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A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances by Thomas Heywood

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Abstract

The primary goal of my doctoral thesis is to present a fresh, cultural studies approach to exotic citizen romance, a popular category of late Elizabethan romance drama, viewing such adventure plays as literary works of colonial discourse within the mode of fantasy. Based principally on an approach to early modern romance as fantasy suggested by the research of several noted theorists, the methodology which I employ in the analysis also incorporates the cultural materialist notion of Renaissance romance as colonial discourse.

The three focal points of the study are historical content, fantasy theory, and cultural context. Chapter 2 furnishes the study's historical foreground, focusing attention on the colonial situation as it existed during the last decade of Elizabeth I's reign.

Chapter 3 addresses the second key point of the study, fantasy theory. The first section of this chapter locates exotic citizen romance within the critical framework of modern fantasy theory, while the second proceeds to utilize such theory to demonstrate how the traditional plot structure and literary conventions of earlier chivalric romance played an important role in shaping the form and features of citizen quest fantasy. Chapter 4 focuses on the third key aspect of the study, cultural context, by providing a brief account of three of the period's most

important social ideologies: neo-chivalry, nationalism, and orientalism, and citing briefly the significance of each for late Elizabethan society.

Having established the main contextual and theoretical guidelines of the study, I proceed in chapters 5 and 6 to demonstrate just how this approach works through a cultural analysis of two of the more popular pieces from the heyday of citizen adventure drama. Chapter 5 presents a rereading of The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem (c. 1595), while chapter 6 focuses on The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1 (c. 1600). Each reading is grounded in the particular colonial crisis that existed at the moment of the play's initial production, and features an identification of colonial other and heroic self within that context, as well as a textual analysis of those social ideologies exposed by such a naming -- viewing such orientations as telling indicators of English society's colonial designs during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign.

The result of these investigations is twofold: first, each of the plays studied is revealed as a discourse reflective of the spirit of colonialism which so thoroughly dominated late 16th-century English society, and second, the approach initiated in the thesis has demonstrated its effectiveness by providing a more in-depth exploration of exotic citizen romance than had previously been possible.

Résumé

Dans les dix dernières années du XVI[e] siècle une nouvelle forme de romance théâtrale, la *exotic citizen romance* (romance exotique faisant intervenir des héros citoyens) est apparue sur la scène londonienne. Ces nouveaux drames d'aventures, dont les héros citoyens (le plus souvent des apprentis de Londres) sont engagés dans une quête héroïque à l'extérieur de l'Angleterre, jouissaient d'une grande vogue auprès du public de la métropole anglaise. Mais en dépit de la faveur populaire obtenue par ces œuvres, les critiques modernes ne s'y sont guère attardés et ont eu tendance à les considérer comme un genre littéraire insignifiant.

En vue de donner une idée plus juste de cette catégorie populaire de théâtre élisabéthain, ma thèse de doctorat, intitulée *A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances by Thomas Heywood* (*Approche basée sur les études culturelles de deux romances exotiques aux héros citoyens de Thomas Heywood*), propose une nouvelle façon d'aborder ces drames d'aventures en les envisageant comme des œuvres littéraires de discours colonial s'insérant dans le mode de la fantaisie. En effet, la méthodologie de l'étude se base essentiellement sur une approche théorique qui, s'inspirant des travaux de trois spécialistes de renom, situe la romance du début de l'époque moderne dans ce mode. De plus, la thèse

intègre la notion — issue du matéralisme culturel — de la romance de la Renaissance comme discours colonial. Pour aider le lecteur à mieux comprendre la portée exacte de la thèse, on propose ci-dessous un résumé des principaux aspects de l'étude, chapitre par chapitre.

La description du contexte historique constitue l'un des aspects les plus importants de la thèse. Afin d'atteindre une juste compréhension de ces drames d'aventures qui présentent, dans un milieu exotique, des citoyens anglais ordinaires opposés à des personnages coloniaux ou européens, nous devons les envisager dans le contexte du discours colonial élisabéthain. Le chapitre 2 précise ce contexte en explicitant la situation coloniale telle qu'elle se présentait vers la fin de la période élisabéthaine. La première partie du chapitre offre un bref aperçu de la politique coloniale d'Élisabeth et ses effets sur la société anglaise dans les années 1590. De façon plus particulière, on cherche à comprendre les effets de la quête impériale d'Élisabeth sur les secteurs les plus vulnérables de la société, et on examine également la façon dont ses desseins hégémoniques ont provoqué la rébellion dans la seule colonie anglaise de l'époque, c'est-à-dire l'Irlande. La seconde section du chapitre offre un aperçu de la pensée expansionniste élisabéthaine par le biais de l'analyse idéologique de deux discours coloniaux bien connus de cette époque : *The Decades of the Newe Worlde* (célèbre traduction

effectuée par Richard Eden d'un livre de Peter Martyr) et *A View of the Present State of Ireland* par Edmund Spenser.

La théorie de la fantaisie représente un deuxième élément important de la thèse. Pour mieux comprendre les drames d'aventures populaires aux héros citoyens et l'influence exercée sur elles par les formes et conventions traditionnelles, il est nécessaire de les situer dans le cadre ou mode critique de la théorie moderne de la fantaisie. La première section du chapitre 3 examine les travaux récents de trois théoriciens distingués, Tzvetan Todorov, Frederic Jameson et Rosemary Jackson. Cette section met en relief les aspects de leur recherche les plus pertinents pour l'enquête actuelle. Ayant situé la *exotic citizen romance* dans le mode de la fantaisie, on entreprend, dans la deuxième section du chapitre, d'utiliser cette théorie et de montrer que les fantaisies de quête citoyenne de la fin du XVI ^{e} siècle ont été formées, dans une large mesure, par la structure de l'intrigue traditionnelle et les conventions littéraires des romances chevaleresques de la première époque élisabéthaine.

Cependant, les formes et les caractéristiques de la romance chevaleresque ne sont pas les seuls facteurs ayant influencé les fantaisies de quête citoyenne. Celles-ci ont également été formées par l'inscription des orientations sociales plus immédiates de leur période. Pour mieux faire connaître au lecteur ce contexte culturel (qui représente le

troisième élément central de l'étude), le chapitre 4 aborde brièvement trois des idéologies les plus importantes de l'époque – la néo-chevalerie, le nationalisme et l'orientalisme – en offrant un compte rendu de chacune et en expliquant sa signification pour la société anglaise à la fin de la période élisabéthaine.

Les principales orientations contextuelles et théoriques de l'étude étant ainsi établies, les chapitres 5 et 6 proposent une analyse culturelle de deux romances exotiques. Le chapitre 5 offre une relecture de la première pièce de Thomas Heywood, *The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, rédigée aux alentours de 1595, tandis que le chapitre 6 examine une œuvre de maturité de Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1*, une fantaisie de quête citoyenne écrite quelque cinq ans plus tard (vers 1600). Chaque lecture comporte une mise en contexte historique (explication de la crise coloniale telle qu'elle se présentait au moment où la pièce fut créée), l'identification de l'autre colonial et du soi héroïque dans ce contexte, et l'analyse textuelle soutenue d'un certain nombre d'orientations culturelles révélées par cette identification; l'analyse textuelle fait ressortir la signification de ces idéologies comme indices révélateurs des projets coloniaux de la société anglaise dans les dix dernières années du règne d'Élisabeth.

Comme le montrent les lectures proposées, chaque

fantaisie de quête met en lumière un aspect différent de l'esprit colonial qui domina de façon si efficace la société anglaise à la fin du XVI[e] siècle. Prenant pour point de départ la crise coloniale (guerre de Neuf Ans) qui secouait l'Irlande (unique colonie de l'Angleterre dans les années 1590), l'étude de la première pièce, *The Four Prentices*, révèle un discours traduisant la mentalité de conquête territoriale de l'époque. L'autre colonial et le soi héroïque sont des figures représentatives pour certains groupes sociaux particuliers participant au conflit irlandais : l'autre colonial correspond aux chefs rebelles de l'Ulster qui cherchaient à empêcher l'invasion et l'occupation anglaises de leurs terres ancestrales, tandis que le soi héroïque représente les gentilshommes-aventuriers affluant dans la nouvelle colonie en formation pour y obtenir des terres et un rang. D'autre part, les orientations culturelles libérées par cette identification — nationalisme, aventurisme capitaliste, impérialisme chrétien, maîtrise/absence de maîtres — constituent un témoignage supplémentaire des visées expansionnistes de la société anglaise au moment où la pièce fut créée.

L'étude d'une pièce ultérieure de Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1*, prend pour point de départ la crise commerciale et l'alliance marocaine des années subséquentes de la guerre et révèle un discours qui traduit un aspect différent de l'entreprise coloniale, soit

l'expansion commerciale. En effet, l'économie à base mercantile de l'Angleterre eut besoin d'établir des liens avantageux, sur le plan diplomatique et commercial, avec les nations islamiques. L'autre colonial et le soi héroïque sont envisagés comme des figures à la fois composées et représentatives pour les membres de groupes sociaux particuliers intervenant dans la situation de crise : l'autre colonial combine les images des deux souverains marocains les plus connus du public anglais, tandis que le soi héroïque représente l'élite des riches négociants qui entretenaient des relations commerciales avec les États barbaresques et s'en servaient comme point de départ de leurs voyages de représailles. D'autre part, le nationalisme, l'orientalisme, la piraterie et la néo-chevalerie — idéologies sociales libérées par cette identification — viennent compléter le tableau des projets de commerce colonial et de piraterie qui façonnaient la société anglaise vers 1600, au moment où *The Fair Maid* fut jouée pour la première fois.

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With love and gratitude this thesis is dedicated to my parents.

Chapter I

Introduction

During the golden years of Elizabethan drama an innovative hybrid of chivalric romance, exotic citizen romance, flowered upon the London stage. Featuring citizen heroes, usually London tradesmen or apprentices on some heroic quest outside of England, the new adventure dramas were, for a brief period (i.e. 1590-1608), the toast of the town and enjoyed great popularity with theatregoers of all estates. In spite of their popular appeal, however, modern literary scholars have, for the most part, devoted little critical attention to such adventure plays, tending to regard them as " a fundamentally unserious form of art."[1]

With the aim of presenting a more balanced picture of this popular form of Elizabethan romantic drama, this study proposes a new, cultural studies approach to exotic citizen romance viewing such adventure plays as literary works of colonial discourse within the mode of fantasy. Although based for the most part on a theoretical approach to early modern romance as fantasy suggested by the writings of Tzvetan Todorov, Frederic Jameson, and Rosemary Jackson, the proposed approach also incorporates the cultural materialist concept of Renaissance romance as colonial discourse used by Paul Brown and Peter Hulme in their respective readings of

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[1]Robert K. Turner, introduction, The Fair Maid of the West:Part 1 and 11, by Thomas Heywood (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967) xv.

The Tempest.[2] In order to enable the reader to have a better understanding of just what is entailed, the remainder of this introduction will present an overview of the main aspects of this study dealt with in the succeeding chapters.

One of the most important aspects of the study is the delineation of a historical context. In order to have a proper understanding of this group of adventure dramas, which portray ordinary English citizens opposed to colonial or European others in some exotic setting, we must view them as literary works within the historical context of Elizabethan colonial discourse. Chapter 2 provides such a context, focusing attention on the colonial situation as it existed during the late Elizabethan period. In the first section it presents a short account of Elizabeth I's colonial policy and the effect it had on English society during the 1590's. In particular, this section looks at how Elizabeth's quest for empire affected the most vulnerable segments of society: the working class and the unemployed or masterless men; as well, it examines the role such hegemonic designs played in fomenting rebellion in England's only colony at the time: Ireland. The second section of the chapter provides an ideological analysis of two

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[2]Paul Brown, " 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the discourse of colonialism," Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism, ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985) 48-71; Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797 (New York: Methuen, 1986) 89-134.

representative colonial discourses of the period: Peter Martyr's The Decades of the Newe Worlde and Edmund Spenser's A View of the Present State of Ireland; a procedure which not only reveals the spirit of expansionism and colonial acquisition which permeated late sixteenth-century England but also exposes a number of the cultural attitudes and social orientations of such discourse later seen reflected in the exotic citizen romances under discussion.

A second but no less important aspect of the study is that of fantasy. To have a fuller understanding of this group of popular citizen adventure dramas shaped by traditional romantic forms and features, we must view them as literary works within the mode of fantasy. Chapter three addresses this crucial issue and, through a review of current fantasy research, locates the plays within the critical framework or mode of modern fantasy theory. Section 1 of the chapter reviews the recent findings of three distinguished theorists, Tzvetan Todorov, Frederic Jameson, and Rosemary Jackson. The section concentrates in particular on those aspects of their research germane to the present concern with early modern/Renaissance romance. Having provided a theoretical basis for viewing exotic citizen romances as literary works of fantasy, section 2 of the chapter goes on to demonstrate how the traditional plot structure and literary conventions of chivalric romance played a role in shaping such drama. Utilizing the model

for the syntactic analysis of romance narratives advocated by Frederic Jameson, the section illustrates, by a comparison of the structural data obtained from two representative plays, how exotic citizen fantasies written in the 1590's replicated the plot structure used in the chivalric romances of an earlier decade. It further reveals, by a detailed examination of the two selected plays, how many of the popular conventions of chivalric romance were incorporated by dramatists into the citizen quest fantasies of Elizabeth's last decade.

But exotic citizen romances, as literary works within the mode of fantasy, were shaped not only by the form and features of chivalric romance but also by their inscription of the more immediate social orientations of the day. To better acquaint the reader with this third focal point, cultural context, chapter 4 touches briefly on three of the most important of these contemporary ideologies: neo-chivalry, nationalism, and orientalism, giving a brief account of each and citing its significance for English society during the late Elizabethan period.

With the study's main contextual and theoretical guidelines established, chapters 5 and 6 proceed with a cultural analysis of two exotic citizen romances: both of which enjoyed great popularity in their day. Chapter 5 presents a rereading of Thomas Heywood's novice effort, The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem,

written circa 1595; while chapter 6 examines Heywood's more mature citizen quest fantasy, The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1, written about five years later (c.1600). Each reading features a historical regrounding in the specific colonial crisis which existed at the moment of the play's initial production; an identification of colonial other and heroic self within that context; and a textual analysis of a number of the cultural orientations revealed by such an identification -- focusing on such ideologies as telling indicators of the Elizabethan attitude towards colonialism.

It is important to note, at this point, that within the realm of colonial discourse a central split exists -- one which, as Peter Hulme explains in Colonial Encounters,"separates the discursive practices which relate to occupied territory where the native population has been, or is to be, dispossessed of its land by whatever means, from those pertaining to territory where the colonial form is based primarily on the control of trade...". [3] As such, both of the plays under discussion can be considered bona fides examples of colonial discourse; yet each, as the readings demonstrate, is reflective of a different aspect of Hulme's discursive divide. The Four Prentices of London can, as will be demonstrated in the rereading, be placed in Hulme's initial category among those discourses relating to territorial conquest/expansion, while the second play, The

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[3]Hulme 3.

Fair Maid of the West, can be grouped with those discourses relating to the control of trade.

Chapter II

The Historical Context of Elizabethan Colonial Discourse

A. Elizabeth I's Colonial Policy: Economic Hope

The colonial policy which led Elizabeth and her young Atlantic nation on the road to empire did not spring full-blown from the mind of Elizabeth, William Cecil, or any member of the Privy Council; rather, it was crescive in nature, developing as a part of the overall English foreign policy. As such it was subject to many forces and, like other policies of the Privy Council, it was used to promote mercantile growth, maintain order, and increase the balance of wealth[4].

The initial phase of Elizabeth's colonial policy was one that was never officially recognized by her government: Atlantic piracy. Well aware of the bountiful harvest of Indies' bullion deposited annually at the Casa de la Contratacion in Seville, Elizabeth and her mercantilist supporters were both envious and annoyed that they had missed out on colonial expansion in the West. But in the 1560's the youthful queen, chosen to bring stability to the realm, was not about to risk her newly obtained crown through all-out war with Spain, the most militaristic nation in sixteenth century Europe. Instead she and her subjects opted for a different road to wealth, that of investment.

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[4]L.G. Salingar, "The Social Setting," A Guide to English Literature: The Age of Shakespeare, ed. Boris Ford (London: Penguin, 1955) 38.

Possibly having in mind the sixteenth century proverb: "The King cannot have treasure when his subjects have none,"[5] Elizabeth encouraged English adventurers who hungered to become involved in New World trading opportunities. She herself became one of the original investors in John Hawkins' slave trade venture of 1562 which saw the Devon merchant selling slaves from West Africa in Caribbean ports for a tidy profit. When a Spanish fleet put a stop to the lucrative business in 1568, Elizabeth again became an investor when the enraged entrepreneur, with his young cousin, Francis Drake, formed a joint stock company and rigged out several vessels for a non-governmental attack on Spanish New World shipping and ports.[6] Such ventures were never officially recognized by Elizabeth, thus averting outright war with Spain, but they were profitable. Other adventurers like Frobisher and Cavendish, backed by new joint stock syndicates, began roving the Spanish Main seeking Spanish booty and bullion. Soon England was awash with Spanish gold. J.M. Keynes in A Treatise on Money advises that the Elizabethan boom period began in 1573 with the return of Francis Drake's first important expedition. Although the exact amount of bullion pirated is not known,

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[5]O. Jocelyn Dunlop, English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History (London: I. Fisher Unwin, 1912) 62.

[6]I.O. Lloyd, **The Short Oxford History of the Modern World: The British Empire 1558-1983** (New York: Oxford UP 1984) 9.

it was substantial and should be considered the "fountain and origin of British Foreign Investment."[7] What is important in this second phase is not the amount of gold appropriated, but rather its indirect effect through reinvestment in foreign trading ventures. Elizabeth led the way reinvesting £42,000 from her share of Drake's 1580 expedition to help form the Levant Company.[8] Other wealthy stockholders reinvested profits in ventures offered by, among others, the Eastland and Muscovy Companies, in many cases increasing their initial investment five or six times.[9] Although inflationary in nature, this boom period (1573-1585) initiated an economic recovery for domestic producers and showed Elizabeth and her Privy Councillors the necessity of foreign trade for continued prosperity.[10] But the call to empire was compelling.

Having accumulated wealth and power previously undreamed of, Elizabethan England, backed by wealthy mercantile interests and a revitalized Royal Navy, was ready in 1585 to embark upon the final aspect of its colonial

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[7]Prof. Keynes speculates that the gold pirated may have been worth up to 1.5 million sterling at that time. John Maynard Keynes, A Treatise on Money, vol. 2 (1930; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1976) 156-57.

[8]Keynes 157.

[9].D.B. Quinn and A.N. Ryan, England's Sea Empire, 1550-1642 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983) 44.

[10]Salingar 17.

policy -- expansion westward.[11]

By 1587 the battle with Spain was joined in earnest. Recognizing neither Alexander VI's Papal Bull of 1493 nor the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Elizabeth and her adherents moved decisively toward their goal, colonies in the New World. Believing Catholic Spain to be in decay following the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the English government yet realized that years of war lay ahead before victory was possible. With westward expansion as a goal, Elizabeth's colonial policy in its final phase was one which actively sought confrontation with Spain and her allies no matter how bloody the engagement.[12] Although fraught with war and to some extent economic hardship, Elizabeth I's final decade proved decisive in the quest for empire.

1. Elizabeth's Last Decade: Economic Hardship on the Homefront

The years of war with Spain were trying ones especially for the lower middle, working, and masterless classes; but Elizabeth pursued a policy with a view to future expansion. In the initial stages of the war it was business as usual for the English upper and middle classes most of whom

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[11]Although the Anglo-Spanish war officially began in 1587, Drake, assisted by Martin Frobisher, had begun a naval offensive on Iberian shipping in 1585 with royal assent. See Chapter 2 "New Worlds and The Old" for an excellent summary of English war activities. Quinn and Ryan 88-91.

[12]Kirkpatrick Sale, The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990) 256.

believed, following the Armada victory, that the conflict would be of short duration. Encouraging the popular opinion that Spanish military power was in decline while England's was in the ascendancy, Elizabeth and her mercantile supporters sought confrontation with Catholic Spain and her allies with the aim of supplanting her in the Americas.[13] A revitalized Royal Navy together with capital adventurers sponsored by the joint stock syndicates ravaged Spanish and Portuguese shipping in Atlantic, Caribbean, even Pacific waters -- bringing home bullion, prize ships, sugar, and other exotic goodies. At the same time English foreign trading companies did quite nicely, considering an embargo had been placed on all English commerce in Iberian Atlantic ports since 1585.[14]

But by 1594 a sense of pessimism began to sweep the land. Not only was the embargo beginning to take its toll on English trade but Catholic Spain, found guilty of greed, cowardice, and incompetence by the English press of the day,[15] seemed to be holding its own and showed no signs of

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[13]While English leadership fully understood the military might of Spain, they encouraged the popular press which focused on national heroes and anti-hispanicism. William S. Maltby, The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660 (Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 1971) 61, 76-77.

[14]Chapter 5 "Plunder and Exploration in Time of War" gives an excellent summation of how English commerce fared during the early part of the Anglo-Spanish War. Quinn and Ryan 133-53.

[15]Maltby 77.

early capitulation. This disheartening revelation was compounded by problems on the domestic scene which saw poor crops, unemployment in the clothing trade, riots over bread and employment, increased crime in London, and several outbreaks of plague. As the Venetian ambassador to Spain remarked of the period, "Everyone is agreed that at this juncture England is shaken by religious feuds, by plagues, and other internal troubles."[16]

Hardest hit by the war and the domestic ills of the time were the small masters and merchants, apprentices and labourers, known collectively as the fourth estate, and the unemployed or masterless men.[17] Both groups suffered severely from the famine and plague which gripped Western Europe during this period. In the case of food shortages, wet cold summers from 1591 to 1597 caused a reduction in the tonnage of wheat harvested. Wartime conditions helped exacerbate the situation by preventing the free distribution of emergency grain shipments.[18] Plague likewise struck sporadically throughout the nineties with a major epidemic

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[16]As quoted in David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1968) 230.

[17]The fourth estate or labouring class was an important social division in Elizabethan society. Masterless men were not considered part of this or any estate. Brian Gibbon, "Romance and the Heroic Play," The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama, eds. A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 224-25.

[18]Richard S. Dunn, The Age of Religious Wars: 1559-1715, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1979) 104-5.

in 1603 when close to 40,000 souls perished.[19] In both cases working class and vagrant populations bore the brunt of the suffering.

But natural disasters notwithstanding, it was the social problems of the day and the political response to those issues which created the greatest amount of tribulation for the lower and masterless classes. For the fourth estate, the low wages paid in a period of high inflation were the main problem. Poor food, substandard housing and the evils of usury all stemmed from this central issue. This untenable situation had resulted from social legislation passed early in Elizabeth's reign. Although the Statute of Artificers (1563) did codify existing regional laws dealing with apprentices, thus effecting a national policy, it was a flawed document, since its aim was not to ameliorate the wages of the lower class but to combat idleness and provide cheap labour for mercantile interests.[20] By suppressing strikes, keeping wages low, and exploiting apprentices/indentured labourers,[21] the Statute succeeded beyond all measure, ensuring that wage earners

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[19]Knights believes the number of plague victims represented one-quarter of London's population. L.C.Knights, Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962) 128-29.

[20]Dunlop 61-68.

[21]Will and Ariel Durant, The Story of Civilization VI: The Age of Reason Begins (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961) 47-48.

would remain poor -- working to survive. Later legislation such as the Statute Regulating London Wages (1588, 1589, 1590) and the Statute Regulating London Victual Prices (1588) did little to alleviate the problem.[22]

In order to demonstrate the wage-price disparity faced by the small masters and labourers more clearly, I have adapted in Appendix 1 a table first utilized by Earl J. Hamilton in his essay "American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism (1500-1700)".[23] In addition to columns for time periods, prices, and wages, I have included a fourth column showing by what percentage prices have risen above wages for a given period. A survey of the table reveals that as prices increased steadily, going from 132 (1551-1560) to 243 (1593-1602), wages increased much more modestly moving only from 88 to 124. The table further reveals that during the later war years 1593-1602, which saw food shortages and problems with Ireland, wages remained at the 124 level while prices rose from 198 (1583-1592) to 243 (1593-1602). Although prices between both periods mentioned showed an increase of only 25%, for the worker with capped wages, the disparity between commodity prices and earned income rose

[22]Carol Chillington Rutter, ed., Documents of the Rose Playhouse (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984) 230-33.

[23]Based on the work of the economist Thorold Rogers the table utilizes figures which represent the prices of 79 commodities and the wages of 9 different types of labourer in its index columns. Earl J. Hamilton, "American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism (1500-1700)," Economica 9 (1929): 352.

from 58.4% to 95.9%. Whatever the reason for the price hikes in Elizabeth's last decade, whether food shortages or wartime profiteering as the Irish offensive was readied,[24] necessities priced at double the average worker's salary became in effect unaffordable luxuries.

Sharing the plight of the fourth estate, yet treated much more severely by the establishment, were the unhoused and unemployed called at various times rogues, vagabonds, and masterless men. Identified in the Act for Punishment of Sturdy Vagabonds and Beggars (1531) as "any man or woman whole and mighty in body and able to labour, having no land, master, nor using any lawful merchandise, craft, or mystery whereby he [sic] might get his living"[25], this group of poor vagrants were at odds with the established order because of their position in society. Having been evicted from their rural homes by acquisitive landlords using a variety of legal ploys,[26] the majority of vagrants, wearing only the clothes on their backs, flocked to large urban centers like

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[24]Rutter 232-33.

[25]A.L. Beier, The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England (London: Methuen, 1983) 30.

[26]Among the many devices used by large land holders for gaining control of peasants' land were enclosing, engrossing, racking of rents, and evicting from copyholds. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964) 266; also R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (1926; New York: Mentor Books, 1954) 140.

London where they lived in "mean tenements,"[27] engaging in part time work, begging, and crime. In his study Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640, A.L. Beier speaks of masterless men as being comparable to today's unemployed: a social malady resulting from disastrous economic conditions, demographic shifts in population, and unprecedented migrations from rural to urban areas.[28]

Between 1560 and 1600 the number of vagrants in London alone increased eight fold.[29] Authorities always worried about maintaining order were wary of vagrancy, and events proved them right. Among the problems which developed were a riot by demobilised troops in Westminster in 1589,[30] and a massive increase in juvenile delinquency in the nineties as idle youths from the suburbs slipped into London on a daily basis "mobbing passers-by, begging, selling ballads, brooms and pamphlets ... stealing from shops and stalls, purses and pockets, even lead from roofs."[31]

Given the wartime conditions and inflationary climate of the late decade, it is difficult to imagine how this group of social outcasts could have survived any other

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[27]The term is Durant's. Durant, Age of Reason 48

[28]A.L. Beier, Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640 (London: Methuen, 1985) 3-4.

[29]Gibbons 225.

[30]Beier, Masterless Men 152.

[31]Beier, Masterless Men 44.

way; but Elizabeth's government, ever fearing insurgency, looked upon masterless men in general -- whether demobbed veterans, juvenile delinquents, or lapsed apprentices -- as internal enemies poised to destroy the social order. This fear of riot and disorder is reflected in a royal order from 1595 which forbade

> assemblies and routs compounded of sundry sorts of base people: some known apprentices such as were of base manual occupations; some others wandering idle persons, of conditions rogues and vagabonds; and some colouring their wandering by the name of soldiers returning from the wars.[32]

To combat the problem Elizabeth's government enacted legislation which not only ignored the root causes of vagrancy, but attacked the vagrants themselves. Among the draconian measures implemented was the creation of a paramilitary force of Provost-Marshalls (1585) with wide-ranging powers for dealing with vagrancy and similar disorders.[33] As well, in 1597 the English government repealed all nine previous acts dealing with poverty and vagabondage, codifying in two new laws all pre-existing legislation. While the first law An Act for the Relief of the Poor was relatively humane, dealing with ways to employ

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[32]As quoted in Bevington 231.

[33]Beier, Masterless Men 152.

the poor and provide some relief during winter months, it did not prevent the oligarchies appointed to administer the parish funds from refusing relief to non-churchgoers or, as frequently happened, from embezzling the monies.[34] The companion law, An Act for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars, dealt directly with idleness and the able-bodied vagrant. Reflecting what church, state, and market place said about masterless men and the vagrancy problem, the new law, in essence, criminalized the unemployed, advocating harsh measures for anyone refusing to work for statutory wages. Along with the summary justice evident in the earlier acts, such as whipping and ear-cropping, the new act called for incarceration in houses of correction or bridewells[35] and conscription overseas for "incorrigible rogues."[36] Although the incarcerated and impressed did suffer, the control of the vagrancy problem as implied in the law was a failure since the causes (i.e. dislocation, unemployment ... etc.) were never addressed. As was the case for the small masters/merchants, apprentices, and labourers discussed earlier, the last decade of Elizabeth's reign was for masterless men a time of great distress. Not only did they have to endure plague, food shortages, and wartime economic conditions but they

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[34]Hill 293-94.

[35]Beier, Masterless Men 164-69.

[36]Beier, The Problem 41.

were also made to suffer from repressive legislation which viewed them as criminals rather than as the unemployed victims of a society in flux.

It is interesting to note that the Act for the Punishment of Rogues ... (1597) just mentioned, dovetailed nicely with Elizabeth's expansionist colonial policy in that the impressed vagrants were readily used in England's overseas campaigns.[37] In fact by the end of the sixteenth century masterless volunteers made up a major portion of that overseas force -- a welcome relief indeed to Elizabeth and her Privy Council in view of the urgent situation which developed in Ireland during her last decade.[38]

2. The Nine Years' War 1594-1603

Of all the problems to confront England none was more unexpected or caused greater difficulties than the massive rebellion in Ireland (1594-1603) which transformed England's sole colony into a major theatre of war, draining still further the physical and financial resources of the country. The rebellion, however, should have been anticipated due to the deteriorating relations between the two countries caused in the main by the aggressive colonial policies of conquest and expansion adhered to by Elizabeth's government.

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[37]Faced with hanging or impressment, most vagrants opted for the latter. Beier, Masterless Men 161-2.

[38]Beier, Masterless Men 161.

England had enjoyed suzerainty over Ireland since its conquest by Norman adventurers in 1169-1171, but the relationship between the two countries had basically been a feudal one. Although Henry II and later English rulers liked to claim all of Ireland as a fiefdom, in reality English authority only applied to that section in and around Dublin called 'the Pale'. But from 1530 onwards the relationship changed. In an age of New World acquisitions, Tudor monarchs like Henry VIII and Mary I came to look upon Ireland as a colonial possession: one to be controlled politically and exploited economically. Both rulers furthered English influence by extending the Pale and confiscating large tracts of land in other parts of the island -- Henry in Kildare (1537) and Mary in Leix and Offaly (1556).[39]

Like her Tudor predecessors, Elizabeth wished to extend order and *civility* (an orientation to be discussed at greater length in the second section of this chapter) to those areas outside of English control, while making the colony a source of revenue for the crown. But like Henry and Mary, she was reluctant to spend the necessary funds to ensure the viability of the new colonial structure.[40] This

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[39]R. Dudley Edwards, Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: The Destruction of Hiberno-Norman Civilization (London: Croom Helm, 1977) 44-70.

[40]Like her father, Elizabeth tried to skirt military expenditures and use other means to make the colony a revenue producer. Grenfell Morton, Elizabethan Ireland

penny wise, pound foolish outlook on Elizabeth's part would be the cause of much grief in the last decade of her reign.

As in the case of Atlantic piracy discussed earlier, Elizabeth and her government turned to the mercantile sector for help in developing the colony as a revenue producer. The plan adopted was the one suggested by Captain Humphrey Gilbert and endorsed by Elizabeth's deputy in Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney. Understanding the financial straits of the government, Gilbert saw an opening for non-inheriting younger sons of landed gentlemen like himself[41] to form corporations and bring over skilled workmen and artisans through plantations schemes. The approved plan eventually saw many land-hungry adventurers swarm from England to claim estates in Munster and Ulster. While some of the adventurers like Sir Peter Carew received estates through litigation, most like Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his 'Munster Plantation' associates grouped together in syndicates submitting plans which pledged to extend English civility in areas open to Spanish influence. In return the corporations sought charters which, in return for being allowed to exploit the natural resources (such as the timber, fisheries and mining) of a given area, as well as receiving tax breaks and other privileges, pledged "to yelde unto her majesty her

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(London: Longman, 1971) 18-19.

[41]David Beers Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1966) 107; also Morton 43.

heirs and Successours, a yerely rent of Two hundred pounds Current monney of England after three yeres."[42] But disruptions followed in the wake of the land grants.

In Munster in 1569, as was the case with the three Ulster plantation schemes between 1571 and 1575,[43] traditional land holders were dispossessed and thousands of tenants were cleared off their ancestral homesteads. This destruction of a traditional way of life and culture, in conjunction with Elizabeth's edict which imposed Protestantism on a Catholic nation, proved too much.[44] Rebellion filled the air.

During the period of Elizabeth's reign prior to the Anglo-Spanish conflict, English forces put down three major rebellions: those of Shane O'Neill (1567) and Rory O'More (1578), and the Geraldine Rebellion led by James Fitzmaurice (1579). This last uprising (i.e. the Geraldine Rebellion) was connected to the Papal Crusade which was stopped when

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[42]From the proposal for a colony in Munster as quoted in Morton 138-40.

[43]Although the original Munster plantation scheme was abandoned in 1575, three separate proposals -- 1) the Smith 2) the Chatterton - Malby and 3) the Essex schemes -- were put forward to develop plantations in Ulster. Edwards 133-34.

[44]Mass was prohibited; priests and bishops had a bounty placed on their heads. Seumas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race: A Popular History of Ireland (New York: The Irish Publishing Co., 1921) 402-3.

its expeditionary force was massacred at Smerwick in 1580.[45] In all incursions into Anglo-Irish or Gaelic lands where Brehon law held sway, English troops using modern military technology such as pikes, muskets, and field artillery had little trouble overcoming Irish footsoldiers or kern armed with traditional weapons; but the situation was about to change. In 1594, at the height of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, two of the prominent clan leaders in Ulster, Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone and Hugh Roe (or Red Hugh) O'Donnell combined forces to commence the Nine-Years' War -- upsetting English colonial aspirations. (Please refer to the timeline in appendix 2 for easy reference regarding the personages and events connected with this rebellion.)

Any understanding of the Nine Years' War and the hardship which it caused to both the Irish and English nations must focus to some extent on the two great Irish leaders of the rebellion: Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell and Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone -- and their response to Elizabeth's colonial policies. In the first case Hugh Roe O'Donnell, regarded highly as a fitting successor for the title of the O'Donnell (i.e. supreme clan leader), was kidnapped in 1587 at the age of 15 by Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who was worried about a

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[45]A good account of how counter-reformation forces helped animate the Fitzmaurice rebellion can be obtained by reading Chapter 6 "Colonialism and Papal Crusade." Edwards 120-52.

prophecy which stated that when Hugh succeeded Hugh, Ireland would be free.[46] Clapped in irons after his first escape attempt in 1590, the young lord, along with other political pledges like the two sons of Shane O'Neill, became a militant against the English cause.[47] With his escape in April of 1592, Hugh Roe, permanently lamed from his ordeal, wasted no time in being declared 'the O'Donnell' in his father's stead. Unlike earlier clan leaders who squabbled amongst themselves, the new O'Donnell saw England and its Dublin administration as the real problem. He happily joined with other Ulster lords and the papal bishops of the North West[48] not only to resist English Protestant incursions into traditional Gaelic territory but also to actively seek Spanish help in the area of munitions and men, with the hope of establishing a Catholic kingdom independent of England.[49] Though young, Hugh Roe's superb generalship

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[46]Richard Bagwell, Ireland Under the Tudors: With a Succinct Account of the Earliest History (1885-1890; London: The Holland Press, 1963) 221.

[47]Capt. Tom Lee was quite critical of the Fitzwilliam government for keeping Hugh Roe O'Donnell imprisoned with traitors who poisoned his mind. Hiram Morgan, "Tom Lee: the Posing Peacemaker," Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origin of Conflict, 1534-1666, eds. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley (Cambridge; Cambridge UP, 1993) 139.

[48]Among the northern confederate leaders were Hugh Maguire, Cormac MacBaron O'Neill (Tyrone's brother), Brien Og O'Rourke, and the papal primate, Edmund MacGoran. Edwards 157-58.

[49]T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne, eds., A New History of Ireland, vol. 3 (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1976)

glimpsed in the battles of Donegal Castle and Enniskillen Castle (1592) marked him as a leader of promise.

Unlike Hugh Roe, the great warrior chieftain, Hugh O'Neill was the polished grandmaster of Elizabethan-Irish politics. Seen by Elizabeth and her councillors as a counterweight to the progeny of Shane O'Neill, young Hugh at age 17 was bundled off to England to be educated as a royal ward. While there, he lived in the Earl of Leicester's household (1562-1568) and "trouped in the streets of London with sufficient equipage and orderly respect."[50] But O'Neill's early indoctrination into English society did not stop him from having political ambitions of his own; an idea which, until 1592, never seems to have occurred to the English. Given lands in Armagh upon his return to Ireland, he was later created Earl of Tyrone, even sitting in Perrot's third Irish Parliament (1585-1586). Current research has shown that O'Neill, ever playing a double game, reciprocated past English favours by handing over approximately 600 Armada survivors to the authorities in Dublin[51] and later helped Sir Henry Bagenal to stop Hugh Maguire's forces in 1593. But Tyrone, sensing that his own political survival was in the balance, limited his

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122-23.

[50]From The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, as quoted in Morton 79.

[51]Edwards 158-59.

opposition to the Counter-Reformation/Independence movement growing in the north. From the time of his return, he worked tirelessly to consolidate his own position with the clan leaders of Ulster through marriage alliances, efforts to free Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and building up the most formidable military force ever seen in Ireland to that time.

Realizing the futility of traditional weapons in sixteenth-century warfare, Tyrone, known and apparently well liked by Elizabeth and many of her advisors, got permission to train a regiment of six hundred men in up-to-date military methods. Once, however, the initial unit of soldiers had received their basic training, Tyrone replaced them on a continuous basis with new recruits thus turning the approved regiment into the nucleus of a small army.[52]

In the new force taking shape, Irish kernes (i.e. light infantry) traded in their traditional sword and darts to be drilled in the use of 12 or 20 pound muskets, while Scottish mercenaries (i.e. gallowglasses) put aside their battle-axes and learned to trail a pike. Along with the good pay, good housing, and ample rations given to the bonaughts (i.e. the Scottish and Irish mercenaries), the constant training by English and later Spanish officers made Tyrone's army a force to be reckoned with. Neither was Tyrone at a loss for munitions nor for any piece of modern military hardware. In addition to the many badly paid English soldiers and

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[52]Bagwell 451; also Morton 82.

deserters who were only too willing to sell their guns to the rebels, Tyrone, through his own resources and the Spanish gold available to him, was able to import from a number of European ports all of the components necessary to equip a modern fighting force.[53] Grenfell Morton recounts in Elizabethan Ireland that by 1594 Tyrone had "...1,000 pikemen, 4,000 musketeers, and 1,000 cavalry with which to meet the total of 1,000 troops at the Lord Deputy's disposal outside of Munster."[54]

From 1592 onwards, English interests began to view Tyrone as dangerous, due to the part played by Cormac MacBaron O'Neill, brother of Tyrone, in the capture of Enniskillen, as well as the knowledge that Tyrone's military strength and subsequent influence over the Ulster chieftains was increasing daily.

Although several battles and skirmishes took place in 1592-1593, between the English and the confederacy forces led by O'Donnell and Hugh Maguire, nothing of real consequence could be accomplished until Tyrone, the most powerful war lord in northern Ireland, declared himself. With his acceptance of the forbidden title the O'Neill (i.e. supreme chieftain) in 1593, he assumed leadership of the

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[53]Mountjoy speculated that Tyrone raised a revenue of £80,000 sterling a year. Bagwell 452.

[54]Morton 82.

Northern province and the Catholic cause.[55] In his capable hands, the Ulster chieftains soon combined their goal of preserving their paramountcy and resisting the expansionist policies of Elizabeth's government with the role of crusading champions of Roman Catholicism in its struggle with the Reformed Church.[56] Catholic Europe listened more readily to O'Neill's requests than had formerly been the case with the Ulster chieftains. As well the military success of the Catholic forces, bolstered by O'Neill's well disciplined troops, was phenomenal. Appendix 2 gives a timeline for the main events of the war indicating, by the victories mentioned, the deadliness of the Ulster brand of warfare. Of special note was the Battle of the Yellow Ford on August 14, 1598. On that date, the Catholic forces, having won a number of minor battles, finally faced a major English force composed of six regiments and commanded by Sir Henry Bagenal. Using traditional guerilla tactics combined with modern weaponry, the well-disciplined Irish troops completely routed the English. All of Europe was stunned at the victory. Fynes Morrison, secretary to Lord Mountjoy, later wrote that the shocking defeat was an immense sensation in England, "The general voice was of Tyrone after the defeat of the Blackwater, as of Hannibal among the

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[55]One reason for Tyrone's break with Elizabeth was his ability to see through her double-dealing. Edwards 158.

[56]Reflected in the letters sent by O'Donnell and O'Neill to Spain from 1595 onwards. Moody 122.

Romans after the defeat at Cannae."[57] By October of that year the Munster plantation was overthrown and, with the exception of the Pale and a few garrisoned towns, Ireland was virtually in the hands of O'Neill and the Ulster confederacy.

With control of England's sole colony slipping quickly from her grasp Elizabeth, despite the Anglo-Spanish conflict in progress, made the pacification of Ireland her priority. Raising funds through tax hikes and the sale of monopolies, she was able to send, by the following year, a well-equipped army comprised of 16,000 infantry and 1,300 cavalry -- the largest force ever sent to Ireland -- to reassert English control. Ordered to enforce her authority, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, chosen as Lord Lieutenant, completely mishandled the situation. Forced to sign a truce, he returned home in disgrace, while O'Neill gained a brilliant diplomatic victory. But Elizabeth's quest for empire was not so easily shaken. With the appointment of a new Lord Deputy in the person of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, an able military commander, the end of the great rebellion came quickly.

Throughout the winter of 1600 the Ulster rebels were harried both on land, by Mountjoy's troops, and on Lough Neagh by Chichester's flotilla. Famine and disease soon began to take a toll on the confederate forces. The defeat

[57]As quoted in MacManus 392.

of the Ulster chieftains and their Spanish allies at Kinsale on December 25, 1601, and the subsequent submission of Tyrone to Mountjoy at Mellifont on March 30, 1603, signalled the end of resistance. Although Elizabeth had passed away a week earlier, she can be said to have accomplished her colonial mission, but at a price.

The Nine Years War had proved costly to Elizabeth's government in terms of both manpower and money. Many up-and-coming leaders -- like Sir John Norris and his brothers, Sir Henry Bagenal, and Lord Deputy Brough -- in addition to thousands of impressed soldiers lost their lives fighting in the wilds of Ulster. As well, for the citizenry-at-large burdened by monopoly prices for staple goods, heavy taxes, and low wages, the additional war debt of £1,200,000 incurred by the Irish rebellion left little to cheer about. But with the power of the chieftains broken, Elizabeth's program for revenue-producing colonies in Ireland was back on track; her quest for empire had prevailed. And with the revival of English colonial expansion, commercial colonies in the West were soon to follow.

B. Selected Colonial Discourses

1. The Decades of the Newe Worlde

The first and one of the most important colonial discourses available to Elizabethans was Peter Martyr's The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West Indies. Translated in

1555 by Richard Eden, one of William Cecil, Lord Burlegh's private secretaries, this Spanish colonial discourse revealed to English readers for the first time not only the immensity and wealth of the New World discoveries but also the shaping forces of greed, religion, and empire which had enabled Spain to take preeminent place as the richest, most militaristic nation in sixteenth century Europe. Certainly the lessons garnered from Martyr's The Decades were motivating factors in the colonial agenda adopted by Elizabeth and her advisors.[58] A brief look at one section of The Decades entitled "The Ocean Decade," which deals with Columbus's voyages and governorship in the New World, will reveal the importance of such cultural orientations as capital adventurism, Christian imperialism, and civility which not only helped Spain gain an empire but provided a blueprint for later discourse.

Capital adventurism, whereby a group of adventurers risk a small amount of capital against the possibility of large rewards, was the lever which started the whole Spanish exploration/colonization process. Even Columbus's initial agreement with the Spanish rulers, Martyr recounts, promised to enrich Spain with "plentie of gold, pearles, precious

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[58]Arber contends that Elizabethans like Shakespeare and Drake would have consulted Eden. Edward Arber, ed. The First Three English Books on America (Birmingham: printed by Turnbull and Spears 1885) vi.

stones and spices"[59] (Eden, 65). Thus, even from the first, the acquisition of wealth was of prime importance. Besides royal cupidity, the text clearly points out the unbridled lust for gold and other precious commodities exhibited by the rank-and-file of capital adventurers who accompanied Columbus. Not only did these conquistadors exchange trade goods for native gold ornaments (Eden, 67) but they used brutality, even rape, to attain their ends. The discourse also reveals that by "Ravyshynge the women of the Islandes before the faces of their husbandes, fathers...", the Spanish adventurers were able to compel many native chiefs to pay tribute since they could not "shake the [Spanish] yoke from their necks" (Eden, 79). Other commodities which interested the profiteers were sweet gum, mastix, and aloes (Eden, 67), native Electrum (i.e. tin), amber (Eden, 80), pearls (Eden, 89), and even slaves (Eden, 82); but of course gold was always the chief attraction. When it came to obtaining a profit or reward on their investment, the Spanish adventurers were -- as Martyr's text discloses -- completely ruthless.

Although adventurism had primed the pump of exploration, it was Christian imperialism which became the

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[59]Peter Martyr, The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West Indies, The First Three English Books on America, trans. Richard Eden, ed. Edward Arber (1555; Birmingham: Turnbull and Spears, 1885) 63-204. Subsequent references to The Decades are to Eden's translation; cited parenthetically in the text e.g.(Eden, 65).

official policy for continued Spanish expansion in the Indies. With the fall of Granada in 1492, Spain finally completed the reconquista or national/religious crusade to reconquer territory held by the Moors since the 10th century. But this militant ideology which had given Spain a national identity and raison d'être did not die with the retaking of Moorish-held lands, rather it was reborn as Christian imperialism and, under this new guise, travelled with Columbus and his associates to the New World. It was officially recognized as an acceptable religious/social orientation in the Papal Bull of 1493 when Alexander VI advised the Spanish rulers that it was most acceptable to God "...enlargynge the Christian empire" (Eden, 202) provided all was done "to bring the inhabitants ... to honoure owre redemer and to professe the Catholic faith" (Eden, 202). The new policy, as the text shows, followed Alexander VI's command "to subdue and brynge to the Catholyke faith the inhabitants of the foresayde landes and Islandes" (Eden, 202); thus subjugation, followed by evangelization, became the central plank in Spain's conquest of the Indies. The new ideology was in essence a licence to conquer. Raiding villages (Eden, 69), kidnapping (Eden, 69), enslavement (Eden, 82), even killing with modern European weaponry were all considered acceptable ways to crush native opposition and force rebellious chiefs into "a league of frendeship" (Eden, 75). Conversion and

evangelization are always mentioned as the main purpose of Spanish conquest,[60] never avarice or colonial expansion. Christianization through subjugation therefore became the fig leaf for Spanish imperial designs in the Indies and bore fruit almost immediately since, as Martyr relates, many of the children of conquered chiefs were educated as Christians so they could "bee exemple to others ... and keepe theyre subjectes in love and obedience" (Eden, 105).

Martyr's discourse is also one of civility. Like Christian imperialism, civility provided a vindication for Spain's presence in the Indies. Columbus's promise "to instruct [the natives] in such godly knowledge and trewe religion ... to subdue and punisshe the Canibales ... and to defende innocentes" (Eden, 78) shows the Spanish design of imposing civil authority on the native peoples -- punishing the bad Caribes or Cannibals while subduing the weaker ones. To this end, the savage aspect of the natives encountered is stressed throughout. Cannibals are depicted as "raveninge wolves ... [who] persecute and devoure the innocent sheep" (Eden, 78), while native customs, such as the lack of clothing for women (Eden, 83) and the cannibals' propensity for "mannes flesshe" (Eden, 66), help underline the need for a strong Spanish civil regime. At the conclusion of "The Ocean Decade," the conquistadors who have broken the power

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[60]Luis N. Rivera, A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 24-25.

of the chiefs are hailed as heroes who have brought "better culture and civilite" to the new lands (Eden, 105).

Peter Martyr's narrative account of the Columbus voyages, "The Ocean Decade," was originally published as part of The Decades in Seville circa 1511. The account, along with other colonial discourse of the period, had helped awaken Europe to the vastness and wealth of the new lands lying to the west, but more important it had spelled out the strategies and cultural orientations which had proven so effective in Spain's drive for overseas empire. Martyr's work was to prove seminal for future writers of colonial discourse. Like Richard Eden's early translation of Martyr's The Decades (1555), later English colonial discourses, among them Edmund Spenser's A View of the Present State of Ireland, reflected Spanish orientations of acquisition of wealth and empire in an Elizabethan guise.

2. Edmund Spenser's Irish Discourse

Although a number of discourses on Ireland had appeared in print between 1571 and 1602, no colonial discourse so well captured and reinforced the expansionist spirit exhibited by Elizabeth's government in Ireland or the cultural attitudes and social orientations shown by the Elizabethan colonists towards the older Irish civilization as Edmund Spenser's A View of the Present State of Ireland. Written in 1596 by the renowned poet in his capacity as

civil servant, the View not only reflected Spenser's own sixteen years of service in the Irish administration but also his understanding of English colonial policy as expressed by many of the leading political figures of the day.[61] Unlike other policy papers of the time, Spenser's View went to great lengths to identify what the author considered were the most serious causes of dissension in the colony, while at the same time proposing in detail a program of Anglicization[62]: one which aimed to not only restore civility but restructure the colony into a revenue-producing asset. As such, Spenser's treatise is an excellent example of the colonial discourse of the period. But the author outdid himself. So efficiently did the View mirror government thinking that it became a political liability in the context of the Nine Years War and was forbidden publication, only seeing the light of print in 1633.[63]

For the purpose of the present cultural study, Spenser's View, so reflective of Elizabethan colonial

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[61]In his excellent commentary on the View, W.L. Renwick observes how Spenser's point of view frequently reflects that of many of the leading colonial figures of the day including that of Sir Walter Ralegh and Lord Deputies Russell and Grey. W.L. Renwick, commentary, A View of the Present State of Ireland, by Edmund Spenser (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970) 171-228.

[62]The term is D.B. Quinn's and refers to a complete program of planting English law, religion, language, etc. Quinn 30.

[63]Several manuscripts were in circulation, however. Renwick 189-90.

designs towards Ireland, provides an excellent medium whereby to observe those nascent social attitudes and cultural orientations such as adventurism, Christian imperialism, and mastery which would prove to be of such importance in England's drive for overseas empire.

a. Capital Adventurism

Spenser's View eloquently describes what English mercantile interests saw of value in Ireland.

> And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, seamed throughout with many goodly rivers replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with very many sweet islands and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods fit for building of houses and ships so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas and ere long of all the world, also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England and Scotland as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford, besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that

> shall be committed thereinto; and, lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the west.[64] (Spenser, 18-19)

Spenser's View, as illustrated in the passage above, reveals that the commodity of greatest appeal to English capital adventurers in Ireland was control of the land and the exploitation of its natural resources. Everything mentioned in the passage, with the sole exception of the weather, can be seen as providing a healthy return on a capital investment, especially in the war time situation which existed in 1596. The passage mentions fruit (i.e. grain and vegetables) from a "soil itself most fertile", fish from the "lakes like little inland seas", timber for ships built for the "lords of all the seas", as well as excellent harbours opening on England and Scotland" as inviting us to come unto them." But as Spenser's View goes on to point out, although the commercial prospects are enticing, there is a problem: the land is already occupied by the Irish.

Defending England's subjugation of Ireland as legitimate, Spenser's discourse encourages English adventurers to help subdue the enemy in Ulster in return for

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[64]Spenser, Edmund, A View of the Present State of Ireland, ed. W.L. Renwick (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970) 18-19. Subsequent references to Spenser's work are to the Renwick edition and are cited parenthetically in the text (Spenser, 18-19).

large estates. In a partisan re-reading of Irish medieval history from 1195 onwards, Spenser overstates the authority of the English sovereign and Norman English lords, arguing that the Irish culture -- its laws, religion, and customs -- is barbaric like the Irish themselves and has proven detrimental to Anglicization (Spenser, 3-89). Once order and reformation have been imposed on Irish outlaws like O'Neill and O'Donnell (Spenser, 113), Spenser proposes that Ulster be opened to capital adventurers: "... but all the lands I will give unto Englishmen whom I will have drawn thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall be thought meet..." (Spenser, 124). But in order to help subdue the enemy and assert the authority of Elizabeth, Spenser advocates a continuation of the pattern of brutal conquest first employed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and later continued by Lord Deputy Grey which saw the civilian population in Munster attacked, while their crops and homesteads were burned in the years prior to 1583.[65] Spenser feels that such a campaign, which he himself saw applied in Munster, should be quite effective: "I nothing doubt but that they will all most readily and upon their knees submit themselves ...rather than die of hunger and misery." (Spenser, 123) And, as was the case in Munster, English interests would be absolved of any blame ("... which

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[65]Warring on homesteads and civilian populations was strictly an English innovation. Moody 108.

they [i.e. the Irish] themselves had wrought") and the wealth and cleared territory of a "plentiful country" would soon be open to English adventurers and commercial exploitation (Spenser, 104).

b. English 'Christian Imperialism'

As apologist for the expansionist policies of Protestant England, Spenser in the View attacked the religious, legal, and elective practices of Celtic Ireland as evil customs which promoted disorder. For Spenser the brand of Christianity promulgated by Roman Catholicism was sadly deficient:

> Therefore the fault which I find in religion is but one, but the same universal throughout all that country, that is that they are all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part as that you would rather think them atheists or infidels; but not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of religion and article of his faith, but can perhaps say his pater noster or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth. (Spenser, 84)

Not only did he consider that the Irish were "brutishly

informed" but the religion taught them was "trash" and "corrupted by Papish trumpery", bringing "great contagion to their souls" (Spenser, 84-85).

Likewise his opinion of the ancient legal code of the Gaels, the Brehon law, was quite disparaging. Believing Brehon law to be strictly oral,[66] Spenser describes the traditional code of justice as

> a certain rule of right, unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which often there appeareth great show of equity in determining the right between party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to God's law and mans ... (Spenser, 5)

Citing the fact that when such law is practised privately amongst the various clans it not only helps conceal crimes from the English administration but hinders the establishment of English common law, he therefore calls the code a "most wicked law indeed" (Spenser, 5).

In addition to Ireland's laws and religion, Spenser roundly dismisses the Gaelic elective system of government. Unlike the English system which revolved on primogeniture and a submission to a central authority, Irish Chieftains or Captains were elected by the Clan, the position being non-

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[66]Quinn notes that Spenser had no knowledge that the ancient Brehon law tracts and commentaries had been committed to paper. Quinn 45.

inheritable:

> It is a custom among all the Irish that presently after the death of any of their chief Lords or Captains, they do presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and known unto them, to choose another in his stead: where they do nominate and elect for the most part not the eldest son nor any of the children of their Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest ... (Spenser, 7)

Spenser realizes that the Tanist system, developed to provide strong leadership for clans continually involved in border skirmishes, can be used just as effectively "... against the English which they think lie still in wait to wipe them out of their lands and territories" (Spenser, 8). The fact that it is decentralized is also upsetting for English administrators, since captains newly elected through Tanistry did not recognize submissions made by earlier Chieftains to the Lord Deputy (Spenser, 9). As such, Spenser judged it to be a "dangerous custom" (Spenser, 9) and another reason for the country's disorder.

Dismissing the Catholic faith along with the laws and government of the Gaels as the cause of the present disorders, Spenser advocates a policy reminiscent of Spain's

Christian imperialism which would ensure the formation of a reformed Church and a return to civility.[67] Like the Spanish orientation discussed earlier which used the pretence of evangelization as a reason for the conquest of the New World, Spenser's View advocates a policy of reformation through colonial expansion and conquest to bring peace and civility to disordered Ireland. As explained in various places throughout the View, this reformation, nothing more than Christian imperialism Elizabethan-style, was a proposal which yoked civility (ie. English government, language and laws) with evangelization through a reformed Church -- in effect a complete program of Anglicization. The View shows that Spenser was well aware that any half-hearted attempt on Dublin's part to expand English control and abolish Irish religious and social traditions would be disastrous, "for the Irish do strongly hate and abhore all reformation and subjection to the English" (Spenser, 93). Therefore he advocates strong military action to clean up the disorders in Ulster and other areas where the old traditions lingered:

> Even by the sword, for all those evils must first be cut away with a strong hand before any good can be planted like as the corrupt

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[67]In any discussion of English Imperial orientations it is impossible to treat questions of religious belief and civil allegiance as separate issues -- for Elizabethans the two were inseparable. Bagwell 462.

> branches and the unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned and the foul moss cleansed or scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruit. (Spenser, 95)

Once the civil disorders have been settled by a new English regime, church abuses could be properly addressed:

> Therefore, as I said, it is expedient first to settle such a course of government there, as thereby both civil disorders and ecclesiastical abuses may be reformed and amended whereto needeth not any such great distances of times as ye suppose I require, but one joint resolution for both that each might second and confirm the other. (Spenser, 86)

The above quotation reveals the truth about Spenser's program of reformation at one glance. Evangelization, the spreading of the Gospel message, can, it appears, only be accomplished once civility has been restored to Gaelic areas through military conquest. Spenser sees civility and church reform as two aspects of a "joint resolution" (Spenser, 86) each part complementing the other. Like Catholic Spain's Christian imperialism, Spenser's reformation which purports to bring reformed Christianity and civility to a disordered realm is, in reality, just a stalking horse for English colonial designs in late sixteenth-century Ireland.

c. Masterlessness/Mastery

Spenser's View can also be regarded as a discourse on mastery and masterlessness, two orientations of utmost concern to Elizabethans and which, as indicated by Paul Brown in his study of The Tempest, should be examined in concert since the two "are intertwined and mutually reinforcing".[68] Within this context mastery is revealed as one of English society's "highest social priorities":[69] the authority of a master over his servant or apprentice. Masterlessness, on the other hand, refers to the unhoused and unemployed element of society who had no master and is -- as a result -- considered a social malady (see previous discussion on masterlessness in section 1 of this chapter). As the conquest of Ireland progressed, Elizabethans who regarded mastery as one of the focal points in their reformed society were shocked to find several disparate groups travelling Ireland's roads. Their reaction was to classify these transients, according to the guidelines supplied by Tudor society, as vagrants or masterless men. But the individuals or groups were of a different ilk to their unemployed English counterparts discussed earlier. The Irish travellers encountered were not the product of dispossession or dislocation, as was the case in England,

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[68]Brown, This Thing of Darkness 51

[69]The expression is Rutter's as used in endnote 36. Rutter 34.

but part of the cultural heritage of Ireland and just pursuing a traditional way of life. Spenser, however, views the transients and their wandering life styles solely from the English perspective, never taking cultural differences into account.

While Spenser discusses a number of such itinerant life styles in the View -- including the movement of Irish bards (Spenser, 73), the movement of carrows or professional gamblers (Spenser, 76), and the bollying or summer migration of Irish peasants and their herds to upland pastures (Spenser, 49-50) -- of particular interest to this study is his focus on the movement/activity of the kerne within a given lord's territory. Although Spenser laudes the Irish kernes or soldiers for their bravery calling them "valiant and hardy ... very great scorners of death" (Spenser, 72), he also sees them as threats to English supremacy and attacks them as "cruel and bloody, full of revenge, and delight in deadly execution, ... common ravishers of women, and murderers of children." (Spenser, 72) He further attacks the habit which Irish lords had of hiring loose or mercenary kernes for use in border warfare. Such soldiers, he notes, were not paid by the lords, but rather allowed to live off the civilian population:

> they [the Irish lords] never gave penny of entertainment allowed by the country or forced by them, but let them [the mercenary kernes]

> feed upon the countries, and extort upon all men where they can, for that people will never ask better entertainment than to have a color of service or employment given them, by which they will poll and spoil so outrageously that as the very enemy cannot do much worse ... (Spenser, 148)

For Spenser, such a loose, itinerant lifestyle smacked of masterlessness and, as such, was a threat to order and reformation.[70]

Painting the itinerant lifestyles of such groups as akin to English masterlessness, Spenser sees mastery returning with the teaching of civil trades and a firm application of English vagrancy laws. Spenser shows in the View that the first step in attaining mastery over such groups is through conquest:

> The first thing must be to send over into that realm such a strong power of men as that shall perforce bring in all that rebellious rout of loose people which either do now stand out in open arms or in wandering companies do keep the woods spoiling and infesting the good subject. (Spenser, 95-96)

Once order has been restored through force of arms and

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[70]Quinn 21.

an English reformation imposed, Spenser sees loose wanderers, like the kerne and carrow, being resettled on available land where, as good subjects, they would be allowed "to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themselves unto honest trades of civility as they shall every one be found meet and able for" (Spenser, 123-124). In Spenser's utopic vision for a pacified Ireland, civil trades play an important role in helping the English elite master the masterless. Spenser recommends that any traditional wanderer not assigned to a designated freehold be bound to learn a trade as a means to earn a livelihood. Trades for Spenser fall under three headings: those manual, those intellectual, and those mixed. The manual group refers to handicrafts and husbandry, the intellectual includes all work related to sciences and the liberal arts, while the mixed group relates to all those activities of "merchandry and chaffery" or buying and selling. All three groups he feels are necessary for the health of the Commonwealth (Spenser, 156).

Reserving the intellectual category for "...all the sons of lords and gentlemen and such others as are able to bring them up in learning ..." (Spenser, 158), Spenser sees the lower classes, including the itinerant groups under discussion, as being allowed to choose whichever manual or mixed trade they feel most suited for. However, he does advocate husbandry for wanderers like the kerne because "it

is the most easy to be learned, needing only the labour of the body" (Spenser, 156-157). Spenser sees the former mercenaries delighting in their role as husbandmen, happy to supply food to the Commonwealth, and acting as good civic examples to their children:

> Unto the plough, therefore are all those kerne ... to be driven, and made to employ that ableness of body which they are wont to use to theft and villainy, henceforth to labour and husbandry; in the which by that time they have spent but a little pain, they will find such sweetness and happy contentment, that they will hardly afterward be haled away from it or drawn to their wonted lewd life in thiefery and roguery. (Spenser, 157)

In the reformed Ireland which Spenser envisions as coming into being once the ongoing rebellion (i.e. the Nine Years' War) has been quashed, he sees each man practising an honest trade and all men duly tithed. No one can opt out. "Stragglers and runnagates" who are slow to fall into line should be "brought in by the ears" (Spenser, 159). As well those masterless men, who swerve from the new order to return to their old ways, would be dealt with severely:

> But yet afterward lest anyone of these should swerve or any that is tied to a trade should afterwards not follow the same according to

> this institution, but should straggle up and down the country or miche in corners amongst their friends ...I would wish that there were a provost marshal appointed in every shire which should continually walk through the country with half dozen or half a score horsemen to take up such loose persons as they should find wandering, whom he should punish by his own authority with such pains as the person should seem to deserve, for if he be but once so taken idly roguing he may punish him more lightly as with stocks or such like, but if he be found again so loitering he may scourge him with whips or rods after which, if he be again taken, let him have the bitterness of the martial law (Spenser, 159-160).

Spenser's judgement on those who fall from the grace of civility to resume their old wandering professions seems harsh indeed: provost marshals, stocks, rods, even death. Yet the View is simply applying one of the central policies of Elizabeth's colonial administration -- that the rootless wanderer was to be driven off the roads, beaten, and, if he resisted, to be ruthlessly executed.[71] Moreover, the penalties prescribed above for recalcitrancy parallel in

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[71]Quinn 123.

many ways the measures detailed in the vagrancy legislation employed by the Tudor government in dealing with vagrancy in England itself.[72] Wandering customs and itinerant lifestyles had no place in Spenser's reformed Ireland.

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[72]A good summation of the types of vagrants, in many ways similar to their Irish counterparts, being detained by English authorities during this period may be had by reading Chapter 6 "Dangerous Trades", of Beier, Masterless Men 86-105.

Chapter III

Exotic Citizen Romance As Elizabethan Fantasy

A. The Mode of Fantasy

One of the most influential modern theorists in the area of fantasy is Tzvetan Todorov. In his seminal treatise, The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre, Todorov takes issue with the theoretical division of literature into a limited number of literary genres or modes as proposed in Northrop Frye's Anatomy of Criticism[73] and, through an inspired re-evaluation of the criteria upon which Frye based his classification, argues that eight new theoretical genres be added to the list of five "historical"[74] genres(Todorov 13-14). Within the new group which results from Todorov's proposed classification is found his fantastic genre: a category inclusive of all post-romantic fantasy literature from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day (Todorov 166). Unfortunately, since Todorov has confined his discussion to texts of this

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[73] While Frye's genre classification restates what has been accepted as a traditional division of literature, Frye himself points out that the purpose of genre criticism is not so much to classify as to clarify literary tradition and affinities. Northrup Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1957) 247.

[74] The term is Todorov's and refers to the five genres enumerated by Frye. Tzvetan Todorov, The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre, Trans. Richard Howard (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973) 8-21. Subsequent references will be to this edition and cited parenthetically in the text e.g. (Todorov 8-21).

period, his research is not directly applicable to this study; however, his scholarship is of consequence in that it has encouraged other theorists to study new areas within the rich field of fantasy literature and to include earlier forms of fantasy in their investigations. Such a one was Frederic Jameson who, shortly after Todorov's work was published in English translation, undertook to study an earlier category of fantasy: the genre of romance. In "Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre," Jameson presents a reevaluation of this historical genre,[75] viewing it as the cultural product of a given period: a social contract between writer and audience replete with a social code consisting of contextual signals, gestures, and intonations (Jameson 135). Through an approach to genre criticism which uses both "semantic" (i.e. ideological) and "syntactic" (i.e. structural) components, "Magical Narratives" provides a fresh insight by focusing on the contractual nature of romance (Jameson 136). Germane to the present study are Jameson's views on traditional social codes, secularized codes, fairy tale structure, romance genre classification, and historical regrounding -- the Elizabethan/Jacobean scene.

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[75] For Jameson the genre of romance includes the great romance poems, dramas, and narratives of the medieval, early modern, and romantic periods; but ends where the fantastic and modern fantasy begin. Frederic Jameson, "Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre", New Literary History 7 (1975): 154. Subsequent references will be to this article and cited parenthetically in the text e.g. (Jameson 154).

Disagreeing with the manner in which Northrup Frye uses mythic patterns and a naive seeker-hero as the matrix for his account of romance as mode, Jameson proposed that any such classification must address the genre as social contract and focus on its semantic codes -- deeply ingrained social attitudes which have "the function of drawing the boundaries of a given social order and providing a powerful internal deterrent against deviance or subversion" (Jameson 140). The two most important of such traditional codes for Jameson are those systems of thought relating to 1) good and evil, and 2) a belief in magic which he calls a magical thought mode (Jameson 141). Of the two, that which takes precedence is the system relating to the conflict of good and evil -- the classic conflict of romance literature. All other oppositional images can be grouped according to this split, including those of self and other. While images of self are grouped within the category of good, "evil is at one with the category of Otherness..." (Jameson 140). Strangers in romance narratives are not feared because they are evil, rather they are evil because they are other (Jameson 140). The second cultural system indicated by Jameson is that relating to the role played by magic. For Jameson this "magical thought mode" which springs from a "precapitalist, essentially agricultural way of life" is related to the good/evil system just discussed in that it too can be divided into black and white magic

sub-categories (Jameson 141). He also sees the two codes, that of good/evil and that of a magical thought mode, as being different aspects of the same social orientation to otherness and inextricably interwoven. Both semantic codes are important since, as Jameson suggests, an emphasis on either system indicates in which way audience interest is being directed. When the focus is on good/evil/otherness, attention is being directed towards social/political attitudes on world view, while a focus on a belief in magic indicates that audience attention is being directed towards a society's economic organization and/or its relations with the world of nature (Jameson 141). Also of significance are Jameson's insights on a secularized semantic code. As he points out, although romance as a mode of expression is not subject to the literary conventions of a given age, the semantic codes which animate it as social contract do change. Thus in the early modern age when a belief in magic waned, romance stood in need of a revitalized magical thought mode: one more in tune with audience needs. As a result, writers and dramatists of the period reformulated such a system of thought in terms of Providence: the new supernatural economy being more reflective of Elizabethan/Jacobean society's preoccupation with Protestant thought (Jameson 142 -143). This secularization of romance -- the substitution of Providence for magic within the magical thought mode -- could only have occurred, Jameson

cautions, "...in a society strongly influenced by the new Enlightenment values but not yet wholly secularized in the manner of the more advanced European countries of the postrevolutionary era" (Jameson 143-144).

Jameson's views on the narrative structure of romance must also be noted. In "Magical Narratives" Jameson underscores the importance of viewing traditional romance's structure as syntactic code. Jameson saw that no thorough analysis of such a code would be possible without the analytic instruments provided by Vladimir Propp in his seminal monograph Morphology of the Folktale. Although he felt that the study had its weak points,[76] Jameson recognized that Propp's methodology with its limited number of *tale roles* (i.e. characters) and *functions* (ie. actions of characters) allowed for a reformulation of the sequences and/or episodes of individual romances in terms of a fixed form. As such, Jameson considered Propp's Morphology as the model for the structural analysis of all romance narratives (Jameson 146-147).

Jameson's comments on genre classification are of import. In deciding to what genre a given work belonged, Jameson distinguished between two versions of the

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[76]While Jameson sees Propp's Morphology as the best structural model for traditional romance narratives, he believes that for such a model to be applied to later *art romance* novels with multiple story lines, it should be reworked in terms of the critical approaches of A.J. Greimas and Levi-Strauss. Jameson 146-150.

classification problem: an internal one and an external one. The internal aspect related to the "difficulties raised by a work in which several different generic strands or modes seemed interwoven", while the external one reflected "a global uncertainty as to its 'kind' "(Jameson 151). Regarding the internal aspect, Jameson saw no difficulty, due to his work on romance as mode and model, in regarding medieval and early romance, "the older stories of magic and spells", as being of a type (Jameson 150-152). But when dealing with classification from an external point of view, Jameson followed Northrup Frye's lead and placed his account of romance in binary opposition to comedy (Jameson 153). Allowing that both historical genres are based on wish fulfilment, Jameson observes that romance differs from comedy in that it involves magic and a heroic quest, whereas comedy excludes magic and aims at marriage and sexual fulfilment (Jameson 153).

Last among the many relevant points raised in "Magical Narratives" is Jameson's insistence on historical regrounding: the concept that literary works should be viewed within the historical framework in which they were conceived (Jameson, 157). In applying such an approach to romance genre criticism, Jameson does not find it unreasonable to suggest that romance is called into being not only through the availability of semantic and syntactic cultural codes, but also by the social tension created at

certain periods of a society's development when two distinct socioeconomic systems exist side by side. He shows that such a concurrence existed in England during the Elizabethan/Jacobean era when a new mercantile-based economy thrived alongside the traditional agrarian-based economic system -- a legacy from England's feudal past (Jameson 158).

Following in the footsteps of Todorov and Jameson, Rosemary Jackson made a significant contribution to the field of fantasy theory with her seminal study, Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion (1981). Her study is of consequence in that it takes the genre specific theory of innovators like Todorov and Jameson and incorporates it into a comprehensive approach towards fantasy as a literary mode. Although Fantasy deals mainly with post-romantic texts,[77] Jackson does consider earlier works within her theoretical framework and as such her approach is relevant to the present inquiry. Areas of importance touched upon by Jackson include her approach to fantasy as a literary mode and her application of current theory to older forms of fantasy.[78]

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[77]Rosemary Jackson, Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion (London: Methuen, 1981) 4-5. Subsequent references will be to this edition and cited parenthetically in the text e.g. (Jackson 4-5).

[78] Although not germane to the present inquiry, it should be noted that Rosemary Jackson has initiated a new aspect of fantasy theory utilizing the psychoanalytical perspectives of Freud and Jacques Lacan. See Chapter 3, "Psychoanalytical Perspectives", for further discussion. Jackson 61-170.

Central to Jackson's theory of fantasy as literary mode is her understanding of what the term mode means. Unlike Todorov and Jameson, who understood mode to mean genre,[79] Jackson sees mode as a superior literary category encompassing a number of related genres -- related in terms of their forms, features, and structures (Jackson, 7). But in order to locate such a reading within the context of modern fantasy theory, Jackson must propose a modification of Todorov's scheme for the subdivision of fantastic literature. Such a modification -- necessary due to Todorov's understanding of mode as genre and to his confusing use of the non-literary term uncanny to represent a literary category -- would see fantasy as literary mode positioned between the marvellous and mimetic modes. In the new scheme the marvellous mode would group all fairytale, traditional romance, and magical narratives; the mimetic mode would include all narratives which claim to simulate reality; while the fantastic or fantasy mode would consist of all narratives which "confound elements found in both adjacent modes" (Jackson 33-35). (Please see Appendix 3 for a diagrammatic representation of Jackson's proposal.)

Within the framework of this new literary mode, Jackson appropriates current theory, once genre specific, and applies it to fantasy as a whole. Important to the present

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[79] Both theorists understood the two terms mode and genre to be synonymous. See Todorov 13; also Jameson 138, 142.

discussion is her application of modern theory as it pertains to social context and older forms of fantasy.

Of significance is Jackson's concept of viewing a work of fantasy within its cultural context. Echoing Jameson's theory on the social context of romance (discussed above in the section dealing with Jameson), Jackson stresses that no literary work of fantasy, regardless of generic form, can be completely understood in isolation from its cultural context. Knowledge of a culture's shaping forces -- whether historical, social, political or economic -- must be considered in any discussion of an author's work (Jackson 3).

Related to social context is Jackson's endorsement of the cultural approach to older forms of fantasy suggested by Frederic Jameson (see above discussion on Jameson). As proposed by Jameson, the approach views romance as a social contract between author and audience replete with a semantic code reflective of that society's cultural orientations. For Jackson such an approach merges smoothly into her theoretical framework where she views such cultural codes as inscribing "social values within the text, often in hidden or obscure ways, for the link between the individual work and its context is a deep, unspoken one" (Jackson 53). Like Jameson, she sees the two key codes of the early romance tradition as being those systems of belief relating to good and evil, and a magical thought mode or supernatural

economy. While the first system reveals that the dramatic action of early romance is an accurate reflection of the societal belief that a metaphysical battle between good and evil forces raged constantly, it also underscores the fact that human characters in these narratives -- whether heroes or villains -- were regarded as simply the tools of such otherworldly powers (Jackson 56). Jameson's linkage of self (hero) and other (villain) with the social code of good/evil is an important one for Jackson, in light of her thematic division of fantasy. Like Jameson, she feels that such an identification, especially that of otherness with evil, is a "significant ideological gesture" (Jackson 52) which illustrates how the political, social, and religious orientations of a society worked in concert to prevent any other -- be he stranger, outsider, or social deviant -- from breaching the boundaries of a given social order (Jackson 52-53). She further notes that in traditional romances other is usually identified as a destructive agent of Satan and the demonic powers, while self is seen as a force of good and in accord with angels, beneficent fairies, and wise men (Jackson 53).

Following Jameson's lead once again (see earlier discussion on Jameson), Jackson pinpoints a second cultural code which, like the good/evil system just discussed, was an important thought mode of older fantasy -- a belief in magic. However, this system of belief -- seen in its purest

form in folk fairy tale and medieval romance narratives -- underwent a transformation in late sixteenth century England. Due to reformed religious sensibilities, this magical thought mode was gradually displaced by a belief in Providence as the determiner of man's fate. In this revised supernatural economy, encoded in the romance fantasies of the English Renaissance, Jackson sees "human action...as operating under the controlling influence of Providence whether for good or evil" (Jackson 53).

By formulating such a comprehensive mode which incorporates many of the innovative concepts of theorists like Todorov and Jameson, Rosemary Jackson has provided a framework whereby works of exotic citizen romance can be regarded as literary works of fantasy and, as such, reexamined for fresh insight. Within such a framework it can be seen that although exotic citizen romance was shaped by the structures and conventions of chivalric romance, it was also reflective of the cultural attitudes of late sixteenth century England

B. The Form and Features of Exotic Citizen Fantasy

1. Heroic Folk Fairy Tale Structure

While literary critics have long recognized that structural similarities exist between chivalric and exotic citizen romances,[80] it was not until the advent of fantasy

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[80]Madeleine Doran touches briefly upon romance's folk tale origins, historical sequence, and episodic nature; see Chapter 10 "The Fable: The Unities." Madeleine Doran,

theory that an exact understanding of the narrative structure shared by both types of romance was possible. In light of the innovative approach to narrative structure as syntactic code advocated by Frederic Jameson in "Magical Narratives" (please refer to the earlier discussion on Jameson in the first section of this chapter), this section will utilize Propp's *fixed form* to show, via a comparison of structual schemata, how the heroic folk fairy tale plot sequence of chivalric romance was a shaping force in later exotic citizen romance. In order to better illustrate the structural similarities, reference will be made to one popular romance from each period. From the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes[81], a chivalric romance written circa 1570, has been selected, while Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem,[82] penned circa 1595, has been chosen as a representative exotic citizen romance.

Endeavours of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964) 259-294.

[81]The text is a reprint of that first published in 1599. Thought once to be the work of George Peele, the play is now regarded as the work of an unknown author. Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes,ed. A. H. Bullen (1888; Port Washington, N.Y. : Kennikat Press, 1966) 90 - 231, vol. 2 of The Works of George Peele. Subsequent references will be to this edition and cited parenthetically in the text e.g. (S.C., 1. 10 - 20).

[82] Thomas Heywood, The Four Prentices of London: A Critical, Old-Spelling Edition, ed. Mary Ann Weber Gasior (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980) 2-121. Subsequent references will be to this edition and cited parenthetically in the text e.g.(F.P., 100-110).

Prior to the actual comparison a brief explanation of Propp's analytical process -- adopted by Jameson as the structural mode of analysis for romance narratives (Jameson 146) -- is in order. Propp's monograph, based upon the study of one hundred Russian folk fairy tales, began with a concise definition of morphology which he called "a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole"[83] (Propp 19). He next explained that each tale had certain *constants* and *variables*. The *variables* were the large number of colourful characters found in all fairy tales. Propp found that this extensive group could be reduced to a limited number of *tale roles* which he identified as villain, donor, magical helper, dispatcher, hero, false hero, and princess. The *constants* were the limited number of *functions* or actions attributed to the tale roles. Please refer to Appendix 4 for a chart listing Propp's sequence of thirty-one functions. Once his morphological investigations had been concluded, Propp formulated the basic principles of his analysis as four axioms:

1. Functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom

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[83] Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, Trans. Laurence Scott, Ed. Louis A. Wagner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970) 19. Subsequent references will be to this edition and cited parenthetically in the text e.g. (Propp 19).

they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale.

2. The number of functions to the fairy tale is limited.
3. The sequence of functions is always identical.
4. All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure.

(Propp 21-23)

Also of consequence in the present comparison is the finding Propp made regarding episodic tales. He discovered that while some tales are made up of one episode or *move*, others have multiple moves -- each beginning with a new villainy (A) or lack (a) (Propp 92).

Bearing in mind Propp's morphological focus, I would ask the reader to turn to Appendices 5 and 6 where I have singled out and analyzed the multiple moves/episodes for the two romances under discussion. I have used Propp's conventional symbol (see Appendix 4) to indicate where each function occurs within a specific sequence. The resulting structural data, necessary for a comparison of the romances, has been reproduced in tabular form below.

Table 1: Structural Features of Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes

		Tale Roles		
Movement	**Scheme**	**Hero**	**Villainy/ False Hero**	**Donor/ Dispatcher/ Princess**
1	a B C ⇑ D E F G H I J K ⇓ L Ex U W	Clamydes	Flying Serpent Bryan Sans-foy	Juliana Father Subtle Shift
2	ζ A B C ⇑ G H I K	Clamydes	Clyomon	Father Subtle Shift King Alexander
3	α β A B C ⇑ G H I ⇓ W	Clyomon	Thrasellus	Neronis Rumour

Table 2: Structural Features of Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London

		Tale Roles		
Movement	**Scheme**	**Hero**	**Villainy**	**Donor/ Dispatcher/ Princess**
1	α β A B C ⇑ D E F H I K ⇓ W	Godfrey	Soldan Sophie	Old Earl King's Son Bouillonese
2	α β A B C ⇑ D E F H I K ⇑ W	Guy	Soldan Sophie	Old Earl King's Son French King French Princess
3	α β A B C ⇑ D E F H I K ⇓ W	Charles	Soldan Sophie	Old Earl King's Son Italian Bandits Tancred
4	A B C ⇑ D E F H I K ⇓ W	Eustace	Soldan Sophie	Old Earl King's Son Irish Kerne

A comparison of the structural data in tables 1 and 2 reveals that both Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes and The Four Prentices of London utilize a limited number of tale roles and employ a select number of functions in relation to Propp's fixed sequence. As such their folk fairy tale basis is made clear and the two romances can be regarded as of one type (Propp 2). Moreover, within his irreversible order of functions, Propp has identified four specific categories dependent on the presence of certain functions. Viewed within this framework, the structural kinship between exotic citizen and chivalric romance becomes even clearer when the presence of function C and the function pair H-I are taken into account. Function C (beginning counter-action) -- present in the moves of both plays -- shows that both sets of heroes are *seeker heroes*. According to fairy tale convention, such heroes have made a volitional decision to pursue a quest (Propp 36-38). Likewise the presence of the function pair H (struggle with the villain) and I (victory over the villain) exposes the central conflict of the two Elizabethan quest romances as being the physical opposition of hero and villain. While Propp simply categorized this group of tales as "development through H-I" (Propp, 102), I have adopted the appellation *heroic* used in contemporary folkloric studies to describe this particular function

sequence.[84] Based upon such structural similarities, it can be said that later Elizabethan dramatists utilized the popular heroic folk fairy tale structure of chivalric romance in shaping their exotic citizen fantasies.

2. Other Romantic Conventions

In addition to replicating the folk fairy tale structure of chivalric romance, later Elizabethan dramatists seized upon many of the conventions which had helped popularize such drama and incorporated them into exotic citizen fantasy. Of note were such audience pleasers as an exact structural code, a symmetrical design, concealed identities, and fairy tale endings. The structural code based upon rigid folk tale/village pageant tradition,[85] necessitated that both hero and villain reflect certain qualities. A look at Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes reveals just what an audience in the early part of Elizabeth's reign expected in the way of such heroic/villainous credentials.[86] The hero, first of all, had to be a *prince*. Both heroes in this chivalric tale are revealed as princes -- Clyomon as

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[84]The term heroic is used to describe a traditional fairy tale where the hero seeker is a male, the villain is a male and the highlight is a confrontation between the two which ends with the villain's defeat. Juha Pentikainen and Satu Apo, "The Structural Schemes of a Fairy Tale Repertoire", World Anthropology Varia Folklorica, ed. Alan Dundes (The Hague: Mouton, 1978) 39.

[85]Doran 302.

[86]Gibbons 210.

Prince of Denmark (S.C.,2.7) and Clamydes as Prince of Suavia (S.C.,1.7). Next, he had to be a *virgin* -- an apparent necessity when confronting the forces of evil. Clamydes, one of the heroes, is shown to fit the bill when his true love, Juliana, proclaims his chasteness in the play's initial scene ("Then as thou seem'st in thine attire a *virgin* knight to be...") (S.C.,1.83). Lastly, audiences expected the hero to be of chivalrous mien. This meant that a knight errant had to conduct himself in an appropriate manner in relation to God, his king,and those weaker than himself. The code which such questers followed is explained to Clamydes when he applies for knighthood:

> ...first, above all other things, his God for to adore
> In truth, according to the laws prescribed to him before;
> Secondly, that he be true unto his lord and king;
> Thirdly, that he keep his faith and troth in everything;
> And then before all other things that else we can commend;
> That he be always ready prest his country to defend;
> The widow, poor, and fatherless, or innocent bearing blame,
> To see their cause redressed right a faithful knight must frame;
> In truth he always must be tried: this is the total charge
> That will receive a knightly name his honour to enlarge.
> (S.C., 3.11-20).

Within these chivalric guidelines, Clyomon and Clamydes

prove themselves to be ideal knights. Both succour weak and defenceless damsels: Clamydes aids Juliana and all womankind by undertaking to slay the Flying Serpent (S.C., 1. 60-68), while Clyomon champions the cause of Neronis, his true love, along with that of her mother, the widowed Queen of Strange Marshes (S.C., 16. 23-40, 22. 92-173). Popular demand also necessitated that the villain adhere to certain traditional expectations. First, he must be seen to roam the wilderness. Both the Flying Serpent and Thrasellus, King of Norway, comply with this requirement. The Flying Serpent makes his abode in the wilderness called the Forest of Strange Marvels (S.C., 1.47), while Thrasellus encounters Clyomon in a wild wooded area S.C., 16). Next, the villain must in some way demonstrate that his behaviour is the complete reverse of that of the virgin knight. The first villain, the Flying Serpent, whose "nature...is of women spoil to make"(S.C., 1.47-52), does this by killing and devouring a maid on a daily basis, while the second, Thrasellus, shows his repudiation of the quester's code by allowing lust and cruelty to dictate his actions towards a weaker female, the Princess Neronis (S.C., 12.15-18). In chivalric romance this second trait, *unchivalrous behaviour,* can be recognized by villainous conduct such as that just mentioned -- preying on the weak and defenceless, inordinate sexual desire, cruelty, and even killing the weak.

Catering to the public taste for tales of quest

romance, dramatists writing exotic citizen fantasies during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign reemployed the same structural code used in chivalric romance. As demonstrated in Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London, one of the most popular of the new citizen adventure plays, the four heroes are *princes*, identified as such by their father, the usurped Duke/Earl of Bullion in the initial scene:

> And I am forct to loose the name of Earle
> And live in London like a Cittizen.
> My four sons are bound prentices to foure Trades
>
> (F.P., 28-20)

It is also proclaimed by each son as he appears onstage. Godfrey, for instance, states:

> I praise that Citty which made Princes Trades-men:
> .....
> I hold it no disparage to my birth,
> Though I be borne an Earle, to have the skill
> And the full knowledge of the Mercers Trade.
>
> (F.P., 67, 73-75)

The playtext also stresses the importance of *virginity* in relation to the prentice heroes. While the play does not mention the practice of the heroic virtue directly, the audience would understand that the reason Tancred takes charge of the beauteous Bella Franca, till the wars are over, is to protect virginity on all fronts:

> Then till this strict contention ended be,
> Deliver this bright virgin unto me
> (F.P., 841-842)

In like manner Guy's refusal to succumb to the charms of the French princess would also have been understood in terms of the traditional virgin hero eschewing romance while making preparations for the coming conflict with the forces of evil:

> Then can I love no Lady by my troth.
> Madame fare-well; for under my command
> The King your father sends ten thousand men,
> To winne the holy Town Hierusalem
> (F.P., 433-436)

The four prentices likewise exhibit the *chivalrous behaviour* required by traditional heroes. Among the many instances when they show themselves to be ideal knights are the following:

. Their demonstration of love for God and country by agreeing to enlist under Robert of Normandy and fight the pagans in "the holy wars at Hierusalem" (F.P., 212-220)

. Godfrey's fight to free the weak and oppressed

people of Bouillon from a tyrannous Earl and his Spanish minions

(F.P., 273-290)

· The co-operation the four heroes show by banding together and rescuing the innocent, old Earl of Bouillon from the clutches of Soldan and Sophie

(F.P., 2321-2338)

The villains in exotic citizen fantasy also reflect chivalric romance's strict structural code. Like the two villains in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes, the Soldan and Sophie manifest the first criterion of the malefactor -- *roaming in the wilderness*:

. In one instance infidel troops led by the Soldan and Sophie capture Robert of Normandy and Charles who have ventured into the *wilderness*, seeking Bella Franca. Guy single-handedly recues them (F.P., 1607-1673).

. In a similar fashion, Godfrey and Tancred are captured by Soldan and Sophie in a *wild, wooded area*, but Eustace saves that day (F.P., 1674-1690).

Along with roaming in the wilderness, Soldan and Sophie display the second credential of the popular chivalric

villain -- that of *unchivalrous behaviour*. A scene demonstrating the Infidel leaders' unknightly conduct occurs when the two villains, bested in an exchange of insults with the Christian leaders, decide to vent their spleen by torturing some poor, helpless pilgrims:

> Devise new tortures: oh for some rare Artist,
> That could invent a death more terrible
> Then are the everlasting pangs of hell!
>
> (F.P., 1957-1959)

Their cruelty and abuse of helpless victims faithfully recreates the villainous trait of unchivalrous conduct as discussed previously in relation to Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes.

In addition to plot sequence and structural code, one of the more prominent features of chivalric romance to be adopted by later Elizabethan dramatists was that of *symmetrical design*. Needing copious action for their plays,[87] dramatists -- writing in the heyday of chivalric romance (c. 1570-1590) -- developed a symmetrical format which featured parallel plots, multiple tale roles, and -- to increase audience excitement -- symmetrical fights. Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes provides excellent examples of how

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[87]Madeleine Doran gives an excellent summation of how the rhetorical ideal of copiousness/amplitude affected the romance drama of the Elizabethan period. See Chapter Two "Eloquence and `Copy'". Doran 46-52.

such symmetrical features were used in the early Elizabethan period. Throughout the play, the author arranges all dramatic elements in parallel. (Please refer to appendix 5 for a brief summary of the play.) The first symmetrical element of importance is that of parallel plots. As already discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the plot sequences of episodes 1 and 3 -- the stories of Clamydes and Clyomon respectively -- follow an identical structural pattern, that of the heroic folk fairy tale schema. In each of these two parallel and opposing episodes, the anonymous author follows a rigid symmetrical plan using multiple tale roles. (Please refer to Table 1). His format includes two heros, two villains, and two princesses who are damsels in distress. Symmetrical combats were also a feature favoured by a paying public. The martial encounters which Clyomon and Clamydes have with their respective archenemies have been dramatically arranged to parallel and oppose each other. During the course of the action, Clamydes slays the Flying Serpent (offstage), parading the monster's head for the audience's approval (S.C., 7). Later he puts to flight the false hero, Bryan Sans-foy (S.C., 22.409-436). These victories are balanced by the struggle and victory which Clyomon achieves over the scoundrel Thrasellus (S.C., 16) Another popular type of symmetrical combat which enjoyed great popularity was that which brought both heroes into direct conflict with each other. Episode 2 (Appendix 5)

frames just such an opposition. This episode centres on the enmity between the two heroes which began when Clyomon -- manifesting unknightly conduct -- tricked Clamydes out of his intended knighthood by pushing him aside, receiving the blow conferring the chivalric honour in his stead. Due to this supposed insult, Clamydes is dispatched by his father, the King of Suavia, to discover the stranger's identity and purpose, and to avenge his honour. This episode acts as a connective, linking the parallel quests of the two knights. When the two are not engaged in heroic pursuits -- slaying ravishers or flying serpents -- they are attempting to find each other and settle their score in honourable combat. Complications keep the two from meeting until, disguised, they appear as champions for two opposed factions before King Alexander the Great. Realizing the knightly qualities of both heroes, King Alexander mediates the dispute to the satisfaction of all. Although such symmetrical encounters added to the general excitement, custom did not permit a traditional champion to lose; therefore the mediated dispute was one way to allow each hero to maintain his dignity and remain undefeated.

A precise symmetrical pattern such as that used in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes can be clearly seen in later Elizabethan exotic citizen fantasies such as Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London. Like other dramatists writing exotic citizen fantasy in the 1590's,

Heywood simply utilized the popular chivalric design already in place and gave an exacting public what it wanted to see. Evidence of this symmetrical design can be seen in his use of parallel plots, multiple tale roles, and symmetrical fights. Concerning Heywood's use of parallel plots, section one of this chapter shows that the plot sequences of all four episodes -- the adventures of Godfrey (1), Guy (2), Charles (3), and Eustace (4) respectively -- follow the identical heroic folk fairy tale sequence of functions as indicated in Table 2 and can be said to parallel each other in all respects. Concurrent with the play's four parallel plots, Heywood's design also utilized multiple tale roles, as Table 2 reveals. While his format increased the number of heroes from the traditional two -- as seen in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes -- to an unprecedented, but balanced four, his plan maintained the traditional two princesses, Bella Franca and the French Princess, two villains, Soldan and Sophie, along with an assortment of benevolent roles (i.e. dispatcher/donor roles) which parallel each other in individual episodes. A last feature of note in Heywood's symmetrical scheme is the balanced manner in which he presents his combats. He goes to great lengths to ensure that any fights which occur involve all four of the prentices. If, however, a broil occurs which involves only two of the heroes, it is quickly followed by another fight featuring the other two. A good illustration of such

symmetry occurs when Guy defeats the Soldan and his troops in the wilderness, rescuing Robert and Charles (F.P., 1636-1662); a parallel skirmish, in which Eustace rescues Tancred and Godfrey, follows shortly thereafter (F.P. 1674-1686). This pattern appears again with a variation when the brothers -- unrecognized by one another -- square off in a set of duels. First Godfrey and Charles, champions for their respective contingents, have a go at each other with a pair of partisans -- winning great honour by their passage of arms (F.P., 1042-1066). A second encounter erupts shortly between the remaining brace of prentices, Eustace and Guy, who in their turn win equal renown (F.P., 1090-1118). Such symmetrical patterns indicate how later Elizabethan dramatists effectively incorporated chivalric parallelism into exotic citizen romance.

Exotic citizen fantasy was also indebted to chivalric romance for the popular convention of *non-recognition*. This important feature, bequeathed to chivalric romance as part of its fairy tale heritage,[88] was used by dramatists, to show that a central tale role (i.e. hero/villain...etc.) could not be identified due either to *changed appearance* or *disguise/concealment*. In the case of a hero's altered appearance, Stephen Gosson, a contemporary critic, wrote:

> Sometimes you shall see nothing but the adventures

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[88]Throughout his Morphology, Propp touches on various aspects of the fairy tale convention of non-recognition such as: altered appearance, disguise...etc. Propp 28-62.

> of an amorous Knight, passing from country to country for the love of his lady, encountring many a terrible monster of brown paper, & at his return, is so wonderfully changed, that he cannot be known but by some poesie in his tablet, or by a broken ring or a handkircher or a piece of cockle shell (Plays Confuted)(emphasis added).[89]

Gosson's remarks indicate that changed appearance was a staple feature of early popular quest romance. A good example of the part played by such a convention can be seen in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes when the hero, Clamydes, falls victim to the spell of the enchanter, Bryan Sans-foy, and is stripped of all his knightly accoutrements, even his Flying Serpent's head. His appearance is so radically altered that no one (save Clyomon) is able to recognize him. The situation persists until the cowardly enchanter, when challenged to a duel to the death by Clamydes, at last reveals the truth (S.C., 22.318-435). The second aspect of non-recognition, that due to disguise/ concealment, is also employed in the play. When Neronis, the Princess of Strange Marshes and truelove to Sir Clyomon, seeks to escape the unwanted attentions of the villain, Thrasellus, she disguises herself as a shepherd's boy (S.C., 15.31-77).

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[89]As quoted from Plays Confuted by Patricia Russell, "Romantic Narrative Plays: 1570-1590" Elizabethan Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon Studies 9 (London: Edward Arnold, 1966) 108.

Later, she takes service with her knight of the golden shield, Clyomon, disguised as a page boy (S.C., 20.27-50). In addition to such physical disguise -- Bryan Sans-foy's appearing in Clamydes' apparel and Neronis' cross-dressing -- another popular aspect of concealment was that of the blank shield. Throughout most of the play, Clyomon, Clamydes' rival, is able to remain incognito simply by sporting a golden shield without heraldic design and refusing to give any man his name without a fight:

> Requesting for to know my name,
> the which shall not be shown
> To any knight unless by force
> he make it to be known
>
> (S.C., 2.77-78)

Changed appearance, assumed disguises, and obscure shields were also important features of exotic citizen fantasy. In The Four Prentices of London, for instance, Thomas Heywood uses the non-recognition device of altered appearance as one of the central elements of his plot.[90] Throughout most of the play all of the central characters who are members of the old Earl of Bouillon's family do not recognize one another due to changed appearance and disbelief. The situation develops from the sinking of the prentices' bark (F.P., 267-271). While a Presenter advises

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[90]Barbara J. Baines, Thomas Heywood (Boston: Twayne, 1984) 40.

that all four have been saved, each -- having been wafted to a different country -- believes himself to be sole survivor. Eustace's thoughts are typical of what all four brothers believe:

> Or I had gone to heaven away by water
> Neerer then this by land; that way they found,
> Who in the salt remorselesse seas were drown'd,
> My brothers, whom I dreame on when I sleepe;
> And my eyes waking at their fortunes weepe.
>
> (F.P., 560-564)

Whenever any of the prentice heroes meet, their new stature as Christian leaders combined with their disbelief does not allow them to recognize each other. As Godfrey, the eldest, later points out:

> The confident assurance of thy death
> Made me to give the lie to my owne thoughts.
>
> (F.P. 1984-1985)

A similar state of disbelief/altered appearance applies to Bella Franca whom all believe to be safe in London (F.P. 717-718). In turn Bella Franca, who has followed her brothers on their holy quest, believes them drowned:

> ...How like is he to Charles by Shipwracke dead!
> And he to Eustace perisht in the waves:
> But they are both immortal Saints in heaven...
>
> (F.P., 711-713)

In addition Heywood also makes use of the popular chivalric

convention of disguise through cross-dressing. Like Neronis who disguised herself as shepherd and page boy in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes, the French Princess in episode 2 (See Appendix 6) disguises herself as Guy's page boy and joins him on his trip to Jerusalem. She reverts to her original royal garb at the tale's end and is proclaimed:

> A wondrous change! she that your Page hath beene
> Is now at length transformed to be your Queene.
>
> (F.P., 2552-2553)

Heywood also makes use of the non-recognition device of the obscure shield, but instead of a blank shield as was used in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes, he has one of his prentice heroes, Guy, switch escutcheons with and leave a letter of challenge for another hero, Eustace:

> Aske not who that Shield doth owe,
> For he is thy mortall foe:
> And where ere he sees that shield,
> Citty, Burrough, Grove, or Field,
> Hee that beares it, beares his bane,
> By his hand he must be slaine.
> Thine, in spight of thee, hee'le beare,
> (If thou dar'st) his Scutchion weare.
> Hee writ this, that thy shield will keepe,
> And might have slaine thee being asleepe.
>
> (F.P., 1736-1745)

Thus the new twist Heywood gives to the obscure

shield/unknown knight motif adds a dash of excitement and the possibility of a further symmetrical fight to the complication. As evident from such extensive use on Heywood's part, the non-recognition conventions of chivalric romance were an accepted part of citizen quest fantasy.

One of the most pleasing conventions adopted by writers of exotic citizen romance was chivalric romance's fairytale ending. Important in this grand, wish-fulfilling finale were the following elements: the revelation of all identities, the reconciliation of the rival heroes, a transfiguration/reconciliation of the *page boy* princess and her love, and the reward/marriage of the heroes. As seen in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes, the revelation of all identities hidden through disguise, changed appearance, or obscure shields is of vital importance for a satisfactory conclusion. In the final scene the following disclosures are made:

. Bryan Sans-foy is revealed as a false hero and punished for his presumption (S.C. 22, 410-435).

. Clyomon's page boy is revealed as Neronis (S.C., 22, 502-512).

. Through the auspices of King Alexander, Clyomon is revealed as the Prince of Denmark (S.C. 22, 160-162).

Closely connected to this last point is that of the reconciliation of the rival heroes. Since folk tradition did not allow one champion to overcome another, a state of

harmony between heroes was necessary for the tale to end on a happy note. In Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes King Alexander acts as mediator, brokering a piece between the rival heroes. Their new relationship is evident by the words Clamydes addresses to Clyomon:

> And are you son to Denmark King: then
> do embrace your friend,
> Within whose heart here toward you all
> malice makes an end,
> Who with your sister linked is in love
> with loyal heart.
>
> (S.C. 22, 163-165)

Following fairy tale convention there is also a transfiguration/reconciliation at the play's end.[91] In Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes it is the *page boy* princess, Neronis, who is transformed. Up to the final scene of the play, Neronis has appeared as a shepherd's boy, then later as page boy for Clyomon, but in the final scene, with the help of Clyomon's mother, she sheds her weeds, dons female garb and appears radiantly before her true love. At first Clyomon does not recognize Neronis, but recognition is part of the fairy tale formula, and eventually, prompted by Neronis and his mother, the Danish Queen, he realizes who she is. His joy is complete:

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[91]Brian Gibbons sees the structure of the transfiguration/revelation episode in this chivalric romance as a prototype for later romance plays. Gibbons 212.

> ...lo, how Dame Fortune favoureth me!
> This is Neronis my dear love, whose face
> so long I wish'd to see.
>
> (S.C., 22, 517-518)

Most important of all the elements which merge to produce a satisfactory fairytale ending are, of course, the heroes' rewards for the successful conclusion of their quests -- in this case a double wedding. Both heroes -- Sir Clyomon and his rival, Sir Clamydes -- receive the hand of a royal princess as their prize. The play ends on a jubilant note with all making preparations for the coming nuptials.

Later Elizabethan dramatists writing exotic citizen romance in the 1590's drew upon the same grouping of elements -- revelation, reconciliation, transfiguration, and reward/marriage -- to help them realize their own wish-fulfilling conclusions. The final section (F.P., 2100-2574) of Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London shows the revelation of all hidden identities:

- The four heroes finally recognize one another (F.P., 2101-2118)
- Bella Franca is revealed as sister to the heroes and daughter to the old Earl (F.P., 2490-2492)
- Guy's page is revealed as his love, the French Princess (F.P., 2506-2532)

As well, the heroes in Heywood's play attain a reconciliation. Two of the prentices, Eustace and Guy, had

been at odds with each other over a matter of honour (F.P., 1361-1370), but once they hear their brothers -- previously unrecognized -- addressing one another, they too recognize each other and are reconciled. As Eustace expresses it:

> And now my foe-turn'd brother, end our hate,
> And praise that Power Divine who guides our state.
>
> (F.P., 2141-2142)

In addition the element of transfiguration/reconciliation between Guy and his beloved French Princess is also essential to a proper conclusion. As was the case with Neronis in the earlier romance, Guy's French princess has played the role of page to her truelove, Guy. In the final lines of the play, she doffs her page boy attire and appears onstage in a resplendent female garb saying:

> A wondrous change! she that your Page hath beene
> Is now at length transform'd to be your Queene.
>
> (F.P., 2528-2529)

Guy recognizes his transfigured princess and his joy knows no bounds. The two are reunited:

> Leape heart, dance spirit be merry jocund soule,
> 'Tis she undoubtedly.
>
> (F.P., 2528-2529)

As was the case with chivalric romance, the element awaited most by the audience is the hero's reward/marriage and Heywood doesn't disappoint. Each of the prentice heroes receives a crown for his part in the conquest of Jerusalem.

As well, two royal weddings are to take place -- that of Bella Franca to Prince Tancred and that of Guy to his French Princess. An additional perk is the fact that their father, the old Earl, is given the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The formula for a satisfactory chivalric/fairytale ending is now complete; all of the key elements have been invoked: identities have been revealed, rival heroes reconciled, lovers reunited, and rewards amply distributed. Heywood's play, like its chivalric counterpart, ends on a triumphant note with all processing humbly to Christ's tomb:

> Repaire we to our Countries, that once done,
> For Syon and Jerusalem are wonne.
>
> (F.P., 2573-2574)

Chapter IV
Elizabethan Cultural Influences

A. Neo-Chivalry

As Steven Gunn has shown in his essay "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court", an early version of neo-chivalry was an important element in the culture of the English ruling class during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Even though pike and gun had eliminated the type of warfare often associated with knight-errantry, the two Henries were able to turn the popular tradition to the service of the state by claiming and obtaining the sole franchise on recognizing knightly honour and by using the pomp and ceremony of chivalry to glamorize courtly politics[92]. Yet in spite of its significance as a political backdrop in both monarchies, neo-chivalry -- as social orientation -- all but disappeared during the tumultuous reigns of Edward VI (1547-1553) and his successor Mary I (1553-1558). When neo-chivalry finally reappeared during the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign it was somewhat modified. In discussing this modified model -- neo-chivalry Elizabethan style -- three areas prove of special interest: the aim of the newly revised chivalry, neo-chivalry's acceptance by the Queen and her courtiers, and the chivalric

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[92]Gunn's essay provides a comprehensive account of neo-chivalry in the early Tudor Court. Steven Gunn, "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court," Chivalry in the Renaissance, ed. Sidney Anglo (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1990) 107-108.

revival's popularity with the London citizenry.

As Arthur B. Ferguson has shown in The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England, the revival of the chivalric tradition can be traced from the Earl of Leicester's famous pageant held at Kenilworth in 1575.[93] Such was the popularity of this pageant, that other royal entertainments with chivalric themes, such as the pageants held at Woodstock and Ditchley that same year, quickly caught on and remained in vogue throughout the balance of the Queen's reign. But although the revitalized ideology retained a medieval facade, its focus had changed. Reflecting the religious difference and national interests of Elizabethan England, the chivalric model which emerged during the 1580's was both English and Protestant; no trace of chivalry's earlier connection with Catholic Europe remained. The aims of the modified tradition were to advance the Protestant cause and provide public service within the framework of the Elizabethan hegemony.[94] A prime example of how the new aims affected the older tradition is the conversion of the Royal Order of the Garter, England's oldest knightly order, to the Protestant/national cause. Ferguson advises that by the end of the reign this group, which had previously been an ardent Catholic chivalric

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[93]Arthur B. Ferguson, The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England (Toronto: Associated UP, 1986) 79.

[94]Ferguson 67.

society, had become "a band of fiercely Protestant knights bound in union to defeat the dragon of St. George, now re-identified as the pope."[95]

The fact that Elizabethan chivalry became as influential as it did was due in large measure to its acceptance by the Virgin Queen and to its integration as part of the courtly ritual which had grown up around her person. It should be noted, however, that while Elizabeth revelled in the chivalric pageantry and courtly etiquette which presented her as the unattainable Faerie Queen[96] mistress to her knight-errant courtiers, she, like her Tudor forebears, was not averse to manipulating the chivalric code for her own political ends.

Neo-chivalry was also of consequence for that other segment of courtly life, the courtiers, especially the younger generation -- those born in the 1550's and '60's. For men like Walter Raleigh, Robert Devereux, and Philip Sidney, the revived tradition proved a font of inspiration. It not only provided a romantic framework whereby they could pay court to their royal mistress and win public renown through military deeds of valour, but it allowed this group of adventurers the latitude to incorporate their personal

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[95]Ferguson 76.

[96]Although used by Edmund Spenser, the title was first bestowed on Elizabeth at Woodstock in 1575. Ferguson 79; see also Jan Albert Dop, Eliza's Knights: Soldiers, Poets, and Puritans in the Netherlands, 1572-1586 (Rotterdam: Remak, 1981) 95.

agendas -- whether for honour, riches, land or power -- within the neo-chivalric code. Among this group's chivalric achievements can be counted:[97]

. A Protestant crusade against Catholic Spain

. Expeditions against the Spanish fleet

. Voyages of conquest/colonization to the New World (e.g. Virginia, Guiana)

. The military conquest of Ireland

Sir William Segar, writing at the time, stated that the deeds of this younger set of courtiers could be compared to those of the chivalric heroes of old, since they "were worthy of honour and should make sceptics think twice before entirely disregarding those, hardly more marvellous, recorded of King Arthur and his knights."[98]

But neo-chivalry was not limited solely to the royal court. As a social orientation, chivalry had had a long tradition in England, and, even though it had been absent from the public eye for a time (i.e. 1547-1574), its symbols still held meaning for the vast majority. As a result, when neo-chivalry reappeared in 1575, it was accepted by the populace and readily integrated into the social fabric of the period. The popularity of this reborn social orientation with the non-aristocratic classes can be seen by

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[97]Ferguson touches on a number of such grand, neo-chivalric projects concocted by second generation courtiers. Ferguson 70-71

[98]As quoted by Ferguson 71.

the public's attendance at chivalric tournaments, as well as its voracious appetite for chivalric pulp fiction. Regarding the public's attendance at chivalric displays, Ferguson advises that each year thousands of London citizens would pay a shilling apiece to be admitted to the Accession Day tilts at Whitehall. At this annual occurrence, which promoted a neo-chivalric atmosphere, spectators were able to watch an elaborate courtly ritual which glorified the Queen, followed of course by a series of tilts and martial encounters, featuring the Queen's Gentlemen (i.e. younger courtiers) who -- decked out as knights of old -- dazzled the crowd with their brave feats of arms.[99] Even more important however, in spreading the chivalric message among all and sundry, was the increased level of literacy in the small masters' and merchants' class. As Laura Stevenson O'Connell has indicated in her insightful essay "The Elizabethan Bourgeois Hero Tale: Aspects of an Adolescent Social Consciousness", the reemergence of chivalry as an important cultural orientation coincided with a dramatic increase in the ability to read and write among England's merchants and small master craftsmen. In London alone such craftsman literacy had reached 82% by the mid 1590's, while in the suburbs the literacy rate rose from 31% in the 1580's

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[99]Ferguson 80-81.

to an impressive 69% by 1600-1610.[100] But with the new readership came a demand for some type of pleasurable reading material. Since little else was available, chivalric romances -- either in their original form or in translation[101] -- filled the bill and became the secular reading matter of choice. Readers of all estates perused tales of knightly adventure with great interest. Typical of the romances enjoyed by the increased readership were those listed in the collection of Captain Cox, a mason by trade. The size of the Cox collection, referred to in Robert Laneham's letter of 1575, shows to what extent chivalric romances were available to the literate element of Elizabethan society. Copies of popular romances mentioned include "King Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, The foour sons of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The sqyre of lo degree, the knight of courtesy and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamour, Sir Tryamour, Sir Lamwell, Syr Isenbras,Syr Gawyn, Clyuer of the Castl..."[102] In concert with popular romance dramas like Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes,[103] these

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[100]Laura Stevenson O'Connell, "The Elizabethan Bourgeois Hero-Tale: Aspects of an Adolescent Social Consciousness," After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980) 269.

[101]In addition to home grown chivalric romances, a plethora of Spanish translations began to appear in the 1580's. Ferguson 77-78; see also Gibbons 215.

[102]As quoted in footnote 8. Gibbons 215.

[103]Other plays of the period, now lost, which possibly had chivalric themes similar to Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes

chivalric tales did much to propagate a neo-chivalric orientation during the last twenty-five years of Elizabeth's reign.

B. Nationalism

In discussing nationalism, one of the most important, yet complex social ideologies to emerge in mid-sixteenth century England, the present section will focus solely on those aspects of the orientation relevant to the category of plays being studied. As such the discussion will center on three specific areas: nationalism's origin, its central tenets, and its impact on the popular histories of the period.

The nationalism which manifested itself during the Elizabethan era was, by and large, the product of a group of highly educated, well spoken, Protestant intellectuals bent on restoring the Reformed Church at all costs.[104] Many of these reformers had been in exile or hiding during the reign of Mary Tudor and had "been made to feel the sting of persecution".[105] With Elizabeth's accession in 1558, this group resumed life in the main stream of English society ready, after years of exile, to defend the Reformation.

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include the following: Herpetulus the Blue Knight, The Irish Knight, The Solitary Knight, The Knight in the Burning Rock, The Soldan and the Duke of ... Gibbons 212; see also Russell 111.

[104]William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963) 48.

[105] The phrase is Haller's. Haller 17.

They realized that if Elizabeth should fail in the religious accord she was seeking, any hope they had of practising their reformed faith in peace would be lost. As a result this canny group of proselytizers linked the cause of the young Queen and the prosperity of the nation to the spread of the Reformed Word. Using all available means including printing press and pulpit, they were successful in disseminating their message to a nation weary of religious strife. That the religious settlement arrived at between Queen and Parliament in 1563, which saw the establishment of a national (i.e. Reformed) Church of England, proved so agreeable to most Englishmen was due as much to the propagandizing skills of this group as it was to Elizabeth's political acumen.

Like other militant Protestant ideologies of the period,[106] English nationalism as promoted by the reformers yoked a religious belief in the Reformed Church with allegiance to a Protestant monarchy and its pro-reform policies. The main points of the new orientation as expounded by them were as follows:

. There is only one True Church, the Reformed Church

. England is an elect nation, chosen by God to

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[106] Calvinists and Huguenots on the continent also formed religious/political movements aimed at reorganizing their corrupt societies. See Chapter 1 "Calvinism Versus Catholicism in Western Europe" for a discussion of this activity. Dunn 11-16.

consummate the reformation of his Church

. Elizabeth I has been appointed by God to begin that work

. The Reformed Church -- whether in England or Europe -- is a single, international body and shares a set of common beliefs.[107]

While such tenets helped foster a national identity -- which included a sense of being a people apart, a sense of national destiny, and a pride in England and its accomplishments -- they also gave rise to a marked antipathy for Rome, the papacy, and the Catholic powers of Europe, especially Spain.[108] Such cultural attitudes can be clearly seen reflected in the popular histories of the day.

In an age when the reading of history was second only to that of Holy Scripture,[109] Elizabethans revelled in histories -- both biographical and chronicle -- which emphasized nationalistic values. Most popular of the biographical histories was John Foxe's Actes and Monuments

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[107] Haller 18; see also Julia Gasper, The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 2-3.

[108] In Chapter 3 "A Dark Popish Domdaniel", William Maltby shows how propagandists like John Foxe purposely used false information to help incite national opinion against Spain. Maltby 29-43.

[109] Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1963) 297.

or, as it was better known, the Book of Martyrs.[110] In writing his great work Foxe sincerely believed that the world was already "greatly pestered" with a superfluity of books, "especially histories" (Foxe, 1:xxv),[111] but he also understood the effectiveness of this medium in reaching the public. If, as he asked himself, "men commonly delight so much in other chronicles which entreat of worldly affairs, the stratagems of valiant captains, the roar of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the hurlyburlies of realms and people," how much more so was it necessary to preserve "in rememberance the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of mild and constant martyrs of Christ" (Foxe, 1:xxv). His original folio, first published in Latin (Basle, 1559) and later in an enlarged English version (England, 1563), presented biographical snapshots of many of the victims of persecution under Mary Tudor in order "to frame ...examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godliness!" (Foxe, 1:xxv). While this edition enjoyed some popularity, it was Foxe's revised English edition (1570) -- which included an increased section on the Marian martyrs, and extended accounts of

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[110] Foxe's book was reprinted six times during Elizabeth's reign. Haller 13.

[111] John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, ed. Rev. Josiah Pratt, 4th ed. vol. 1-8 (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877) xxv. Subsequent references will be to this edition and will be cited parenthelically in the text giving volume and page number e.g. (Foxe, 1:xxv).

Church and national histories -- that had the greatest impact on Elizabethan England. With the publication of this revamped edition of the Book of Martyrs, Protestants had for the first time an account of world and national events leading up to the accession of Elizabeth -- written from a Protestant point of view.[112] From this apocalyptic perspective, Foxe presented a narrative which revealed past and contemporary happenings, including the sufferings of early and latter-day Christians, as part of God's plan for England as elect nation. His voluminous work concluded with the accession of Elizabeth whom he specifically linked with the nation's destiny (Foxe, 8:600-624). As William Haller states in his insightful study Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation:

> ... the book made plain that by all the signs to be found in scripture and history the will of God was about to be fulfilled in England by a prince perfect in her obedience to her vocation, ruling a people perfect in their obedience to her authority.[113]

Following its publication in 1570, the revised martyrology was well received by a public hungry for

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[112] Protestant thinking of the day was highly influenced by apocalyptic theology. Gasper 3.

[113] Haller 225.

historical material and a national government anxious to justify its stance during a time of adversity.[114] Recognizing the Book of Martyrs as the most comprehensive statement of the Protestant position up to that time, Elizabeth's administration ordered that the work be publicly displayed for reading -- alongside the Bible -- in all English churches.[115] Endorsed by the Crown and available to all churchgoers, it was not long before the nationalistic attitudes promoted in the martyrology impacted on the populace and became part and parcel of the semantic code of the day.[116] Among such attitudes are the following:

- A belief in the English nation as elect nation
- A pride in English history and culture
- A deep devotion -- part religious and part patriotic -- for Elizabeth
- A fierce religious intolerance for Catholicism - both at home and abroad
- A deep hatred for Rome, the Papacy, and the Catholic powers of Europe -- especially Spain.

In addition to biographical histories, the chronicles

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[114] During the 1569-1570 period when the work was published, Elizabeth's government was under attack from two quarters: a group of northern Catholic earls revolted and a Papal bull excommunicated the Queen. Dunn 50-51.

[115] Haller 13; see also Gasper 3.

[116] Haller 15.

of England, histories dealing with the past glories of England and the English people, were quite popular with all estates and proved helpful in disseminating the values of nationalism across the land. Stirred by reform preachers and the popular press to take a new interest in their elect nation, Elizabethan readers, in increasing numbers, began to read chronicle histories, especially those which exalted English heroes and military triumphs of the past. Stationers (i.e. licensed printers and sellers of books), ever ready to turn a profit, responded to this demand by reprinting the more popular of the older chronicles such as Thomas Cooper's An Epitome of Chronicles (1549) or issuing brand-new ones in easily readable English to accommodate the nation's latest -- and quickly growing -- group of literate citizens, the merchant and small master classes.[117] While newer chronicles such as Richard Grafton's A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of England Kinges of the same (1568) and John Stow's The Annales of England (1580) attained a certain degree of popularity, going through multiple printings[118], by far the most highly regarded chronicle history of the period was that compiled by Raphael Holinshed entitled Holinshed's Chronicles of

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[117] Wright 81-3.

[118] Wright 314.

England, Scotland and Ireland (1577).[119]

Issued in 1577 as a massive two-volume set and later in 1587 in a three-volume format, Holinshed's Chronicles was the collaborative effort of a group of talented London writers which included such luminaries as William Harrison and John Hooker. Written in simple but effective prose, the three thousand page work was well researched and provided detailed historical knowledge and topographical descriptions of England, Ireland and Scotland[120]. It soon came to be regarded by Elizabethans of all stripes -- including antiquarians and playwrights[121] -- as the most authoritative publication of its kind. Like other histories of the period, however, the work was not only a scholarly compendium of historical facts and figures but a cultural product of its day and, as such, an important vehicle for the dissemination of nationalistic sentiments.

C. Orientalism

A third cultural orientation which helped to shape

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[119] Although Holinshed wrote some of the prose in the chronicles which bear his name, he was principally the compiler. Wright 315.

[120] Robert M. Adams, The Land and Literature of England: A Historical Account (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983) 166-167.

[121] Playwrights such as Shakespeare and Marlowe readily used Holinshed as source material for their plays. Adams 167; Wright 315; see also Christopher Marlowe, The Plays of Christopher Marlowe, ed. Leo Kirschbaum, (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962) 69.

exotic citizen fantasy was orientalism. Defined by Edward Said as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience"[122], orientalism, which proved to be of such consequence in shaping Elizabethan attitudes towards the peoples and cultures of the Islamic East[123], was for the most part the product of a medieval inheritance, but it was also influenced by late sixteenth-century political considerations. In discussing this important ideology, the present section will focus on three areas of concern: orientalism's medieval inheritance, political realities, and orientalism's influence on the travel literature of the period.

Among the most important cultural attitudes relating to the Orient and Orientalism inherited by Elizabethans from their medieval forebears were those of religious devotion, wonder, fear of Islam/Islamics, and a desire to reconquer Christian lands seized by Islamics. Due to the profound influence of Christianity, the main attitude which Western medieval society had for the Orient was one of religious devotion. For medieval man, the Orient was Jerusalem and the Holy Land: the place where the events in the life of Christ, the Saviour, had unfolded. No more sacred or

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[122]Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 1.

[123]For the Medieval and Renaissance periods the Islamic East was the Orient. Said 116.

central spot existed in his universe.[124] This feeling of religious attachment to the lands of the Bible was reinforced by the many stories, sermons, and dramas of the time which were based upon biblical themes and which played an important role in medieval culture. In addition the many holy artifacts -- relics, bones, and the like -- brought back from the Levant by pilgrims and crusaders, which usually ended up as objects of veneration in the churches of Western Europe, further strengthened this religious/Oriental link.[125]

A second aspect of medieval orientalism was that of wonderment. Not only was there religious wonder at the sacred mysteries which had transpired in the Holy Land; but, as pilgrims began returning home with stories about the strange places and stranger beings they had encountered, it was not long before the Orient came to be considered as a land of fantasy in the popular imagination. Renowned travellers like Sir John Mandeville, Friar Odoric, and Friar John of Piande Carpini regaled their readers with fantastic travel accounts, while medieval storytellers composed new

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[124]See Stephen Greenblatt's explanation of medieval cosmographic and spiritual centrality regarding Jerusalem in Chapter 2 "From the Dome of the Rock to the Rim of the World". Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) 41-43.

[125]For an extensive list of such religious/Oriental associations see Chapter 1 "Tale and Tale-Bearers". Samuel C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance (New York: Octagon Books, 1965) 6-7.

travel accounts, while medieval storytellers composed new adventure tales featuring popular heroes in Middle Eastern settings.[126] For medieval man the Orient had become "a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experience."[127]

Another medieval attitude bequeathed to Elizabethans was a fear and distrust of Islam and Islamics. As conqueror of all of the Middle East, Persia, North Africa, and parts of Europe, Islam was perceived as a serious military threat to the kingdoms of Christendom; however, it was its religious orientation which Rome and the Christian hierarchy of the age saw as the real threat. Church authorities viewed the Islamic religion as a hodge podge of heresies and schisms: a twisted, inverted version of Christian doctrine which had no legitimacy of itself.[128] Islam was further seen as a religion of sensuality designed to ensnare unwary Christians and the only way it could be countered was by reference to revealed Christian truth.[129] This attitude of fear and contempt was also extended to the adherents of the schismatic creed. Mohammed, as founder, was viewed as a false Christ and purveyor of a false revelation. He was

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[126]Chew 7-8.

[127]Said 1.

[128]Jack D'Amico, The Moor in English Renaissance Drama (Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1991) 79.

[129] D'Amico 78.

further demonized by medieval scribes who attributed to him a whole host of vices. He became "the epitome of lechery, debauchery, sodomy, and a whole battery of assorted treacheries".[130] His followers, the Islamic tyrants -- whether of Moorish or Turkish stock -- who ruled the newly conquered territories, were seen by medieval man in a similar light. Inheriting the same litany of vices as their founder, these oriental despots were depicted as barbaric, cruelly perverse, and lacking the restraint found in Christian princes.[131] Fear and contempt for Islam and the Islamic hordes of the East became "a lasting trauma".[132]

Also of note was the attitude fostered by medieval Church authorities as a reaction to the spread of Islam: the desire to reconquer former Christian-owned lands. Due to a number of proximate causes, including the advance of the Selijug Turks and the weakening Byzantine Empire, it became apparent to the Christian hierarchy of the eleventh century that it was imperative to stop the Islamic menace. Building upon the natural propensity with which Christian princes of the day waged war on each other, the Church proclaimed a holy crusade which had the effect of uniting these warlords in a common cause -- the reconquest of the former Christian lands (including the Holy Land) and the subjugation of these

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[130]Said 62.

[131]D'Amico 79-80.

[132] The expression is Said's. Said 59.

address, given just before the proclamation of the First Crusade in 1095, illustrates how the new orientation was presented to the faithful. (Please see appendix 7 for a concise summary of Urban's remarks.)

The text of Urban's speech clearly points out the parameters of this aspect of orientalism. Christian forces, justified by the barbaric acts of "an accursed race, wholly alienated from God"[133], are to reconquer the former Christian lands of the Byzantine Empire, as well as Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Participants in the venture are accorded absolution for their sins and eternal reward: "the reward of imperishable glory in the Kingdom of Heaven"[134]. This crusading mentality as promoted by the Christian hierarchy of the later Middle Ages was widely accepted and after two centuries of attempting to retake the Holy Land (i.e. 1095-1291 A.D.) had become firmly embedded in the cultural code of Western Europe.

But English attitudes towards the Orient and Orientals were also shaped by Elizabethan foreign policy. Viewing Rome and the Catholic powers of Europe -- especially Spain -- as the enemy, Elizabeth's government pursued a policy of national self-interest, actively seeking trade and military alliances with Islamic states. Due to this strategy,

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[133]As quoted by Will Durant. Will Durant, The Story of Civilization: The Age of Faith, Vol. 4 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950) 587.

[134]Durant, The Age of Faith 587.

alliances with Islamic states. Due to this strategy, official perceptions of the Orient and Orientals changed somewhat. In discussing this official change in English orientalism, the present section will touch upon the following attitudes: the desire to trade, the desire to establish military alliances, and the official view of Islam and Islamics.

One of the most important aspects of Elizabethan orientalism was the desire to trade with Islamic nations. Putting aside traditional fear and mistrust of Islam, English merchants pushed for better access to the rich Islamic markets of the Levant and Morocco. Although a considerable amount of trade had been carried on between England and Turkey prior to 1570, it had been done through Venetian merchants and in Venetian bottoms.[135] From 1575 onwards English merchants, backed by Elizabeth's government, had actively sought concessions from The Great Turk, Sultan Murad III, in Constantinople. Correspondence between Elizabeth and the Sultan in 1579 helped prepare the way for a final settlement. At last, in 1580, William Harborne, the Queen's Chief negotiator, concluded an agreement with the Sultan which secured "a grant of capitulations guaranteeing the safety of English merchants, the right to trade, and the permission to establish consultates"[136]. By all accounts the

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[135]Chew 151.

[136]Chew 152.

trade managed by The Company of Merchants of the Levant, better known as the Levant Company, proved to be a lucrative one.[137] In like manner, English merchants from the late 1550's onwards were desirous of obtaining a trade agreement with the wealthy African kingdom of Morocco, where English exports like kerseys and military supplies were in demand and where needed imports like gold, sugar, gum arabic, and saltpeter were plentiful.[138] Although there was a strong, unregulated English trading presence in Morocco from about 1559, it was not possible for Elizabeth to conclude any lasting treaty prior to the 1580's due to unrest in the kingdom.[139] With the accession of the capable el-Mansour in 1578, a close association developed between the two countries. One result of that relationship was the founding of the Barbary Company in 1585 to better regulate the trade between the two nations. As was the case with the Levant trade, the Moroccan trade proved extremely profitable.

In addition to the profitable trade, Elizabeth and her government attempted to establish military alliances with their new Islamic trading partners. Building upon the

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[137]Chew provides a brief account of the activities of the Levant Company during its early years in Chapter 4 "The Great Turk". Chew 150-164; see also George Cawston and A. H. Keane, The Early Chartered Companies 1296-1858 (1896; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968) 68-71.

[138]D'Amico 14-16.

[139]Unrest was caused by the rapid succession of three rulers between 1576 and 1578, and the Portuguese invasion of 1578. D'Amico 5-21.

animosity between Turkey and Spain in the Mediterranean, Elizabeth, through her ambassador, William Harborne, actively sought Turkish assistance in the Anglo-Spanish conflict. In 1586 Harborne tried to persuade the Turkish Sultan to join in an attack on Spanish shipping. While no attack was forthcoming, Harborne did succeed in getting the Great Turk (i.e. Sultan Murad III)to threaten Spain at just the moment when the Spanish Armada was being readied.[140] In like manner Elizabeth, knowing the anti-Catholic bias that had existed in Morocco since the Portuguese invasion of 1578, attempted to form a military alliance with that country's new ruler. El-Mansour had, however, little interest in such a pact especially since Philip II of Spain had annexed Portugal in 1580. But with the actual outbreak of Anglo-Spanish hostilities and the success of the Cadiz raid (1587), el-Mansour showed more interest in such a partnership. An envoy to Elizabeth's court in 1589 presented the Queen with an offer of one hundred ships and 110,000 ducats as the Moroccan ruler's share in a joint venture against Spanish shipping.[141] Although the proferred funds and ships never materialized, trade continued to flourish between the two countries and diplomatic channels remained open. As late as 1600-1601, correspondence between Elizabeth and el-Mansour reveals that some type of joint

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[140]Chew 157.

[141]D'Amico 29.

military action against Spain was still being considered.[142]

Over and above trade and military concerns, another important aspect of Elizabethan orientalism was its official attitude towards Islam and Islamics. In Elizabeth's court where carnival goers garbed themselves "lyke Turkes"[143] and where many masques and revels had a definite Oriental flavour[144], the intolerance of medieval orientalism was much less evident than in the population at large. This new official attitude of toleration for the religion and peoples of Turkey and Morocco, England's two great Islamic partners, was based on the political and economic realities of Elizabeth's last decade which saw England in need of new markets and military alliances. In order to present Islam to her subjects in a more favourable light and to effect a more binding rapprochement between herself and her Turkish allies, Elizabeth made much of the fact that, like Islam which forbade artistic representation, Protestantism was opposed to the overuse of decorative art and statuary as seen in Catholicism.[145] On this basis she publicly promoted the view that both she and the Great Turk "were alike enemies of idolators".[146] A similar argument for closer

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[142]D'Amico 34-38.

[143]Chew 452.

[144]Chew 456-7.

[145]D'Amico 20.

[146]Chew 104

relations with Morocco was broached by Edmund Hogan, Elizabeth's ambassador to that country, who, in the account of his initial meeting with el-Malek, ruler in 1577, attempted to reconcile Protestant and Islamic causes noting that the Moroccan ruler "beareth a greater affection to our Nation than to others because of our religion which forbiddeth worship of Idols..."[147]. Elizabeth also took the opportunity, when it presented itself, of publicly honouring Islamic embassies to her court. While no Ottoman embassage visited England during Elizabeth's reign,[148] a number of Moroccan diplomatic missions were warmly received. One such delegation, that of 1589, was greeted upon disembarking by the members of the Barbary Company who escorted the delegates through the streets of London by torchlight,[149] while a second group of Moroccan diplomats were made special guests -- for all and sundry to behold -- at the Queen's Accession Day tilts in 1600 where "a speciale place was builded oneley for them neere to the Parke doore, to beholde that dayes triumph".[150] Such public recognition of Moorish delegates showed a real effort on the part of the English government to promote a new, more positive perception of

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[147]As quoted by D'Amico 19-20; see also footnote 2. Chew 104.

[148]Chew 152.

[149]D'Amico 29.

[150]As quoted by D'Amico. D'Amico 36.

Islam and Islamics: one in keeping with the nation's economic and military needs during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign.

Both the medieval and official aspects of Elizabethan orientalism can be seen reflected in the popular travel literature of the time. The whirlwind of activity surrounding Elizabethan/Islamic relations -- the opening of the Oriental trade routes, the activities of the Levant and Barbary Companies, and the availability of Middle Eastern fashions and commodities in London markets -- had much to do with the public's eagerness to find out more about the Orient. Stationers readily responded to this curiosity by publishing travel narratives -- both fanciful and factual -- which not only entertained, but, through the traditional and official attitudes expressed in them, helped shape their Elizabethan readers' views of the Orient and Orientals.

One of the most popular of the fanciful narratives was The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (or Mandeville's Travels) which purported to be the actual account of the adventures of an English knight from St. Alban's as he journeyed to the Holy Land and other Oriental destinations, seeing strange things and hearing stranger stories. While modern scholars debunk the work as a tissue of inaccuracies and improbabilities,[151] Elizabethan readers, eager to hear tales of Oriental adventure, found Mandeville's Travels to be no

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[151]Greenblatt 26-51.

more farfetched than others of the day.[152] Reprinted twice during Elizabeth's reign,[153] the narrative accurately reflects attitudes characteristic of medieval orientalism: devotion, wonder, fear of Islam/Islamics, and a desire to reconquer.

In addition to such fanciful travel narratives, factual accounts like John Pory's celebrated translation of Leo Africanus' The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained provide an accurate picture of English attitudes toward Islam and Islamics during the final years of Elizabeth's reign. Although a trade agreement had existed between Morocco and England since 1585, few travel books -- including Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation (1598) -- bothered to concern themselves with Morocco or the new African trade.[154] Then in 1600, following the visit of the Moroccan embassy to London, when interest in Islamic Africa and the new trade was at a peak, John Pory, showing great business acumen, brought his version of Leo Africanus

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[152]Wright 508.

[153]Elizabethans would have had access to the 1568 edition as well as the reprint in Hakluyt's first edition of The Principall Navigations... of 1598. Greenblatt 30-31; see also footnote 1. Chew 10.

[154]D'Amico speculates that in the first (1598) edition of Principall Navigations ..., Hakluyt was more interested in New World rather than Barbary traffic. D'Amico 8-9.

to print.[155] The book, a good translation for its day, was well received by the public and applauded by fellow travel scribes like Hakluyt.[156] The present discussion, one centered on Elizabethan orientalism, will not concern itself with that portion of Pory's edition dealing with the actual translation, but rather with the additional material appended to it. This supplementary material, compiled by Pory from English sources[157], provides a unique view of the contradictory attitudes towards Islam and Islamics in Elizabethan England.

In the section entitled "Of Mahumet, and his accursed religion in generall"[158] the attitude towards Islam presented by Pory is one based upon the popular prejudices and preconceptions of medieval orientalism. Pory speaks of Mahumet as a "seducer" and son of an "Idolater" (LA 3:1006). He reaffirms the misconception widely held in the Middle Ages that Mahumet was a heresiarch and Islam an heretical

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[155]Robert Brown, introduction/notes, The History And Description of The Notable Things Therein Contained, by Leo Africanus, trans. John Pory, vol. 1 (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1896) lxviii.

[156]Brown, History lxvi.

[157]Brown, History lxvii.

[158]Leo Africanus, The History and Description of Africa And Of The Notable Things Therein Contained, trans. John Pory, ed. Robert Brown, vol. 3 (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1896) 1006; further references are to this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text giving volume and page number e.g. (LA 3:1006).

form of Christianity[159], informing his readership that the "diabolical religion" (LA 3:1006) was an innovation of Mahumet assisted by "two Apostata Jewes, and two heretikes": one being a Nestorian, the other an Arian (LA 3:1007). He portrays the Islamic creed as one which, if allowed, will allure both Jews and Christian heretics since, like Judaism, Mahumet's Law "embraceth circumcision & maketh a difference between meats pure, & unpure" and, like Arianism, "It denieth the Divinitie of Christ and looseth the bridle to the flesh" (LA 3:1008).

Regarding Islamics, Pory presents both official and traditional views in different sections of his edition. Recognizing the importance of the Moroccan trade connection, Pory repeats the official line of tolerance, noting in his letter of dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State "that the Marocan ambassadour... hath so lately treated with your Honour concerning matters of that estate " (LA 1:3). He also extends this official approbation to Leo Africanus, Moorish author of his translated travel narrative. Making an effort to overcome the traditional bias towards Islamics, he counsels his readers in the introduction[160] to put aside the fact that the author, John Leo, was "by birth a More, and by religion for many years a Mahumetan" (LA 1:4) and

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[159]See Chew's observations on how Mahamot was perceived by medieval and renaissance man in Chapter 9 "The Prophet and His Book". Chew 397-401.

[160]Throughout the introduction. Africanus 4-7.

instead to accept him on the basis of his "Parentage, Witte, Education, Learning, Emploiments, Travels, and his conversion to Christianitie" (LA 1:4). Such an acceptance will, Pory feels, overcome the Islamic tie and show the author well prepared for his task, and the resulting history, one "to be regarded" (LA 1:4).

Pory's kid gloved official treatment of the Moroccan ambassador and the Moorish author is not repeated with Islamics at large in his addendum on the Islamic peoples of Africa. Of the first Islamic group treated, the Moors, he notes the importance of the Moroccan trade for England and the power of that country's ruler, the Xeriffo, el-Mansour (LA 3:987). But when he goes on to narrate how that worthy's forebears acceded to the throne, he informs that it was done through usurpation and procuring followers "by blood and the cloake of religion" (LA 3:992). He also acquaints his readers with the harm brought by the Moors in 1536 to those Christians (i.e. the Portuguese) who at one time had held a section of Morocco for trading purposes. He concludes with a discussion of Moorish animosity for all Christians noting that it is written in their law

> that if a Moor kil a Christian, or is slain by him, he goeth directly into Paradise, (a diabolicall invention) men, women, and those of every age and degree, run to the warres hand over head, that at least they may there be slaine; and

by this means (according to their foolish opinion) gaine heaven (LA 3:996).

The second powerful group of Islamics discussed by Pory are the Turks. As part of the Ottoman Empire, this group held sway in Egypt and along the Barbary Coast. Pory speaks with special loathing of those Christians who have turned Turk for reasons of wealth, opportunity, or sensuality,noting that such turncoats "would not be deprived of the licentiousnes and libertie of the life they lead..." (LA 3:1016). He also speaks with horror of "the most diabolical institution that ever was made." (LA 3:1016), the Turkish custom of taking and training one of every three male children born in Turkey's European territories as Janissaries. Separated from their families, these Christian youths lose their own culture adopting "the wicked fashions and customes...sins and vices" of their Turkish masters (LA 3:1018). Once snared, these Janissaries never return to the church and treat all Christians with contempt (LA 3:1017).

But Pory's most serious indictment of Islamics pertains to the capture and ill treatment of Christian slaves by both African Islamic groups. Since the Portuguese loss at Alcazar (1578), Turkish and Arabian (i.e. Moorish) corsairs have, he reports, freely raided the north shore of the Mediterranean, taking "great numbers of Christians from off the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicilia, yea even from the very mouth of Tyber" (LA 3:1067). Thousands of such

captives are found in the main cities of Morocco and the Barbary Coast where brutish captors deprive them of food and clothing, force them to do menial labour, keep them constantly chained, and prohibit them from receiving "the word of God, &...the sacraments" (LA 3:1068). Punishments meted out to any slow or unproductive Christian by Islamic task masters include being chained up, tortured with boiling oil, and being beaten on the feet and belly (LA 3:1068). Worst of all, Pory advises, is being incarcerated in an Islamic prison where, choked by dampness and filth, prisoners are "yoaked together like brute beasts" (LA 3:1068) For Pory, such cruelties inflicted on these helpless victims -- especially the disallowance of Christian worship -- puts the Islamic captors on a par with the "persecutors of the primitive church" (LA 3:1068).

Such horrific details as are reported in Pory's supplement reveal the fear, loathing, and mistrust in which Islam and Islamics were still viewed by Elizabethans. Official acceptance notwithstanding, the intolerance of medieval orientalism was alive and well in the travel literature of late Elizabethan England.

Chapter V

A Cultural Rereading of The Four Prentices of London

Past scholarship on Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London has been scanty indeed. What little critical commentary is available either applauds the drama as "a frank exaltation of the valour of English apprentices"[161] or condemns it for its use of the elements of fantasy[162]. Aside from such meagre commentary, however, little real attention has been accorded this popular expression of Elizabethan romance drama which remained a favourite with London audiences from the time of its initial production in 1595[163] until the closure of the theatres in 1642.

Putting aside previous criticism, the present chapter will examine one aspect of The Four Prentices' popularity hitherto neglected -- its relation to the spirit of colonial conquest prevalent in late sixteenth century England. Viewing the play as a literary work of colonial discourse within the mode of fantasy, the reading will feature a

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[161]Otelia Cromwell, Thomas Heywood: A Study in the Elizabethan Drama of Everyday Life (1928; Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1969) 47.

[162]Baines 41; see also Arthur Melville Clark, Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist (1931; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967) 212.

[163]While different critics have proposed dates ranging from 1592 to 1600, I have adopted the 1595 date,as proposed by Mowbray Velt; since, from a colonial standpoint, it makes sense. Mowbray Velt, The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood (1924; New York: Haskell House, 1966) 66-67; see also Cromwell 46.

historical regrounding in light of the Irish colonial crisis of 1595; a cultural identification of colonial other and self within that context; and, through textual analysis, an exploration of nationalism, orientalism, capital adventurism, Christian imperialism and masterlessness/mastery -- ideologies liberated by the naming of other/self and reflective of the colonial temperament which permeated Elizabethan society. (Please see appendix 8 for a summary of The Four Prentices).

I. Historical Regrounding: The Colonial Crisis of 1595

As a literary work of fantasy, Heywood's play must be grounded in the Irish crisis of 1595. (Please see Ch. III "The Mode of Fantasy" regarding the importance of historical regrounding.) Although colonial expansion was an important part of Elizabeth's foreign policy, it was not -- at least in the initial stages -- such a sure thing. From 1587, when the colony at Roanoke was abandoned (during the Armada crisis), until 1595, the moment of The Four Prentices' initial production, England had no colonies save one: Ireland. With the onslaught of the Nine Years War (1594-1603) which threatened to wrench Ireland from its control, England -- already beset by the Anglo-Spanish conflict, closed European markets, and economic strife at home -- had reached a moment of historical decision regarding colonial expansion.

In order for the reader to have a better understanding of how Heywood has grounded his play in the Irish situation of 1595, it is helpful to apply the innovative two-frame approach to Renaissance drama utilized by Peter Hulme in Colonial Encounters[164]. Using Hulme's approach, it is readily seen that Heywood has indeed constructed his drama using a double frame. His central frame, based upon the romantic adventure of the First Crusade, reflects an eleventh century/Crusader focus; but his secondary frame provides a sixteenth century/colonial foreground. Although Heywood has done a skilful job in superimposing the contemporary frame onto the medieval one, the two are not congruent; and words, expressions, personages, topoi, and orientations from the colonial frame continually obtrude into the earlier frame of Crusader heroics. For the rank-and-file members of Heywood's audience familiar with the social code of the day, such secondary frame references as Indian mines (F.P., 266), Irish kernes (F.P., 325), Spanish aggressors (F.P., 270), and the royal pale (F.P., 961), along with the Presenter's account of Godfrey and the tyrannous Earl (F.P., 270-290), and Charles' adventure in Ireland among the kearnes (F.P., 316-320) could easily be used to interpret the prentices' adventure in terms of the ongoing conquest of Ireland (as discussed in Chapter II) and the events of 1595.

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[164]Hulme 89-136

II. A Cultural Identification

Grounded in the Irish crisis of 1595, the next important step in the present investigation is the identification of colonial other and heroic self for, as Rosemary Jackson notes, fantasy has always been concerned "with revealing and exploring the interrelations ... of self and other."[165] (Please refer to Ch. III "The Mode of Fantasy" concerning the importance of such namings.) The present naming though will focus, not on a topical identification with specific historic personages, but rather on a more general designation of colonial other and heroic self as representational figures for particular social groups within the cultural/colonial context of 1595.

The central villain of the medieval frame is the Soldan of Babylon, leader in the war against the crusaders, yet this character is not drawn from any known historical account of the First Crusade. Sources available to Heywood would have shown that the original Islamic enemy was from Turkey, not Babylon[166]. As well, educated Elizabethans would have known that Babylon had been a Persian province since Cyrus had subdued it in 538 B.C.[167], while the rank and file audience would have been familiar with the Governor of

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[165]Jackson 53.

[166]Mary Ann Gasior, introduction, The Four Prentices of London: A Critical, Old-Spelling Ediltion, by Thomas Heywood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980) xv-xix.

[167]Kirschbaum 471.

Babylon who defied Tamburlaine in the last act of 2 Tamburlaine. But nowhere was there any evidence of an historical figure calling himself the Soldan of Babylon.

The key to the identity of Colonial other can, however, be found in the double meaning ascribed to the name Babylon by Elizabethans. For Protestant zealots the term had a derogatory connotation when applied to Rome, the heart of Roman Catholicism, but a different and more exotic one existed within the public's mind. As Samuel S. Chew points out in The Crescent and the Rose, Babylon was used by such writers as Dekker, Greene, and Spenser to refer to Cairo, Egypt[168]. It is this second meaning (i.e. Babylon as Cairo) which helps to identify the colonial other as Irish.

English soldiery of the period who had served in campaigns against the Irish kernes had often heard the battle cry "Ferragh Ferragh" and understood the shout to mean Pharaoh. As a result a popular belief sprang up among the English that the Irish were of Egyptian descent and were calling upon their leader, the Egyptian Pharaoh, for aid. The fable circulated widely and was repeated in the major chronicles of the time as well as in Spenser's A View to the Present State of Ireland[169]. The two meanings of Babylonian Soldan, both as Egyptian tyrant and Roman Catholic leader, help to designate colonial other as a representational

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[168]Chew 24.

[169]Spenser 54-55.

figure for the rebel Irish chieftains who, like Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell (see earlier discussion chapter 2) sought to disrupt the expansive thrust of English power into their territories.

Opposed to the figure of colonial other is Heywood's protagonist, heroic self. In his eleventh century/Crusader frame, Heywood identified his protagonists with the heroic Norman knights who successfully captured Jerusalem. Although Heywood would have been aware that no English knights were involved in the Crusade of 1095 A.D.[170], he needed a strong English conqueror self to counter the perceived disorder of the colonial other; so, through the medium of the romance, he creates one. Godfrey of Bouillon and other chivalric worthies of the First Crusade are recruited and refashioned into English/Norman conquerors and given a pivotal role in one of the greatest adventures of the Middle Ages -- the conquest of Jerusalem. Another instance of this Norman conqueror parallel is the fact that each of the lands where the four prentices wash ashore was at one time subdued by Norman buccaneers: Belgium (Bouillon 881-885 A.D.), France (Normandy 911 A.D.), Italy (South 1036-1085 A.D.), and Ireland (1166 A.D.).

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[170]Records show only a tangential participation in that William Duke of Normandy's brother, Robert, participated, as did Eustace of Boulogne and Stephen of Blois: both of whom had English (i.e. Norman) connections. J.R.S. Phillips, The Medieval Expansion of Europe (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988) 37: see also Gasior's comments on Heywood's probable historical sources. Gasior xvii-xxiii.

But while Heywood's heroes mirror Norman knights in his eleventh century frame and appear, at first glance, to be modelled on London apprentices in his sixteenth century frame, a closer look shows that the four bear a marked resemblance to a segment of the English upper class. Except for the first scene of the play which presents the prentices and their father in a London setting, the heroes are never seen dressed or acting like prentices. From the first lines of the play the audience is informed that the lads are rightfully princes, but dispossessed due to the machinations of the French King who has planted some tyrannous Earl in the seat of their father, the hereditary ruler of Bouillon (F.P., 13-19). In addition to this princely birth, the four lads, once scattered by the tempest, display an amazing range of accomplishments which were certainly not part of the technical training dispensed by contemporary craft guilds. Not only can they ride and fight in the traditional style, but they are adept with contemporary weapons such as pikes, partisans, rapiers, and pistols. Moreover their knowledge of sixteenth century military tactics and terminology seems miraculous for novice craftsmen.

It is this military training, coupled with chivalric aims, which helps to designate Heywood's four prentice heroes as representational figures for the gentlemen adventurers of the late Elizabethan era. In The Chivalric

Tradition in Renaissance England, Arthur B. Ferguson speaks of the education undergone by this group of soldier-courtiers. Not only were such gentlemen trained in traditional knightly skills, but they were also taught military theory, battle tactics, and siege operations[171]: skills displayed by the four heroes as they ready their offensive against pagan-held Jerusalem (F.P., 2220-2231).

Within the colonial context of late sixteenth century Ireland it was just such an accomplished group who were invited after 1586 to become undertakers (i.e. adventurers), taking over the forfeited Desmond lands on the new plantation of Munster. With promises of becoming great lords ringing in their ears, scores of such gentlemen adventurers, non-inheriting sons of the landed upper classes for the most part, flocked to Ireland where they received seignories ranging from 4,000 to 12,000 acres. For Heywood, in light of the Irish crisis of 1595, only such highly trained Protestant adventurers, loyal to the Crown, could hope to compete against the well-trained troops of the tyrannous rebel, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.

III. Cultural Ideologies: A Textual Analysis

Since namings in fantasy literature are seen as telling indicators of a society's ideological assumptions (see chapter 3 "The Mode of Fantasy"), the identification of

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[171]Ferguson 102-103.

colonial other and heroic self as representational figures for two of the most powerful social groups involved in the colonial conflict of 1595 leads directly to a discussion of nationalism: one of the principal orientations of Eliabethan society (see earlier discussion chapter 4 "Nationalism"). Following the Armada victory (1588), the spirit of nationalism which had been evolving since the Elizabethan religious settlement of 1563 took a decidedly militaristic bent. Fostered by the chronicles of the day -- especially Holinshed's new edition of 1587[172] -- "flag-waving"[173] militarism became a popular orientation with all estates and was readily appropriated by playwrights for use in "historical"[174] dramas of the period. One specific way in which dramatists reflected this national fervour was by portraying their heroes as patriots through their manifestation of bravery, loyalty, and victory[175], the three qualities most admired by patriotic Englishmen. Following

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[172]Bevington 195.

[173]The expression is Wright's. Wright 623.

[174]As used by Bevington, the term refers to all romances which promote military glory and which borrow aspects of historical settings. Bevington 206.

[175]For further discussion of how Renaissance dramatists used the three martial virtues to portray national identity see the following: Richard Vliet Lindabury, A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1931) 26-86; also A.J. Hoenselaars, Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama 1558-1642 (London: Associated Up, 1992) 76-107.

this patriotic pattern, Heywood shows his prentice heroes as exhibiting the required nationalistic attributes. They are, first of all, brave: an essential quality for all Englishmen, especially leaders, in times of national crisis. Through speeches such as Guy's, the prentices welcome war and a military calling as a chance to be numbered amongst the brave:

> To march, to plant a battell, lead an Hoast,
> To be a Souldier and to goe to warre,
> To talke of Flankes, of wings, of skonces, Holds,
> To see a sally, or to give a Charge,
> To leade a Vaward, Rereward, or maine Hoast;
> By heaven I love it as mine own deere life.
>
> (F.P., 377-382)

In addition to such militaristic orations, the lads show their mettle through acts of personal valour, including the following:

- Charles' encounter with the banditti (F.P., 304-6)
- Eustace's facing up to the two rogues about to murder the old Earl (F.P., 585-608)
- The parallel duels between the heroes, in which all the lads gain honour (F.P., 1028-1120).

But bravery was only one element in the heroic design. The patriotic image also required English defenders to illustrate undying loyalty to their ruler and the national cause. As proper defenders, Heywood's prentices prove their

allegiance to their leader, King William I, by agreeing en masse to accompany his son, Robert Duke of Normandy, to the holy wars (F.P., 211-237); and they prove their dedication by channelling their energies, putting aside petty squabbles, and fighting for the Christian Cause -- the conquest of Jerusalem (F.P., 2214-2379).

The third and perhaps most important martial quality exhibited by the prentice heroes is that of victory: a virtue seen by the theatregoers as the ideal means of establishing the superiority of English defenders[176]. And Heywood, in The Four Prentices, gave his public the victorious heroes they craved. In the final assault on Jerusalem, the prentices are, as convention dictates[177], up against great odds. Godfrey reports: "For every man we leade, the foe hath ten" (F.P., 2304); Charles, too , sees the situation as bleak:

> What shall we do? we are encompast round,
> Girded with thousand thousands in a ring.
> And like a man left on a dangerous rocke,
> That waites the climbing tide rise to destroy him:
> What way so ere he lookes, sees nought but death:
> So we; the bloudy tide growes up apace,
> Whose waves will swallow us and all our race.
>
> (F.P., 2310-2316)

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[176]Lindabury 86; see also Hoenselaars 84.

[177]Hoenselaars 83.

As true English champions, however, the brothers overcome all obstacles, gain the victory, and -- following the dictates of a revamped semantic code -- attribute the win to Providence (see earlier discussion on Providence, chapter 3 "The Mode of Fantasy")

> Now smoth againe the wrinkles of your browes
> And wash the bloud from off your hands in milke:
> With penitentiall praises laude our God,
> Ascribe all glory to the heavenly Powers,
> Since Syon and Hierusalem are ours
>
> (F.P., 2380-2384)

But while Heywood's portrayal of his four prentices as espousing the martial virtues has confirmed the superiority of English champions and reinforced the national self-image, it has been accomplished by his recourse, in the contemporary frame, to the topos of modern military technology. Familiar through colonial narratives of the period with the devastation wrought by modern firepower and military tactics on less advanced societies[178], Heywood's audience could easily relate the martial prowess of the prentices to the military successes enjoyed in the conquest of the more backward Irish society where English modern weaponry and tactics had played and were continuing to play a significant role.

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[178]Hulme 128.

Another ideology, in addition to nationalism, liberated by the naming of self and other is orientalism. Throughout Elizabeth's reign, colonial administrators and adventurers frequently compared the Irish to the uncivilized (i.e. nomadic) peoples of Asia in order to justify their own brutal intervention in that country. Employing such a strategy were notables like Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Thomas Smith (plantation sponsor), and Edmund Spenser who, citing paganism and transhumance as proof of barbarism, linked the native Irish -- on numerous occasions -- with such Oriental peoples as the Turks, Arabians, Scythians, and Tartarians[179], groups known to the readership of Elizabethan travel literature as among the most uncivilized in the world[180].

Capitalizing upon this discursive strategy, dramatists[181] often invoked the preconceptions of medieval orientalism to delineate the image of other as having the negative attributes of the oriental tyrant. Following this approach, Heywood incorporated orientalism into The Four

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[179]While Sidney and Smith merely drew comparisons, Spenser argued that there was a direct link. See Chapter 7 "The breakdown: Elizabethan attitudes towards the Irish." Nicholas P. Canny, The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76 (Sussex: The Harvest Press, 1976) 125-27; see also Spenser 56-59.

[180]Canny 126.

[181]R. Sales notes that Christoper Marlowe utilized such a strategy in 1 Tamburlaine. Roger Sales, Christopher Marlowe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 54-59.

Prentices, using accepted notions of oriental behaviour to portray his alien other as villain. Important in this respect are his use of the negative qualities of paganism, treacherous conduct (i.e. cunning), and cruelty.

Heywood's villains are first and foremost pagans. Interspersed with other terms such as infidels and heathens, this religious designation serves as a counterpart to the heroes' Christianity and is repeated constantly through the play from the entrance of the Soldan, who declares his heathenism with "To them that have abhorred our Pagan gods" (F.P., 1213), to the final conflict when the Sophie of Babylon shows his true pagan convictions by abjuring the cross, newly planted on Jerusalem's walls: "I would not I survive so foul a shame " (F.P., 2374).

But paganism was only one aspect of the villainous model. Elizabethan audiences, familiar with the structural code of chivalric romance, expected oriental villains to demonstrate treacherous conduct. As bona fide scoundrels, Heywood's Soldan and Sophie don't disappoint. The two villains reveal their oriental treachery by setting a trap to waylay and kill lone Christians. As the Soldan announces to Robert and Charles, his first two victims:

> I am the Soldan; these my men at armes,
> That lie to intercept you, and prepare
> For your accursed lives this fatall snare
>
> (F.P., 1611-1613)

A short while later, Godfrey and Tancred, two more Christian leaders, fall victim to a similar ploy (F.P., 1678-1687). While both groups of Christian leaders manage to escape from the Soldan's trap, oriental treachery has been confirmed for Heywood's audience.

Another aspect of villainy, known to Elizabethan audiences through their medieval inheritance and reinforced through the travel literature of the day, was that of oriental cruelty (as described in chapter 4 "Orientalism"). Heywood's chief villain, the Soldan of Babylon, reveals his cruel disposition by ordering the torture of a group of captives, which includes the sainted old Earl of Bouillon, before the eyes of the assembled Christian host:

> Devise new tortures: oh for some rare Artist,
> That could invent a death more terrible
> Then are the everlasting pangs of hell:
>
> (F.P., 1958-60)

For Elizabethan audiences, Heywood's use of these three negative qualities of oriental behaviour to depict his villainous other has provided a faithful representation of how the native Irish were usually characterized by the colonial administrators and adventurers of the period.

Another cultural orientation of consequence reflected in Heywood's quest fantasy is capital adventurism. Voicing the desire by English venture capitalists to control the northern Irish province of Ulster and exploit its natural

resources, Heywood focuses on two areas of particular concern to Elizabethans: a legal dispensation for capital adventure and a military solution to native resistance.

In relation to the first area of concern, it should be noted that all sixteenth-century European powers involved in colonial expansion formulated a legal justification for their colonial capital adventures. Spain based its authorization for New World exploitation on Alexander VI's Papal Bull (1492) and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), while England based its license to exploit in Ireland on a partizan rereading of medieval history which viewed English rulers -- due to the Norman conquest of 1166 A.D. -- as the rightful inheritors of all Irish lands[182]. Such an outlook encouraged Elizabethans to look on the inhabitants of unconquered Irish territory, like Ulster, as trespassers, and their leaders, like the Earl of Tyrone, as usurpers who had to be expelled in order to restore the lands to the rightful heir: Elizabeth (Spenser 113-115).

Utilizing the public's acceptance of <u>right of inheritance</u> as a legitimate reason for military intervention -- and ultimately capital adventurism -- in Ulster, Heywood crafts a scenario, in the Presenter's account of Godfrey's conquest of Bouillon, which reflects audience approval for just such a course of action. In a dumbshow (following line

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[182]Elizabeth claimed right of inheritance from the long-extinct line of the earls of Ulster. Canny 118-19.

273) the audience is shown what has transpired since Godfrey, eldest son of the old Earl, was washed ashore. Finding himself in his ancestral seat of Bouillon, Godfrey observes Spaniards molesting the citizens and forcing them to do homage. Rallying the Bouillonese, Godfrey leads them in a revolt which eventually sees the Spanish beaten off and himself crowned ruler of the principality. As the Presenter tells it:

> Those Cittizens you see were Bullonyes,
> Kept under bondage of that tyrannous Earle,
> To whom the French King gave that ancient seate,
> Which to the wronged Pilgrim did belong,
> But in the height of his ambition,
> Godfrey, by Shipwracke thrown upon that Coast,
> Stirres up th'oppressed Citty to revoult:
> And by his valour was th' usurper slaine;
> The Citty from base bondage free'd againe.
> The men of Bulloigne, wondring what strong hand
> Had been the means of their deliverance
> Besought him to make known his birth and estate:
> Which Godfrey did. The people glad to see
> Their naturall Prince procure their liberty,

> Homage to him, create him Earle of Bulloigne;
> And repossesse him in his fathers seate.
> (F.P., 274-289)

Excluded from his inheritance due to another Earl having been planted in his father's stead (F.P., 13-19), Godfrey, as the above lines reveal, seizes upon the opportunity which fate and the tempest have thrown his way as a means of recouping his usurped fortunes. Using his right of inheritance as a license to intervene in the affairs of Bouillon, Godfrey takes the part of the citizenry "Kept under bondage of that tyrannous Earle" (F.P., 275) and, rallying the men, helps them throw off the yoke of the usurper and his Spanish allies. Having successfully reconquered his native state and "th' usurper slaine" (F.P., 281), Godfrey declares his right to inherit the dukedom and is welcomed by the Bouillonese as their "naturall prince" (F.P., 287). For Heywood and his audience, the acknowledgement of such a right was a necessary prelude to exotic capital adventure.

The second area of concern voiced by Heywood in The Four Prentices was the popular belief that no plantation or commercial venture could succeed in Ulster without a complete military conquest having taken place. This conviction gained credence with the English populace from the failure of three private colonizing ventures between

1571 and 1575. With the failure of the Essex scheme, last of these capital undertakings, the resulting expense to the public purse ensured that no future colonizing effort would be attempted unless accompanied by an all-out military campaign directed at crushing Irish resistance[183].

Reflecting the view of risk capitalists who saw the military subjugation of Ulster as imperative prior to any further capital adventure, Heywood creates a contemporary wartime scenario, which shows his prentice heroes first mapping out, then putting into operation, an intensive campaign of colonial conquest using modern battle tactics and weaponry to ensure the victory. During the planning session, all of the prentice heroes, now acclaimed as Christian leaders, are given key positions in the coming encounter: Godfrey is made "high Marshall, and Maister of the Campe" (F.P., 2220) and has control of all sergeant-majors, provost marshals, and captains (of spys); Guy is made "chiefe Generall of the Horse" (F.P.,2224) and is placed in charge of a lieutenant colonel, all captains, and scouts; Charles is "Generall of the Artilery" (F.P., 2227) and is made responsible for all lieutenant commissaries of munitions, all gentlemen of the artillery, as well as the colonel in charge of the Pyoners (i.e. foot-soldiers who dig trenches, repair roads, and prepare the way for the main body); while Eustace is chosen as "Treasurer of the Campe"

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[183]Canny 90.

(F.P., 2231) and is placed in charge of all auditors, muster masters, and commissaries. With the key leadership roles filled, the session now turns to planning strategy for the final assault. Robert of Normandy, Captain General of the expeditionary force, underscores the importance of modern firepower in the overall scheme

> One halfe maintaine the battry beats the wals,
> Whilst the other maintains them play in the open fields
>
> (F.P., 2238-39)

The basic strategy which the Christian leadership decides to employ is as follows: first, to cut off the enemy's water supply with "Stockadoes, Palizadoes" (i.e. close rows of sharp wooden stakes) (F.P., 2241); and then, thanks to the excellent positioning of the cannon made possible by the engineers, to use their superior firepower to batter down the enemy's remaining fortifications and ramparts

> That we at pleasure may assault the way
> Which leads unto the gate Antiochia.
>
> (F.P., 2247-48)

In concert with this sound strategy, Christian firepower and resolute leadership soon prove too much for the enemy forces. For Elizabethan theatregoers, the slaying of the four pagan kings and the donning of their crowns by the four brothers signifies total victory (F.P., 2379-80). With the win, a new Christian administration, of which the prentices

are an important segment, is now in control of Jerusalem. Heywood's conquest scenario has accurately voiced capital's demand for a decisive rout of all native resistance as a prelude to any future commercial ventures in Ireland.

Another cultural orientation of note -- and one which further helps to strengthen the connection with Ireland, England's sole colony during Elizabeth's last decade -- is Christian imperialism. As English colonizers from the 1570's onwards began making deeper inroads into previously uncharted areas of Ulster, they came into close contact with the people and culture of Celtic Ireland. Observing first hand the practice of Gaelic Catholicism along with such native traditions as transhumance, adventurers readily concluded that they were dealing with a pagan, culturally inferior people (as noted earlier in this chapter in the discussion on nationalism). Having convinced themselves that such barbarism was due to a lack of proper Christianity and civility, colonial administrators and adventurers, as seen in the discourse of the era[184], promoted a policy of Christian imperialism which aimed at extirpating the Irish religion and culture and replacing it with reformation: civility yoked to a reformed English Church. Although simply a blind for Elizabethan colonial designs, the orientation was supported by an English society convinced

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[184]See the selected correspondence from Lord Deputies Grey and Russell in endnote 95. Renwick 211; see also Canny 127-33.

that such drastic measures were necessary to spread reformation.

Reflecting public support for Christian imperialism, Heywood focuses attention on its two central elements: the destruction of paganism and the planting of Christianity in its stead. With regard to the first element, the statement which best sums up the Christians' primary objective at Jerusalem is the rodomontade addressed by Godfrey to the two pagan advisors, Moretes and Turnus:

> We come not with grey gownes, and Pilgrimes staves,
> Beads at our sides, and sandals on our feete,
> Feare in our hearts, entreaty in our tongue,
> To begge a passage to our Prophets grave.
> But our soft Beaver Fels, we have turn'd to iron,
> Our gownes to armour, and our shels to plumes,
> Our walking staves we have chang'd to cemytars,
> And so with pilgrimes hearts, not pilgrims habits,
> We come to hew our way through your main Armies,
> And offer at the Tombe our contrite hearts
> Made purple with as many Pagans blouds,
> As wee have in our breasts religious thoughts.
> And so be gone, no words in trifling wast,
> Death followes after you with wings of hast.
>
> (F.P., 1388-1401)

Given as a response to the query posed by the two advisors

as to whether the Christians seek peace or war, Godfrey's forceful oration leaves no doubt as to the crusaders' initial goal: the destruction of the pagans and their influence over Jerusalem. Getting directly to the heart of the matter, Godfrey asserts that the Christian forces have put aside the demeanour and accoutrements of traditional pilgrims and not only refuse to "...begge a passage to our Prophets grave" (F.P., 1390), but will "...hew our way through your main Armies" (F.P., 1396). Concerning the "religious thoughts" (F.P., 1399) of penance that pilgrims normally reflect on, Godfrey banishes any notion that such scruples might bar the way to victory. His forces, he informs, will not rest until they "offer at the Tombe our contrite hearts/Made purple with as many Pagan blouds" (F.P. 1397-98). For Godfrey and his associates, contrition follows conquest -- not vice versa. His closing remarks "And so bee gone.../Death followes after you with wings of hast" (F.P., 1400-01) reveal the futility of further discussion; Christian leaders with their minds set on expansion will have nothing less than total victory and the destruction of paganism.

The lines which exemplify the imperialist proposal to supplant paganism by Christianity, the second element of the militant orientation touched upon by Heywood, come as a pronouncement made by the Soldan of Babylon as he observes the crusaders' final attack on Jerusalem's walls. With the

tide of battle rolling in their favour, the Christians, upon breaching the Antioch gate, plant a cross atop the city ramparts. In dismay the Soldan describes the moment:

> There is some vertue in the Crosse they weare,
> It makes them strong as Lyons, swift as Roes.
> Their resolutions make them Conquerours.
> They have tane our Royall Standard from the wals,
> In place whereof they have advanced their crosse.
>
> (F.P., 2369-73)

The Soldan's words not only describe the straightforward action of breaching a wall and planting a cross, they can also be seen as invoking the topos of Christian possession: a motif linked closely to Christian imperialism through the christening/appropriation rituals of New World explorers[185], and familiar to Elizabethan readers through colonial narratives of the day. Viewed as a rededication of Jerusalem, the above lines can be seen as paralleling the baptismal ritual of the reformed church. As an appropriated territory, Jerusalem, like the Atlantic colonies, is signed/planted with the appropriate Christian emblem -- a cross. As in Baptism, there is an accompanying "vertue" or spiritual strengthening "It makes them strong as Lyons, swift as Roes" (F.P., 2370). There is also a paralleling of the sacramental promise to reject Satan,

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[185]For further discussion of Christian possession, see Stephen Greenblatt's detailed explanation in Chapter 3, "Marvellous POssessions." Greenblatt 70-83.

paralleling of the sacramental promise to reject Satan, portrayed by the crusaders hurling the Soldan's standard from the walls, while the customary vow to follow Christ is illustrated by their advancing of the cross (F.P 2373).

Sanctified by such sacramental imagery and the topos of Christian possession, Heywood's scenario provides an accurate picture of how the English colonial interests endorsed the social orientation of Christian imperialism during the final decade of Elizabeth's reign.

Two final orientations revealed by the cultural identification of heroic self and colonial other are the linked social concepts of mastery and masterlessness (described above in chapter 2 "Edmund Spenser's Irish Discourse"). As the conquest of Ireland progressed, Elizabethans who regarded mastery as one of the top priorities in their reformed society were shocked to discover several disparate groups travelling Ireland's roads. While the Irish transients encountered -- bards, carrows (i.e. gamblers), and the like -- were not the product of dispossession or dislocation as was the case with the masterless in England, but part of the traditional Celtic way of life, colonizers saw the wanderers as social deviants and diametrically opposed to plans for reformation. Their reaction to the situation was twofold: 1) to classify the transients according to the guidelines of Tudor society as vagrants or masterless men and 2) to promote a policy

aimed at mastering such groups through imposed civility[186].

Voicing Elizabethan society's fear of Irish masterlessness, and promoting the prevailing colonial view that such groups must be mastered by having civility imposed on them, Heywood singles out one such itinerant group which particularly irked English expansionists: the Irish kerne[187]. Disguising these savage Gaels as Italian banditti in his eleventh century/Crusader frame, Heywood attacks not only the kerne, backbone of the resistance to English colonialism, but also the custom which tolerated such men, unemployed during times of peace, stealing cattle and waylaying travellers in wooded areas[188].

When the third prentice, Charles, lands "at a lofty Mountaines foote" (F.P., 306) he is attacked by a group of such outlaws. After slaying their chief in single combat, Charles is humbly asked by the leaderless bravoes to become their captain -- to which he assents (F.P., 310-314). But once in a position of mastery, Charles reaffirms Elizabethan society's deep anxiety with masterlessness by imposing a

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[186]Early proposals held that the loose Irish should be made bondsmen to enlightened English lords who would instruct them in the ways of civility. Canny 129-130; see also Spenser 95-160.

[187]In his study of The Tempest, Brown proposes an explnanation as to why Irish masterless types were singled out for mastery: "Such figures literally embodied the masterless/savage threat and their suppression became a symbolic statement of British intent for the whole of uncivil Ireland". Brown, This Thing of Darkness 56.

[188]Morton 59, 141.

program of reformation on the banditti:

> There's not a rogue among you that feares God,
> Nor one that hath a touch of honesty.
> Robbers, and knaves, and rascals all together,
> Sweete consort of vild villaines list to me.
> Am not I well prefer'd to become Captaine
> Unto a crew of such pernicious slaves?
> I shall have such a coyle to make you Christians,
> And bring you to some shape of honesty,
> That ere I do it, I shall make your bodies
> Nothing but scarre-crows, to hang round these
> Trees.
>
> (F.P., 445-454)

Through his program of imposed reformation, which includes both the teaching of civil trades and a code of civil law, Charles sees a new industry-based community developing -- with himself as its master:

> I'le make these villaines worke in severall
> Trades,
> And in these Forrests make a Common-wealth.
> When them to civill nurture I can bring,
> They shall proclaime me of these Mountaines King.
>
> (F.P., 551-554)

But once such a path has been taken, there can be no return for any of the rogues to their old, masterless lifestyle:

> Well, I must have you now turne honest Theeves.
> Hee that commits a rape, shall sure be hang'd:
> He that commits a murder, shall be murdered
> With the same weapon that did act the deed.
> He that robbes pilgrimes, or poore Travellours,
> That for devotions sake do passe these Mountaines,
> He shall be naked tyed to armes of Trees,
> And in the daies heate stung with Waspes and Bees.
> Yes slaves, I'le teach you some civility.
>
> (F.P., 463-71)

Charles' harsh civil code, mirroring the Elizabethan treatment meted out to Irish transients, promises swift justice for backsliders. Heywood's play has accurately reflected contemporary (i.e. upper/middle class) attitudes towards mastery and masterlessness. In the new colony being established, English mastery is paramount: there is no place for itinerant Celtic lifestyles.

In concluding, I will briefly recap the main points touched on in the present cultural rereading of The Four Prentices of London. Viewed as a literary work of fantasy grounded in the historical Irish crisis of 1595, Heywood's citizen adventure drama is revealed as a discourse embodying the spirit of colonial conquest prevalent in late sixteenth century England. Colonial other and heroic self are identified within that context as representational figures

for particular social groups: other being the rebel Irish chieftains who sought to disrupt the English invasion of their territories, while self represents the gentlemen adventurers who flocked to Ireland seeking estates. And the sustained textual analysis of nationalism, orientalism, capital adventurism, Christian imperialism, and mastery/masterlessness -- ideologies liberated by the naming of other/self -- further underscores the colonial temperament and aspirations of Heywood's society, as well as providing a reflection of the situation in Ireland, England's single colony at the time.

Chapter VI
A Cultural Rereading of The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1

Scholars have long recognized Thomas Heywood's exotic fantasy, The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1, as one of the best citizen adventure dramas ever written: Frederick S. Boas has called it one of Heywood's most attractive and accomplished pieces of work,[189] Arthur Melville Clark judged it to be a "breezy masterpiece",[190] while Mowbray Velte considered it as among the finest of its own rank: "a really splendid blending of realism and romantic adventure, a tale with an appeal to all ages and all red-blooded peoples."[191] Yet in spite of such recognition, most available commentary consists of nothing more than a short plot summary of the piece accompanied by an opinion as to when the text of Part 1 was actually written.[192] In effect, little real critical attention has been accorded to this bona fide expression of Elizabethan popular culture which remained a favorite with all strata of English society[193] from the time of its initial

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[189]Frederick S. Boas, Thomas Heywood (London: Williams & Norgate, 1950) 36.

[190]Clark 213.

[191]Velte 80.

[192]Examples of such commentary include Velte 73-80, Boas 30-36, and Clark 110, 213.

[193]Part I even enjoyed a command performance for Charles I at Hampton Court in 1630. Turner xix.

production circa 1600.[194]

The present chapter will initiate a fresh reading of The Fair Maid: Part 1 focusing on one aspect of the play's popular appeal previously overlooked: its relation to the spirt of colonialism prevalent during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. The reading will feature an historical regrounding in the commercial crisis/Moroccan alliance of 1600; a cultural identification of colonial other and heroic self within that context; and, through textual analysis, an exploration of nationalism, orientalism, capital adventurism, and neo-chivalry: ideologies identified by the naming of other/self and reflective of the colonial mentality of late Elizabethan society. (Please turn to Appendix 9 for a detailed summary of The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1.)

1. Historical Regrounding: The Trade Crisis and the Moroccan Alliance c. 1600

As a literary work within the mode of fantasy, Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1 must be grounded in the commercial crisis which occurred during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, as well as the special relationship which developed between England and the Barbary

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[194]While different critics have proposed a variety of dates ranging from 1600 to 1622, I have adopted the 1600 date as proposed by Warner G. Rice in his well-researched essay, since, from a colonial standpoint, it makes the most sense. Warner G. Rice, "The Moroccan Episode in Thomas Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West," Philological Quarterly IX (1930): 131-140; see also Velte's discussion of an early (circa 1600) date for the play. Velte 73-74.

Kingdom of Fez/Morocco during the same period (refer to Ch. III "The Mode of Fantasy" regarding the importance of historical regrounding). The commercial crisis which unfolded during Elizabeth's final decade came about as a direct result of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. In dealing with this critical juncture in the economic life of Elizabethan England, it is important to be aware of two important details: first, that English foreign trade was, above all, intra-European[195], and second, that the bulk of the commodities exported (up to 90 percent[196]) were woollen textiles: English broadcloth for the most part. In the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, prior to the outbreak of war, trade with all of the major markets of Europe had flourished; the bullion, silk, sugar, spices, and other trade goods[197] imported in exchange for English woollens had helped England attain a level of prosperity not previously known. But with the commencement of hostilities and the exclusion of English commerce from the lucrative Catholic markets of Iberia and northern France[198],it did not take long

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[195]B.E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642: A Study in the Instability of Mercantile Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1959) 6.

[196]Supple 6: cf. Wernham who advises that "as much as four-fifths" were woollen textiles. R.B. Wernham, After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588-1595 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 252.

[197]Supple 7.

[198]Trade figures available for this period show no English or alien shipments going to Iberian markets. Supple

before the reduced demand for English cloth resulted in a severe slump in both textile manufacture and foreign trade.

One result of the lessened demand for finished English broadcloth was widespread unemployment. Since textile manufacturing was England's leading non-agricultural employer, as well as her major export industry,[199] the reduced demand for trade goods impacted directly on the thousands[200] of weavers, spinners, and other workers in the textile trade who were laid off from "that notable trade which of so long hath set a-work many thousands of poor people".[201] Hardest hit were the scores of clothiers who produced textiles in areas devoted exclusively to the manufacture of woollens for the overseas market such as the West, East Anglia and the West Riding.[202]

Another result of the crisis was the scarcity of mercantile capital necessary to keep the wheels of the textile industry spinning. During the palmy days of trade and prosperity preceding the Anglo-Spanish Conflict, the textile industry had proven an excellent investment for

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23-4.

[199]Supple 6-7.

[200]Based on contemporary sources as many as 24,000 were dependent on the textile industry. Supple 6.

[201]From the Acts of the Privy Council as quoted by Wernham. Wernham, After the Armada 252.

[202]Supple 6, 12-13; see also Wernham, After the Armada 252.

entrepreneurs of all stripes: peers, yeomen, and merchants alike had supplied the circulating capital necessary to keep the money-making industry in operation. But once conflict had disrupted the lucrative trade, the situation changed; disinvestment became the order of the day. Since workers, for the most part, owned the means of production (i.e. their looms) and used their own homes as work areas[203], it was relatively easy for employers/investors -- not directly involved in the production process and unhampered by government regulations -- to withdraw their captal for redeployment in other, more profitable ventures.[204] With modern systems of commercial credit unavailable at that time, the withdrawal of such circulating capital caused production to plummet, adding further commercial instability to the already gloomy economic picture.

A third prominent feature of the economic crisis involved the appalling relations which developed between England and her chief trading partners as a result of wartime privateering. English privateering, which began in earnest following the outbreak of war in 1588, was originally seen as a way in which commissioned merchant craft could assist the Royal navy in blockading and destroying Iberian commercial traffic with Continental

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[203]Supple 8.

[204]Among those ventures were joint-stock trading/privateering ventures, the money-market, custom farming, and buying tracts of land. Supple 10, 29.

Europe. Soon however the "commerce-plundering"[205] aspect of the scheme proved so remunerative that privateering ventures began to be organized as joint-stock companies[206]. Such undertakings were readily subscribed to not only by the upper and merchant classes, but by admiralty and customs officials as well[207]: all eager for a share of the profits. Managed efficiently along proper business lines, such enterprises were relatively successful[208]. But while English shareholders revelled in the healthy return on their pooled capital, a serious trade/political problem, due directly to the rapacity of the privateer fleet, was developing between England and her European trading partners.

Lured by easy pickings, Elizabeth's heavily armed merchant marine had gone beyond its original mandate and was attacking not only Iberian merchantmen, but also the commercial shipping of any nation believed to be trafficking with the enemy; Hanseatic fishing smacks laden with cod, Dutch hoys transporting corn, and Danish bottoms carrying

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[205]The phrase is Wernham's. Wernham, After the Armada 274.

[206]R.B. Wernham, The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy 1558-1603 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 86.

[207]Wernham, After the Armada 246.

[208]Wernham notes that in the 1589-1591 period such ventures brought in 300 prizes worth an estimated £400,000. Wernham, After the Armada 236.

timber were all considered fair game[209]. Such attacks on the shipping of neutral and allied nations created a great deal of animosity toward English interests abroad[210].

Fearful that English traders might be barred from the lucrative cloth trade with northern Europe through a Continental boycott of English textiles, Elizabeth, early in the 1590's, took measures to placate England's trading partners[211]. While such measures helped smooth over some of the difficulties for a short period, they had little effect in the long haul since her plunder-oriented merchant marine continued to act as before. Finally, in 1597, fed up with the constant seizure of their ships and the maltreatment of their crews, the Hanseatic League, the largest importer of English textiles in Europe, revoked the right of the Merchant Adventurers, England's largest cloth exporter[212], to sell goods in the Hanse (i.e. Germany). The loss of the Hanseatic franchise came as a severe blow to the textile industry as a whole. Battered by lost continental markets, a shrinkage of circulating capital, cutbacks in the amount

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[209]Wernham, After the Armada 250-251.

[210]Ch. 9 "The War at Sea: Queen's Ships and Privateers" provides an excellent summation of privateer activity and the ill will which it provoked on the Continent. Wernham After the Armada 250-260.

[211]Among the measures taken were two diplomatic missions to Europe, and a return of 60 Hanseatic ships seized by Drake in 1589. Wernham, After the Armada 251-5; 258-9.

[212]Supple 24.

of cloth produced, and layoffs in the textile industry the English economy circa 1600 was in a state of crisis.

Balanced against this gloomy continental trading scenario was, however, the very lucrative foreign trading situation and diplomatic relationship which had blossomed between England and the Barbary Kingdom of Fez/Morocco during the same period. From the late 1540's, when London-based syndicates first began sending ships to the Barbary Coast on exploratory trading missions, English and Moroccan merchants had gotten along famously. This early amicability and mutual trust developed into a regular trade which proved lucrative for both groups[213]. Building upon such good will, Edmund Hogan in 1577 headed a diplomatic mission to the court of el-Malek, Xeriffo of Barbary, which resulted in a set of capitulations between England and Morocco guaranteeing the security of English citizens in Morocco, as well as the security of English ships -- whether traders with cargoes or privateers with prizes -- entering Barbary ports for trade or supply purposes[214]. Under the direction of the capable el-Mansour who ascended the Moroccan throne in 1578, elements of this earlier agreement were eventually reaffirmed in the accord of 1585. Two additional elements

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[213]Ch. 2 "England the Moroccan Connection" gives an excellent summary of early English trading in Barbary. D'Amico 14-18.

[214]D'Amico speculates that an arms deal may well have been part of this entente. D'Amico 20-21.

were included in the new entente: 1) the formation of the Barbary Company to better monitor the trade between the two countries, and 2) the appointment of an accredited English ambassador to the Xeriffo's court. This special arrangement, which lasted until 1603, enabled both governments to obtain badly needed trade goods and military cooperation during the unsettling days of the Spanish conflict.

Central to the new spirit of cooperation was the increased commerce between England and Barbary. In addition to the official trade in broadcloth for sugar, molasses, gum arabic, raw silk, and gold which remained steady[215], the contraband trade in arms and munitions, which had formerly been carried on *sotto voce* due to Spanish disapproval, now not only became formalized but, for the balance of the war, comprised the bulk of the Moroccan trade[216]. Under the auspices of the accord, the Barbary Company met Morocco's demand for modern weaponry, munitions, and timber, receiving in exchange needed gold bullion and an ample supply of saltpetre: an element essential for England's wartime

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[215]D'Amico 14-16; Supple 23; See also David Harris Sacks, The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 46-47.

[216]As D'Amico underscores, throughout his first chapter, arms and munitions dealings were always a part of the overall trade picture. D'Amico 9-22.

manufacture of gunpowder[217].

A third important aspect of the relationship was the way in which el-Mansour cooperated militarily with England throughout the Spanish conflict. While the Xeriffo never actually supplied either money or men for a direct attack on Spain, he did permit English privateers to utilize such coastal ports as Mamora, Azafi, and Magador[218] as supply bases and depots for their prizes. Such well-situated Atlantic harbours, maintained by Moorish allies, afforded Elizabethan privateers secure bases from which to launch forays at the commercial sea routes of southern Iberia and the trans-Atlantic traffic passing through the Azores[219].

In light of such cooperation, along with the excellent trade and diplomatic relations enjoyed by the two allies, it is no wonder that the Moroccan embassy of 1600 received such a warm welcome at court and excited such great interest among Elizabethans in general (see discussion ch. IV "Orientalism").

2. A Cultural Identification

Having grounded Heywood's The Fair Maid in the trade crisis/Moroccan alliance which occurred during the last

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[217]D'Amico 213.

[218]D'Amico 19-21; see also Dr. Robert Brown's endnote 12 in volume 2 which advises that Mamora was a thriving centre for English privateers until 1614. Brown, History 583.

[219]Wernham, After the Armada 248.

years of Elizabeth's reign, the reading will proceed to the next step in the investigation, the naming of colonial other and heroic self, since, as Rosemary Jackson has advised, such identifications in fantasy "betray the ideological assumptions of the author and of the culture in which they originate."[220] (Please refer to the earlier discussion on such namings, ch. III "The Mode of Fantasy".) As reported by Warner G. Rice in his insightful essay "The Moroccan Episode in Thomas Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West", one group of modern scholars, in an attempt to date Part 1, tried to show a topical link between Heywood's chief colonial other, Mullisheg, and the historical entity of that name who ruled Fez in 1604.[221] As Prof. Rice goes on to show, however, such attempts at topical identification are of little value since the term Mullisheg or Mulai Sheik is not actually used as a personal name but rather as a title (meaning children of the King[222]) and is applicable to not one but several sixteenth and seventeenth century rulers of Fez/Morocco.

This investigation proposes instead a more general designation of colonial other as composite image mirroring what Elizabethan society knew of the various Moroccan rulers of their day. Important in the discussion is the

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[220]Jackson 53.

[221]Rice 133-6; see also Turner xi-xiii.

[222]Turner 67.

information provided by Heywood's most probable source for the Moroccan episode as well as a textual analysis of remarks made by and about Mullisheg in acts 4 and 5 of the play.

The most likely historical source used by Heywood was the Historia de Bello Africano: In quo Sebastianus, Serenissimus Portugalliae Rex, periit....Ex Lusitano sermone primo in Gallicum: inde in Latinum translata per Joannem Thomam Freigium D. Noribergae (1580). Available in both Latin and French editions, the Historia de Bello Africano--known to have provided George Peele with background material[223] for his tragedy The Battle of Alcazar (1588-9)--would have given Heywood a detailed account of the battle and, in the Latin version, a genealogical table of the Moroccan royal house indicating the various participants in the conflict (See Appendix 10). A look at the table reveals two items helpful in the present investigation: first, that all of the sheiks/rulers who descended from the Xeriffo, Mulai Mahamet Sheik, used the honorific, Muly, preceding their names; and second, that the names of the two Moroccan kings whose sequential rules coincided with that of Elizabeth from 1577 onwards were Muly Abdelmelec, known as

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[223]As noted by Bullen in his prefatory remarks to The Battle of Alcazar. George Peele, The Works of George Peele, ed. A.H. Bullen, vol. 1 (1888; Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1966) 221-223; see also W.W. Greg's introductory comments. George Peele, The Battle of Alcazar: 1597, ed. W.W. Greg (1594; London: Chiswick Press, 1907) v-vi.

el-Malek, and Muly Hamet, known as el-Mansour. Heywood's choice of the general royal Moroccan tag Muly Sheik or, as he cleverly compounded it, Mullisheg clearly shows the influence of contemporary colonial discourse like the Historia de Bello Africano and underscores his intention of identifying the play's chief Islamic other with a composite figure rather than a specific, historical personage. Textual analysis of selected passages from acts 4 and 5 helps substantiate this view.

One such passage which links the image of Mullisheg with that of the Moorish ruler from the initial part of Elizabeth's reign reads as follows:

> Goodlack [reads]
>
> "First, liberty for her and hers to leave the land at her pleasure.
>
> Next, safe conduct to and from her ship at her own discretion.
>
> Thirdly, to be free from all violence either by the king or any of his people.
>
> Fourthly, to allow her mariners fresh victuals aboard
>
> Fifthly, to offer no further violence to her person than what he seeks by kindly usage and free entreaty."
>
> Mullisheg.
>
> To these I vow and seal.
>
> (FM,1.5.1.51-59)

For English-speaking audiences familiar with the rulers of

Barbary either through dramas of the period, travel literature, or the word-of-mouth accounts of privateers/traders operating out of Atlantic coast ports such as Mamora, Mullisheg's signing of the agreement read by Goodlack would call to mind the Moroccan ruler, el-Malek, who in 1577 was the first to sign such a treaty with Elizabeth's representatives. As reflected in the above lines, the original agreement concluded with the Moorish ruler stipulating that English ships entering Barbary ports for supplies or to bring in prizes would be guaranteed security and that no English citizen would be taken captive or sold while in Fez/Morocco.[224]

But Heywood, as the following passage reveals, was also influenced by a second important Moroccan figure in shaping his fictional character:

> Mullisheg.
> Out of these bloody and intestine broils,
> We have at length attain'd a fort'nate peace,
> And now at last established in the throne
> Of our great ancestors, and reign King
> Of Fez and great Morocco.
>
> Alcade.
> Mighty Mullisheg,
> Pride of our age and glory of the Moors,

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[224]D'Amico 20.

By whose victorious hand all Barbary
Is conquer'd, aw'd, and sway'd, behold thy vassals
With loud applauses great thy victory.

Mullisheg.
Upon the slaughtered bodies of our foes,
We mount our high tribunal, and being sole,
Without competitor, we now have leisure
To 'stablish laws, first for our kingdom's safety,
The enriching of our public treasure,
And last our state and pleasure. Then give order
That all such Christian merchants as have traffic
And freedom in our country, that conceal
The least part of our custom due to us,
Shall forfeit ship and goods.

(FM,1.4.3.1-19)

For Elizabethan playgoers the above lines could refer to none other than the reigning monarch of Barbary: the Xeriffo, el-Mansour. He was the sole Moorish warlord who had survived the "intestine broils" of the civil war which had culminated in the battle of Alcazar. And it was he alone who had "attain'd a fortunate peace" for his kingdom following that conflict (FM, 1.4.3.1-2). He was the entity who had restored the correct Saadian line of succession--

usurped by the two previous kings[225] -- and, as legitimate successor to the throne, was "at last establish'd in the throne/Of our great ancestors" (FM,1.4.3-4). Likewise, the accolade "By whose victorious hand all Barbary/Is conquer'd, aw'd, and sway'd..." (FM,1.4.3.7-8) could only have referred to this colorful figure. Prior to his accession to the throne, Portuguese attempts to establish strongholds on the Atlantic coast were quite common and sometimes successful. As late as 1562, Pory advises in his addendum to Leo Africanus, Moorish forces under the Xeriffo Muly Abadala had been unable to dislodge Portuguese invaders from their base at Mazagan (LA 3: 996). But with the Xeriffo's decisive victory in 1578, such Iberian incursions came to an abrupt end. With rival claimants eliminated and Portuguese colonial aspirations crushed, no other sixteenth-century Moroccan ruler can be said to have controlled as much of "Fez and great Morocco" (FM,1.4.3.4) as el-Mansour. And certainly none were more worthy of the Alcade's commendatory salutation "Pride of our age and glory of the Moors" (FM,1.4.3.6). As well, Mullisheg's promise to see to "The enriching of our public treasure" by collecting custom duties from "all such Christian merchants as have traffic/And freedom in our country" (FM,1.4.3.14-18), tallies with what was known of the Xeriffo's strict control

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[225]See D"Amico's explanation regarding the proper line of Moroccan succession. D'Amico (note 30) 211.

over custom duties and other revenues in his kingdom.[226]

As shown by the above analysis, Heywood's colonial other -- the co-operative ruler and victorious warlord -- Mullisheg, can best be identified as a representational figure yoking the image of the two Moroccan rulers known to Englishmen during Elizabeth's last decade.

Of equal importance to the reading is the naming of Heywood's heroic self, the remarkable Bess Bridges. Over the years critics have bestowed a number of different labels on Bess: Robert K. Turner, Jr. labelled her a kind of roaring girl[227] "kin to ballad and chapbook heroines"[228] like Long Meg of Westminister; Louis B. Wright tagged her as the chaste, honest innkeeping maid of bourgeois virtue, sister in spirit to the heroine of Henry Willoby's Willobie His Avisa, or, The true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a chast and constant wife (1594)[229]; A.J. Hoenselaars and Jack D'Amico both designated her as a diplomatic representative for her royal namesake Elizabeth I[230]; while Simon Shepherd

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[226]Africanus 993-4.

[227]Turner xiii-xiv; see also Simon Shepherd's comments on Bess's "Meg-like" qualities. Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) 104-5.

[228]The expression is Turner's. Turner xiii.

[229]Wright 476.

[230]Hoenselaars 147; D'Amico 88.

identified her directly with Elizabeth herself.[231] With the exception of Wright's brief social categorization, the above identifications are of limited value since each must be viewed in conjunction with a particular segment of the play and is therefore not sustainable throughout the entire fantasy. This investigation will focus rather on a more general naming of heroic self as representational figure, mirroring the characteristics of a particular group of citizens during the final decade of Elizabeth's reign.

Although Heywood's heroine, Bess Bridges, appears at first glance to be modelled on a tavern "tapstress" (FM,1.1.2.114) or "drawer" (FM,1.1.2.110) of the period -- an occupation which would designate her as a member of the fourth estate (see discussion chapter 2) and among the "have nots"[232] of Elizabethan society -- a closer look reveals that she bears a marked resemblance to a segment of the English merchant class. Except for one scene, the second scene of act 1, which shows Bess in a tavern serving wine to patrons of that Plymouth establishment, The Castle, she is never seen in such a subservient capacity. In fact, from the opening lines of act 1, scene 2, Heywood goes to great lengths to demonstrate Bess's merchant class pedigree. Theatregoers are informed that Bess has been bred to a

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[231]Shepherd 106.

[232]The term is Gregory King's as quoted by Richard S. Dunn. Dunn 123-4.

higher estate, but forced into service due to the adversity of her "trade-fall'n" (i.e. bankrupt) father, a well-known tanner from Somersetshire (FM,1.1.2.17-19). They are also advised that Bess's bourgeois virtues and beauty have helped to upgrade her station in life through her engagement to Mr. Spencer, "a gentleman of fortunes, means,/And well revenu'd..." (FM,1.1.2.4-5), who will marry the lass on his return from the Islands' Voyage. But Heywood as well shows that Bess is worthy of merchant-class standing on her own merits. Having been given a tavern in Foy by her betrothed prior to his embarkation for the Azores, Bess, by dint of hard work and good management, is able to develop a clientele and make the place prosper. As Forset says of Bess's success: "And in that small time she hath almost undone all the other/taverns. The gallants make no rendezvous now but at the Windmill." (FM,1.2.1.3-5). As seen by the many suitors of higher estate who wish to marry Bess (FM,1.2.1.11), including the Mayor of Foy's son (FM,1.3.2.12-15), Bess has been recognized as one of Foy's most prosperous citizens and a good catch to boot. But Heywood's heroic self is representative of much more than the retail merchants of southwest England.

Having successfully established Bess's merchant-class credentials, Heywood, as shown by a textual analysis of selected passages in acts 3-5, completes his naming of heroic self by identifying Bess with that select group of

merchants, the "great merchants"[233] who traded with and conducted voyages of reprisal out of Barbary during the final years of the Anglo-Spanish conflict.[234] He does this by focusing attention on how several of the distinguishing characteristics of this important merchant group are manifested by Bess in the play.

First of the distinctive characteristics of this elite group manifested by Bess is that of the type of ship which she purchases for her mission to the Azores. While no tonnage is mentioned in the play, it is possible to speculate on the ship's burden based on information given in the passage below:

Bess.

There's a prize
Brought into Falmouth Road, a good tight vessel.
The bottom will but cost eight hundred pound.
You shall have money; buy it.

Goodlack. To what end?

Bess.

That you shall know hereafter. Furnish her

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[233]The expression is Andrews'. Kenneth R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964) 100.

[234]See Chapter 6 "The Great Merchants" for a detailed account of the activities of this powerful group during the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Andrews 100-123.

> With all provision needful - spare no cost -
> And join with you a ging of lusty lads,
> Such as will bravely man her. All the charge
> I will commit to you; and when she's fitted,
> Captain, she is thine own.
>
> (FM,1.3.4.103-112)

Using data garnered from contemporary sources, Kenneth R. Andrews in Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603 notes that a ship valued at £800 would be in the 200-ton range.[235] This indicates that Bess's ship, the Negro, is one of the larger-sized (i.e. 200-400 tons), better-armed category of merchantmen favoured by merchants engaged in long distance trade with either Barbary or the Levant.[236] Such a speculation is supported by the large number of crew, sixty-five in all (FM,1.4.4.21), in Bess's ship, as well as by the Negro's superior defence capabilities -- illustrated by her victory over the Spanish man-of-war (FM,1.1.4.4). As Andrews observes, the devastating fire-power of such super-sized merchant craft "enabled them to attack large merchantmen with confidence and even to defend themselves successfully against men-of-

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[235]The above size is based on the value of a new ship given in Table 4. Prices, however, ranged from £1 to £5 depending on a ship's age. Andrews 47-49.

[236]Andrews 36-37.

war"[237]. For Elizabethan theatregoers familiar with the many types of privateering craft moored along the four-mile stretch between London Bridge and Blackwall,[238] Bess's ship -- as depicted in the play -- would accurately reflect the superior type of merchant vessel regularly used by London magnates involved in the Barbary trade.

A second distinguishing feature of this influential group displayed by Bess in the text below was its appetite for prize cargoes and ships:

> Bess.
>
> Good morrow, Captain. Oh, this last sea fight
> Was gallantly perform'd! It did me good
> To see the Spanish carvel vail her top
> Unto my maiden flag.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.1-4)

Like the barbary merchants who organized highly profitable voyages of reprisal concomitant with regular trading ventures, Bess shows that she is not averse to a bout of commerce plundering while on a loftier mission to Fayal. Subsequent privateering episodes such as Bess's capture of a Spanish warship and its English prey (FM,1.4.4.77-79) prior to her arrival in Mamora further reinforce her

[237]Andrews 38.

[238]Andrews 231.

identification with this select group of merchant princes who encouraged all ships' masters enroute to Morocco to engage in this lucrative sideline.[239]

A third recognizable characteristic was the hand in glove co-operation given by Barbary merchants to others within their elite circle.[240] As seen in the following passage, Bess demonstrates this co-operative spirit not only by rescuing an English ship taken as prey by the Spanish but by offering to assist the merchant owner just released from captivity:

Bess.

Whence are you, sir, and whither were you bound?

Merchant.

I am a' London, bound for Barbary,
But by this Spanish man-of-war surpris'd,
Pillag'd, and captiv'd.

Bess. We much pity you.
What loss you have sustain'd, this Spanish prey
Shall make good to you to the utmost farthing.

Merchant.

---

[239]Andrews 102.

[240]Andrews 120.

> Our lives and all our fortunes whatsoever
> Are wholly at your service.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.124-131)

Bess's unselfish offer to forgo the lucrative prize in order to help restore the fortunes of a fellow shipowner/merchant "Pillag'd, and captiv'd" by the enemy reflects the type of co-operation shown by the members of the close-knit merchant community for one another.

Viewed in conjunction with Bess's use of the Barbary port[241] of Mamora as a victualling center (FM,1.4.5.10-11) and her regal reception by and subsequent trade agreement with that country's ruler (FM,1.5.1), such distinguishing characteristics would, for Elizabethan playgoers, clearly designate Heywood's heroic self as a representational figure for that elite group of merchants engaged in trade with Barbary c.1600.

3. Cultural Ideologies: A Textual Analysis

The cultural identification of colonial other and heroic self as composite/representational figures for two of the most prominent social groups involved in the commercial crisis/Moroccan alliance of the later war years points directly to a discussion of nationalism: one of the key ideological assumptions of Elizabethan society (as described

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[241]Such ports were also recognized as centers for the disposal of prize cargoes and ships. Andrews 42-43.

in chapter 4 "Nationalism"). As already noted in the previous rereading (see chapter 5), dramatists incorporated nationalism into their "potboilers"[242] by showing how their idealized heroes demonstrated the martial virtues of bravery, loyalty and victory[243]: the three national virtues most admired by the common man.

In The Fair Maid: Part 1, Heywood follows this patriotic format and shows his English defender, Bess Bridges, as having the required credentials. She is, first of all, brave: an attribute of paramount importance for the rank-and-file audience.[244] This quality comes to the fore in the short speech Bess makes prior to the naval battle with the Spanish man-of-war:

> Then, for your country's honor, my revenge,
> For your own fame and hope of golden spoil
> Stand bravely to't.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.84-86)

Bess follows up this address, by answering Captain Goodlack, who has advised her to take shelter in her cabin, with the words:

> Captain, you wrong me. I will face the fight,

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[242]The expression in Bevington's. Bevington 206

[243]Lindabury 26-86; see also Hoenselaars 76-107.

[244]Hoenselaars observes that courage and valor were two of the most highly valued virtues of an Englishman. Hoenselaars 94.

> And where the bullets sing loud'st 'bout mine ears,
> There shall you find me cheering up my men.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.91-93)

Bess's rousing oration not only demonstrates her own courage, but also provides a model which elicits a like response in her followers. As an inspired Goodlack says of Bess, "This wench would of a coward make a Hercules" (FM,1.4.4.94). But Bess does more than make militaristic speeches. In act 2, scene 3 she takes on the roaring boy, Roughman: a bully who has been intimidating her staff at the Windmill for a number of weeks. Disguised as a page boy, she bests the poltroon and makes him forego his cowardly ways. In a short address, Roughman attests to Bess's courage and vows to follow her spirited example:

> She hath waken'd me
> And kindled that dead fire of courage in me
> Which all this while hath slept. To spare my flesh
> And wound my fame, what is't. I will not rest
> Till by some valiant deed I have made good
> All my disgraces past.
>
> (FM,1.3.2.131-136)

But bravery,as I have already pointed out in chapter 5, was only one component in the patriotic design. English defenders had also to exhibit the martial virtue of loyalty.

As a true defender, Heywood's heroine voices her allegiance to the national cause in a number of places throughout the text. Perhaps the best example of such an affirmation of loyalty is shown by the words Bess utters when she is urging her men to board the Spanish warship:

> For every drop of blood that thou has shed,
> I'll have a Spaniard's life - Advance your targets
> And now cry all, "Board, board! amain for
> England!"
>
> (FM,1.4.4.103-5)

Bess's rousing words demonstrate her support for England's cause and her hatred for the Spanish foe. Her commitment is supported throughout the play by such acts of loyalty as:

- The rigging out and manning of a privateer at her own expense (FM,1.3.4.103-112).
- Her capture of a number of Spanish prizes (FM,1.4.4.5)
- Her release of captured Englishmen and her restoration of a captured merchantman to its English owner (FM,1.4.4.112-131)

Bess's words and actions show that she has indeed made England's quarrel her own.

As I have indicated earlier (see chapter 5), the next attribute in importance to physical courage and loyalty for Elizabethan playgoers was that of victory. Following the

patriotic pattern of presenting English defenders as victors, superior in all respects to their continental counterparts, Heywood, in The Fair Maid, gave his public a defender of whom it could be proud. In act 4, scene 4 Bess, who has already enjoyed a virgin victory -- "...It did me good/To see the Spanish carvel vail her top/Unto my maiden flag." (FM,1.4.3.2-4) -- is put to the test when she comes face-to-face with a Spanish man-of-war. Outmanned and outgunned by the larger vessel, Bess orders her men to rescue the English merchantman being towed by the galleon, "Or perish in th' adventure" (FM,1.4.4.80). Although the English are, as convention dictates,[245] up against impossible odds, Bess heartens her crew with a patriotic speech, while the Negro's guns begin their bombardment:

> Trumpets, a charge; and with your whistles shrill,
> Sound, boatswains, an alarum to your mates!
> With music cheer up their astonish'd souls,
> The whilst the thund'ring ordnance bear the bass.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.95-98)

As true English champions, Bess and her gang of stalwarts win the day. In victory they continue to show their superiority to the "Don Diegos" (FM,1.4.4.110) who had earlier threatened to use "strappados, bolts" and other engines of torture (FM,1.4.1.22-23) on their English captives, by freeing the Spanish captain and his crew.

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[245]Hoenselaars 83.

There is however one condition to the release: the Spaniards must "pray for English Bess" (FM,1.4.4.120). Readily accepted by the Spanish captain, the agreed to stipulation provides a contrast to the usual scenario (as seen earlier in The Four Prentices) which depicts English victors proffering thanks on their own behalf to Providence for their win. In Heywood's innovative rendition of the customary scene, the English gain greater stature, since it is the losing Spanish side who offer thanks on their behalf:

> I know not whom you mean, but be't your queen,
> Famous Elizabeth, I shall report
> She and her subjects both are merciful.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.121-3)

Heywood's portrayal of Bess Bridges as exhibiting the martial virtues of courage, loyalty, and victory has helped confirm the national self-image of the English defender as reflected in the citizen quest fantasies of Elizabeth's final decade.

Another cultural orientation of note mirrored in Heywood's quest fantasy was orientalism. Important for the way it helped shape English attitudes towards the Islamic peoples of Africa and the Near East, Elizabethan orientalism, as previously discussed in Chapter IV, was the product of two distinct points of view: a traditional one, which regarded Islamics in light of a medieval inheritance; and an official one, which regarded Moors and Turks in light

of the trade agreements and political considerations of late sixteenth century England. Capitalizing upon this "bifurcated"[246] vision, dramatists[247] writing exotic adventure plays during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign frequently incorporated both views into their portrayal of Islamic other. Heywood, as well, employed this approach in The Fair Maid, invoking both traditional and official notions of Islamic behaviour to depict his colonial other. Important in this respect is his use of the traditional attribute of lechery and the official attribute of civility to portray the image of Mullisheg, King of Fez/Morocco.

With regard to the first attribute, the vice of lechery, the statement in the playtext which best sums up the popular belief that Islamics were by nature sexually unrestrained[248] is that made by Mullisheg in his introductory scene:

Mullisheg.

But what's the style of king
Without his pleasure? Find us concubines,
The fairest Christian damsels you can hire

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[246]The term is Bartels'. Emily C. Bartels, Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 31.

[247]In Chapter 3 "East of England: Imperialist Self-Construction in Tamburlaine, Parts 1 and 2" Bartels discusses how one such playwright, Christopher Marlowe incoporates both views into the character of Tamburlaine. Bartels 53-81.

[248]Said 62; see also D'Amico 81.

Or buy for gold, the loveliest of the Moors
We can command, and Negroes everywhere.
Italians, French, and Dutch, choice Turkish girls
Must fill our Alkedavy, the great palace
Where Mullisheg now deigns to keep his court.

Joffer.

Who else are worthy to be libertines
But such as bear the sword?

Mullisheg.

Joffer, thou pleasest us.
If kings on earth be termed demigods,
Why should we not make here terrestrial heaven?
We can, we will; our god shall be our pleasure,
For so our Meccan prophet warrants us.

(FM, 1.4.3.27-40)

Expressed as an order to his bashaw, Joffer (FM, 1.4.3. 28-30), the directive leaves no doubt as to what is on the tyrant's mind. As head of the new order which has been ushered in with the recent victory, Mullisheg sets out to satiate his carnal appetites in true Oriental fashion: "But what's the style of king/Without his pleasure?" (FM,1.4.3.27-28). As the promiscuous potentate informs his subordinate, all available means -- including the hire or

purchase of concubines -- are to be employed to achieve these ends. In the harem which he plans as an adjunct to his "great palace", the Moorish ruler envisions a bevy of international beauties ready to indulge his every sexual whim (FM, 1.4.3.32). Supported in his plan by Joffer (FM,1.4.3.35), Mullisheg invokes the teachings of Mahomet as a license for his lecherous designs: "For so our Meccan prophet warrants us" (FM,1.4.3.40). Using the Islamic dispensation[249] as an official sanction, the Moorish ruler vows to create a "terrestrial heaven" on earth filled with sexual enjoyment where "our god shall be our pleasure" (FM,1.4.3.38-39).

Heywood's portrayal of Mullisheg as exhibiting the attribute of lechery has reinforced audience assumptions regarding the sexual excess and promiscuity of Islamic/Moorish rulers.

But Heywood's citizen quest fantasy also reflects a different view of orientalism: one more in keeping with hegemonic interests and political realities of Elizabeth's last decade. Utilizing the trope of the savage being tamed by the royal personage/courtly virgin: a convention omnipresent in medieval and Renaissance literature[250],

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[249]Through travel literature of the period, Elizabethans were familiar with Islam's allowance of polygamy and concubinage. D'Amico 65.

[250]In Brown's detailed discussion of this important trope, he notes that it was frequently incorporated into the progresses, processions, and masques of Elizabeth's day.

Heywood is able to re-present his colonial other, in act 5, as one who has put aside the negative attributes of traditional Islamic behaviour in exchange for the positive attribute of civility. Mullisheg's conversion begins the moment he lay eyes on the transfigured English virgin. The power of her gaze alone is enough to change the savage Moor from lustful warlord to loving servant and faithful ally:

> I am amazed!
> This is no mortal creature I behold
> But some bright angel that is dropped from heaven
> Sent by our prophet
>
> (FM, 1.5.1.33-6)

In the "loving relationship"[251] which develops between the pair, Mullisheg demonstrates his newly acquired civility in two specific ways: first, by eschewing (what was believed to be) traditional Islamic (i.e. lustful) behaviour; and second, by defending English interests abroad.[252]

The following passage illustrates the radical change which civility has effected in the once lustful monarch:

Spencer.

Brown, This Thing of Darkness 53-4.

[251]The expression is Brown's. Brown, This Thing of Darkness 54.

[252]Among the ways civility in Moors was recognized by Elizabethans are included: Moors were expected to allow the English safe passage through their territories, to sacrifice Africa's well-being for England's, and to defend English merchants at all costs. Bartels 33.

Oh, show yourself, renowned King, the same
Fame blazons you. Bestow this maid on me;
'Tis such a gift as kingdoms cannot buy.
She is a precedent of all true love
And shall be register'd to after times,
That ne'er shall pattern her.

Goodlack.

Heard you the story of their constant love,
'Twould move in you compassion.

Roughman.

Let not intemperate love sway you 'bove pity,
That foreign nations that ne'er heard your name
May chronicle your virtues

Mullisheg.

You have waken'd in me an heroic spirit;
Lust shall not conquer virtue. -Till this hour
We grac'd thee for thy beauty, Englishwoman,
But now we wonder at thy constancy.

Bess.

Oh, were you of our faith, I'd swear great
Mullisheg
To be a god on earth.

(FM,1.5.2.106-23)

Having just been made aware of the true state of affairs between Bess and Spencer (FM,1.5.2.94-98), Mullisheg, in the above quotation, is in the process of deciding how he will handle the matter. He can either mirror what English theatregoers thought was traditional Oriental conduct and seize the English virgin for his own lustful ends or he can show civility through sexual restraint and grant Spencer's request: "...Bestow this maid on me;/'Tis such a gift as kingdoms cannot buy." (FM,1.5.2.107-108). Before making a decision, the Moor listens carefully to Goodlack's pleas for compassion and Roughman's argument for sexual restraint, "That foreign nations that ne'er heard your name/May chronicle your virtues." (FM,1.5.2.116-117)). Then, moved by such discussion as well as by Bess's beauty and faithfulness to her Spencer, "We grac'd thee for thy beauty, Englishwoman,/But now we wonder at thy constancy" (FM,1.5.2.120-1), Mullisheg reveals his "heroic spirit" of civility by finding in favour of the two lovers. Bess's concluding remarks, which commend Mullisheg on his noble decision: "Oh, were you of our faith, I'd swear great Mullisheg/To be a god on earth." (FM,1.5.2.122-3), underscore for Elizabethan audiences the sexual restraint shown by the new Moorish ruler.

Mullisheg's civility is also manifested by the way in

which he defends English interests abroad. Initially shown by the fact that Bess and her compatriots are allowed to put into Mamorah for supplies with their prizes in tow (FM,1.4.5.6-11), the King of Fez's goodwill is further demonstrated by the favourable accord (FM, 1.5.1.51-58) which he concludes with Bess. As seen by the terms of the agreement, Bess and her privateers are to be exempt from any violence when in port (FM,1.5.1.54-55); are to be allowed the purchase of needed supplies (FM,1.5.1.56); and, in addition to the right to come and go as they please, are to be allowed to weigh anchor at their own discretion (FM,1.5.1.51). In agreeing to such a one-sided list of demands, Mullisheg shows that he has taken the rights and concerns of English citizens to heart.

A more striking example of his defense of English interests occurs when the Moorish ruler willingly sacrifices some of his judicial authority and invites Bess to sit as co-judge on cases involving English and other Christian (i.e. European) merchants:

> Grant me this:
> Tomorrow we supply our judgement seat
> And sentence causes; sit with us in state,
> And let your presence beautify our throne.
>
> (FM,1.5.1.103-6)

Placed in such a position, Bess, as the following selection shows, sees herself as a judge advocate for her fellow

countrymen and other Christian litigants:

Mullisheg.

Sirrah, your men for outrage and contempt
Are doom'd unto the galleys.

Bess.

A censure too severe for Christians.
Great King, I'll pay their ransom.

Mullisheg.

Thou, my Bess?
Thy word shall be their ransom; th'are discharg'd.-

(FM,1.5.2.67-72)

Persuaded by his co-judge to show clemency to all Christian merchants who have committed trade infractions, Mullisheg once again reveals his civility by pardoning all offenses and restoring to such suitors any ships or commodities initially seized:

Well, sirrah, for your lady's sake
His ship and goods shall be restor'd again.

(FM,1.5.2.61-2)

Heywood's portrayal of Mullisheg as exhibiting the attribute of civility through his renunciation of lechery and his defence of English interests abroad has provided a clear indication of upper/merchant class English society's positive view of the trading and diplomatic alliance with Fez/Morocco which flourished throughout the latter part of

Elizabeth I's reign.

Another important social orientation reflected in The Fair Maid -- and one which characterized in great part England's maritime activities[253] during the Spanish war -- was capital adventurism. Voicing the desire by English venture capitalists to retaliate against Iberian shipping while profiting from prize ships and cargoes, Heywood focuses on two areas of particular concern to Elizabethans: the proper quarry of a voyage of reprisal and the profitability of such a voyage.

In dealing with the first area of concern, it is important to be aware of the legal justification for any such voyage. English privateers, for the most part, based the authorization for their ventures on letters of reprisal issued by the Lord Admiral, although other forms[254] of licence were available. All such commissions indicated Spanish ships and trade goods as the legitimate objects of plunder.[255] Reflecting public knowledge of the main target of reprisal ventures, the Presenter, in his remarks at the end of act 4, recounts how Bess and her crew have followed the letter of the law in their attack on foreign shipping:

Much prize they have ta'en.

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[253]Andrews 233.

[254]Other forms of authorization included: private notes signed by the Lord Admiral, letters patent, and commissions signed by the Portuguese pretender. Andrews 4-5.

[255]Andrews 3-5.

> The French and Dutch she spares, only makes spoil
> Of the rich Spaniard and the barbarous Turk
> (FM,1.4.5.6-8)

As seen in the above lines, Heywood's English champion, Bess, and her "ging of lusty lads" (FM,1.3.4.109) have, since leaving the merchantman enroute to Mamora at the end of act 4, scene 4, "tracked a wilderness of seas", preying on the proper object of a voyage of reprisal: Spanish shipping (FM, 1.4.4.163). In this endeavour they have, as noted, been quite successful: "Much prize they have ta'en" (FM,1.4.5). Bess as well upholds the spirit of a reprisal venture -- and avoids future legal problems -- by steering clear of neutral and allied vessels: "The French and Dutch she spares" (FM,1.4.5.7). And "the barbarous Turk" of which she "makes spoil" (FM,1.4.5.7-8) refers not to the Great Turk in Istanbul with whom England had a treaty, but to the dreaded Barbary corsairs -- exiled Spanish Moors based in such Turkish-controlled ports as Tunis and Algiers[256] -- who constantly preyed on any merchantman travelling through the Mediterranean.[257] As such "the barbarous Turk" would be seen both as a rival and a fitting secondary target for any English defender worth his/her salt.

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[256]Cawston and Keane 70; Africanus 1067; see also Chapter 8 "The Throne of Piracy" which gives a detailed account of these Moorish exiles from Spain who settled along the north-west coast of Africa and engaged in piratical activities. Chew 340-345.

[257]Cawston and Keane 72.

English defender worth his/her salt.

But also of concern to Elizabethans was the profitability of such a voyage. In this regard it is important to touch upon the following points: expenditures, value of prizes, and final returns. On any privateering venture the chief items of expense were the value of the ship, its armaments and ammunition (i.e. powder/shot), food supplies, other provisions (i.e. wood/candles), and repairs.[258] While Heywood has indicated that the value of the first chief item, Bess's ship, is £800 (FM,1.3.4.105), he has given no further information about any other expense except to note that Bess has placed all such matters in Goodlack's capable hands: "...Furnish her/With all provision needful -- spare no cost --" (FM,1.3.4.107-8). Additional information on the outlay for such a voyage is however available, thanks to Kenneth R. Andrew's comprehensive study Elizabethan Privateering. Based upon a wide variety of contemporary documents (including all relevant state and admiralty papers), Andrews' research shows that on average a 200-ton first-class privateer, valued at £800 and furnished for a period of six months, would incur the following costs: guns - £252, powder/shot - £249, victuals - £390, other provisions - £18, and repairs - £80.[259] Of special note is the total cost of fitting out the ship - £737: a figure

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[258]Andrews 46.

[259]Andrews (see Table 4) 49.

promoters to make "a saving (i.e. break-even) voyage".[260] Also important is the estimated total investment of £1789 which for Bess, as a novice promoter, represented an overall investment of about £9 per ton for a ship of the Negro's burden.

Balanced against this capital outlay is the value of the commerce plundered. First of the prizes taken by Bess is a Spanish carvel "...It did me good/To see the Spanish carvel vail her top/Unto my maiden flag" (FM,1.4.4.1-3). While Heywood is derelict in mentioning either the burden or manifest of the seized ship, Andrews informs that carvels were the typical workhorses of the west European merchant marine and averaged 50 tons in capacity. Cargoes of such vessels were usually wine -- but oftimes olives, oranges or other Iberian agricultural produce -- and worth from £500 to £1000.[261] Of Bess's second prey, the Spanish man-of-war, described in act 4 as "A gallant ship of war" (FM, 1.4.4.77), Heywood makes no mention of either her condition or contents upon capture. Given that privateers tried hard not to do serious harm to an intended prize,[262] since little was to be gained from damaged goods, it is possible to speculate that one reason for Bess's release of the Spanish captain and crew: "Your ship is forfeit to us and your

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[260]The expression is Andrews'. Andrews 50.

[261]Andrews 129.

[262]Andrews 39.

goods,/So live." (FM,1.4.4.118-119), was finding the warship in good condition. While no burden is mentioned for the enemy ship, a vessel equivalent to the Negro's own tonnage, fully rigged out and sporting its proper complement of ordnance, would have brought £500 on the open market.[263] Pertaining to Bess's final windfall "Much prize they have ta'en." (FM,1.4.5.6), the Presenter provides no clue as to its type or lading except to say that it was spoil "Of the rich Spaniard and the barbarous Turk" (FM,1.4.5.8). However, given the busy Spanish and Portuguese shipping lanes in which the Negro was cruising, it is possible to conjecture that such a prize -- one obviously coveted by the corsairs -- was of the lucrative sort frequently taken by privateers of the first rank. Of such possible prizes, two in particular deserve mention: the Brazilman and the West-Indiaman. Most common of all the sizeable merchantmen plundered was the Brazilman. With its characteristic cargo of brazilwood and sugar[264] such a prize usually went for about £3,000.[265] A second type also seized with surprising regularity was the West-Indiaman. Carrying in general a cargo comprised of hides and sugar, such a prize, like its

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[263]Andrews (see Table 3) 47.

[264]Available records show that no less than 34 Brazilmen were seized between 1589 and 1591. Andrews 133.

[265]Andrews 133.

Brazilian counterpart, vended for about £3,000.[266] Based upon such moderate expectations, it is reasonable to assume that the value of the prizes taken by Bess on her first reprisal voyage would have totalled no less than £4,000.

Given such a valuation, a fair estimate of the profitability of the venture can be arrived at without difficulty. The first step in such a process is to deduct the Queen's custom duty (5%) and the Lord Admiral's rate[267] (10%) from the gross amount, which leaves a balance of £3,400. Next, all additional charges -- the cost of fitting out (i.e. £737) and the crew's one-third share (i.e. £1134) -- are subtracted. With all accounts now settled, Bess, as sole promoter, is entitled to the remaining monies as her share of the venture: a net profit of £1529. Calculated as a percentage[268], Bess's profit works out to approximately 145%: an excellent return considering that the average profit for promoters was about 60%.[269] For Elizabethan playgoers, familiar with the tremendous profits made on the resale of such prize goods, Bess's voyage -- with its triple windfall -- has been a highly profitable one. Heywood's commerce-plundering scenario has accurately reflected

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[266]Andrews 46,134.

[267]Andrews 46,134.

[268]Calculated on the basis of the promoter's capital assets (i.e. ship and guns). Andrews 134.

[269]Andrews 134.

venture capital's concern about the proper quarry and profitability of a reprisal voyage during the years of the Anglo-Spanish conflict.

A final cultural orientation revealed by the identification of self and other in Heywood's exotic citizen fantasy was neo-chivalry. Endorsed by all levels of society when it made its reappearance c. 1575, this revitalized tradition, as pointed out earlier (see discussion, Chapter 4 "Neo-Chivalry"), supplied the romantic framework which inspired Elizabeth's second generation of courtiers to win public acclaim by performing several noteworthy deeds of valour in the national cause. Reflecting public approval for the neo-chivalric exploits of such second generation courtiers, Heywood directs attention to two of this group's most notable achievements: the expeditions against the Spanish fleet and the Protestant Crusade against Catholic Spain.

Of the many chivalric feats accomplished by England's knight-errant courtiers, none were of greater significance than the "semi-official"[270] forays launched against the Spanish fleet and its treasure ships. In the following passage Heywood focuses on two such campaigns: the Cadiz expedition of 1596 and the Islands' Voyage of 1597.

1 Captain. Most men think
The fleet's bound for the Islands [i.e. Azores].

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[270]The term is Andrews'. Andrews 5.

Carrol. Nay, 'tis like.

The great success at Cales [i.e. Cadiz] under the conduct

Of such a noble general [i.e. Essex] hath put heart

Into the English; they are all on fire

To purchase from the Spaniard. If their carracks

Come deeply laden, we shall tug with them

For golden spoil.

.....

1 Captain.

How Plymouth swells with gallants! How the streets

Glister with gold! You cannot meet a man

But trick'd in scarf and feather, that it seems

As if the pride of England's gallantry

Were harbor'd here. It doth appear, methinks,

A very court of soldiers.

(FM, 1.1.1.3-16)

As shown by Carrol's conversation with the two captains in act 1, scene 1, Robert Devereaux, the second Earl of Essex and one of the central figures[271] in the neo-chivalric

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[271]For further discussion regarding Essex's central place in the neo-chivalric movement see Richard McCoy's scholarly article "'A dangerous image': The Earl of Essex and Elizabethan chivalry". Richard C. McCoy, "'A dangerous image': The Earl of Essex and Elizabethan chivalry", The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 13.2 (1983): 313-329.

revival, has captured the imagination and hearts of the English people with his "great success at Cales" (FM, 1.1.1.5) which saw the Spanish fleet dispersed and Cadiz sacked. With almost reverential tones England's newest hero is described by Carrol as the "noble general" who has "put heart/Into the English" with his heroic exploits (FM, 1.1.1.6-8). Building upon the success of his initial expedition, Essex, as the first captain relates, is planning a follow-up campaign: this one "bound for the Islands" (FM, 1.1.1.4). To his standard have flocked chivalry's best and bravest, "the pride of England's gallants", who, along with a veritable "court of soldiers" (FM,1.1.1.14-16), will attempt a second great venture: to waylay Spain's bullion-laden carracks at their customary victualling stop in the Azores and "tug with them/For golden spoil" (FM,1.1.1.7-9). For Elizabethans caught up in the neo-chivalric temper of the times, such daring expeditions were indeed exploits worthy of renown.

Second of the group's notable achievements were its crusader-oriented activities. Aspiring to fight in the cause of religion, Elizabeth's "forward Noble men"[272] viewed the Anglo-Spanish conflict as a Protestant Crusade against Catholic Spain and, in this regard, acted aggressively

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[272]The expression is James Aske's as quoted by Richard C. McCoy. McCoy 320.

toward their enemy whenever possible. In the following selection Heywood focuses on one such incident which develops as a result of a conversation his English champion, Bess Bridges, has with some captured Spanish fishermen concerning the whereabouts of Spencer's body:

Bess.

Was there not in the time of their abode
A gentleman call'd Spencer buried there
Within the church, whom some report was slain
Or perish'd by a wound?

1 Spaniard.

Indeed there was
And o'er him rais'd a goodly monument,
But when the English navy were sail'd thence
And that the Spaniards did possess the town,
Because they held him for an heretic,
They straight remov'd his body from the church.

Bess.

And would the tyrants be so uncharitable
To wrong the dead? Where did they then bestow him.

1 Spaniard.

They buried him i' th' fields.

Bess.

Oh, still more cruel!

1 Spaniard.

The man that ought the field, doubtful his corn

> Would never prosper whilst an heretic's body
> Lay there, he made petition to the Church
> To ha' it digg'd up and burnt, and so it was.
>
> (FM,1.4.4.36-51)

Seeing the hand of Spanish Catholicism's Inquisition behind the tyranny of these local Church officials who have "censur'd so my Spencer" (FM,1.4.4.62), "held him for an heretic" (FM,1.4.4.43), and ordered his remains "digg'd up and burnt" (FM,1.4.4.51); Bess reacts in true crusader fashion. Turning her "mourning..into revenge" (FM,1.4.4.61), Heywood's heroic self orders her gunner to open fire on the source of the indignity: the Catholic Church: "Bestow upon the Church some few cast pieces.-" (FM,1.4.4.63). For Protestant audiences supportive of the crusader mandate of Elizabeth's fighting aristocrats, Bess's volatile response to perceived Spanish Catholic provocation has been a deed of valour. Heywood's focus on two of the main achievements of Elizabethan knight-errantry: daring raids against the Spanish fleet and the Protestant crusade, has clearly reflected the influence which this reborn ideology had on Elizabeth's second generation of courtiers as well as its popularity with aristocratic and non-aristocratic classes alike.

To conclude, then, the present rereading of <u>The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1</u> demonstrates how Heywood has incorporated the spirit of colonialism, prevalent in late

sixteenth century English society, into his popular exotic citizen fantasy. Historically regrounding the play in the commercial crisis/Moroccan alliance c.1600 has allowed an identification of Heywood's colonial other and heroic self as composite/representational figures which mirror the characteristics of two particular social groups involved in the colonial trade/privateering activities of the war years: colonial other, the Xeriffo Mullisheg, representing what Elizabethan playgoers knew of the various Morocan rulers of their own day; and heroic self, the amazing Bess Bridges, representing what such a rank-and-file audience knew of that elite group of English merchants, the great merchants who engaged in trade with Barbary. As well, the textual exploration of nationalism, orientalism, privateering, and neo-chivalry -- cultural orientations liberated by such a naming -- provides further evidence of the colonial trade designs of Elizabethan society during the final decade of the reign.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

The purpose of my dissertation has been twofold: first, to initiate a fresh, cultural studies approach to exotic citizen romance-- a category of English Renaissance drama long neglected by literary scholars -- viewing such adventure plays as literary works of colonial discourse within the mode of fantasy; and second, to apply this approach in a rereading of two such plays in vogue during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. In concluding this project I will briefly review both key aspects of the study, as well as look at future applications for this approach to early modern quest fantasy.

The first principal concern addressed in the study was that of approach. The particular methodology initiated for the analysis had two important features: first, it was based, for the most part, on modern fantasy theory -- specifically the innovative research of Tzvetan Todorov, Frederic Jameson, and Rosemary Jackson -- and located exotic citizen romance within the framework or mode of fantasy; but second, it also incorporated the cultural materialist notion of Renaissance quest romance as colonial discourse. The resulting cultural approach -- one which yoked fantasy theory to materialist insight -- allowed for a more in-depth exploration of exotic citizen romance than had heretofore been the case.

The second principal concern of my project was to

employ this cultural mode of analysis in a reappraisal of two of the exotic citizen romances popular during the golden age of Elizabethan drama. The two representative plays chosen for analysis were Thomas Heywood's novice effort, The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem and his later, more polished piece, The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1. As shown by the readings, each quest fantasy revealed a different aspect of the spirit of colonialism which so effectively dominated late sixteenth century English society.

Grounded in the historical/colonial crisis (i.e. the Nine Years' War) that existed in Ireland, England's only colony during the 1590's, the investigation of the first play, The Four Prentices, revealed a discourse reflective of the territorial conquest mentality of the period. Alien other and heroic self were identified as representative figures for particular social groups involved in the Irish struggle: other being the rebel Ulster chieftains, like Tyrone, who sought to prevent the English invasion and occupation of their ancestral lands; heroic self representing the gentlemen undertakers or adventurers who flocked to Ireland seeking estates and position in the new colony being formed. And the cultural orientations of nationalism, orientalism, capital adventurism, Christian imperialism, and mastery/masterlessness, liberated by that naming, provided -- through a sustained textual analysis --

further indications of the expansionist ambitions of late Elizabethan society at the moment of the play's initial production circa 1595.

The investigation of Heywood's later play, The Fair Maid of the West: Part 1, grounded in the commercial crisis/Moroccan alliance of the later war years, revealed a discourse reflective of a different aspect of colonial endeavour -- that of trade expansion: the need for England's mercantile-based economy to establish advantageous commercial/diplomatic relationships with Islamic nations. Colonial other and heroic self were identified as composite/representational figures for members of specific social groups involved in that colonial crisis situation: colonial other being a composite figure yoking images of the two late sixteenth-century Moroccan rulers familiar to the English public, and heroic self being a representational figure for that elite group of wealthy English merchants who traded with and conducted voyages of reprisal out of Barbary. In addition, the social ideologies of nationalism, orientalism, maritime capital adventurism, and neo-chivalry revealed by such an identification have provided a more complete picture of the colonial trade/privateering designs shaping English society at the time of the play's initial production c.1600.

As a final word I will indicate some of the possible ways in which the cultural approach initiated in my project

might be employed in the future. Since the methodology was initially formulated to investigate exotic citizen romances, one obvious application would be to use it in a repunctuation of some of the other citizen quest fantasies which scholars have traditionally skimmed over or disregarded. A partial list of such works might include the following: The Travailes of the Three English Brothers by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins; A Shoemaker, A Gentleman by William Rowley; as well as Fortune by Land and Sea and The Fair Maid of the West: Part 2, both by Thomas Heywood. A second possible application might be to employ this approach in a reexamination of Elizabethan/Jacobean non-citizen dramatic fantasies which, like exotic citizen romance, replicate the heroic folk fairy tale structure and literary conventions of chivalric romance. One possible grouping of such adventure plays might be as follows: Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1 by Christopher Marlowe; Orlando Furioso by Robert Greene; and Pericles, Prince of Tyre by William Shakespeare. As well, late sixteenth, early seventeenth century works of prose fiction, which incorporated the narrative form and chivalric features of early Elizabethan quest romance -- such as Thomas Deloney's The Gentle Craft: Part 1 -- should be regarded as suitable subject matter for such an approach. Viewed as literary works of colonial discourse within the mode of fantasy, exotic citizen romances -- along with other quest fantasies

of the late Elizabethan, early Jacobean period -- can now be explored with greater understanding.

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Appendix 1

Index Numbers of Prices And Wages in England 1500-1612[1] (Index for 1451-1500=100)			
Period	Prices[2]	Wages[3]	%Prices>Wages
1501-1510	95	95	0
1511-1520	101	93	8.6
1521-1530	113	93	21.5
1531-1540	105	90	16.7
1541-1550	79	57	38.6
1551-1560	132	88	50
1561-1570	155	109	42.2
1571-1582	171	113	51.3
1583-1592	198	125	58.4
1593-1602	243	124	95.9
1603-1612	251	124.5	126.5

[1]Adapted from Table 1 in Earl J. Hamilton's "American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism (1500-1700)", Economica, vol. 9, 1929, p. 352.

[2]Prices are formulated from the compilation of the prices of seventy-nine commodities.

[3]Wages are formulated from the compilation of the wages of nine classes of labour.

Appendix 2
Nine Years' War
Timeline

1545 - Hugh O'Neill is born

1562 - Hugh O'Neill is brought to England where he lives in Leicester's household.

1568 - He returns to Ireland.

1581 - Sir John Perrot is appointed Lord Deputy.

1585 - Hugh O'Neill is made Earl of Tyrone for assistance given to Perrot in Antrim. He sits in the third Irish Parliament.

1587 - Perrot arranges for the kidnapping of 15 year old Red Hugh O'Donnell and lodges him in Dublin Castle. (winter)

1588 - Sir William Fitzwilliam is appointed Lord Deputy.

1590 - After three years, Red Hugh escapes, but is recaptured and made to wear leg irons.

1591 - Tyrone marries Sir Henry's sister, Mabel Bagenal, but is never given the £1,000 left her in her father's will by her brother.

1592 - Red Hugh escapes Dublin Castle successfully.
- He drives English troops and sheriffs from Donegal Castle and Abbey.
- Red Hugh is inaugurated as "The O'Donnell".
- Red Hugh, Hugh Maguire, and Tyrone's brother Cormac capture the castle at Enniskillen.

1593 - With the death of Tirlough O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill rejects English titles and is elected "The O'Neill". He now enjoys the support of all the minor chiefs in Ulster.

1594 - The English retake Enniskillen Castle, but are beseiged by Maguire and O'Donnell (Feb.).
- The two Irish leaders successfully ambush a relief force of English at a ford on the river Arney. The battle is called "Ford of the Biscuits".
- Tyrone does not interfere when Russell marches to relieve Enniskillen Castle. (summer)

1595
- Cormac MacBaron, brother of Tyrone, burns Blackwater. (Feb.)
- Sir John Norris is appointed Lord General and arrives in Waterford with troops. (May)
- Enniskillen Castle recaptured by Tyrone.
- Marshall, Sir Henry Bagenal marches from Newy and relieves Enniskillen.
- On the return, Bagenal's forces are attacked and beaten by Tyrone at Clontibret. (June)
- Sligo falls to Red Hugh.
- Tyrone is proclaimed traitor. (June 23)
- O'Neill and O'Donnell write to Philp II for help. (Sept.)
- After Clontibret, a truce is arranged with O'Neill: it lasts until May 1596.
- A Spanish envoy arrives in Kellybeqs harbour.

1596
- The raid on Cadiz by Essex. (June)
- A Spanish armada leaves Vigo/Lisbon for Ireland, but returns due to gales.

1597
- Thomas, Lord Burgh is appointed Lord Deputy.
- A three pronged attack on Ulster forces by Burgh, Conyers Clifford, President of Connacht, and Patrick Barnewall is repulsed by O'Donnell and O'Neill.
- A new truce is arranged. (Dec.'97 - May '98)

1598
- English forces under Bagenal are beaten; he is killed. (August 14)
- The Munster plantation is overthrown. (Oct.)

1599
- Queen Elizabeth decides on pacification of Ireland. Essex, as Lord Lieutenant, is sent over with the largest force ever. He arrives in Dublin with 16,000 infantry and 1,300 cavalry. (April)
- Essex is sidetracked by local issues; he meets reverses in Mayborough and Glenmalure.
- Sir Conyers Clifford is defeated and beheaded by O'Donnell's forces in Curlew mountains.
- Essex decides to parley with Tyrone rather than fight.
- A truce is agreed to.
- Essex leaves without Queen's permission and returns to London. (Sept.)

1600
- Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy is appointed Lord Deputy and arrives in January.
- Mountjoy harries his opponents through the

winter.
- Sir Arthur Chichester builds a fleet on Lough Neagh and raids Tyrone's settlements and forts.

1601 - Mountjoy defeats the confederate forces at Kinsale. (Dec. 24)

1602 - Spanish troops in Kinsale and other coastal towns surrender. (Jan. 2)
- When they are transported back to Spain, O'Donnell goes with them.
- Chichester continues naval raids across Lough Neagh.

1603 - Tyrone submits to Mountjoy at Mellifont. (Mar.30)

Appendix 3
Rosemary Jackson's Literary Modes

Mode/ Narrative	Marvellous	Fantastic	Mimetic
Type	Narratives Based upon fairy tales, romance, magic, and supernaturalism	Narratives that assert that what they are telling is real, then proceed to introduce what is obviously unreal.	Narratives which claim to imitate an external reality.
Characteristics	- an omniscient narrator - a minimal functional narrative - little emotional involvement or participation from audience/ readership	- pulls reader/audience into a world closely resembling marvellous - narrator/hero not clear about what is going on - what is seen as real is constantly in question	- 3rd person narrative voice - representing as real the events it tells about
Examples	Traditional tales: Collections of folk fairy tales from: Bros. Grimm, Joseph Jacobs, Andrew Lang...etc Modern tales: Hans C. Andersen, George MacDonald, Charles Kingsley, J.R.R.Tolkien	Early Romance Fantasies: English Renaissance romances by Shakespeare, Marlowe, Heywood...etc Modern Fantasies: Narratives by Lewis Carrol, Mary Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe	Novels: W. Thackery's Vanity Fair (1848) Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton (1848)

This diagram provides a summation concerning the main points of

Rosemary Jackson's three literary categories discussed in Chapter III.

Appendix 4

Propp's Thirty-one Functions

Function Number	Description	Identifying Tag	Symbol of the Function
–	The members of a family are enumerated; hero is introduced.	Initial Situation	α
1	One of the members of a family absents himself from home.	Absentation	β
2	An Interdiction is addessed to the hero.	Interdiction	γ
3	An interdiction is violated.	Violation	δ
4	The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	Reconnaissance	ε
5	The villain receives information about his victim.	Delivery	ζ
6	The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings	Trickery	η
7	The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy.	Complicity	θ
8	The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family.	Villainy	A
8a	One member of a family either lacks something or desires to have something.	Lack	a
9	Misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispached.	Mediation, The connective Incident	B
10	The seeker agrees to or decides upon counteraction.	Beginning Counteraction	C

11	The hero leaves home.	Departure	↑
12	The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper.	The First Function of the Donor	D
13	The hero reacts to the actions of the future donor.	The Hero's Reaction	E
14	The hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	Provision or Receipt of a Magical Agent	F
15	The hero is transferred, delivered or led to the whereabouts of an objects of search.	Spatial Transference Between Two Kingdoms	G
16	The hero and the villain join in direct combat.	Struggle	H
17	The hero is branded.	Branding, Marking	J
18	The villain is defeated	Victory	I
19	The initial misfortune or lack is Liquidated.	Liquidation of Misfortune or Lack	J
20	The hero returns.	Return	↓
21	The hero is pursued.	Pursuit, Chase	Pr
22	Rescue of the hero from pursuit	Rescue	Rs
23	The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or in another country	Unrecognized Arrival	O
24	A false hero presents unfounded claims.	Unfounded Claims	L
25	A difficult task is proposed to the hero.	Difficult Task	M
26	The task is resolved.	Solution	N
27	The hero is recognized.	Recognition	Q

28	The false hero or villain is exposed.	Exposure	Ex
29	The hero is given a new appearance.	Transfiguration	T
30	The villain is punished.	Punishment	U
31	The hero is married and ascends to the throne.	Wedding	W

Appendix 5

Analysis of Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes an interwoven three move narrative. Please see Appendix 4 for an explanation of each symbol.

1. Clamydes pines for Juliana, princess of Denmark -- his sought after bride (a). Juliana appears and gives him a quest -- to slay the flying serpent which daily devours a woman -- with her hand as the reward (B). Clamydes accepts the quest (C). He departs (⇑). On his journey he stops in Suavia, his native land, to get knighted by his father, the King, but is pushed aside when the mace falls by Clyomon (D). He agrees to the King's request (E). He finally receives his knighthood (F). He is guided by Subtle Shift to the Forest of Marvels where the flying serpent lives (G). He fights (H) and slays (I) the serpent. After the victory, Clamydes falls under the spell of Bryan Sans-foy, the enchanter (J). He awakens after a ten days sleep and breaks out of Bryan's prison (K). Clamydes arrives in Denmark seeking Juliana's hand (⇓). Bryan Sans-foy, dressed as Clamydes and carrying the flying serpent's head, has arrived ahead of him and has been accepted as the real Clamydes (L). When Clamydes says he will fight to the death to prove his identity, the cowardly Bryan revokes his claim (Ex). Bryan is sent to prison for life (U). Juliana announces their wedding (W).

2. When Clamydes stops to get his knighthood during his initial quest (see move 1 above), Clyomon and Subtle Shift, the vice, plot to steal his knighthood from him (ζ). Just before the King's mace of office is about to descend on Clamydes, Clyomon pushes him aside receive the knighthood in his stead (A). The King of Suavia orders his son to pursue the stranger and discover who he is and why he bears Clamydes such a grudge (B). When Clamydes has agreed to the quest (C), he is knighted by his father. He then departs the Court (⇑). Accompanied by Subtle Shift, Clamydes pursues Clyomon to the court of King Alexander the Great, where the two knights decide to settle the issue with a trial at arms (G)... After many delays the two heroes finally encounter each other again as champions for two opposing factions at the Court of Strange Marshes. Once again King Alexander presides over the scene (H). King Alexander is able to persuade Clyomon to reveal his identity (I). With his quest accomplished, Clamydes for love of Clyomon's sister, Juliana, drops his quarrel (K).

3. Clyomon, Prince of Denmark, has been travelling incognito, as a knight errant for several years. He is put ashore due to seasickness by a ship's master on the Isle of Strange Marshes where he is found by Neronis, daughter to the King (α). Having been nursed back to health by Neronis, Clyomon must leave her to go and meet Clamydes for the arranged trial at arms -- a debt of honour -- which had been agreed to at King

Alexander's court (θ). After Clyomon has departed, Thrasellus, King of Norway, who loves Neronis, has her kidnapped and smuggled aboard ship to his country (A). When Rumour reports the news (B), Clyomon decides to rescue his love from Norway and revenge himself on its King (C). He then departs on his quest (⇑). On the route taken by Clyomon through the forest, he encounters Thrasellus (G). The two fight (H) and the King is slain (I) ... Following the incident where he champions Neronis' mother at Strange Marshes (see move 2) Clyomon decides to return home (⇓). There he finally meets Neronis dressed in female attire, and he recognizes her as his true love. The play ends with their promised marriage (W).

Appendix 6

Analysis of Thomas Heywood's, The Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem -- a four move narrative with one villainy. (Please see Appendix 4 for an explanation of each symbol).

Central Move: The old Earl of Bouillon appears in a London street scene with his daughter Bella France and his four sons: Godfrey, Guy, Charles, and Eustace. He regrets losing his dukedom to a usurper over a land disagreement with the French King (α). He gives his blessing to his four sons, now apprentices in London, and departs as a pilgrim for Jerusalem (β). The four lads who say they still dream of valour in war are about to return to their masters' shops, when they hear a drum. A captain announces that there is a holy war against the pagans in Jerusalem (A) and that Robert of Normandy, the King's, son is seeking soldiers to fight in those wars (B). The four agree to enlist (C). They embark together ($\Uparrow$). ...After separate adventures, the four brothers are reunited outside Jerusalem's walls. In the final battle itself, the four apprentices -- now acknowledged as Christian princes -- have both verbal and military confrontations with Soldan and Sophie, the pagan leaders (H). Led by the four prentices, the Christian forces are triumphant. Each of the four slays a pagan king (I). Jerusalem is now won (K). The Christians

now enter the city (⇓). In conclusion, each of the four brothers receives a crown, their sister Bella France is wed to one of the Christian princes, Guy takes in marriage the French princess, and their father, the old Earl, is made Patriarch of Jerusalem (W).

(N.B. While the sequence of functions followed by the prentices in the central move shown above is identical, a difference in each hero's tale occurs during the intervening period (indicated above with an ellipsis). The next section deals with these missing adventures and focuses on how each hero acquires an agent (F) to liquidate the misfortune (K). Not only does the branching movement add variety to the narrative, but it shows the significance of each hero "since his intentions create the axis of the narrative" (Propp 50).

1. .... Godfrey is shipwrecked and lands in Bouillon. He see the citizens being brutalized by the usurping Earl and his Spanish allies (D). He decides to help the people and at his instigation, the Spaniards are beaten off and the tyrannous Earl slain (E). When the citizens discover his identity as their natural prince, they crown him Earl of Bouillon. Now in command of ten thousand soldiers (F), Godfrey continues on his route to Jerusalem (G).

2. .... After the shipwreck Guy lands in France where he is discovered on the beach by the French King and his daughter, the princess, who falls in love with the prentice. The French princess begs her father to receive Guy (D). Accordingly the French King welcomes Guy to court where he makes him a great and special officer (E). He then puts Guy in charge of ten thousand men and sends him to help win Jerusalem (F). Now in command of the French contingent, Guy continues en route to Jerusalem (G).

3. .... Charles lands at the foot of a lofty mountain in Italy. Banditti who live in caves on the mountain assail him (D). In fair combat he strikes their captain dead (E). Wondering at his valour the men ask him to be the new bandit chieftain. He agrees but on condition he can bring order to the bandits. He reorganizes the troop, is able to rescue his captive father and eventually agrees to share his captaincy with Eustace whom he doesn't recognize. Both heroes eventually agree to serve under Tancred, a prince of Italy, and each receives command of ten thousand men (F). With the arrival of the Crusaders from France and Bouillon, Tancred, Charles, and Eustace decide to join the host and lead their forces to Jerusalem (G).

4. .... Eustace is wafted to Ireland's coast where he obtains the service of an Irish kerne as manservant at the

wake of an Irish chieftain. The two then proceed to Italy where they are in time to rescue the old Earl from being murdered by two bravoes (D). When confronted by the outlaw band's new leader -- his brother, Charles, whom he does not recognize -- Eustace is able to match his martial prowess. The two agree to share the captainship and together confront Tancred, Prince of the Palatine, who is sweeping all outlaws from the mountains (E). Eventually he and Charles agree to serve Tancred and both receive command of ten thousand men (F). Their army joins that of the other Christian Princes already en route to Jerusalem (G).

Appendix 7[1]

A Summary of Pope Urban II's Address

In perhaps the most influential speech of the medieval period, Urban II addressed the Frankish delegates gathered at Clermont in Auvergne in November of 1095 A.D. and informed them that an accursed race (i.e. the Selijuq Turks) had invaded and was in the process of depopulating the vast Christian territories of the East (i.e. Byzantium). Not only were the Christian inhabitants being tortured and enslaved but altars, as well, were being desecrated and destroyed.

Urban urged the Franks -- a nation whom he said was noted for its bravery and skill in battle -- to rise up and avenge these wrongs, and retake this territory. He encouraged such action by reminding his listeners of the glorious deeds of their ancestors and by underscoring the shame of seeing an unclean people in possession of the Holy Sepulchre. Advising the delegates to let neither worldly goods nor family affairs deter them from action, Urban further observed that such a conquest would be of benefit to the Frankish nation since the territory it presently occupied was too small to support its increasing population and was, as a result, a constant cause of civil strife.

Urban concluded his oration by commanding that hatred

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[1]Based upon the text of Urban II's address as quoted by Will Durant. Will Durant, The Story of Civilization: The Age of Faith, vol. 4 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950) 587.

and quarrels among the Franks be ended and that all embark on a quest to win back Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from a wicked race and make that fruitful land their own. Urban also advised the delegates that all who undertook such a venture would be granted absolution for their sins and assured of redemption in the life to come.

Appendix 8

A summary of The Four Prentices of London With the Conquest of Jerusalem[1]

Dramatis Personae

The old Earl of Bouillon
His four sons: Godfrey, Guy, Charles, and Eustache
Bella Franca, his daughter
An English Captain
Robert of Normandy
The French King's daughter
Tancred, a Prince of Italy
The Sultan of Babylon
The Sophy of Persia
Turnus
Moretes
A Chorus or Presenter
Mutes
The French King
The Boulognese
Banditti
Irishmen
Ambushes of Pagans
The Clown

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[1]Adapted from Thomas Heywood's The Four Prentices of London: A Critical, Old-Spelling Edition, ed. Mary Ann Weber Gasior (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980) 2-121.

The old Earl/Duke of Bouillon now a citizen of London bewails his fate to his daughter, Bella Franca. It seems he had had a difference with the French King "in a strange debate" over property boundaries. While he was occupied with his forces in helping William Duke of Normandy conquer England, the French King had seized his dukedom planting another in his stead. William although grateful is just too busy trying to keep order in his new domain to help restore the Earl's lost lands. The Earl has been forced to place his four sons in service as bound apprentices. Godfrey is bound to a Mercer, Guy to a Gold-smith, Charles to a Haberdasher and Eustache to a Grocer. The Earl has just sent for the boys. When they arrive he asks all how they like their trades. Although there are some drawbacks, all four are happy in their chosen field -- though they still dream of valour in war and princely exercises. The Earl tells them of his vow to visit Jerusalem, gives them his blessing, and departs. The brothers are about to return to their Masters when they hear a drum. A Captain announces that Robert, Duke of Normandy, the king's son is seeking soldiers to fight in the holy wars at Jerusalem. The four prentices agree to go together. United by hearts and strength they feel they will surely prevail. When they've bid Bella Franca adieu she decides to follow them in disguise and "a Virgines unexpected fate to try".

To avoid holding up the action, a chorus or presenter recounts the doings of the brothers since they embarked. A tempest has caused the brothers' vessel to split upon some rocks and the four prentices are dispersed to different corners of the globe. Godfrey lands safely at Bouillon and helps certain citizens throw off the Spanish yoke. When the people discover he is their natural prince, he leads them in a war of liberation against the tyrannous Earl who has supplanted his father. "And by his valour was the usurper slain". A grateful nation creates him Earl of Boulogne and repossesses him in his father's seat. The French King and his daughter walking on the strand discover Guy floating upon a raft. It is love at first sight for the princess. Guy is brought home and made "a great and speciall Officer". Charles, the third son, floats on a plank to Italy. The old Earl has just been captured by some bandits who imprison him. Charles enters dripping wet and brandishing a sword. When the banditti also attack him, the prentice slays their chief in single combat. Wondering at his valour, the leaderless bravoes beg him to be their chief. He accepts not knowing his father lies bound nearby. Eustache, the youngest, has been wafted to Ireland where the dumb show depicts him among the kernes at an Irish wake.

The French King's daughter tries to get a commitment of love from Guy whom she loves dearly, but Guy, believing himself

to be the only surviving brother, vows to keep silent about his parentage and try to "raise againe thy father's ruin'd state". He tells the princess that he honours her above all else, but that his only love is battle "to march, to plant a battell lead an Hoast..be a solder and to goe to warre". Guy now informs her that her father has commissioned him to lead ten thousand men "To win the holy Town Hierusalem". When Guy departs the princess privately vows to follow her beloved in his quest.

Charles believes that he can reform his banditti by initiating both a code of civility and by having the men learn a trade. He is given the bandits' treasure and prisoners as is his due. He now learns that his father is among the captives. He updates the Earl on what has transpired. The old man weeps for his drowned sons, but is still determined to complete his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Charles sends him off with a bag of gold guided by two bandits who cast covetous eyes on his pouch. When the trio have travelled some distance and are alone the two guides set upon the old man, rob his purse, and are just about to murder him when Eustache appears. He, with a kern as servant, has just arrived in Italy. They beat off the cutthroats thus saving the Earl's life. Alerted by one of the thieves, the gang of outlaws led by Charles arrives. Eustache fights all comers and returns "them to their captain backe with shame". Charles admires Eustache's spunk and challenges him to a fair fight. The two have barely begun their duel when Bella Franca runs betwixt them seeking assistance. She and her little page on their way to the holy Land have been set upon by outlaws and she has had to flee to preserve her chastity. Both brothers are entranced by the beauteous maid, not knowing her to be their sister. They revive their quarrel, the maid now part of the stake; but once again the duel is rudely terminated. This time a clown enters and announces that Tancred, a prince of Italy, has just entered the mountains with an army determined to expunge the outlaw band. The brothers agree to co-captain the band and face the new threat together. Both regret not having any London prentices to back them in the coming fight.

Tancred is impressed with the valour of the boys preferring to keep them as allies. He likes Charles' suggestion about using his forces to win renown in Jerusalem and appoints each brother a commander of ten thousand men. As well, to stop the bickering, he takes charge of Bella Franca until the war is over.

Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Bologne and Guy of Lessingham meet on the way to Jerusalem. The two brothers quarrel over who should lead. Robert, charging the two not to spill

Christian blood, forms the troops into a Christian league assigning each their proper place. A trumpet sounds and Eustache enters telling the leaders to retreat from Trancred's lands or prepare for battle. Since neither side will budge, the leaders decide to settle the issue through a single combat. Charles is Tancred's champion, while Godfrey is Robert's. Both fight courageously and are parted by the leaders. Eustache, not wishing to lose honour, challenges Guy. Once again great valour is shown, and the fight is stopped. Tancred decides to unite his army with that of the other three, and all proceed to "Winne back Judea from the Pagan hands". The French King's daughter now enters disguised as page boy to her beloved Guy. She serves him faithfully, but is barred from revealing her love.

The scene shifts to the court of the Sultan of Babylon where he and the young Sophy of Persia are discussing the advance of the Christian terror. The young Sophy supported by the councillor Turnus, wishes to engage the Christians in battle; but the more experienced Sultan, advised by the peaceful Moretes, decides to send two emissaries to meet the Christians and discover whether they come "To pay their vowes at their Messia's Tombe" or "...to conquer Syon's Hill". Moretes and Turnus are assigned the embassy, while Sophy and Sultan lie in wait to intercept the Christian host.

In the Christian camp Tancred enters and presents a richly attired Bella Franca to the Christian princes. Tancred lays claim to her glory. All four brothers, as well as Robert of Normandy, also claim a share. A row ensures and Bella Franca has to remind them of the Christian parliament's rule that it is death for anyone to strike a blow. All finally desist from the fractious quarrel. At this point Turnus and Moretes enter the camp.

Each emissary carriesa different message: Moretes, one of peace from the Sultan, and Turnus, one of war from the Sophy. Robert and Tancred wish to hear the former, while Godfrey and Charles clamour for the latter. Moretes says that if they come in peace as pilgrims they will not be harassed, but the four prentices want nothing to do with peace and tell Turnus to deliver his report. Speaking for the Sophy, Turnus challenges the Christians to take Jerusalem where his vermilion flag hangs. Godfrey explains to the emissaries that the Christians are not there as pilgrims, but have come to free the holy Land from the sultan's power and will "offer at the Tombe our contrite hearts/Made purple with as many pagans blouds...". Guy and Eustache"in a haire-braine rage" argue over who shall answer Sophy's challenge; a blow is struck, and the brothers having broken the law are subject to execution. Knowing their

worth, however, the Christian princes commute their sentence to the everlasting banishment. Eustache departs vowing vengeance on Guy, while for his part, Guy resolves to return to the fray as an unknown knight bearing an escutcheon engraved with the ensign of the Goldsmiths. Bella Franca and Guy's page, the disguised princess, have a discussion on the relative merits of the former's many suitors. The page tries to dissuade Bella France from liking Guy, but to no avail. Bella Franca, bored with camp life, has resolved to steal away that evening. The princess, believing her to be following the banished Guy, agrees to accompany her out of fear of losing her love.

Back at the Sultan's court, Moretes and Turnus report on their embassy. The Sultan learns that the Christians are not awed at his might, but are anxious to confront his forces. He orders his troops mobilized, selects his commanders, and plans strategy for the coming conflict. Both Robert of Normandy and Charles have left the Christian's camp to search for Bella Franca. They encounter the Sultan with some of his soldiers and in the ensuing fight both are captured. A disguised Guy chances upon the scene and rescues the two princes. In a like manner, Eustache rescues Tancred and Godfrey from another pagan trap. Following this encounter Guy comes upon a sleeping Eustache, his sworn enemy. Refusing to take advantage, he switches eschutcheons with the sleeper and in a letter dares his enemy to combat should they meet. Eustache, in his turn, stops a fight between Bella Franca and a Clown who wished to return her to the encampment. Brother and sister at last recognize each other. They decide to go to Eustache's tent where the disguised princess dons the garb of a lady-in-waiting to Bella Franca.

Battle between the forces is imminent. Robert, Tancred, Godfrey and Charles march before the walls of Jerusalem and discuss the city's deep significance to their Christian faith. All vow to free it from pagan idols. A parlee is sounded and the Sultan, the Sophy and their attendants enter upon the walls. Pretentious challenges are shouted from both factions ending when the Sultan decides to have some captives tortured before the Christian army. One of the prisoners is the old Earl of Bouillon. He urges the princes not to let his grief hinder their goal. Both Charles and Godfrey recognize their father and, in turn, each other. The brothers then attempt to rescue the old Earl.

In the interim both Sultan and Sophy have each set up a standard and a crown. Any Christian who is able to fetch them away, providing he leave some token, is welcome to enjoy them. In the ensuing action, Guy and Eustache carry off the prizes hanging the contrary shields in their place.

With the outer walls breached and standards and crowns taken, the Sultan, Sophy, and their advisors seem in disarray as they analyze the situation. They decide to adhere to the Sultan's plan, and attempt to mend the breach and retake the wall. Eustache and Guy bearing their trophies enter at separate doors and meet the other princes. They are congratulated on their valour, but, due to the contrary shield they carry, confusion arises over which prentice rescued which Prince. The situation is finally clarified when the two are discovered to be the missing sons of the old Earl. All four brothers vow to free their father. Turnus enters bearing a message. The Sultan's forces will exit the city and meet the Christians in a pitched battle on the plain. The Christians agree. The Sultan prepares for battle by addressing his troops. He eulogizes the Christians valour in battle, pointing out how much greater will be the victory when his pagans are victorious. The Christian princes meet for their final strategy session.

All now in readiness, the two hosts face each other. Opposing princes shout out the prowess of their troops, while bombastic threats and challenges are hurled from all quarters. Finally the battle is joined. In the initial encounter the Christians are beaten, and the Sultan victoriously marches off with his men. Outnumbered ten to one, Charles and Godfrey discuss the dire situation. The brothers are happy to see Guy and Eustache enter with the old Earl whom they have just rescued from the fortress. When the pagans return, all four brothers help carry the old man to safety.

As the battle progresses Sultan and Sophy speak of the Christians' determined rage, and how fortune seems to be turning against them. Moretes and Turnus now enter bringing news that Antioch gate has been breached, and the day is lost. But the Sophy, fearing the shame of having the Cross advanced, urges the Sultan to merge their forces for one last gambit. An alarum sounds and the four prentices enter. Each of the four slays a pagan king. They remove their crowns and exit.

Now all the Christian princes enter. Robert thanks heaven for the victory. "Since Syon and Hierusalem are ours". They appoint the old Earl as Patriarch of Jerusalem to replace the former who was killed in the recent struggle. The Princes decide to elect a king of Jerusalem. Both Robert and Tancred refuse as does Godfry who wants only a crown of thorns to wear and dukedom of Boulogne to rule. Guy is chosen next and accepts the honour despite a prophecy of troubled times ahead from the old Earl. Robert of Normandy now honours the other brothers. Prince Eustache is named

king of Sicily, while Charles receives the crown of Cyprus. All assembled proclaim them kings. Each new king announces that he will keep the insignia of his trade as part of his escutcheon. The old Earl wishes his daughter were present. Eustache now brings Bella Franca forward. Promising to please all she reveals herself as daughter to the Earl, sister to the prentices, and lover to Tancred. Guy is also reunited with his love the French King's daughter whom he introduces as his bride-to-be. Robert of Normandy now forms them into proper ranks and, led by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the assembly processes solemnly to Christ's Tomb to pay their pilgrim vows and then "Repaire we to our Countries, that once done/For Syon and Jerusalem are wonne."

Appendix 9

A Summary of The Fair Maid of the West or A Girl Worth Gold: Part I[1]

Dramatis Personae

Two Sea Captains
Mr. Carrol, a gentleman
Mr. Spencer
Captain Goodlack
Two Vintner's Boys
Bess Bridge, the Fair Maid of the West
Mr. Forset, a gentleman
Mr. Roughman, a swaggering gentleman
Clem, a drawer of wine under Bess Bridges
Three sailors
A Surgeon
A Kitchenmaid
The Mayor of Foy
An Alderman and a Servant
A Spanish Captain
An English Merchant
Mullisheg, King of Fez
Bashaw Alcade
Bashaw Joffer
Two Spanish Captains
A French Merchant
An Italian Merchant
[A Preacher]
A Chorus
[Spanish and English Sailors, Moors]
The Earl of Essex, going to Cales (i.e. Cadiz)
The Mayor of Plymouth with Petitioners
[Captains]

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[1]Adapted from Thomas Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West: Parts I and II, ed. Robert K. Turner, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967) 3-90.

Act 1

Because of the recent success of Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, in capturing Cales (i.e. Cadiz), the gallants in Plymouth are all eager to participate in his latest adventure: to raid the Spanish treasure ships. Rumour has it that the new expedition is headed for the Azores. All the English bravos are gathered in Plymouth "tricked out in scarf and feather" ready to plunder the Spanish "golden spoil".

Beautiful, chaste Bess Bridges is bar maid at the Castle. Her beauty and honesty attract all the brave gallants, but her heart belongs only to Master Spencer, a gentleman, who is participating in the Essex expedition, not for pillage, but for honor. He would like to marry Bess, but feels the match might be inappropriate; since she is only a trade-fallen (i.e. bankrupt) tanner's daughter. A tavern brawl occurs in which Spencer, in upholding Bess's honor from the incivility of a Mr. Carrol, has the misfortune to kill the bully. As a result he has to flee the country. Before he goes, he sends a token to Bess through his friend, Forset, and arranges to meet her one last time. At the rendezvous Spencer tells Bess that he must leave because of the murder of Carrol. He refuses the £100 he had formerly given her and provides amply for the girl during his absence, making her the mistress of his trunks which include money and apparel. He also bestows on Bess a tavern in Foy (i.e. Fowey in Cornwall) called the Windmill where he'll send for her if he still lives. Spencer's only request is that Bess always keep his portrait in her room. Bess agrees and gives him her ring, saying that if she sees it without him she'll know he's dead. Then they part: he to take ship for Fayal; she to begin running her new tavern. In a dumb show Essex and his captains are shown taking leave of the Mayor of Plymouth. Before weighing anchor, Essex receives petitioners and, like the noble lord he is, pays the tavern bill scored by Mr. Carrol which had been left unpaid at his demise.

Act 2

In Foy Bess, by dint of hard work, makes the Windmill the tavern of choice amongst the gallants. Clem, an apprentice "newly come into my teens" is her main helper. Although they have "almost undone all the other taverns" with their quality service, all is not smooth sailing. One surly customer called Roughman tries to force his attentions on Bess. He vows that Bess will take his hand in marriage. To press his point he manhandles her servants, disturbs her guests, and, on a nightly basis, tries to domineer over Bess herself. (Like many younger sons, Roughman is attracted by

Bess's rich prospects as a successful tavern keeper.) At last Bess's patience is at an end and she determines to teach the swaggering bully a lesson. Dressed like a page and carrying a sword, Bess lies in wait for the braggart at a nearby field. When challenged to fight, Roughman proves to be no Hector, but rather a coward at heart. In the encounter he throws away his sword rather than fight, ties Bess's shoe, and, when ordered to lie flat, even allows page boy Bess to stride over him.

In Fayal Spencer who is talking to his friend Goodlack, tries to prevent a quarrel between two captains. In the ensuing melee, he is severely wounded and believes himself to be dying. He says that God is punishing him for having killed a man in Plymouth, and pardons his attackers. Since the English fleet is just about to depart for home, Spencer enjoins Goodlack to commend him to his beloved and give him Bess's ring as a token. As executor of Spencer's last will and testament, Goodlack is to award Bess £500 a year provided she is reported free from scandal. If, however "hear'st her branded for loose behaviour," Goodlack himself will receive the bequest. Just as Goodlack's ship is about to sail, he hears a great bell tolling and learns that it is being rung for one Spencer who had just died from a mortal wound. Goodlack does not know that the deceased was a different Spencer, and that his dear friend has survived his injury. Bess's Spencer, now recovered, is forced to take passage with a London merchant bound for Mamorah, a town in Barbary. From thence he hopes to get a ship bound for England and to be home in about ten months.

Act 3

Thinking that no one has seen his cowardly abasement in the field, Roughman continues to boast and tyrannize over Bess's help. But Bess soon puts him in his place, revealing herself as the young man who bested the braggart. Roughman is forced to admit his defeat and says he is confounded by his shame.

Bess's reputation is of such high standing and her business so prosperous that the Mayor of Foy thinks to propose a match between her and his only son. Goodlack, when he arrives, can find nothing to discredit Bess; although he certainly would like the legacy himself. Her devotion to Spencer's picture finally wins over Goodlack; and, assured that she is chaste and faithful, he delivers Spencer's last message. In addition to the bequest, Bess says that she has saved £4,000. She vows to be an example to all maids in love and asks Goodlack to purchase a "good tight vessel" and have it rigged and provisioned for privateering with himself as captain. Bess won't reveal the rest of her plan yet, but

says: "Though some may blame, all lovers will commend".

Act 4

When the Mayor of Foy finally meets with Bess and proposes a match between her and his son, Bess responds by reading from a parchment containing her last will and testament which she then submits to his trust. In the will Bess divides all her wealth into several bequests including the following: a grant to help paupers get started in a trade, a grant to assist victims of a loss by sea, a £10 bequest to assist dowerless maidens, and another to provide relief for maimed soldiers. By reading her will, Bess demonstrates to the Mayor not only her goodness, but also that she is now unable to bring a dowry to any marital union.

Bess now resolves upon a voyage on her new ship. Included in the crew are Clem, her apprentice; Forset, Spencer's friend; as well as her reformed tormenter, Roughman, whom she makes lieutenant under Captain Goodlack. Because of her sorrow at Spencer's death, Bess commands that the ship appear black: "I'll have her pitched all o'er...No color to be seen...but black:. She christens the vessel the Negro, and, after feasting the town of Foy, Bess and her crew set sail on their quest.

Bess informs that she and her band of adventurers have already tasted Spanish plunder with the conquest of a caravel. When the Negro reaches the Azores, Bess's secret mission is at last revealed: she wishes to go ashore at Fayal, retrieve the body of Spencer, and transport it home to England where a fitting tomb may be erected and where, when death calls, she may at last be joined with her beloved. But her hopes are dashed when she learns from two Spanish fishermen, captured by Forset, that the Spencer who had been buried in the church was first reburied in a nearby field, then later exhumed and burned as a heretic by permission of the Church. Bess's mourning turns to rage and she vows to be revenged "Upon some Spaniards for my Spencer's wrong". She commands her gunner to bombard the church. The crew then gets ready to attack a Spanish warship which Clem has spotted approaching with an English merchantman in tow.

This is the very vessel upon which Bess's Spencer had embarked from Fayal. The Spanish warship had captured the trader off the Azorian coast in revenge for Raleigh's successful pillage of the town. In a skirmish both ships are taken by the Negro. During the battle Goodlack is shot in the thigh and has to be taken below deck. He is not present when the Spanish prisoners come on board. Bess allows the Spaniards to go free, but keeps the man-of-war as

a prize, promising to reimburse the English merchant for any loss sustained "to the last farthing". Bess thinks she sees Spencer standing amongst the prisoners, but rationalizes that she is probably affected by the martyrdom which his body received after death. She promises Spencer's spirit to sleep "for thy revenge is sure". Spencer, for his part, thinks the youth dressed as a gentleman looks familiar, but he can't be sure where he's seen him.

While this is transpiring, the scene shifts to the court of Mullisheg, King of Fez and Morocco. Mullisheg in conference with his Bashaws, Alcade and Joffer, has just been victorious in a bloody struggle which has firmly established him as ruler of the two African kingdoms. He now commences to make laws to enrich his treasury. He dictates that any Christian merchant who tries to conceal any duty or tariff owed to the crown will have his ship and goods seized. Mullisheg also announces that he wants new concubines and orders his attendants to procure the fairest Christian damsels they can hire or buy for gold; Moorish and Negro maidens he can procure with ease.

The act concludes with the chorus advising the audience on what has happened to Bess, Spencer, et al. Bess has recovered from her vision of Spencer's Ghost; Goodlack's thigh wound has healed; the Negro has taken much spoil from the rich Spaniard and barbarous Turk; and, due to a lack of fresh water, the Negro has had to sail to Mamorah in Barbary. At Mamorah, Bess is discovered wearing woman's attire and the news is reported to Mullisheg "that ne'er before had English lady seen". Mullisheg sends for Bess.

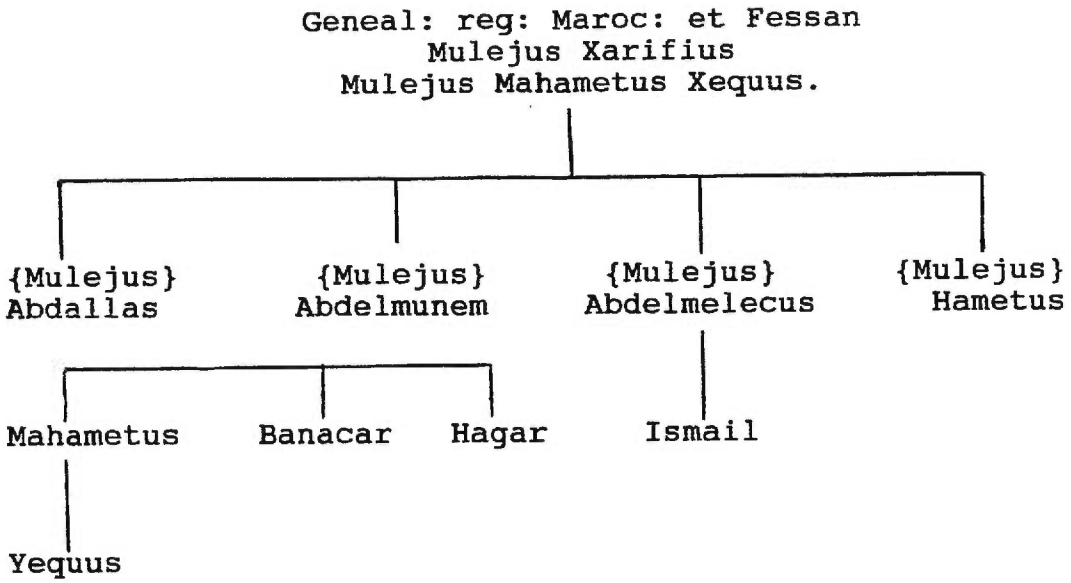
Act 5

At court Mullisheg anticipates Bess's visit. One of his attendants, Alcade, has even promised Goodlack a large reward if Bess comes. When she arrives, she foregoes all civilities until Mullisheg agrees to her demands: including safe conduct for herself and her crew. The King of Fez capitulates. He is entranced by the seventeen year old English beauty and even compares her to the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth. He begs a kiss which she grants and has her sit in state with him to "beautify our throne." He also invites her to sit with him the following day to judge some suits. In her role as judge advocate she pleads leniency for the French and Italian merchants who have run afoul of Moorish law and are being sponsored in their appeals by the pseudo-courtier, Clem. Bess and Spencer are finally reunited through the good offices of Captain Goodlack and, with Mullisheg's blessing, are married by a preacher newly come to convert the Moors. Mullisheg provides the wedding banquet, gives generous gifts to all Bess's company, and

says of her:

> And wheresoe'er thy fame shall be enroll'd,
> The world report thou art a girl worth gold.

Appendix 10[1]



[1]As reproduced by A. H. Bullen in his prefatory remarks to The Battle of Alcazar. George Peele, The Works of George Peele, ed. A. H. Bullen, vol. 1 (1888, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat press, 1966) 223.