doing so implicitly link writers and the people of England to the monarch as well. Certainly, we have seen over the previous four chapters that monarchs are important to the dramatic and antiquarian texts we have examined. James I maintains a significant, if not explicit, influence in the Roman-Britain plays, as well as the representations of Ward. This influence includes his desires for the creation of a Great Britain which would subsume England and Scotland which both Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and Camden's *Britannia* both superficially support and subtly undermine as well as his proclamations outlawing piracy which Ward ignores in order to remedy what he sees as the harsh social and economic conditions of the lower classes in England – conditions which Ward and his pirates in the play suggest are the fault of the monarch. While the discussion of Dekker's play does not explore the influence of Elizabeth directly, we do find that the play engages questions over the monarch's role in defining nation. In all of these cases, the monarch, though perhaps catered to (at least rhetorically), does not become, in

Helgerson's words, "the fundamental source of national identity" (4) as the use of the terms Elizabethan and Jacobean suggest. It is clear that these early modern English works strive to define nation by other means, utilizing other sources and placing different filters on the construction of nation.

This search for a replacement leads Shakespeare, Fletcher, Camden and Verstegan into the past to look for the origins of what would become early modern England. However, as we have seen, this search is not disinterested and, to greater or lesser extents, each of these works shapes the past in their own image and collapses distinctions between their focus and early modern England to show that while superficially exploring the past, they are in actuality defining their present. Further, all of them attempt to separate English identity from the ancient Britons who provided the conceptual model for James I's idea of a unified Britain.

Rather than define England based on the monarch, we find these works looking to their origins to find other sources for nation including the Anglo-Saxons (and specifically their depiction of the Anglo-Saxons), masculinity, language, people, and even the confluence of hundreds of years of invasions by different nations. But, more than a fundamental source, they find multiple sources as each of these terms is implicated in one or more of the others. For instance, in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, nation became a masculine realm which recognized the influence of classical Rome and Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* finds not only the origin of England but England itself in the Anglo-Saxon and defines nation primarily linguistically.

The later two chapters examined works which though they did not turn to origin still searched for new sources of English identity. Both Dekker's play and the representations of Ward in Daborne's play and the two pamphlets attack not only definitions of nation based on the monarch, but also those based on the class structure that emanates from the court. In both of these chapters, we witnessed the rejection of old models of Englishness based on adherence to one's position in life and the creation of new models which afforded the social and economic mobility defined by the court. In both cases, nationalism expanded beyond geopolitical borders and could encompass members of different classes, religions, countries of origin, and even race. Nation, in all of the works we examined, relied on the creation of an imagined community, one which would adopt the definition depicted in the works. English nationalism could be created conceptually rather than geo-politically. But, these later two works pushed the envelope of these communities by realizing that they could broaden their inclusion to a more corporate cosmopolitan model based on membership, occupation, and even wealth. Whereas the works surveyed in the second and third chapters struggled to redefine Englishness based at least partially within the fairly traditional models of geography, origin, and language, the works discussed in the later two chapters attempt to alter the very definition of nation by casting it as something that exceeds these models. Furthermore these works demonstrate its creation not by large armies marching across Britain, British monarchs choosing to resist or not resist those marches, or antiquarian writers researching and creating knowledge unavailable to most early modern English men and women; these plays demonstrate its creation at differing levels of society –

merchants rising through the ranks of citizens; artisans banding together to protect their own, and even poor fisherman striking out with a little ambition and changing the way nation itself is viewed. Like Chapters II and III, the constructions of nation here are implicated in and inseparable from a number of other discourses, including gender, religion, and class.

It is clear that there is a conversation regarding nation taking place both within and across these works. Early modern English nationalism is often not stable within these works as multiple voices and discourses seek to assert their influence on the discussion. Notably, however, we have seen how these works speak to and react against one another both implicitly and explicitly – from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* negotiating James I's idea of union, to Camden and Verstegan arguing over whether or not national identity and language should remain pure or enhance themselves through selective influence; to Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* reacting against the model of nation advocated by Harry in Shakespeare's *Henry V*; and finally to Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* engaging many of these same issues in the context of the piratical nation and, whether consciously or not, alluding to the Roman-Britain plays by Fletcher and Shakespeare. Nationalism is not singularly defined by the monarch, church, law, economy, and so on. It is plural defined by numerous voices in numerous ways. It is not static but dynamic, growing and changing throughout each of the texts examined here. More than being defined, English nationalism is being negotiated. Its presence is indefinable yet undeniable.

WORKS CITED

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition. London: Verso Books, 1991.
- Adams, Eleanor M. *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*. Yale Studies in English. 55. New Haven: Yale UP, 1917. Rpt. n.p.: Archon Books, 1970.
- Arab, Ronda A. "Work, Bodies, and Gender in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2001): 182-212.
- Baker, David J. *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell and the Question of Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Barker, Andrew. *A True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates*. London: Printed for William Hall. 1609.
- Bartley, J. O. *Teague, Shenkin, and Sawney*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1954.
- "Bashaw." *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 19 June 2006.
<<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/cgi/entry/50018034>>.
- Bergeron, David. "Sexuality in *Cymbeline*." *Essays in Literature* 10.2 (1983): 159-68.
- Blankenship, Bethany. "Tennis Balls in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Notes and Queries* 47.4 (2000): 476-68.
- Boling, Ronald J. "Fletcher's Satire of Caratach in *Bonduca*." *Comparative Drama* 33.3 (1999): 390-406.

- Bremmer, Rolf H. "The Anglo-Saxon Pantheon According to Richard Verstegan (1605)." *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ed. Timothy Graham. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000. 141-172.
- Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Camden, William. *Britannia*. Ed. Robert Mayhew. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003.
- . *Remains Concerning Britain*. Ed. R. D. Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Cañadas, Ivan. "Class, Gender and Community in Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and Lope de Vega's *Fuente Ovejuna*." *Parergon* 19.2 (2002): 119-150.
- Carey-Webb, Allen. *Making Subject(s): Literature and the Emergence of National Identity*. Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies. 4. New York: Garland, 1998.
- "cease, v." *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 19 June 2006.
- <<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/cgi/entry/50035180>>.
- Chandler, W. K. "The Sources of the Characters in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Modern Philology* 27.2 (1929): 175-82.
- Chapman, Alison A. "Whose Saint Crispin Day Is It?: Shoemaking, Holiday Making, and the Politics of Memory in Early Modern England." *Renaissance Quarterly* 54.4 (Winter 2001): 1467-1494.

- Clark, Glenn. "The 'Strange' Geographies of *Cymbeline*." *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*. Ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1998. 230-59.
- Crawford, Julie. "Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca* and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I." *Studies in English Literature* 39.2 (1999): 357-81.
- Collinson, Patrick. "One of Us? William Camden and the Making of History." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 139-63.
- Curran, John. "Royalty Unlearned, Honor Untaught: British Savages and Historiographical Change in *Cymbeline*." *Comparative Drama* 31.2 (1997): 277-303.
- Daborne, Robert. *A Christian Turned Turk. Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. Edited by Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 148-231.
- Dekker, Thomas. "The Shoemaker's Holiday." *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*. Edited by Arthur Kinney. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 249-86.
- Davidson, Jane P. "Factual Reporting: Illustrations from Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquity* (1605) Compared to Illustrations from Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismuc Triumphatus* (1681)." *Essays in Honor of Professor Erik Larsen at the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*. Torino: Canale Arte, 2002. 39-54.

- Donne, John. *The Complete English Poems*. Edited by A. J. Smith. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Dunn, R. D. "Textual Introduction." *Remains Concerning Britain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. xxviii-xxlvii.
- "The Famous Sea-Fight Between Captain Ward and the Rainbow." *Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. Edited by Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 351-352.
- Fletcher, John. *Bonduca*. Ed. W. W. Greg. n.p.: The Malone Society Reprints, 1951.
- . *Bonduca*. Ed. Cyrus Hoy. *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979.
- Floyd-Wilson, Mary. "Delving to the Root: *Cymbeline*, Scotland, and the English Race." *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*. Ed. David J. Baker and Willy Maley. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 101-15.
- . *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English and Teaching the Tradition*. New Brunswick: Routledge, 1990.
- Fuchs, Barbara. "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation." *English Literary History* 67 (2000): 45-69.
- Fussner, F. Smith. *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640*. New York: Columbia UP, 1962.

- “galley, *n.*” *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 19 June 2006.
 <<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/cgi/entry/50091904>>.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Trans. Lewis Thorpe. London: The Folio Society, 1966.
- Glass, Sandra A. "The Saxonists' Influence on Seventeenth-Century English Literature." *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship : The First Three Centuries*. Ed. Carl T. Berkhout and Milton McC. Gatch. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1982.
- Gibbons, Brian. *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of the Satiric Plays of Jonson, Marston, and Middleton*. Second edition. London: Methuen, 1980.
- Goepf, Philip H. II. "Verstegan's 'Most Ancient Saxon Words.'" *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*. Ed. Thomas A. Kirby and Henry Bosley Woolf. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949.
- Greg, W. W. "Introduction." *Bonduca*. Ed. W. W. Greg. n.p.: The Malone Society Reprints, 1951.
- Green, Paul D. "Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca*." *Studies in English Literature* 22 (1982): 305-16.
- Greenfield, Stanley B. and Fred C. Robinson. *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the end of 1972*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1980.
- Hamilton, Donna B. "Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Foxe, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin." *Prose Studies* 22.2 (1999): 1-38.

- Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hepple, Leslie W. "William Camden and Early Collections of Roman Antiquities in Britain." *Journal of the History of Collections* 15.2 (2003): 159-74.
- Herendeen, Wyman H. "Wanton Discourse and the Engines of Time: William Camden – Historian Among Poets-Historical." *Renaissance Rereadings: Intertext and Context*. Ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, et. al. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988.
- Hickman, Andrew. "Bonduca's Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*." *MRDE* 4 (1989): 143-71.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles: England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Vol. 1. New York: AMS Press, 1965.
- Huppert, George. "The Renaissance Background of Historicism." *History and Theory* 5 (1966): 46-60.
- James I. "A Royal Proclamation by the King. A Proclamation against Pirates." *Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. Edited by Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 353-356.
- . "A Speach, As It was Delivered in the Vpper Hovse of the Parliament to the Lords Spiritvall and Temporall, and the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses There Assembled, On Mvnday the XIX. Day of March 1603. Being the First Day of the First Parliament." *Political Works of James I*. Ed. Charles Howard McIlwain. Harvard Political Classics 1. Cambridge: Harvard UP; London: Humphrey Milford, 1918.

- . "A Speach to Both the Houses of Parliament, Delivered in the Great Chamber at White Hall, The Last Day of March 1607." *Political Works of James I.* Ed. Charles Howard McIlwain. Harvard Political Classics 1. Cambridge: Harvard UP; London: Humphrey Milford, 1918.
- Jowitt, Claire. "'Parrots and Pieces of Eight': Recent Trends in Pirate Studies." *Literature Compass* 1 (2003): 1-23.
- Kang, Du-Hyoung. "Renaissance Drama and the Problem of Power." *English Language and Literature* 45.4 (1999): 1033-1057.
- Kastan, David Scott. "Workshop and/as Playhouse: Comedy and Commerce in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Studies in Philology* 84.3 (1987): 324-337
- Kidd, Colin. *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Kinney, Arthur. Introduction. "The Shoemaker's Holiday." *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments.* Edited by Arthur Kinney. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 245-49.
- Lange, Alexis F. "Critical Essay." *The Shoemaker's Holiday. Representative English Comedies.* Ed. Charles Gayley. Volume 3. New York: Macmillan, 1914. 3-17.
- Larkin, James F. and Paul L. Hughes, eds. *Stuart Royal Proclamations.* Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.
- Levine, Joseph M. *Humanism and History. Origins of modern English historiography.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987.
- Levy, F. J. *Tudor Historical Thought.* San Marino, CA.: The Huntington Library, 1967.

- Lewis, Cynthia. "'With Simular Proof Enough': Modes of Misperception in *Cymbeline*." *Studies in English Literature* 31 (1991): 343-64.
- Maclean, Gerald. "On Turning Turk, or Trying To: National Identity in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turke*." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 29.2 (Winter 2003): 225-252.
- Maley, Willy. "Postcolonial Shakespeare: British Identity Formation and *Cymbeline*." *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*. Ed. Jennifer Richards and James Knowles. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1999. 145-57.
- Manheim, L. M. "The King in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Notes and Queries* ccii (1957): 432-33.
- Marcus, Leah S. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. Berkeley: U of California Press, 1988.
- Marlowe, Christopher. *The Jew of Malta*. *Drama of the English Renaissance I: The Tudor Period*. Ed. Russell A. Fraser and Norman Rabkin. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976. 264-94.
- Matar, Nabil. *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005.
- . *Islam and Britain, 1558-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Mayhew, Robert. Introduction. *Britannia*. By William Camden. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003. v-xxiii.
- Maynard, Stephen. "Feasting on Eyre: Community, Consumption, and Communion in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Comparative Drama* 32.3 (1998): 327-346.

- Mikalachki, Jodi. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- McCluskey, Peter M. "'Shall I Betray My Brother?': Anti-Alien Satire and Its Subversion in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Tennessee Philological Bulletin* 37 (2000): 43-54.
- Morgan-Russell, Simon. "'How far is it, my Lord, to Berkeley now?': English Chronicle History and the Rise of the London City Comedy." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 27.2 (2001): 245-62.
- Newes from Sea, Of two Notorious Pyrats Ward the Englishman and Dansekar the Dutchman*. London: N. Butter, 1609.
- Novarr, David. "Dekker's Gentle Craft and the Lord Mayor of London." *Modern Philology* 57.4 (1960): 233-239.
- Oz, Avraham. "Extending Within: Placing Self and Nation in the Epic of *Cymbeline*." *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 4 (1998): 81-97.
- Parry, Graham. *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.
- Parten, Anne. "Masculine Adultery and Feminine Rejoinders in Shakespeare, Dekker, and Sharpham." *Mosaic* 17.1 (1984): 9-18.
- Patrides, C. A. "'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace." *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126-135.

“policy, *n.*” *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 19 June 2006.

<<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/cgi/entry/50182816>>.

Potter, Lois. “Pirates and ‘turning Turk’ in Renaissance Drama.” *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 124-140.

Robinson, Benedict Scott. “‘Darke speech’: Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History.” *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29.4 (1998): 1061-1083.

Rockett, William. “The Structural Plan of Camden’s *Britannia*.” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.4 (1995): 829-841.

Ross, Leslie. “Tower of Babel.” *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Said, Edward. *Beginnings: Intention and Method*. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1975.

Sanford, Rhonda Lemke. “A Room Not One’s Own: Feminine Geography in *Cymbeline*.” *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*. Ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP; London: Associated UP, 1998. 63-85.

Schmuck, Stephan. “From Sermon to Play: Literary Representations of ‘Turks’ in Renaissance England 1550-1625.” *Literature Compass* 2 (2006): 1-29.

“The Seaman’s Song of Captain Ward, the Famous Pirate of the World, and an Englishman Born.” *Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. Edited by Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 345-348.

- Shakespeare, William. *Antony and Cleopatra*. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. New York: Norton, 1997. 2628-2708.
- . *Cymbeline*. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. New York: Norton, 1997. 2965-3046.
- . *Henry V*. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. New York: Norton, 1997. 1454-1523.
- . *Richard II*. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. New York: Norton, 1997. 952-1014.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. *An Apologie for Poetrie*. London. 1595. Rpt. The English Experience. 413. Amsterdam: De Capo Press, 1971.2
- Smith, Amy L. "Performing Cross-Class Clandestine Marriage in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Studies in English Literature* 45.2 (2005): 333-355.
- Sohmer, Steve. "12 June 1599: Opening Day at Shakespeare's Globe." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 3.1 (May 1997): 1.1-46.
- Straznicky, Marta. "The End(s) of Discord in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 36.2 (1996): 357-372.
- Sullivan, Garrett A. "Civilizing Wales: *Cymbeline*, Roads and the Landscapes of Early Modern Britain." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2 (1998): 34 pars. 23 September 2002 <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/sullshak.htm>>.
- Verstegan, Richard. *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In antiquities Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation*. Antwerp: Robert Bruney, 1605.

- Vitkus, Daniel. "Notes." *A Christian Turned Turk. Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. Edited by Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 232-239.
- . *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003.
- Whitney, Charles. "The Devil His Due: Mayor John Spencer, Elizabethan Civic Antitheatricalism, and *The Shoemaker's Holiday*." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*. 14 (2001): 168-185.
- Wood, Anthony A. "Richard Verstegan." *Athenae Oxonienses*. London. 1815. Rpt. *The Sources of Science*. 55. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1967.
- Wood, D. N. C. "Elizabethan English and Richard Carew." *Neophilologus* 61 (1977): 304-315.
- Woodbridge, Linda. "Palisading the Elizabethan Body Politic." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 33.3 (1991): 327-54.
- Worden, Thomas. "Idols in the Early Modern Material World (1599): Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*, Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, and Shakespeare's *Henry V*." *Exemplaria* 11.2 (1999): 431-471.

VITA

Name: Christopher L. Morrow

Address: Cushing Memorial Library & Archives
Texas A&M University
5000 TAMU
College Station, Texas 77843-5000

Email Address: c-morrow@tamu.edu

Education: B.A., English, University of Wyoming, 1996
M.A., English, Texas A&M University, 1998
Ph.D., English, Texas A&M University, 2006