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Britain's Bourse: Cultural and Literary Exchanges between England and the Low Countries in the Early Modern Era (c. 1580-1620)

By Siobhán Higgins B.A. MA

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment for the degree of PhD

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Declaration.

I hereby declare that the thesis submitted is my own work and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. This work stringently adheres to the university's policy concerning plagiarism and all material consulted and used in this thesis has been clearly and correctly referenced and cited.

Signed:

Siobhán Higgins.

Date:

Abstract.

This thesis presents the argument that Anglo-Dutch military contact during the late sixteenth and early to mid seventeenth century created a body of English literature, or even a genre of early modern literature that could be labelled as Anglo-Dutch in origin. This thesis contends that much of this literature was created by a network of Anglo-Dutch writers, translators, soldiers, patrons, and courtiers who used literature as a means of 'co-optive or soft power' (Nye 166), to spread the ideological appeal of a cultural, political, and religious Anglo-Dutch alliance. Evidence and arguments are presented to show how Anglo-Dutch texts were used as tools by an English political faction to increase, and sometimes decrease, the ideological appeal of militant Protestantism and transfer this appeal into popular support for many issues, such as support for Calvinism and the continuation of English militancy in continental Europe, acceptance of the Low Countries community in London, and encouragement for English Protestant military leaders in foreign service. This thesis also discusses a range of early modern drama and argues that dramatists used Anglo-Dutch pamphlet literature to provide contexts for viewing the alliance with the Dutch, the acceptance of Low Countries exiles in London, and the open debating of Dutch political events, such as the execution of Sir Johan van Oldenbarnevelt.

To frame this argument the study focuses on three areas: how Dutch history shapes Anglo-Dutch exchanges; the key role of cultural history and ideas of local and non-localised communities in exploring the multiple levels on which Anglo-Dutch exchanges operate; and finally, how recent theorisations of exchange lead us to focus on ideological, religious, and military communities, and the production of literature of these groups as a key features of these exchanges.

Introduction.

In the sermon dedicated to the deceased Dutch Church elder and merchant, John La Motte, published as *Abrahams Internment* (1655), Fulk Bellers recalled how La Motte would invite friends to his home on occasions such as the coronation day of Elizabeth I or his own birthday:

> to eat bread with him before the Lord (as Jethro and Moses did) in remembrance of such and such signal Mercies and Deliverances, whereof his memory was a living Chronicle, especially those grand Deliverances, both before and since the Reformation, from under the great sufferings and bloody Persecutions in France, and the Low Countries, whereof he would often discourse in so punctuall and feeling a manner, as if he had been an eye-witness, yea a sharer in them, taking many arguments thence of encouraging both himself and others, to be still mindfull of them in bonds and miseries, as being themselves in the body: saying, why, their case might have been ours, or may be yet, who knows? (Bellers F4)

This anecdote illustrates a localised example of a Low Countries family of exiles who saw themselves as part of a wider community of persecuted and exiled Protestants involved in a struggle of biblical magnitude against Catholicism by using their wealth, networks, and linguistic skills to continue the fight against their enemy. La Motte was born in Colchester in 1577 after his Flemish parents had moved there in the late 1560s from Ypres due to religious persecution and the devastation of war in their homeland (Grell 'John La Motte' *ODNB*). In London, La Motte's father became a notable translator of English Protestant texts, translating devotional texts into Dutch (Müller 183). This heritage of religious exile and persecution had

obviously a considerable impact on La Motte the younger, as evinced in his funeral sermon, where he and his community are compared to the Israelites of the Old Testament, securing freedom on foreign shores. The effect of this exile on La Motte's identity is also testified by the fact that as an elder in the Dutch Church he organised relief funds for persecuted Calvinists in Bohemia and Piedmont and made vigorous efforts on behalf of his afflicted co-religionists on the continent (Müller 125).

La Motte's funeral sermon, and the complex histories it reveals, form the heart of this thesis which examines the cultural influence of the Netherlands on England during the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century (ca. 1580-1622), with a particular focus on literary representations, cultural transfers, exchanges, and translations between Anglo-Dutch literary communities, specifically in the Dutch cautionary town of Brielle (Brill).[1] This was one of four towns (the others are Flushing, Ostend, and Rammekens) that were given to the English as surety for their military support to the Dutch during the Eighty Years War. The date range allows for an examination of Anglo-Dutch cultural relationships in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean eras during a period of considerable Anglo-Dutch contact due to the Dutch Revolt and the English occupation of the cautionary towns from 1585 until 1616. Material emanating from the cautionary town of Brill is also examined. Interestingly, however, literature surrounding the Governor of Brill, Sir Horace Vere, is published until the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642 and, as such, this thesis also examines some material relating to Vere up to this time. A diverse range of early modern materials are employed, including early modern plays, poetry, libels, letters,

[1] The peripatetic nature of English military groups in the Netherlands during this period means that sometimes other Dutch locations are mentioned throughout the chapters; however, the primary zone of Anglo-Dutch cultural contact investigated in this thesis is in the cautionary town of Brill.

prints, pamphlets, and books to examine the influences of Dutch culture on English literature, and to provide a nuanced analysis of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange in the period. To achieve these ends, a case study of the town of Brill is used to provide a specific and sensitive approach to trace the complexity and variety of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchanges (Calabi xxviii). The case study focuses upon English and Low Countries individuals operating in Brill, their communities, and their literary and intellectual contributions to the societies in which they found themselves in order to illuminate the rich cultural history of exchanges, transfers, and translations prompted by warfare, migration, and religious alliance or intolerance. This work contributes to understandings of the English relationship with the Low Countries during the early modern era, and how Protestant Anglo-Dutch networks of cultural exchange and transfer facilitated a rich flourishing of literary creation, representation, exchange, and translation within and between these two countries during the early modern era. This study is literary and cultural in its focus but contextualises individuals, texts, and networks by providing a historical perspective on Anglo-Dutch contacts in the early modern era, and drawing on recent theorisations of cultural exchange.

My argument is that the Anglo-Dutch military contact during the late sixteenth and early to mid seventeenth century created a body of English literature, or even a genre of early modern literature that could be labelled as Anglo-Dutch in origin. This thesis contends that much of this literature was created by a network of Anglo-Dutch writers, translators, soldiers, patrons, and courtiers who used literature as a means of 'co-optive or soft power' (Nye 166), to spread the ideological appeal of a cultural, political, and religious Anglo-Dutch alliance. The following chapters argue that texts were used as tools by an English political faction to increase, and sometimes decrease, the ideological appeal of militant Protestantism and transfer this

appeal into popular support for many issues, such as support for Calvinism and the continuation of English militancy in continental Europe, acceptance of the Low Countries community in London, and encouragement for English Protestant military leaders in foreign service. I will suggest that dramatists used Anglo-Dutch pamphlet literature to provide contexts for viewing the alliance with the Dutch, the acceptance of Low Countries exiles in London, and the open debating of Dutch political events, such as the execution of Sir Johan van Oldenbarnevelt.

To frame this argument I will consider three key areas: how Dutch history shapes Anglo-Dutch exchanges; the key role of cultural history and ideas of local and non-localised communities in exploring the multiple levels on which Anglo-Dutch exchanges operate; and finally, how recent theorisations of exchange lead us to focus on ideological, religious, and military communities, and the production of literature of these groups as a key features of these exchanges.

The Anglo-Dutch Historical Context.

While the two nations had a long history of cultural contact, Anglo-Dutch cultural contact accelerated after the Treaty of Nonsuch (1585), when England gave official military assistance to the Dutch during the Eighty Years' War. This period of conflict resulted in the mass immigration of Low Countries' exiles into, primarily, south-east England. It is estimated that 60,000 people fled the Benelux region from 1567-1572, while approximately 150,000 left the southern Netherlands (present day Belgium) during the mid-1580s (Grell *Creation* 621). While not all of these migrants settled permanently in England, its geographical proximity and the fact that the London population can be estimated as growing from approximately 60,000 in 1580 to 200,000 by 1600 is testament, in part, to large-scale internal and international

migration in England (Harding 14-15). Even if the upheaval created by the French Wars of Religion also contributed to this mass influx, Peter Ole Grell estimates the mass exodus from France and the Low Countries as possibly in excess of a quarter of a million people (Grell *Creation* 621).[2]

Ironically, through the Treaty of Nonsuch, the English participation in conflict led to a mass of cultural exchange and interchanges. If displacement helped create cultural exchanges, then the settlements prompted by war also intensified the possibilities for many kinds of interaction. The establishment of English military communities in the four cautionary towns of Flushing, Brill, Bergen and Ostend in the Low Countries, offered as surety for English involvement in this military agreement, produced sizeable English communities living in the Netherlands. In the town of Brill alone, muster records from the period show a continuum of English soldiers numbering between 750-1000 during the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean reigns (SP84/38/124-124v). To put this in perspective, the local population accounted to approximately 3,500 individuals, so the English military community maintained a substantial presence in the town considering that most soldiers came with their wives and children (van Hoorn 8). The English garrison at Flushing was even larger and with an English military hospital nearby in Middelburg, the English presence on the ground in the Northern Netherlands was substantial. Furthermore, these garrisons were governed by men who would later become influential figures in the English court, such as Sir Edward Conway, Sir Horace Vere, and Sir Robert

[2] The numbers involved are considerable. It is estimated that 60,000 people fled the Benelux region from 1567-1572, while approximately 150,000 left the southern Netherlands (present day Belgium) during the mid-1580s (Grell *Creation* 621). However, it must be taken into consideration that the upheaval created by the French Wars of Religion also contributed to this mass influx. Peter Ole Grell estimates this mass exodus from France and the Low Countries to possibly be in excess of a quarter of a million people (Grell *Creation* 621).

Sidney. Their experiences in the Low Countries had a profound influence on their ideological thinking, patronage, and political endeavours in Jacobean England.

Cultural exchange often intensifies in times of war and this is evident in the masses of Anglo-Dutch literary material produced as a result of war and migration (Roeck 18). There are numerous Dutch and Flemish diaries and personal accounts of religion, war, and exile, such as the writings of Petrus Bloccius, Hotzo Aexma, Wouter Jacobsz, and Christiaen van Adrichem to name but a few. The Flemish scholar, Justus Lipsius, wrote *De Constantia* (1583) during this period to help people achieve a sense of peace in their lives during calamitous times of war and civil unrest. Lipsius followed this up with *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex* (1589), a political guide for rulers on how to govern a state, ultimately to prevent future chaos and strife. Low Countries religious exiles in London also composed their own histories. Cesar Calandrini, a minister in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, authored the providential history of the London Dutch community – the *Gheschiedenissen* (1639) – originally begun by his predecessor Simon Ruytinck, who had served the church until his death in 1621 (Grell *Brethern* 8). In the sixteenth century, the Flemish exile Jan Utenhove recorded the flight of his countrymen and women in England in the *Simplex et Fidelis Narratio de Instituta ac Demum Dissipata Belgarum aliorumque Peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia* (1560),which would become the cornerstone of Reformed exile narratives in Germany and England (Müller 46).

Low Countries exiles were busy translating mainly English pietistic texts into Dutch. John La Motte the Elder translated twenty-four texts, and Vincent Meusevoet translated thirty-five English devotional and topical tracts into Dutch (Müller 183), including the works of the famed divine, William Perkins and James I (Frijhoff 88-

90).[3] Other translators included Timotheus van Vleteren, Mattheus du Bois, Johan Sanderus, and the Teellinck brothers (Müller 183).

Similarly, exiled and resident on Lime Street in London, the Flemish historian and postmaster for the Low Countries community, Emmanuel van Meteren, composed several histories describing the early history of war in the Netherlands. In London, the contact afforded by these influxes and mixing of new cultures and languages, often from the same confessional background, encouraged and complicated the depictions of Low Countries individuals on the stage, as well as encouraging a marked increase in the writing and translation of military treatises and devotional texts by Dutch and Flemish exiles in England. This thesis, however, is focused on English texts written and translated by English dramatists, poets, exiles, and soldiers. This allows for a discussion of depictions and production in Anglo-Dutch communities. Any primary source material in the Dutch language employed in discussions in the chapters which follow is translated by the researcher. In the Netherlands, the direct impact of one English community – located in Brill – is explored in Chapter 1.

The English military community in the Netherlands were busy writing and translating influential texts on the other side of the Narrow Sea. In particular, the English soldier resident at Brill, Henry Hexham, used his linguistic skills to write and translate a series of Dutch and English literary, religious and military texts. In fact, these communities of writers, translators and publishers in England and the Netherlands correspond to Justus Lipsius' concept of a cooperative community

[3] For example, Meusevoet translated Perkins' *A Discourse of Conscience* into Dutch as *Een Excellent Tract aet van de Conscientie* in 1598, and Perkins' *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles* into Dutch as *Eene Grondige ende Clare Uytlegginghe over de Twaalf Articulen des Christelycken Geloof* in 1603 in addition to translating King James I's *Daemonologie*, Confession of Faith, and the *Basilikon Doron* into Dutch in the same year (Frijhoff 89-90).

(Bethencourt and Egmond 9). Lipsius advocated the establishment of long-distance relationships and friendships to aid in the creation of *contubernium*, or group of students (Baldriga 194). As such, Lipsius participated in a style of correspondence which was an instrument of exchange and transmission (Baldriga 190). Lipsius imported ideas about war into civil life, particularly concerning warfare of the religious kind and advocated a doctrine of political action (Oestreich 96). Lipsius envisioned states creating an army exposed to discipline and that this would lead to a thorough disciplining of the entire society (Leira 680; 682). Furthermore, his teachings were closely followed by the circles around the Earl of Leicester in the Netherlands during the late Elizabethean era (Leira 686), and the translating activities of Hexham can be argued to be an extension of this. Lipsius' philosophy is central to the creation of the Republic of Letters and also to the formation of state and self-fashioning in the seventeenth century (Bethencourt and Egmond 11). The Anglo-Dutch community of ideas, in conjunction to physical community of English soldiers fashioned and disciplined by the Jacobean state in Brill, is explored throughout this thesis.

This work uses Dutch historiography as a context for understanding Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange from 1580-1642. In particular, the multiple international economic connections held by the Dutch is referred to in many of the early modern texts discussed in this thesis. Charles Wilson's *The Dutch Republic and the Civilisation of the Seventeenth Century* (1968) states that it was the 'economic prosperity' of the Dutch Republic which allowed this state to 'achieve its unique position in the seventeenth century', something which was curtailed when England and France began to launch ambitious economic plans in the mid to late seventeenth century (Wilson *Dutch* 230). Dutch economic success was greeted with admiration

and jealous uneasiness by English commentators and prompted a variety of lukewarm to negative representations of the Dutch in English texts.

Political and social history is also an important context for this thesis. Geoffrey Parker's *The Dutch Revolt* (1977) assesses the political and social contexts of the Dutch Revolt and provides an understanding of this confrontation from the Hapsburg perspective from 1549 to 1609 when the violence ceded due to the agreement of the Twelve Years Truce. This research uses Parker's work as a foundation for understanding an additional international perspective on the Dutch Revolt. It complements Parker's Spanish view of the war with the Dutch by including English perspectives.

Parker's internationalist perspective perhaps underestimates the more indirect and less immediate social and cultural impacts of warfare. If war facilitates contact as much as conflict, then we can suggest that the involvement of English military communities in the creation of the Dutch Republic's social and political system has profound effects. English military communities influenced the development of the Dutch model of devolved governance and the establishment of a religious classis. It also provides further ties that facilitate the stream of exchanges between the Low Countries and Britain.

Jonathan Israel's *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (1998) strives to 'grasp the total picture' of early modern Dutch history by assessing the political, military, economic, social, and cultural contexts of the Dutch Republic (Israel 5). Israel utilises statistical data to support his views; for example, to document population fluctuations during and after the Dutch Revolt which testifies to the vast amount of both death and migration during these troubled times; now understood as 'one of the largest mass migration of Protestants in early modern

Europe' (Müller 4). This thesis employs Israel's argument that the decentralised system of governance in the Dutch Republic brought stability to the newly formed country. This devolved model of governance brought peace and if this is so, then it is possible that is also led for the toleration and assimilation of heterogeneous groups, such as the English military communities; thereby facilitating Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange.

Throughout the chapters which follow, historical contextualisation is blended with literary texts. This is the model adopted by Simon Schama in his cultural history of the Dutch Golden Age, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (1987). Schama uses cultural and literary evidence in order to reveal what Emile Durkheim called 'the collective or common conscience' of a culture (Durkheim 36). However, there are different elements to this 'collective' Dutch cultural consciousness, one such element being the English communities in places like Brill. As argued by Johan Huizinga, Dutch society in the seventeenth century was full of different nationalities, religions, languages, trades, and political groups to ever be considered one unified collective of consciousness. Schama argues that Calvinism united the Northern Netherlands into one homogenous group despite the fact that competing strands of Protestantism, in addition to Catholicism, comprised a considerable part of the population (Dekker and Leendert 320).[4] While Schama's thesis may be overstated, his model of research allows for a deeper analysis of symbolic clues in the products of culture. Schama's model is employed in this thesis in order to use literary evidence to provide new perspectives and unlock the consciousness of the early modern Anglo-Dutch community in order to deepen our understanding of the heterogeneity of both England and the Netherlands during this period. Schama's

[4] Schama's approach has been heavily criticised by historians for providing an unconvincing fit between evidence and interpretation, dismissing his work as a 'a brilliant failure' (van Deursen, cited in Roodenburg 'Review' 676). See also Price 'Review' (158), and Gaskell (637).

work is the interpretation of the consciousness of one community in the Netherlands, namely the Calvinist community; this thesis is an examination of the consciousness of Anglo-Dutch community using literary evidence in connection to them.

The study of Anglo-Dutch communities is also used a means of understanding the intricate web of networks of connections which facilitated Anglo-Dutch contact in the cautionary town of Brill in the Netherlands. This focus on community is also employed by Deborah Harkness in *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (2007) which reveals the rich Anglo-Dutch-French community in London during the seventeenth century and explains how this community of natives and religious exiles operated together to advance the study of natural sciences, and leading – in the process - to a rich series of literary collaborations. A similar case-study approach has been adopted by Anne Goldgar in *Tulipmania: Money, Honour and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (2007). Goldgar opts for a micro-historical approach, focusing on the notorious tulip folly of the 1630s and in doing so explores the interaction between commerce, science and art in early modern Dutch society. Goldgar uses the community involved in the tulip trade to show the 'a beginning of a justification of trade and luxury as the foundation of a civil society' (Goldgar 86). The models used by Goldgar and Harkness are adopted in this thesis to understand the tangible aspects of the early modern Anglo-Dutch community, their geographical situation and daily interaction. This combination of an ideological and geographical approach to community allows for a recreation of ideas and exchanges not previously understood and illuminates new areas of interchange.

Although this thesis focuses on specific stranger and garrison communities, the idea of community is not simply geographical or material. To map networks

operating in Brill and explain the aims of the literature they produced, this thesis advances the argument of the cooperation of an Anglo-Dutch Protestant community. Simon Adams proposed the existence of an English political faction who participated in an international Protestant alliance between Calvinist communities in England, the Netherlands, Germany and other Western European countries, creating a pan-European Protestant brotherhood which collaborated to continue military campaigns against Catholicism and advance the Protestant faith (Adams 'The Protestant Cause' 1973). Adams draws evidence from Jacobean and Caroline foreign policy issues in which a certain political faction of the English court, descended both lineally and ideologically from the 'Puritan' coalition of Elizabeth's reign (Adams 'Foreign' 143), argued in defence of the Protestant cause on the continent and supported a militant foreign policy (Adams 'Spain' 101; Adams 'Spain' 80). There is ample evidence that such an ideologically and militantly charged group existed in England during the Elizabethan era.

Frances Yates has documented how Sir Philip Sidney sought to form a Protestant league with German Protestant princes, particularly the Calvinist rulers of the Palatinate, and even went so far as to hold a meeting at Luneberg in Germany on the 17th of July 1586 between 'some evangelical Princes and Electors' and representatives of the King of Navarre, the King of Denmark, and the Queen of England (Yates 47). Yates states that the object of the meeting was to form an 'evangelical' league of defence against the Catholic league, called the 'Confederatio Militae Evangelicae' (Yates 47). Sidney's untimely death, however, while fighting for the Dutch cause at Zutphen later than same year means that this league died with him, or at least the possibility of tracing it does. Adams has outlined the workings of such a league in England during the Jacobean era. With a Protestant apocalyptic

vision of history, Adams contends that in the 1620s this faction urged James I to support his daughter Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia during the Bohemian crisis (Adams 'Foreign' 146; 143), and to declare a war immediately 'near hand' (i.e. in proximity to the Low Countries) for the defence of the Protestant religion, and marry Charles to a Protestant princess (cited in Adams 'Foreign' 165; Adams 'Foreign' 164).

However, this party does not appear to have accessed what is known as the 'hard command power' of military operations and instead seems to have existed as a complex coalition of transnational religious figures (Nye 167). Referencing Adams' thesis in relation to parliamentary debates of 1621 and 1624, Thomas Cogswell has challenged this theory 'in its extreme version' as 'unpersuasive' and contends that 'the reality is more ambiguous' (Cogswell 154; 175). This thesis argues that the operations of this group are certainly 'ambiguous' because they used 'soft co-optive power' to generate attractive ideas to set a political agenda and affect the political climate of England and the Netherlands (Nye 166). Nye states that 'soft co-optive power' can be 'just as important as hard command power' and tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as 'culture, ideology, and institutions' (Nye 167). Cultural and transnational ideas are then made to appear attractive by knowledge workers in the principle that if a state's culture and ideology are attractive, others will follow (Nye 167; 170). In doing so, a state, or in this case, a group, gains the ability to control the political environment and get others to carry out certain actions (Nye 155). Evidence will be presented in this study to argue that this Protestant network of Dutch Calvinists and English Protestants were, indeed, a minority and one which used collaboration and literary production as a means of generating ideological power with the aim of transferring this into military power.

Although not directly supporting Adams, Keith L. Sprunger's work has highlighted the shared sense of Protestantism between the English and the Dutch in *Dutch Puritanism* (1982), and *Trumpets from the Towers* (1983); providing evidence showing how Anglo-Dutch military and religious groups operated as part of the same network between England and the Low Countries. Sprunger has highlighted the exceptional number of Protestant ministers who were ejected from England because of their outspoken preaching (Sprunger *Dutch* 92). These ministers were accommodated by the English military in the Netherlands, for example Sir Horace Vere chose a series of Puritan English ministers in exile to act as his chaplains (John Paget, John Burgess, William Ames, and Samuel Balmford) (Sprunger *Dutch* 143). Some of these ministers, such as Thomas Scott, in exile in Gorinchem and Utrecht for writing polemical texts in England, produced and translated 'Puritan' texts at a great rate (Sprunger *Dutch* 215; Sprunger *Trumpets* 110). This evidence is compatible with Adams' thesis that a political faction, or ideological community, in existence since the late Elizabethan reign and unhappy with James I's peace policy, was in operation and clearly in communication with the remnants of Elizabethan Protestant militancy in the English garrisons in the Low Countries.

Peter Ole Grell has advanced the idea of wider Protestant collaboration in his study of European Protestant communities and has demonstrated the cooperation of Dutch Calvinists and English Protestants in *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (2011). Grell has also provided a detailed study of the Dutch community in London centred on the Dutch Church at Austin Friars in *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London* (1989). Grell has characterised the lifeworld of Calvinist migrants in the Dutch Republic as grounded in the 'experience of multiple geographies' (Grell 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network' 620),

meaning that these migrants were part of a Protestant, mainly Calvinist, network and ideological community which spanned England, the Netherlands, and parts of France, Italy and Germany.

Grell demonstrates that a strong sense of identity and belonging existed among the letters exchanged between early modern European Calvinists, and Grell uses these letters to show the existence of an international Calvinist network (Grell *Brethern* 1). Grell states that this network played a prominent part in guaranteeing that the Elizabethan Church and government extended its hospitality to foreign Reformed immigrants throughout the sixteenth century (Grell *Brethern* 3). In England, prominent members of this exile group, such as the Calandrini and Burlamachi banking families, were able to gain influence in the English court and influence decisions through the provision of loans to the English crown through the support of the Dutch ambassador, Noel de Caron (Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 155).[5] Grell has pointed out how most of the exile Protestant community in London were wealthy merchants and bankers who, due to their commitment to Calvinism, often also acted as deacons and elders in Reformed exile churches, thereby organising relief funds for Protestant communities abroad and promoting their cause through their connections to the English court (Grell *Brethern* 5; 14).

This thesis argues that this exile community was closely affiliated with the English military community in the Netherlands, focused on by Sprunger, and that this Anglo-Dutch religio-military community operated ideologically through the promotion of certain texts, as well as maintaining friendships and practising

[5] On several occasions the crown relied on loans from a syndicate of alien merchants who were affiliated with the Dutch Church at Austin Friars. In 1603 a group of ninety, mostly Dutch, merchant strangers provided Elizabeth with a loan of £21,900 (Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 155).[5] James I would later organise several loans with the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, one for £14,500 in 1607 and again in 1617 for £20,000. See Grell (1989).

intermarriage. For example, Sir Edward Conway, Vice-Governor of Brill, was connected to the Dutch Church at Austin Friars through his Flemish second wife's, (Elizabeth Heuriblock) membership of the church after his death, and Grell contends that Conway probably shared his wife's religious convictions as evinced by his support of the Puritan minister, John Davenport (Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 52).[6] The basis for the existence of this Anglo-Dutch political, religious, and military community can be, therefore, validated and this thesis builds on Adams', Sprunger's, and Grell's research by demonstrating how this group used their linguistic skills and access to literary knowledge to advance their ideological beliefs.

The cultural engagement and literary practice of the Dutch and Flemish contingent of this group has been demonstrated by Johannes Müller in *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt* (2016), who has shown how the reformed circles of the Dutch Republic and English Protestants memorialised their shared cultural history by honouring Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists as persecuted co-religionists and thereby succeeded in uniting their communities together in their collective identification with a shared religious cause (Müller 15).[7] Local stranger communities and churches in the Dutch Republic, England and Germany connected and fostered a sense of belonging to a wider transnational network (Müller 14).

[6] Elizabeth's father, the Dutch merchant Giles Heuriblock, was also a member of the church. Elizabeth made substantial financial contributions to the Dutch church in 1636 and 1637 (Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 52). Grell also notes that other women emanating from Anglo-Dutch military families were members of the Dutch church, such as the Dutch national, Lady Elizabeth Ogle, wife of Sir John Ogle, English military commanders in the Netherlands; Dame Ann Morgan, daughter of Sir Charles Morgan, Governor of the English garrison at Bergen-op-Zoom, and also his wife Eliza, daughter of Philip van Marnix, the Flemish and Dutch writer (Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 52).

[7] When members of the Netherlandish stranger churches organised commemorative meetings to remember their persecuted ancestors, these gatherings were frequented by English Puritans as well as the descendants of Flemish refugees, and it is no coincidence that they were often held on the coronation day of Queen Elizabeth I of England, who was already celebrated as a champion of Protestantism and had long been commemorated as a loyal host by Netherlandish exiles. In this environment belonging to a persecuted minority had a status that appealed to many locals and the memory cultures of the migrants were much more easily combined with the historical narratives of their host societies than in other places (Müller 15).

Johannes Müller shows how the Flemish exile and playwright in the Dutch Republic, Jacob Duym, used drama as a means of propaganda in his collection of plays concerning the Dutch Revolt, *Een Ghedenck-boeck* (1606), in which the atrocities of the Spanish were graphically depicted (Müller 41). Judith Pollmann believes this use of literature as propaganda was widespread, stating that the Dutch Revolt was accompanied by a 'true media war' in which propagandistic pamphlets, prints, songs, sermons, and rituals were used to exploit the changing political atmosphere in the Netherlands and motivate the southern Netherlands to shake off the Spanish yoke and aspire to the freedom of the northern Dutch Republic (Pollmann 'No Man's Land' 241; 254; Müller 66).[8]

Müller's record of the Dutch and Flemish exile community's literary memorialisation of their history and ideology allows for an understanding of the Dutch and German speaking side of this international community. This thesis focuses on the English component of the international Protestant or 'Calvinist' network of exiles, military officials, and courtiers to unlock the consciousness of this part of the Protestant network and demonstrated how they translated and circulated Dutch and Flemish culture into the English literary world. Furthermore, the use of dramatic conventions and the representation of Low Countries characters is shown as a means of influencing public opinion about Anglo-Dutch relations, and the position of the Dutch community in London, in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

These two different senses – and levels – of community one local, geographical and material, the other conceptual, international, and intellectual

[8] Pollmann notes how writers contrasted life in the northern and southern Netherlands using the terms *Belgica libera* and *Belgica subdita* (Pollmann 'No Man's Land' 254). Pollmann also cites examples of how drama and history were used as media warfare in Jan Kolm's play *Nederlants Treur-Spel* (1616), and Johannes Gysius history of the Dutch Revolt, also published in 1616 (Pollmann 'No Man's Land' 254). 1616 is also, incidentally, the year that the English garrisons were fully rendered back to the Dutch Republic.

informs the 'multiple linkages' between England and the Netherlands explored in this thesis. Scholars such as Nina Glick Schiller and others have argued that contemporary migrants should be characterised not as 'uprooted' but rather as 'becoming firmly rooted in their new country, but maintaining 'multiple linkages to their homeland' (Schiller, Basch and Blanc 48). It will be discussed in the chapters which follow how these complex interplays of belonging and exile, positive and negative theatrical representations, parallels and analogies, multiple identities and even 'homes' are apparent in Anglo-Dutch literature. This allows for the illumination of the Dutch and Flemish contribution to early modern English literature and culture.

From an English standpoint, Lisa Jardine has argued that England was significantly influenced by Dutch culture in the mid-to-late seventeenth century in *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (2008) due to intermarriage between the Stuarts and the House of Orange and the English appropriation of Dutch innovations in the realms of art, gardening, science, and international trade. Jardine contends that the triumph of Dutch culture in England culminated in the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1689.[9] There can be no doubt that the acceptance of a Dutch king as King of Britain was due to the cultural affinity felt in England towards the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. My argument, however, is that we need to consider a much earlier set of Anglo-Dutch cultural relationships and exchanges. During the Elizabethan reign, Leicester actively supported the House of Orange, as did the same southern Netherlandish Calvinist minority of refugees focused on by Müller (Parker 242; Müller 119). The execution of Oldenbarnevelt in 1619 signified the beginning of the total control of this group in the Dutch Republic

[9] Jardine aims to understand how a Dutch king was so readily accepted as the English sovereign during the Glorious Revolution, describing it as a 'seamless' success (Jardine *Going* 28). Jardine has used English and Dutch texts, art, delft pottery, and letters to show the many sustained and influential Anglo-Dutch cultural relationships provide ample evidence for an on-going 'Dutch' revolution in English culture in the seventeenth century.

under the House of Orange. The descendants of the English families who fought in the Netherlands from the time of Leicester can be found among the names of signatories to of the 'Invitation to William'.[10] It appears that Restoration politics depends on a much longer history of conflict and exchange: the 'Dutch' revolution occurred, in fact, much earlier in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean ages.

Anthropological Theories and Models of Cultural Exchange.

This thesis also draws on theories of cultural exchange and transfer in order to illuminate the cultural impact of these Protestant Anglo-Dutch networks. These theories are combined with close textual reading and contextualisation throughout the following chapters in order to gain an understanding of the wider cultural impact and influence of the difference pieces of literature used in the case studies. By doing so, it is possible to expose the rich network of literary and intellectual exchanges, and transfers and translations between English and Dutch communities residing in London and in the Dutch town of Brielle (Brill).[11]

Brill acted as a focal point for these exchanges, creating a space in which exchange is accelerated. The town was populated by families which acted as transmigrants; these are defined as migrants who are rooted into life in their new country but maintain multiple linkages to their homeland (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 48). In this, Brill acts like a border zone, and bears out some of the German historian's, Bernd Roeck, observations on the Alsace region, a classic border space, which incidentally also bears strong connections to the Protestant

[10] The Earl of Danby, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Devonshire, Viscount Lumley, Bishop of London, Edward Russell, Henry Sydney.

[11] The peripatetic nature of English military groups in the Netherlands during this period means that sometimes other Dutch locations are mentioned throughout the chapters; however, the primary zone of Anglo-Dutch cultural contact investigated in this thesis is in the cautionary town of Brill.

network of Europe illuminated by Peter Ole Grell.[12] Roeck argues that peripheral 'contact areas', for example mixed-confessional towns, are zones of *métissage*, or mixing; where different denominations coexist, or fringe areas where the 'cohabitation' of different cultures creates something new, a 'third' thing (Roeck 7). The concept of *métissage* refers to absorptions taking place within 'contact areas' where there is interdigitation and a mixture of cultural elements (Roeck 7). Exchange processes demonstrate both *métissage* and conflicts among different mentalities and habitual systems and feed into the history of mentalities (Roeck 10). In these locations, people speak both languages in addition to their own dialect (Roeck 7), which is directly applicable to the cautionary town of Brill where both English and Dutch (and French) was spoken. Life in such fringe areas involves prolonged proximity to the 'other', with these intersections often creating a 'third space' (Roeck 8), in which Homi Bhabha states that 'translation and negotiation' can occur and this is directly relatable to the contact zone of Brill (Bhabha 52).[13] Brill is a zone where the English community made contact with new ideas, concepts, and philosophies and it is also the zone where this information was translated for dissemination in England; to which the work of Henry Hexham testifies.

This thesis shows how a faction of staunchly Protestant English military officials in Brill exploited the Anglo-Dutch community in the Netherlands, the aforementioned 'third space' of negotiation and translation; to begin a propagandistic and military campaign affiliated with the ideals of the international Calvinist network. This 'third space' allowed for the cultivation of an Anglo-Dutch culture of reformed theology and militant Protestantism where the cautionary towns could be

[12] The region spawned political and spiritual movements characterised by religious mysticism and humanistic intellectualism (Roeck 8).

[13] Bhabha also states that this 'third space' is an international space where the 'negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences' (Bhabha 312).

used as a training ground or *tyrocinium* for the sons of English noble families, thereby moulding these youths into the future courtiers and military leaders who would continue the intergenerational fight against Catholicism and monarchical absolutism in Europe.

Similarly to the Dutch and Flemish in London, the leaders of the English army in the Low Countries shared a sense of identity united by confessional politics. The Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Frances Vere, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Conway and their respective families were all strongly affiliated with Calvinism. The Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, Peregrine Bertie, received his name due to his parents' travels or peregrinations around Europe during the Marian persecution of Protestants. These families developed a ideology of wandering or what Heinz Schilling has termed a 'peregrinus mentality' in which they saw themselves as the New Israelites (Schilling cited in Müller 34), the descendents of the wandering children of Israel in the Old Testament, fighting against tyranny and absolutism while seeking the promised land and the development of a prosperous Protestant nation. These religious wanderers are comparable to what Schiller, Basch, and Blanc have termed as 'transmigrants', whose movements across international borders mean that their lives are formed of multiple and constant interconnections and their public identities configured in relationship to one or more nation-state (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 48). Transmigrants settle but are also engaged elsewhere and thereby forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 48).

Transmigrants, such as Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Conway and the solider Henry Hexham, possess an identity composed of a sense of Englishness but also of

Dutchness, who they are aligned to by their geographical location and also by their shared devotion to Calvinism. The changes in foreign policy, and political and confessional alliance in the Jacobean court troubled committed Protestants such as Conway, Vere and their cohorts. Thus, the location of the sons of the staunchly Protestant faction of the English aristocracy in the Low Countries is perfectly understandable during the Elizabethan era. However, this group's outrage at Jacobean peace policies in the seventeenth century in conjunction to the renascent militarism cultivated among the princely circle of Henry Stuart allowed for the peripheral area of Brill to be exploited as a zone of continued neo-Elizabethan militancy and zealous Calvinist Protestantism.[14] This ideology is argued by this thesis as the impetus behind many of the writing and translation activities occurring around the English military milieu in the Netherlands.

Dutch historiographical contextualisation, the Anglo-Dutch community at Brill, in addition to the acts of Anglo-Dutch negotiation, translation, and the dissemination and circulation of religiously charged texts are examined in Chapter 1. Chapter 1 is the foundation of this thesis and is a case study of the Dutch 'cautionary town' of Brill (den Brielle) in the Netherlands. Exchanges and connections in Brill are highlighted thereby allowing a reconstruction of the literary and intellectual culture of the garrison. This chapter closely analyses translations, and personal correspondence of English officials in the Netherlands, showing how the idea of the Dutch Republic as a training ground or *tyrocinium* of young male English aristocrats in militant Protestantism was advocated by members of what Thomas Cogswell has termed the 'patriot coalition' of militant Protestants in the Jacobean court (Cogswell

[14] The old aristocratic code still retained considerable lustre in circles suspicious of the crown's attempt to domesticate upper-class dissidents to the 'inglorious art of peace' (Kelso cited in Shuger 520).

85). The dedications of English and Dutch books and military tracts demonstrate the cultural contact between English and Dutch military personnel and soldiers in the Netherlands. The study traces relationships between Dutch intellectuals and English governors in the Netherlands. The Conway Papers are the main source for this part of the research. Conway was a key cultural agent; as collector of poetry and books, evidenced by the Conway 'separates' (poems and libels), and in book collecting, substantiated by his list of 'Books at Brill' (1610).

This chapter documents and discusses several examples of Dutch and English military poetry in Conway Papers (the personal documents of Sir Edward Conway) as well as the abundant amount of literature produced by one soldier resident within Brill, Henry Hexham. The chapter shows how Hexham used his skills as an army translator and applied them to literary studies by translating Dutch texts for the English market and vice versa. Hexham's most illustrious appointment was as translator for Gerardt Mercator's *Atlas* (1654) from Dutch into English, a project he undertook with the assistance of the Hondius printing family in Amsterdam. This chapter demonstrates how the contact between the English and Dutch culture in the cautionary town of Brill led to a cultural flowering which had a long lasting influence on early modern English literature and culture. The town represents the Anglo-Dutch physical community and community ideas where transmigrants engaged in *métissage* to create a unique 'third space' of cultural transfer, translation, and exchange. By researching cultural exchange on this town, it is possible to postulate ideas about Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange on early modern English texts and this is a theme more fully developed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, which show how English communities and events in the Netherlands shaped the representations within English texts.

Chapter Two discusses the terms 'Flemish' and 'Dutch', in addition to Elizabethan Anglo-Dutch exchange and outlines the information garnered by previous Elizabethan studies focusing on the changing representation of Dutch and Flemish characters on the Elizabethan stage (Fleck, 2006; Oldenburg, 2009), the Dutch influence on early modern English literature (Parsons, 2007), and political and cultural connections between Britain and the Low Countries (Schrickx, 1986; van Dorsten, 1962). The chapter moves into the early Stuart period and is concerned with London and examines agency in a number of documents including libels, travel journals and parliamentary debates and demonstrates their relation to trade, prostitution and religion.

Chapter Two also traces common Dutch and Flemish stock theme and character 'types' on the London stage. Its main focus, however, is on four plays, *Sir Thomas More* (1592/3), *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600), Thomas Dekker' s *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), and John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605). Dekker's play self-consciously turns to the question of emigrants and artisans as cultural agents and Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange by portraying Dutch characters as part of the fabric of native London. This is a new approach to understanding the representation of the Dutch on the London stage because it considers the social reality of the influence of the Dutch community in the English court and the impact of the English military communities in the Netherlands. This is a fuller and holistic approach to understanding the representation the Netherlandish exile community in early modern London by drawing on wider contexts, and thereby allows for a more nuanced understanding of the images of the Dutch and Flemish on the London stage. Furthermore, the association between the plays and arguments advanced in favour of the Dutch and Flemish stranger community in London demonstratees the absorption

of the Anglo-Dutch religious and political ideologies of the pro-Netherlandic political faction in the Elizabethan court into English drama.

Chapter Three turns to the agents of Anglo-Dutch military conflict in Brill and other English garrisons and examines the role of military exchanges during the Dutch War of Independence through literature generated from military culture such as Jonson's *Epigram 91* ('To Sir Horace Vere'), Chapman's poem 'Pro Vere Autumni Lachraymae' (1622), the 1642 volume, *Elegies Celebrating the Happy Memorie of Sr. Horatio Veere.* This chapter uses this material as sources for understanding military transmissions during the Dutch Revolt and traces Anglo-Dutch literary and cultural networks to show the influence of the Netherlands and Dutch literary culture on the poetry of English solider-poets. The effect the Netherlands had on the imagination of literary figures (such as Ben Jonson and George Chapman) who spent their formative years as soldiers in the Dutch Revolt is also discussed. In particular, attention is given to the corpus of poetry devoted to the governor of Brill and leader of the English forces in the Netherlands, Sir Horace Vere. Sir Horace Vere's exploits in the Netherlands won him the appreciation and admiration of both the English and the Dutch alike. This chapter analyses poetry inspired by and dedicated to Sir Horace Vere in three distinct time periods: during the early Jacobean reign, the Bohemian Crisis and finally at the start of the English Civil War.

Chapter Three documents how Vere's presence in the Netherlands inspired three generations of English poets from different political and ideological spheres, thereby confirming the effectiveness of the 'soft power' used by the Anglo-Dutch political faction of the Jacobean court to create a cult of Elizabethan-inspired Protestant within the Jacobean court. It demonstrates how the English involvement

in the Eighty Years' War shaped and moulded the English poetic imagination and how these Dutch wars influenced the development of what constituted a heroic status during the tumultuous time period. The argument is proferred that the heroic status of Sir Horace Vere is a product of the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas.

Chapter Four centres on the Jacobean play, *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619) by John Fletcher and Philip Massinger. This play offers an account of the fall and execution of the real-life Advocate of Holland, Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt. The text offers differing viewpoints on the old man's demise and communicates these using clever dramaturgical devices and meta-theatrics, while providing an interesting parallel to the co-terminus Jacobean political situation. This chapter uses close textual analysis of this play as evidence, in addition to Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592), from which this plays borrows many dramatic techniques. Correspondence between English courtiers in England and the Netherlands is analysed to uncover Anglo-Dutch networks of correspondence and argues that subversive Dutch perceptions of the real Oldenbarnevelt's execution, anti-monarchism and republicanism are communicated in the play. The knowledge contained within the play could only have been ascertained from Dutch nationals or English soldiers in the Netherlands, thereby confirming it as a definite product of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange. The swiftness with which it was written is also testament to the cultural proximity and active literary and linguistic exchange between England and the Netherlands.

This chapter aims to demonstrate how Anglo-Dutch political factions influenced the play using Dutch sources and English dramatic traditions to create a subtly subversive critique of Jacobean rule in this dramatic political allegory. The English and Dutch sources used to create the play advance the argument that is is a

product of Anglo-Dutch *métissage* and that it is influenced by the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas emanating from the cautionary towns.

The thesis assesses and analyses over four decades of material generated due to Anglo-Dutch contact. It maps a rich history of military, intellectual and literary networks and in doing so illuminates cultural relationships which shaped early modern English literature and culture. It demonstrates how Anglo-Dutch military contact generated a considerable amount of English literature which shaped English thinking and culture during the period, and also traces the network of Anglo-Dutch authors, translators, hack-writers, soldiers, and courtiers who facilitated these multiple series of exchanges and transfers between the two countries. This network possibly used literature as a means of persuading others to agree with and adopt their ideological perspectives on war, religion, and foreign policy; and, while they may have failed to start a war against Spain, they shaped and changed the literary heritage of England.

Chapter 1. Historical Background to the Founding of the Dutch Republic, the Development of Dutch Economy, Anglo-Dutch Relations, Sir Edward Conway, and the Cautionary Town of Brill c. 1580-1620.

Historical contextualisation is an important element to this thesis and this component of this chapter seeks to provide a background for many of the exchanges, transfers, and transmissions which took place between the English and the Dutch in London, in the Netherlands, and further afield during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much of this historical information is of crucial importance in understanding relations within the cautionary town of Brill, in addition to representations of Low Countries characters in English texts discussed in this chapter and in the chapters which follow. This information provides the political, economic, and religious issues which underpin the many instances of Anglo-Dutch contact to be detailed in the sections and chapters which follow.

This chapter also provides a case study of Anglo-Dutch literary and cultural exchange in the cautionary town of Brill (Den Brielle), which was the location of an English garrison from 1585 to 1616. Using the papers left by the town's former Governor, Sir Horace Vere, and also those owned by the then Vice-Governor, Sir Edward Conway, this chapter focuses particularly on Sir Edward Conway's literary, cultural, and intellectual connections in the Netherlands and his active participation in Dutch and English culture. This chapter examines Conway's patronage, correspondence, political life and friendships which evince a deep interest in Dutch literary culture. This material provides a rich source for understanding how Anglo-Dutch military contact generated its own body of literature. In addition, studying this material allows for the identification of the network of Anglo-Dutch patrons, writers,

translators, soldiers, and courtiers who formed a religious and literary alliance to present their ideologies and political aims to a wide international audience.

This Anglo-Dutch body of military literature is demonstrated in Edward Conway's substantial poetry collection. An avid lover and collector of Dutch literature and poetry, Conway's miscellany, the Conway Papers (BL Add. Mss. 23229), contains an extensive amount of what can only be termed as Anglo-Dutch poetry such as, 'Upon the Queen of Bohemia' (f. 62), which refers to the exiled Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of James I, who held court in The Hague. Also found within this miscellany is Ben Jonson's 'Epigram 91: To Sir Horace Vere' (f. 87), and anonymous bawdy military verses such as 'Re: Flanders' (f. 42), 'Written to a Frend [in the Lo]we Cuntries' (f. 63), and 'Een Geestelijk Liedeken' (A Spiritual Song, f. 169-169v). Furthermore, Conway's collection of 'Books at Brill' (SP 14/57/114B), are used to show the English military interest in Dutch culture and literature. The translating activities of the soldier-translator-writer, Henry Hexham, are also discussed. The networks which these men participated in are also presented and are argued to be a component of the Anglo-Dutch Protestant military alliance who utilised literature as a means of 'soft power' to further their cause.

1.1. The Netherlandic Identity in the Early Modern Era.

The terms 'Dutch' and 'Flemish' are often used interchangeably throughout this thesis due to what Alastair Duke has termed the 'semantic haze' which hung over the Low Countries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Duke 24). To early modern Europeans, the difference between the two was unclear, and in fact, in early Tudor texts the term 'Dutch' is not ascribed to people of Netherlandic origin whatsoever, but to Germans. Even in the modern Dutch language, the term

'Duits' refers to Germans while the Dutch refer to themselves as Netherlanders, though early modern Netherlanders referred to their language as 'Duyts' which is possibly why this term was associated with their nationality. In fact, in the early modern period a surfeit of descriptions existed to describe the modern day Benelux region depending on the province one hailed from, such as 'Hollander', 'Zeelander', and 'Brabanter'. Alastair Duke advises that this should be understood as a sign of the 'weak sense of a supra-regional identity' which existed in that time (Duke 24).

Anyone, however, who is familiar with the people of the modern day Netherlands knows that many of these regional identities still persist within Low Countries communities, even if they are within wider umbrella terms such as 'Dutch', 'Flemish', 'Walloon', and so forth. Even the modern day usage of the term 'Holland' to refer to the Netherlands is not entirely correct as it only refers to two provinces: North and South Holland. Although, the English usage of the term 'Dutch' is quite erroneous in a matter of respects and it is possible that the term came into being during the early modern age as a means of differentiating between the southern and northern Netherlands. The proliferation of the term 'Flemish' and 'Flanders' before the creation of the Dutch Republic is probably due to the strength of Flanders as the seat of the Burgundian monarchs in the Low Countries and the economic wealth of that area throughout medieval history. Even though Alaistair Duke states that the confusion between regional identities was even apparent during the era of the Burgundian kingdom, who likewise seemed to have had trouble naming their territories (Duke 24).

K. H. D. Haley has noted how the English differentiation between Dutch, Flemish, and German happened very gradually throughout the early modern era, citing how the Earl of Clarendon noted the English difficulty in distinguishing

between Dutch and German prizes during the Second Anglo-Dutch war (Haley 16), almost a century after the arrival of significant numbers of Low Countries migrants in England. Marjorie Rubright has similarly noted how the terms are often used interchangeably within early modern English texts, especially in drama (Rubright *Doppelgänger* 16). This history of haziness meant that the English often grouped aliens from north-west Germanic lands indiscriminately together as 'Flemings', 'Theotonici', 'Doch', or more rarely 'Germani' (Duke 25)[15], and this is perhaps reflected in the allocation of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars by Edward VI in 1550 to 'Germanorum aliorumque peregrinorum' (Germans and other foreigners).

This situation began to change in the late 1560s when large groups of exiles from the Low Countries began to arrive in London and the south-east of England. The separation of the northern and southern Netherlands meant that two separate terms were essential (Haley 15). In London, authorities wanted to keep a close eye on these aliens and classified them based on political allegiance, language, and culture (Duke 25), and as such a clear understanding of their national adherence started to develop. National and ethnic terms such as 'Flanders', 'Fleming', and later 'Holland' and 'Hollander' proliferate in these early returns of strangers. Often groups were identified based on the language that they spoke, with the term 'Dutch' used to signify both Dutch and Flemish speakers of this language. For example, in Laura Yungblut's study on stranger communities in London in the sixteenth century, of the 9,302 aliens registered March 1568 in London and Westminister, 77% identified themselves as Dutch and 18% as French (Yungblut 21), and it can be assumed that this 'Dutch' community was composed of both Dutch and Flemish nationalities. The Walloons were often labelled as 'French', and the term 'Dutch'

[15] During the Middle Ages Low Countries inhabitants were often referred to as 'Belgii' or 'Belgae' by the English, while by the mid-sixteenth century 'Belgium' and 'Belgica' had become synonyms for 'Gallia Belgica' (Duke 31).

could represent a Fleming and vice versa; however, the stereotype of the Dutch, Flemish and Rhineland German is strikingly similar (Oldenburg *Alien* 10).[16]

It is clear to see, therefore, that the term 'Dutch' represents a broad and elastic classificatory term for geographical, cultural and linguistic identity (Rubright *Doppelgänger* 14). These semantic difficulties force recognition of the essentially 'fluid and elusive identity' of early modern Low Countries, a category which is 'highly multivalent, slippery yet capacious' (Duke 39; Rubright *Doppelgänger* 17). Ultimately, this also reflects a lack of English understanding regarding the complexity of regional differences in the Low Countries and this is something which is repeatedly encountered in early modern English texts and records concerning the people of the Low Countries. As such, the terms are used interchangeably in this chapter, however, the term 'Dutch' is used to apply to the Dutch Republic of the northern Netherlands as the English understanding of this difference developed at the close of the sixteenth century.

1.2. The Dutch Revolt and the Anglo-Dutch Alliance.

The Low Countries was a collection of multi-ethnic, multi-lingual provinces and there was no political or dynastic union to embrace the entire area until 1548-1549 (Parker 13). This period also marked the beginning of Eighty Years War in the northern and southern Netherlands, which began with the Dutch Revolt. This was a series of revolts against Spanish authority which Geoffrey Parker has classified into three distinct phases: the first revolt from 1565-1568; the second revolt from 1569-1576; and the third revolt from 1576-1581 (Parker *passim*). Even though the

[16] In *Shakespeare's Europe,* Charles Hughes notes how the English traveller Fynes Moryson commonly refers to Germans as Dutchmen and of the Dutch as Netherlanders (Hughes n.2. x). Hughes also notes how English mislabelling regarding their confusion of the Dutch and German nationalities persisted in the American colonies up to the beginning of the twentieth century (Hughes n.2. x.)

northern Netherlands later became an independent republic, the Dutch Revolt against Spanish control began in the southern Netherlands, while that of the second revolt lay in the north (Parker 14). The Protestant religion was one of the precursors which led to the first revolt in the south and most of exiles arriving in England during the sixteenth century were southern Netherlandic Calvinist exiles. Militancy was another feature of these early exiles and in the years 1566-1567 many of these migrants returned to their homeland in a revolutionary frame of mind, determined to turn their southern homeland into an 'impregnable citadel of God's word' (Parker 14). Economic reasons were behind the development of the second revolt in the north,[17] many took issue against the government's attempt to illegally impose a 10 per cent value added tax, known as the Tenth Penny (Parker 14). The third phase of the Dutch revolt, however, began in 1576 in Brussels and practically all those involved were convinced Catholics who were angered due to atrocities committed by the mutinous Spanish army in the southern provinces (Parker 15). As such, the revolt was an extremely complex issue and one which the English found difficult to understand after they became actively embroiled in it after 1585.

Ultimately, it was the Spanish persecution of Protestant heresy at time of the contemporary English Reformation which transformed the relationship between the English and the peoples of the Low Countries (Haley 26). Tolerant printing and censorship laws meant that William Tyndale's New Testament was printed in Antwerp for distribution in England in 1526. The sense of toleration, however, was not reciprocated and in 1535, Henry VIII issued a proclamation against 'strangers' of the Anabaptist faith; a Protestant denomination strongly affiliated with the Low Countries. In 1550 Edward VI established the Dutch Church at Austin Friars for

[17] It is worthwhile to point out that Calvinists played a much larger role in the second revolt than in the first revolt because the majority of the exiles were Calvinist (Parker 118).

'Germanorum aliorumque peregrinorum' (Germans and other foreigners), who were fleeing the Netherlands due to religious persecution and these exiles were predominantly southern Netherlanders (Haley 28). These trends came to an abrupt halt when Mary I came to the throne, although they resumed during the Elizabethan reign. From 1559-1560 Netherlandic Protestants returned in considerable numbers due to increasing warfare in the Low Countries and a Return of Aliens during this period shows that 2,993 aliens in London identified themselves as 'Dutch' (Haley 29).[18] Low Countries immigrants settled throughout the south east of England and Dutch churches were established in Norwich in 1569, Yarmouth in 1570, while Low Countries communities also developed in Sandwich, Maidstone, Colchester, Canterbury, Stamford, Rye, Dover, and elsewhere (Haley 30).

Many English Protestants at the court had sympathy for the Low Countries in their plight against Spain and in 1568 William Cecil gave permission for the Dutch churches in England to collect money for William the Silent, the Prince of Orange and leader of the Dutch Revolt. The latent support within the English establishment for the Dutch cause is evident in the fact that Elizabeth was offered sovereignty of the northern provinces of Holland and Zeeland in 1571, their protectorate in 1576, and their sovereignty again in 1585 to which she refused on all three occasions (Haley 35; 32); although she did permit the levy of 1500 troops with the aid of contributions from the Dutch churches in England (Haley 32). By 1570 the rebels behind the Dutch Revolt, much reduced in number, were living in several refugee communities in Germany and England and on a few privateer ships (Prak 17).

[18] John Stow makes an account of this influx in his *Annals* of the period, noting how Low Countries exiles came 'with their wives, children and whole families, and that in such abundance, that, whereas before coming large houses in London were plenteous, and very easy to be had at low and small rents, and by reason of the late dissolution of the religious houses many houses in London stood vacant, and not any man desirous to take them at any rate, were all very suddenly inhabited and stored with inmates, to the great admiration of the English nation, and the advantages of landlords and leasemongers' (Stow 868).

Elizabeth refused to take sides and, after complaints by the Spanish of English aid to Dutch rebels, she order the Dutch privateers, the Sea Beggars, to leave her ports in 1572 and prohibited English sailors from serving on these Dutch ships (Haley 32). The Sea Beggars landed at Brill on 1st April 1572 and, due to the continued dissatisfaction Dutch inhabitants felt toward their Spanish overlords, the Sea Beggars met little resistance and succeeded in capturing Brill in addition to other towns in the surrounding areas (Prak 17).

English collusion with the Dutch is evinced by the fact that 1572 the Sea Beggars' leader, Count de la Marck, visited London and 300 volunteers financed by the Dutch Church at Austin Friars were mustered by Thomas Morgan before the Queen at Greenwich (Haley 32). Morgan reached Flushing on the 7th of June 1572 and was followed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert one month later with one thousand men (Haley 33). Elizabeth I had, at first, no intention of officially supporting the revolt of the Low Countries against their Spanish monarch. This was to change after the discovery of Throckmorton's plot in 1584 to murder the queen, a conspiracy in which Spain was clearly implicated. After the discovery of this plot, the States General were offered military aid in 1584 which they refused; however, on the 12th of May 1585 the States General offered Elizabeth the sovereignty of the Netherlands, or if she refused, they induced her to send financial and military aid on a regular basis. Elizabeth and her advisors agreed to the latter and the Treaty of Nonsuch was signed on the 20th August 1585 at Nonsuch palace outside London (Parker 217). The Earl of Leicester and two other representatives were sent on behalf of the Queen to sit on the *Raad van State* (the Council of State), the body entrusted with conducting the war and administering the army and navy (Israel 217). Elizabeth paid for the mustering of 6,000 troops, in addition to the funding of the English garrisons at

Flushing, Brill, Ostend and Bergen-op-zoom (Haley 37). Leicester arrived in the Netherlands in 1586 and this was seen as an important gesture on behalf of Elizabeth as he was recognised by the Dutch as the leader of a 'Protestant' foreign policy in the Privy Council (Haley 38). Leicester was based at Utrecht, and there became strongly affiliated with a group of zealously Calvinistic exiles from south Netherlands and developed a reputation as a Calvinist patron (Haley 42).[19] To break up this Anglo-Dutch Protestant alliance, the Spanish resolved to invade England and establish a pro-Spanish government there aided by support from England's Catholic population (Prak 22). These plans came to nought, however, when the Spanish Armada of 1588 was defeated and blown to its further destruction onto the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. [20]

In spite of her financial and military support, Elizabeth and the Netherlanders never had the same aims or outlook (Parker 219), and the relationship at the beginning was a difficult one to say the least. Elizabeth wanted to conserve Spanish overlordship, yet the States General was no longer prepared to recognise the king as their monarch. On the ground, there were continuous problems paying the English soldiers, and mutinies were a frequent occurrence (Haley 37). Leicester's relations with powerful Dutch and Flemish leaders were also precarious to say the least and he disagreed fundamentally with the republican ethos of the northern provinces. Leicester was closely affiliated with the Calvinist ministers and refugees from Flanders and Brabant, many of whom supported a return to a monarchical style of government, although he was excluded from the States General which was the supreme authority in the rebellious provinces of the Low Countries. These southern

[19] Leicester unfortunately developed a poor relationship with Holland oligarchs, though the memory of Sir Philip Sidney was celebrated for years to come. Sidney's death was even elegised by Leiden humanists in Latin (Haley 42).

[20] The 26th of October was celebrated as a day of thanksgiving in both England and the Netherlands for the failure of the Spanish Armada (Haley 43).

exiles were militant Calvinists and wanted a strong central authority to re-conquer the south (Parker 221), which they believed involved the established of a monarchy and support for the House of Orange was very strong amongst this group. The burghers and mercantile classes of the north, however, sought to maintain a republic and this led, ultimately, to Leicester losing favour in the Netherlands and eventually returning to England which greatly damaged Anglo-Dutch relations during the Elizabethan era. While in England, many English people began to resent the economic prosperity of both the Low Countries exiles in south-east England and the growing primacy of Dutch trade in both Europe and father afield.

1.3. The Economic Miracle of the 1590s.

Despite the destruction of the Dutch Revolt, to the shock and surprise of the rest of Europe the 1590s sparked the beginning of an 'economic miracle' in the newly created Dutch Republic (Israel 307). From 1590 there was a dramatic improvement in the Republic's economic circumstances, commerce and shipping expanded enormously, as did the towns (Israel 241). This economic growth was greatly stimulated by the arrival of refugees from the southern provinces who contributed to the development of many industries and professions upon their arrival. Antwerp had been a centre of European commerce and finance prior to the Revolt, and with the outbreak of war these merchants and traders, and many other skilled and industrious south Netherlanders, had left their homelands to form diasporas of merchant colonies in Europe, in addition to the growing numbers of Low Countries engineers, experts and technically skilled trades people (Israel 271).

In the 1580s, elite merchants from Antwerp and Brabant had migrated to German cities and they were now attracted to Amsterdam due to large-scale

investments in commerce and manufacturing (Israel 311). Simultaneously, southern migrants teemed into the northern provinces bringing their skills and knowledge to the great benefit of both the society and economy. Geoffrey Parker has documented the southern contribution to humanism, education and literary in the northern Netherlands evinced in southern participation in several intellectual professions. Of the 364 publishers and booksellers in the Netherlands between 1570 and 1630, 248 (68 per cent) were southern immigrants (Parker 250). Similarly, of the 127 teachers in the schools and the university of Leiden from 1575 to 1630, 82 (67 per cent) hailed originally from the south (Parker 250). The migration of southern exiles led to a population explosion in the north and Maarten Prak has noted how between 1582 and 1609 the population of Leiden tripled, owing mainly to the immigration of textile workers and manufacturers from Flanders (Prak 27).

This rapid increase in population dramatically aided the growth of the economy. In Leiden, Flemish migrants introduced their 'new draperies': woollen cloth that was lighter and less expensive and therefore easier to sell than the traditional heavy cloth manufactured in the city (Prak 28). In Amsterdam, the southern merchants worked together with native Hollanders to develop a flourishing staple market by investigating new markets in the Mediterranean region and the East Indies (Prak 28). Many of the newcomers to the north were persons of considerable wealth and they invested heavily in these new markets (Parker 250). In 1595 a first fleet of four ships was fitted for direct trade with East Asia and in 1599 Jacob van Neck returned from an expedition to the Far East with so much pepper, cloves, nutmeg and mace that investors received interim profit of 100 per cent (Haley 58), while profits of 400 per cent from ventures to the East Indies were recorded by the Compagnie van Verre (Israel 320). This led to the founding of the Dutch East India

Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC) in 1602, [21] with capital investments coming mainly from Holland and Brabant (Parker 250).

The Dutch Advocate (leader of the States General), Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, saw the trade with the Indies as an opportunity to strike a blow at the Spanish and he brought about the founding of the VOC by merging various companies in Holland and Zeeland (Prak 100). Holland became Europe's largest centre of sugar production and in other countries it was mainly Dutch know-how that helped to get the industry off the ground (Prak 101). The tobacco industry, which was largely concentrated in Amsterdam, offered employment directly and indirectly to over 7,000 workers, with similar developments in the diamond industry, silk-spinning and silk-weaving, in cotton-printing and in other industries dependent upon imported materials (Prak 101). Foreign trade was greatly enhanced by the invention of the Dutch *fluyt* or flute ship which only needed a crew of nine or ten, whereas a comparable English ship needed a crew of thirty (Prak 96). This made foreign trade much more profitable and allowed 'the Hollanders to set themselves up as the freighters of Europe' (Prak 96). The province of Holland dominated the States General due to their wealth, and was strongly affiliated with Oldenbarnevelt but this issue will be returned to in greater depth in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Inevitably, English merchants exhibited extreme envy at these developments in Dutch trade. The VOC sent 55 ships in the first 7 years of their existence, whereas England sent 12 ships in 9 years, even though the English had founded their East India Company two years earlier in 1600 (Haley 58). Furthermore, Spanish embargoes against England from 1585 to 1604 were seriously damaging to English

[21] Another sign of progress was the plan to create the Dutch West India company, devised due to the reluctance to antagonise the Spanish. These plans were taking shape in 1606-07 but the founding of the company was postponed until 1621 (Prak 28).

trade. The embargoes compelled the newly risen merchant elite of the Dutch maritime towns to invest massively, and without delay, in the traffic of the Indies to prevent themselves from being supplanted by the Hanseatics or the English who were readmitted to Iberian ports in 1604 (Israel 320). It was obvious to every elite merchant, by 1597, that the Republic had now captured control of colonial goods in northern Europe, and that this was likely to continue (Israel 319). John Chamberlain expressed his deep resentment on witnessing the rise of the primacy of the Dutch in international trade in 1598, advocating peace with the Spanish due to his,

> disdaine and envie at our neighbour's welldoinge, in that we, for theire sake and defence entring into the warre and being barred from entercourse and marchandise, they in the meane time thrust us out of all trafficke to our utter undoing (if in time it be not looked into) and theire own advancement. (Chamberlain 2.12)

The Dutch economic advancement continued to grow and prosper into the seventeenth century, severely damaging English trade relations. By 1600 merchants based in Amsterdam, mostly Antwerp émigrés, had already outstripped the English Muscovy trade (Israel 312), and tensions began to develop between the English and the Dutch in their competition for the East Indies.

English anger and envy was also directed at the Dutch fishing and textile industries. Dutch herring busses fished within sight of English shores, leading many to resent this visible 'robbery' of 'English' fish. Traditionally, Flemish textile centres had served as processing points for English cloth. This finishing stage of manufacture was the most profitable and involved the importation of the semi-finished 'in the white' goods to Flanders, where they were dressed, dyed and sold (Prak 9; Wilson *Dutch* 30). With the movement of the southern exiles, this industry

moved to Amsterdam. From 1614 to 1622 a group of London merchants led by the former lord mayor, Alderman Cokayne, tried to break the Dutch control of this industry by forbidding the export of undyed cloth and promoting the dyeing industry in London (Wilson *Dutch* 31); however, they failed in this endeavour. The antiquary William Camden bitterly complained that the Dutch 'by war grow rich whereas all other nations are impoverished' (cited in Haley 50). The English held extreme resentment and irritation towards the Dutch for their commercial success and pamphlets exhibiting jealousy at Dutch commercial success abound in the Jacobean era (Haley 46), an issue which will be returned to in more detail in Chapter 2.

Another sign of progress in the Dutch Republic was the opening in January 1609 of the Amsterdam Exchange Bank which greatly simplified trade payments; this was clear proof that Amsterdam had overtaken Antwerp as the leading centre of trade in north-west Europe (Prak 28). Outside the Amsterdam Exchange Bank were discussions of shares, speculations and deals in 'futures', which were the special business of a growing community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who were permitted to form part of this tolerant republic (Wilson *Dutch* 25). The incredible wealth of the southern refugees was clearly apparent in the Dutch Republic. Of the 320 largest depositors in the Amsterdam Exchange Bank in 1611, over half were from the south, and tax registers from 1631 reveal that about one third of the richest Amsterdammers were of southern Netherlandic origin (Parker 250). Approximately 27 per cent of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company in 1602, including the three largest subscribers, were of southern origin and these investors provided nearly 40 per cent of the VOC's total capital (Parker 251). As aforementioned, many of these southern exiles were militantly Calvinist in their outlook and strongly associated with the English military in the Low Countries due

to their affiliation with the Earl of Leicester. Southern merchants also had strong connections with the Calvinist Low Countries milieu which dominated the Dutch Church at Austin Friars in London and these networks meant that Low Countries militancy, Calvinism, capitalism, and humanism greatly influenced the literature produced in the cautionary town of Brill and affected how the Flemish and Dutch were viewed by the English, and represented on the English stage.

The explosive expansion of its commerce which followed transformed the Republic into Europe's chief emporium and bestowed a general primacy in world commerce that was to endure for a century and a half (Israel 307). The large accumulation of merchant capital, political support at both civic and provincial level, detailed knowledge about routes and conditions in the Indies, the naval and military power within the Low Countries, and favourable circumstances for breaking into the European pepper, spice, and sugar markets all combined to form a buoyant Dutch economy which led to the commencement of a Dutch cultural Golden Age (Israel 318). The Dutch Republic became established as the greatest economic power in the world for the next several decades. The satisfaction of the economic success of the Dutch Republic is clearly apparent in a memorandum signed by Amsterdam merchants in 1629 which states:

> that by virtue of our good management and shrewdness throughout the Truce we have driven the ships of all other countries out of the water, attracted nearly all the business from other countries, and serviced the whole of Europe with our ships. (cited in Prak 97)

Certainly, the Dutch Republic felt that it bore the mark of being God's chosen elect due to the miracle of their economic rise and dominance and Europe, much to the surprise of the English and Spanish alike. The Spanish marquis of Montesclaros

pointed out that the Dutch behaved like a world power, making alliances and treaties, discovering new lands and founding overseas colonies (Parker 265). European powers began to officially recognise this new and powerful state, and, despite making peace with Spain in 1604, James I promoted his envoy in The Hague to the rank of ambassador in 1609; thereby respecting the sovereign independence of the Dutch Republic (Parker 240). The financial power of the state rapidly grew and the army vastly improved and infused with a Lipsian approach to ethics and order (Israel 242).[22] The Prince of Orange, Maurits van Nassau, devised a new scientific approach to the military arts. Maurits military reforms, Dutch military science, and Justus Lipsius' ideas were avidly studied, and widely adopted throughout Europe.

In London, Low Countries exiles were also confronted with a mixture of envy and admiration at their ability to adapt and thrive in the competitive London marketplace. The Dutch and Flemish economic success of the city was echoed in the London Exchange itself, which was a copy of Antwerp's *Nieuwe Beurs*, and designed by a Flemish architect and built by Dutch artisans in 1565 (Rubright 'Urban' 23).[23] Marjorie Rubright has shown how the Low Countries community strongly indentified with the building, and therefore with their commercial contribution to the city, during the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns (Rubright 'Urban' *passim*). As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, a considerable history of Anglo-Dutch/Flemish migration peaked at the close of the sixteenth century and some estimates suggest that during this time close to 60,000 Dutch and

[22] Maurits had studied with Lipsius in 1583-1584 and had a keen interest in Roman, Greek, and humanist discourses on warfare (Israel 270). Maurits specially consulted Lipsius on many matters including as to how the Romans had organised their digging during military enterprises (Israel 245).

[23] The building was initially coined 'Gresham's Burse' after the English merchant who funded the project. Gresham had traded for a significant period in Antwerp and hoped to inculcate Netherlandic economic prosperity in London through the development of this building. The Royal Exchange was transformed into an English denizen when Queen Elizabeth renamed it during her visit in 1571 (Rubright 'Urban' 23).

Flemish men, women and children came to live amongst the English, constituting seventy four and a half per cent of England's immigrant population (Yungblut 15). A large community of Dutch and Flemish settlers had already established themselves in south-east Anglia due to trade and economic relations from the medieval period.[24]

In The Treaty of Nonsuch the English agreed to supply military assistance to the Dutch in their war against Spain, but the treaty also stipulated that Low Countries exiles could also enter England. As such, immigrants teemed into London, some in search of religious freedom and others in the hope of economic advantage. In the 1620s, at the commencement of the Thirty Years War, England again took in a considerable quantity of refugees from the Low Countries (Oldenburg *Alien* 8). Many settled in London and were concentrated in St. Martin's, Southwark and St. Katherine's, areas which also contained theatres. As a key element of early modern London life, it is understandable that so many Dutch and Flemish characters appear in plays during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, at the height of this migration. These Dutch and Flemish characters are featured particularly in London city comedies, such as Robert Wilson's *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590), William Shakespeare's *3 Henry the Sixth* (1595), William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1598), and Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Westward Hoe* (1605).

Dutch and Flemish immigrants are credited with introducing no less than 121 trades into England (Cunningham 34). Most notably the crafts associated with leather work as many Dutch and Flemish immigrants worked as shoemakers, saddlers, cobblers, tanners and cordwainers (Cunningham 37). Unfortunately, in a brutal period of immense economic hardship, competition from foreign workmen

[24] In the sixteenth century Norwich, Maidstone, Halstead, and Colchester had invited strangers to their towns for economic reasons in order to establish industrial colonies (Oldenburg *Alien* 4).

was not welcome. English natives began to see them as taking advantage of the religious haven provided by England as a means of widening economic opportunities at the expense of English craftsmen (Fleck *Marking* 352). Low Countries craftsmen had suffered perpetual resentment from native artisans since their first arrival, enduring a double rate of tax as well as numerous other extraordinary taxes (Cunningham 37). Shoemakers of the Cordwainers' Company took matters into their own hands, terrorising foreign artisans (Fleck *Marking* 351). This increasing tension was exacerbated as English men were mustered to fight in the Low Countries and 'dy like dogges' as a 'sacrifice' for the Dutch and Flemish natives, as charged by the Dutch Church Libel which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 (Freeman 36-37).

Petitions read in the parliamentary session of March 1593 pleaded for financial assistance for the steady stream of maimed soldiers returning from a war that many, including Elizabeth herself, held strong reservations. After all, the Netherlands had rebelled against its sovereign. Class resentment developed as Low Countries' strangers were thought to be preferred by those in power and in the higher echelons of Elizabethan society, a claim they connected to some Privy Councillor's partaking of considerable loans from the high ranking members of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, as aforementioned in the Introduction to this thesis (Grell *Calvinist* 155).[25] This combination of native envy at immigrant industry, anxiety at the many maimed military veterans roaming the London streets and the perceived official preference proved to be an explosive mix, which is discussed in much more detail in Chapter 2. Evidence of native resentment towards these Low Countries 'strangers' is clearly apparent in the fact that a 1593 bill was brought before parliament which advocated the barring sale of ware by foreigners (Haley 50). Anti-alien, and

[25] The Crown organised loans on several occasion from a syndicate of alien merchants during the early seventeenth century (Grell *Calvinist* 156).

specifically anti-Low Countries, libels, pamphlets, and plays abounded throughout London, though the on-set of the Jacobean age brought about the beginnings of the assimilation of these migrants into local London communities.

1.4. Religion in the Dutch Republic.

Religious pluralism has been a feature of the northern Netherlands ever since its inception as an independent state in the 1570s. Toleration and religious liberty were notable features of the Dutch Republic, attracting religious exiles from throughout Europe, including England. English visitors in the Netherlands noted how Reformed Calvinist churches, Mennonites, Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, and Arminians all co-existed together in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (van Rooden 59), although trouble was ahead, particularly between the Calvinists and Arminians in the ensuing years of the seventeenth century. Ultimately, the Protestant denominations amongst these groups were vying for control in the religious landscape, or religious marketplace of the Dutch Republic, where they competed for the minds and hearts of the country's growing populace (den Hollander *et al* 2).

Freedom of conscience, however, had been a major theme in the independence movement of the northern provinces, with Article 13 of the Union of Utrecht stating that, 'every particular person will be allowed to be free in his religion, and no-one may be searched or inquired for the sake of religion'; at the time it meant, 'no Spanish inquisition', but later it came to mean 'freedom of conscience' (van Rooden 61). Freedom of conscience became a significant component of the writings of Anabaptist leaders and martyrs (Waite 17); a Protestant denomination who advocated adult baptism and were outlawed in England. 'Religion' to the Dutch,

it seemed, was merely concerned with outward appearances. Van Rooden notes that even today the Dutch word *religie* is used to denote just the external, visible aspect of religion (van Rooden 62). Denominations were allowed to exist in the Dutch Republic as long as they used less visible church buildings which did not intrude upon public space (van Rooden 62); such as a group of English Anabaptists' usage of an old bakehouse or bakery to live in and hold their services in Amsterdam after they fled religious persecution in England at the start of the Jacobean reign (c.f. Keith and Mary Sprunger 'The Church in the Bakehouse').

A multitude of religions could be found in the northern Netherlands and a Swiss observer is 1672 estimated that one third of the population was Calvinist, another third was Catholic, and the rest were either Anabaptist, Lutherans, atheists, Jews or something else (Parker 241; Prak 29). Many Dutch men and women not affiliated with any church and Geoffrey Parker has noted how ten different religions existed in seventeenth century Rotterdam, and many people did not ascribe to any of them (Sprunger, M. 'Being' 169; Parker 241). Tolerance was advocated at the highest levels of the Dutch Republic, with Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, the philosopher and politician, encouraging equal rights for all denominations and was against a state church (Waite 18). The vibrant print culture of the Low Countries meant that writings were often used to establish clear confessional identities, and religious rituals were open to all denominations; thereby allowing groups to influence each other which led to a remarkable hybridity of confessional traditions (den Hollander *et al* 3). These blurred confessional lines became a significant feature of Dutch culture (Waite 12).

The Jewish community of Antwerp, and later of Amsterdam, was initially composed of approximately 300 Spanish and Portugese *marranos* (Jews who were

only nominally Christians), and this community flourished amid the anonymity of Antwerp (Parker 60). Geoffrey Parker has pointed out how trade between these *marranos* and Antwerp merchants led to a amicable set of relations between the two groups, with some Jews even joining the Calvinist church, and providing ideas to others on how to avoid detection, gain toleration from authorities, and resist persecution (Parker 60). Interestingly, Ole Peter Grell, in his tracing of early modern Europe's Calvinist network, has illuminated another Jewish link with the Calvinist movement, nothing how among the first converts of Peter Martyr Vermigli in San Frediano ('the first and last Protestant theological college in pre-Tridentine Italy') was the Jew Emmanuel Tremellius (Grell *Brethern* 27).[26] English writers would later connect their anger towards Low Countries migrants in London with anti-Semitism, such as the comparison in the Dutch Church Libel which labelled these exiles as 'the Jewes' who seek to 'eate' the English 'up as bread' (Freeman 8), which is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2.

English observers were both shocked and fascinated by the abundance of religious denominations co-existing in the Low Countries, particularly by the Jewish component and visiting the Amsterdam synagogue became a common practice among English travellers in the Low Countries during the early modern period. One of these travellers, the English courtier William Brereton, described his impression after visiting the Amsterdam synagogue, noting how:

> Here in this congregation, no good order, no great zeal and devotion here appearing; much time spent in singing and in talking…Their

[26] Tremellius converted to Catholicism in 1540 and then converted again to Calvinism after his arrival in Lucca which was the point of origin of the Calvinist Burlamachi and Caladrini families, who would later become prominent merchants, bankers, and members of the Dutch Church in London. Tremellius would later flee Luca with Peter Martyr, firstly to Strasbourg and then to other Protestant centres in north-west Europe (Grell *Brethern* 27).

> men most black, full of hair, and insatiably given unto women: their wives restrained and made prisoners. (Brereton 61)

While clearly exhibiting the anti-Semitism to be expected of an Englishman emanating from a society in which Jews were strictly forbidden, his note on this matter also demonstrates the English fascination with the plethora of faiths in the Dutch Republic. In fact, the Dutch Republic became a safe-haven for English denominations, such as the aforementioned English Anabaptists; and the heartland of English Puritan printing and publishing. A less strict denomination of the Anabaptists, the *Waterlander Doopsgezinden* engaged with English Separatists, and English Brownists, even allowing them to the join the Waterlander fellowship in 1611 (Waite 21). The lack of confessional boundaries must have been shocking for these English Brownist arrivals considering that the *Doopsgezinden* had connections with Dutch Remonstrants (or Arminians), and even had Muslim associations (Waite 22).

Religious toleration meant that the country lacked the restraints of English and Scottish censorship and controls, and Amsterdam and Leiden became centres of English Puritan printing. Keith Sprunger argues that these activities were part of the larger Protestant cause, but certainly Dutch and Flemish printers undertook the publications of these English texts for reasons not only for religious reasons, but also for Mammon. The availability of texts from the Dutch Republic, however, galvanised and sustained the Puritan movement in England (Sprunger, K. *Trumpets* ix), particularly during the seventeenth century. These activities led to the creation of a clandestine network of authors, printers, and financial backers who developed effective channels for printing and distributing books (Sprunger, K. *Trumpets* 34). The activities of writing and translation, in particular, will be a topic returned to later

in this chapter in relation to the writing and translating activities of the English military in the Dutch Republic. The English soldier, Henry Hexham, translated a great deal of Puritan texts for the Dutch market and Dutch Calvinist texts for the English market. This example shows how the English military and the Protestant network they operated within were able to exploit the tolerant print culture of the Low Countries for their own religious cause.

One of the most intriguing, fascinating and mysterious of the Dutch religious groups who had a profound effect in England during the early modern period was the Family of Love. These were the followers of the rhapsodising meditations of the German mystic, Hendrik Niclaes, which were translated into English by the Dutchman Christopher Vittels. Pamphlet literature in England claimed that in excess of 1,000 members existed in England, and some of these adherents to the message of Niclaes or 'H. N.', the initials he signed his writings with, were at the heart of the English monarchy itself among the attendants to Queen Elizabeth. Rumours abounded in England, erroneously, that this group practised all manner of wild activities, including the community of goods, sanctioned adultery and denial of the Trinity;[27] but they were especially feared because Niclaes advocated outward conformity to the state religion (Marsh *Family* 3).

In England the group were referred to as a dangerous and evil 'sect', and associated with subversiveness and social evil (Marsh *Family* 4). Members of the Family of Love, however, referred to themselves as a 'community', 'fraternity', and

[27] The English association between the Family of Love and all manner of sexual depravity could be in connection to the activities of an Anabaptist sect active in Münster in Germany in the 1530s. Familists were often confused with Anabaptists and certainly, they did share some of this group's views, such as the rejection of baptism. This Anabaptist group of Netherlandic Melchiorite refugees in Münster were led by the actor Jan van Leiden. Van Leiden established polygamy to ensure that all of the women in the group – who greatly outnumbered the men – were controlled by husbands (Waite 9). This event could have been what tarnished the reputation of the Familists in England as no evidence of 'free love' in the Family of Love exists and the topic has baffled literary scholars in particular for the last several decades.

'fellowship' (Marsh *Family* 4). John Strype similarly painted a friendly and innocent picture of the Familists, stating that they were a 'lovely Fraternity of elders…especially observed to be in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk'…'weavers, some basket-makers, some musicians, some bottle-makers' (cited in Ebel 338). The Family's tendency to outwardly conform to the established religion of an area appeared particularly sinister to others and inspired scurrilous rumours about nature of their secret meetings (Carter 656).

The reasons behind the Elizabethan and Jacobean fears toward the Family of Love are unclear. Frances Yates has suggested that the Family of Love was a secret society associated with Freemasonry and other occult groups on the continent (Yates 273). While Jan van Dorsten has pointed out the linkage between the group and intellectual circles in the Low Countries and England (Moss 186). In the Netherlands, the principal followers of the Family of Love were to be found among scholarly humanists rather than radical sectaries, and the group had associations with the philosopher Justus Lipsius, the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin, the cartographer Abraham Ortelius, and his cousin, the influential merchant, historian and member of the Dutch Church, Emanuel van Meteren (Marsh *Family* 29; Mout 84).

Another member of the Dutch Church, the German merchant Johan Radermacher, also had links to the Family of Love (Mout 89), and the strong links between the church and the Dutch Familists in England is clear by the fact that the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars intervened to prevent the burning of two Dutch Familists in 1575 but the Privy Council 'would not spare them' (Strype 2.380).[28] In

[28] This event was in connection to the discovery in April 1575 of a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists in London. The group was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but they were spared death (the group was mostly women) and instead banished 21st May; however, two members were finally burnt at Smithfield on the 22nd of July of that year (Carter 655).

England the group was connected to Lollardy, English Anabaptism, Nicodemism, adult baptism and Arianism (Marsh *Family* 29). Although the English Familists also had friends in high places and were to be found at courts of Queen Elizabeth and James I, where they served as Yeomen of the Guard, officers of the Jewel House, the Armoury and the Wardrobe (Marsh *Family* 16). Still, they are the only sect explicitly condemned under Elizabeth, even though their persecution abruptly ended after this was ordered (Carter 657).[29] The group afterwards went underground to briefly appear during the Jacobean reign. They are considered to be a significant forebear of Quakerism (Ebel 332). The Family of Love had a profound impact on the English literary imagination and became strongly associated with the theme of sexual depravity (Marsh 'Godlie' 76), an issue which will be returned to in more detail in Chapter 2 in relation to John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (c. 1605).

English observers were also shocked to see how the culture of religious toleration in the Dutch Republic was severely curtailed in the seventeenth century due to the confrontation between the followers of the theologians, Jacob Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus, which resulted in the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and almost plunged the Dutch Republic into civil war. These events generated Fletcher and Massinger's play, *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnevelt* in 1619 which gave an interesting interpretation of this religious dispute and the co-terminus power struggle between the Advocate, Oldenbarnevelt, and the Prince of Orange. Arminius' rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination outraged Gomarus who accused Arminius of trying to slip an element of Catholicism into Reformed doctrine (Prak 30). In 1609 the Twelve Years Truce was agreed with

[29] A bill was introduced in 1581 proscribing Familists and Anabaptists severely, including the whipping of practitioners for first offence, branding with the initials 'H. N.' for the second offence, and capital punishment for the third offence. However, the bill never agreed upon and did not come into being (Ebel 339).

Spain, bringing peace to the Low Countries; but it was still not clear who was exercising authority in the Dutch Republic. Competition between the Calvinist southern exiles with the provinces of Holland amassed itself in all arenas of public life, such as commerce, governance and religion. Now that the binding agent of war had disappeared, the Arminian crisis meant that the country was on the brink of civil war (Prak 31).

The zealous Calvinists who supported Gomarus, known as counter-Remonstrants, were mainly the Flemish refugees who had left hearth and home because of their religious beliefs; Gomarus himself was one of them (Prak 32). This is an incredibly complex part of Dutch history and will be dealt with in much greater depth in Chapter 4 of this thesis. However, to briefly provide a summary of the ensuing debacle between these two leaders, Oldenbarnevelt openly sided with the Arminians and while the Calvinists were strongly affiliated with the Prince of Orange. The religious controversy turned into somewhat of a power struggle between the two and issues surrounding Oldenbarnevelt's pursuance of peace and a republic in the Low Countries, in contrast to Maurits and his militant supporters' wish to establish a monarchy and continue the war effort against Spain led to open confrontation which almost brought the Dutch Republic into a civil war. Maurits led a successful *coup d'état* against the old advocate and Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded in 1618 for treason, thus completely disbanding the peace party in the Republic (Prak 37). This issue will be returned to in greater detail in the final chapter of this thesis in relation to the representation of Oldenbarnelt and the Prince of Orange in the aforementioned play, *The Tragedy of John van Olden Barnevelt* which provides interesting parallels with the political and religious climate of England during the Jacobean era.

1.5. 'Nurseries of Souldiery': A Case Study of the Cautionary Town of Brill.

Located on the island of Voorne in South Holland, Brill was one of several English military garrisons, or 'cautionary towns', in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. On the periphery of Dutch-Spanish military aggression in the sixteenth century, the Dutch declined to garrison the town. Brill was garrisoned by the English probably due to its proximity to England while its island location eased access of both supplies and men; although, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the connection between English ports, the Sea Beggars, and Brill point to an older, but unknown, affiliation between these territories. Brill's fortification and star shaped fortress protection were designed over three centuries by Simon Stevin, William Paen, and Menno van Coehoorn. While essentially a fishing community, the town received a baptism by fire into the Dutch Revolt when the Sea Beggars (*Watergeuzen*) arrived in 1572. The Seabeggars peacefully took control of the town and declared it for Prince William of Orange, initiating an important phase of the Dutch Revolt.

Brill had an interesting history of Baltic and North Sea trade and the *De Kaey* (the quay)*, Nieuwe haven* (New harbour), and *Oude Haven* (Old Harbour) were important areas of the city, which the English regularly fortified while stationed there, as evinced in a letter from Sir Horace Vere to James I in the early seventeenth century (SP84/68/f.158). In the medieval period, Anglo-Dutch contact also existed in the area due to the establishment of Sint Katherina's Kerk, a convent from of the Order of St. Clare by Margaret of York in 1483. Margaret bore the title the 'Dame of Voorne' in Holland and was highly involved in religious affairs in the Netherlands, specifically in Brill and Mechlin, where she established another Poor Clares convent

in 1501 (Blockmans 36).[30] After the onset of the Dutch Revolt, however, the town subsequently developed into a strongly Protestant and specifically Calvinist space in the United Provinces.

The 1585 Treaty of Nonsuch decreed that Brill and several other Dutch towns were to be handed over to the English as 'cautionary towns'; a surety for English involvement in the Dutch War of Independence. Once the English arrived, Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange occurred in a variety of ways. English soldiers and Dutch locals traded, worked, lived, worshipped and socialised together. Exchanges also occurred in the different areas of proximity in the city; the garrison, churches, marketplaces, taverns, the town hall and in the bustling quay and harbours. While these exchanges may be the most fascinating, they are almost impossible to trace with only rare fragments of these stories committed to paper. The English church records of the preacher, Michael Seroyen, found amongst the papers of Sir Edward Conway (SP 9/95), testifies greatly to the impact of the English military presence in Brill.[31] A strong history of intermarriage and cultural assimilation is evident in this church register with its records of marriages, births, deaths and the poor relief given to soldiers or widows of English soldiers.

English and Scottish soldiers had been arriving in the Netherlands in the preceding two decades before the Treaty of Nonsuch, after which they were officially sent by Elizabeth I. Muster records from the period show a continuum of English soldiers resident in Brill number between 750-1000 during the late

30 The influence of Catholicism in Brill diminished after the arrival of the Sea Beggars in 1572. A violent iconoclasm took place in St. Catharina's Church and the Order of Poor Clares were shunned from the town, eventually being absorbed by their Sister communities in Delft and Antwerp. Catholic monks were executed in a turfshed in the town, known as the Martyrs of Gorcum, and henceforth Brill became a location of Catholic pilgrimage in honour of the martyrs, rather than an area of Catholic control and devotion (Blockmans 36).

31 Michael Seroyen (Seroijen/Seroijën) was preacher at the English Church in Brill from 1590-1616. Seroyen was of Dutch/Flemish background, coming from Antwerp to preach in English at the church in 1590. Seroyen thereafter expanded his practices in the town to that of a doctor and pharmacist and was held in good repute by the townsfolk (Sprunger, K. *Dutch* 37; Hoorn 14).

Elizabethan and early Jacobean reigns (SP84/38/124-124v). The mayor of Brill, Willem Willemsz and the magistrate of the town, Carel Gans, worried about the impact the arrival of the English would have (van Werkhoven 26). The city council also feared that they would be forced to pay for the extra costs associated with the presence of these troops; especially with the arrival and accommodation of 'hoge heren'; senior English military figures (van Hoorn 7). Finally, it was agreed that the States General would provide money for these costs and would also cover the costs for acts of vandalism and looting attributed to the English soldiers within the city. Numbers were limited to 800 soldiers and were to be stationed in the garrisons of Nieuwerood and Cleijburgh on the outskirts of the town's fortifications. Records in the National Archives show this number to have varied higher and lower at times. This number of soldiers represented a considerable proportion of the local population of about 3,500 individuals, especially considering that most soldiers came with their wives and children (van Hoorn 8). This influx had major impact on things like housing, social infrastructure and food supply. In nervous anticipation of the soldiers' conduct in Brill, English soldiers were obliged to swear to 'The Oath of Brill' before departure, they agreed to abide by the rules of the city, promised allegiance to the Queen and to behave themselves in the town (SP84/51). On their arrival, the soldiers, together with their families, were dispatched to Nieuweroord and Cleijburgh (van Werkhoven 32). Orderlies and other military personnel were allowed to accommodate themselves in houses within the town.

The first governor of Brill was Sir Thomas Cecil, first earl of Exeter, who was appointed as captain of the horse and governor of Brill in 1585, although he soon resigned this post on the grounds of ill-health in 1588 (Milward 'Thomas Cecil'

ODNB).[32] Captain John Pryce was appointed Vice-Lieutenant from this date until 1597. From 1588, Thomas Burgh, fifth Baron of Gainsborough, was then appointed governor of the town. Burgh was remembered as a man interested in Dutch culture and known to employ musicians and singers while in Brill (van Hoorn 12). Burgh remained as governor of Brill until his death in 1597.[33] Upon Burgh's death in 1597, the post passed to Sir Francis Vere and then in 1610 to his brother, Sir Horace Vere, until 1616.[34] In 1597, Sir Edward Conway was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of The Brill. The Vere brothers, first Francis and then Horace spent the majority of their time in The Hague; the Brill church records show them to be rarely present which is probably why a stronger diplomat like Conway was necessary in the Vice-Lieutenant post (SP 9/95 f. 4; f. 31).[35] Conway was a regular presence in the town, church

32 Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter (1542–1623), was a courtier and soldier. An active member of both the Elizabethan and Jacobean court, Cecil was born in Cambridge on 5 May 1542, the eldest son of William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598), and his first wife, Mary (c.1520–1544), sister of John Cheke. On the death of his father in 1598, Thomas Cecil became second Baron Burghley. When James I became king, he was first made a member of the Privy Council and in 1605, just before his sixty-third birthday, earl of Exeter (Milward 'Thomas Cecil' *ODNB*).

33 Thomas Burgh (Borough), 5th Baron Borough of Gainsborough (c. 1558–14 October 1597), was the son of William Burgh (found in Stevens 'John Burgh' *ODNB*). On 18 April 1597, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland but held the office only briefly, dying the same year. Burgh died at Newry, County Down, Ireland, on 14 October 1597 (Cokayne 76-77).

34 Vere, Sir Francis (1560/61–1609), was an army officer and diplomat and the second son of Geoffrey Vere (c.1525–1572?) and his wife, Elizabeth (d. 1615), daughter of Richard Harkyns of Colchester, Essex. Francis, his elder brother, John, and both his younger brothers, Robert and Horace Vere, all received training in the art of war. From August 1589 Vere was in sole charge of the English army of assistance in the Dutch republic. He left the Netherlands in 1606 and the States General awarded a pension of 3000 guilders (some £300) per annum to him. In June 1606 Vere was appointed governor of Portsmouth, with subsidiary grants of other offices in that vicinity (Trim'Francis Vere' *ODND*). Francis' brother, Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury (1565–1635), also became an army officer. In 1591, Horace was appointed lieutenant of his brother Francis's own company of foot. Horace spent the rest of his career in the service of the Dutch Republic as well as serving in the Palatinate. In 1609 Sir Francis Vere died. Francis had still been governor of Brill. Prince Maurice recommended Sir Horace Vere and did so strongly enough to ensure that he was duly appointed successor to his brother. Horace Vere held the office until 1616, when the English government finally returned the cautionary towns of Brill and Flushing to Dutch control (Trim'Horace Vere' *ODND*).

35 Edward Conway, first Viscount Conway and first Viscount Killultagh (c.1564–1631), soldier and politician, was the son and heir of Sir John Conway (d. 1603), of Arrow, Warwickshire, and Ellen or Eleanor, daughter of Sir Fulke Greville (d. 1560) of Beauchamp's Court, Warwickshire. His family were substantial Warwickshire landowners by the late sixteenth century. About 1593 Conway married Dorothy Tracy (d. 1612), sister of Mary Tracy, the wife of Sir Horace Vere and widow of Edward Bray of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire, and daughter of Sir John Tracy of Toddington. Edward pursued a military career, and was knighted by the earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz (1596), where he commanded a regiment of foot. Afterwards he served in the Netherlands as governor of the Brill. His time there may help account for the enthusiasm of his

records show that he and his wife regularly attended the English Church with their sons, Thomas and Edward. The English Church Register also records the baptism of three of Conway's children, all born in Brill. Conway's daughter, the well-known letter writer, Brilliana Harley's baptism is recorded as 'Brielana filia D[omini] Edoari Conway,' on the 10th of September 1598.[36]

Both Lord Burgh and Conway lived in a townhouse known as the *De Vier Speellieden* (the Four Minstrels), located in modern day Voorstraat at Brill, then known as Capoenstraat (van Werkhoven 35). This was the official governor's residence, however, the Veres appeared to have had no exclusive residence at Brill. A couple of doors down from the governor's residence, a former hospice and infirmary for the elderly was converted into the English church, Sint Jacob's Kerk. The preacher, Michael Seroyen, would expand his practice to become the town's doctor in 1603 (van Werkhoven 33). As for the schooling of the English children at Brill, it appears that English boarding schools at Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Dordrecht were the most probable options for those who could afford it. Certainly, this was the choice for the children of the English Merchant Adventurers who sent their children there and this group had close personal and political relationships with the English garrisons in the Netherlands (Osselton 29); thus showing the importance of the mercantile aspect to the Anglo-Dutch relationship. Many other English

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protestant convictions. Conway would later serve as a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State in the Stuart government (Kelsey 'Edward Conway' *ODNB*).

36 'Heyltgen filia D. Edoardii Conway' on the 24 October 1599 and 'Maria filia Edwardi Conway' on the 27 December 1601 (SP 9/95 f. 14; f. 16; f. 17). Brilliana Harley a noted letter writer and and parliamentarian gentlewoman, was born in Brill, taking her unusual forename from there. Brilliana and her siblings were naturalised by a private act of Parliament in 1606. Brilliana was the third wife of Sir Robert Harley (bap. 1579, d. 1656) of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, whom she married in July 1623. Brilliana was a prolific letter writer. Her letters have been widely cited as evidence of her staunch Puritan and Parliamentarian beliefs. They also evince her education in theology and political matters and show her ideas on religious and political debates of the time (Eales 'Brilliana Harley' *ODNB*).

military and immigrant churches in the Netherlands opened schools but this did not occur in Brill, in which there was a smaller English community.

As for the soldier experience in Brill, the shortage of accommodation blighted the first few years of their presence there. Throughout the Netherlands, English troops were initially poorly accommodated and supplied and sadly tended to take out their frustrations on the local populace, with predictable results. 'So great is the lack of discipline among the garrisons', bemoaned English diplomat Thomas Wilkes, 'especially of our nation that I am ashamed to hear the continual complaints which come to the councell-bord against them' (cited in Israel 228). Brill was no exception, while records in the National Archives only briefly describe these disturbances, their effect is testified in Leicester's decision in 1587 to appoint an official to ensure the timely payment of soldiers and to expand military accommodation to houses within the town, including the use of the buildings previously in use by the St. Clares on the Clarissenstraat as holding areas for prisoners of war and stables for horses (van Werkhoven 32). Luckily, these actions rectified the problems and restored order in the English garrison. In other parts of the Netherlands, English soldiers and some entire garrisons had defected to the Spanish side. This was an enormous embarrassment for the English, with Wilkes criticising his countrymen as growing 'as hatefull to the people as the Spaniard himself who governeth his townes of conquest with a milder hand than we doe our frends and allyes' (cited in Israel 229).

The situation began to stabilise and the citizens of Brill began to live in harmony with their English soldier population. Soldiers spent money on food, construction, munitions, boots, saddles and wine, while high ranking members of the military bought elegant attire for officers and great quantities of beer for men.

Taverns, gambling and prostitution proliferated (Israel 265). There are some interesting instances of Brill's economic expansion to be found among the archives. An English baker once began to supply the English troops, much to the chagrin of the Brill locals who swiftly demanded that orders to this baker be strictly forbidden (van Hoorn 9). Pawn shops also sprouted in Brill, which provided a trickle of income to the often unpaid soldiers in exchange for their expensive armour and weapons. The English Church records recount several episodes when the poor collection was used to unpawn these items to be returned to the misbehaving English soldiers (van Hoorn 9). This phenomenon became so serious that in 1589, the city officials intervened and banned the sale of English clothing and weapons to Brill residents as the poorly dressed and unarmed soldiers were deemed a disgrace to 'Haere Majesteijt' (van Werkhoven 26). These actualities provide an interesting context when considering the bawdy verses in the possession of Conway which deal with illicit soldier-local sexual relations as well as other forms of venery such as drunkenness and the accumulative debts associated with it. These verses, though comedic, satiric and often xenophobic do seem to detail the realities of soldier life in the Brill garrison.

A good relationship developed between the city council and the governors of Brill as soon as they soon realised that their presence was good for the economy of the city. This had everything to do with the supply of the troops. The local bakers, butchers, brewers, carpenters and traders did good business as a result, while many new businesses began to take off in the city thereby enriching the local economy (van Werkhoven 37). The English were only too well aware of this, as in Carleton's instructions to Vere on the rendering of Brill in 1616, he commanded Vere to remind the town of,

> the peaceable government they have lived under you the governor and commander of that garrison, how they have prospered since the coming of the English: how greatly the town is inlarged, and their burghers inriched: and therefore his majesty has no cause to doubt, but that of gratitude they [hold]. (Carleton 32)

This warm intermingling of the Dutch and English and overall prosperity of the town is reflected in Conway's later nostalgic comments about his life there. Brill was a place of friends, family and domestic bliss for Conway. In Conway's later career as Secretary of State to Charles I, he would later remark on his 'ancient acquaintance I have had with those Countries…continuing in affection for manie years'; and his time in Brill as a place where he 'enjoyed much comfort…ate much bread and had manie children' (cited in Cogswell 90). The choice of name for his daughter, Brilliana, certainly reflects the love and affinity he bore for the place. Brill town records describe Conway's love of hawking and hunting and state that he spent a considerable amount of time immersed in these pursuits by the dunes at Oostvoorne and the hunting grounds of Rockanje (van Hoorn 13).[37] The town council gave him meadows wherein to keep his horses and his turf was stowed in the chancel of the English Church. It appears by all accounts that Conway thoroughly enjoyed his life in Brill. It also appears that Conway could ably converse in Dutch. Certainly, Conway's children were able Dutch speakers.[38] In 1619, Horace Vere writes to Conway about his son, Thomas, stating that 'he is grone a souficient officer & speak the language wel' (SP 81/16 f. 4). Vere puts a great emphasis on the ability to be

37 Conway's son would later bring Dutch hunting techniques to Ireland through the efforts of a Dutch huntsman employed in his Irish estate at Killultagh, Co. Antrim who built a Dutch duck decoy system there (Costello 177).

38 Certainly they were extremely comfortable with the culture there as evidenced by Conway's later marriage to the daughter of a Ghent merchant, Elizabeth Hueriblock and their dual membership of the Dutch Church in London, Austin Friars.

able to communicate fluently, this comes as no surprise considering Meurier's comment how in the 1590s that it was 'well known…soon after the arrival of Leicester's troops…what trouble hath bin betweene the one Nation, and the other...by reason that the one can not understand the other' (Meurier 5). It could have been this experience of difficult communication which highlighted the importance of Thomas Conway's linguistic abilities and what later encouraged the Brill soldier-author patronised by both Conway and Horace Vere, Henry Hexham, to write and publish the first English-Dutch dictionary. Indeed, the importance of cross-cultural communication is evident in Conway's inventory of 'Books at Brill', which has listed as item 105 'dictionaire Colloque, en dialogues in 4 langues, Flaman, Francois, Espanois et Italiens' (SP 14/57 f. 114B).[39] Conway's Flemish colloquial dictionary would have certainly enabled him to communicate somewhat in the town. Although, it can be presumed that the Conway family were predominantly Francophone while resident in the Netherlands. Conway's daughter, Brilliana, was in later life admittedly more comfortable speaking French than English and Conway's collection of French literature testifies to his abilities as an able French reader (Eales 'Brilliana Harley' *ODNB*). Another book on that list, item 46 'An Essay how to make o[u]r travells into forraine countries the more p[ro]ffitable,' suggests that Conway was interested in understanding the local culture and therefore a colloquial dictionary was essential (SP 14/5 f. 114B).

As for the role of Conway and Vere in the Netherlands, Vere spent his time conducting military offensives and had a seat on the *Raad van State*, the military and naval wing of the States General. Conway, however, assumed the role of governor in the town of Brill and acted in an almost ambassadorial fashion with Johan van

39 'Colloquial dictionary and dialogues in 4 languages, Flemish, French, Spanish and Italian.' As previously discussed, the terms 'Dutch' and 'Flemish' both refer to the same language.

Oldenbarnevelt, with whom he discussed the trading rights of English merchant traders in the East Indies. Conway's role in the town council of Brill was almost ceremonial rather than directive and was in partnership with the mayor, Willem Willemsz, and magistrate of the town, Carel Gans. English control in the Netherlands had been seriously relegated after Leicester's attempt to assume power there in the 1580s. Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador to the Netherlands, later remarked, 'That the garrisons were not masters of the towns, which lived there at the discretion of the burghers', and this is certainly the case with respect to Conway's role in Brill (Carleton 28). Conway occupied a seat on the town council and held regular banquets together with the magistrate and other high ranking officers in the English military at his home in Brill. He also spent a considerable amount of time in The Hague, where he socialised and negotiated with members of the States General. In one letter to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Conway refers to meetings with Oldenbarnevelt at his home in The Hague and discussions on the stipulations of the Treaty of London (1604) on the trading rights of the English, Spanish and Dutch (Het Nationaal Archief, Oldenbarnevelt 3.01.14, 2351 f. 579). This shows how Conway's role was ambassadorial and diplomatic as well as his role in Brill.[40] Before the coming of Dudley Carleton in 1615 as ambassador in The Hague, it appears that Conway worked in tandem with Ralph Winwood, ambassador from 1603-1613, in conducting diplomatic business.[41] With real power removed

40 Another document exists in the file containing the letter from Conway to Oldenbarnevelt at Het Nationaal Archief, it is undated and states that 'Such was his Mat[jes]ties magnamitie in [th]e debat and conclusion of the last treatie, as he would neuer condescend to any article importing the exclusion of his subiects from [tha]t trade; as a Prince [tha]t would not acknowledge [tha]t any such right could grow to [th]e crowne of Spaine by the donatine of [th]e Pope whose authoritie hee disclaimeth; or by [th]e title of a dispersed and punctuall occupation of certaine territories in [th]e name of [th]e reg[imen]t. But stoode ferme to reserue [tha]t point in full question to farther tymes or occasions: soe as it is by [th]e treatie in suspense neither debarred' (Het Nationaal Archief, Oldenbarnevelt 3.01.14, 2351 f. 197)

41 Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester (1574–1632), was a diplomat and letter writer and served as the English Ambassador to the United Provinces from 1615 to 1628 (Reeve 'Sir Dudley

from English hands in the Netherlands, Conway appears to have demonstrated his power through diplomatic negotiations together with Winwood and Carleton.

Due to financial constraints and pressure from the Spanish, James I officially rendered the English garrisons of the Netherlands back to the Dutch on 14 June 1616. This brought an end to the official English presence in the town, although the soldiers already there seem to have remained and assimilated into the town. In a letter to Sir Edward Conway in 1619, Sir Horace Vere reports how 'thos Ing[lish] that are hear are so smal a number that it is to scarcd that that will not stand longe' (SP81/16 f. 4). The unsuccessful petitioning of English and Scottish inhabitants of Brill in 1660 for a permanent ecclesiastical establishment testifies to longevity of the influence exerted by the English garrison (Osselton 4; Sprunger, K. *Dutch* 180).[42] Carleton also referenced the continuing English presence in his instructions to Horace Vere on the rendering of the town in 1616:

> pray them and the burgomasters of that town…to take upon them this charge, that such of his majesty's subjects, who by reason of their long abode in that place, shall think it convenient there to continue their dwellings, to treat them with all favour and courtesy, as the subjects of their dearest and nearest ally. (Carleton 33)

It is clear to see that the English were culturally, socially and politically embedded within the town from 1585 until 1616 and perhaps beyond. The English participated in Dutch social events, influenced developments within the government and, as will be shown in the following section, produced their own brand of Anglo-Dutch

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Carleton' *ODNB*). Sir Ralph Winwood, (1562/3–1617), served as a diplomat and later as Secretary of State. Winwood served as the English Ambassador to the United Provinces prior to Carleton, from 1602 to 1613. Winwood returned to London in 1613 although he remained nominally the English agent at The Hague until March 1614 (Greengrass 'Sir Ralph Winwood' *ODNB*).

42 For more information on this see Keith Sprunger's *Dutch Purtianism: A History of the English and Scottish Churches in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

culture. The prominence of figures such as Conway and Vere, testify to their ability to be powerful patrons and provides a context on which to articulate the argument that both of these men used this power to patronise soldiers and Protestant clerics in the Netherlands.

1.6. Anglo-Dutch Military Poetry.

The soldier experience in the Netherlands had a profound effect on the textual products of many former soldier-poets such as Ben Jonson, George Chapman, Cyril Tourneur and the focus of this section of the chapter, Henry Hexham. These poets and playwrights experiences as soldiers in the Netherlands dramatically help to forge the literary texts that they would later produce. Anonymous Anglo-Dutch soldier poetry found among the Conway Papers at the British Library (BL Add MS 23229) reflect much of what is known about the soldier experience in the Brill garrison. Much of this poetry focuses on prime individuals with Anglo-Dutch links such as Elizabeth of Bohemia and Sir Horace Vere. However, this section of the chapter focuses specifically on Anglo-Dutch soldier bawdy verse. These poems recount much of the actualities of soldiery existence in the Netherlands, such as the poverty, carousing and whore-mongering.

Edward Conway was an avid collector of Anglo-Dutch poetry as a whole, such as Sir Henry Wotton's 'Upon the Queen of Bohemia' (BL Add. Mss. 23229 f. 62).[43] Elizabeth of Bohemia remained in the The Hague until 1661 after her husband, Frederick the Elector of Palatine, failed to secure the kingdom of Bohemia at the

43 Elizabeth, Princess [Elizabeth Stuart] (1596–1662), queen of Bohemia and electress palatine, consort of Frederick V, eldest and only surviving daughter of James VI of Scotland (James I of England) (1566–1625) and his wife, Anne of Denmark (1574–1619). In 1612, Elizabeth married Frederick V, Elector of Palatine. The marriage was part of a wider alliance concluded in the spring of 1612 between England and the Protestant Union, an association of German princes and free cities under the leadership of the Palatinate (Asch 'Princess Elizabeth' *ODNB*).

Battle of White Mountain.[44] Both Elizabeth and her husband were exceptionally friendly with Sir Dudley Carleton (Asch 'Princess Elizabeth' *ODNB*). Certainly they would have also been acquainted with Sir Edward Conway. Also found within this miscellany is Ben Jonson's 'Epigram 91: To Sir Horace Vere' (f. 87), a poem extolling the virtues of Conway's superior and brother-in-law and this poem will be discussed in much more detail in the following chapter. It is clear that Conway collected poems about people who were close and of interest to him in the Netherlands. Conway's choice in selecting material with Dutch themes shows his familiarity with the people, topics, and places referred to in this poetry. Furthermore, his ability to acquire texts evinces close contact with Dutch intellectual circles. His interests have been shaped by his time in the Netherlands and his decision to include these texts in his personal poetic collections is an active demonstration on his part of his Anglo-Dutch literary tastes; tastes which have been moulded through contact and exchanges with Dutch culture.

Conway showed a taste for Anglo-Dutch poetry emanating from both high and low cultural spheres alike. Some of the most interesting examples of Anglo-Dutch poetry in the Conway Papers are the soldier bawdy verses such as 'Re: Flanders' (f. 42), 'Written to a Frend [in the Lo]we Cuntries' (f. 63), and 'Een Geestelijk Liedeken' (A Spiritual Song, f. 169-169v). These poems touch upon the themes of sexuality and poverty, two issues famously associated with a soldier's experience in the Netherlands. The Netherlands as a whole was well known for being full of prostitutes eager to fulfil the services of the thousands of European soldiers fighting there. John Marston memorably links the two types of 'service' that English

44 Frederick V [Friedrich V], count palatine of the Rhine and elector of the Holy Roman Empire (1596–1632), was born on 26 August 1596 NS, he was the son of Friedrich IV (1574–1610) and Louise Juliana (1576–1644), daughter of William I of Orange (d. 1584) (Asch 'Frederick V' *ODNB*).

soldiers could find themselves engaged in while in the Netherlands in 'Satyre 1: Quedam videntur, et non sunt'; a poem which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Penetrating the bodies of Spaniards and penetrating women are seen by Marston as simultaneously occurring in Dutch military camps. Certainly, this thematic concern is repeated in two of the poems found in the Conway Papers. A poem simply entitled 'Re: Flanders' (BL Add MS 23229, f. 42), records the relations between a Flemish women, her cuckold husband and a Spanish soldier. In this instance, the Flemish wife welcomes the soldier into the marriage bed with her husband. The poem describes how 'a Spanishe soldier' is welcomed into the home of a Flemish couple, 'being ther a gest unto that place' (3-4). However, relations between this couple and the soldier soon grown more intimate as he joins them in their bed thereby making, 'the noomber three' (8). At that moment, the Fleming's wife orders him to 'goe to the sexton of the toune pray him too looke the bill / for hee can speake the Spanish toong and that I know fullwell' (11-12). When her husband returns, seemingly aware that his marriage bed has been soiled, unfortunately the 'spaninard hee was gon' (16). This poem satirises two aspects of Dutch/Flemish culture which were common stereotypes in England. Namely, it satirises the stereotypically believed sexual immorality of Low Countries' women and furthermore, it caricatures the assertion that Low Countries' women cuckolded their husbands. It seems plausible that the proliferation of bawdy verses on the social conduct of Dutch women influenced the xenophobia present in the minds of English travel writers later in the same century. What is most notable is that Conway is an agent of cultural exchange in this respect as a collector and reader of these verses.

Another rhyming verse, entitled 'Written to a frend [in the Lo]we Cuntries' (BL Add MS 23229, f. 63), complains of the constant problem of serious soldier debt, something compounded by the Brill town records and the aforementioned records of poor distribution in the 'Poore Men's Purse' in the English Church register at Brill. With the regular hard-drinking of the English soldiers at Brill and the irregularities of pay many distributions of money are to recover items indebted soldiers have sold to pawn shops. The speaker in the poem is an English soldier and he addresses his poem to another English soldier, resident in Rotterdam. The soldier describes how he has been imprisoned for 'nothinge but a thinge cald debt / or owinge mony and I am afraide / to owe as much more, ere this can be payde' (BL Add MS 23229 f. 63). This soldier appears to have been enjoying the more raucous side of life in the Netherlands rather than engaging in war, as he states that other than his imprisonment, he is 'as merrie here as you at Rotterdam.' However, the speaker describes how to survive as an English soldier in the Netherlands, one must 'trie' their 'patience', and also 'trie' their 'frends', for to adequately life there for 'one can suffer, and the other beare' (f. 63). This implies that English soldiers must rely on broader webs of networks and even patronage to endure. The letter format of this poem and the poet's intended receiver being another soldier posits the idea of an internal literary community among those literate within the English garrisons at the Netherlands.

These verses provide interesting insights into English experiences and impressions of the Low Countries. While they are bawdy and lewd, they also reflect many of the known realities of the English soldier experience while in service there. These verses also show the personal tastes of Edward Conway as a collector of poetry. His interest in material connected to the English in the Low Countries

evinces his keen taste for Anglo-Dutch material, thereby showing the influence of Dutch culture on his literary interests. Comparable letters from Henry Hexham, the soldier-author in the Vere regiment at Brill, to Sir Dudley Carleton also testify to the actual problem of soldier drinking and debt. In one letter, Hexham thanks Carleton for the money sent for a certain 'Mr Haughton', the money Hexham has used to buy Haughton 'a good summers suit', and Hexham also assures Carleton to have 'layd vpon…my best advises and counsell' in the hope that Haughton 'will reforme what is a misse and regayne yo[u]r Lo[rdship's] fauour' (SP 84/89/103). Certainly, it appears that Haughton has been rescued from debtor's prison probably after indulging too much venery in the Brill social scene. Entertainment for both governors and soldiers alike does seem to be a central theme running through much of the records, correspondence and poetry relating to life at Brill, as in another letter to Carleton, Hexham asks for permission to 'entertayne two proper men in their rooms' (SP 84/90 f. 194). The after-effects of too much fun: angry husbands and debtors prison seems to have been a constant feature of the soldier experience in Brill. The importance of figures such as Conway and Carleton to rescue soldiers from downfall points to their influence over the English contingent in the Netherlands as a whole. All of the English soldiers and officers throughout the Netherlands appear to have been in communication with each other.

The most interesting Anglo-Dutch poem in the Conway Papers, is however, 'Een Geestelijk Liedeken' (A Spiritual Song, f. 169-169v), which is a very detailed and sordid map of brothels in The Hague. Amazingly, the poem is able to list the names, locations and bawds of almost eleven brothels operating in The Hague. Some of these names include the 'Kasewaeris' on the Haagse Plein, ''t Geschildert Huys' at the Kerkhof, the 'Sint Jooris'; indicating English frequentation as in English this is

St. George, which can also be argued with regards to the brothel, the 'Roode Cruys', also known as 'Red Cross'.[45]

The poem disseminates advice to the prospective brothel patron unfamiliar with The Hague. 'The Painted House', is where, 'You'll find there plenty whores', however, the 'Saint George' is advised as the place to visit if you want prostitutes who are, 'Quite classy, and with names'.[46] In keeping with the military theme of the poem, 'The Pelican on the Graft', is known for being good value as, 'One can there for a Gallic crown / Go duel in Venus' field, / In Venus's orchard with delight, / In honour bright and virtue right.' Another locale, 'A' th' Spuy,' is described as a place where 'comes a soldier brave', however, patrons are warned to beware of the bawd, Mother Oliver, who will refuse to serve alcohol because, 'She hates us merry men.' It is quite interesting that such a well-known Puritan as Conway should possess this verse as it does exceed the others in lewdness. Information is disseminated about a bawd named, 'Ariaenken', who will 'drop her daughter but a word', presumably into active service with her clients. While customers are warned to stay away from the 'Patmos', because 'There's too much riffraff there,' they are encouraged to frequent the nearby 'Red Cross Inn', where the 'Madam shall herself perhaps / Put her own sluice in play.' After this journey through the nefarious locations of The Hague, the speaker states that, 'Ending is good for a down-and-out-er / who's up to his neck in shit.' This scatological reference allows us to create an image of the prospective

45 'Kasewaeris', is Dutch for cassowary, a type of ostrich. ''t Geschildert Huys' means the painted house.

46 Paul Sellin and Augustus J. Veenendaal, Jr have conducted research into the names of the places and of the bawds in this poem and have discovered very interesting results. In connection to a bawd named, 'Ma Thyssen', in the poem, Sellin and Veenendaal state this is probably the wife of Willemtje Thyssen van Breen, chief supervisor of all fortifications of the Dutch Republic. When her husband died, the widow probably turned her home into a brothel in order to maintain a living. Sellin and Veenendaal have also found evidence of an inn called the Sint Joris on the Nieuwe Turfmarkt in The Hague, this could be the inn alluded to in the poem. This inn was much frequented by military personnel. There are also records also for two other named brothels, the Bell and the Patmos. These were located in a disreputable quarter of the town, also an area known as the Scottish quarter as many Scots in the Army of the States lived there (Sellin and Veenendaal 242).

brothel client not only as a poor, bedraggled soldier but someone who is also 'up to his neck' in the troublesome affairs of trying to stay alive amidst poverty and violence.

This journey around the disreputable areas of The Hague is reminiscent of Ben Jonson's 'On the Famous Voyage', a similar journey around some infamous parts of early modern London, and which mentions some of the more scandalous members of London society, such as the 'Bankside creatures', or local Bankside prostitutes (Jonson 'On the Famous Voyage' l. 30). Both urban journeys are into the netherworld of each city, while Jonson's voyage is by boat, a journey through the early modern The Hague would almost certainly have been conducted by water, canals being the foremost form of early modern urban transport. The similarities between the two poems and the probable influence of English meter and rhythm on Conway's poem, as shown by Sellin and Veenedaal, evince possibilities for a Dutch influence on Jonson's poem. Being a soldier in the Netherlands in his youth, and participator in Anglo-Dutch networks with Vere and Conway, the transmission of this poem or another one of its sort to a wider group of coeterie readers in England seems plausible at very least.[47]

This Dutch poem confirms Conway's familiarity with the language. While the tone is very light-hearted and comedic, the content, as aforementioned, is ribald in the extreme and certainly would not have been appreciated by the graver members of Conway's circle, such as the clerics, William Ames and Thomas Scott, who were patronised by his brother-in-law, Sir Horace Vere. However, the poem does seem to evoke the Anglo-Dutch military experience in the seventeenth century. Another Anglo-Dutch military text, *The Campe Royall* (1625), alludes to similar activities

47 Jonson's links with Sir Edward Conway, and more specifically Sir Horace Vere, will be discussed in the following chapter.

and was written by the English army chaplain, Samuel Bachelor, in an attempt to motivate English soldiers to stay on the path of righteousness. [48] This collection of sermons, dedicated to English 'Countreymen in seruice to the States of the Vnited Prouinces', were devised by Bachiler as a means of ironing out soldiery immorality. English soldiers are commanded to, 'looke to it, that misdemeanour in your warres doe not disadvantage you' (Bachiler A2v).[49] Furthermore, they are ordered to,

> abstaine from drunkenness & surfeiting at feasts & meetings, when the occasions will be more, because of more freedom & plenty of the creatures, and because of the vile provocations through prophane healths, which one or other commonly puts afoote. (Bachiler 19)

These 'creatures' are most certainly the same types of ladies the anonymous author of 'Een Geestelijk Liedeken', lauded about. Certainly, Conway was thoroughly familiar with the topography, sexual and geographical, written about in this poem. It shows Conway to be interested in poems not only about people but also about the places associated with the English experience in the Netherlands.

It is arguable that the poem is Anglo-Dutch in many other ways. Sellin and Veenendaal have found similarities between the rhyming scheme of 'Een Geestelijk Liedeken', and the English 'King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid', and believes that the poem could have been sung to music as the poem's title suggests that it is a parody of a psalm or a church hymn (244-45).[50] Sellin and Veenendaal have also

48 Sir Charles Morgan (1575/6–1643), was a Welsh army officer whose uncle, Thomas Morgan, 'the Warrior' (d. 1595), long served in the Dutch struggle for independence, being among the first English and Welsh volunteers to join the cause in 1572. Charles would follow him into a military career (Furgol 'Sir Charles Morgan' *ODNB*).

49 This text contains a poem by Thomas Scott which will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Scott was patronised by Sir Horace Vere, Conway's brother-in-law, and it can be taken for granted that Scott would not have approved of Conway's ownership of such a 'spiritual' poem.

50 Sellin and Veenendaal note that the first eight lines of the poem duplicate the rhyming scheme a-b-a-b-c-c-c-b arrangement which is present in the song. They also state that there is no Dutch ancestor for the metrical pattern in this poem but first eight lines of King Cophetua has the same rhyming scheme as the Dutch poem and the meters are identical too. The first quatrain of each

pointed out the possible relation between the poem and Dutch painting genres of the bordeeltjes (brothel scenes) and kortegaardjes (figure paintings of soldiers), such as those painted by Gerrit van Honthorst, Dirck Baburen and Johannes Vermeer. Its presence in the Conway Papers points to Conway's interest in and familiarity with informal Dutch poetry. It shows that he collected these documents because he found them amusing and he could relate to the places and the people they depicted. Conway's transport of these poems from the Netherlands to England is an important act of cultural exchange and his ability to understand Dutch testifies to his cultural adeptness in the Netherlands. It is easy to understand why Conway and his family felt such an affinity towards the Netherlands down through the generations as they were very interested in the recording of the English military experience there as well as being aware of how Dutch society operated. It is clear that they held such a deep interest in all facets of Dutch culture.

Conway's participation in Dutch cultural and intellectual institutions is another possible way, although it is unproven, as to how he acquired poetry. A rhetoricians club, *De Vreuchdenbloem* (The Flower of Joy), was in operating in Brill during this period and it seems plausible to suggest that Conway could have attended these meetings even though no evidence to confirm this exists. Although a small city, Brill benefitted from its proximity to both the scholarly circles of Leiden and the aristocratic centre of The Hague. *De Vreuchdenbloem* (The Flower of Joy); which was in existence from 1503 until 1607, when it appears to have dispersed and amalgamated with different strands of chambers of rhetoric in Leiden (van Dixhoorn 147-52). Chambers of rhetoric were usually frequented by the middle classes in

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stanza consists of alternate tetrameter and trimeter lines so that the meter and the rhyme scheme exactly coincide. The final quatrain of line 12 of King Cophetua duplicates this too. It is though the poet had composed his verse to fit an old Dutch rhyme scheme and English melody (Sellin and Veenendaal 244-46).

Dutch society, however, most chambers of rhetoric in the northern Netherlands had some aristocratic members and were often protected by their local lord. While members from elite circles were few, they were continuously represented throughout the history of the chambers of rhetoric, as were intellectuals and government officials (van Dixhoorn 147-52). Although no evidence has been found to confirm Conway's involvement with the rhetoricians, it would have been appropriate for Conway to occupy such a role or at least have some connections with *De Vreuchdenbloem* considering his eminent position within the town. Other members of the English contingent did participate in Dutch cultural movements. The Dutch poet, P.C. Hooft, organised gatherings of Dutch intellectuals and artists in his home in the Muiderslot. This group, known as the Muiden circle, was frequented by Utricia Ogle, the daughter of Sir John Ogle, the English Governor of Utrecht and friend of the Conways (Schenkenveld 16). This point proffers the argument that there was a wider English involvement in Dutch literary networks.

Usually within a town like Brill, rhetoricians (*rederijkers*) would gather to produce, perform and enjoy literature together. They were amateur poets and playwrights from the middle and upper classes and were noted for their collective support of the Protestant movement (Moser 475). The main role of Chambers of Rhetoric in the Netherlands was to copy and disseminate texts, always in manuscript form, with organised literary contents on various moral, social and religious issues. The collections near always reflect the local, social and professional connections of their compilers (Moser 444). However, the chambers were sometimes ridiculed as having their main objective as the consumption of considerable quantities of alcohol (Schenkeveld 18). Conway's collection of poetry reflects the types of poems circulated among the rhetoricians and suggests that he was possibly influenced by

these clubs and the poetry genres they helped to create. In fact, it is plausible that there is a cultural link between these clubs and the poetic drinking clubs discussed by Raylor which were formed in London by Dutch war veterans. One such group was described as 'som Holland blades' (Raylor 66). If there is a link between these clubs, Conway and the rhetoricians, it proves Conway to be a very important Anglo-Dutch cultural agent in the seventeenth century. Another interesting fact which corroborates this argument is the fact that Conway's son, the second Viscount Conway was a patron of these poetic military clubs in London later in the seventeenth century (Raylor 20). Conway's son is described by Clarendon as being 'born a soldier, in his father's garrison of the Brill when he was governor there and bred up under the particular care of Lord Vere' (Raylor 95). As mentioned earlier, Conway's other son, Thomas could speak Dutch fluently so therefore Edward probably could too and growing up as a soldier in Brill, he would have certainly observed if not participated in Chambers of Rhetoric in operation there. On the whole, these links suggest a wider movement of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange, especially the English soldier's exposure to and adopting of Dutch literary culture. Rhetoricians' competitions were public affairs and would have been well known to everybody. Unfortunately, *Den Vreuchdenbloem* is one of the most mysterious rhetoricians' societies of the early modern Netherlands. Very little information, almost none in fact, survives to illuminate who their membership was and to begin searching for material associated with them is beyond the scope of this study. Considering their existence in the town is co-terminus with the presence of Conway and the close relationship between Conway and the town council, it seems plausible that he did partake in their gatherings.

Conway was a central figure of cultural influence in the garrison and in the city itself. Through his connections to the Vere family, Conway had affiliations with the Protestant militant faction of the court and this appears to have been an influential factor in his dissemination of patronage. Conway's role as patron and facilitator of cultural exchange is particularly evident in respect of the soldier, translator and author, Henry Hexham, an inhabitant of the Brill garrison and close associate of Conway and both of the Vere brothers. Hexham wrote and translated militant Protestant and, sometimes, polemical texts, in addition to some hack writing and translating for the wider public market in his later career. Conway's interest in and collection of Anglo-Dutch poetry, pamphlets, discourses and books demonstrates, however, that his interest in Dutch culture went beyond militant Protestantism. Therefore, it can be surmised that Conway disseminated patronage out of a combination of duty and interest.

Edward Conway did not possess official power in the seventeenth century Brill, instead the town, as well as the country, was controlled by the merchant middle classes. Throughout the Netherlands in this period, the population had rejected the notion of absolute monarchy and the Catholic religion almost simultaneously. In this new republican world, control began to be distributed amongst nouveau riche Dutch citizens, known as burghers, who controlled town councils in conjunction with the members of the old knighthood of the Dutch provinces, the *ridderschap*. Collectively these councils coalesced to form the States-General or official assembly of Holland. This system of governance was dramatically different to the monarchical government and rigid social system practised in England, where men of established noble families jostled to secure any mere position of power. Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Elizabeth I's Governor-General of the Dutch States was particularly

affronted by this. Leicester despised what he thought of as upstart merchants, brewers and shopkeepers who presumed to control the state (Israel 222). Leicester's failure to secure power in the Dutch Republic meant that the English presence in the Netherlands, not one of control, but rather of diplomacy, culture, compromise and integration. This can be especially seen through the patronage of Sir Edward Conway. In this context, it is plausible that the cautionary towns were used as external zones of promotion and advancement for the lesser members of English society; an area of proximity both geographically and culturally to the England, but also still removed from constricted hotbed of burning ambition that impeded rapid social elevation in the English court.

Sir Edward Conway's career developed through the decades, eventually culminating in his appointment as Secretary of State in 1623; due to the patronage of George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham. Conway was both a seeker and purveyor of patronage during his lifetime which is to be expected considering that patronage was one of the dominant social processes of pre-industrial Europe (Gundersheimer 3). In fact, patron-client relationships in all spheres of early modern society can be taken for granted. This was the way Conway achieved success and positions in public offices and at court. From studying the Conway Papers, it is apparent that Conway not only sought patronage but also distributed it to men on the make. Conway was intensely engrossed in all types of cultural matters but especially in literature; classical, modern and popular. His papers reveal gigantic book inventories, newspapers, collections of poetry, pamphlets, dialogues and libels; in a variety of languages including English, Dutch, German, French and Latin. Conway was also a prolific letter writer, both in professional and personal contexts. Conway was a cultured man and a man of influence, particularly over Brill. He formed many

diverse relationships in the Netherlands and became deeply embedded in the community at Brill.[51]

Conway was indeed an influential political but also cultural figure in the garrison and town of Brill and his other zone of networking, The Hague, brought him into contact with even more influential figures participating in wider webs of patronage than that which were operating in Brill. Most of the soldiers resident at Brill originated from humble backgrounds and it is clear that some of them used the possibilities ceded to them by patronage to make connections with more powerful and influential members of Jacobean society; thereby socially advancing themselves. The system of patronage at Brill also resulted in the development of the fruit of cultural exchange, leading to the publication of several texts by the soldier, author and translator, Henry Hexham. Hexham wrote and translated texts on military, religious, polemical and linguistic issues. After English withdrawal from the cautionary towns, he worked as a hack-writer while eventually taking on translations of important works, such as the first English translation of Mercator's *Atlas* (1636). His legacy can be viewed partially as an Anglo-Dutch literary contribution to the Protestant movement and also, in his later years, as a cultural flowering of the Anglo-Dutch military relationship which had occurred in Brill.

It appears that Conway and his cohorts were actively exploiting the cultural agency afforded to them by their location in the Netherlands. Being in the Netherlands meant that young English men could be trained in the military arts and

51 For example, in one letter to Dudley Carleton, Conway pleads for assistance in securing a new husband and financial stability for an unnamed widow. She is described as the wife of a former 'working subieck of his Majestys and soldier' in the States Army; the widow once 'younge and lovely..[now] owlde and so decayed'. Conway hopes that 'this owlde image may be gilded over by the sanittes liberally wich I humbly beseech you to endevore, as a juste thing for her' (SP84/88 f. 146-146v). This example alone shows Conway in an act of patronage, assisting the wife of a former soldier who performed worthy service in the city under his command.

also provided them with access to the pan-Protestant networks and cultural diplomacy deemed necessary to ensure England's supremacy in European politics. In that sense, the cautionary towns and especially the town of Brill must be viewed as an area of external control and a proximal zone of peripheral patronage in English society. Acts of patronage allowed Brill to be a zone of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange, participating in networks in both England and the Netherlands. The Jacobean court held strong links to the town through the influence of Conway and Conway's patronage, friendships and interest in Dutch culture were transmitted to England. This system offered Conway, the 'tangible gift of gratuities', through the publication of their cogent pamphlets, translations, plays and poetry (thereby advancing their secret agenda and associating their names with this movement); while also offering powerful men such as Conway 'the intangible gift of prestige', thereby enhancing his influence and status (Levy Peck 30). For example, Hexham was awarded military advancement while also maintaining an additional career as a published author with powerful patrons. This model of patronage does not appear to be unusual. Up until the 1620s, many privy councillors maintained their own patronage networks, building up clients in the regions under their influence (Levy Peck 31). It appears that in Brill, Conway demonstrated his power through the construction of his own network of patronage built upon the a desire to return to the Elizabethan militarism of the previous reign, an aspiration to move towards a more Calvinist and ultimate Puritan approach to religion and finally to increase his own prestige and power, something he appeared to have thought would be awarded with powerful offices by the young Prince Henry when he acceded to the English throne.

In the early seventeenth century, many courtiers were disappointed by the pacific policies of James Stuart. They feared that Catholic toleration was increasing

at an alarming rate and many wished for a return to the Elizabethan militarism of the previous reign. In the last few years of his short life Henry, Prince of Wales was rapidly acquiring a reputation for aggressive militarism. By 1607, Prince Henry had become a symbolic focus for the aspirations of militant Protestantism and was celebrated in poetry, masque, portraiture, and pamphlets as a future scourge of England's continental enemies (Wells 395). Images circulated of the young Henry in military training and he maintained contact with many famous soldiers and military figures, such as Conway and Horace Vere.

As such, a cult of chivalry grew around Henry and he both promoted and aspired to its values of gallantry and heroism (Murray 6). The Prince's official entry into this romanticised and ritualised martial world came on 31 December 1609, when under the guise of Moeliades, Lord of the Isles, Henry issued a challenge to all the knights of 'greate Brittayne' (cited in Murray 6). The terms of his challenge provide a valuable insight into his chivalric concerns: 'First: That noe garment beseemeth a knight soe well, as that w(hi)ch is soyled with the rust of Armour' (cited in Murray 6). Traces of the strong masculine, martial persona which would develop around the Prince are evident as early as the lavish celebrations surrounding his baptism at Stirling Castle and point to his father's complicity in its creation (Murray 6). The problem lay in Henry's rapid emergence as the champion of a vigorous war party, intent upon restoring England to the halcyon days of Elizabeth I, and as such, the Prince's person and persona were increasingly becoming a focus for opposition (Badenhausen 22).

The cult of Prince Henry was disapproved of by his father. In 1608, Prince Henry's courtiers wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Arguments for Warre*. Disturbed by this, James had his own courtiers compose another pamphlet warning of the dangers of

the military cult which had developed around his son. Conway and the majority of the English military in the Netherlands were strongly associated with this cult and with Elizabethan nostalgia, however, their movement was not appreciated in England. Evidence suggests that Edward Conway used his links with Prince Henry to ensure continuation of the English presence in Brill. Suspected plans to return the towns to the Dutch, motivated Conway to turn to Prince Henry. In letters from 1611 and 1612, Conway petitions the young prince and motivates him to return to quasi-Elizabethan militarism. Conway declares how,

> it is a most necessary wisdom to keep power and credit here. Power is by the nation continued in the pay of the States and by the cautionary towns: Credit by an honourable reputation of virtue and affection, and ability to aid and favour them. (Birch 497)

Conway views the cautionary towns as areas of English cultural power which affiliate the English to European militant Protestantism. Conway stresses the secular rather than the militant reasons why power should be maintained in the cautionary towns. It is clear that Conway saw the Netherlands as the place where the old Elizabethan regime could be restored and reinstalled, once again, in England. Conway reflects on this when, in one of his letters directed to Prince Henry, he asks,

> what is a sum of money, where other circumstances concur not? A crown a province, that would extend dominion, or open a passage to extension, or were a bulwark of defence. (Conway to Prince Henry, 16 May 1612, from Brill, in Birch 511-512)

Conway views Brill as a ‘passage to extension’, thereby extending England both symbolically and geographically into Europe. The place has symbolic meaning for Conway and the particular factor that he connects this meaning to is an unnamed

'league and alliance' which is fighting against Spain (Birch 484). Conway feels that England is connected to the pan-Protestant alliance through locations like Brill. This was obviously a tenuous issue for Conway as he was also present together with the Dutch diplomats Aernout van Citters and Geurt van Beuringen at Westminister in November 1611 lobbying for continued assistance in the war effort in the Netherlands (KB 73 C36 f. 80; f. 95v).

At the same time, Sir Horace Vere also kept regular correspondence with Prince Henry through Adam Newton, secretary to the Prince. Letters between Vere and Newton, dating from 1610-1612 are now housed in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB) at The Hague. These letters mainly recount European military engagements in the years 1610-1612 and inform the Prince on future martial plans. Vere is clearly a supporter of the young Prince, promising to send more letters once he is 'better inabled to let you know what passess whereof' (KB 72 D32 f. 4) and dedicating 'with all humilitie present my umblest service to our most excellent master' (KB 72 D32 f. 4B). Vere also carries out orders on behalf of the Prince, noting how he has, 'receaved from y[o]u his hyghnes recommendation of me[n] more in genirall tearmes to give him respectible usadge wherein if I fayle I am mutch to blame' (KB 134C f. 18B). Prince Henry is obviously sending lists of men he wants to have employed in high-ranking military service in the Netherlands. Vere explains how,

> there is latlie dead a Capt[ain] of my Redgment hee beinge then att the Brill…Now my request to y[o]u is that att y[ou]r next leasure y[o]u wilbe pleased to informe me how I shall governe myself in the behalf of this gent[leman] as anie place shall becum voyde, I have don my best to make him knowen to the princypall persons that governe here, sum experience I have of there unwillingnes to admitt

> of anie that have not served them sum tyme into anie place and I shall loose mutch of there good opinion if I presse them…I doubt of my owne power when the opportunitie shall be offered. (KB 134 C f. 18B)

Here, Prince Henry tries to utilise Vere's position in the Netherlands to patronise his own band of supporters, albeit unsuccessfully. It shows that Vere was working within a group of men allied with Prince Henry and his ambitions. Conway was also a supporter and clearly held these same convictions later on in the 1620s through his involvement with the patriot coalition. Conway's ownership of two elegies on the death of Prince Henry also affirms his adherence to the young prince's planned returned to Elizabethen Protestant militancy.[52] These men are not only the military superiors of Hexham, he would have reported directly to both; but they are also his regular dedicatees and those he sought patronage from.

With official English disapproval and dislike of Elizabethan militant Protestantism, it appears that Conway used Brill as a zone outside of England where chivalry and militant Protestantism could be taught and cultivated among young English gentlemen. What allowed this system to work was the purveyance and distribution of patronage from the militant Protestant faction of the Jacobean court, to which Conway was firmly aligned. This system will be discussed further in the following section.

1.6. The Return to Elizabethan Militarism in Brill and England's '*Tyrocinium Fori'*.

52 These Prince Henry elegies are 'Weepe, weepe even mankind weepe so much is dead' by Walter Aston and 'First let me aske my self why would I try' by Henry Goodyer (SP 14/71 f. 49A; SP 14/71 f. 49B).

Conway and his colleagues had clear plans and goals regarding their time and use of power in the Netherlands. The majority of the English military in the Netherlands, such as Sir Horace Vere, Sir Robert Sidney and Sir Charles Morgan, were associated with strong militant Protestantism. It is evident that these men, and specifically Conway, used their time in the Netherlands productively as part of a wider movement to end Catholic domination in Europe. The creation and dissemination of military literature, in addition to securing the patronage of Prince Henry hints that Conway and his milieu were was of the 'patriot coalition' that sought to continue the Protestant militancy of the Elizabethan reign (Cogswell 85). The ultimate aim of this group was to overthrow Spain through a Protestant alliance throughout Europe. Conway alludes to this when he states to Prince Henry that,

> Believe it, Sir, the Spaniard, though a sleepy King, hath great designs; and the only way to break them indeed is the unity of these Provinces, and the preservation of his Majesty's interest in them; the firm alliance of those of the religion in Germany, and the maintenance of those of the religion in France with good intelligence with them…Brill, this 8th of April, 1612, old stile. (Birch 509-510)

At the moment when the cautionary towns were about to be returned to the Dutch, John Coke, wrote a tract declaring his opposition to this development, entitled, 'Against rend[e]ring of the two Cautionarie Towns Vlishing, and Brielle' (April 14, 1616).[53] In this text, Coke views the towns of Flushing and Brill, specifically, both as areas of important diplomacy and English control in the Netherlands. Coke views these towns as,

53 Sir John Coke (1563-1644), was an English politician who in 1616 was serving as an assistant to Sir Fulke Greville, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and first cousin to Sir Edward Conway (Young 'Sir John Coke' *ODNB*).

> all the Interest wee haue in the maine so as when they are rendred all Nations will esteeme us as the Romans did, Penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos [Britain forever divided from the World] and wee shall loose in a manner, the commerce, intelligence and acquaintance of the World. (SP 84/72 f 105)

Similarly to Conway, Coke views the cautionary towns as the zones which link England to the rest of the world which ensure the growth of the English economy, intellectualism and places that affirm England's place in the war against Catholicism. In this way, England was connected to religious and intellectual movements in Europe and further afield, thereby circumventing the lonely island status reference to by Coke. Coke's revealing 'discussion paper', provides very pertinent information when analysing the role of patronage in Brill, thereby securing the cautionary towns to the English court and advancing a Protestant militant agenda. Coke's argument touches on several military, social, economic and political reasons before finally explaining how,

> These Garrisons are Nurseries of Soldiers, where young Gentlemen, and Others, that seek advancem[ent] by their Countries service, make their tyrocinium under their own Princes command, which they neither will nor can so lawfully and safely do under doubtfull Allies. (SP 84/72 f. 105)

This reference to a *'tyrocinium'* refers to the usage of the cautionary towns as military training grounds for English youths; a type of military training school, similar to the aforementioned *schola militaris,* or military academy, opened by Johan van Nassau in 1616 at Siegen for the sons of the aristocracy (Israel 270). Coke's argument that 'young Gentlemen' who 'seek advancem[ent]' is an interesting

disclosure as to the social capabilities created through service in the Netherlands, namely through patronage. It is an obvious statement revealing the possibilities for patronage and social elevation through contact with English peers and the opportunities available in these locations. Though, what thoroughly enhances the meaning of this sentence is Coke's inclusion of the word *tyrocinium* thereafter; a word which connects the English mission in the Netherlands to a tradition of European patronage emanating from the classical past. It also evinces which classical works Coke was reading and translating for his patron, Greville. [54] Brill was more than a symbolic place for Coke and Greville, it was an ideological place where 'proper' young men could be grown and cultivated in the militant Protestant political and cultural atmosphere of the Brill 'nursery' and then replanted back into England in a bid to redevelop militant Protestantism in England once more.[55]

The *tyrocinium* is a Roman tradition whereby a young man enters a period of apprenticeship and is used both in terms of the military and political spheres. It is described by Tacitus in an edition by Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana* (1595), a work which is present in the Conway book collection at Brill (SP 14/57 f. 114B). Tacitus describes the tyrocinium (or tirocinium) as a type of 'military promotion…for young men of the highest families and a stepping stone to the quaestorship and senate' (Fumeaux 124). While almost always involving the

54 Greville, a first cousin to Sir Edward Conway, was also part of the Leicester circle through his friendship with Sir Philip Sidney and strong familial ties to the Dudley family (Gouws 'Fulke Greville' *ODNB*). Greville clearly exhibited this in his affiliation with the radical Protestant faction of Sidney's uncle, Leicester; the shamed former Governor-General of the Netherlands. Greville could also possibly be a member of what was to become the patriot coalition, as he strove to mould the young Prince Henry by emulating his friend and hero, Sir Philip Sidney, through the writing of *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney* (Gouws 'Fulke Greville' *ODNB*)

55 Coke states that 'These reasons were collected by mee at the [in]sistance of Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer 1616'.55 An undated letter from the Earl of Essex to Greville perhaps sheds more light on this matter. In it, Essex addresses his 'Cosin Foulke' and states how Greville has previously told him he is 'going to Cambridge and that the Ends of yor going are, to get a Scholar to yor liking, to liue wth you, and some 2, or 3 others to remain in the Uniuersitie, and gather for you' (Footnoted in Jardine and Grafton 35). It is plausible that Coke was one of these young scholars he did encounter in Cambridge (Coke was a student there at the time) and that Coke later served as a reader and interpreter of classical texts for his patron.

introduction of a young male to military combat, the tradition itself was closely modelled on the Greek *symposion*; a tradition where young men of noble families were encouraged to socialise with each other and seek out patronage. Interestingly, the poetic clubs previously discussed in relation Raylor's seminal study were also mimicked on the Greek symposium in order to contain excessive competition between rival members and to strengthen bonds of loyalty between them (Raylor 71). This furthers the previous argument these poetic societies were based on ones in the Netherlands. In the Roman tradition, the process was named the *tyrocinium fori*, and it involved a period of apprenticeship and the donning of *toga virilis* 'toga of manhood' (Culpepper-Stroup 141). Upper class young boys were then transferred from the tutelage of one adult male guardian (usually father) to another (usually a family friend/colleague). One example could be Conway's sons, Edward and Thomas, who were taken under the wing of their uncle, Sir Horace Vere. Another example could be Henry Hexham, the son of an English Lieutenant in the Netherlands and who went into the service of Francis Vere in his early teens. Thereby, the tyrocinium assisted the elite social order by introducing young apprentices to political life and by extension a forensic career under the protection of a learned and beneficent elder (Culpepper-Stroup 141). In this way, youths were able to achieve proper training and enjoy a safe entry into the dangerous world of republican politics. The *tyrocinium* also served to establish and solidify homosocial bonds between adult males who were almost always members of the patronal classes and was a carefully crafted act of social display and a social debut of men where the youth was presented as 'the hottest new star' in theatre of political operations (Culpepper-Stroup 141-42).

This understanding of cautionary towns like Brill as schools and training camps is also referred to in the aforementioned collection of sermons by Samuel Bachelor, *The Campe Royall* (1625). Within this collection, a poem by the preacher and polemicist, Thomas Scott, summarises the *tyrocinium* of Brill quite succinctly. Scott recreates the imagery of the learning and training ground of the *tyrocinium* when he describes how:

> The Campe's a Schole, where th'understanding part
> Improuement makes, in everie Liberall art.
> Where practise perfects, what in bookes we learne;
> And Dullards from the pregnant doth discerne. (Scott 1-4)

Similarly to Scott's description, the *tyrocinium* of Brill was a place where young men were schooled, both to be competent soldiers and to be intellectually schooled in the tenets of international, militant Protestantism. Scott, a minster to the English army in the Netherlands, informs the reader that the exposure of English soldiers to 'bookes' in the Netherlands is just as important as their military training. These men are being prepared for a cultural and literary war against Catholicism.

The *tyrocinium* taught young English men how to fight and also acted as a cog in the wheel of the pro-militant English Protestant machine. Its operation seems to have intensified as the reign of James Stuart progressed. As an external zone of influence, it seems apparent that Conway and other English nobles in the Netherlands used the *tyrocinium* as a place the ideology of militant Protestantism could be continued.

The *tyrocinium* in Brill was utilised to further this ideology in many ways: culturally, socially, militarily and politically. With regards to the cultural aspect, English soldiers in Brill were used as readers and translators of Dutch and French

military texts and this is seen through the example of the soldier, Henry Hexham. It has been shown that Coke's usage of the term *tyrocinium* allows for a close understanding of what he was reading; texts describing Roman military strategies, tactics and forms of patronage. These were also texts that Conway was reading as evinced from the aforementioned books by Lipsius and Tactitus in his 'Books at Brill' (SP 14/57 f. 114B). It was extremely popular in this period to read, especially Roman history, in a way directly applicable to contemporary affairs of state; this was a society that tended to look to the past for solutions to present problems (Jardine and Grafton 56; Levy Peck 35). Military devices were imitated and implemented and many other high ranking members of the English court employed university men in order to interpret, annotate and advise on these texts (Jardine and Grafton 56-74). Levy Peck also agrees that Renaissance historiography created a new role for the antiquary and scholar as government advisors. Advisors provided historical underpinnings for speeches and position papers (Levy Peck 35).

In Brill, the *tyrocinium* meant that Henry Hexham's linguistic skills were exploited to further a militant Protestant ideology as he translated many governmental and evangelical texts. Henry Hexham was born sometime around the year 1585 in Holland, Lincolnshire.[56] The name of his birthplace is quite apt considering it was in Holland that he spent the rest of his life. He was probably the son of Edward Hexham who served ten years in the Netherlands as an ensign and accompanied the English expedition to Cadiz in 1596 with the rank of lieutenant. Hexham would rise up to become Captain and then Quartermaster in the English

56 Hexham's mother, or a sister of his father, was a sister of Jerome Heydon, merchant, of London, who was probably related to the soldier, Sir Christopher Heydon (Pollard 'Henry Hexham' *ODNB*). The cousin, John Heydon, to whom Hexham dedicates his Appendix of Lawes, seems to be Sir John Heydon (d. 1653), Sir Christopher's son. Further support for the connection exists in the fact that Sir Christopher's daughter, Frances, married Philip Vincent, who wrote the commendatory verses prefixed to Hexham's translation of Gerardus Mercator's Atlas (Pollard 'Henry Hexham' *ODNB*).

regiment and in his retirement was a member of the English Presbyterian congregation at Delft (Osselton 32). Hexham eventually settled in Delft, where he recorded (as Heijndrick Hexham) there as a witness with his wife Anna, to the marriages of his daughters Margareta in 1634 and Christijna in 1643; another possible daughter, Elisabeth Hexham, is recorded as a witness to a baptism in Delft in 1640.[57] Anna Hexham stands alone as a baptismal godparent in 1668 which shows that Hexham had died by that stage (Archiefnummer 14, inv. 58, f. 96v). There is also a record pertaining to a Daniel Hexham in the British National Archives who was either Henry Hexham's son or brother, especially considering from the letter that he was resident in The Hague and moving in English and Dutch aristocratic circles and in the entourage of William of Orange.[58] Hexham's life alone stands as an example of the cross-cultural assimilation and long-standing connections which developed due to the English at Brill.

As a boy, Hexham was Sir Francis Vere's page and saw action at the siege of Ostend in 1601-2. Nearly forty years later he recalls how at the height of the siege, Sir Francis Vere went to sleep and while Hexham was calling to a servant for a clean shirt, a canon-ball shot through the bedstead and shot the servant and the shirt 'to pash'. 'Was not this', he asks, 'a narrow escape?' (*Third Part* 28-9; Osselton 35). In another dedication, he describes how he went through 'many hott services in this land [Holland]' and describes how God 'hath preserved me the space of two and fortie yeares through many dangers…yet he hath not given the Ennemy so much

57 Hexham and his wife are also listed as witnesses at the baptisms of three other children: a granddaughter Christijna Sturum in 1645, and two grandsons Floris and Johannes born in 1652 and1654 respectively (there mother is listed as 'Margrieta' probably Margreta Hexham; it appears she embarked on a second marriage to Johannes van Oudendijck). These are all found in the Delft town archives (Archiefnummer 14, inv. 21, f. 35; Archiefnummer 14, inv. 125, f. 118; Archiefnummer 14, inv. 9, f. 43).

58 The letter in question is from Daniel Hexham to Sir John Manwood, dated December 24 1639 and describes how he landed at Brill and made his way to The Hague from there together with the Prince of Orange (SP 84/155 f. 268).

power as to draw one drop of bloode from mee' (*Appendix* 1). No doubt Hexham felt this was divine protection from God to ensure completion of his mission to further the movement of militant Protestantism. Hexham seems to have served with Sir Francis until Vere's return to England in 1606, whereupon he remained in the Netherlands under the command of Sir Horace Vere and Sir Edward Conway in Brill.[59] Hexham was more than an acquaintance of Prince Maurice of Nassau and his brother, Frederick Henry, dedicating his weapons manual, *The Arts Militarie*, to the former.

Hexham's work can be divided into six different categories which are: religious and evangelical Anglo-Dutch translations, military histories and diplomatic reports, English translations of Dutch and French military tactics and advice, the composition of English polemical texts, hack writing and the creation and translation of important cultural texts. In 1610, Hexham began his journey as a writer and translator with his translation of a Dutch Protestant religious work entitled *The Refutation of an Epistle,* by Dutch theologian and Hexham's 'gunstighen vriend' (favourite friend), Johannes Polyander (Hexham *Historien* A). There was clearly a deep friendship existed between the two. Hexham dedicated the work to Sir Horace Vere and it contained an 'epistle to the Christian reader' by John Burgess, Vere's chaplain and minister to the English at The Hague.[60] Burges describes in his prefix how he,

59 Hexham acted as quartermaster to Vere's regiment at the relief of Breda in 1625. By October the same year he had obtained the rank of captain. He also acted as quartermaster under Vere during the siege of Bois-le-Duc ('s-Hertogenbosch) in 1629, at the capture of Venloo, Roermond, and Strale, and at the siege of Maastricht in 1631–2. After Vere's death he became quartermaster to the regiment of George (afterwards Baron) Goring, with whom he served at the siege of Breda in 1637 (Pollard 'Henry Hexham' *ODNB*).

60 After protracted arguments with King James and religious officials over the wearing of the surplice, John Burges left England in the spring of 1611 for Leiden University in the United Provinces, where on 20 April he matriculated in the philosophy faculty. One of his daughters married William Ames, a fellow minister in exile and chaplain to Sir Horace Vere (Allen 'John Burges' *ODNB*).

> encouraged the translator…to publish the same in our language, into which hee had…turned it out of French, that our countrey-men might see, how the Ministers of other Churches are assaulted, and do make their iust defence with the same weapons with which our owne. (Polyander *Refutation* A3)

Burges states that Hexham was patronised to translate in order to provide justification in England for military action against the enemies of Protestantism in the Netherlands.[61] This fits into the argument of this chapter that Conway and Vere patronised Hexham to use his linguistic skills in order to further the aims of European Protestantism. Hexham's undertaking in 1611 of a Dutch translation of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and translations of two more evangelical Protestant texts confirm that Hexham's motives for translating were connected to international Protestantism. These two other translations were a Dutch translation of Thomas Tuke's *The Highway to Heaven*, (*De Coninckclicke wech tot den hemel*), which was dedicated to Sir Edward Conway and another English translation of Polyander, entitled *A Disputation Against the Adoration of the Reliques of Saints*, which Hexham dedicated to Sir Horace Vere's wife, Mary. Hexham undertook the additional Polyander translation, 'so that the grave men of our nation may see that the ministers of other reformed churches marches with them unto the Lords combate', and he hoped that even those infected with the 'deadly contagion' of Catholicism would read it (Polyander *Disputation* A3–4). Hexham's intent that the Dutch militant church would 'march' together with the English strongly alludes to the militant intentions born by the English Protestants who patronised him in the

61 Hexham's patronisation as a translator is again referred to in the late 1630s, when through the machinations of Ambassador Boswell, Hexham became employed in translating for Bishop Laud. In 1638, Laud sent copies of his printed Star Chamber speech, translated by Hexham as, Een Oratie in de Ster-Camer (Sprunger, K. *Trumpets* 175). Therefore, it is quite clear that Hexham had a long-standing history of being a translator and reader for the English military in the Netherlands.

Netherlands. Hexham was still in the Netherlands some twelve years later when his religious motivation in fighting for the Dutch was further confirmed by his, *A tongue combat lately happening between two English souldiers … the one going to serve the king of Spain, the other to serve the states generall* (1623), which he was prompted to write after reading a pamphlet by Richard Verstegan, also entitled *A Tongue Combat* (1623), meaning a war of words, disparaging the policies of Elizabeth I and James I and 'the truth of the reformed religion wherein I was educated' (Hexham *Tongue* A2).[62] This text is militantly Protestant and justifies the Dutch fight against perceived Catholic tyranny while severely critiquing the involvement of English soldiers fighting as part of the Spanish regiments under Baron Edward Vaux.[63]

Throughout the seventeenth century, Hexham also composed many histories of the Dutch battles he took part in, such as *A Historicall Relation of the Famous Siege of the Busse and the Surprising of Wesell* (1630) and *A iournall, of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale, the memorable seige of Mastricht* (1633); these texts provide an important historical foundation for the understanding of many military assaults which occurred during the Eighty Years' War.

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62 There is some confusion over whether this pamphlet was written by Hexham or Thomas Scott. One argument put forward is that the writers worked in collaboration as they were part of the same religious, literary and military network in the Netherlands (footnoted in Ewing 48). Hexham and Scott are also stated as the authors of another polemically militant Protestant text, *A True Soldier's Counsel* (1624).

63 Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux of Harrowden (1588–1661), was a member of a family with fervent Roman Catholic devotion and strong links to the Low Countries. From 1598 his mother, Elizabeth Roper, sheltered the Jesuit priest John Gerard there, and mother and son were both suspected of being implicated in the Gunpowder Plot (Woudhuysen 'Edward Vaux' *ODNB*). While his aunt, Mary Lovel (née Jane Roper) founded an English Carmelite convent in Antwerp and many of his cousins entered as nuns in other English convents in the Low Countries. After spending a period imprisoned for his refusal to take the Oath of Allegiance, in 1622 Edward Vaux was licensed to raise a regiment of English Catholics for the Spanish service, but at the Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, he was dismayed to find his regiment facing English Protestant troops despite Spanish promises to the contrary and many of his men deserted rather than engage their fellow-countrymen, something which Hexham alludes to in his Tongue Combat (Manning 75). In served the Spanish in Flanders from 1622–1624, and, after a search of his house at Boughton for arms, was again committed to the Fleet for a short period in November 1625. During the civil war, in which he seems not to have taken an active part, his recusancy resulted in the confiscation of his estates (Woudhuysen 'Edward Vaux' *ODNB*).

In the 1630s, Hexham expanded his writing into military texts and intellectual texts. Hexham also translated texts which he perhaps thought would sell well or which he was just perhaps interested in, such as his Dutch translation of John Taylor's, known as the Water Poet, life of the centenarian, Thomas Parr (*Beschrijvinge van den Ouden, Ouden, Heel Ouden Man: Ofte den Ouderdom ende 't leven van Thomas Parr*, 1635), who was brought to London in 1635 at the alleged age of 152. This humorous verse-biography was one of Taylor's most successful pieces and Hexham's decision to translate it represents an important act of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange. In 1636, Hexham arguably made his most important contribution to Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange with the English translation of Mercator's *Atlas* which remains the standard edition of Mercator to this day (Pollard 'Henry Hexham' *ODNB*); an act in itself which is an important Anglo-Dutch cultural and literary exchange. The translation contained additions by Jodocus Hondius and Hexham also made additions of his own, and was further assisted by Hondius's son, Henry. In 1637 Hexham contributed significantly to the theory of the art of war, by publishing the *Principles of the Art Militarie Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands* (1637), a work similar to the Dutch military tactician, Jacob de Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinge* (1607). Another important military work Hexham undertook was the translation of Samuel Marolais, as *The Art of Fortification* (1638).

In 1639, Hexham translated into Dutch the teachings (of the English bishop and religious writer, Joseph Hall (*Sekere on Weder: Leggelijcke Propositien door Joseph Hall*), a cleric with links to the cult of Prince Henry and radical militant Protestants.[64] In 1643, Hexham translated the Dutch rules on warfare as, *An*

64 Joseph Hall (1574–1656), was Bishop of Norwich, a religious writer and a satirist. In 1607, Hall was appointed chaplain to the court of Prince Henry and continued to serve in that capacity until the Prince's death in 1612, preaching the farewell sermon on the dissolution of the royal household on New Year's Day 1613. In 1618 he was chosen as one of the English delegates to the

Appendix of Lawes, Articles, and Ordinances, a work he undertook because of the pillage of the English civil war, hoping that by copying the Dutch example that the wanton violence could be curtailed. In 1647, Hexham undertook another work of immense cultural significance, which was his compilation of the first English/Dutch dictionary, entitled, *A copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie* and this was followed by a Dutch/English dictionary, *Het groot woordenboeck, gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende in 't Engelsch*, in 1648. The majority of texts that Hexham chose to write and translate clearly pursue the twin themes of evangelical Protestantism and militancy, two issues closely associated with the pan Protestant alliance. Hexham's texts appear to have been carefully chosen by him and also by others in the furtherance of these agendas. These texts therefore represent not only important Anglo-Dutch cultural contributions but also serve as important cultural and literary weapons against Catholicism.

Another important act of cultural exchange that Hexham was employed in was the act of collecting, reading and translating texts for English military officials in the Netherlands. Hexham served as a reader and translator of Dutch and French material for the English diplomat, Sir Henry Vane. In the preface to his 1631 translation from French of Samuel Marolais' *The Art of Fortification,* Hexham declares himself to have been a reader for Vane during his time in The Hague.[65] In this dedication to Vane, Hexham states how,

> when your honor was last here in the Netherlands….it pleased your honor, to employ your servant in collecting and abbreviating some

Synod of Dort at which, despite renewed attacks of serious illness, he delivered a Latin sermon. He was eventually forced to retire to The Hague in order to receive medical attention in the house of the English ambassador, Dudley Carleton. Upon his departure from the Netherlands he was awarded the 'rich Medall of Gold' displaying 'the portraicture of the Synod' which is now held at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (McCable 'Joseph Hall' *ODNB*).

65 Sir Henry Vane (1589–1655), was an English administrator and diplomat who served in a diplomatic fashion in the Netherlands from 1626 (Smuts 'Sir Henry Vane' *ODNB*).

> militarie abstracts. Since which time, in regard to my longe service, I haue gained more experience, and studied my profession somewhat better. (Marolais *Fortifications* 'Epistle' n. pag.).

This process of collecting, reading, translating and abbreviating Dutch and French literature is an important act of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange facilitated by Hexham. It is possible that Hexham also collected and abbreviated material for Conway. This practice of 'goal directed reading', the attainment of ideas and their realisation in the political arena would have certainly been something that a proactive man like Conway would have been interested in (Jardine and Grafton 35). Conway's location in the Netherlands allowed him contact with a wider range of texts and Hexham's translating skills unlocked the meanings of these works.

Conway's English, French and Latin collection of military tracts, fortification and marshal discipline texts are all very similar to the material that Hexham chose to translate. It is possible that Hexham translated material which was chosen by his superiors to be disseminated to a receptive public in England and the Netherlands in a bid to turn their reading into an active process. The receptiveness of the public, the interest of politicians and scholars, the mediation of 'facilitators' with an orientation towards turning ideas into action and intellectual factors which merge with the very practical considerations of foreign policy affect the drift of the ideological mainstream (Ferraro-Parmelee 51). Facilitators, like Conway, were interested in disseminating texts on militant Protestantism to the English public through the 'conduit' of Hexham. This is not surprising considering that Jardine and Grafton have shown that early modern readers actively reinterpreted their texts and used them as models to accomplish particular goals (Jardine and Grafton 31). Similarly to Coke, Hexham was engaged in a reading and interpreting activity at the

'[in]sistance' of another. Therefore, it appears that Hexham was publishing in order to further the English Protestant militant movement. This is how the *tyrocinium* at Brill operated simultaneously as a facilitator of cross-cultural exchange and as an English pro-Protestant political machine.

The *tyrocinium* at Brill is an important location in the propagandist war being waged by militant Protestants where cultural exchange was exploited to further their ends. During the late Elizabethan period, Griffin has shown how English diplomats such as Lord Burghley, Robert Cecil, Walsingham, Leicester and Sidney were enmeshed in a pragmatic sphere of action that included a network of hack writers, translators and printers who aided them in their project to alert the English public to the nefarious activities of the Spanish (Griffin, E. 43). Furthermore, the religious exile experience of the first generation of England's Protestants had been one of 'close association and cooperation with scholars from all over the Protestant world', as is evident between the relationship between Hexham and Polyander (Griffin, E. 37). What I am suggesting here is that influential men, such as Edward Conway and Horace Vere, could have modelled their own network of translators and hack-writers on the model established by their Elizabethan predecessors. Leicester could have even established one himself in the Netherlands considering that Leicester had initially recruited a strongly Puritan inclined group of English officials to lead the campaign in the Netherlands, including Burghley and Sidney; men who already employed hack-writers and translators to suit their ends in England.

Conway and others could have formed networks to disseminate their writings in England and in the Netherlands in an effort to influence public opinion in both countries in their favour, thereby using translations as useful propaganda pieces against every source of England's anxiety (Ferraro-Parmelee 30). In the Elizabethan

era, Burghley used press to disseminate propaganda for foreign policy purposes. He acquired pamphlets from other countries, employing a stable of hack translators worked rapidly to bring sensationalised news from France, especially the translation of French pamphlets (Ferraro-Parmelee 33). The English Protestant church and crown were continuously aided in the mid and latter years of Elizabeth's reign by a network of others, including translators, diplomats and spies who channelled works and got them printed.[66] In conducting the research for this chapter, it seems abundantly clear that Brill acted as an external zone where this work continued into the early years of James I's reign amid the palpable Elizabethan nostalgia for a return to Protestant militancy and growing cult of Prince Henry. Much of Hexham's work is politicised and extols a particular religious outlook. This selection of pro-Protestant alliance, Puritan and militant texts are all dedicated to militant Puritan members of the English court, people who other scholars, such as Cogswell, have stated are militant Puritans. These factors all allude to the machinations of a Patriot Coalition who are using Dutch Puritan, militant texts to further their aims in England.

The dedications of Hexham's works address all of the main players in a group determined to enter England into a war with Spain in the 1620s, the 'patriot coalition'. This group was formed by Buckingham and included many of Hexham's dedicatees and associates; most notably Thomas Scott, Henry Rich, Lord Goring, Sir Edward Conway and possibly also Sir Horace Vere as well as many other members of the English military in the Netherlands (Cogswell 19-20; 52-54).[67] The

66 One of the most prolific translators at work in London during this era, Jacques Hurault was the uncle of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and cousin of Horace and Francis Vere. Hurault was also son-in-law to Lord Burghley (Ferraro-Parmelee 36).

67 Cogswell attributes the formation and rise of this coalition to events which occurred from 1622-23, especially James I's refusal to officially enter into matters in the Palatinate, the Spanish Match, the dissolution of Parliament and James' growing toleration towards Catholics in Britain

organisation of this patriot coalition clearly involved the leader of the English classis in the Netherlands, Thomas Scott. In 1622, Scott urged those who shared his apprehensions to wait patiently for the time when 'the Lion may awake' when James' 'best and truest subjects' could reveal their devotion to England and to the King (Cogswell 52). Hexham's continued dedications to the individuals involved in the patriot coalition throughout the 1610s and 1620s suggests that he was aware of this network of militant Protestants and was showing his audience that these individuals were his patrons.

Hexham's dedications are important representations of the image that he tried to cultivate for himself and the networks he sought to be part of and they also serve as a form of propaganda in the factional and religious politics of the day. Bergeron states that dedications are letters of commerce, they set in motion an exchange between the writer, their readers and their politically influential patron, they are social and literary exchanges (Bergeron 7; 15). Hexham is clearly announcing that the texts he produced were militantly Protestant. Hexham's repeated references in his dedications to his military experiences as a teenager and young man shows that he strives to be viewed as a remnant of the Elizabethan militant world, a graduate of the *tyrocinium* and an associate of the Elizabethan military heroes respected and associated with the patriot coalition.

In his dedication to Conway, of his translation into Dutch of Thomas Tuke's *Highway to Heaven*, Hexham states to his patron that he is aware of his role as a translator in influencing this drift of the ideological mainstream. He describes himself not as an author, but as a 'channel' in the wider network of European Protestant writing:

(Cogswell *passim*). Hexham's *A Tongve-Combat* gained publication in 1623, during the height of this hostility between king and nation and was printed at The Hague, notable considering works of this kind were banned from being printed in England at the time.

> during this suspension of weapons, I have put my self to flee idleness and...I have busied myself with translating the works of others from French to English, and from English to Dutch so that I could be a pipe or conduit to lead and widen what other fountains have produced…I have been careful…to choose the best and most respected tracts, I have also been eager to command the protection of he who I was most bounded to, meaning to acquire Gods truth (which is therein maintained), glorification, favour and promotion. (Tuke *Hemel* A2)[68]

Hexham views himself as the channel, the 'pipe' or 'conduit', through which European militant Protestantism is distributed into England. He is the agent through with French and Dutch ideas on religion and war can be readily given to the English. Hexham's breakage of the language barrier is his contribution to pan-European militant Protestantism, he states the purpose of the translation is so 'that both I and others should profit thereof', in their 'war against the Antichrist, with whom we

68 A full transcription of this dedication is as follows: Aen den Edelen Erentsesten ende wel-gheboren Heere Edward Conway, Ridder, Luytenant Gouerneur van weghe zijn Coninckclicke Maiesteye van Groot-Britanien binnen den Briel. Ende Capiteyn van een Compagnie van honders voet-knechten ten dienste van zijn Coninckclijcke Maiestete. Myn Heere: Gheduerende dese op schorringe van wapenen, hebbe ick my selven be neersticht de ledicheyt te vlieden, ende myne[n] tijt also te bestenden, dat ick beyde my, ende anderen profijtelick mochte zijn, ende hebbe eeniger maken (na myn arm vermoghen) d'oorloghe teghen den Antichrist willen continuere[n], met welcken wy gheen trevis ghemaect hebben, noch oock maken en moghen. Ende gemerct ic my niet hebbe willen vermeten boven myn vermoghen, ooc geen spring – ader in myn selven hebbe: So hebbe ick my besich ghehouden met ander luyden wercken te translateren uut Frans in Engelsch, ende uut engelsch in Duyts, op daric zyn mochte als een pype ofre conduyt om te leyde[n] ende verbrede[n] t'gene dat andere Fo[n]teyne[n] hebben opgegeven: Ende ghelyck ick hier-inne sorghvol- dich hebbe ghewest naer myn vermoghen uut te kiesen de beste ende meest gheachtede Tractaerkens: Also hebbe ick begeerich gheweest de bescherminhe derselver te bevele[n] den ghenen dien ick meest ten dienste verbonde[n] was, meynende met eenen daermede Gods waerheyt (welcke daerin gehandhaver wort) Vercieringe, gunste, ende bevoorderinghe te verwerven. Op deselve fondamenten ende volghende myn schuldige eerbiedinghe ende liefde tot uwe E. ende de versekeringhe die ick hebbe van uwe Goddelieke gheneghentheyt om alle goede saken te bevoorderen. So hebbe ick my verstoutet uwe. E. representeren, een godsalich, vermaert, liefliеke, ende gansch troosteliek tractaetken, gesehreve[n] door een weerdigen Leeraer inde Engelsche sprake, het welcke tractaerken ick geleert hebbe so goet Duyts te spreken als ick conde, Biddende dat uwe E. believe onder syne bescherminge te neme[n]. Indien uwe E. my dese gunste bethoont, ende dese myne stouticheyt vergheest, sal my selven (boven alle andere gunste voor desen van uwe E. ontsanghen) oock voor dese weldaet alle tijdtaen uwe E. tot alle ghetrouwe dienste[n] verbonden houden. Ende sal Godt den Heere vlijtich bidde[n] dat hem believe uwe E. beyde nae siele ende lichaem rijckelick te seghenen. In Dordrecht de 7. Sept. An. 1611. Den allen uwen, Henricus Hexham.

made no peace, nor will or may' (Tuke *Hemel* A2). Hexham's act of cultural exchange is therefore also an act of anti-Catholic militant Protestantism. Conway is also stated to be part of this cultural cause, as Hexham states that he has knowledge of Conway's 'godly preponderance to promote all good causes' (Tuke *Hemel* A2). Hexham has employed 'care' in choosing the 'best' and 'truest' works in order to gain God's truth but also 'promotion'. It seems clearly apparent that Hexham is working within the *tyrocinium* of Brill, choosing the works read by Edward Conway and translating them in a bid to secure promotion through patronage from this support of militant Protestantism.

It is clear that Edward Conway is using patronage to cultivate works in order to disseminate them through the 'conduits' from the cultural fountain of Brill, the water supply of militant Protestantism to England. Print media is being used as a weapon in the Anglo-Dutch network in order to influence change and facilitate their movement and this is happening through the intersection of these networks at Brill. This is only possible through the cultivation of men, like Hexham, who were schooled in militant Protestantism in the *tyrocinium* of Brill. As previously stated by Thomas Scott, Hexham and others were trained in 'everie Liberall art', needed to fight the war against the Catholic anti-Christ. It is therefore unsurprising that so many English poet-soldiers passed through the Brill garrison including Ben Jonson, Cyril Tourneur and George Chapman, who all served in the Vere regiment. It can be argued ideological training these men received made them important Anglo-Dutch cultural agents, however, this is beyond the scope of this study. However, Hexham is an important facilitator of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange. This is noted by the author, Philip Vincent, in his commendatory verses to Hexham's translation of Mercator, when he states it a shame that 'Englands language had not gaind'

Mercator's *Atlas,* until the right person came along: 'Hexham is the man' (Mercator *Atlas* 8; 12). Vincent describes how Hexham was training during the battles of, 'Ostend, & manie a siege beside / Have beene they Schoole. Thou art a Souldier tried' (Mercator *Atlas* 14-15). Vincent is aware that Hexham's military experiences in the Netherlands have led to an important act of cross-cultural exchange as well as military victories.

The *tyrocinium* of Brill can be argued to have had more of a cultural influence rather than a military one. Vincent also asks 'That Hexham may haue place & roome t'advance, / To vanquish Barbarisme & ignorance', not as a great military leader but as a much admired facilitator of cultural exchange and an enlarger of English culture and knowledge (Mercator *Atlas* 19-20). For men like Hexham, their experience in the *tyrocinium* of Brill, did more to educate them as cultural facilitators rather than military leaders. Therefore, the *tyrocinium* bred up poets, playwrights and perhaps also fashioned poetic societies rather than continuing religious war. It can be argued that even Hexham abandoned Protestant militancy at the end of this life, as he writes in the prefix of his translation of *Atlas* how*:*

> Part of Europa's have I seene,
> France, Italie, & Germanie, & more:
> And now, as though I never there had beene,
> I see't & what I never saw before.
> What shall I doe? Henceforth at home I'le staie
> And travel all this All in this surpaie. (Mercator *Atlas* 1-6)

As a graduate of the *tyrocinium,* Hexham shows that he was taught how to appreciate and transmit culture rather that continuing the fight against Catholicism and Spain.

1.7. Conclusion.

Conway's collection of Anglo-Dutch poetry is an important repository of literature generated from Anglo-Dutch contact during the English habitation of the garrison at Brill and represents an example of the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas. While in itself, this literature is testament to the cultural exchange which took place between these two groups in Netherlands, the writing and translating activity of Henry Hexham points to a more active, thoughtful, and organised system of cultural translation and transmission. The shared sense of Protestantism and the ensuing alliance between the English and the Dutch in the revolt against Spain led to the contact and *métissage* between these two groups and the generation of this body of literature.

A considerable overlap, however, existed in the Low Countries between humanism and reformation (Parker 59), and the culture of humanism in the Low Countries influenced English literature and culture by means of this contact. This is clearly evident in the military writing of Henry Hexham who was inspired by the military treatises of Jacob de Gheyn and Maurits van Nassau and thereby began to translate and transmit these texts and ideas into England; in addition to his translation of Mercator's *Atlas* into English, thereby spreading knowledge and ideas. These military treatises were inspired by Lipsian principles on order, discipline, and militancy.

Furthermore, there was clearly a strong relationship between the English military in the Netherlands and militant Calvinist southern exiles in the northern provinces. This connection between militant Netherlandic Calvinism and militant English Protestantism meant that plans to continue warfare against continental Catholicism could continue to have a voice in the Low Countries, even though

militant strategies were no longer welcomed in the Jacobean court. Therefore, it is clear to understand Elizabethan-styled Protestant militancy was popular amongst the English military in the Netherlands and why Sir Edward Conway would have cultivated networks of literary patronage to advance Protestant militant in England and in Europe. The *tyrocinium* of Brill, again arguably inspired by Lipsius, could be used as a training ground for young English Protestant men to educate and prepare themselves for this continued war against the antichrist.

The religious translations of Henry Hexham testify to his sense of militant Protestant Calvinism and it is arguable that the militant group of influential English Protestants in the Netherlands encouraged Hexham in his activities, possibly even selecting particular works to be translated and disseminated into the English market. As referenced in the Introduction to this thesis, Low Countries exiles in London were participating in the same activity. With real power relegated from militant Protestants in the court of James I, these texts could represent the only means of power available to this group. The 'soft, co-optive' power of ideologically charged literature could have been used by this group to promote their religious and political ideas to wider English society (Nye 166), in addition to inculcating a shared sense of the plight of Anglo-Dutch Reformed Protestantism against the Catholic yoke. Meanwhile in London, affiliates of this group and Low Countries migrants worked to alter English xenophobia towards Dutch and Flemish exiles working in the city and similarly attempted to create a shared sense of kinship between the English and the Dutch and this is to be explored in more detail in Chapter 2. The creation of Sir Horace Vere as an English militant Protestant hero is another example of how this ideological and militant group used cultural exchange to generate create literature to present their case to the world and this is explored in great detail in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2. Strangers, Brothers, Slaves: Attitudes towards Dutch and Flemish Migrants in Early Modern London Texts.

The changing representations of the Dutch and Flemish in late Elizabethan and early Stuart London catalogue a vast variety of exchanges that took place between England and the 'Low Countries' in the early modern period.[69] Documented in parliamentary speeches of 1593, the Dutch Church Libel (1593), *Sir Thomas More* (1592/93), the lesser known *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600), Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), and John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (c. 1605), these depictions testify to the complex framework of relationships between native and alien. This chapter presents some of the traditional stock Dutch and Flemish types present in early modern English texts and divides these types into those relating to certain associated themes, such as economics, religious subversion, and sex; jobs, roles and functions associated with Low Countries exiles in London, such as shoemakers, merchants, sailors, and prostitutes; and culturally symbolic signifiers of Low Countries' provenance, such as the association to bacon, butter, fish, and Netherlandic styled clothing.

This is a literary area which has received a considerable amount of interest from researchers in the past such as Anton Hoenselaars (1992), Jean Howard (1996), Lloyd Edward Kermode (2009), Scott Oldenburg (2006; 2009; 2014), Marjorie Rubright (2009; 2014), and Andrew Fleck (2006; 2008), among many others. These previous studies have focused upon the portrayal of Dutch and Flemish aliens on the

[69] The decision has been made in this study to use both Dutch and Flemish together interchangeably depending on the text under analysis. Texts such as The Dutch Church Libel (1593), *Sir Thomas More* (1592/93) and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600) exclusively refer to Belgae, Flanders, Flemish, and Flemings exclusively so these terms are respected when discussing these texts independently. The other texts discussed in this chapter, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600), and *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605) use the term 'Dutch' and this is reflected in the sections in which these texts are analysed. When these texts are discussed together then both the terms 'Dutch' and 'Flemish' are used.

London stage in terms of their visual appearance, orthographic distinctions and their associated stereotyped themes, settings, and characterisations. This chapter seeks to build on and augment these previous studies by using other primary source documents, such as libels, poetry, and legal documents, to explain the wider contexts in which these themes, types and figures are operating, and understand how these relate to Anglo-Dutch contact in the cautionary towns and in the international marketplace. In doing so, historical contextualisation is provided which allows for this research to progress beyond the traditional 'images' of Low Countries settlers and delve into the situations which led to the creation of these images, which are in the main due to Anglo-Dutch military activity in Netherlands region.

This chapter argues that this war greatly influenced and shaped the vast variety of Dutch and Flemish images in London and on the London stage, and that drama was, perhaps, used by the English political faction associated with the Dutch alliance to encourage assimilation of Low Countries exiles in London. As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, English military involvement in the Netherlands prompted the arrival of thousands of Dutch and Flemish settlers into south-east England. Many researchers have pointed out the many highly xenophobic portrayals of Dutch and Flemish characters on the London stage, such as Jean Howard and Marjorie Rubright, which emphasise alien threats and differences. Scott Oldenburg, Anton Hoenselaars, and Lloyd E. Kermode have expanded this analysis by recognising a welcoming and inclusive attitude towards Low Countries exiles in English Renaissance drama; these two divergent views is what Laura Yungblut has termed the 'dichotomy of attitudes' towards aliens in England (Yungblut 28). This chapter argues that micro and macro-economics are behind these divergent images, as the English competed with Low Countries settlers in the domestic marketplace

and in the international seas. These texts display what Stephen Greenblatt has termed the 'cultural circulation of social energy' (Greenblatt 13). As such, the social climate and cultural ideas which created and shaped these plays in early modern London is discussed in order to offer a different perspective that is perhaps fuller, more holistic, more grounded in the social realities of exchange. Relations between the court and the cautionary towns are illuminated as being an influential factor on representations, in addition to relations between courtiers and high ranking members of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were times of military strife and harsh economic problems which strained English-immigrant relations (Oldenburg *Alien* 4). The theme of economics in the domestic and sexual spheres is a central element which ties all of these texts together. These texts present a range of ideas surrounding Anglo-Dutch relations and the acceptance, assimilation, and control of the Low Countries community in London. Dutch and Flemish migrants evolve in their representation from first being economic exploiters of the vulnerable in the Dutch Church Libel and *Sir Thomas More*, whilst also being vulnerable and capable of themselves being exploited in both *More* and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* presents a harmonious vision of an Anglo-Dutch mercantile brotherhood united against the exploitation of the English upper classes. While in *The Dutch Courtesan*, Franceschina, the Dutch prostitute, is herself an economic object as her body is sold by an English bawd for profit to an international clientele. I argue that the tropes of war and economics unite all of these texts and that this is associated with Low Country migrants because of the competition they brought to the economics of London and England as a whole. The chapter begins by presenting some background concerning the establishment of Low Countries'

communities in London and then analyses the most common Low Country stereotypes presented in early modern English texts while then beginning an in-depth discussion of the aforementioned libel and plays. Generic symbols are discussed as a means of dictating certain sets of generic expectations for audiences and thereby influencing their understanding of certain characters and themes (Frye 53). Colie has developed this theory of genres by showing how genre offers a set of interpretations, of 'frames' and 'fixes' on the world (Colie 8). Genre is discussed in this chapter as a means of associating positive and negative generic expectations with Dutch and Flemish characters and themes, often mixing two genres within the one text to show two different views, such as in *Sir Thomas More* and *The Dutch Courtesan*. The particular 'frames' used in these texts offer suggestions to the audience on how to view the presence of aliens in London.

2.1. Dutch and Flemish Dramatic Themes and Types in London.

The presence of the Dutch and Flemish in London contributed to the explosion in Dutch and Flemish theatrical types on the London stage from the end of the sixteenth century into the early seventeenth century. Certain Low Countries stock figures and types emerge on the stage and these characters are clearly recognisable due to the cultivation of several key associations. One of the reasons for this is certainly due to the location of Low Countries migrant communities in the liberty areas of St. Martin's, Southwark and St. Katherine's where the London theatres were also located. London theatre audiences, playwrights and actors would have encountered and interacted with these exiles on a daily basis. Low Countries types are most closely associated with the jobs and trades carried out by Netherlandic natives in London. These 'functional' set of stock roles often portray Low Countries

characters as tradespeople involved in shoemaking and weaving, and functional character types relating to trade and the sea also proliferate. Functional roles pertaining to Dutch and Flemish merchants, sailors, sea captains, and workmen are extremely common in London texts, especially in city comedies, such as the Dutch merchant in William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (1598). Types of employment or 'functional' roles attributed to Low Countries women are often associated with household or sexual economics in English drama. The industrious, although fake, Dutch servant Luce is a respected domestic servant in an English home in *The London Prodigal*. Netherlandish sex workers are often referenced in early modern English texts but only one sex worker is actually characterised, and this is Franceschina in *The Dutch Courtesan,* who will be discussed in depth at a later stage in this chapter.

Dutch and Flemish characters are also delineated by certain cultural symbols associated with their country of origin which generally relate to their language and the stage Dutch or heavily inflected accent they use when speaking English. Other cultural symbols associated with the Low Countries include food and drink produce such as beer, bacon, butter, and fish, in addition to products that Low Countries merchants trade in, such as the 'sugar, civet, almonds, cambric end alle dingen, towsand, towsand ding' (7.1-4) referenced in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*; a fact which can be attributed to the Dutch 'economic miracle' and the rise of Dutch Mediterrean and East Indies trade in the 1590s discussed in Chapter 1. Low Countries characters are set apart from the English on the stage through the use of clothes, particularly the wearing of Dutch 'slops', and also by their accent shown through the orthography of early modern pieces of textual drama. Male Dutch and Flemish characters on the English stage were culturally associated with gluttony, obesity and the activity of

hard-drinking, and were often presented on the stage in large, baggy slops as alcoholics and usually bearing the name 'Hans', in addition to names relating to alcohol and fish, often as 'butterboxes' by the English characters. There is a strong contrast in how these characters are characterised, they are either dim-witted individuals which can be easily duped, or else extremely cunning predators who must be stopped at all costs.

The association between the Low Countries and overindulgence existed since the Tudor era. In the Marian interlude, *Wealth and Health* (1553), the Flemish character Hans Berepot first enters the stage singing a Dutch song and has a clear predilection for alcohol which manifests itself in his incoherent speech due to consistent drunkenness. His forename and surname allude to his Netherlandish origin and the predilection for alcohol and also perhaps to his portley physique, if 'pot' is understood as being a reference to a 'beer belly'. This stereotype was so popular that it continued into Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline drama as evinced in Glapthorne's *Hollander* (1635) which features a Dutch character, Jeremiah Sconce,[70] who falls on his face during a drinking scene. This type is referenced again in Marston's *Malcontent* (1604) in which a character describes how 'amongst a hundred Dutch-men [there are] fourscore drunkards' (2.1.16-17). Some Elizabethan and Jacobean examples of the associated with the Low Countries and alcohol are later discussed in depth in relation to *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, The Shoemaker's Holiday* and *The Dutch Courtesan.* The Dutch association with alcohol is also present in Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho!* (1604) which features a Dutch tapster Hans. Hans speaks broken stage Dutch and serves alcohol but does not drink himself, and the English are portrayed in quite a negative fashion in contrast to

[70] The name 'sconce' refers to a form of military encampment popularised in the Low Countries, again connected a Dutch character with the stereotypical Low Countries symbol of war.

the innocent Dutchman. The Dutch merchant, Hans van Belch, in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!* is represented as a drunkard who speaks in garbled, broken English but his innocence means that he is duped by the English (Hoenselaars 116).

The main thematic issues associated with the Low Countries are war and economics, and these will be discussed in much greater detail in the main texts to be discussed by this chapter. The Low Countries is also primarily associated in the minds of the English with polemical religion, religious sects, sex and lechery, lustfulness and whoredom, dominating women, a chaotic social structure of 'equality', industry, and hard-work; all of which are reflected somewhat in the texts discussed in this chapter.

In relation to sex, at the turn of the sixteenth century the stereotype of the Dutch prostitute had become a commonplace feature of London. Numerous accounts of the London sex industry had referred many times to women known as 'Froes of Flanders' who had an active presence in the city since medieval times (Burford *Queen* 95). Even as far back as the late fourteenth century, a text vividly tells of 'common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of huksters and other places of ill-fame', which instigated London authorities to implement a law which forced

> Flemish women who profess and follow such shamelful and dolorous life to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned…the stews on the other side of the Thames and Cokkeslane. (Burford *Bawds* 78-9)

Whether a reality or a xenophobic projection of imagined Netherlandish sexual subversiveness, the stereotype was effective. A marginal annotation in John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) reiterates this belief, stating how, 'English people disdained to be bawds. Froes of Flanders were women for that purpose' (cited in Karras 57).

Furthermore, English soldiers' experiences in the Dutch wars meant that many early modern English texts connected a fantasy of Dutch female sexuality together with a military setting, as evinced in the Anglo-Dutch poetry collected by Sir Edward Conway in Chapter 1. Prostitutes were commonly found near military encampments in the Low Countries and this association was referenced in the naming of the most celebrated of all London's brothels, Holland's Leaguer.[71] The brothel was the subject of a Caroline stage play by Shackerley Marmion staged in 1631 and bearing the same name. The word 'leaguer' itself literally means a military encampment and English imaginings of the Dutch seem to be inextricably bound into the containment of seditious sexuality simultaneously with the restraint of detrimental forces on the boundaries of civilisation.

A good example of this can be seen in John Marston's poem 'Satyre 1: Quedam videntur, et non sunt', in which a parallel framework of imagery operates connecting dissident sexuality in the Netherlands as operating congruently with armed dissident forces in which the Netherlands becomes a euphemism for scenes of Spanish warfare, a brothel and also a vagina (Williams 831).

> But now, thou that did'st march with Spanish Pike before,
> Come with French-pox out of that brothell dore.
> The fleet's return'd. What newes from 'Rodio'?
> 'Hote seruice, by the Lord cryes Tubrio'.
> Why do'st thou halt? 'Why six times through each thigh
> Pusht with the Pike of the hote enemie.
> Hote seruice, hote, the Spaniard is a man,
> I say no more, and as a Gentleman

[71] The brothel was a formidable, moated mansion on the riverbank complete with a drawbridge, portcullis, wooden jetty, gardens, tall studded gates and bouncers armed with tall pikes who gazed out of a small square hatch permitting visitor's entry (Nicholl 212-213).

> I serued in his face. Farewell. Adew.
>
> Welcome from Netherland, from steaming stew. (Marston *Scourge* 105-114)

In addition to the stereotype of the Dutch prostitute, Dutch women are also often stereotypically portrayed as being dominant, controlling and bossy in many early modern English texts. This stereotype is evident in many travel accounts of the Netherlands in this era. English travel writer, Fynes Moryson, was particularly disturbed by what he termed as the 'unnaturall dominering' that Dutch wives had over their husbands (Moryson *Itinerary* 288). Certainly this was also attributed to the drive towards 'equality' in the Low Countries; a corruption of the natural order within the country with the whole society was viewed as being 'sicke of this disease' (Moryson *Itinerary* 288). The most shocking symptom of this social decomposition was that women 'commonly rule theire famylyes' and how it was a 'common thing for Wiues to driue their Husbands and their friends out of the doores with scolding' (Moryson *Itineary* 382; 288). Moryson saw this as an extremely unnatural system, one that could surely only breed a degradation and collapse of the natural patriarchal order he adhered to. Another English travel writer, Sir William Brereton, also reveals his shock at the innate power of Dutch women socially and physically. He describes his journey past the home of Frische Roomer, a Dutch lady who succeeded in outliving twenty-four husbands before succumbing to death, whom he bluntly describes as a 'man-like woman' (Brereton 54). Brereton also displays his surprise on noting how some couples come to find themselves in matrimony:

> the women that want and desire husbands present themselves…where the boors that want wives come to make their choice…if the woman

> like the man and affect him, they go out and drink…and if all things concur, suddenly married. (Brereton 28)

Brereton's account shows the gender equality to be found among Dutch society and the distinct lack of romance, something evident in many of the stereotypical depictions of Dutch and Flemish women in early modern English texts. Brereton connects this female dominance and pragmatism together with sexuality when he describes how he was warned of, but did not actually experience, masses of 'impudent whores' who forcefully procure customers on the streets of Amsterdam (Brereton 55). Brereton's failure to actually view this first-hand casts some doubt over the veracity of this claim and, perhaps, represents more about the English fantasy of Low Countries female sexuality rather than the reality.[72] This example, however, does illuminate the English belief concerning the lack of patriarchal order in a territory witout a king, a place where without this 'correct' order, English visitors find themselves confused and bemused by the rampant egalitarianism that they encounter. Certainly, this has been translated onto the London stage where plays featuring Low Countries characters often exhibited this same lack of order and the dangers of female dominance.

In Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611), the central character, Moll Cutpurse, is a subversive English woman who wears both male and female clothing, carries a sword and shows herself to be capable in a fight. She does not use male apparel as a disguise but as Jean Howard states, 'she adopts male dress deliberately and publicly she uses it to signal her freedom from the traditional positions assigned a woman in her culture' (Howard 'Crossdressing' 436). Moll's

[72] This is clearly observed in Owen Feltham's *A Brief Character of the Low Countries* (1652), as he noted how this substitution in sexual order had managed to infiltrate the family home describing how: 'In their Families they all are equals, and you have no way to know the Master and Mistress, but by taking them in bed together' (Feltham 49).

androgynous apparel of both sexes signifies her true nature. Approached by a tailor to discuss a new pair of breeches she has ordered, the knight Sir Alexander fears that his son wishes to marry Moll and states, 'I have brought up my son to marry a Dutch slop and a French doublet: a codpiece daughter' (2.2.91-3). Visual semiotics work as stable codes delineating masculinity from femininity in plays purposefully crossed here (Lublin 37).

Some texts, however, also show a more respectful attitude towards the control of Dutch women in the stereotype of the Dutch 'huisvroe' or domestic servant. Dutch women are often portrayed as being very industrious and capable business-women who can ably run and manage homes and businesses alike. The travel writer William Montague described how,

> 't Is very observable here, more women are found in the shops and business in general than men; they have the conduct of the purse and commerce, and manage it rarely well, they are careful and diligent, capable of affairs (besides domestick) having an education suitable and a genius wholly adapted to it. (Montague cited in Suryani 55)

Similarly, Fynes Moryson also noted how, 'The wives in Holland buy and sell all things at home, and use to saile to Hamburg and into England for exercise of traffique' one century before (Moyrson cited in Jacobsen Jensen 272). They are also depicted as fantastic house keepers and administering a level of cleanliness to an astonishingly high level. Schama notes an incident where an English magistrate visited a house where a,

> strapping North Holland lass […] marking his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, pulled off his shoes, put him on a pair of

> slippers that stood there, all this without saying a word. (Schama *Embarrassment* 377)

Dutch women were also portrayed as housewives excessively devoted to cleaning. Dutch household manuals advised to wash the steps in front of the house, the path leading to the house and the front hall every day. The Dutch were described as 'perfect slaves to cleanliness', their behaviour as 'excessive neatness' with an 'idolâtre excessif…to the rites of cleanliness' (Schama *Embarrassment* 376-8).

This stereotype is evident in aforementioned *The London Prodigal* (1605) which features an Englishwoman, Frances, praising the culturally symbolic Low Countries head attire of a Dutch servant, Luce (Lublin 92). Luce is in fact an Englishwoman, the mistreated wife of Young Flowerdale who adopts the 'strange disguise' (3.4.145) of a Dutch 'frow' and finds herself employment as a servant. Londoners never associate this Dutch woman with prostitution but instead focus on Dutch women as 'good managers and capable in business' (Hoenselaars 124-125). This play shows the general acceptance of foreigners due to the lack of focus on Luce's Dutch disguise and celebrates the capability of Dutch women as managers and organisers in the domestic sphere. Hoenselaars argues that this lack of attention to Luce's otherness shows the progressive integration of the foreigner in English society at the commencement of the Jacobean era (Hoenselaars 125). Issues of acceptance and rejection were beginning to lose their currency on the London stage (Hoenselaars 125), and this will be returned to in the later discussion of the co-terminus *Dutch Courtesan* which features the acceptance, albeit enslavement, of a Dutch prostitute.

Religious toleration was a feature of the culture of the northern Netherlands which was regularly documented on the English stage. The travel writer, Brereton

was impressed, but also disgusted, by the effects this toleration could have, commenting how, 'No man persecuted for religion nor scoffed at, be he never so zealous' (Brereton 70). He also noted, however, that the Dutch did not administer the sacraments in their church 'with such decency and reverence as in England' such as each Dutch woman bringing her own stool to sit on in church (Brereton 46). In criticising their 'decency' and 'reverence' Brereton shows that he is unconvinced of their conformation to English Protestant moral standards as English Protestants or experience outward feelings of deep respect or devotion in the church.

This toleration of suspicious religious groups is epitomised by the sect of The Family of Love, discussed in Chapter 1. This group was mistakenly believed to practise in group sex and other forms of sexual impropriety and these ideas were depicted in such plays as Thomas Middleton's *The Family of Love* (1603-04), and John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* (1606), and referenced also in *The Dutch Courtesan*. The Familist mystic, Niclaes, advocated that 'good-willing humans' could reach a state in which they were inhabited by divinity or 'godded with God' and that in this state, sin was vanquished and perfection attained (Marsh 'Godlie' 59). Their notoriety was widespread in England and their rumoured sexual libertinism will be discussed further in this chapter in relation to Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605).

However, as previously mentioned, the most prominent thematic types connected with the Low Countries connect with warfare and economics, and these tie together many of the stereotypical features previously mentioned in this chapter. Whether it was Dutch and Flemish merchants, workmen, housewives, or prostitutes, money was continuously associated with this ethnic group and this is discussed further in the following sections.

2.2. Lobbying, Labelling and Libelling.

The economic competition posed by immigrants from the Low Countries formed the focus of the English parliamentary session of March 1593. Simultaneously, anti-alien libels proliferated in London on the economic future of foreign tradesmen. English merchants made several petitions to parliament and a scurrilous libel made its way into the public domain. The libel forecast an uprising led by 'Apprentices…to the number 2,336' who would deliver a savage justice upon the 'beastly brutes the Belgians…drunken drones and faint-hearted Flemings, and you fraudulent father Frenchmen'. The libel's threatens that 'all apprentices and journeymen will down with the Flemings and Strangers', was strongly reminiscent of the 1517 Ill May Day Revolt when natives attempted an insurgency against their immigrant population (Strype 167). The circumstances leading up to the revolt were strikingly similar to that of the late sixteenth century.[73] Texts such as the play *Sir Thomas More* use this past instance of anti-alien violence as a way of influencing late Elizabethan Londoners to take arms against their immigrant populace.

As a result of this intense public pressure, a series of debates began in parliament over new laws and statutes which aimed to debar foreigners from 'selling by way of retail any foreign commodities' (Cottret 74). The main figures involved in these debates were the militant Protestant, Sir Walter Raleigh, who advocated a hard line protectionist English nationalistic stance; and the Sir Thomas Cecil, the first Governor of the cautionary town of Brill, who encouraged a more tolerant attitude

[73] Indeed xenophobia directed at emigrants from the Low Countries had a long, murky history in London as the *Anonimalle Chronicle* recounts in its description of the 1381 Peasants Revolt, the rioting peasantry specifically sought out to massacre as many Flemings as they could find: whoever could catch any Flemings or aliens of any nation might cut off their heads; and so they did accordingly…they went to the church of St. Martin's in the Vintry, and found therein thirty-five Flemings, whom they dragged outside and beheaded in the streets. (Yungblut 38)

towards Dutch and Flemish immigrants. Additionally, the City of London employed the lawyer Francis Moore to advance their case, who complained of unfair competition created by Low Countries settlers, which Moore held responsible for unemployment (Cottret 74). Moore argued for a new bill which aimed at prohibiting foreigners from carrying on the trade of shoemaker and neither this nor the earlier bill succeeded in being passed (Cottret 75). It shows, however, the intense competition due to Dutch and Flemish participation in the English shoemaking trade. Therefore, the Dutch shoemaker in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is representative of a prominent political and social issue.[74] Furthermore, the historical and societal context demonstrates the topicality of the issues set forward in these texts and the possibility of these texts influencing their audience's thoughts and behaviour with regard to their attitudes towards Low Countries' immigrants in London.

Parliamentary debates and lobbying are an undeniable form of sixteenth century public speech. Colclough argues that libels are important in understanding political debate in the seventeenth century and this chapter views the anti-alien libels in the late sixteenth century as a continuation of the parliamentary alien debate (Colclough 204). In analysing Stuart libels, Colclough has shown that they were often circulated in manuscript miscellanies before they were placed in the public domain. The factional politics of the late Elizabethan court is somewhat similar to that of the Stuart era when similar libels made their way into the public arena. The arrival of the Dutch Church Libel in London closely dates to the parliamentary alien debates and it seems plausible to suggest that this libel was circulated

[74] *The Shoemaker's Holiday* was performed for Queen Elizabeth on New Year, 1600. Very little is known about the life of Thomas Dekker, although his surname would strongly suggest Dutch ancestry and this coupled with the fact that six of his plays feature Dutch characters makes that presumption highly plausible (Tywning 'Thomas Dekker' *ODNB*).

long before it was unveiled to the masses. Colclough demonstrates that libels in the seventeenth century are often associated with those who wished to counsel the king frankly. It is often the same individuals pressing for this right who penned or shared acid attacks on ministers who they felt were leading him astray (Colclough 206). It seems conceivable then that the Dutch Church Libel was written and/or circulated by those involved in the anti-alien debates in the 1593 parliament. Dutton believes that influential men, such as Northumberland, Walsingham or Raleigh, could have encouraged anti-alien agitation and shielded those involved in it (Dutton *Licensing* 85). As will be shown, this libel bears a particular resemblance to the argument pushed by Raleigh himself during those 1593 debates. While this argument was present in English society as a whole, anti-alien debaters also used libelling as a way of continuing their argument in the public sphere.

The debates began on the twenty first of March in 1593 by Francis Moore, who complained 'Strangers Wares are better than ours…[and] they sell cheaper.' Mr. Palmer Burgess of London complained of Dutch tradesmen deciding 'to inhaunce the price' on their wares; if English merchants should conduct their business abroad in the same vein, foreigners 'would not be very glad of our Traffick. But this mischief is suffered amongst us by the Dutch' (D'Ewes). The anti-alien debates were extremely precise about which ethnic group aggrieved them, so they only mention one nationality throughout and that is the Dutch. The argument even transgressed the trope of economics as a certain Mr. Fuller complained how, 'they will not converse with us, they will not marry with us, they will not buy any thing of our Country-men' (D'Ewes). The Flemish and Dutch community are here cast as a group unwilling to assimilate themselves on any grounds. The resumption of the debate on the twenty third of March was spearheaded by Raleigh who interspersed his

argument with bitter lashes against his perceived national character of the Dutch nation. While he listed economic and religious reasons against their presence in England, even complaining how English merchants abroad were not allowed to bring an English 'Taylor or a Shoemaker to dwell' amongst them in Antwerp, his argument soon turned vehemently xenophobic. He states that the,

> nature of the Dutchman is to fly to no man but for his profit, and they will obey no man long…The Dutchman by his Policy hath gotten Trading with all the World into his hands...[and] They are the people that maintain the King of Spain in his Greatness. Were it not for them, he were never able to make out such Armies and Navies by Sea; it cost her Majesty sixteen thousand pound a year the maintaining of these Countries, and yet for all this they Arm her Enemies against her. (D'Ewes)

Raleigh's vicious attack on the Dutch nation paints the exiles in London as lucre obsessed, a pro-Spanish vicious brood of sly plotters, secret and venomous whose only focus is greed and sedition. Raleigh's speech is superficially reminiscent of anti-Semitic ideas which had been circulating in London for centuries. In fact, Raleigh's accusation that Dutchmen 'eat out profits and supplant our own nation', almost repeats verbatim John Speed's explanation for Edward IV's banishment of the Jews, 'on account of their having eaten his people to the bones not neglecting therein his particular gait' (Shapiro 51). Raleigh also attempted to destroy any empathy between English and Dutchman on the basis of a shared religion. He deemed that 'religion is not a pretext for them, for we have no Dutchmen here, but such as came from those Provinces where the gospel is preached, and here they live disliking our church' (D'Ewes). This point echoes the fear of the 'counterfeit

Christian'; the term for Jews pretending to be Christian, a constant fear amongst Londoners (Shapiro 8); an interesting association considering the connection between Jewish merchants and traders in Antwerp, and the association between the Low Countries and subversive religious sects, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

London businessmen also highlighted suspicions concering Low Countries exiles and religion, claiming that aliens resided in England by virtue of a 'feigned hypocrisy and counterfeit show of religion' (Yungblut 41). Raleigh sought a thorough expulsion of all aliens, for he felt that it is 'a baseness in a nation to give liberty to another nation' (D'Ewes). His speech is cruel and cutting and based itself on deep anti-Semitic fears in England, fears which would surely inflame a willing audience, but also perhaps reference the fears of the Dutch sect of the Family of Love which had been revealed in 1581 to have a discreet foothold in Elizabethan elite life (MacCulloch 49). Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted how Puritans involved in the extirpation of Familists from East Anglia showed their outrage when Yeomen of the Guard were revealed to be Familists in 1580 (MacCulloch 49). A bill sponsored by these Puritans to punish the Familists was put forward to the Privy Council in 1581 but quashed by a group personally selected by the Queen herself (MacCulloch 50). Elizabeth's close contact with members of the Family of Love shows that the fear of the counterfeit Christian was present even at the top levels of English society.

A clear dichotomy of attitudes was evoked during the debates, views which would soon be played out on the London stage. In the Cecil camp, Henry Finch, representative for Canterbury, declared that,

> their example is profitable amongst us, for their children are no sooner able to go but they are taught to serve God, and to flee

> idleness, for the least of them earneth his meat by his labour. Our nation is sure more blessed for their sakes. Wherefore as the Scripture saith Let us not grieve the Soul of the stranger.[75] (D'Ewes)

Finch views the exiles as an enriching force of good Christian workers, an example for the English. His image of the Dutch could not be more different from the one Raleigh strived to create, and ties into the Anglo-Dutch ideology of alliance espoused by Cecil and other English military leaders in the Netherlands.[76]

In the midst of fierce parliamentary argument a vicious libel appeared on the door of the Dutch Church of Austin Friars (5th May 1593). The Star Chamber, tasked to investigate widespread libelling, described how the libel that was, 'set uppon the wal of the Dutch churchyard', as one which did, 'excead the rest in lewdness' (Dasent 24.222). The libel explicitly points to the cause of negative feelings:

> Ye strangers yt doe inhabite in this lande
> Not this same writing doe it vnderstand
> Conceit it well for safeguard of your lyves
> Your goods, your children & your dearest wives. (Freeman 1-4)

The libel vociferously catalogues the reasons for the author's hatred, which are strikingly similar to those recorded by Raleigh in March of that same year. The libel is probably connected with those same anti-alien debaters, as Colclough argues

[75] Finch is referencing two passages in the Bible which concern the treatment of aliens residing in a foreign land. The first is from Exodus 22:21, 'Thou shalt not doe iniurie to a stranger, neither oppresse him: for yee were strangers in the land of Egypt'. The second is from Leviticus 19:33-34, 'And is a stranger soiourne with thee in your land, ye shall not vexe him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shalbe as one of your selves, and thou shalt loue him as thy selfe: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt' (*The Bible* 1593). Finch uses the verb 'grieve' meaning to hurt or molest. Finch's uses of these passages from the Bible to further his argument considering that the libel's author also uses biblical examples, however the libeller sees strangers in England from a differing point of view. The libellers claim that strangers in England 'vext not the Egyptians more' is almost anti-Christian as it views the English as Egyptians and the strangers as the Jews (Freeman 21); God's chosen.

[76] However, it was Finch's side of the parley which won as the anti-alien petitions were defeated at two hundred and sixty two to eight-two, a humiliating defeat.

unsatisfied courtiers were often the composers of vicious libels. Like the debates, the grievances catalogued by the libel weave economic complaints with strongly anti-Semitic sentiments,

> Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state,
> Your vsery doth leave vs all for deade
> Your Artifex, & craftesman works our fate,
> And like the Jewes, you eate us vp as bread.
> The Marchant doth ingross all kinde of wares…
> Retayle's at home, & with his horrible showes: Vndoeth thowsands.
> (Freeman 5-12)

The strangers are associated with a Machiavellian approach to business, as unscrupulous, cunning schemers; stranger artisans are as skilled in dooming the English economy as they are at their trades. The English nation is invited to view Low Countries' exiles under the same banner as the Jews, who were banished for perceived economic and physical crimes against Christians. While Jews were imagined as cannibalising English men, these strangers are imagined as beastly forces, consuming English culture and society and leaving 'thowsands' of the English hungry while also touching on the stereotypical association of Netherlandish gluttony and obesity (Shapiro 51; 93). It suggests that the fear of being culturally, socially and economically devoured by an alien presence was foremost in the English psyche at the time, and the libel even regards the strangers as 'intelligencers' against the English people and so 'Cutthrote' in their business tactics that English 'artificers doe starve & dye' (Freeman 16; 24-27). This juxtaposition of starving English and gluttonous, over-fed Dutch develops into images of fertile England pillaged and ravaged by foreign economic forces, who devour both food and profits.

By referring to the biblical plagues suffered by Egyptians, the libel argues the Jews 'vext not the Egyptians more' than the Dutch do to the English (Freeman 21).

The Journeymen of the London Weavers Company drew up a specific list of grievances held towards stranger craftsmen which they delivered as a petition to the Lord Mayor of London in June 1595. In the petition they likened the stranger presence to 'nourish[ing] Serpentes in our bosomes who stings us to the very harte' (Yungblut 42). In the petition they also detailed four of the major 'Cutthrote' practices they accused Dutch weavers of. These were keeping too many looms and apprentices, training some of their fellow countrymen who had not previously been weavers, employing women and leaking trade secrets to clothiers, who used the information against their workers, thereby driving down wages (Yungblut 42). It can be assumed that jealously was the real cause of the weavers' discontent.

The second focus for the libel's criticism is England's involvement in the Dutch wars. The author complains of how,

> Our pore souls, are cleane thrust out of dore…
>
> To fight it out for Fraunce & Belgia
>
> And dy like dogges as sacrifice for you. (Freeman 34-37)

The libel shatters the reasoning for English involvement in this war at all, refuting the belief that the Dutch were fellow reformed and dutiful Protestants, claiming that they instead practise a 'counterfeitinge religion', worshipping only money rather than God and also a strong allusion to the myth of the 'counterfeit Christian' (Freeman 46). Indeed, the English struggle with a governmental system which seems to favour aliens over natives, sacrificing Englishmen to the strangers' victory.[77] The

[77] It was a commonly held view that the Dutch were ungrateful to the English for their involvement in the Dutch Revolt. This was attributed to factors such as the non-payment of English troops and English troops often finding themselves locked out of the Dutch garrisons following battles with the Spanish. However, many of these incidences were caused by the English pillaging of

Dutch are thus seen as secret Jews, enemies who cooperate with the government in destroying the English nation, or rather support the wealthy, as the potentates of the country grow rich through, and therefore protect, the strangers:

> With Spanish gold, you all are infected
> And with y^{t} gould our Nobles wink at feats
> Nobles said I? nay men to be reiected,
> Upstarts yt enioy the noblest seates
> That wound their Countries brest, for lucres sake
> And wrong our gracious Queene & Subiects good. (Freeman 47-52)

Here the libel connects the strangers with infecting English nobles with 'Spanish gold', a reference to the secret pensions paid by the Spanish court to many Elizabethan politicians.[78] The allegation of the 'buying' favour from the nobles is more than a mere claim as it is documented that the Council received several loans from the foreign churches. In return for the stranger's financial services, the Council thus continued to offer the strangers protection (McCluskey 167; Pettegree, A. 294). The libel also offers a radical remedy:

> strangers make our harts to ake
> For which our swords are whet, to shedd their blood
> And for a truth let it be vnderstoode/ Fly, Flye, & never returne.
> per. Tam-berlaine. (Freeman 53-56)

Dutch locals and the other gruesome and unfair realities of soldier behaviour in early modern warfare, see Manning's *An Apprenticeship in Arms*.

[78] This could also be a reference to the Dutch and Flemish practise of trading with the Spanish despite being at war; something English military personnel could never totally comprehend and the same accusation made by Raleigh in his parliamentary speech.

This segment can be connected to the Paris Massacre, evoking a scene of savage brutality and eradication.[79] The author suggests threatens to 'cutt your throtes, in your temples praying', as just vengeance for the 'cutthrote' commercial tactics of the strangers in England (Freeman 43). The ending 'per Tam-berlaine' can be interpreted as 'in the manner of Tamburlaine', a suggestion which conjures up images of the savage brutality and genocide associated with the influential play, *Tamburlaine* (1588) by Christopher Marlowe. The play depicts the rise of the Scythian, Tamburlaine, from a shepherd to the ruler of both Asia and Africa. The suggestion is that the common folk of England can rise up and consume the corrupt leaders and ethnic minorities who stand in their way.

Although this libel may not derive directly from the court or governmental circles, it seems likely the anti-alien debates of March 1593 played a role in reinforcing such representations. Versions of the libels and the debates were disseminated throughout London and stoked the xenophobia growing in the city. It, thus, comes as no great surprise that the Star Chamber went to great pains to capture and punish its author, urging that the perpetrator(s) be face capture,

> torture in [the] Bridewel, and by th'extremitie thereof, to be used at such times and as often as you shal thinck fit, draw them to discover their knowledge concerning the said libels. (Dasent 24.222)

The Star Chamber regretted that, despite discussions of the likely proliferation of libels, it had failed to command the mayor of London to isolate and apprehend those involved in that libel's composition, 'because oftentymes it doth fall out of soche lewde beginninges that further mischeife doth ensue yf in tyme it be not wyselie prevented' (Dascent 24.187). As these images made their journey from the words of

[79] This could also be a reference to the play, *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) by Christopher Marlowe.

speakers in the houses of parliament to libels on the crowded London streets and onto the stages of common London bawdy houses, the government struggled to contain their impact. Inevitably, however, the Privy Council's reaction gave their critics the oxygen of publicity and effectively instituted more public debate, to such an extent that libelling politics have been connected by some historians with the emergence of a late Elizabethan proto-'public sphere' (Lake and Questier 335). Even as anti-stranger propaganda proliferated, it could be that Cecil's Anglo-Dutch views of alliance also began to be disseminated throughout London as evidenced in the revisions of *Sir Thomas More*.

Interestingly, both these stances occur in *Sir Thomas More* (1592/593), which almost dramatises the stranger images of the 1593 anti-alien parliamentary debates and those of the Dutch Church Libel.[80] The Dutch Church Libel (1593) offers a negative frame with which to view the Dutch in London and can be termed as a satirical text, while *Sir Thomas More* (1592/93) combines the same satirical genre with romance, thereby showing how hatred and xenophobia can be overcome. While anti-alien satire proliferates in the original manuscript, the additions evoke the argument of Cecil and his cohorts. This proves that government official(s) influenced the revisions of this play and sought to downplay anti-alien violence. Several hands have been identified in this text; among the identified authors discussed in this chapter are Anthony Munday, William Shakespeare and Thomas Dekker.

[80] Though officially anonymous, Gabrieli and Melchiori (2002) consider this play to be a collaborative effort between Munday, Shakespeare, Dekker and Chettle.

2.3. Contrasting Views of Low Countries Migrants in *Sir Thomas More* (c. 1591-1594).

The lack of an early performance history for *Sir Thomas More*, may result from the veto by Sir Edmund Tilney, Elizabeth I's Master of the Revels, whose task it was to 'reforme, auctorise & put as shalbe thought meete or vnmeete' (Chambers 4. 286). Tilney's commission gave him the power to compel acting troupes to rehearse their repertoire before him, with a view to the most satisfactory pieces being performed at court during the festive season. However, Tilney was most interested in supporting actors patronised by the court's own senior members (Dutton *Licensing* 3-5). It was most likely that *Sir Thomas More* was intended to by played by Lord Strange's Men, an acting troupe patronised by Lord Strange, a prominent member of the Court with rumoured Catholic sympathies (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 263-264). Strange's dramatisation of a courtier executed on the orders of the Queen's father was a risky, bold endeavour.[81] This should not be seen as overly unusual as the Elizabethan court was not an ideologically coherent arena. The state never sought to press a universal view on many central religious and political issues of the day and Tilney never sought to enforce one. Instead, censorship aimed to keep the commentary within the limits tacitly accepted at court itself (Dutton *Licensing* 81). This is pertinent to this argument as both sides of the alien debate were also acted upon the stage without issue.

[81] Gurr suggests that Lord Strange's Men were the most likely intended performers of this play due to several factors. Firstly, the play demands a large cast and Lord Strange's Men were the only group at the time with enough actors for the many roles. Secondly, the manuscript of the text is written by the same scribal hand as another of Lord Strange's plays *The Seven Deadly Sins.* Finally, the only actor named in the manuscript is Thomas Goodale, a known member of the acting troupe who also acted in *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 263-264). Lord Strange, Ferdinando Stanley, came from a family with rumoured Catholic sympathies. His paternal grandfather, Edward, was staunchly Catholic and while his father, Henry, converted to Protestantism, he continued to help Catholic friends of his family. As for Ferdinando's own religious preference, people doubted which doctrine he followed. Lord Strange's choice to dramatise the life of a Catholic martyr executed by the Queen's father exemplifies his changeable attitude to religion and history.

Tilney's censorship of *Sir Thomas More,* however, indicates that he took extreme exception to anti-Flemish sentiment and particularly against the enactment of anti-alien violence on the English stage. He was probably most concerned with promoting violence in an era fraught with anti-alien sentiment, as testified by the parliamentary debates and libels. Although the play dramatises the life of Thomas More, it opens with Londoners' conflicts with several originally French and Flemish characters (subsequently changed to 'Lombards' under the orders of Tilney) and enacts a dramatisation of the Ill May Day revolt of 1517. Contemporaries would not have missed the parallels with the dire economic climate of 1590s London.[82] Tilney commands the playwrights to 'Leave out the insurrection wholy and the Cause ther off', instead beginning the play with a summation of More's role in quelling the rioters and preventing a massacre (Dutton *Licensing* 7). Tilney's requirements forced a revision of the play by a consortium of writers including Shakespeare and the theatrical novice Thomas Dekker but *More* was still considered too dangerous to debut on the public stage. Its text shows the influence of both sides of the parliamentary speeches and libels through its characterisation of Flemish characters. The stage is another public arena on which the debate is thrashed out and deliberated.

The play opens by reiterating many of the complaints put forth by the libel and in many ways can be seen as a dramatisation of the list of protestations put forth by it. The first scene immediately brings economic anxieties to the fore, as it opens with a Fleming's desire to 'purchase' an English woman. As he drags the woman,

[82] During the 1590s Lombardy (now a part of Italy) was under Spanish dominion. It is possible that Tilney wanted these strangers characterised as associated with the traditional Catholic enemy but it could also have been because Lombards were so rare in London during that period, Italians counting for less than 3% in the 1593 Returns of Strangers survey. However, it is more likely that Tilney wanted to direct Londoner's xenophobia towards another source, as Lombards were associated with usury, pawn shops and money lending. Many Lombard families had taken over from Jewish families as the city's moneylenders after the Jewish expulsion in the thirteenth century **CITE.**

Doll Williamson, across the stage, he warns her how she must, 'Go with me quietly, or I'll compel thee' (1.1.2). Doll recalls how a similar situation occurred when the stranger, De Bard, had,

> the goldsmith's wife in hand, whom thou enticedst from her husband with all his plate, and when thou turnedst her home to him again, mad'st him, like an ass, pay for his wife's board. (1.1.9-13)

De Bard's reply to this accusation is that he will make Doll's husband pay too after their time together, 'if please me' (1.1.14). The Englishmen who join the scene are of no assistance, one of them, Lincoln echoes the sentiments of the libel when he states how, 'It is hard when Englishmen's patience must be thus jetted on by strangers, and they not dare to revenge their own wrongs' (1.1.26-27). The insolence and ungratefulness of the strangers is sharply felt by the other characters. While Doll's husband, Williamson, advises to De Bard and his companion, Caveler, that they, 'may do anything, the goldsmith's wife, and mine now, must be at your commandment' (1.1.42-44). The victimisation of these characters is palpable; however, their meekness in the face of such abuse is just as shocking. The goldsmith whose wife briefly absconded, Sherwin, states that, 'It is not our lack of courage in the cause, but the strict obedience that we are bound to,' that prevents any physical assaults against the strangers' exploitation of these common Londoners.

Instead of the men, it is Doll Williamson who asserts authority and aggressively rejects De Bard: 'away ye rascal…whatsoever is mine scorns to stoop to a stranger: hand off then' (1.1.4-7). De Bard is portrayed as a stranger in a strong financial position, who can 'compel' and entice Doll away from her husband with the allure of his wealth. The other Fleming, Caveler, turns on Williamson. Caveler decides to keep Williamson's two doves while Williamson pleads: 'I bought them in

Cheapside, and paid my money for them' (1.1.17-18). Doll is stunned and furious that 'one stranger take thy food from thee, and another thy wife?' (1.1.31-32,) while Williamson submits, explaining that these actions cannot be revenged as the Lord Mayor had previously sent him to Newgate prison 'one day, because (against my will) I took the wall of a stranger' (1.1.41-42). The characters bemoan the fact that they are powerless to rectify these wrongs as the law favours strangers, something that the strangers themselves know and exploit. In this first scene, four major grievances felt towards strangers are highlighted: foreign relations with English women, exhibited by De Bard's desire for English women; the power gained by many strangers due to their superior financial position; the competition posed by these rivals in the marketplace as exemplified in this scene by Caveler's embezzlement of Williamson's doves; and finally what was considered to be the law's preferential treatment of strangers. It is a repetition of the images put forth in the libel.

The militant stance this time is acted out and is set in motion by women. Significantly, it is Doll who refuses to accept this subservient position. She threatens the Flemings: 'Touch not Doll Williamson, lest she lay thee along on God's deare earthe,' and the commands the return of her husband's doves 'or I'll call so many women to mine assistance, as we'll not leave one inch untorn of thee' (1.1.60-65). Women are here represented as an aggressive, warlike force. Doll is behaving in a way that is stereotypically seen as Dutch rather than English. Doll displays the same trait as she warns them Flemings that, 'If our husbands be bridled by law, and forced to bear your wrongs, their wives will be a little lawless, and soundly beat ye' (1.1.65-68). These characteristics attributed to Flemish women have found themselves transposed onto Doll and wives of English men abused by strangers. English men

are, however, characterised as weak individuals who decline to defend their honour. Indeed, it is Doll who refuses to accept the dominance of the strangers, stating how:

> I am ashamed that free borne Englishmen, having beaten strangers within their own bounds, should thus be braved and abused by them at home. (1.1.72-74)

It is understandable why Tilney marked this excerpt for deletion as the lines would have surely inflamed a proud English audience to commit violent attacks against their stranger population. This is notable considering that in post-armada London, the city was full of destitute soldiers returning from the Dutch wars. Doll's lines are a call to the English population to take up arms and defend themselves against a foreign presence which aims to subordinate them. Her lines disqualify the native pride felt towards previous victories and casts the English as a nation shackled by strangers in their midst. This is a play set in a highly satirical world where Flemings are malevolent and evil and must be eradicated from English society, a position strikingly similar to that articulated in anti-alien debates and the libel.

After receiving no assistance from City officials, Doll and her entourage decide to incite a rebellion. The broker, John Lincoln, draws up, 'a [bill] of our wrongs, and the strangers' insolencies,' to be read out to the public; a document bearing considerable similarities to the libel (1.1.88-90). Lincoln's speech claims how, 'strangers eat the bread from the fatherless children, and take the living from all the artificers,' urging that 'all men' must seek to rectify these wrongs (1.1.111-119).[83] Then on May Day morning, Lincoln orders his troop to attack, 'De Bard, Peter van Hollock, Adrian Martin, / with many more outlandish fugitives' (2.1.25-

[83] However, on the whole, Lincoln's speech almost copies verbatim that speech ascribed to him in Raphael Holinshed's account of Ill May Day, found in the *Third Volume of Chronicles…First complied by Raphael Holished…in the yeare 1577. Now newlie recognised, augmented, and continued…to the yeare 1586* (London, 1587), (cited in Gabrieli and Melchiori 227).

26). Similarly to the libel, Lincoln employs the consumption motif, accusing the strangers of eating, 'more in our country than they do in their own.' Dutch cultural exchange is also evident in the text, as Lincoln refers to Dutch gardening practice of using manure, blaming the strangers for infecting the city with 'palsy', stating how, 'these bastards of dung – as you know they grow in dung – have infected us…which partly comes through the eating of parsnips' (2.3.15-18). The fear of being eaten out of house and home amid the physical and metaphorical infection of London drives the local apprentices into a riot.

In the ensuring riot, Doll becomes one of the main leaders and her courage is above that of the other male characters; especially that of her husband, warning that if he, 'beest afraid, husband, go home again and hide thy head, for by the Lord I'll have a little sport now I am at it' (2.1.60-61). Similarly to the aforementioned play, *Tamburlaine,* Doll symbolically dons armour and emerges on stage in a shirt of mail, a headpiece and with a sword in her hand.[84] She encourages her countrymen to attack the strangers and displays a sadistic pleasure in foreseeing their destruction. Though she is the heroine of the riot, she is most certainly domineering, and this is perhaps influenced by the Low Countries stereotype of the domineering 'frow', but also due to the lack of social order as women are forced to defend what their men will not. Doll's dominant role can be viewed as symbolic of the inverted social order inherent in rebellion but it could also be a representation of the Dutch social hierarchy with women almost on an equal footing to men. Yet, the common Englishmen are emasculated in this play by their obedience to the crown; Doll is the one who holds the phallic sword. Their symbolic impotence is sharply contrasted by

[84] In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine,* the character of the same name tears away his shepherd's clothing to reveal a suit of armour underneath in order to fight his enemies. There is also an allusion here to Elizabeth I's decision to wear breastplate armour upon addressing her troops in Tilbury in 1588 when preparing to fight the Spanish Armada.

the insatiable defiling nature of the Flemings. The play calls for a similar eradication of the Flemish from their society as the libel did. It views them as evil vipers which must be removed at all costs and sees the aristocracy as indifferent to the suffering of the common English man yet seems to view the imagined domineering quality of Dutch women as a useful attribute to engender into English women.

The additions which follow after the writing of the original manuscript and its censorship differ radically.[85] The harsh, anti-Fleming satire is contrasted sharply by the compassionate, tolerance urged by Thomas More when he comes to quell the riot against the strangers started by Doll and her supporters. More views these strangers under a radically different frame: as a vulnerable group of exiles and paupers begging at English feet.

> Imagine that you see the wretched strangers,
> Their babies at their backs, and their poor luggage
> Plodding to th' ports and coasts for transportation
> And that you sit as kings in your desires. (2.3.80-83)

This does not make sense considering that the Flemings clearly have the upper hand, both economically and legally. More asks the rioters to view the strangers using a new frame of reference; the genre of the play has changed from the unfair, unjust world of satire to the comforting, soothing genre of romance. More casts an image of a subjugated and impoverished group of exiles, seeking refuge from the English, who sit as 'kings' above them. What More neglects to attend to in his speech is the fact that the Flemings in this play are obviously not of the helpless kind. Conversely, they are extremely wealthy and superior, both socially and financially, to the

[85] The date of the additions is a hotly debated issue but this chapter concurs with Gabrieli and Melchiori's view that the additions do not date later than 1594 due to many topical allusions to events during the 1591-1594 timeframe (Gabrieli and Melchiori 26-27). The date of the additions is significant as within them the portrayal of the Flemings changes significantly.

English. No remedies are given for the injustices suffered by Doll and her husband, but instead More asks the rioters to view both themselves and the Flemings in a different 'frame'. The Flemings are viewed as an impoverished, helpless group of exiles who are saved by the English. Considering the additions to this play, it could be possible that these revisions were on the advice of Tilney.[86] It is possible that Tilney could have advised the playwrights to air views on the alien debate in a bid to make the play more palatable and dissuade any would be rioters. It could possibly be the case as these views are utterly contradictory and display the dichotomy of attitudes towards the stranger situation in late Elizabethan London. The wording and imagery is strikingly similar. This speech casts the natives as unjust: they are 'barbarous', 'hideous', and 'mountainous'. The English are barbarously cruel and uncivilised in their treatment of these strangers. No remedies are offered for the government's preferential treatment of strangers or solutions to the abuses suffered by the people because of them. More's vision uses emotive language and imagery and offers a romantic notion of the English as saviours of a powerless group, when in fact it has been shown at the start that it is the Flemings who hold power.

This bears a striking resemblance to Henry Finch's speech, made before the House of Commons in 1593, against the impending release of anti-alien law. Finch drew a stark comparison between these strangers and English refugees who had been forced into their position in the past:

> In the days of Queen Mary, when our Cause was as theirs is now, those Countries did allow us that liberty, which now we seek to deny them. They are strangers now, we may be strangers hereafter. So let us do as we would be done unto. (D'Ewes)

[86] More's speech is attributed to the hand of Shakespeare and he presents the counter argument to Sir Walter Raleigh's view of the stranger issues during the 1593 debates.

More repeats Finch's sentiment when he states at the end of his speech to the rioters: 'Faith, 'a says true; let's do as we may be done by' (2.3.152). The arguments of these two speeches are strikingly similar. An Anglo-Dutch brotherhood is realised again later in the play along with another instance of More's claim of English barbarity. More is again forced to defend the rights of the Dutch, however, on this occasion it is in the higher echelons of London society. More is honoured by the arrival of the Dutch humanist, Erasmus, but is highly embarrassed when his servant Randall beseeches Erasmus to know, 'how long will the Holland cheese in your country keep without maggots' (3.1.171-172). More enters into a fury, exclaiming, 'Fool, painted barbarism, retire thyself / Into thy first creation', forcing Randall to leave the stage. At which, More laments to Erasmus how,

> …Thus you see,
> My loving learned friends, how far respect
> Waits often on the ceremonious train
> Of base illiterate wealth, whilst men of schools,
> Shrouded in poverty, are counted fools. (3.1.173-178)

This suggests that educated English and Dutch people can be friends while it is the uneducated and uncivilised rabble that causes the problems in society, not understanding the cultural enrichment they are receiving from these strangers. The suggestion is that only those who have achieved the intellectual elevation generated by education can truly appreciate stranger communities.

Tilney had a close working relationship with Lord Strange's Men and during the early 1590s Tilney only viewed plays with a chance of being performed at court. William B. Long believes that the play *Sir Thomas More* was commissioned by some government official(s) as an aid in dealing with the problem of anti-alien

sentiment (Long 50). Using the figure of More to encourage this view further lends credence to this claim as More was considered a noble and honourable figurehead of London especially among the London citizenry; the very people who felt the strain of stranger economic competition. This adds to the hypothesis that court politics could have influenced the composition of this play.

Two sides of the stranger divide are presented in *Sir Thomas More.* The world of the London commoner and the hatred they feel towards the stranger community is strongly presented in the first half of the play, while the romantic notion of the Dutch in London and the brotherhood between English and Dutch intellectuals is presented in the romance genre of the play which follows. *Sir Thomas More*, however, remained too explosive to be staged, but Dekker, who Gabrieli and Melchiori suggest had a minor role in the revisions, took the romantic vision of the Dutch in More's speech and brought it a step further in his celebration of the Dutch in London in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), (Gabrieli and Melchiori 22). *Sir Thomas More*, however, demonstrates the influence of parliament and the libel on its ideological stance regarding aliens. The Dutch Church Libel (1593) offers a negative frame with which to view the Dutch in London and can be termed as a satirical text, while *Sir Thomas More* (1592/93) combines the same satirical genre with romance, thereby showing how hatred and xenophobia can be overcome. Tilney tried his best to air both sides of the divide without creating serious disturbance in London however it was possibly the differing generic conventions of the original manuscript and the additions that prevented a successful compromise of viewpoints.

2.4. Compromising Views in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600).

Another play would manage to cleverly and successfully fuse both sides of the divide in the comic-satire, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600). *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600) combines satire and comedy and is somewhat of a mid-way point between the total eradication and total assimilation of the Dutch in London. This text recognises the problems stereotypically associated with them, yet it also acknowledges the suffering of the Dutch as immigrants and refugees in a cutthroat London economy.

The Weakest Goeth to the Wall (1600) dramatises the hypothetical situation set forth for consideration in *Sir Thomas More*, which More called 'the strangers' case'. However, this stranger is an Englishman, Barnaby Bunch, who finds himself exiled in the Low Countries with a French noble family. This could be a creative ploy by the author of this play to escape the censoring pen of Tilney, as it satirises the Flemish in their own country and not in London. The play goes to great lengths to acknowledge the hardships experienced by all strangers in foreign lands. It is in Flanders that Bunch experiences the vulnerable life of a stranger in a foreign land and exploitation at the hands of his foreign hosts. Bunch suffers the difficulties that More asked the citizens to imagine. Yet, instead of pleading for compassion towards strangers, this play uses them as an object of attack and the cruel world this play is set in is more akin to the hostile, immoral world of the libel. The proverbial title of this play suggests a world of kind and moral treatment, a fix or frame of the world as a just and upright place. The play succeeds in turning this proverb on its head and frames an inversion of this world, where the vulnerable are the most abused in society. While in England, Londoners such as Williamson in *Sir Thomas More,* are punished for unintentionally taking the 'the wall of a stranger', now in Flanders,

Londoners are again trampled on, as the same 'imagined' level of respect is not reciprocated (1.1.41-42). However, Bunch acknowledges the plight suffered by the Flemish and Dutch in London and is sympathetic towards their plight. While the Flemish in Flanders are greedy, lecherous exploiters, Bunch attests that the Flemish in London are cruelly treated and endure harsh living conditions. They are certainly not the socially and economically powerful characters of the anti-alien debates, the Dutch Church Libel or those characterised in Act 1 of *Sir Thomas More.*

The Weakest Goeth to the Wall was performed by the Earl of Oxford's Men, whose patron, Edward de Vere, was known as an occasional xenophobia which could have influenced the representation of the Flemish Yacob in the play.[87] Although his cousins, the 'Fighting Veres' Sir Francis and Sir Horace were spearheads of the English campaign in the Netherlands and ardently pro-Dutch which could have possibly influenced the composition of this play as it is almost a half-way point between the feelings of overriding sympathy for Low Countries' exiles and the vicious satirical characterisations of lecherous, avaricious Flemish exploiters. While the play was not published until 1600, its title fits it into the mid 1590s London stage when the old fashion for plays enacting familiar proverbs gained a renewed life (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 310). This timeframe suggests a period of changing attitudes towards the Dutch and Flemish in London, the alien situation had lost much of the fiery aggression of the early 1590s but this would return with vengeance in 1599, the year of *The Shoemaker's Holiday's* London debut.

The Weakest exhibits many of the old stereotypical associations with Low Countries' natives, especially that of the Flemish as consumers of English men both economically and physically. Bunch is horrified by the avaricious nature of his

[87] De Vere once refused to participate in a court dance in August 1578 on the grounds that he "did not want to entertain Frenchmen." However, he shared in a court dance and masque months later during Shrovetide celebrations for the French ambassador (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 307).

corpulent Flemish host, Jacob van Smelt; this type of character was espoused by Raleigh when he accused Low Countries' strangers of having the ability to 'eat out profits' (D'Ewes). Smelt lives up to Raleigh's xenophobic belief as he delights in the fiscal rewards he is set to receive in lodging Bunch and some other strangers,

> Now you eat met mie and slope met mie in mine huys...twea mannikins, twea tannikins, twea mans, twea womans: spreak, wat will you geven by de daght? by de weeke? by de mont? by de yeare? all to mall. (C1)

Smelt, as his name alludes, is a fishy, despicable type of character, and he is the figurehead of amorality in the play. [88] He relishes the prospect of the monetary gains due to refugees, and his pun on the word 'mall', alludes to his intention to defile the bodies with his 'smelly', fishy hands as he exhorts what he can from them. The playwright also dramatises the stereotypical, rumoured Low Country uninhibited sexuality. Smelt behaves in a lecherous way to an exiled French noblewoman, Oriana, offering her the option to pay for her lodgings by giving her body to him:

> You bene a skone Frow...by my soule Ick loue you met all my heart. And you will loue mee, smouch mee, and bee my secret vriend, de charle sall niet knowe, Ick will you gelt geven, and you man sall niet betall, niet paid for your logies noe your meat: wat seg you? (C1v) [89]

Smelt again fits the Flemish stereotype as he is a lewd, lustful man, willing to exploit anyone for monetary again. Smelt tries to persuade Oriana to become sexually

[88] Smelt's name alludes to herring; the cornerstone of the early modern Flemish diet. Instead of inhabiting the compassionate world of the living, Smelt lives in the cold, watery world of the herring.

[89] You are a beautiful woman...by my soul I love you with all my heart. And you will love me, smooch me and be my secret friend. Your husband shall not know. I will give you money and your husband shall not pay. Not for your lodgings or for your meat. What do you say?

immoral, which is fitting considering this is a Dutch and Flemish stereotype. This xenophobic portrayal is severely opposed in Oriana's honourable response:

> I say, mine Host, that you are ill-advis'd,
> To tempt the honour of a stranger's wife:
> Consider, if your fortune were as ours,
> In forainne place to rest ye for a time,
> Would you your wife should be allur'd to sinne?
> To breake her vow and to dishonour you? (Cv-C2)

Similarly to *Sir Thomas More,* it is the woman, Oriana who tackles Smelt's advances, showing herself to be a strong, dominant character. Oriana's speech is reminiscent of Doll's strong retort to the advances of De Bard in *Sir Thomas More*. Like Doll, it is Oriana who stands up to the foreigner and refuses to be disrespected by him. She is stronger than her husband, who turns into a weak and pathetic man, dependant on Bunch to provide for the family and leaving his wife and daughter open to lechery on the part of Smelt. Comparably to the husband Williamson in *Sir Thomas More*, Lodowick is weak and ineffective in defending his family and is wholly submissive to Smelt, even agreeing to hand over his wife and daughter to Smelt when he is unable to pay his bill.

Another emasculated man, Lodowick is happy to leave the responsibility of providing for his family to Bunch, who is exasperated as he is unable to foot the bill. Bunch complains: 'This Flaunders is too thriftie a countrey, for here the women will heele their husbands hose themselves' (D3). The economic opportunities yielded to Dutch and Flemish craftsmen in England are not reciprocated in the Netherlands. Bunch's predicament mirrors the strong claims of the libel which cast these strangers as greedy, ungrateful parasites who must be wiped out at all costs. The Flemish,

unlike the English, are 'thriftie' they will not give the economic opportunities normally afforded to simple tradesmen like Bunch in their own economy. He is unable to compete with Smelt and the wider Flemish population gives him no way to make an income. Bunch's generosity and innate good-natured further accentuates Smelt's pitilessness and the surrounding pitilessness of the Flemish economy. When Bunch is unable to pay the debts incurred by the family the character of Smelt relishes the fact and reveals an almost sadistic streak in his nature. True to his stereotype, Smelt is not only indifferent and cunning but he also recognises a good economic opportunity where he can see one, and views the two women as a goldmine waiting for him to reap the rewards from selling their bodies as prostitutes. Bunch warns Lodowick how,

> this foule, fat Smelt, tells me, that hee has smelt out a smocke commoditie for a pawne, that is, to haue your wife and daughter to gage: if ye be wise, make your bargain that hee doo not vse your pawn, for though it will not be much worse for the wearing, yet it is a pittie it should bee slubbered by such a cullion as Yacob Smelt. (D3)

Bunch's comments allude to the practise of pawning goods; in particular the pawning of clothes, such as the reference to 'smocke' which is a ladies undergarment. Bunch is referencing the practice of seam-stressing and the dealing of second-hand goods, two industries stereotypically associated with Low Countries women and, more specifically, Low Countries prostitutes. Simon Schama has also noted that many failed seamstresses in the United Provinces ended up taking to the streets as prostitutes to make a living (Schama *Embarrassment* 485). In the above statement, Bunch is using the selling and pawning of second hand clothes as a metaphor for the buying of these two women's bodies.

Lodowick leaves his family for England, where he is be able to make money to 'redeeme' (E) his wife and daughter from their forced enslavement. Their noble status and royal blood is downtrodden by Low Countries' societal equality. Yet their 'redemption' also offers a pun on salvation through the Protestant religion. Lodowick is a broken man, he laments to the English vicar that he meets on arriving at Gravesend:

> Oh sir, the world is grown so ful of doubts…
> As if a poore man beg, they straight co[n]demne him,
> And say, he is an idle vagabound:
> Or if he aske a seruice, or to worke,
> They straight away are suspicious of this truth:
> So that howeuer, they will find excuse,
> That he shall still continue miserable.
> And tis as common as tis true withal,
> The weakest euer goe vnto the wall. (Ev)

Lodowick sees the world as a continuing struggle against misery and woe. His view of the world is in which the weakest are abused, not let to 'goe vnto the wall'. Yet, Lodowick's luck changes as the vicar is so moved by Lodowick's suffering. Sir Nicholas, the vicar, is the redeemer of Lodowick and his family and England is cast as a place of economic prosperity but also of godliness and clean moral living. Lodowick is employed by Sir Nicholas who gives him a job as church sexton and 'a house to dwell in rent-free' (E2). Lodowick's moral and financial salvation by the Protestant minister sharply contrasts his treatment by the Flemish. They are odious, ungodly creatures in comparison to the English and the anonymous writer of this play is urging the audience to concur with him in his view of this nation.

Bunch is initially horrified by Smelt's indifferent attitude towards profiting from stranger's vulnerability yet their position is reminiscent of the less-than-charitable motives of England in establishing colonies of Flemish artisans (McCluskey 346). Bunch states:

> you, Flemish Boore shal not call me nit; ye base Butterbox, ye Smelt, your kinsfolks dwell in the Thames and are sold like slaves in the Cheap-side by the hundredth, two pence a quarterne. (C)

Bunch's remark about Smelt's kinsmen constitutes a cruel glance at the living conditions endured by London's Dutch and Flemish immigrants, many of whom lived in overcrowded tenements near the Thames (McCluskey 346). Bunch is xenophobic towards the Flemish but his remark shows that he is also aware of the many shared similarities between his and their predicaments. Bunch details the real difficulties of life as a stranger in a foreign land as he states how 'We travellers are abiect, thats to say, order'd to many miseries and troubles' (B2). Bunch observes the separation of families and their heartbreak as they are forced to flee their native land. As armies invade, families say their goodbyes and leave whatever wealth they own behind:

> We vnprouided, and our foes at hand,
> The head depres'd how the body stand…
> Thou art my life, then if I live tis wonder,
> When limmes and life are forc'd to part in sunder. (B2v-B3)

The imagery of dismemberment evokes the pain endured by strangers who endure this experience. Bunch himself describes the reality of having to flee due to war: 'I am sure to be in most danger because I am an Englishman and a stranger. This is the lucke of them that travel forrain lands' (B2v). The plight of the stranger is no doubt

shown in this play and Bunch himself is sure that the Flemish in London are not there to exploit but there due to war and destruction in their native lands. While they take advantage of Bunch and his cohort in their own country, in England they are manipulated by Londoners, sold like slaves and living in squalor in over-crowded tenements.

Flanders is seen as a country totally corrupt, the dishonesty even manages to infect 'honest' Barnaby Bunch. Bunch fails to seek vengeance for the abused family, instead he bids Smelt to come and drink beer with him, showing that he is more interested in 'Mother Bunch' beer than morality: 'theres a tunne of English stark beer, new come to Newkerk…come Ile giue thee a slope or two' (D3v). Bunch's ineffective means of tackling Smelt through a drinking-game even verges on amicability between the two. His behaviour reflects the amoral, cruel world that this play strives to create. Bunch's behaviour almost alludes to an alliance with Smelt against the women; even Bunch can not be trusted. This amoral world is the antithesis of the romantic idealism displayed in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. The women lose faith in Bunch and leave him there to drink with Smelt, leaving for refuge in England. The final stinging satirical pinch in this play is that it is never actually documented how the women's debts were paid, even though Smelt agrees that the women have 'well betalld' (E3).[90] Oriana lists Smelt's 'extreame' imperfections, such as 'excesse in diet, kindled fire of lust', and finally a remark on the family's exploitation, declaring to Smelt: 'your lust has abused vs all / We haue not falne, thogh want did wrastle hard: / Our fingers ends our honours haue sustaind' (E3). The exploitation of the women's situation parallels that of the many Flemish and Dutch women in London, many of whom were wartime refugees compelled to

[90] 'well paid' or 'paid in full'

enter into the sex trade and this is a theme which will be returned to in the component of this chapter discussing *The Dutch Courtesan.* While satirising the Flemish, the play also dramatises the plight of female wartime refugees.

This play offers a cynical view of the world, a world of an 'unidealized existence' (Frye 223). It capitalises on the English national hatred of Low Countries, however, it acknowledges their suffering and draws empathy between the audience and all wartime immigrants. True to the satirical template, as outlined by Frye, Flanders is cast as a world full of anomalies, injustices, follies, and crimes (Frye 226), and while some prosperity and redemption is to be found in England, the hardships of the Low Countries' community there is acknowledged. The play seems to suggest that it is war which creates exploitation, suffering and hardship rather than the people themselves. While the English are exploited in Flanders, the Flemish experience the same treatment in London. Even Bunch, the hard critic of the Flemish, recognises kinship with Smelt at the end of the play with their shared love of beer. The 'oracle' and 'prophecy' for the audience proposes that we must expect sufferance and immigration when war arrives yet it is not the commoners who are to blames for this unrest.

2.5. The Utopian Vision of Anglo-Dutch Capitalism in Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600).

Having previously worked on *Sir Thomas More,* Dekker would later take this romantic vision of the Dutch and develop it into a celebration of the Dutch in London in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* which was staged at court by the Admiral's

Men on the 1st January 1599/1600.[91] 1599 had been an ominous year in Elizabethan England as anti-alien tensions again began to mount due to low wages and high prices. Record numbers were recorded on the gallows for acts of petty theft by starving Londoners while soldiers were mustered in their droves for protracted wars in Ireland and the Netherlands. The mustering of soldiers such as Lacy and Ralph Davenport in the play would have been seen repeatedly on London streets during these times (Seaver 87). This story itself centres on the character of Lacy who disguises himself as a Dutch shoemaker in a bid to evade war and court his true-love, Rose. Lacy's transgression results in his London shoemakers' developing a new-found respect for Dutch workers and enjoying immense prosperity due to trade with Dutch merchants. The Dutch in this play bring an endless supply of luscious food rather than 'eating out' English food, as accused by Raleigh almost seven years before.

Whereas *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* dramatises both sides of the stranger argument, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* advocates the pro-alien stance and welcomes their presence in London. Finally, Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600) offers its audience a comic-romance where the Dutch are no longer alien but brothers to the common English man and bringers of wealth and happiness. While 'The Dutch Church Libel', *Sir Thomas More* and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* are all officially anonymous, Thomas Dekker's inclusivity of the Dutch in his celebration of London civic life, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, reveals much about his imagining of the Dutch. Dekker's embracement of the Dutch in the English domestic sphere exposes his own attitude of the Dutch as an intrinsic part of London. It is not

[91] Scott Oldenburg has also demonstrated how Dekker's romantic vision of joyful Anglo-Dutch commerce has also been inspired by the writings of Thomas Deloney, who Oldenburg argues was the son of French immigrants in London (Oldenburg *Alien passim*).

surprising that Dekker should exhibit this stance considering that he himself was probably descended from Dutch immigrants in London.

This play had strong court connections; the patron of the acting troupe, the Lord Admiral himself, was a cousin of the queen and immensely wealthy due to the legalisation of piracy (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 231). His naval connections provide an interesting analogy when considering the mysterious Dutch sea captain who brings tremendous wealth into the lives of the Londoners in the play. It is plausible that the Lord Admiral could have been using this play as a weapon in the alien debate of 1590s London.[92] It is certainly true that due to the fact that parliament did not meet often in those days and theatre became the only public sphere in which to discuss public issues, such as the proliferation of Dutch shoemakers in London and the impact this had for the native community.

Dekker urges English workmen to view those in power with suspicion rather than his honest Dutchmen. Dekker creates an immediate allusion to the play he had worked on in the years previously, when he replicates the imagery of More's compassionate speech in the Prologue of the 1600 court edition of this play where he states:

> As wret[c]hes in a storme (expecting day)
> With trembling hands and eyes cast vp to heauen,
> Make Prayers the anchor of their conquerd hopes…
> On bended knees, our sailes of hope do strike. (Dekker 1600, 1-8)

The wretches that Dekker refers to could possibly be the same 'wretched strangers' More described as searching for transportation at English ports with 'their babies at their backs' (2.3.81). Dekker evokes in the prologue the imagery of sailing, of rough

[92] Admirals began to develop a new repertory that appealed more narrowly and explicitly to the city and citizens than to lawyers and gentry. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* celebrates legendary mayor, shows apprentice aspirations (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 244).

crossings and of hope in times of extreme misery with these castaways finally landing 'on bended knees' before Queen Elizabeth. Intertwined with this rich imagery in the play are the realities of socio-economic history during the latter years of the Elizabethan era. Eyre's workshop can be viewed as a symbol for the home and the economic heart of London. The antipathy and resentment felt towards Dutch craftsmen, as evidenced in the libel, makes it quite a revelation to see the labourers, Firk and Hodge, encourage their master to employ a Dutch shoemaker, as in reality, relations between English craftsmen and immigrant workers were hardly so supportive (Fleck *Marking* 354). Noticing Hans, the apprentice shoemaker, Firk calls to Eyre:

> Master, for my life, yonder's a brother of the Gentle Craft! …He's some uplandish workman. Hire him, good master, that I may learn some gibble-gabble. 'Twill make us work the faster. (4.42-45)

Firk's statement that it will 'make us work the faster' suggests that he has recognised a skilled continental worker who can increase economic productivity. This offers a more potent understanding of the line, 'And for your worke more curious to the ey' of the libel: the possibility that the Dutch were more skilled in the trades than the English (Freeman 27). This also reasserts their forceful approach to trade competition, as Dutch craftsmen were accused of undercutting agreed guild prices for goods, making their wares even more attractive in the English marketplace. Eyre is reluctant to take on a new labourer, reminding his employees that it is 'a hard world, let him pass, let him vanish' (4.46-47). However, Hodge views Hans as 'a proper man, and I warrant a fine workman...If such a man as he cannot find work, Hodge is not for you' (4.52-56). Firk threatens to follow suit, thereby Eyre is forced to welcome Hans into the guild. The workmen's insistence on the employment of

Hans is interesting considering the parliamentary debaters admittance of the superiority of Netherlandish craftsmanship.

Though the Dutchness is concocted, it is still a fascinating symbolic gesture that imagines the Dutch as part of the fabric of London life but Lacy is forced to leave his aristocratic status outside to gain entry into this world. Lacy's casting off of his title reflects the morals of a Dutch republican society rather than England. Lacy has no issue with deserting the army and the king and taking on this lowly role as he is doing it for love. Love is his noble quest in this comic-romantic play.

Although only moments before Hodge had declared his solidarity with the Dutchman, he now warns Hans to 'use thyself friendly…if not, thou shalt be fought with' (4.92-93), indicating the labourers' wariness and expectations, as well as Hodge's own fickleness (Fleck *Marking* 359). Contrary to the stereotypical associations, it is the English workmen Firk and Hodge who insinuate that Hans should buy them a round of drinks, before they have even had their breakfast. Dekker is superimposing the Dutch stereotype on these English workers to show that the Dutch and the English are not so different at all. Yet, the workers still remind Hans of his inferior position within the workshop. Firk says how he is 'not so foolish to go behind you, I being the elder journeyman' (4.116), thereby asserting his own importance and precedence, partly to maintain his newfound rank; but also perhaps because this rank will ensure that he receives better food at the breakfast table, rather than allowing the stereotypically gluttonous Dutchman to eat first (Fleck *Marking* 358-59). Eyre also reflects this hierarchal system in his insistence that all of the more baser work be sent to the Hans even though he is possibly the most skilled worker, 'Fie, defile not thy fine, workmanly fingers with the feet of kitchen-stuff and basting ladies…Put gross work to Hans' (7.78-81). Mistress Eyre – herself an object of

derision within the male workforce of the shop – condescendingly asks Hans 'pray thee, tie my shoe', (10.24) an order which he compliantly obeys, 'Yaw, ik sal fro.' (10.25). Rather than the arrogant, wealthy Flemings portrayed in *Sir Thomas More*, Dekker puts forth a different version of a supposed inferior Dutchman who is happy to fulfil that role. This allows the audience to enjoy a feeling of their imagined superiority and therefore accept the Dutch even more, as they are portrayed as servants for the English.

Hans' difference is portrayed linguistically on the stage as his speech becomes a subject of ridicule in the workshop and he is tirelessly derided for his guttural Dutch pronunciation and rudimentary grasp of English linguistic expression. Even Firk clearly stated to Eyre upon first noticing Hans that listening to Hans' 'gibble-gabble' would make him 'work the faster' (4.45) scorn and mock Hans' efforts to communicate, thereby evoking the foreign presence only to be subordinate it (Fleck *Marking* 360). The actuality that this is in fact an Englishman doing such a remarkable job at mimicking a Dutchman, further blurs the boundaries between English and Dutch. However, even though the Dutch spoken in the play is linguistically different, it is not so different that the audience has difficulty in understanding its meaning. Remarkably, it is still possible for the majority of Londoners to understand this language.

Lacy acts out Dutch stereotypes with marvellous accuracy and another English character in the play, Mistress Eyre, also participates in these Dutch reflections. Like Doll in *Sir Thomas More*, the stereotypical characteristics ascribed to Dutch women are acted out by Mistress Eyre, Margery. Margery is very interested and attuned to the business conducted in the workshop of her husband, although he makes sure that her suggestions are kept to a minimum. Many English travellers

including Fynes Moryson and Sir Roger coke noted how the Dutch educated 'both sexes' in mathematics and commerce, resulting in the women being 'knowing [in commerce] as the men' (Haley 110; 111). Moryson detected a dominance of women over men which he ascribed to the wives' privilege of disposing of their goods by the own last will and testament (Haley 111). Moryson viewed this as an 'unnatural domineering' of women over men and Margery is treated as a woman who has an 'unnatural' desire to dominate her husband and his workshop. Her husband calls her a plethora of names during the play, in one exchange she is referred to as 'Dame Clapper-dudgeon' and as a 'soused conger' (4.109-110), the many references to her body in a sexual manner also reflects the Dutch female stereotype. Margery is dramatised as a meddling, dominant, churlish women who is kept in check by Eyre and his men. It is clear that Dekker's land of civic fantasy is not a place allowed to be operated or controlled by overbearing women; this seems to be a Dutch image he wants to reject.

The honour and wealth brought by strangers is symbolised by Dekker through the social and economic advancement of Simon Eyre. Though Eyre is initially reluctant to take on this fake Dutchman, it is this precise single act which brings him great wealth and social advancement. This glorification of the Dutch in London bears strong resemblance to the pro-alien debaters of 1593. Sir John Wolley and Sir Robert Cecil were fervently pro-stranger and opposed Raleigh. Wolley argued how: 'The riches and renown of the city cometh by entertaining of strangers and giving liberty unto them', while Cecil declared that, 'this Entertainment of them [strangers] had brought great Honour to our Kingdom' (D'Ewes). Dekker dramatises these sentiments when Hans, the disguised Lacy, meets the only truly Dutch

character in the play, the Skipper, acting on behalf of a mysterious Dutch purveyor of luxurious goods who is eager to sell,

> dis skip dat comen from Candy is al fol, by Got's sacrament, van sugar, civet, almonds, cambric end alle dingen, towsand, towsand ding. Nempt it, Hans, nempt it vor your meester. (7.1-5)[93]

The goods that Dekker names are luxuries belonging to an idealistic fantasy world that many Londoners would have only dreamed about. Many of the goods the Skipper refers to are from the Middle or Far East and would have represented extreme examples on the scale of luxury items. The trading that Dekker is referring to is the start of a new highly profitable industry and it is Eyre's connection with this which dramatically alters his future. Dekker dramatises these goods are free-flowing in a republican world where even a simple shoemaker can become a wealthy potentate of London overnight and Dekker casts these events as only possible with the Dutch as allies with the common Englishman. The riches brought to Eyre through the profit from these items' further sale to starts him on a journey to become Lord Mayor of London, the same post occupied, coincidentally, by Sir Thomas More. Dekker offers a civic fantasy where poverty, xenophobia and social boundaries no longer exist and where free-flowing goods in a prosperous world transform a simple shoemaker into a wealthy potentate of London overnight.

Dekker creates loyalty and fidelity between the English workers and Lacy/Hans as they begin to view him as their brother. They even flout English governance as they respect their Dutch workman more than members of the English upper classes. Eyre articulates how 'Simon Eyre had never walked in a red petticoat,

[93] Knowles, James, ed. *The Roaring Girl and Other City Comedies*. 318-319. This exchange has been glossed thus: 'this ship that comes from Candy [Crete], is all full, by God's sacrament, of sugar, civet, almonds, cambric, and all things—a thousand, thousand things. Take it, Hans, take it for your master. There are the bills of lading [inventories]. Your master Simon Eyre shall have a good bargain. What say you, Hans?

nor wore a chain of gold, but for my fine journeyman's portagues' (17.13; 17.18). This is the fascinating aspect of Lacy's disguise as Hans, as he metamorphoses from a source of 'mirth' to a character well respected and even loved by his colleagues in the play. He transmutes from an 'uplandish workman' (4.43) into the 'most properest workman' (11.62), referred to by Eyre as 'my honest Hans' (17.1). Firk guards Hans: 'Shall I betray my brother? No. Shall I prove Judas to Hans? No' (16.95-96). When Oatley slanders Hans as 'A Fleming butter-box' (16.42), he is reprimanded by Lincoln to 'be not so cruel' (16.48), thus reaffirming Finch's argument for tolerance in 1593. Firk refers to Hans as 'my brother' (16.95) and Hans similarly refers to him as 'myn leiver broder'.[94] Hans changes from a 'stranger' to a brother of these workmen. Oatley loses his occupation as mayor to Eyre. He suffers because he slandered Hans; Eyre prospers for taking Hans in. Finally, Lacy casts off his disguise and regains his true love, receives a royal pardon and sets about to enjoy a sumptuous shoemakers' feast given by Eyre. All of the feared threats posed by Dutch workmen have been quelled; they work hard, assimilate into the community, bring great wealth and prosperity and instead of cannibalising Englishmen they provide a never-ending supply of luxury food items. Ironically, the now Mayor Eyre, holds his feast especially for the apprentices of London; the very characters who began the violent anti-alien riot dramatised in *Sir Thomas More.*

Dekker's play is a comic-romantic, fantasy world of wealth, mirth, community and household work and it is exactly this cheerful atmosphere which makes the play so compelling. Dekker is creating a mythology of London's commerce where Eyre and his workmen mirror the workings of the national economy. What is gripping about this mythology is that the Dutch are included and

[94] 'My dearest brother'

they are in the English home, aiding in London's local craftsmanship and also in international trade. Oatley loses his occupation as mayor to Eyre and what is compelling is that he has slandered Hans while Eyre has taken him in. Dekker uses the genre of romance to create a fantasy world of economic prosperity and mirth and he sees the Dutch as a crucial element in establishing and maintaining this utopia. The romantic guise makes it palatable for audiences to accept the Dutch as part of their social and economic network. Gurr states that *The Shoemaker's Holiday* was performed at court for Queen Elizabeth on New Year, 1600 (Gurr *Shakespearean Playing* 244). The court performance of this play adds to its mythology as the Queen would have been the focus of the performance. Elizabeth sat as matriarch, saviour and provider over her idealised version of her London, or of how she thought London should be.

2.6. 'De gran' pest, St. Anthony's fire, and de hot Neapolitan poc rot him!' (2.2.44-45): Dutch Subversive Sexual Economics on the London Stage.

The Shoemaker's Holiday presents the audience with a utopian fantasy of economic, social, cultural, and international cohesion in London. It is a place where a simple shoemaker can rise to the level of mayor, where true love prevails and where all wrongs are rectified. There can be no doubt, however, that Dekker's vision is but merely a 'fiction of social and economy harmony' (Kastan 327). Lacy's guise as 'honest Hans' (17.1) brings contentment, social elevation, and respect into the workshop of Simon Eyre, yet others must pay the price and suffer for Eyre to be granted these advantages. Capitalism and economic prosperity have a cost and they are not equally shared by all of the characters in Dekker's mercantile dream, which is something Dekker chooses to ignore. David Scott Kastan has noted, for instance,

how Eyre's wealth is generated due to the exploitation of the merchant owner's loss of his ship for Eyre's gain, leading to a 'triumph of capitalist enterprise' (Kastan 327). The play, however, refuses to engage in any moral concern that the episode might elicit (Kastan 327).

Previous studies on *The Dutch Courtesan* have focused on the play's Eurocentric and mercantile nature (Hoenselaars 1992; Howard *Theatre* 2009; Howard *Mastering* 1996), on linguistic difference in the play (Rubright 2013), and xenophobia within the play (Finkelpearl 1969; Oldenburg 2010). I argue that in *The Dutch Courtesan*, Franceschina, the Dutch prostitute, is herself the object of consumption as she sells her body for the profit of her English bawd, Mary Faugh. Her body is 'an artful product' which is used and exploited and for the enjoyment of the English clients (Howard *Theatre* 153), Freevill and Malheureux, thereby debasing their own morality through the unnecessary consumption of a product which is debasing English men and English marriages. However, the play also sheds light on the past of Franceschina and the suffering she has endured as a prostitute. By doing so, the play questions masculinity and the libertine values of London's male urban elite.

Furthermore, the Mullgrubs' contact with the mysterious Dutch sect, the Family of Love, has corrupted their marriage and resulted in Mistress Mulligrub's lustfulness and dominance over her husband. At the play's finale, Mulligrub is admonished by the wily Cocledemoy for being a 'jumbler of elements' (110-111). Berated for mixing and prompting the mixing of other English nationals, Cocledemoy condemns Mulligrub as he prepares to hang for being 'a broacher of profane vessels; you have made us drink of the juice of the whore of Babylon' (5.3.103-104). Cocledemoy also rails again the Dutch courtesan, Franceschina, who

he charges as being 'as false, as prostituted, and adulterate, as some translated manuscript' (4.3.6-8). Cocledemoy associates the Mulligrubs with Dutchness by means of their materialism, industriousness and membership of the Family of Love. He accuses them of selling adulterated and poor quality foodstuffs and gulls them into exchanging a side of mutton with a rotting fish, a fitting jibe considering their absorption of Dutch 'fishiness' and sale of low quality foodstuffs (Rubright 'Going Dutch' 107).

Franceschina's feelings of anger, frustration, debasement, and victimisation motivate her to construct a plan of vengeance against Freevill, Malheureux, and Freevill's fiancée, Beatrice, as she attempts to wreak death, murder, imprisonment, and madness down upon all three of them. Franceschina's evil scheming, however, comes to naught, as she herself is the one gulled by Freevill and Malheureux, and is scuttled off the stage at the play's conclusion to the 'severest prison' where she will endure the 'extremest whip' (5.3.55; 57) for her attempt to subvert social order.

In this play the body of the Dutch woman becomes just another product for sale in the capitalist economy of London and when this body finally rebels it is sentenced to a cruel end in an institution outside of English society. Franceschina's body becomes a metaphor for the Low Countries themselves, a place where a 'war' on feminine sexuality is maintained in the same way that the Protestant war against Catholicism in the Low Countries protects England from war coming 'home to their own doors' (1.1.67-68). This Dutch woman has no hope of ever securing economic prosperity in London, or of ever being socially accepted by the English; she simply cannot compete and succeed in the way Dutch and Flemish characters are represented as doing so in the other texts examined earlier in this chapter.

The play's Prologue announces the drama to be an 'easy play' which aims to 'delight' the audience (Prologue 1; 8), while the Fabulae Argumentum explains that the plot centres on the 'difference betwixt the love of a courtesan and a wife', which 'intermixed with the deceits of a witty city jester, fills up the comedy' (Fabulae Argumentum 1-3). Charles Cathcart has stated that the Prologue is suffused with authorial consciousness and exhibits an edgy truculence, despite its claims of 'easy' delight (Cathcart 'Passionate'). The Fabulae Argumentum also offers a much more intriguing summation of the play than what appears at first glance. Its suggestion is that that the play is a moral debate focusing on the distinction between the courtesan, Franceshina, and the wife-to-be, Beatrice, amid the activities of a 'witty, city jester' who could be either Freevill or Cocledemoy (Kirwan). However, neither Beatrice nor her similarly betrothed sister, Crispinella, actually wed (Salkeld 'Comedy'), and it is unclear and vague as to who the 'witty, city jester' actually is.

It is clear, however, that the play is far from being an 'easy' comedy and exhibits many examples of dark satire, in addition to a sinister revenge plot which almost succeeds. The play's final scenes document how Franceschina will receive harsh physical punishment and imprisonment, and Mulligrub only nearly escapes near death at the hands of the executioner. In fact, Franceschina's sad fate questions as to whether this play is a comedy at all; she is lead off the stage in shock and silence in a similar way to the demise of the broken Shylock at the end of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. The Prologue and Fabulae Argumentum do not seem to offer an accurate account of the dark complexities that the audience will have to consider in this play. Marston's statement, however, that the audience should 'think not but, like others, rail we could, / Best art presents, not what it can, but should' (Prologue 5-6) hint at the play's philosophical and intellectual messages

concerning prostitution, migration, and male urban culture in London. Marston invites his city audiences to think about the value systems of the day (Sanders).

Harry Keyishian made the suggestion that Marston's view of whoredom and prostitution in *The Dutch Courtesan* is a dark and satirical riposte to sentimentality of this issue exhibited in Thomas Dekker's *The Honest Whore* (Keyishian 264). The morality and darkness of the play has also been noted by Robert Presson who has argued that Marston demonstrates a 'morality habit-of-mind' throughout the plot and sub-plot (Presson 407).[95] The Prologue's assertion then that the goal of the play is 'not to instruct, but to delight' (Prologue 8) seems to be an 'awkward and intriguing claim' in that the play is quite instructional on how to consider the issues of prostitution, Dutchness, intermixing, masculinity, and marriage (Cathcart 'Passionate').[96] Kate Aughterson also notes how there are generic and discursive links between morality and city comedy character 'types', particularly that of 'Vice' in relation to Freevill's place in the play (Aughterson 22), while the prologue directs the audience to 'survey / Nothing but passionate man' instructs them to consider 'passionate man' as everyman (Cathcart 'Passionate'). Therefore, the prologue asks the audience to consider these common and everyday issues occurring in their native London with a keen eye and, perhaps, even a moralistic stance which is castigating

[95] Robert Presson argues that Marston adapted the Italian novella *The Countesse of Celant* to a pattern of the morality play (Presson 407). Presson states that the action of Marston's play is also motivated by lust and the desire for revenge in many similar ways to *The Countesse of Celant* (Presson 406). In the novella, however, the Countess is portrayed as insatiate in desire and revenge, whereas Franceshina is just insatiate in revenge, and the revenge is directed against former lovers in both texts (Presson 411). The intrigue with a revenge motive plotting is also common in both texts (Presson 412).

[96] The prologue was intimately linked to the power that the spectators of a first performance held: the power to give or withhold approbation of the play that they were about to witness *The Dutch Courtesan* is an 'easy play'. As is often the case with Marston's writings, the phrase's application is hard to gauge. And so, if the drama that is about to arrive appears insubstantial ('if our pen in this seem over-slight'), that is because the company wants to 'delight' those who are watching, not to 'instruct' them (Cathcart 'Passionate').

Dutch prostitutes, but moreso London urban male gallants, such as Freevill, for their corrupting libertine and 'evil' behaviour in the city.

In fact, the play is almost exclusively focused upon the evilness of London, while the audience are directed to interpret the plot as exposing the venalities of Franceschina (Salkeld 'Comedy'), the venalities of a whole range of English characters are exposed. Mulligrub is fated to hang simply for picking up a cloak, Cocledemoy wittily and cruelly threatens the very stability of married life, Tysefew describes the callous ineptitude of the trial system and Mistress Mulligrub recalls innocent men being hanged 'deservedly' (Salkeld 'Comedy'). Marston reminds the audience of the devastating injustices of the age (Salkeld 'Comedy'). What ties all of Marston's disparate elements together is the fact that this is very much a civic comedy, one that mentions specific London locations (Salkeld 'Comedy').

Franceschina, however, is the central focus of the play. Her name features at the head of the list of the dramatis personae, sharing priority here with the title of the play (Kirwan). Naming the play after Franceschina and foregrounding her in the list of parts has an evitable influence on how the reader/audience approach the play. To place Franceschina at the top of the *dramatis personae*, the position often referred for the ruling figure of the play, perhaps goes further to say something about the fascination she holds over men (Kirwan). Served by Mary Faugh (who immediately sits below her on the list, unusually placing two female characters at the head of the play), lusted after by both Freevill and Malheureux, and able to manipulate the entire cast of the play, there is indeed a power to Franceschina (Kirwan). Casting the play's 'courtesan', however, as Dutch is somewhat oxymoronic in fashion as Franceshina is modelled on the famed and celebrated courtesans of Venice in this respect. Prostitutes from the Low Countries had a long history in London both in terms of

fantasy and reality; these ladies, however, were far from courtesans and were associated with the stews of the Liberties, taverns, and street vice, as discussed earlier in this chapter. English court rolls show that in 1576, the Bridewell Hospital governors heard that, 'There laye a dutch woman and her daughter at Shawes a sennight past and they were carted about the town.' This was as a punishment for trading in prostitution (cited in Salkeld *Shakespeare* 64). Ten days later, the court gave order that, 'margaret Fallantyne widowe dwellinge nere Tower street for that she is a bawd to her owne daughter & others shalbe carted up & downe the towne according to the custome of this citie w[it]h basons an order latelie taken by my Lo[rd] maior when the gove[rno]rs were w[it]h hym' (cited in Salkeld *Shakespeare* 64). Certainly, there is something extremely absurd about Franceschina, a Dutch prostitute with an Italianate name operating as a courtesan in London.

There can be no doubt that Franeschina is the ultimate loser in the play, but I would suggest that she is much more sympathetically portrayed than previously suggested; and, in contrast, it is the male characters in the play, particularly Freevill and Cocledemoy, who come under the most severe scrutiny, as has been suggested by Kate Aughterson. This sympathetic view of Franceschina in combination with the history of English envy at Dutch economic success, as evinced in the texts discussed earlier in this chapter, is something, perhaps, Marston wished to bring up for public consideration. Furthermore, there are some clear causes of Franceschina's quest for revenge which hint at the dark side of prostitution in London which makes the theme of free love and patriarchy very ambiguous issues in this play.

The play's main plot centres on the unscrupulous activities of the London gallant, Freevill, as persuades his puritanically inclined friend, Malheureux, to partake of 'the pleasure of a wanton bed' (1.1.129) with the Dutch courtesan,

Franceschina, who he seeks to discard with in order to pursue a marriage with the chaste and virtuous daughter of an English knight, Beatrice. Freevill uses his educated law school and theological rhetoric to promote the frequentation of prostitutes (Aughterson 25), even though he seeks to end his partaking of this vice in order to establish a stable marriage. Franceschina, unfortunately, does not wish to be discarded by Freevill and attempts to gull Malheureux into murdering Freevill in order to sexually enjoy her. Franceschina, however, is the one who is gulled by both Freevill and Malheureux who cooperate to secure her total eradication from London society, to which they succeed.

The sub-plot of the play focuses upon the inn-keeper, Mulligrub, and his domineering wife, Mistress Mulligrub. The Mulligrubs, in addition to Franceschina's bawd, Mary Faugh, are all members of the mysterious Dutch religious sect, The Family of Love; a group who were rumoured, erroneously, to practice 'free love' in the seventeenth century. Marston conflates the alleged Familist promiscuity with the spaces of the brothel and of the Mulligrubs' tavern, frequented by Franceschina's bawd, Mary Faugh (Smith). Freevill associates prostitution directly with the Family of Love when he bequeaths Malheureux, 'Wilt go to the Family of Love? I will show thee my creature (1.2.146-147)', when persuading him to come visit Franceschina in her brothel, a place he terms as 'a house of salvation' (1.2.144), thereby combining the religious and sexual stereotypes of the London Dutch.

In the same way that Malheureux is manipulated by Freevill's rhetoric, and Franceschina is deceived by the two gallants' chicanery, the Mulligrubs are targeted by the cunning Cocledemoy who robs, slanders, and gulls the couple throughout the entire play. The Mulligrubs' prosperity is pillaged by Cocledemoy, and similarly Franceschina's body is ravaged by Freevill and Malheureux, and both Franceschina

and the Mulligrubs are economically and socially exploited by the end of the play. The dominance of Mistress Mulligrub over her husband, in addition to their open adherence to the Family of Love sect, suggests that they have been infected by the spread of Dutch consumerism and culture, in the same way that Franceschina is infecting the men of London with the venereal disease she hints at having; but yet there are hints that it is Franceschina is the one who has been corrupted by English vice in the first place.

Freevill's name alludes to freedom and libertinism in many different forms, and he can be understood as being associated with the freedom of space, mind, and body, from morality and responsibility as he disperses his arguments on his quests throughout the taverns, streets, and brothels of London (Aughterson 21), areas Aughterson states are 'Urban spaces of masculine pleasure and authority' which he symbolically controls by his presence on all parts of the stage (Aughterson 25).[97] His name also possibly refers to the freewill beliefs of Anabaptists and the Family of Love; groups both considered subversion in English minds and with strong Low Countries affiliations as discussed in Chapter 1. Franceschina is referred to repeatedly as an object to be traded and consumed at the beginning of the play, with Freevill referring to her bawd Mary Faugh as a retailer of 'movable chattle' (1.1.14), a purveyor of human flesh to the men of London. Freevill, and later Cocledemoy, view prostitution entirely in terms of trade and consumption. Freevill states how 'Every man must follow his trade, and every woman her occupation' (1.1.100-101), and that even though the prostitute sells her body, 'do not better persons sell their souls?' (1.1.124-125). In Freevill's London everything is available for a price, even

[97] Aughterson gives a detailed list of the allusions made by Freevill's name, such as to idea of the freedom of the town (free/ville); the libertine assertion of free/will; the specifically libertarian and phallic connotation of free/will; the suggestion of vice in the echoes of free/evil; and of the explicitly trickster characterisation as wily in free/wily (Aughterson 21).

'honour, justice, faith – nay, even God himself' (1.1.126-127). Similarly, in another scene Cocledemoy defends the profession of prostitution from the point of view of the bawd, stating that bawds such as Mary Faugh are the 'most worshipful of all the twelve companies' of the London guilds (1.2.31), for they trade in 'the best commodities….Her shop has the best ware…and such rare gems…but like a great merchant, by wholesale' (1.2.32-40). The customers who trade with the bawd are 'wealthy knights and more rare bountiful lords' (1.2.42). The bawd is to be celebrated due to her thriving trade which is somehow divinely sanctioned as Cocledemoy refers to this in religious language: 'O merciful gain! O righteous income!' (1.2.49-50).[98] Even though they are closely associated with death, something which Cocledemoy states is 'always before their eyes' and symbolised by their wearing of 'a death's head ring…on their middle fingers' (1.2.51-53).

Franceschina is described by the gallant, Freevill, entirely in terms of her appearance and desirability. He states that she is a 'pretty, nimble-eyed Dutch Tannakin; an honest, soft-hearted impropriation; a soft, plump, round-cheeked frow' (1.1.140-141), and concludes his praise of her with a celebration of her abilities in bed (Cordner). She is, he affirms, 'woman enough for any reasonable man in my knowledge' (1.2.143-144). Franceschina, however, is treated less as a woman and more as an object as she is ordered about by Freevill when she first appears on stage. She is a mixture of a goddesss, servant, and entertainer who must rapidly conform to the directions of the master puppeteer, Freevill. He orders Franceschina: 'Marry, salute my friend, clip his neck, and kiss him welcome' (1.2.83-84), then following this up with an order for entertainment: 'Go to your lute' (1.2.88), to which

[98] Charles Cathcart has noted how Freevill deploys the 'wilful misuse of religious language' in a bid to justify his visits to the brothel and to encourage Malheureux to follow suit (Cathcart 'Lodge' 68), thereby further connecting the subtext of the stereotypical association of the Dutch, free love, and the religiously subversive Family of Love.

Franceschina blindly acquiesces, 'O' mine art, sir, you bin very velcome' (1.2.85). Kate Aughterson states that from the outset Franceschina is physically claimed by Freevill through his peremptory demands for her kisses and the lute entertainment, thereby construing her as being visually and verbally constructed as subject to his dramatic and sexual control (Aughterson 25). William M. Hamlin has also noted Freevill's control of Franceschina and states that she is unable to prosper because she is the means by which Freevill has prospered (Hamlin 420). In fact, Freevill has exploited Franceschina and has secured her status as an irredeemable pariah; he augments her misery by perpetuating a fantasy of self-determination that facilitates the displacement of social responsibility upon abjected figures and this burden of disproportionate guilt falls upon Franceshina (Hamlin 420-421).

Franceschina's semblance of submissiveness, however, does not reflect her true feelings, and, as alluded to by Tysefew in the opening scene, 'many things that are counterfeit' may appear 'well by candlelight' (1.1.48; 47). Although professing puritanical views of sexuality and prostitution, Malheureux is dramatically affected by Franceschina's presence on the stage, declaring in an aside: 'Now cold blood defend me! What a proportion afflicts me!' (1.2.80-81). Malheureux, however, has simply been mesmerised by the skills and art of the courtesan. Franceschina is presented as 'a high status alien sex worker and a master of the art of courtesanship' (Howard *Theatre* 115), however, that could be contested. Franceschina does seem to have an expert ability to play the game of desire while playing her lute and cittern and wearing sumptuous costume and heavy makeup as she lures clients to venture between her perfumed sheets. The reality is that Franceschina is controlled by both her bawd and by Freevill and is completely linguistically, sexually, and morally 'other' from the very outset of the play (Aughterson 23). She is confined her to the

brothel and by very nature of her 'occupation' is forced to submit her body to the control of men. Franceschina is unable to articulate herself correctly and struggles with the English language, and although she characterised as Dutch, she speaks with 'a helter-skelter of Germanic, French, Italian, as well as pure English pronunciation' (Wine xix, note 15); the effect of which produces the effect of 'cosmopolitanism rendered monstrous' (Howard *Mastering* 112). This admixture of languages also reflects the confusion in English minds concerning who and what exactly the Dutch were, and Franceschina is conflated with a vast range of Germanic characteristics, in addition to French, and Italinate orthographics.

While not common in early seventeenth century London, the profession of the courtesan was well-known in early modern Europe and, as aforementioned, courtesans achieved considerable recognition in the city of Venice, and Andrew Fleck states that many of Franceschina's features closely resemble the famous courtesans of Venice (Fleck *Custom* 11). Marston might have known several Elizabethan discussions of Italian prostitution, especially William Thomas's *The Historie of Italie*, in which Thomas describes the esteem to which great men hold courtesans (Fleck *Custom* 12), and certainly Marston's courtesan embodies both the haughtiness and social utility which Thomas observed (Fleck *Custom* 13). Their services may be morally reprehensible, but, as Freevill extemporises in the opening of the play, Venetian society viewed them as ultimately protecting the bonds of marriage (Fleck *Custom* 13). Franceschina is, however, merely mimicking a Venetian courtesan; her appearance, behaviour, and talents are 'counterfeit', and she reverts to her rough, base, crude, and cacophonic style of speech and action once she is alone with her bawd. Franceschina's name suggests a more Italianate origin and is

the name of a character from the *Commedia dell'arte.*[99] The character of Franceschina in the *Commedia* is far removed from this courtesan as she is always represented as a middle aged and matronly *servetta* or maid-servant, often characterised as wearing a nurse-like uniform with a wide belt and a coif (Nicoll 96); perhaps, more akin to the bawd Mary Faugh. The *Commedia's* Franceschina is a woman who has 'ample experience in the ways of the world', and often makes bawdy jokes and references to a past as a bawd or a procuress (Nicoll 96; 32). The allusion to this character is far removed from the elegance, allure, and grace of a Venetian, or London, courtesan. Franceschina has obviously has failed in the market of courtesanship. She must cover her face in heavy makeup and drown her body in intoxicating perfumes in order to mask the reality that she is past her prime. Unable to secure Freevill as her patron, she laments to Mary Faugh 'Vat sall become of mine poor flesh now? Mine body must turn Turk for twopence' (2.2.41-42); a continental allusion to the provision of anal sex (Salkeld 'Comedy').

Sarah Scott notes how Franceschina is well-versed in what Ovid immortalises as the avowedly physical art of love in the *Ars amatoria*; however, her sensuality is terribly let down by her harsh Dutch stage accent comically yoked to her otherwise refined manners, resulting in this sybaritic prostitute occasionally lapsing into unintelligibility (Scott, S. 63; Fleck *Custom* 12-14).[100] As such, her stage dialect occasionally threatens to blot out her sophistication with linguistic confusion,

[99] Franceschina's name can be doubly interpreted from its Latin root as meaning 'free' or 'from France', while drawing from Florio's Anglo-Italian dictionary *A World of Wordes* (1598) it was stated that the verb 'francesare' meant 'to infect with the French-pox' (Pascoe 175).

[100] In relation to Franceschina's knowledge of the arts of love making, she delivers a speech of verse to Malheureux in the fifth act on the correct skills and techniques to employ in order to achieve maximum pleasure: 'No, no, not yet, mine seetest, soft-lipped love: / You sall not gulp down all delights at once. / Be min trat, dis all-fles-lovers, dis ravenous wenches / Dat sallow all down whole, vill have all at one bit! / Fie, fie, fie! / Be mine fait, dey do eat comfits vid spoons. / No, no, I'll make you chew your pleasure vit love: / De more degrees and steps, de more delight, / De more endeared is de pleasure height (5.1.24-32).

yet the humorous hybridisation of Dutch harshness with Venetian elegance contributes to the comedy and heightens her comic absurdity (Fleck *Custom* 12-15).

Insights into the life of a Venetian courtesan can be attained from the body of literature left by one such courtesan, Veronica Franco, who was famed for her affairs with nobility as well as being a poet and prolific letter writer. Marston's ability to read in Italian due to his maternal parentage means that there is a possibility that he could have been familiar with texts associated with Franco or with her contemporaries; as aforementioned in this chapter, Robert Presson has advanced the argument that Marston's familiarity with the Italian novella *The Countesse of Celant* influenced his composition of *The Dutch Courtesan* (Presson 407).[101] Similarly to the two examples of Dutch mothers prostituting their daughters in London cited earlier in this chapter, Franco too had suffered this sad fate.[102] What is most illuminating concerning the character of Franceschina, however, is Franco's articulation of the cruel world of the courtesan. In a letter attempting to dissuade a friend from entering her daughter into a life of prostitution, Franco states how:

> Even if fate should be completely favourable to her, this is a life that always turns out to be a misery. It's a most wretched thing, contrary to human reason, to subject one's body and labour to a slavery terrifying even to think of…what greater misery? What wealth, what luxuries, what delights can outweigh all this? Believe me, among all the world's calamities, this is the worst. And if to worldly concerns

[101] Marston's father, also called John Marston, married Mary Guarsi, daughter of Andrew Guarsi, an Italian immigrant who was a surgeon (Oldenburg *Alien* 117).

[102] Salkeld notes how as a teenager, Franco was worth just two scudi (eight shillings) a time, and her mother Paola charged the same amount (Salkeld *Shakespeare* 62). Franco was, at the time, just one of thirty-eight girls on a list hired out for sale by their mothers, sisters or other family associates. No ages are given for the girls but in all likelihood most, if not all, were teenagers (Salkeld *Shakespeare* 62).

> you add those of your soul, what greater doom and certainty of damnation could there be?[103] (Franco 39)

The Dutch prostitute, often referred to as a 'Dutch widow', was a very common stereotype in early modern London, as has been previously discussed in this chapter. A Dutch courtesan, however, is another matter and this play is the only such one to feature this type of Dutch character. Female war refugees and economic migrants from the Low Countries were known to live together in London in large and small groups, known as 'spinster clusters' (Korda 114). These 'howsholdrisse[s]' frequently rented rooms to immigrant textile workers, often other women, and established starch-houses and boarding houses which were in the environs of commercial theatres (Korda 114). Natasha Korda believes that the close proximity between these all-female households and the theatres gave rise to the association of 'Dutch widows' with prostitutes and that this greatly threatens the veracity of the Dutch courtesan stereotype as evident in the portrayal of Franceschina (Korda 114). It is more likely that Franceschina is an impoverished street prostitute who is masquerading as a courtesan after receiving some light training from Mary Faugh.

Franceschina has entertained a variety of international clients, but it is a past which is heavily impregnated by sadness with no sense of achievement, evident in her instruction to Malheureux that he must 'endeavour to forget me, as I must be enforced to forget all men' (2.2.159-160). Mary Faugh is proud of her work with Franceschina, recounting how:

> I have made you acquainted with the Spaniard, Don Skirtoll; with the Italian, Master Beieroane; with the Irish lord, Sir Patrick; with the

[103] The letter continues: 'To make oneself prey to so many men, at the risk of being stripped, robbed, even killed, so that one man, one day may snatch away from you everything you've acquired from many over such a long time, along with so many dangers of injury and dreadful contagious diseases; to eat with another's mouth, sleep with another's eyes, move according to another's will, obviously rushing towards the shipwreck of your mind and your body' (Franco 39).

> Dutch merchant, Haunce Herkin Glukin Skellam Flapdragon; and specially with the greatest French; and now lastly with this English – yet in my conscience, an honest gentleman. (2.2.13-18)

Kate Aughterson states that Franceschina's value is connected metonymically by her international client list, while Marjorie Rubright contends that this wide range of international affiliations is suggestive of Franceschina's openness to business with all European men (Aughterson 27; Rubright 'Going' 95). The list, however, is indicative of how widely and frequently Franceschina has been used by both men and bawd. This sense of anger and resentment is also evident in Franceschina's angry denunciation of her career as a courtesan at the hands of Mary Faugh when she laments: 'Grand grincome on your sentences! God's sacrament, ten tousand divels taken you! You ha' brought mine love, mine honour, mine body, all to noting!' (2.2.6-8). Franceschina laments the pathetic complaint of the wronged lover, but directs it not towards the man who has abandoned her, but towards her pimp (Smith). She has every right to be angry at Mary Faugh, while not her mother, like a proud merchant, Faugh recalls how she 'made as much o' your maidenhead – and you had been my owne daughter, I could not ha' sold your maidenhead oft'ner than I ha' done' (2.2.10-12). Franceshina has profited Mary Faugh; not herself. Like the death's head ring that Mary Faugh wears on her middle finger, she has brought only ruin and destruction to the life of this Dutch girl. Franceschina's whole reasoning for securing the attention of one suitor is so that she can abandon being a piece of chattel for the men of London. Her anger and fury stem from her failure to do so and the past use and abuse that she has suffered at the hands of her English bawd and

international clientele in London.[104] When Malheureux attempts to persuade her to go to bed with him, Franceschina states how it is 'How natural 'tis for us to be abused!' (2.2.136), thereby linking the theme of sex with a subtext of abuse. Furthermore, it appears that Franceschina has suffered with venereal disease, Mary Faugh castigates Franceschina for her ungratefulness to her bawd, reminding her of the time when Franceshina requested that she, 'bring thee to the hospital' (2.2.21), and asking 'Who paid the apothecary? Was't not honest Mary Faugh?' (2.2.26). Contrary to outward appearances, Franceschina has not been successful in the trade of courtesanship, she is desperate for a suitor and obviously masking a serious venereal infection. Her lack of money has forced her to use pawn broking services, Mary Faugh demands of her 'Who redeemed thy petticoat and mantle? Was't not honest Mary Faugh?' (2.2.27-28). According to her bawd, Franceschina has been enjoyed by 'honest flat-caps, wealthy flat-caps, that pay for their pleasure the best of any men in Europe, nay, which is more, in London?' (2.2.28-34). Sarah Scott has noted how this is an obvious irony, since Freevill was her most recent client and while he is the son of a knight, he is certainly not 'honest' or a 'flat cap' as Mary Faugh has described (Scott, S. 63). Instead, Franceschina seems to have been an impoverished refugee, as expressed by Mary Faugh's account of their relationship (Scott, S. 63), noticeable in her question to Franceschina: 'Who helped thee to thy custom?' (2.2.29). Franceschina could have been victimised into the sex trade in

[104] Another layer of complexity to *The Dutch Courtesan* is the fact that Marston wrote this play knowing that a boy actor would play the character of Franceschina. Casting a young boy as a stunning whore went beyond the implicit and necessary, and shows Marston as a conscious 'player' with relations between audience and stage (Crane 'Patterns' 103). The theatre itself appears to have been harbouring sexual divergence in the early modern period, '[C]all in at the Blackfriars', Thomas Middleton advised, you'll find a 'nest of boys able to ravish a man' (Bly 70). Mary Bly notes how boy actors were seen by some audience members as erotic communities, with whom it was possible to become sexually intimate, by both men and women (Bly 6). In relation to the Blackfriars, the theatre which hosted *The Dutch Courtesan,* it had a reputation for nurturing scandal and exaggerated the satirical potential of texts, bawdy humour being specifically prescribed as a theme to satisfy the Blackfriars' audience (Bly 33-34).

England due to the wars in the Low Countries, as Freevill's reference to those wars implies in the opening of the play (Scott, S. 63). It is clear from the analysis of the *Weakest Goeth to the Wall* that wartime situations could result in migrant women suffering such a fate in times of economic necessity. If this is the case, then it is most likely that she could have been coerced into prostitution by Mary Faugh. An interesting insight into the practice of coercion can be found in Thomas Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part II* (1605) in which the pander, Bots, and the bawd, Madam Horsleech, await for the arrival of a boat of provincials coming to London. When questioned as to what they are waiting for, Bots explains:

> we want tooles, Gentlemen, to furnish the trade: they weare out day and night, they weare out till no mettle bee left in their backe; wee heare of 2 or 3 new Wenches are come up with a carrier, and your old Goshawke here is flying at them. (3.3.4-7)

The 'tooles' that Bots and Horsleech seek to procure are innocent, young, country women who are coming to London for a better life, but who Bots and Horsleech wish to coerce into prostitution in order to make a living off their backs. Like perverse artisans, they eagerly prepare to pray upon these vulnerable migrants while employing a series of exploitative metaphors of trade to render people in mere commodities (Twyning *London* 54-55). Furthermore, Bots states that it is the 'old Goshawke', Madam Horsleech, who will attempt to procure the girls; she is a predatory female who push these girls into a life of degradation; another dominating industrious women akin to Mary Faugh. While this example cites internal migration in England, war and prostitution were known to have a strong association with one another, and, as aforementioned in this chapter, many English soldiers' experience of the Low Countries was bound together with encounters with prostitutes, as evinced

in Marston's *Satyre* which was discussed earlier and in the nomenclature of London's most infamous brothel, Holland's Leaguer.[105] Prostitution and immigration are aligned in material, discursive, and topographic ways in plays such as *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Honest Whore, Part 2* as they are both landless and dispossessed, while also being a source of cheap and exploitable labour (Twyning *London* 56).

Franceschina's suffering is heightened by her association with the nightingale: a bird associated with female lamentations against acts of male violence and violation. Several times in the play, Franceschina sings while strumming her lute, chanting the words:

> The dark is my delight,
>
> So 'tis the nightingale's.
>
> My music's in the night,
>
> So is the nightingale's.
>
> My body is but little,
>
> So is the nightingale's.
>
> I love to sleep 'gainst prickle,
>
> So doth the nightingale. (1.2.115-122)

In Act 2, scene 1, Malheureux delivers a monologue concerning her infatuation with Franceschina and during this piece, the stage directions note how, '*The nightingales sing*' (SD 2.1), further strengthening this bond between Franceschina and the symbol of the nightingale.[106] In Franceschina's sad lamentation, the repetition of the word

[105] Wars also meant that those who departed wives left them at the mercy of pimps and bawds (Twyning *London* 55). This is referenced in *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* when Jane implores the Muster Captain to allow her husband to stay, beseeching him 'O let him stay, else I shall be undone' (1.1.44). 'Undone' in this instance means she will be financially impoverished but also 'undone', perhaps, by the bawds and panders who will prey on her and attempt to coerce her into vice due to her vulnerable and impoverished state.

[106] After hearing Malheureux's speech concerning his desire for Franceschina, Freevill replies: '*Diaboli virtus in lumbis est*' (2.1.89) which translates as 'The strength of the devil is in our loins' a quote from St. Jerome by Montaigne (Crane *Dutch* 27). This further connects the subtext of

'nightingale', emphasises the importance of this symbol in understanding Franceschina and the events which have motivated her to act with such rage and disdain. The ending of this short hymn with the word 'prickle' obviously alludes to the male erection but combines this image with feelings of pain, violence, scars, and hurts. The nightingale is associated with female revenge after male violence, particularly after acts of rape, something which Franceschina has a high probability of having experienced in her line of work.[107]

In Roman literature, the nightingale is an important feature in the story of Philomela and Procne from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (circa 2-8 AD), a tale of male violence, violation and female revenge. Procne's husband, King Tereus of Thrace, raped her sister Philomela, afterwards severing Philomela's tongue to prevent her from communicating the crime. After weaving images of the story into a tapestry order to inform her sister of the wrongdoing, Procne killed her son by Tereus, Itys, and cooked him, serving him as a meal to Tereus. Once this tragic deed was disclosed, Tereus flew into a rage and tried to kill the sisters, but the gods transformed them into birds. Procne was transformed into a swallow and Philomela into a nightingale.[108] In Renaissance literature, references to nightingales signify the transformation of a raped and ideal tragic heroine, making the song of the nightingale a symbol for the poetry of tragic female lament (Suksi 649). Marston

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Franceschina's suffering and intent to seek vengeance for this wrongdoing with male sexual exploitation.

[107] As is widely known today, prostitutes often suffer violent rapes. Duncan Salkeld provides an early modern example from the letters of the Italian Renaissance author, playwright, and poet Aretino, who wrote about the rape of the Venetian courtesan, Giulia (or Angela) Del Moro, otherwise known as La Zaffetta (Salkeld *Shakespeare* 62). On the sixth of April 1531, Zaffetta was gang-raped at the instigation of her jealous lover in a ritual known as the 'trentuno', or 'thirty-one.' In fact, Zaffetta was given the 'trentuno reale', an ordeal apparently involving some seventy-nine men (Salkeld *Shakespeare* 62).

[108] Nightingales are also associated with female suffering in Greek literature. In Sophocles' play *Electra* (circa 409-401 BC), the title character, Electra, is depicted mourning her father's murder and vowing herself to avenge his death while calling herself 'a child-destroying nightingale'(cited in Suksi 651). Electra's reference to the nightingale alludes to the bird's thematic associations with female isolation, lamentation and vengeance (Suksi 651).

references Ovid on numerous occasions throughout *The Dutch Courtesan,* most notably in Freevill's denunciation of Franceschina upon hearing of her wicked plan to murder him: 'What! *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas!*' (3.1.217). David Crane notes that this is the first line of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and translates as 'my spirit prompts me to tell of forms changed into new things' (Crane *Dutch* 59).[109] In Freevill's eyes Franceshina has transformed into a demonic beast; however, the references to Ovid in the play instruct us that it is the repeated violation of Franceschina by Freevill and other men which has fomented this metamorphosis. Franceshina's transformation into a revenger could be as a result of a past child-exploitation at the hands of an adult, or even her exploitation by the English bawd Mary Faugh, sexual abuse, paedophilia, and/or multiple rapes. It infers that she is the 'child-destroyed nightingale' of Greek legend and the metamorphosed Philomela who has returned to earth to seek vengeance against a world of male, and perhaps female, violence, and abuse in London.

All of these features lead us to sympathise with Franceschina and view her as someone who has been terribly abused and mistreated in life. As previously mentioned, some commentators have argued that *The Dutch Courtesan* is a counterblast to Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part 1*; and that Franceschina is 'a very different creature from the sentimentally portrayed reformed prostitute' in that play (Cross 39). I would argue, however, that *The Dutch Courtesan* is instead a riposte to Dekker's idealisation of a prostitute's rehabilitation in *The Honest Whore, Part 1,* and that the portrayal of Franceschina, for all her absurdity, in *The Dutch Courtesan* is an attempt to give a more compassionate and, perhaps, more realistic depiction of

[109] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII.20 is also referenced in the play when Malheureux wrestles with his desire for Franceschina and utters: '*Video meliora proboque*' (2.2.98) which translates as 'I see what is better and I approve it' (Crane *Dutch* 39). In Ovid this is Medea struggling with her passion for Jason; although the continuation of the text from the original story is omitted and this is '*deteriora sequor*', which translates as 'I follow what is worse' (Crane *Dutch* 39).

the lives of prostitutes in early modern London.[110] Sarah Scott also believes that 'Marston stresses she is more victim than victimiser and the dramatist is not as disdainful of her as some commentators suggest' (Scott, S. 63). [111] Franceschina's intense articulation of her anger strikes one as not so strange, given her situation (Scott, S. 64). Marston provides a naturalistic account of her plight, and shows his minute understanding of the social conditions that he presents in his portrayal of the sex trade and the corresponding commodification of women (Scott, S. 64).

The engendering of sympathy among the audience is crucial in the creation of a revenger character, such as, for instance the character of Hieronimo in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1592), who is unable to ever acquire justice for the wrongful murder of his only son. Kate Aughterson has noted how Franceschina fits the generic profile of the revenger character, and crucial to the construction of these characters is their acquisition of the audience's sympathies for, and understanding of, their motivation (Aughterson 27). Franceschina's articulation of the nightingale allusion could be just that; for an educated audience who are aware of the Ovidian allusion, it is clear that vile acts have been perpetrated on Franceschina's body. By gaining the audience's sympathy and attempting to right the wrongs done to them, revenger characters like Francechina offer up a critique of the corrupt social and political world has abused them and renders the play a debate (Aughterson 29). This understanding of *The Dutch Courtesan* radically alters its interpretation and allows for a reading of this play as a cruel satire on the exploitative nature of London commerce, particularly on women and on the immigrant community. Nobody

[110] Scott Oldenburg also mentions previous critics' advancement of the idea that *The Dutch Courtesan* is an attack on Dekker's sensitive treatment of prostitutes in *The Honest Whore*. Interestingly, Oldenburg suggests that part of this attack was the choice of a homicidal *Dutch* prostitute, an allusion to Dekker's heritage and Dutch-centric attitude in plays such as *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (Oldenburg *Alien* 123).

[111] For example, Howard's 'Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan*' (1996).

escapes from Marston's sharp critique of London in this play as Freevill's behaviour could be considered 'evil' in his celebration of a broken feast and theft, which are disruptions to social order (Aughterson 25). The play is a realistic embodiment of the hypocrisy and malice of those who oppress women by exploiting them, and Freevill is hardly the 'virtuous gentleman' that some have called him (Scott, S. 66; Howard 'Mastering' 108). The subject of very serious cruelty and abuse, Franceschina is silenced, stating, 'Ick vill not speak. Torture, torture your fill / For me am worse than hanged; me ha' lost my will' (5.3.57-58). Freevill never acknowledges any responsibility for any complicity in prostitution, even though there are two possible puns in her last two lines which would refer to him ('vill' and 'will'). Franceschina's end is pitiful, having endured extreme cruelty and exploitation, she is led away to a life of more abuse and containment in a London prison.

Freevill approves the idea of sex with a variety of women, even though his attitude toward them is dismissive and intolerant, taking advantage of their necessity for his own erotic appetites, rather than pitying their economic stresses (Ostovich). He exhibits a satirically contemptuous attitude toward women, viewing them merely as objects and things (Ostovich). Freevill's intended wife and next victim, the submissive Beatrice, presents him with a ring as a token of her faith which he swears to keep, but he does not reciprocate with a token of his own and he later lends the ring to Malheureux; just as he lends him his former mistress, and the ring is subsequently used as payment for sexual relations with Franceschina (Ostovich). Women and objects are interchangeable commodities in this play and have no sentimentality or importance attached to them. In fact, Franceschina later shows the ring on her hand to Beatrice as proof of Freevill's flagrant disloyalty (Ostovich). The play's challenge to the idea of woman as commodity circulates around the entire

play, much like the richly symbolic ring that represents this dynamic as it passes between Beatrice to Freevill and from Freevill to Malheureux to Franceschina and back to Beatrice (Scott, S. 70).

The traditional patriarchal marriage is the one proposed by Freevill and accepted by Beatrice, although even before he marries, she suffers disappointment and abuse, perhaps a promise of things to come (Ostovich). Similarly to Franceschina, however, Beatrice remains total silent as the play concludes and never voices her feelings concerning what has been unveiled regarding Freevill's sexual appetites. Although, it must be mentioned that their marriage does not occur during the play so whether it took place or not is uncertain. Freevill wants everyone to envy him for having a wife who is a saint, he never fears that she will reject him, even though he has symbolically reduced her to the level of a prostitute and exercises tyranny by forcing her to sacrifice even more of her self-esteem for his vanity (Ostovich).

Freevill feigns death in a bid to educate Malheureux on the need to control his passions, which Scott Oldenburg has noted as being an ironic motive since the first scene of the play features Malheureux instructing Freevill on sexual incontinence (Oldenburg *Alien* 121). Beatrice is suicidal with grief, also believing that Freevill is dead, however, upon revealing himself to her he does not apologise or even seem to understand what he has done to her. Instead he claims that he has never 'been false to her' (conveniently forgetting the promise attached to the ring) and shrugging 'Only I presum'd to try your faith too much, / For which I am most grieved' (5.2.55-57). Beatrice has nothing to say: she is ready to be transformed into the submissive patriarchal wife Freevill desires (Ostovich). Beatrice's sister, Crispinella, 'is a closest thing to a surrogate of Marston' (Scott, S. 65), and claims to

be sickened by the patriarchy and exploitation of women she deems to be inherent in London society. Crispinella wholly rejects the idea of virtue in marriage, because if the wife cannot share equally in the management of the shared life, and if the husband has peremptory control, then whatever virtue came into the marriage vanishes, or is erased and rendered blank (Ostovich).

Crispinella voices her outrage to Freevill upon discovering his lies and deceit to her sister, castigating him by saying: 'You are uncivil', 'You have wronged us' (5.2.28; 60). Michael Scott notes that Crispinella's absence during the final scene of the play troubles the plot, as she may have been the only character to voice sympathy for Franceschina. According to Scott,

> if Marston had put words into her mouth her character would have demanded the right to criticise the whole unstable fabric of the plot's mixed conventions and dubious philosophy. She would have had to take up the cause of the wronged Franceschina. (Scott, M. 47)

Crispinella's nonappearance at the resolution of the play means that her voice, similarly to Beatrice and Franceschina, is resoundingly absent. As such, the male domination of women succeeds for the most part in this play. Despite Marston's arguably compassionate stance on the rights of women, Anne Haselkorn argues that the play reinscribes male fantasises of domination over women by treating Franceschina 'as if she were nothing more than an object' and contrasting her with the passive Beatrice and the ultimately subdued Crispinella (Haselkorn 58; 62-65). At the play's conclusion, Marston satirically proposes that there many not necessarily be much 'difference *betwixt the love of a courtesan and a wife*' (Scott, S. 67), as presented in the Fabulae Argumentum.

The representation of Mistress Mulligrub, however, complicates this straightforward reading of exploitative masculinity and victimised femininity in the play. Even though Cocledemoy's harassing of both she and her cuckold husband further exemplifies the London masculine decadent urban milieu over which Freevill has linguistic, spatial, and sexual control (Aughterson 25).

Another area of Dutchness in the play, the Mulligrubs are also adherents of the Family of Love, and they are gulled and endure a series of robberies at the hands of the London gallant Cocledemoy. Adulterated and poor quality foodstuffs are at the heart of what aggravates Cocledemoy about the Mulligrubs, and he at one point tricks them into exchanging roast meant for a rotten fish in order to punish them for their sly business dealings (Rubright 'Going Dutch' 107). Malheureux and Freevill enjoy Cocledemoy's antics and think the husband, Mulligrub, is the trickster tricked, a sly businessman who adulterates his wine and hence deserves deceit in return (Ostovich). Cocledemoy continues to torment the Dutch-inflected Mulligrubs for their foreign religion and their willingness to trust others (Ostovich). Their purveyance of low quality produce, rampant materialism, and deference to the Dutch religious sect of the Family of Love mark them out as being distinctly influenced and, perhaps, 'infected' with the menaces of Dutch culture. Jean Howard sees Mulligrub as an inversion of the kind of magnanimous citizen Dekker might have staged (Howard *Theatre* 154-155), such as in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. Marjorie Rubright has pointed out how their linkage with the Family of Love, an import from the Low Countries, connects their commercial space with that of the bawdy house (Rubright 'Going Dutch' 101). Thereby, the Mulligrubs, as members of this Dutch religious sect become charged with signifying the sexual excess of the London bawdy house (Rubright 'Going Dutch' 106).

Certainly, there are many puns which allude to Mistress Mulligrub's lustfulness and domination over her husband; both classic Low Countries stereotypes. At one point in the play, Mistress Mulligrub discusses how 'Squires, gentlemen, and knights diet at my table, and I do lend some of them money', gratitude for which they express by giving her 'good words, and a piece of flesh when time of year serves', an obvious phallic and sexual reference; however, her 'silly husband, alas, he knows nothing of it' (3.3.19-28). She also openly connects the Family of Love with sexuality when she tries to recall why she made a note of the word 'methodically', and then recalls, 'O, Sir Aminadab Ruth bade me kiss him methodically!' (3.3.48-56). While waiting for her husband to hang, she makes a deal to commence a relationship with the disguised Cocledemoy, believing him to be widower, exclaiming, 'I have a piece of mutton and a featherbed for you at all times', before turning to Mulligrub and instructing him to 'make haste' and die so she can abscond with her new lover (5.3.93-94), the mutton reference being a sexual innuendo deriving from the idea of flesh (Crane *Dutch* 106). At the end of the play, Mulligrub faces death, confesses all his methods for swindling customers, and, like Malheureux, is saved at the last minute (Oldenburg *Alien* 122). Balance is restored for the Mulligrubs in the sub-plot of this play but the same cannot be said for Franceschina who receives no atonement for the wrongs she has endured, nor no redemption from a life behind bars in a London dungeon.

2.7. Conclusion.

The Anglo-Dutch military alliance brought thousands of Low Countries exiles into contact with the dramatic milieu based in the Liberty areas of London. The location of Netherlandic communities in the same areas as theatres resulted in an

explosion of stock theatrical types associated with the Low Countries, and depictions of Dutch and Flemish language and semantics on the stage. Of all the London writers and dramatists, Thomas Dekker used Dutch characters and the Dutch language most frequently in his dramas and his name alludes to Netherlandic heritage (Joby 316), although this is impossible to prove as no other evidence exists to support this strong suspicion. Christopher Joby has researched into the lineage of Dekker and has only been able to posit that he is possible the son of Thomas Dekker who was buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1594, and whose widow was possibly still living in Southwark in 1596 (Joby 316). Nobody by the name of 'Dekker', however, is listed as a member of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars (Joby 316). Although, Southwark was an area inhabited by a large community from the Low Countries, in addition to being in close proximity to many popular London theatres. The Dutch ancestry of the playwright Thomas Dekker could explain his choices concerning the sympathetic and positive 'framing' of Low Countries characters in his plays and his familiarity with old Germanic myths, as evinced by his play *Old Fortunatus* (1599).

War was the precursor for this contact, making it perfectly understandable why all the plays analysed in this chapter make reference to warfare when referring to the Low Countries. The Dutch Church Libel exhibits extreme anger and frustration at how Dutch and Flemish exiles thrive in England while Englishmen die in their droves fighting in their wars. A more sympathetic view of the plight of the wartime refugee is evinced in *Sir Thomas More,* even if the supposed economic plundering of these settlers is also represented in the play. The suffering endured by refugees during warfare is further exemplified in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, even if the suffering endured by the wandering exiles is at the hands of Flemings. War is also referenced in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* as Lacy's decision to refuse to

serve in France in the army of Henry V forces him to don the disguise of a Dutch shoemaker to evade arrest. While England's usage of the Low Countries to conduct war with Spain and spare their country from being pillaged is highlighted in the opening scene of *The Dutch Courtesan.* There are clues which also suggest that Franceschina is involved in prostitution because she is a female war exile with no other economic choice.

Commerce and economic competition are two other central tropes consistently connected to Dutch and Flemish characters on the London stage. Londeners wrestle unsuccessfully with economic competition in *Sir Thomas More,* whereas in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* commerce is used as a form of comedy as a utopian compensation for the alienation and fragmentation of Dekker's London (Kastan 337). Characters are shown to possess integrity, even though they enjoy luxury, give in to temptations and seek to 'feed and be fat' (18.192) in a celebration which shall 'continue forever' (18.212), as advocated by Eyre's workman, Hodge, as the play's festive conclusion approaches. This unbridled, untamed, and uncontrollable explosion of consumption is alarming in some respects, especially considering that, as highlighted by Kastan, the 'dingen' (7.3) obtained by Eyre which precipitate this feast are precisely the luxuries that both English moralists and economists decried, such as Gerard de Malynes and Thomas Mun (Kastan 331).[112] It

[112] Gerard de Malynes, the Elizabethan merchant wrote *England's Canker* (1601), in which he lamented the: 'ouerbalancing of forraine commodities with our home commodities, which to supply or counteruaile draweth away our treasure, & readie monie to the great losse of the commonweale' (10-11). Thomas Mun in his commercial treatise *England's Treasure* (1630), bemoaned the importation of 'foreign needless toys', which he stated 'makes a rich merchant and a poor kingdom' (53-54). Mun was particularly disturbed by Dutch trade, as he contended that the: 'Dutch [are] carrying away our mony for their wares, and we bringing in their forraign Coins for their commodities, there will be still one hundred thousand pounds loss' (Mun 100). Mun stressed the need to compete with the Dutch: by fair means if possible, otherwise by foul, and by force. The Dutch were represented as the obstacle to England's economic progress. The English must make, grow, fish, diversify. At all costs the national product must expand, exports grow, and imports diminish (Wilson *Dutch* 33).

can be asserted, therefore, that the fortuitousness brought by Anglo-Dutch interaction in London stimulates capitalist growth, but is also damaging to the economic health of England and encourages over-consumption, inconstancy, and, perhaps, even debasement.

This aspect of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is echoed in the alarming and frightening representation of the Dutch prostitute, Franceschina, and the family of vintners, the Mulligrubs, in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), a play which stresses 'satire over celebration' by demonstrating the dark side of capitalism by the exploitation of a Dutch sex worker, the uncontrollable passions she personifies (Howard *Theatre* 21), and the corruption caused within the Mullgrubs' marriage due to their infection by Dutch culture and thinking. *The Dutch Courtesan* presents the culmination of ideas surrounding the Low Countries and the issues connected with warfare and different fields of economics explored in the Dutch Church Libel, *Sir Thomas More*, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall,* and *The Shoemaker's Holiday* in this chapter. As previously discussed, Low Countries migrants are economic exploiters of the vulnerable in the Dutch Church Libel and *Sir Thomas More*. While the Flemish are despicably exploitative of war torn refugees, as evinced by Jacob Smelt, in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, it is also acknowledged that Low Countries migrants serve as slave labour in London and reside in over-crowded tenements; thereby enduring a similarly exploitative pattern at the hands of the English. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* presents a harmonious romantic vision of an Anglo-Dutch mercantile brotherhood built upon the purchase and re-selling of luxury items, but at another's loss. While the nationality of the merchant owner is never referenced, it is quite probable that this character is another

Dutch man. The mock Dutch man, Hans, does not profit economically from the advantage he provides Eyre; the gift he receives is social acceptance.

The Low Countries migrants in London referenced in The Dutch Church Libel and *Sir Thomas More* are portrayed as almost above the law. While the Flemish hold power in their own country, in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, they are used as 'slaves' in London and this type of exploitation is also referenced in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* when Hans is initially used and slandered, somewhat, in the first half of the play. The treatment of Franceschina, however, at the hands of the English in *The Dutch Courtesan* is at an altogether more serious level of abuse and exploitation. Franceschina is truly one of the play's villains but she herself has been terribly used and mistreated in order to create economic gains for her bawd and to pleasure English men, such as Freevill and Malheureux, who both thoroughly disrespect her as both a woman and a human being. Marston demonstrates his *humanitas* and ethic of social tolerance in his sensitive and sympathetic vision of essentially powerless women oppressed by a society of self-interested urban men (Scott, S. 61). They view her as an object, 'a money-creature' as stated by Freevill (1.1.96). She is a luxury good which can be hired out for English pleasure and consumption, similarly to the Spanish jerkin, goblets, stolen plate, and diamond ring referenced in the play. Franceschina is an object that can be bought, sold, traded, discarded, and destroyed. She is also a Dutch woman and she is unable to compete with the English economically or socially.

According to Jean Howard, city comedy often specifies the danger to the household and symbolises it as the penetration of the domestic space by foreign bodies, foreign people, foreign goods, or class enemies who function as strangers or aliens, and the subsequent weakening of the boundaries of the household as a

container for the people, especially the women, who dwell in it' (Howard 'Women' 154). The texts discussed in this chapter display many of the anxieties of the 'mixedness of urban life' as London became an international centre of commerce in the seventeenth century (Howard 'Mastering' 107). While many threats associated with Low Countries migrants in London are represeted, it is clear, however, that these settlers need just as much to be defended from their English counterparts, as the English need to be contained from them. Therefore, these plays offer methods of how to successfully collaborate in 'the creation of a multicultural domestic space' (Oldenburg *Alien* 135). These means and methods of multi-cultural collaboration are instrincially part of the Anglo-Dutch military alliance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the representation of these stock themes and types represent important examples of Anglo-Dutch *métissage* and cultural exchange both in the Netherlands and in the Liberties of London; thus representing a very important Netherlandic contribution to the English theatrical tradition.

Chapter 3. Sir Horace Vere and English Militant Poetics

In the English imagination, the war in the Netherlands metaphorically represented the ultimate battle between Protestant good and Catholic evil. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590; 1596) devoted cantos x-xii of Book V to the liberation of 'Belgae', a metaphorical allusion to the Low Countries. One of the best examples of literary impact of this war is the figure of Sir Horace Vere (1565-1635), leader of the English forces in the Netherlands and Governor of Brill. If this war was an English war and an integral part of English psyche during the period, then Vere embodied the perfect militant Protestant hero.

This chapter examines the impact of Anglo-Dutch military connections during the Dutch War of Independence on the English cultural and poetic imagination. Evidence for this influence can be found in the ways that Horace Vere's image and personage was remembered by many generations of English poets; many of these affiliated with the militant Protestant wing of the English court and aristocracy. Ben Jonson's dedicated 'Epigram XCI: To Sir Horace Vere' (1612), admiring his civility instead of his militancy. In 1625, George Chapman evoked the image of the militant Vere in his 'Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae', in which he urged James I to send military aid to Vere in the Palatinate. In 1635, Ralph Knevet devoted a section of *A Supplement to the Faerie Queen* (Book 8, Canto 3), to the memory of Vere and the Spenserian Elizabethan Protestant militancy he embodied. In 1642, Oxford and Cambridge elegists would again call forth the militant image of Sir Horace Vere in a collection of elegies (*Elegies Celebrating the Happy Memory of Sir Horatio Vere)* remembering Vere's militant image as a pious hero; the type of hero urgently needed in England at the dawn of the English Civil war. In the Caroline era, Vere's image is used by both the Royalist and Parliamentary side alike as the

epitome of a religion warrior. Furthermore, the elegists draw on Jonson's image of Vere as they express their admiration for his civility, and likewise replicate Chapman's imaginings of Vere as they articulate their extreme dissatisfaction with the politics of their monarch.

One curious aspect about the use of Horace Vere's image is that he spent his life fighting in the Netherlands and Germany, so he never actively engaged in combat in England. His militant drive was based on religion and the religious alliance that he felt with the Dutch, and Calvinist Protestants further afield in Germany as part of the fabled 'pan-Protestant' alliance. The body of poetry dedicated to him was based on gossip, news books, and historical accounts of battles that he engaged in further afield, such as those discussed previously by Henry Hexham. This chapter posits the idea that the Netherlands acted as an experiential and experimental space for different English war parties in the Jacobean and Caroline eras. It discusses how the English experience of the Dutch wars influenced militant poetry and poetic groups.[113] The poetry dedicated to Sir Horace Vere encompasses an important corpus of military poetry created throughout four different decades of religious warfare in Europe but consistently refers to an image of an English militant Protestant hero moulded in the Netherlands.

This chapter continues the argument from Chapter 1 which located the cautionary town of Brill as a zone of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange from 1585-1616. However, this chapter follows one such example of this literary exchange by examining the creation and influence of literature around the figure of Sir Horace Vere and traces the cultural influence of these set of exchanges through the Jacobean and into the Caroline era in England. This research shows how the military

113 One such poetic drinking clubs was later formed in London by Dutch war veterans, known as 'som Holland blades' (Raylor 66).

experiences of many soldiers led to a shared sense of Anglo-Dutch warfare against Catholicism, which helped to invigorate militant Protestantism in English society in opposition to the peace policies of James I.

3.1. Rex Pacificus: Jacobean Peace, the Cult of Prince Henry and Jonson's 'Epigram 91'.

When James I promptly made peace with Spain in 1604, England's relationship with the Netherlands changed. Sir Francis Vere was involved in a series of disputes with Prince Maurice van Nassau and subsequently retired from his post of 'generaal der infanterie' in the Dutch army, paving the way for his younger brother, Horace, to succeed his as Commander of the English forces in the Netherlands in 1605 and as Governor of Brill after Francis' death in 1609 (Trim 'Francis Vere' *ODNB*). In England, the peace with Spain was not received well, considering that England was still a country fraught with Catholic fear and led by a highly militarised aristocracy. James I's tendency towards pacifism and his desire to establish treaties with Catholic states led to disgruntlement among the more austere of Protestant supporters in the Jacobean court. News-books documenting the successes and failures of Sir Horace Vere and the English and Dutch regiments in the Low Countries reminded the more militantly-minded of James' subjects of the glory of Elizabethan martial spirit and the suffering and courage of Protestants on the continent amid what was perceived to be the Catholic scourge of Spain. The image of Vere as a Protestant hero was cultivated by this community in England and

military drill manuals recording Vere's military policies, such as those discussed in Chapter 1, began to appear in the English and Dutch book-markets.[114]

James I worked tirelessly to cease England's participation in continental religious wars. This was in stark contrast to his predecessor. In the Elizabethan era, wars in Ireland and the Netherlands had made this subject a corner-stone of English culture. Thirty-one military news-books were published between 1578 and the end of Elizabeth's reign, to provide more accurate information about the Low-Countries' wars than could be gathered from discharged soldiers, merchants and Dutch refugees (Manning 29). People had an appetite for war, whether their militant drive was based on ethnic, social or evangelical grounds. A wariness and animosity towards Spain still existed, there was eagerness for war to further Protestantism, the pan-Protestant alliance and England's glory. Additionally, war was a method of career advancement and social prestige especially amongst the aristocratic sector of English society; members of the militant Sidney and Vere families created images of themselves as chivalric knights who were battling to save the world from doom. These families flocked to the court of Prince Henry, as previously mentioned, Prince Henry held a fondness for militarism and developed a princely court which resembled a military academy (Nolan 417). The location of an English military base in the Netherlands also allowed for interesting philosophical as well as martial developments. In the Elizabethan era, Sir Philip Sidney's friendship with Dutch philsopher, Justus Lipsius, provided a conduit for Dutch neo-Stoicism to flow into the English court,[115] while,

114 See Chapter 1 for more information on these news-books and the writing career of Henry Hexham.

115 Neostoicism was one of the most important intellectual movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It started in the Protestant Netherlands during the revolt against Catholic Spain. Very quickly it began to influence both the theory and practice of politics in many parts of Europe. It proved to be particularly useful and appropriate to the early modern militaristic states; for, on the basis of the still generally accepted humanistic values of classical antiquity, it promoted a strong central power in the state, raised above the conflicting doctrines of the theologians. Characteristically, a great part of Neostoic writing was concerned with the nationally organised military institutions of

as discussed in Chapter 1, the writing and translating activities of Henry Hexham brought Lipsian order and militancy into the English literary marketplace. This ideology provided an intellectual foundation for a Protestant martial culture which was passed to the followers of the second earl of Essex in the 1590s and, in the next reign, to the court of Henry, Prince of Wales, and, of course, to the third Earl of Essex and his circle (Manning 29).

As discussed in Chapter 1, Prince Henry communicated with Sir Edward Conway and Sir Horace Vere as well as with other English military leaders operating in continental Europe. Shortly after the death of the Prince, the Venetian ambassador sent home a dispatch describing how the prince's, 'whole talk was of arms and war.' He described him as being, 'grave, severe, reserved, brief in speech', and, 'athirst for glory if ever any prince was' (cited in Headlam Wells 400).[116] The Prince's eagerness to create a state of military preparedness in England extended into wider society. In London, the Honourable Artillery Company nearly doubled in size by 1612, despite a brief hiatus at the outset of James' reign while leaders among the country gentry continued to send their sons to serve in the regiment of Sir Horace Vere, where English volunteers were still welcomed into Dutch pay (Nolan 417). Cast-iron ordnance continued to be produced in the southeast of England (Nolan 417). It would only require the stimulus of a new period of military activity on the European continent to once again bring to life the military structure developed in

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the state. Its aim was the general improvement of social discipline and the education of the citizen to both the exercise and acceptance of bureaucracy, controlled economic life and a large army (Oestreich 1).

116 In the *Life and Death of our late most incomparable heroic Prince*, John Hawkins describes Henry's obsession with all things military: He did also practise Tilting, Charging on Horseback with Pistols, after the Manner of the Wars, with all other the like Inventions. Now also delighting to confer, both with his own, and other strangers, and great Captains, of all Manner of Wars, Battle, Furniture, Arms by Sea and land, Disciplines, Orders, Marches, Alarms, Watches, Strategems, Ambuscades, Approaches, Scalings, Fortifications, Incamping; and having now and then Battles of Head-men appointed both on Horse and Foot, in a long Table; whereby he might in a manner, View the right ordering of a Battle .... Neither did he omit, as he loved the Theorick of these Things, to practise ... all manner of Things belonging to the Wars (cited in Strong *Henry* 145).

Elizabethan England. With it would come all the problems of reconciling military practices with English society and the peace policies of James Stuart.[117] The hopes of returning to the Elizabethan styled militant Protestantism of Elizabeth Tudor were dashed with the death of Prince Henry in 1612.

This death provided Ben Jonson, with the opportunity to contrast the leaderships styles of the Vere brothers at the moment that Prince Charles was about to step into his martial brother's shadow. Jonson's poem 'Epigram 91: On Sir Horace Vere', celebrates Vere not for his military exploits but rather for his humanism and piety. Ben Jonson had first-had experience of the realities of warfare, having joined the English army stationed in the Netherlands, perhaps when the garrison was strengthened in 1591 (Riggs 17). For Jonson, his participation in violence seems to have shattered the chivalric campaign he had imagined this war to be.[118] In spite of this, he still regarded Sir Horace Vere with great respect. Many scholars believe that Jonson's experiences in the Netherlands left him disillusioned and with an aversion to war. Further to this, Jonson had become closely associated with the peace policy of King James (Butler 280).[119] This is an interesting fact considering that Jonson's accolade to Vere is an ironic celebration of soldier's virtue rather than his achievements in war. It is probably connected to these reasons why Jonson rejects the notion of Vere as a 'military' rather than a 'militant' hero. In

117 Perhaps most significantly, the lieutenancy continued as a powerful force in county affairs, despite James' failure to provide it with official sanction in 1604. All of these institutions preserved the forms of the Elizabethan army even though its centrepiece, the Trained Bands, fell into disuse (Nolan 417).

118 Jonson later reminisced that 'in his service in the Low Countries…he had in the face of both the Campes killed ane Enemie and taken opima spolia from him'. Once Jonson had killed his man, he returned home 'soon' (Riggs 18).

119 James I's motto 'beati pacifici' (blessed be the peacemakers) summaries his approach to foreign policy. He ended English wars and negotiated marriages for his children to bring about peace in Europe. His policies are replicated in the courtly entertainments of the time, such as *Civitatis Amor* (1616) and *The Peacemaker* (1618) by Thomas Middleton. Both of these pageant entertainments contain scenes which give prominence to the idea of peace; a reflection of James' motto (Bergeron 1202).

'Epigram 91', Jonson chooses to create a new way of praising Vere. Jonson rejects militancy and hails Vere as a hero of humanistic virtue, thereby creating a new chivalric mode with which to praise Vere.

Jonson begins by using an elaborate pun to create praising allusions to Vere;

> Which of thy names I take, not only beares
>
> A Romane sound, but Romane virtue weares,
>
> Illustrous Vere, or Horace. (2006, 1-3)

Jonson's puns on Vere's first and last names in order to refer to Vere's humanism and piety rather than his military might. The first is the Latin 'vir', alluding the Vere's manliness, courage and profession as a soldier. 'Vir' is also the root of 'virtus', Jonson explicitly connects Vere with this, as he explains that Vere's name wears 'Roman virtue'.[120] Jonson praises Vere not being a militant hero but for being a chivalric one. Jonson is inspired by classical notions of appraisal as the Roman poet Horace was, rendering Vere as a hero not only for the early moderns but also for the classical world. As such, Vere is with imbued with the prestige of Latin, the language of Horace and the Roman conquering spirit (Hedley 167-168). In both name and actions, Vere is a true Roman. However, Jonson does not focus too long on the military aspect of Vere's Roman-worthy career. He notes that Vere's, 'fame was won / In th' eye of Europe, where thy deeds were done' (5-6), however, Jonson rejects adulation of these deeds and supplants them with praising of Vere's character as a man.

Kamholtz suggests that Jonson chooses this option to show that he can make a man a hero without limiting himself, and that he could depict that heroism without presenting it (Kamholtz 80). However, considering the historical context of this

120 The Latin meaning of 'virtus', denotes masculine bravery, but also implies excellence and goodness of character.

poem, it seems more probable that Jonson is praising peace rather than war. Jonson strives to recognise the less celebrated qualities of Vere's character,

> I speake thy other graces, not lesse showne,
> Nor lesse in practice; but lesse mark'd, lesse knowne. (13-14)

Jonson's decision to 'speake' marks a change in tone and intention from the beginning of the poem, where Vere was 'fit to be Sung'. He renounces heroic rhetoric for a mode of expression more suited to those 'graces', the celebration of which he regards as the appropriate sphere of activity for his own free muse (Hillyer 4). Jonson shows that he is a muse that does not praise war but praises virtue. He is a poet who praises Protestant families but does not share in their Protestant militancy (Norbrook 185). This is consistent with his strategy throughout the poem, to 'speake' rather than to sing and to praise 'other graces', rather than those associated with the field of battle (Hillyer 4). Jonson is showing his antipathy for chivalric modes and distancing himself from militarism of confessional conflicts taking place in Europe. Jonson chooses to specifically praise Vere's 'humanity' and 'piety'. It is clear that Jonson was himself a humanist and a follower of the teachings of Erasmus. In 1620s and 1630s Jonson was associated with the 'Great Tew' of liberal Protestants who drew inspiration from Erasmus and the Dutch religious sect of Arminianism (Norbrook 176); a source of religious controversy in the Netherlands as discussed in Chapter 1 and one which became associated with the Advocate Oldenbarnelt who also wanted peace, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Jonson seems to have been inspired by what he recognised as humanist ideals in Vere's character. Considering that Jonson is imagining Vere as a Roman hero, it is clear to assume that he considered the Roman notions of humanity and piety as present in Vere's

character.[121] Vere was held in esteem by many of his contemporaries including his soldiers.[122] Fuller notes how,

> Sir Horace had more meekness, and as much valour as his brother; so pious that he first made his peace with God before he went out to war with man. One of an excellent temper, it being true of him what is said of the Caspian Sea, 'that it doth never ebb or flow'. (Fuller 514)

Kamholtz notes that Jonson's poetic procedure is rooted in the particularity of his subjects as he searches for something more universal which he regarded as the essence of virtue itself, and that is wisdom and moral judgment based on personal integrity (Kamholtz 78). He appears to have found something for what he is looking for in Vere's integrity. Rather than putting evidence on Vere's militancy he chooses instead to emphasise his virtuousness and marks that as the true sign of a chivalric hero. Jonson does not want to mention this facet of Vere's life at all, he feels like he has a duty to because of popular demand but not out of admiration.

Jonson is rejecting the Spenserian ideal of an Elizabethan militant Protestant hero and replacing this with an image of a supposedly peaceful army general. However, the reshaping of Vere's image and that of his family is extremely ironic as Vere's brother was a famously aggressive Elizabethan knight. While Francis embodies the perfect Spenserian militant ideal, Horace is the chivalric hero suited to the Jacobean age and worthy of praise under the kingship of the 'rex pacificus', James I. Jonson is using Vere as a 'noble Chiefe', who is worthy of emulation and

121 'Humanitas' suggests the qualities of being kind, refined, educated and cultured. 'Pietas' denotes dutifulness, dutiful conduct, piety, patriotism; devotion, and kindness. Also 'pius aegeanus', holding onto one's dynastic identity.

122 'Observing a constant tenor, neither elated nor depressed with success. Had one seen him returning from a victory, he would, by his silence, have suspected that he lost the day; and had beheld him in a retreat, he would have collected him as a conqueror, by his cheerfulness of spirit....Sir Frances was more feared, Sir Horace more loved, by the soldiery. The former in martial discipline was often 'rigidus as ruinam'; the latter seldom exceeded 'ad terrorem'...Both lived in war, much honoured; died in peace, much lamented' (Fuller 514).

therefore a man who the ruling classes should admire and follow. As leadership styles and political conditions have changed with the generations, so too has the type of hero necessary for people to follow. Jonson is doubly rejecting this heroic tradition by not only honouring an army officer for his kindness but he is also reshaping a family famous for fighting into a family famous for kindness. It is extremely ironic.

This poem is intended as a lesson in leadership. Jonson counsels those in the ruling classes, commenting how Vere's virtues are:

> As noble in great Chiefes, as they are rare:
> And best become the valiant man to weare,
> Who more should seek mens reverence, than feare. (16 – 19)

Jonson prefers 'reverence' 'feare' because it presents a version of Roman virtue in which humanism, kindness and compassion are paramount. In doing so, Jonson reveres Vere and also re-veres him and so illuminates his true image. It also creates a startling allusion to the style of leadership practised by Sir Francis Vere, under whom Jonson may have served. Markham's definitive biography of Vere describes the leadership styles of both of the brothers. The Jacobean, Horace is described as:

> Brave, self controlled and judicious, he was alike valorous in the field and wise in council...extremely modest and ruled those under him by kindness rather than by severity. (Markham 365)

However the Elizabethan, 'Sir Frances was more feared, Sir Horace more loved, by the soldiery' (Markham 514). Jonson appears to be comparing the brothers' approach to leadership and Sir Francis is found to be wanting. The Jacobean age is therefore painted as a more peaceful era where the harshness and severity are no longer needed. This can similarly be seen in masques Jonson wrote for the young Prince

Henry. Jonson's *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) and *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1611), exhibit this new generational approach to militancy. These masques played heavily on Arthurian and Spenserian imagery, imagining the young prince's reign as a regeneration of Elizabethan militancy, however, in a magical Arthurian kingdom where the complaints of the current decayed state of chivalry can be healed and reshaped as something magical and beautiful. Whether Jonson actually agreed with the young Prince's self-fashioning is doubtful.

Jonson's directives to Prince Henry in *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (1609), insisted on superiority of the arts of peace to those of war, thus advocating a governing policy more in line with that of his father than of the militant Protestant knights of the Elizabethan era (Peacock 172). Sir Horace Vere had been considered one of these militant Protestant heroes, but Jonson is somehow able to turn this image around. The death of Prince Henry in 1612 is co-terminus with this epigram and possibly he intended to use the example of Sir Horace as an advisory example to Prince Charles, in a bid to sway the young prince away from his brother's bellicose intentions. After all, Jonson intended his poems to be moral advice to the ruling classes (Norbrook *Poetry* 192). Prince Charles had much in common with Sir Horace, they were both younger brothers who had assume their deceased elder brother's duties. Perhaps he hoped that like Sir Horace, Prince Charles would break with his brother's overtly aggressive intentions, supplanting these with humanism and piety thereby cultivating an atmosphere of kingly reverence rather than fear among the populace.

Jonson uses the example of Sir Horace Vere as a man worthy of emulation, who bears a chivalric code of honour much more worthy of praise than those who wield their power through fear and war. Jonson prefer's Vere plain style of honour

and is demonstrating his position as a poet of peace in the Jacobean court, albeit by ironically considering the humanity of a war leader. Akin to Jacobean foreign policy, Jonson wants to encourage an atmosphere of peace and reverence rather than fear and hatred. Jonson rates his poetical praise as greater than the praise Vere has received for his achievements on the battlefield. This is contrary to the Elizabethan military hero worship that Prince Henry was so fond of. Brady argues that Jonson saw himself as the great instructor of his contemporaries and in this poem he has taken a living man and turned him into a monument to his reputation (Brady 96-110). Jonson's alternate approach to honouring a chivalric hero may have been a successful form and emulated by other poets except for the ruminations of European confessional politics. Sir Horace Vere's personage and image would be called upon and reshaped again as English culture ventured into another phase of intense Elizabethan nostalgia and anxious re-chivalrization of an extreme militant nature.

3.2. 'Now Hercules himself could do no more': Elizabethan Nostalgia and Chapman's 'Pro Vere Autumni Lachraymae' (1622).

In 1618, Bohemia revolted and deposed their Catholic Hapsburg ruler, offering their crown instead of James Stuart's son-in-law, Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who readily accepted. In 1620, Frederick and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, had been driven from Bohemia and by October 1621 their former lands in the Palatinate were occupied by the Spanish. An English volunteer force was sent to the Palatinate in 1620, commanded by Sir Horace Vere on the demands of the Palatine ambassador.[123] Sir Horace Vere was appointed commander at the insistence of the Palatine ambassador (and over the favourite, Buckingham's, objections) as a

123 The only known copy of this libel can be found in John Chamberlain's *Letters* from the 4th of August 1620 newsletter to Dudley Carleton (*Early Stuart Libels*).

replacement for Sir Edward Cecil. The libel below documents this change of leadership.

> Some say Sir Edward Cecill can,
> Do as much as any man,
> But I say no, for Sir Horace Vere
> Hath caried the earle of Oxford where,
> He neither shall have wine nor whore,
> Now Hercules himself could do no more. (*Early Stuart Libels)*

This Herculean image of Sir Horace Vere shows him to be a hero for the upper and lower classes alike, someone with superhuman characteristics, on whom all could depend. Vere's efforts in the Palatinate, however, ended in failure and the territory was lost and the Elector and his family deposed. Afterwards, Frederick, Elizabeth and their children resided at their exilic court in The Hague in the Netherlands. Throughout the Palatinate Crisis, James Stuart ignored their pleas for assistance, causing both the English parliament and English populace to feel a sense of outrage on the grounds of pan-Protestantism, the glory of the House of Stuart and the growing power of the Spanish throne, believed to be aspiring towards, 'universal monarchy.' There was parliamentary agitation at the 1621 session, jeers directed at the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gonodomar, by rowdy London apprentices and masses of polemical writing, including libels, pamphlets and newsletters. As previously mentioned, a strong sense of nostalgia was exhibited for the militancy of the Elizabethan age.

Amid this chaos and indignation, the poet and dramatist, George Chapman, chose to use the image of Vere and yet again re-shape it in order to communicate his anger over the Palatinate Crisis and also to emotionally persuade and motivate James

Stuart to become militarily involved in the conflict. Chapman's poem, 'Pro Vere Autumni Lachraymae' (1622), displays bountiful Elizabethan nostalgia and also glorifies the battles fought out in the Netherlands. Chapman's poem also served as a piece of advice and a stern expression of disappointment to a member of the royal household. Similarly to the discussion of the 'Dutch Church Libel' (1592) in Chapter 2, Chapman's poem serves as a piece of propaganda to influence opinions on James I's reticence to help the Elector of the Palatinate. Chapman directed the poem at James I as a frantic appeal to send troops to aid Vere on the Palatinate. Jonson viewed Vere as embodiment of a new hero while Chapman manipulates Sir Horace's image so that he is cast as the last of England's great Elizabethan heroes.

Chapman mourns England's failure to assist Vere in his campaign aiding Protestants in wars on the Palatinate. In 'Epigram 91', Jonson stripped away unnecessary military adulation in order to 'speake' plainly about a man's virtues. Chapman passionately returns to this tradition and his poem is littered with Spenserian imagery in which he extols a queen named 'Eliza' and her band of noble warriors, while bewailing their passing. Instead of encouraging virtuosity this poem argues as to why James should immediately enmesh himself in the religious wars of Europe.

Similarly to Jonson, Chapman served a portion of his youth as a soldier in the Netherlands. He was admitted to the hospital in Middelburg in 1586, having fought under Captain Robert Sidney. He was also an associate of Jonson's, having collaborated with him in the play *Eastward Hoe* (1605).[124] Chapman, however, has an alternate view of chivalry to that of Jonson. The title of the poem roughly translates as 'For Vere's Autumn Tears'. The poem was written as a plea to James to

124 Unfortunately the anti-Scottish satire in the play landed them both in prison in the same year (Robertson 165).

send aid to Vere's doomed mission on the Palatinate, as he intervened in the Bohemian war to aid to Elector of Palatine and his wife, James' daughter, Elizabeth. Cust argues that in the 1620s, oral material, such as poems, operate as a form of news for both educated audiences and semi-literate alike (Cust 66). Thereby, poetry and popular ballads could shape attitudes of the educated and non-educated and effect the public's perceptions of politicians actions (Cust 69; 73). Chapman's poem is almost of elegiac structure as he passionately laments for a return to the militarism of Elizabeth's reign and displays an intense frustration with the lack of militarization under the rule of James. James had reason be to reticent to enter into foreign wars. The costs of English militarization heightened considerably by the close of Elizabeth's reign.[125] Indeed, this stand-down from wartime status was accompanied by much discussion of the nation's military structure and means of reforming it (Nolan 416). Chapman encompasses all of these concerns in a poem satiated with Elizabethan nostalgia and anxieties about English military preparedness.

Chapman salvages the imagery of Elizabeth's reign creating a poem laden with a strong nostalgia for the Elizabethan era. He begins the poem by lamenting how his 'yeeres comforts, fall in Showres of Teares', praising the 'Vere of Veres' (1-2), associating Vere with spring and capitalising on the same puns as Jonson by linking manliness, bravery and the occupation of soldier. Chapman mourns the loss of his 'comforts', a metaphor for the pride in the victories of his early days as a soldier in the Netherlands. Those previous victories are cascading away, crumbling and falling to pieces in 'Showres of Teares'. As discussed in relation Sir John Coke's

125 It is not surprising that James I opted immediately for peace and a temporary military 'demobilization'. In this context, his neglect of the militia, avoidance of overseas entanglements, and discouragement of military affairs in general appear to be the actions of a prudent man attempting to back out of a dead-end policy. For more information on this, see Simon Adam's essay: 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy', in *Before the English Civil War*. Ed. H. Tomlinson. London: Macmillian, 1983. 79-102.

'Reasons Against the Rendering of the Cautionary Towns' (1616), Chapman describes Britain as 'th'Exempt Ile from the World' (5), the island disconnected from the European mainland but also exempt, by choice, from a major European religious war. This charge echoes those similar sentiments of Sir John Coke, discussed in Chapter 2 when he described how England without the Cautionary Towns was 'Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos' (SP84/72 f.105). Coke was echoing the words of Virgil who used the same phrase, which translates as Britain 'wholly sundred from all the world' (Waters Bennett 114).[126] In the Elizabethan era, this classical vision of Britain as separate from the world became very popular because of its supposedly 'blessed' state on account of the success of the Protestant Reformation. Coke and Chapman, however, use this label derisively to imagine Britain as a country divided and excluded from the real sources of power on the continent. Chapman grieves for the 'Race of Bright Eliza's blessed Raigne' (33), and cries out for a restoration of 'her arm'd Fires' (6). His language is emotive and passionate, with the imagery loaded with Spenserian allusions. Chapman is re-establishing all of the mythical poetic scaffolding that Jonson strove to strip away from his dedication to Vere. While Jonson strove to 'speake' plainly about Vere, Chapman strives to re-erect the elaborate Elizabethan imagery of honour which he lavishes upon Vere in this poem.

126 Horace also refers to Britain as in the ends of the earth (in ultimos orbis). Claudian echoes Virgil's line, saying, 'Britain cut off from our world' (Nostro diducta Britannia mundo) (Waters Bennett 114). Waters Bennett states that the classical idea of Britain being disconnected from mainland Europe and geographically 'another world', can also be found in the writings of the Jewish historian Josephus, who quotes King Agrippa as saying that the Romans, not content to have conquered the whole world, 'sought a new world beyond the ocean, and carried their arms as far as the Britons, previously unknown in history' (Waters Bennett 116). Michael Drayton opens his Poly-Olbion with this theme, and John Selden, in his notes to the poem, quotes both Virgil and Claudian on this point (Waters Bennett 117). William Camden begins his poem on the Marriage of Thame and Isis by representing the nymph Britona as singing, '…how Britanny from all / The world devided was, / When Nereus with victorious Sea / Through cloven rocks did passé (Waters Bennett 117).

It can be clearly seen that English intervention in the Dutch wars were a considerable source of pride for Chapman. He yearns for a return to these days of Elizabethan Protestant militarism. He is disenchanted with the era that he is living in and the events occurring around him. He is horrified at what he terms the 'faithless world' (4), which he has described as devouring the fruits of the spring, symbolised by Vere's name, which has long passed. Similarly to Chapter 2's discussion on generic constructions, he employs a set of metaphorical images consistent with Northrop Frye's analysis of genres as seasons. The season of hope and comedy, represented by Vere's name, 'Spring', has been replaced by the satirical and cynical autumn. Chapman contrasts the lost positivity of past season of 'Spring' with the negativity of England's current metaphorical season of 'Fall' (45). This is an extended metaphor associating Vere with spring and a metaphor for the Protestant militancy of Elizabeth's reign with James' pacificism, especially in 1622 with his refusal to send aid to Vere in the Palatinate. Chapman is dismayed by this James' rebuttal of assistance, he exclaims, 'As if his want, wee could with Ease supply' (19). Aligned to this, he also incorporates a veiled attack upon James' refusal to assist, protesting as to,

> But who liues now, that giues true Worth his due?...
>
> The Owner notice of his Pow'r or Being.
>
> Nought glories to be seene, that's worth the seeing. (10-14)

The 'glories' of English involvement in the Dutch campaigns allow Chapman to feel glorious about his country. Chapman here is referring to James as the 'owner' of that which can give power to 'worth'. Chapman suggests that James has not provided England any glories by investing his power instead into glories which are utterly worthless. This could be a possible reference to James' desire to marry Prince

Charles to the Spanish Infanta, something which was unpopular and severely disliked among courtiers and commoners alike. Chapman obviously does not think that this is a worthwhile cause. He insinuates that James is not a worthy king for the English, unlike his enchanted predecessor 'Eliza'. Chapman strives to remind James of the 'Vertue' (50), imbued in the subjects of,

> The Race of bright Eliza's blessed Raigne,
> Past all fore-Races, for all sorts of Men,
> Schollers, and Souldiers, Courtiers, Counsellors. (33-35)

Chapman is here honouring the notables of the Elizabethan era but is also connotatively concluding that these men will never be succeeded in the Jacobean reign. He infers that both James and his current collection of scholars, soldiers, courtiers and counsellors are unworthy of their predecessors. Chapman balances the pessimism of his estimation by surmising that there is one of this noble race still living, this one man is, 'Their last, This Vere' (39). Chapman reveres Vere's participation in the religious wars on behalf of English 'vertue'. Like Jonson, Chapman also deduces that Vere is an extremely virtuous character, albeit his militaristic achievements predominantly, unlike Jonson's analysis. Chapman sees:

> In Thee (O Vere) confound their Spring and Fall?
> And thy Spirit…In a Dutch Cytadell, dye pinn'd, and pin'de?
> O England, Let not thy old constant Tye
> To Vertue, and thy English Valour lye
> Ballanc't…Twixt two light wings. (45-52)

Chapman here sees Vere present at the very pinnacle of English worth, languishing isolated and ignored on the European continent at the 'fall' of true English worthiness. The memory of this worth lies languishing in a 'Dutch Cytadell.' He

denotes the disintegration of mythologized English virtue and chivalry, the last remnants of which remain in the character of Vere. In a desperate and urgent tone, Chapman implores James to send aid and restore what is left of English chivalry.

> Nor leaue Eternall Vere
> In this vndue plight. But much rather beare
> Armes in his Rescue, And resemble her. (52-54)

He is concluding that James' only hope of gaining worth, glory and matching his predecessor is to help Vere. Chapman also exhibits extreme anxiety about England's safety from international aggressors. He views Vere as the last defender of England who deserves to be aided. He describes how England is in danger, with the last of the Elizabethan heroes, Vere, himself 'Circled with Danger' (41) on the continent. Due to his absence, Chapman feels that there is,

> …Danger to vs All;
> As Round, as Wrackfull, and Reciprocall.
> Must all our Hopes in Warre then!
> Safeties All… (42-44)

Chapman feels that England is extremely threatened on all sides and in jeopardy of a universal siege on at all fronts. Chapman's solution to his disenchantments with England's current predicament is naturally to send aid to Vere. It will cure England's lack of Elizabethan style heroes, 'For worthy men the breeders are of Worth' (90), so if James acts in a worthy fashion, his example will breed successors. Chapman also feels that a show of England's military might will dissuade any planned attacks from enemy states. Chapman concludes by returning to his current disenchantment with the contemporary reign, protesting how there, 'neuer was (in best Times most Abuses) / A Peace so wretched, as to sterue the Muses' (100-101). Chapman is

explicit here about his disdain for James' policy of pacificism, implicit is his own motto 'Beati Pacifici' (Parry 17). Chapman yearns for a return to the glory days of Elizabethan militancy in the Netherlands and in this respect, he is reflecting the desires of the English nation and government in 1622 as they struggled to come to terms with 'wretched peace'. James' backing away from Elizabethan militarization failed to reverse it. Even in a time of peace and official discouragement of military activity, interest in military affairs abounded.

Chapman also holds up Vere as a monument to virtue, in a strikingly different way to Jonson. Chapman also views Vere as a hero, Robertson notes how,

> At all times Chapman took occasion to prove himself a true son of the greatest age of Englishmen in his quick and fiery sympathy with the doing and suffering of its warriors. (Robertson 164)

Chapman views Vere as the last of the great Elizabethan heroes and is saddened that this man will never be matched again by the future generations. His anxieties are heightened by the fear of England being engulfed by Catholic aggressors on the continent and possibly also the prospect of a Catholic queen bringing a Catholic heir to the English throne. He uses Vere as symbol for English power and might but Vere also serves as a reminder that he is the last of his kind and currently unsupported by the head of the English church and state, the king. Like Jonson, Chapman certainly feels that Vere is a man worth of emulation and a living hero.

Chapman's imagining of Sir Horace Vere in 1622 is moulded by the anxieties caused by the Palatinate Crisis and its adjoining nostalgia for the security of the Elizabethan age. In an age when England needed a militant hero, the image of Vere was shaped to suit this purpose. The chivalrous and virtuous heroic image created by Jonson has been cast aside for that of a righteous yet desperate combatant

for the true religion. Vere may have been fifty seven years of age but in Chapman's eyes, he is remains an Elizabethan warrior battling out the Catholic beast alone in continental Europe; the last of the preceding generation of Protestant super-humans. However, while this poem may be a product of wistful nostalgia and the fears engendered by confessional conflicts, it is also a powerful piece of propaganda. Chapman's poem uses Vere in the same way that Spenser used the Red Crosse Knight in the *Faerie Queene* to dramatise the powers partaking in the European religious wars and in doing so, influences readers' perceptions and ideas about the war in the Palatinate and about their leader. In doing so, this poem is not an innocuous piece of nostalgia and lamentation but a powerful piece of polemical writing with Sir Horace Vere as its figurehead.

3.3. Sir Horace Vere as a Hero for the Caroline Era.

In the Caroline era, Sir Horace Vere returns in poetic form and is utilised as the figure-head of social and religious righteous in a series of elegies satiated in Elizabethan nostalgia. These poems evince the continuation of Elizabethan nostalgia from Chapman's Jacobean poem into this volume of Caroline epicedian verses. This chapter also examines how the trope of Elizabethan nostalgia is used by both warring factions across the political divide. These poems form a series of elegies lamenting the death of Sir Horace Vere and were ominously published several years after his actual passing in 1642 by Christopher Meredith entitled, *Elegies Celebrating the Happy Memory of Sir Horace Vere.* The tome is attributed to several Oxford poets, some who manipulate the image of Vere as a royalist hero; while interestingly, others use Vere as a parliamentary figurehead. It is noteworthy that these elegies were published several years after Vere's death, which adds significance to the

purpose of their publication in the very ominous year of 1642. It is the argument of this section of the chapter that regardless of political perspective, the image of Vere is used as a nostalgic symbol of Elizabethan stability amid the ever changing, unhinged world that England became during the civil war. The connection between these Oxford poets, their mentor Brian Duppa and his friendship with Ben Jonson strongly suggests that these poets were keenly aware of Jonson's epigram dedicated to Vere and it is evident in their poetry that they were strongly influenced by this poem. Thus, this confirms the long-lasting impact of English intervention in the Dutch War of Independence on the English poetic imagination. The epigrams can be viewed as a continuation of Jonson's original epigram as the elegies replicate Jonson's imagery and metaphors.

The presence of Elizabethan nostalgia in these elegies connects them with the previously discussed poem honouring Vere by Chapman, showing the progression of courtly Elizabethan nostalgia from the Jacobean into the Caroline reign. Jonson's and Chapman's respective attitudes and views of English involvement in the Netherlands and of Sir Horace Vere as a whole deeply impacted the poetry of these later poets. It is interesting to discuss this in relation to the poetry of Chapman as the elegies which exhibit a parliamentary ideology closely resemble his own poem to Vere. This point is all the more pertinent considering the people involved in the volume's publication appear to be a mixture of both royal and parliamentary supporters. Both sides of the political divide use Vere as the epitome of their own respective ideologies and in doing so use his memory as a call to arms by evoking his religious piety and military heroism. The poets do this by using the same language of Elizabethan nostalgia laid down by poets and playwrights in the Jacobean reign. De Groot argues in *Royalist Identities* that civil war writing exhibits

attempts by writers to reinvest social models and paradigms with power, to re-impose structures of identity and behaviour; thereby affirming a divine or royal presence (6). This segment of this chapter shows how Vere is memorialised as a divine entity and a true hero of the Elizabethan age. For both sides, he appears to be a binary symbol of a loyal subject and the militant solider of God. Vere is used to symbolise the Protestant militancy and stable constancy under Elizabeth I that came to prominence during the Jacobean reign. Vere is also imagined as a monument of security, whose fond memory comforts both sides during this volatile period of English history. Vere is also a man associated with military success.

It can be assumed therefore that his memory gave these poets assurance of victory over enemy forces, thereby reliving the success associated with Vere on the Dutch battlefields during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the Caroline era, the image of Vere is able to appeal to both the Royalists and the Parliamentarians and evokes the hero worship of Jonson's accolade to Vere, and replicates Chapman's frustrated tone towards a monarch who was in opposition to the needs and requirements of his nation.

The background to the publication of this volume provides the basis for this chapter's discussion. Christopher Meredith, a staunch Presbyterian, is stated as the publisher of this tome. Plomer states that Meredith dealt chiefly in theological works and his other publications during the 1640s confirm this fact. It is quite surprising then to see that Meredith published this volume, considering his prominence as a staunch Presbyterian Common Councillor during the 1640s (Hughes 146).[127] Meredith was considered such a steadfast supporter of Parliament, that on the 9th

127 Meredith also published for John Calamy English Presbyterian church leader and evangelical preacher, was an associate of Thomas Edwards, writer of *Gangraena*. Meredith, with his partner, Philemon Stephens, also took over the running of the workshop for staunch Puritan bookseller and Parliamentary soldier, John Bellamy (Hughes 146; Plomer 30; 143).

March 1642 the Committee of Examinations (a parliamentary replacement for the Star Chamber), appointed Meredith as one of several searchers ordered to search for 'scandalous and lying pamphlets' that were being spread by Royalist supporters (Plomer xiii). Meredith, chosen because of his firm Presbyterian beliefs, was instructed to 'demolish and take away such presses…and bring printers and their workmen before the committee' (Plomer xiii).

This makes the fact that Meredith published a text somewhat pro-Royalist text in the same year quite bizarre. It was probably because the memory of Sir Horace Vere was universally held in such high esteem by all sides of the political divide that the text was published. Further to this, Meredith's chief printer prior to 1641 was Richard Badger, a known Laudian printer with royal connections (McCullough 286).[128] For this publication, Meredith chose Badger's son, Thomas, who seems to have inherited some of his father's royalist loyalties, although, moderately (McCullough 310-311).[129] All of this information shows how complex the national division between Royalist and Parliamentarian allegiance was in 1642. Vere seems to be a unifying force between both sides ideologically and confirms how imaginings of Vere during the previous decades affected the imaginations of all of the inhabitants of England. Memories of Vere in the Netherlands made a huge impact of imaginings of these wars.

The history of the publication proves a very interesting basis on which to discuss the importance of its content. The volume includes contributions from a significant number of the Cambridge and Oxford poets – Martin Lluellyn, Richard

128 Through Laud's personal endorsement, Badger was created a master printer by the Star Chamber in 1615 and his printing house became known from there on as 'the Prince's Printing House' (McCullough 287).

129 Other religious titles printed by Thomas Badger for publishers other than Moseley or Brown were by godly authors well known as opponents of Laud – Cornelius Burges, Ephraim Udall, John Lightfoot, and Bishop Thomas Morton – yet all of these had reputations as moderates hostile to radicalism and sympathetic to a reduced form of episcopacy (McCullough 310-311).

West, John Borough, John Goad, Edmund Borlase, Thomas Isham, John Greaves, William Towers, and Henry Bennet. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford held huge ideological significance, the association with these universities indicating a strong Royalist loyalty. Institutionally, the entire government of the nation would be moved to Oxford. De Groot has pointed out that in this period the definition of a 'Royalist' writer is publication at Oxford (De Groot 49).[130] This volume was printed just at the start of these partitions but nevertheless, the constant mixing between Royalist and Parliamentary in the history of this book points to the complexity of the political situation and also to the complexity of its content. The fact that it is written by a group of Oxford poets who exhibit, on the whole, Royalist sympathies makes it surprising that this book was not printed at Oxford by Royalist publishers. The Parliamentary allusions in two of the poems in this volume probably made this collection unpalatable to Oxford printers, considering that the content of texts published at Oxford was monitored (De Groot 49).

The fact that this volume was published several years after the dedicatee's death has huge significance to the ultimate motive for its publication. Its arrival in the summer of 1642 marks a crucial period when both sides were busy raising troops to go into war (Wilcher 128). It is probable that this volume was aimed at those undecided readers in a bid to sway them in a certain way. Considering that it was written by a group of known Oxford poets, it is certainly possible that these elegies were circulated in manuscript version beforehand. A testament to this is a collection of different elegies in manuscript format written by the same poets but also dedicated to Vere which is contained in the Yale library. It can be assumed therefore that these

130 Therefore, works not published at Oxford, unless they had a good excuse, were not loyalist or Royalist; they were tainted with the corruption of the London presses (De Groot 49). Obviously, this volume is exempt from such a label being printed at such an early stage in the civil war.

elegies would have been circulated amongst an educated, elite coterie of readers connected with these poets. The purpose of these elegies can be clearly seen as to induce readers of influence into following the example of militant loyal service exhibited by Vere. Another testament to this fact is the publication of another volume of elegies, by the same poets, dedicated to the Royalist hero, Sir Bevil Grenville, shortly after his death. These elegies seem to have been intended to act as pieces of motivational propaganda, urging readers of influence to follow the exemplar set by these militant heroes. These elegies mimic the tradition of Elizabethan hero worship set down by their predecessors in the Jacobean reign as the vehicle with which to coerce their readers into action showing the importance of the influence of the Dutch wars on these young elegists' imaginations.

These elegies replicate many of the sentiments set forth in Ben Jonson's 'Epigram 91' (To Sir Horace Vere). The connection between these elegies and Jonson's epigram is through the figure of Brian Duppa.[131] Duppa became vice-chancellor of Oxford in 1641 due in part to his strong connections with the royal household having served as a royal tutor to the princes of Wales and York (Loxley 27). He later became Bishop of Chichester but his prominence in Oxford University created a strong association between this university and the royal court.[132] It is known for certain that Duppa cultivated one of the Vere elegists, Lluellyn as a poet, and also mentored William Towers while encouraging other Oxford poets to write in

131 Duppa later edited a collection of elegies dedicated to the memory of Ben Jonson, entitled *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638). Richard West also contributed an elegy to this volume. Duppa's strong influence over the publication and the prologue's description of Duppa as a 'Gentleman who truly honor'd him [Jonson], (for he knew why he did so)' (A-Av), make it a strong likelihood that Duppa was a follower of the 'Tribe of Ben,' and also had strong connections with Jonson through his association with Christchurch College, Oxford.

132 Oxford became important symbolically serving as a primary source both of the cultural forms characteristic of the Stuart monarch and of contemporary resistance to the forces who wished to defeat it. By 1642, both Oxford and Cambridge had become increasingly important to national government (Loxley 10). By 1641, Oxford contained a vibrant poetic culture, with poetry circulating primarily in manuscript form (Loxley 18-19).

the tradition of the royal panegyric (Loxley 20).[133] Literary networks seem to be intrinsically attached to social networks during the early modern. For example, Jonson knew of Sir Horace Vere through his patron, Pembroke's relationship with him (Riggs 262). Riggs has also recorded that Oxford undergraduates sent verse to Jonson during his lifetime (Riggs 327).[134] This makes it plausible that Jonson's epigram to Vere was read, analysed and discussed among these young scholars. Jonson's experience of the Dutch wars and opinion of Vere had a considerable impact on the way these young elegists chose to write about Vere.

Nearly all of the elegies in this volume follow Jonson's praise of Vere's name and the classical allusions of the name to the Latin meaning of 'vere' such as truth, virtue, courage, masculinity and war. Similarly to Jonson's accolade to Vere, Bennet describes Vere as 'A soule beyond the greatest Roman spirit…the Name it selfe doth testifie' (B7v). Bennet's concentration on Vere's name and his comparison with classical notions of greatness repeats Jonson's pun on Vere's name and reiterates Jonson's accolade on Vere of the Roman notions of virtue, courage, kindness and soldiery. Richard Godfrey reiterates this he states that, 'Though at thy Name Great Veere, even Poets fight.' He continues his pun on Vere's name when he calls out for a, 'conquering Name that may succeed as Thou' (C5). Borough puts emphasis on the more humanitarian side of Vere, just as Jonson had previously done by noting how, 'Mixt with His power, Incense, Piety' (C6v). His focus on Vere's religiousness repeats Jonson's same praise of Vere. William Snow continues this accolade by noting how, 'Religion was thy banner, Faith thy Shield. / Thou taught'st

133 Henry Bennet and William Paynter were well versed in writing commemorative verse to the royal family (Loxley 31). Duppa's numerous Oxford followers thereby moulded their vernacular verse into the formalised university tradition of royal panegyric thereby showing a similar involvement of their art in the politics and aesthetics of the Caroline monarchy.

134 Jonson and Duppa are recorded as mentors to some of the Oxford poets and taught them about the differences between the funeral elegy and the epicede (Loxley 192).

couragious Piety to weild' (Dv). Severne mourns the loss of Vere as, 'Vertues funerall', and marks him as, 'A Souldier Pious' (D5). Goad puts further emphasis on the connection between name and nature by further elaborating on Vere's character, 'Find in the Name, was tripled in the Man. Sounds it religion, God, or Goodnesse? / He was then the Priest, and that the Mystery' (D6v). The poets are in agreement with Jonson's analysis of Vere as a man of immense divinity and Godliness, although this did not befit his career as a soldier. The poets continue Jonson's wish to remember this man for his higher qualities rather than his military success.

Many of the elegists choose to praise Vere for his piety as well as his militancy. Isham casts Vere as the 'God of War' (C8), while then suggesting that Vere could have 'been sainted' (C8v). Severne repeats E.S.'s image of Vere by describing Vere as 'Himself an army' (D4v). Geale and Borlasse call out for Vere to be remembered as 'mars' (D8v; E5), while Towers calls him the 'God of War' (F2v) and H.R. imagines him as the, 'Leader Priest' (B6v). The collection strives deeply to remember Vere with divinity, thereby reinvesting their society with a divine power but also by imagining Vere as a man above men, almost godlike. Rather than following the traditional path of honouring a soldier's military prowess many of these poets choose to include the humanity and piety of Vere's character that Jonson had singled him out for. Considering that Vere had died so many years previously to the penning of these verses, it is clear that the poets have garnered this information from Jonson rather than any other likely sources. The focus on Vere's virtuosity not only follows Jonson but is also of a distinctly Caroline flavour. The poets are reminiscing nostalgically about a hero in an Elizabethan style but the focus on virtuosity is not only Jonsonian but is also distinctly Caroline. Charles I failed in his attempts to achieve the same military success as Elizabeth's knights. Due to these

disappointments, the Caroline court focused it attentions on the virtuosity of chivalry, rather than militancy. Adamson states that the Caroline court honoured 'moderne Heroes'; men distinguished by moral virtues rather than any specific commitment to a martial, much less an anti-Spanish, Protestant cause (172). To Charles I, the 'divinity of chivalry' lay explicitly in the religious bonds of loyalty between the sovereign and his knights; a sacralised loyalty within his order of chivalry that was to serve, in microcosm, as the highest example of the loyal service which was every subject's obligation (Adamson 175). It is convenient both in their quest to mimic Jonson and to simultaneously please their royal master that they choose to focus on Vere's innate divinity, godliness and piety rather than his militant ferocity.

This is a striking fact when considering that the parliamentary elegies in this tome exalt Vere's fierceness as a soldier following closely the structure laid down by George Chapman. All of these poems are also unified in exhibiting the type of Elizabethan nostalgia typified in Chapman's poem, although the parliamentary elegies adhere to his format even more succinctly, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The elegies all mimic Chapman by celebrating Vere as the paradigm of Elizabethan virtue, valour and extol his deeds on the Dutch battlefield in the language of Elizabethan chivalry. It is interesting that these poets would choose the year of 1642 to return to a brand of poetic nostalgia being created twenty years previously during James I's reluctance to enter the religious wars on the Palatinate. It can only be assumed that it is because of the unstable socio-political situation in England during 1642 that led to the revitalisation of this genre.

These elegies are saturated with Elizabethan nostalgia. Barton states that nostalgia thrives on the 'rude transitions rendered by history' (Barton 724). Barton

characterises these transitions as political and socio-economic dislocations which force people to filter, select and reconstruct a past which is desirable and by comparison, enable people to criticise the present (Barton 724). The poems all exhibit disenchantment with current times and refer back to an idyllic time long past, when Vere was a man among equals. This is most apparent in the first elegy of the volume. This elegy is entitled, 'To the Unfading Memory of the Lord Horatio Veere Deceased', written by E.S. The poem opens by using an image of desolation: 'If you would be resolv'd whose Dust lies here / Know 'tis the remnant of that Noble Veere' (A1). These lines seem to allude to a fear that Vere and the regime he epitomised have both crumbled to 'dust'. It is strongly reminiscent of the world that Chapman conjures up in the opening of his poem.

Chapman mourns the loss of a great society as he now inhabits a 'faithlesse World' which loves to 'deuoure' those 'who feedes them' (4). It is a similar desolate, empty world of the elegy and both poets evoke a sense of loss in the opening lines. It is a world satiated with the political and social dislocation that Barton sees as crucial for the creation of nostalgia poetry. The poet lunges into a rich portion of military nostalgia by including an intense elaboration on Vere's successful military campaigns, remarking how:

> Iust Belgia had cause enough to boast,
> That He alone was her confiding Hoast;
> Who singly when the Army was away
> Supplied the place of the Militia. (A1)

The poet nostalgically remembers the Elizabethan and Jacobean military presence in the Netherlands. This is an intense source of pride for the poet, while Elizabethan texts co-terminus with England's initial involvement in the Netherlands were of the

opposing opinion, another feature of what Barton notices as an over-idealism of the old regime.[135] The poet remembers Vere's involvement in this as having the impact of a whole army, rather than of a single man. His exaggeration of Vere's input is evident of the unrealistic, adoring view the poet has of the Elizabethan era. An era he mourns for in the present times. This model follows Chapman's form very closely, as was shown earlier in the chapter he too nostalgically mourned the loss of 'The Race of bright Eliza's blessed Raigne' (33) and remembered Vere's great successes with ardent pride. In the elegy, like Chapman, the poet moves temporally to the current time that he is writing in, linking Vere's past war and the current hostility that England is now entering. The poet remarks how Vere fought in a land that,

> Had unto her Seventeen Provinces
> E're this, united the Antipodes;
> And future times will deem that Land to lie
> Entrench'd in teares when He did dye. (A1)

The poet here views Vere as a uniting force and alludes to the powers of union in several ways. Firstly, he attributes Vere as being instrumental in the formation of the Dutch state through the unification of the seventeen provinces of the Northern Netherlands. Yet, 'Antipodes', would suggest a union of opposing sides or opposites, perhaps the Elizabethan alliance between the English and the Dutch or James I's unification of Britain and his dream of uniting Protestant and Catholic monarchies. The poet certainly feels that in present times this sense of unity has collapsed into 'teares', and 'e're this', unification was held together by Vere. Unity has now collapsed into chaos. The imagery of crying and tears closely resembles Chapman's poem, the title itself alludes to crying and Chapman makes several references to his

135 The Dutch Church Libel is a fine example, where the speaker mourns the loss of English soldiers who 'dy like dogges/ to fight it out for Fraunce and Belgia / as a sacrifice for you' (Freeman 36-37).

own weeping, he refers to his 'Showres of Teares,' and begs the addressee (James I) to not 'Let one Teare fall more from my Muses Eye' (1; 98).[136] This elegy's poet and Chapman both use the symbolic significance of crying to demonstrate their own respective frustrations at their country's current torment and together mourn the loss of the stability associated with Elizabethanism.

Like Chapman, the poet not only senses grief and chaos in his current situation but is also despairing for what is ahead. He comments how Vere, 'hast so out-fought Thy selfe that time / Will thinke such Actions could be none of Thine' (Av). Instead, the memories of Vere's achievements will be thought, 'not a Truth but a well fainde Romance' (Av). It is interesting that he would choose the genre of romance to typify the life of Vere as this genre was strongly associated with the court of Elizabeth, as during this era and afterwards romance plays, poetry and masques often contained real Elizabethan characters and heroes, such as those played and performed in the Jacobean court of Prince Henry; Henry himself being a strong admirer of his hero, Sir Horace Vere (Lawrence 105)**.** The poet is extremely distressed that the future generations will not revere this man as an English hero but as a character in a fable. The poet is very clear as to why the fate of Vere's memory is such. The poet is left to complete the task of 'preserving of Thy Honour', yet harbours the 'feare / Thou wilt be thought no Lord having no Peere' (Av). It becomes evident in these lines that this poet is attached to the hierarchical world of the peerage. He feels extreme disenchantment with the world that is striving to engulf the structures that he knows and understands. He sees this world as seeking to consume England's rigid system of feudal governance, while also consuming that world's greatest heroes, while also engulfing any future hopes of reconstructing the

136 Lachrymæ (Latin): flowing tears, crying.

Elizabethan model of society. This is epitomised in the image of Vere. The poet fears that it will be impossible for the future generations to honour Vere adequately as they will have no understanding of the divinity of Vere's deeds and social position. Unable to comprehend his godly position, they will render his memory mere fable and let him crumble wholly to dust.

Similarly to Chapman, this elegist laments for an era which has long since past. They both consider their own contemporary societies to be inferior to the golden age of Elizabeth. Barton has shown that many Caroline poets and writers held the conviction that England under Elizabeth had been a near-model state, and that most of what had happened since represented a decline (Barton 714). Both poets view Elizabethan values as being destroyed through the metaphor of Vere's destruction; politically in the case of Chapman, physically and memorably in the elegy. His physical destruction is a comparison to the fall of Elizabethan Protestant militancy; the destruction of his memory a comparison for social and political crisis faced by England in 1642. Both poets extol Vere using the language of chivalry which is important considering that it was this very genre which became the vernacular of the Elizabethan regime. The poet expresses his fear that Vere will only be remembered as a fictional character in an Elizabethan story of chivalric romance. The poet seems to be suggesting that the Elizabethan court was itself merely a tale of the genre it typified, rather than an actual reality of English history.

Adamson has shown how Royalists used popular nostalgia from the reign of Elizabeth to portray its cause as the continuation of a Protestant Elizabethan chivalric tradition (Adamson 187). The elegist is describing the prediction of what Chapman foresaw for English society, using Elizabethan nostalgia to create a sense of loss of an era of perfection. The suggestion is that genre associated with this epoch will

envelop it as a fancy of its imaginative conventions if the readership is not spurned into taking action. The poet is using readers' nostalgia for Elizabeth as a way to create a sense of fear that this period will be totally forgotten for what it really was and will merely be remembered as a fictional tale.

Loxley suggests that elegies are used by royalist writers as a call to arms to the King's supporters and cast the subject as a paradigm of 'active virtue' (Loxley 208). Chapman used the example of Vere's activity as a way to coerce James into following the example of his predecessor. This elegist combines this urgency for activity with virtue to show the royalist cause as the natural continuation of Elizabethan values and religious militancy. In this poem, a fear of losing English identity is combined with Vere's active virtue as a way to motivate the reader to assist in saving England, Englishness and Elizabethanism.

A further issue which arises out of the comparison between these elegies and 'Pro Vere' by George Chapman reveals an intriguing similarity between his poem and two elegies in the poem which are markedly different from the rest. The complexity in categorising this volume of elegies is apparent in the fact that out of nineteen elegies, two appear to have distinct sympathies with the parliamentary faction. The elegies still use the same language of chivalry and display the trope of Elizabethan nostalgia which is unsurprising considering that when war broke out in 1642, chivalry was a common currency within the political elite. Adamson has shown how the literature of chivalry provided a common language within which both sides could articulate their contradictory attitudes to the conduct of the war (Adamson 182-85). It is clear that by the Caroline era, Vere is a national figure who appeals to both sides of the political and religious divide. Chapman's poem bears

many similarities with these elegies which is rational considering that in his poem he was aggressively criticising the then monarch, James I.

The parliamentary elegies reflect Chapman's disillusionment with governance by criticising nobility, aristocracy, filial inheritance and courtiers. The first parliamentary elegy is by Richard West, is entitled 'To the Memory of that Noble Worthy Horatio the Lord Veere' and the second is by Thomas Severne, entitled 'On the Death of the Right Valiant Sir Horatio Veere, Baron of Tilbury.' West's elegy does not work in unison with the imagery of the other elegies as he begins by downgrading nobility and filial inheritance. He states how Vere, 'high Births as things of chance did Scorne / He liv'd more Nobly far that He was borne' (Bv), thereby reducing the power imbued in England's system of social hierarchy. Severne's poem also exhibits this abhorrence for social hierarchy, complaining of, 'prouder Cowards that recite / Your stem from Ancestors, but not your Right,' and criticising them as inherent of the, 'Cowardise part of Gentry' (D4v). These poets exhibit no reverence for royalist social norms.

West describes how Vere, 'left the Wanton Chambers, where soft Beds / Beare feathers and what's lighter Courtiers heads' (Bv). This is an obvious attack on the courtly supporters of the king and crown. West displays no respect for this sign of aristocratic authority, instead honouring the tough, brutal life that Vere led on the battlefield. He praises Vere for, 'How He did boldly walke with sure steps, when / The Earth was buried with unburied men…How he did march through Gore to th' Enemy' (B2v). Severne continues in this vein by denouncing those acquire high-ranking military positions due to their ancestry but do, 'not merit th' Armes You beare', and comments how Vere did not need a coat of arms as, 'His Valour shew'd His Crest' (D4v). Severne rejects Jonson's notion of praise to virtuosity by stating

Vere's name announced, 'His Valour and not's Piety' (D5). These poets show their animosity towards English social order and refuse to remember Vere for his virtuousness, preferring instead to nostalgically recall his active militancy and courageousness on the battlefield.

Both of these elegies also display a preoccupation with Vere's achievements and that of the Protestant church. West continues his oppositions to the current society by attacking what appear to be royalist views on the church. He describes how, 'some mad Captaines think Religion / A thing belonging only to the Crown' (B4). His annoyance at the crown's domination of the church would strongly suggest that he is a Parliamentarian sympathiser. Severne also connects Vere and the church, stating how, ''Twas He that made the Church triumphant here' (D5v). West describes Vere's army camp as, 'Church Militant' (B4), and extols Vere for managing to keep the soldiers orderly while in the Netherlands. These lines echo the accusations of Samuel Bachiler, discussed in Chapter 1, who wrote sermons urging English soldiers remain pious while residing in the unholy military encampments of the Netherlands. West remembers how there were, 'No drinking matches there: Their temperance such / They liv'd a sober life amongst the Dutch' (B4).

West's description of the army barracks as a place of temperance and soberness, would suggest that ideologically he was allied to Puritan religious ideals. Severne gives a final serious threat to all of those who oppose the church, by describing those who 'rebell' against Vere as 'Religion's Enemies' and those who fought against him, fought ''gainst Religion too' (D5). The poets are explicitly showing their antipathy to those who disrespect to church and view the church as a militant, aggressive institution that needs to be fought for and kept strong.

Finally in the discussion on these parliamentary elegies, it is important to note the influence of Chapman's poem in particular to the thematic concerns of West's elegy. West refers to James' reluctance to aid Vere in the Palatinate, stating how Vere would have been capable of more, 'Wonders indeed, had but his King look't on' (B2v). This certain statement does not evoke loyalty to the monarchy and creates a retrospective on Chapman's frustrations with his then monarch.

Irrespective of which ideologies these poems are adhering to, they use the same language and mode of expression regardless of their political stance. For example, almost all of the poems display ample imagery of dismemberment mixed with the imagery of sickness and disease. The poets seem to display a preoccupation with notions of pure and diseased blood. As previously mentioned Palmer calls for a 'sword dipt i' th' last Armies Bloud' (Ev), suggesting that this blood is pure and uninfected from the treachery of current times. Both sides seem to want a confrontation with one another as Painter builds on the sentiments set forth by in George Chapman's earlier poems by stating his derision 'with this counterfeit Calme' (Cv), reminiscent of Chapman's complaint of 'A Peace so wretched' (101). Palmer is calling for the sword of Excalibur, a sword dipped in the clean, pure blood of the Elizabethans who regularly used Arthurian imagery. The poets appear to be excited by the prospect of warfare and quiet enamoured by war as a subject. Further to this, the poetry makes many references to dismemberment and physical injuries. H. R. and Painter talk about the occurrence of a 'pestilence' (B6; C2v). H.R.'s reference to 'pestilence' is in reference to the power of Vere's military attacks while Painter is referring to a very current pestilence within the society that he inhabits, which he terms as 'The Plague' (C2v).

There is a suggestion here of an outbreak of disease from within the body. Painter in his call to arms, asks why 'our City Tribes call peace / That forbids Guns, and Slaughters with Disease' (C). Painter is here situating this disease from within the heart of England itself, in the city. Harris casts a whole group as infected when he details how, 'Th' grim Traytor fees a poore disease' (C3v). He seems to be suggesting that the traitorous, presumably the Parliamentary supporters, are infected with a putrid sickness. The solution given to the reader is to replicate Vere's actions for he, 'Purg'd the Campe' (C7), thereby cleansing any filthy blood that he encountered; Vere is described as being 'cleane' and infused with 'Purity' (C7; Dv). Goad advises the reader that even when, 'thy purer bloud rise up, boyle on, / And in disdaine work out the Infection' (D7). The poets are suggesting that the very lifeblood of England is infected.

De Groot has identified disease imagery as a major identifying trait of Royalist literature. The state has been wounded and must be healed. The 'bloud of the nation' must be let in order to purge political impurities (De Groot 15). It is a corrupt, immoral country, infected with disloyalty and violence. It is a country that needs to be cleansed of this filth. Roundheads are somehow simultaneously an internal virus and excrement to be purged (De Groot 10). Vere is here cast as an able bodied man capable of performing this painful, blood-letting. His ability to purge the United Provinces of any 'Romish bastard' (D2), makes him a capable candidate of working out the fetid contagion from English society. Readers are being called to carry out this metaphorical cleansing by taking to arms themselves and purging England of polluted blood by killing people with infected minds on the battlefield.

Several of the elegies make reference to Vere's multiple injuries during his career, resulting in having 'lame uneven feet' (B). It is possible that the poets are

using Vere's disfigurement as a metaphor for the current state England finds itself it. Vere's stout, strong figure is disfigured due to his battle wounds resulting in his inability to walk evenly. The body of English society has also been attacked resulting in a broken, injured nation who is unable to walk together in peace. The poet's positive image of Vere seems to suggest that the Royalist or Parliamentary factions can overcome this injury, continuing to succeed albeit carrying a painful reminder of a battle hard won.

` All of the elegies also display an intense disillusionment with the current world the poets find themselves inhabiting. Bennet's elegy outlines a man's fear of his life ending soon in the current political climate, 'This short time I've to live…And I, if that these broyles I do survive / In prayse of Him, will yearly Feasts contrive' (B9). The poet is here using Vere as a mystical war-god, able to give his protection to those in battle. Besides the anxiety about surviving the current confrontations, there is a strong anxiety prevalent in the poetry around loyalty and treachery. Painter describes Vere as,

> a loyall Souldier, who was 'ere / Disloyall…
> No Veere yet ever durst thinke it right
> And just to plea to Rebell, cause He durst fight….
> Here lyes a devout Souldier, Yet n'ere one
> That mutined to prove's Religion. (Cv)

This elegy is overt in its royalist sympathies, describing Vere as a soldier loyal to his monarch and devout in his religion. Harris refers to 'our late unhappiness' (C2v), an obvious reference to the current division and violence within the country. Godfrey laments the passing of Vere, asking 'But who is left to be so! is there now / A conquering name that may succeed as tho' (C5). His question touches on the

sentiments espoused by George Chapman twenty years earlier when he foresaw an era where men like Vere would be no more. Isham also foresees this time when he states how 'An Age we see / Is almost gon', lamenting its passing and fearing to 'venture forth' (C7v) into the wild unknown of the corrupted society he now inhabits. This society is now cast as bearing an infected cluster who 'Hating thy Country', and strive to spill 'Blood here', creating 'sedition', and attacking vulnerable 'Widdows', rather than 'Towns' (E3).

The poets make constant reference to Vere's social rank, thereby ensuring the hierarchy upon which their protected society is built upon. Vere is described as, 'Nobly descended, Loyall' (D6v), and imagined as stripped of his armour, showing 'th' bare Nobility of His descent' (D7v). These allusions to rank and social hierarchy re-establish Vere as an honourable man who has left behind this dishonourable society. The poets' constant reference to current time localises the elegies and creates a space in which the reader is allowed to step. De Groot argues that defining such spaces imagines a loyal reader who confirms their loyalty by entering this textual space (56). The purpose of these elegies is to spurn their loyal intended reader into swift action to prove their loyalty to the system they adhere to in memory of Sir Horace Vere.

The popularity of these elegies can be testified to the fact that they survive in both print and manuscript copies and in seventeenth century manuscript. Co-terminus with the printing of these elegies, the seventeenth century miscellany Osborn b52.2, contains some of the same elegiac material found in the volume of elegies dedicated to Vere. The writer copied only portions of seven of the elegies dedicated to Vere in the volume, which are those by E.S., Richard West, Col. Nane, Richard Painter, Francis Palmer, John Godfrey and Edmund Borlase. Unfortunately,

the writer attributes to portion copied from E.S.'s elegy on Vere to Richard West also, so only six of the elegists are named.

The astounding thing about West's elegy is that it appears in an utterly different format to the poem which appears in the volume. The lines are in a different order in comparison to how they are shown in *Elegies,* and although they keep a rhyming scheme, they are a combination of West's elegy and lines from E.S.'s elegy. The remainder of the copies record either the first two or last two lines of the original elegies. The inclusion of this material in a manuscript dating from the later seventeenth century testifies to the popularity of the elegies among their own coterie of an influential, educated, elite readership, thereby establishing the effect of the Dutch wars as an important, influential factor on the writings, imaginings and memories of Sir Horace Vere.

3.4. Conclusion.

The commitment of the Vere family to the Dutch war effort meant that they were highly esteemed in the English court and in wider English society. This was a reputation that the Vere family deserved considering that five Veres were killed and two wounded during the Dutch cause (Haley 47). English participation in the Dutch wars led to the creation of a model of what an ideal militant Protestant should be in early modern literature, and Sir Horace Vere exemplified this image of perfection.

Ben Jonson challenged this image of Vere as a 'militant' hero by acknowledging his 'military' history but celebrating his piety and humanity as a man and as a fair and just leader. In doing so, Jonson, possibly because of his own experience of the Dutch wars, showed his preference for the peaceful programme of foreign policy advocated by James I. Jonson possibly sought to sway the future

Charles I away from the militant Protestantism of his elder brother, Prince Henry, and the bellicose sect surrounding the young princes who wished for a return to the staunch militancy of the Elizabethan era. Jonson's vision offered a new way of envisioning heroism, a way which encouraged pacificity rather than warfare.

In contrast, George Chapman returned to the Elizabethan ideal image of a Protestant hero in his celebration of Vere's heroism, while simultanesouly mourning England's loss of the militant stimulus which Chapman felt glorified the Elizabethan reign. The old guard of the Elizabethan regime, such as the Vere family and the Sidney family, were united with the Electors of the Palatinate in their shared sense of militancy against Catholicism, as referenced in the Introduction to this thesis which described a visit Sir Philip Sidney paid to the Elector of the Palatinate in 1586 to form a 'Militae Evangelicae' (Yates 47). The marriage between the daughter of James I, Princess Elizabeth, to the head of the German Protestant Union, Frederick V, in 1613 was viewed by European Protestants as an apparent promise of support by Great Britain for German, and also Dutch, Protestantism (Yates 49). Frederick V was the figure-head of the anti-Hapsburg forces in Europe so James' decision to renege on this unspoken 'promise' shocked Protestant Europe to its core. Chapman turns to Vere's image to promote the ideological vision of Protestant militancy and, in doing so, uses 'soft' power to gain support for Protestant Europe's plight amid the pacificism of the Jacobean reign.

The promotion of Vere's image as a militant hero was so successful that his image was recalled and recycled once more during the Caroline age by both the Royalists and Parliamentarians in their ideological campaign to win support amongst English society. Vere was esteemed by three generations of English poets as a paragon of English virtue against corruption and tyanny, and this reputation was

cultivated due to Dutch wars and the Anglo-Dutch alliance. The Anglo-Dutch military and religious coalition directly led this poetry inspired by his personage can again be considered to be part of this corpus of Anglo-Dutch military poetry discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Ben Jonson and George Chapman are two poets connected to the Anglo-Dutch Protestant network by means of the patronage they secured and their past experiences as soldiers in the Low Countries. Jonson moulded his vision of Vere to celebrate his honour as a man outside of his military exploits and thereby encourage peace; whereas Chapman promoted Vere's image to muster England to support Protestant war on the continent.

This jostle for public support between peace and power formed a crucial component of the struggle between the Dutch Advocate, Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt, and the Prince of Orange, Maurits van Nassau, during the Armianian crisis of the seventeenth century, which was briefly discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. The confrontation between the two leaders is captured in John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's, *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619); a play which represents an English interpretation of the Dutch Republic during the Twelve Years Truce with Spain, in which the war party of the Prince of Orange also began to tire of 'wretched peace.'

Chapter 4. The Anglo-Dutch Sources of John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619).

Fletcher and Massinger's *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619), gives an unhistorical account of the fall of the Dutch statesman, Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt, who was beheaded for suspected treason in The Hague on the 13th of May 1619.[137] Just over three months after Oldenbarnevelt's execution, the play was first played by the King's Men at the Globe theatre sometime between the 14th and the 27th of August 1619. The play had been already licensed and set to premiere on the 14th of August but was prohibited by the Bishop of London, John King, who was also a member of the Privy Council (Dutton *Mastering* 207). A letter to Sir Dudley Carleton from Thomas Locke on the 14th August describes how, 'The Players heere were bringing of Barnevelt vpon the stage, and had bestowed a great deale of mony to prepare all things for the purpose, but at th' instant were prohibited by my Lo: of London.' [138] On the 27th August, Locke was able to give Carleton the update that 'Our players haue fownd the meanes to goe through with the play of Barnevelt and it hath had many spectators and receaved applause' (SP14/110 f.25; f. 57). It can therefore be understood that the play was considerably popular; a perplexing issue considering that the play was not included in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon of 1647.

Indeed, the play was unknown to scholars until A. H. Bullen published it in *A Collection of Old English Plays* (1883) from BL MS Add. 18653. With regards to the date of the play's composition, this can be firmly fixed as taking place between

137 This chapter uses the name 'Oldenbarnevelt' when referring to the actual statesman, and the name 'Barnavelt' (the dramatists spelling and abbreviation of the name) when referring to the dramatic character.

138 Of Thomas Locke little is known, beyond the fact that he managed Dudley Carleton's affairs during his absence on his embassies, apparently being his steward, and that his letters of news, written only to Carleton, reveal that he was both intelligent and well-educated. Thomas Locke is therefore the only one of the three who may have actually written a 'coranto' (Williams, J. B. 16).

the 14th of July and 14th of August, as Frijlinck has noted that there are two references to the dismissal of Oldenbarnevelt's son as governor of Bergen-op-Zoom (l. 1951; l. 2020), which was communicated by Carleton to the English court by letter on the 14th of July (Frijlinck xix). As Locke noted, the play was popular but how long it was kept on the stage is unknown and similarly the reasons for its failure to be published are also mysterious; however, it can be assumed that this was due to its controversial subject matter and depiction of topical characters, such as deceased Oldenbarnevelt and, of course, the very much alive Prince of Orange, Stadholder of the northern Netherlands.

The play is an interesting example of cross-cultural Anglo-Dutch sources as it draws on a range of English and Dutch material. Many English dramatic and poetic sources are apparent in the play, particularly the work of Christopher Marlowe, notably *Edward II* and his translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The play's dramatic structure draws on that of *Edward II,* reprinted and restaged 1619 by Queen Anne's Men, while its political sources can be traced in Marlowe's Lucanic verse. The theme of classical republicanism is evident throughout the play, and many scholars have documented how this theme is evident in a range of early modern material. Cheney (2009) has demonstrated Marlowe's inclination towards classical republicanism, while Hadfield (2005) has shown Shakespeare's and Spenser's republican leanings, and Norbrook (1999) has focused on republican authorship in the Jacobean era. The tendency towards republicanism in this play is unsurprising considering the political climate in 1619 as disgruntlement increasingly grew with the absolutist policies James I; an interesting parallel to the trend towards monarchism in the Dutch Republic, led by the Prince of Orange and his Calvinist followers. Taking place just six months after the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, the

execution of Oldenbarnevelt represented to some the death of a tyrant and to others the demise of a patriot who had single-handedly created the Dutch Republic.

Ten different English printed sources exist for the play, with this chapter focusing on six which are: *Barnevels Apology or Holland Mysterie* (1618)*, The Confession of Holderus* (1618), *Barnevelt Displayed* (1619), *Newes out of Holland* (1619), *The Arraignment of Sir John van Olden Barnevelt* (1619) and *A True Description of the of the Execution of Justice done in Grauenhage* (1619). The play also draws on contemporary Dutch sources and, as Frijlinck noted in 1922, there are instances of corrupted Dutch words and expressions in the play which do not derive from the pamphlets. These include the words 'shellain' for *schelm*, 'keramis-time' for *kermis*, and 'the Bree' for *de brui* (Frijlinck lviii).[139] Frijlinck concluded that the dramatists may have garnered information from English soldiers who had served in the Netherlands. The Dutch influence, however, is more substantial as the play contains detailed information on the trial and execution and less hagiographic image of the Prince of Orange. In contrast to the play's first half which relies on the pro-Orange English printed pamphlets, the second half draws on pro-Oldenbarnevelt material that seems to derive from Dutch oral, manuscript, printed, and visual sources. This chapter argues that these materials probably reached Britain from the cautionary town by means of the Anglo-Dutch military network outlined in the previous chapters of this thesis, to which the dramatists Fletcher and Massinger held strong links.

This interesting mixture of English and Dutch materials, the striking oscillation in the play's dramatic sympathies, moving from anti-Barnavelt to pro-Barnavelt perspectives, and the association between this play and the Anglo-Dutch

139 Schelm: rascal, rough; Kermis: a fair, De Brui: the show.

military Protestant network are the focus of this chapter. The combination of Dutch pro-Barnavelt texts and the Marlovian Lucanic tradition suggests the play can be linked to elements of Jacobean political culture that questioned absolutist monarchy and disagreed with many of the policies towards the Dutch and the wider Protestant community enacted by James I. Viewed this way, *Barnavelt* contributes to Jacobean political 'opposition', and this interpretation is strengthened by the play's patronal context which connects the play to the Protestant military alliance in existence since the close of the sixteenth century. Similarly to the play, *Sir Thomas More,* discussed in Chapter 1, the play also endured harsh censorship; however, in *Barnavelt* was able to be staged despite its controversy, in contrast to *Sir Thomas More.* The shared experience of censorship endured by both of these plays, however, testifies to the enduring topicality of Low Countries' issues during both the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns.

The play is connected to the Anglo-Dutch militant Protestant network by means of Massinger's patron, Sir William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain and the nephew of Philip Sidney, the previously referenced tragic hero of Elizabethan militant Protestantism, who attempted to organise a 'Confederatio Militae Evangelicae' with Protestant potentates of Europe (Yates 47), and died in battle against Spain in the Netherlands; and Robert Sidney, the Governor of Flushing, another of the English cautionary towns in the Netherlands. Interestingly, William Herbert was also notably grief striken regarding James I's refusal to send aid to his daughter, Princess Elizabeth, and her husband, Frederick V, during the Palatinate Crisis (Yates 36);[140] a topic discussed previously in Chapter 3.[141]

[140] In relation to the Palatinate Crisis, t is interesting to point out that a crucial opportunity to enmesh the Haspburgs in central Europe was missed because Oldenbarnevelt was not there in 1618 in secure massive Dutch support for the revolt of Bohemia (Parker 253).

Furthermore, Herbert's father, Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, was closely affiliated with the Earl of Leicester. The Herbert family also had inter-generational contact with the London theatre (Dutton *Mastering* 230-31). The specific use of material from the Low Countries, perhaps derived from the cautionary towns, may also reflect Massinger's links through Pembroke to the Sidneys.

Although it is difficult to demonstrate direct transmission of Dutch political sources in this text, the combination of the material, details derived from Dutch sources, and the patronage of the Herbert and Sidney families, suggest that *Barnavelt* represents another, complex instance of the lasting influence of the cautionary towns and the literary communities outlined earlier in Chapters 1 and 3 of this thesis. This chapter argues that *Barnavelt* is a play greatly shaped and influenced by the Anglo-Dutch alliance in the Low Countries and is connected into the Anglo-Dutch network of soldiers, patrons, courtiers, poets, and playwrights which used literature as a means of discussing and disemminating ideas about sensitive topics in early modern England; and possibly using literature as a means of 'soft power' to advance an Elizabethan Protestant ideology out of favour with the Jacobean court. This chapter demonstrates this argument by reconstructing the literary and courtly network affiliated with the creation of this play, in addition to discussing the Dutch and English sources which contributed to its construction and establish this drama as a significant polemical and poltically charged piece of theatre.

4.1. 'Respublica Poscit Exemplum': Background to the Play.

The issue of whether the northern Netherlands should be a republic or a monarchy was something which had plagued the Dutch Republic since its inception

[141] Frances Yates states that William Herbert expressed his deep shame to Frederick's representative about the King's abandonment of his daughter and son-in-law during the Palatinate Crisis (Yates 36).

as an independent state. Since the close of the sixteeth century, tension had existed between the Calvinist faction of southern exiles who had settled in the northern Netherlands and particularly the province of Holland. This Calvinist faction had sought to overthrow the hegemony of the Holland regents and supplant it with a system which was more monarchical, more aristocratic, and also more supportive of a concept of a state church requiring the conformation of all (Israel 233). As discussed in Chapter 1, many of these Calvinists were extremely wealthy and had powerful allies; for instance, Leicester had exhibited partiality toward Calvinist south Netherlands from the outset of the Anglo-Dutch alliance (Israel 239). Holland, however, was the wealthiest province in the Dutch Republic. English diplomats noted that the province of Holland was the 'moste mightie and riche of all the provinces,' and worried that it would always be the faction to which the 'rest doe alwaies incline' (cited in Israel 238). The Calvinists supported the formation of a monarchy, headed by the House of Orange, while Holland was more supportive of republican ideals. The rich burghers of Holland were unwillingly to submit to the authority of any royal house, with Thomas Wilkes noting that 'they hate to be subject not only to a Spaniard, but, tasting the sweetness of their liberty, to any kingly government' (cited in Israel 233). The States of Utrecht, controlled by the Calvinist faction of the *ridderschap* also advocated a return to monarchy, believing that 'Monarchy is best…indeed the only means to overcome all confusion and disorder, and preserve these lands' (cited in Israel 235). The dominance of Holland, however, meant that the Dutch state was run by a tightly knit oligarchy (Parker 244), and this continued factional tension exploded with the coming of peace with Spain in 1609 and the Arminian Crisis.

Relations between the Dutch Advocate, Oldenbarnevelt, and the Prince of Orange had been poisoned since 1600 during the failed campaign to re-conquer the southern Netherlands (Parker 234); the failure of which destroyed any hopes of ever reuniting the north and the south.[142] This mutual dislike for each other was heightened after the establishment of the Twelve Years Truce. Oldenbarnevelt favoured a continued settlement with Spain, and was supported by the regent class of Holland, while Maurits did not wish for peace and was supported by the Calvinists, the southern exiles and the city of Amsterdam (Parker 252). The theological dispute between the Arminians and Gomarists added a new element to this dispute. The Calvinist establishment, the House of Orange, the exiles from the south, and the landward provinces sided with the Gomarists (also referred to anti-Arminians or counter-Remonstrants), while the regent class of Holland sided with the Arminians (also known as Remonstrants) (Parker 252). The rising tensions between the Arminians and Gomarists led Oldenbarnevelt and the States of Holland to authorise any town to raise its own troops, known as *waardgelders* in August 1617. This was, he deemed, essential to maintain law and order. This move was not welcomed by the other provinces and the House of Orange; Maurits van Nassua became involved in September 1617 by purging the landward provinces of Arminian magistrates and isolating Holland, he then disbanded the *waardgelder* units and Oldenbarnevelt was arrested on the 29th of August 1618; coincidentally the feast day commemorating the beheading of John the Baptist (Parker 252; Prak 35). Charges of treason were brought against Oldenbarnevelt, and a hasty trial ensued in which he was refused the benefit of counsel and denied access to documents pertaining to his defence; he was

[142] Geoffrey Parker blames this on the Dutch Republic's failure to establish Flemish attitudes towards their 'brothers' from Zeeland who for fifteen years had been relentlessly plundering, looting and killing people of the province (Parker 234).

not even allowed pen and paper (Prak 36). Oldenbarnevelt was executed on the 13th of May, 1619 at the age of seventy-two. His death meant that Maurits van Nassau was the presiding figure in the Dutch Republic and he now wielded more authority than any other leader in the United Provinces since the assassination of his father, William the Silent, thirty-four years previously (Israel 450).

Some of the other conspirators featured in Fletcher and Massinger's play include Hugo Grotius (Pensionary of Rotterdam), Gilles van Ledenberg (Advocate of Utrecht), Rombout Hogerbouts (Arminian leader at Leiden), and Bartolomeus de Wael, Lord of Moersbergen.[143] Many observers felt that the whole affair was a power struggle between Orange and Oldenbarnevelt and surmised that the Prince sought to eliminate Oldenbarnevelt in his quest for absolute control of the United Provinces. The French diplomats, Jeannin and de Boississe stated that Oldenbarnevelt had died an innocent man, his death owing only to his strong political opposition to the Prince (Motley 2.390). At his trial, Commissioner Junius had declared, 'Respublica poscit exemplum,' as he sided with the death-warrant party (Motley 2.390). It is striking that while Junius believed Oldenbarnevelt must die as an enemy of the Dutch Republic, Fletcher and Massinger's play imagines him as a republican hero. Oldenbarnevelt's last words: 'Men do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die,' cemented his memory as a wronged hero forevermore (Motley 2.387). Treason was never formally proved and just one year after his death the same Doctor Junius was present with the judges who decided on the guilty verdict and questioned them on what grounds this was based. They answered that the charge, 'constructive treason', was deduced because a man who breaks up the foundation of

143 Jacobus Taurinus and Johannes Uytenbogaert, both Arminian divines, were originally to be included in the cast but were afterwards deleted, probably due to the large number of roles (Howard-Hill 'Crane' *passim*).

the State makes the country indefensible, and therefore invites the enemy to invade it (Motley 2.290-91). The judges believed that a confession in this matter could only have been obtained by the rack and this they felt was undesirable, due to the advanced age of the defendant (den Tex 2.691). Treason was never established, but merely suggested, deigning the execution of Oldenbarnevelt a great miscarriage of justice.

The play differs from this historical reality by demonstrating Barnavelt's treason and conspiracy, however, it also shows the Prince of Orange's bloodlust in the elimination of his arch rival and this is a perplexing issue which this chapter aims to offer suggestions for. *Barnavelt's* confirmation of the old statesman's treachery was congruent with the official view of James I and the court. James I bore a dual hatred for both Oldenbarnevelt and Arminianism and was satisfied to see a royal monarch soundly defeat an upstart opposing his rule. Oldenbarnevelt had always had a tenuous relationship with English diplomats in the Netherlands. In 1588 Thomas Bodley found Oldenbarnevelt 'very stiffe' and uncooperative, his 'ordinarie phrase' being 'somewhat violent, imperious and bitter' (cited in Israel 236). Sir George Calvert wrote to Carleton stating how, 'wee have no great cause to mourne', while Sir Nathaniel Brent declared to Carleton that, 'Barnavelt's head cut off.…hath caused much ioy' (SP 84/90 f.48; SP 14/109 f. 26). Others in England, however, were more balanced in their view and could see that an unjust act had occurred. John Chamberlain stated in a letter to Carleton on the 31st May that:

> divers of good judgement thincke he had hard measure, considering that no cleere matter of conspiracie with the enemies of state appears…so that yt seems to be meere matter of faction and opposition. (Chamberlain 3.239)

While he concluded that Oldenbarnevelt, 'were nothing gracious here…there is hope that neither they nor wee shall have any misse of him' (Chamberlain 3.239). James hated the old Advocate for problems associated with rendering of the cautionary towns (den Tex 2.496-97). Other reasons which incurred James I's wrath included the receipt of Arminian books from Oldenbarnevelt which he described as 'stuffed with very dangerous assertations' (Howard-Hill *Buc* 54). Due to these books, James argued with Oldenbarnevelt not to let Vorstius have the chair of theology at Leiden, which Oldenbarnevelt rejected (Howard-Hill *Buc* 54); this rebuke was never forgotten.

Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at The Hague, was strategic in his thinking on the death of Oldenbarnevelt. Carleton had endured a tempestuous and difficult relationship with the old Advocate and he certainly did not intervene in the case. Carleton had many disagreements with Oldenbarnevelt due to the trading rights of the English Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands. This group had enjoyed trading monopolies and privileges for many decades; however, Oldenbarnevelt was disgruntled with the perceived unfairness of this situation and wanted to curtail their privileges in order to bolster Dutch trading. As James' reign progressed, he pushed further and further away from the old Elizabethan alliance with the Dutch, so much so, that by 1616 Oldenbarnevelt expressed open animosity towards the English king and his aggressive policies for a foothold for the English Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands.[144]

144 In a letter to Secretary Winwood on the 18th of October 1616, Carleton wrote how he, 'found by mons. Barnevelt…in the space of forty years…he never met with so great difficulty as at the present, in regard of a conceit spread amongst their merchants, that as formerly about an hundred years since we had excluded them from making of cloths…we would now deprive them of dressing and dying: which being the last means of their livelihood had made their minds (to use his own words) fort-ulcerez' (Carleton 193-94).

The relationship between the Dutch and the English certainly had become quite laboured. The old 'ancient amity' described by Elizabeth in her declaration of official support for the Dutch Revolt in 1585 no longer existed, while elements of it still remained in the old guard among the English military in the cautionary towns. Oldenbarnevelt was sceptical of English intentions and wary of their growing warmth towards the Spanish; his sentiments were shared by many of the English court, including the William Herbert, the patron of *Barnavelt*. Carleton noted Oldenbarnevelt's hostility in a letter to Secretary Winwood on April 23rd 1617 when he described how Oldenbarnevelt, 'continues very umbrageous,' in his dealings with the English (Carleton 118).[145] Oldenbarnevelt was, however, a competent leader and laid the foundations of the independence of the northern Netherlands (den Tex 1.125).

4.2. English Sources of the Play.

The play is strongly shaped by Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592), Marlovian dramatic conventions, Marlovian republicanism, and Lucanic allusions to the republican text, partially translated and published by Marlowe in *Pharsalia.*
As with *Edward II,* the play begins depicting Barnavelt as the most powerful man in the United Provinces; in fact he is a man drunk on power and on his own pride. However, throughout the course of the play, he gradually loses every shred of his power to the Prince of Orange, and in doing so the mantle of corruption passes from Barnavelt to the Prince. Although, in contrast with *Edward II,* it is the Prince who

[145] Carleton's hatred of Oldenbarnevelt was even recorded by the Venetian ambassador to Britain. In a dispatch dated 27th November 1617, he quotes Carleton as stating that he had, 'always considered M. Barnevelt to be a man of prudence and intellect, but now I clearly perceive that he is a fool, as when I sent to complain and tell him that I wished for redress, he sent to tell me to have patience and not to move in the matter, but let it rest so' (cited in Hinds 55). Carleton ominously stated that this affront meant, 'the ruin of me or someone else' (cited in Hinds 55).

Barnavelt blames for excesses, insulting his professed royalty and for the luxury and 'pomp' that he keeps at the cost of the Dutch taxpayer (1.2.305). The Prince suffers verbal abuse from Barnavelt and social disgrace, however, both characters will go through an incredible metamorphosis where Barnavelt becomes the victim and the Prince is the Machiavellian villain. This play is primarily attacking the tenets and ideals of absolute monarchy while telling the story of the fall of Barnavelt simultaneously; like *Edward II,* and many of the Marlovian plays, this play has a political agenda. Although, while *Edward II* may be merely criticising flawed governance, *Barnavelt* is questioning the validity of forms of governance; monarchical control in particular.

Edward II deals with the deposing and brutal murder of a king, it dramatises regicide and sedition. Similarly to Edward II, Barnavelt is an arrogant, troubled and vociferous character who immediately verbally attacks the Prince and what the Prince represents in private. He desires absolute rule and is seditious and aggressive, eager to wage war on his own people to suit his own ends. Barnavelt is haughty and proud claiming how the Prince's,

> stile of Excellencie was my guift;
> Money, the strength and fortune of the war,
> the help of England and the aide of ffraunce,
> I onely can call mine. (1.1.36-39)[146]

Barnavelt's frustration is palpable and it manifests itself in a coup to harness control of Holland for himself. Barnavelt is furious at what he perceives at Prince Maurice's usurping of what is rightfully his, refusing to accept this indignity and,

> sitt downe, and with a boorish patience suffer

[146] In this chapter, Barnavelt quotations marked in square brackets are lines originally marked by Buc for deletion.

the Harvest that I labord for, to be

anothers spoile. (1.1.43-45)

The 'boorish' reference expresses English xenophobia towards the Dutch, a stereotype which Barnavelt develops when he describes the Netherlands as an 'ingratefull Cuntry', inhabited with a 'base people, / [vserper of what's mine] most base to my deserts' (1.1.50-51).[147]

The Prince of Orange is characterised initially as a noble man, one who is kind, modest and virtuous. He is shown as being mistreated by his people, on one occasion, the doors to the States Council are barred to him, on Barnavelt's orders. The Prince is shown as demure and forgiving, when the Prince's aid, asks the soldiers blocking his way 'is the Prince of no more value, no more respect /then like a Page?', the Prince quickly diffuses the situation by pretending that 'twas friendly don' (1.3.396-7; 411). However, as with Barnavelt, there will be a stark change in the Prince's character as he evolves from a man of virtue to a man of murder. Initially, the Prince submissively demands to know from Barnavelt 'in what way I have offended, / or how suspected stand, or with what cryme blotted / that this day…..I am exilde' (1.3.464-468). His followers display deep emotion and sympathy upon hearing his lamentations, describing him as 'a Prince of rare humanitie, and temper' (1.3.455). When Barnavelt responds that 'your Grace is growne too haughtie' and criticises the Prince for being 'too weak ith' hams', the Prince is inflamed declaring that: 'My lords: to what a monster this man's growne, / you may (if not abusd with dull securitie) / see plaine as day' (1.3.487; 518; 534-6). While previously understanding and forgiving, Orange now declares that Barnavelt 'Spoiles all' and that:

147 As referenced in the previous chapters of this thesis, the Dutch were stereotypically seen to be ungrateful to the English for their military aid during the Eighty Years' War.

> he that dare live to see him work his ends out
> vncrossd, and vnprevented; that wretched man
> dare live to see his Cuntry shrinck before him:
> Consider my best Lords, my noblest Masters,
> how most, most fitt, how iust and necessary
> a sodaine, and a strong prevention. (1.3.539-45)

It is from this moment in the end of Act 1, scene 3 that Orange evolves from a character of passivity and toleration to one of imperialism and vengeance. Orange's aim to secure a firm 'prevention' against the disease that Barnavelt spreads will be affirmed in the final scene when Barnavelt declares to his Executioner that 'thy phisick / will quickly purge me from the worldes abuses' (5.3.2965-66). Barnavelt's last words also echo those purported to have been spoken by Walter Raleigh on the scaffold recorded as 'This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all diseases and miseries'; the verbal connection between Barnavelt and Raleigh makes the case that this is a sympathic portrayal of the Dutch Advocate and creates a political and historical theatric parallel between the actions of the Prince of Orange and James I who could be seen as both destroying the ethics, ideology and heroism of Elizabethan styled militant Protestantism. As he begins to shed his previous lenient and gentle nature, Orange's character goes on a journey to become a cunning, Machiavellian adversary as he now commences his own quest to secure absolute power and the ultimate elimination of Barnavelt.

It is obvious that Barnavelt is a strikingly contradictory character, while he admonishes the Prince for various traits, it is clear that these are traits that he too possesses. Akin to the character of Edward II, Barnavelt refuses to heed the advice of his cohorts and prefers instead only blind submission and total acquiescence. He

makes clear to his sycophants that the Prince of Orange is equal to himself, being likewise, 'a Servant to yo[u]r Lordships, and the State: like me maintaind' (1.2. 305-6). Barnavelt asks his cohorts 'will you then Wayt his prowd pleasure, and in that confes, By daring to doe nothing, that he knowes not—You have no absolute powre?' (1.2.307-10). This discussion of power, its forms and its abuses can be easily applied to the co-terminus English state of governance more so than to the Dutch. The Dutch court was always exceedingly modest in comparison to the Stuart regime. It would seem that the play is seditious and uses a foreign setting and monstrous protagonist in order to mask this critique of the English court. Its subject for attack, however, is decidedly English and this interpretation hinges on the application of the scenes in which doubling occurs.

Howard-Hill has studied the original manuscript of *Barnavelt* which contains the names of the actors who played the different parts and has found several examples of the doubling of the parts in the play, including that doubling of the role of the Barnavelt's executioner and that of the Prince of Orange (Howard-Hill *Crane* 162). This is very noteworthy, especially considering that the Executioner of Utrecht is a quite developed character and plays a significant role nearing the death of Barnavelt. This doubling of a key character in a protagonist's downfall with their actual executioner is strikingly similar to the famous instance of dramatic doubling in Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592). There are many similarities between Barnavelt and Edward II as protagonists, they give way to pride, face calculating foes and are lamented in death, but there are more comparisons that can be made between these two leaders' murderers, Lightborn and the Executioner of Utrecht. The staging of Marlowe's *Edward II* could have significantly influenced the dramaturgy of *Barnavelt,* considering that it was performed by Queen Anne's

company sometime circa 1616 at the Red Bull (Kamps 198). This proffers the possibility that it was performed sometime in 1618/19 just months before *Barnavelt* was first conceived and performed.

Doubling was a widely used technique in English Renaissance drama. Scholars now generally accept that Edward II's lover, Gaveston, and his murderer, Lightborn, are played by the same actor. Whereas asides and soliloquies engage audiences on the immediate plane of action and singular characters, doubled roles create more sophisticated demands upon audiences to reflect upon meaning among the characters, the power of drama and about our human condition (Kregor 149). In *Edward II,* Marlowe's use of doubling between the characters of Gaveston and Lightborn adds several layers of interpretation regarding Edward II's death and the reasons behind it. Similarly, in *Barnavelt,* the prospect of doubling between the Prince of Orange and the Executioner of Utrecht dramatically alters and enriches an interpretation of the play and more specifically the characters of Barnavelt and Maurice van Nassau themselves. Comparably to *Edward II,* it also focuses the audience to consider the reasons and motivations behind the death of Barnavelt.

Kregor has shown how there are linguistic connections between the dialogue spoke by Gaveston and Lightborn resulting in profound aesthetic/thematic rationales in dialogues between Gaveston and Lightborn with Edward (Kregor 154). Kregor opines that these lines demonstrate that Marlowe intended the doubling assignment to be perceived by the audience familiar with the folklore surrounding Edward's death.[148] Similarly, in *Barnavelt,* the significance of lines spoken by the Prince of Orange and his double, the Executioner of Utrecht, provide the audience with

148 For example, early in the play, Edward and Gaveston's lines often take on an ironic or prophetic meaning. These include comments alluding to the actions of Lightfoot and also many other ironic, inverted and foreshadowed comments of the death scene (Kregor 155).

insights and ideas regarding Barnavelt's demise which will be outlined and discussed in this chapter.

Barnavelt's attempt to raise troops against the Prince is quickly quelled by this now dominating leader, who has metamorphosed from a gentle prince to one of dire violence. On hearing that Barnavelt's co-conspirator, Modesbargen, has fled, the Prince quips how he has done so because of 'a guilty feare', but then assures his party that 'we shall fright him worsse' (2.5.967-8). Orange becomes even more threatening as the play proceeds, eventually after a plot is discovered to save Barnavelt, he ultimately decides to end the old man's life and does so with swift decisiveness. Upon the discovery of a paper within a pear smuggled into Barnavelt in prison, Orange states:

> I hold it fitt, that Barnauelt, one that has
> most frends, and meanes to hurt, and will fall therefore
> with greater terror, should receive his Sentence,
> then dye as he deserves. (5.1.2565-6)

When Barnavelt is made aware of his sentence, Orange simply retorts 'take yor pleasure' (5.1.2687). Upon hearing the courtier, Vandort's, suggestion that Barnavelt's deceased co-conspirator, Ledenberg's, coffin be strung up beside Barnavelt, Orange replies 'let them haue it' (5.1.7006). This attitude and means of articulation is vastly different from the original characterisation of the Prince that was presented to the audience in the Act 1 of the play. After this scene, he no longer appears in the rest play and this makes it probable that instead this same actor takes the stage as the Executioner of Utrecht, culminating in the blood lust that the Prince so revels in during Act 5, scene 1.

Concurrently to the dramatic shift in the character of Orange, Barnavelt's once boisterous and arrogant character goes through a series of stark changes. Bemoaning his loss in staging a successful military coup, Barnavelt places himself in the role of a father and lover of his country, imagining the Netherlands as a woman whom he once found,

> Naked….floong out a dore's and starud, no frends to pitty hir,
> the marks of all her miseries upon hir,
> an orphan State, that no eye smild vpon,
> And then how carefully I undertooke hir…
> how tenderly, and lovingly I noursd hir:
> but now she is fatt, and faire againe, and I foold,
> a new love in hir armes, my doatings scornd at:
> and I must sue to him. (3.1.1106-113)

This romantic and tragic way of viewing his situation could easily create a note of sympathy among the audience as he is cast as a scorned lover, a broken hearted man, like Lear he is a cruelly treated and unappreciated father. The only comfort for Barnavelt as he awaits his death is that he has 'liv'd ever free', implying that the Dutch people from now on will lived enslaved to a monstrous monarch (3.1.1117). There are several instances in the play which encourage growing sympathy towards Barnavelt and his cohorts, such as the incarceration of his ally Leidenberch with his young son, Leidenberch's tragic suicide, the prevention of Barnavelt's wife from visiting her husband, his family's dismay and devastation at his arrest and trial, their failed plot to help him escape and the nation's palpable love and admiration for their old Advocate, widely acknowledged by his foes. Additionally, Howard-Hill suggests that by having the audience view the captive Arminians for a few lines before the

Prince of Orange's command allows more time for the audience to encompass the situation and to sympathise with the victims (Howard-Hill *Crane* 167). The play takes a dramatic turn around from the initial framing of the Barnavelt character; he has been transformed from an old, arrogant, corrupt man to a shining example of a courageous patriot and martyr for freedom. These dramatic shifts and alterations in the characterisation of both Barnavelt and Orange allows the audience to consider different interpretations of this story and come to different conclusions about the fairness of Barnavelt's impending execution. The playwrights are toying with the state's official stance on the whole matter and providing a more nuanced understanding of the downfall of this once great hero.

Kregor has noticed how in *Edward II* similar events occur which signals to the audience an impending collapse of social order, these include the behaviour of Edward's circle such as how certain characters define themselves, in asides or soliloquies, as artful manipulators, hypocrites and flatterers. By Act 5, scene 1 Edward is commanded by fear, anger and narcissism alternating unpredictably, stripped of his mental resources, his physical vulnerability and final degradation in the castle dungeon are not improbable (Kregor 157). Strikingly, in *Barnavelt*, it is also Act 5, scene 1 when the old man's fate is decided for certain as the note hidden in the dish of pears is discovered and his family's mission to save him thwarted.

Similarly to *Barnavelt*, in *Edward II,* the character of King Edward goes through a series of dramatic changes. Edward is initially dramatised as an immature man consistently unable to realise the larger consequences of his self indulgent behaviour. When he desires to, he can perform with histrionics, petulance and rhetorical excess and whose motives lie in narcissism or self-pity. Marlowe creates a portrait of a king whose fall is to be inferred as the result of his inability to perform

kingship with artifice and energy equal to his private performances. Kingly virtue in a fallen world means choice, self discipline and action. Sin, conversely, is not immorality but apparently rooted in carelessness (Kregor 157). Barnavelt is a comparable character as it is his arrogance, pride and stubbornness which result in his deposition and execution. His arrogance gives way to extreme self-pity and regret, however he is dramatised in a much more empathic way than Edward as he dies a noble patriots death. As Barnavelt's death approaches, two Captains acknowledge how 'you know hee's much lou'd / and every where they stir in his Compassion' (5.3.2800-01). Barnavelt dies as one who is beloved by their nation at the hands of a tyrannical ruler however both men die as failed rulers of their dominions.

The parallels between *Edward II* and *Barnavelt* emerge clearly in the scenes in both plays where the murders of these two men are respectively organised. These are also the scenes where the doubling of Gaveston as Lightborn, and the Prince of Orange as the Executioner of Utrecht occur. The doubling of the Prince of Orange as the Executioner of Utrecht is obvious next step for the Prince's character and his lack of presence at the crucial moments of Ledenberg's symbolic execution (he had already commit suicide) and at Barnavelt's beheading where allusions to doubling occur. Furthermore, the recognition of the Prince as Barnavelt's killer heightens sympathy among the audience for the old man and symbolically portrays the Prince as a power hungry machiavel, resplendent in his role as death marshal.

Both Lightborn and the Executioner of Utrecht delight in killing and rhapsodise about their methods and history of murder, it is something they truly love. When Lightborn is introduced in *Edward II*, he boasts to Mortimer, Queen Isabella's lover and Edward II's deposer, on his prowess as a killer. He states how:

Mortimer: Are thou as resolute as thou wast?

Lightborn: What else, my lord? And far more resolute…
You shall not need to giue instructions.
'Tis not the first time I haue killed a man.
I learned in Naples how to poison flowers,
To strangle with a lawn thrust through the throat,
To pierce the windpipe with a needle's point,
Or, whilst one is asleep, to take a quill
And blow a little powder in his ears,
Or open his mouth and pour quicksilver down;
But yet I have a braver way then these. (5.4.22-37)

Similarly, Barnavelt's executioner jaunts onto the stage bragging about his skilful mastery of the art of death. The Executioner of Leyden commends Utrecht for his skill in execution, noting that,

We know you haue byn the headman of the parish
a great while Vtrich, and ministered much Iustice,
nickt many a worthie gamster. (5.2.2747-749)

This 'headman', a collector of heads and obvious head of a state as he is played by the same actor as Orange, the Executioner of Utrecht proceeds to discuss his finesse as an executioner, brandishing his tool of execution, in the same manner as Lightborn. He exclaims that,

you two imagine now
you are excellent workmen: and that you can doe wonders
and Vtricht but an Asse: let's feele yor Raizors:
handsawes, meere handsawes: do you put yor knees to 'em too,

> cut butter when yor tooles are hot: looke here puppies
> heer's the Sword that cutt of Pompeis head…
> looke on't, but come not neere it: the very wind on't
> will borrow a leg, or an arme; heer's touch & take, boyes,
> and this shall moaw the head of Mousieur Barnauelt:
> man is but grasse, and hay: I haue him here,
> and here I haue him: I would vndertake with this Sword
> to cutt the devils head of, hornes, and all
> and give it to a Burger for his breakfast. (5.2.2732-746)

The delight that both Lightborn and the Executioner of Utrecht take in their profession is palpable and therefore intensifies the savagery that is about to take place as Edward II and Barnavelt's ends draw nigh. Doubling alters the interpretations of these scenes, in *Edward II* the doubling of Gaveston and Lightborn allows a connection to be made that shows Gaveston as the real instigator of Edward II's death and in *Barnavelt* the doubling of the Prince and the Executioner encourages the understanding that the Prince is a bloody thirsty tyrant who delights in the death of his old rival. Similarly to Lightborn's account of his career as a killer, after winning the privilege to slay Barnavelt in a game of dice, the Executioner of Utrecht delights in his step-by-step plan of mentally torturing Barnavelt before cutting off his head. He describes how he will play with him

> take my leave of him:
> w[i]th a few teares to draw more money from him:
> then fold vp his braunchd gowne, his hat, his doblet,
> and like the devill cry mine owne: lye there, boyes:
> then bind his eyes: last, stir myself vp bravely

and, in the midle of a whollsome praire

whip and—hic iacet Barnauelt.[149] (5.2.2775-781)

This mental torture of Barnavelt is reminiscent of Lightborn's tormenting of Edward II, when in the murder scene, Lightborn pretends to be Edward II's friend, even though the victim knows that his end has come. In *Barnavelt,* it is the final scene that shows this most striking similarity between *Barnavelt* and *Edward II*. As with *Edward II*, in *Barnavelt* the act of doubling is very noteworthy, especially considering that the Executioner of Utrecht is a quite developed character and plays a significant role nearing the death of Barnavelt. The same can be said for Edward II's murderer, Lightborn.

Dutch sources record that on the day of his execution, Oldenbarnevelt noticed the coffin that was intended for him on the scaffold. No one had remembered in time to make one to measure, and so one of unplaned wood, made for a recently pardoned murderer, had been taken from the store (den Tex 2.688). While in the play, Barnavelt sees the coffin of Leidenberch hanging by his scaffold, exclaiming: 'what's that hangs there? what Coffin?', to which he is informed that it is 'the body Sir, of Leidenberch that Traitor / who though he killd himself, to cleere his cause, / Iustice has found him out, and so proclaimd him' (5.3.2871-877). Barnavelt is outraged, declaring:

O you most greedy men, and most vngratefull

the quiet sleep of him you gape to swallow

but you most trym vp death in all his terrors,

and add to soules departing frights and feauors?

hang vp a hundred Coffins, I dare view 'em. (5.3.2885-889)

149 'Here lies Barnavelt.'

The playwrights have substituted the actual scene of Oldenbarnevelt viewing his own rough and shabby coffin to the imaginary scene of Barnavelt expressing alarm at watching the hoisted coffin of his friend and ally, Leidenberch. The image of Leidenberch's hung coffin had been circulated throughout the Netherlands and England and its impression on the creative minds of the writers of this play, suggests that they too had seen it. The image in the Netherlands was synonymous with heavy handed cruelty and subjugation of the innocent. The playwrights also use it to that effect, striking an even more ardent contrast by including the character of the Executioner, doubled by the Prince of Orange, at the moment of the coffin's elevation.

2. Captain: this is the body of Leidenberg: that killd himself
to free his Cause; his shame has found him yet.
Provost: vp with him, come; set all yor hands, and heave him.
Executioner: a plaguy heavy lubber: sure this fellow
has a busshell of plot in's belly, he waighes so massy:
heigh: now again: he stincks, like a hung poll cat
this rotten treason has a vengaunce savor.
this venison wants pepper, and salt abhominably.
(5.3.2816-23)

The harsh treatment of Ledenberg's coffin and the disturbing semantics used by the Executioner to describe his rotting corpse is evocative of the same Lucanic tradition of Caesarean blood lust that is evident at the beheading of Barnavelt. Its inclusion in this scene heightens the horror of the hanging of a dead man in a coffin. It is reminiscent of the prints of Ledenberg's posthumous hanging, the reference Barnavelt makes to the hanging of a 'hundred coffins,' visually evokes the depiction

of Ledenberg's hanging inset into an engraving of Oldenbarnevelt's execution which was widely circulated. In this image, Ledenberg's coffin is shown in the foreground with several other hangings concurrently taking place in the background and middle distance while surrounded by onlookers. In another version of this image, the predominantly male onlookers are substituted by weeping mothers. The impact is a sympathetic view of Ledenberg and outrage at the perceived atrocities being perpetrated in the United Provinces by the Prince of Orange. It shows the Prince's behaviour and that of his circle to be barbarous, savage and shows that both he and his cohorts delight in bloodshed. This more sympathetic view of the deaths of Ledenberg and Oldenbarnevelt was in existence in the United Provinces and it seems plausible, considering the importance of this scene in the play and its ominous position at the end of the final act, that the playwrights had seen the engravings of Ledenberch's hoisted coffin.

Due to the doubling in this scene, the joy exhibited by the Executioner and his plan not only to kill Barnavelt but also to steal is his clothing can be easily viewed as metaphorical for the Prince's desire to eliminate Barnavelt and take his power from him. The fact that the Prince is playing both of these roles makes the point all the more potent especially when this is coupled with the additional classical allusion to Pompey in the Executioner's speech which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Another similarity is the victim's apparent recognition of the doubling of their murderers. In *Edward II*, the terrified deposed king significantly states to Lightborn: 'These lookes of thine can harbor nought but death. / I see my tragedie written in thy browes' (2480-881). The doubling Gaveston and Lightborn may indeed demonstrate how Edward's unwitting fatal attraction to Gaveston must

culminate in Lightborn's perverse sodomy rite. Staging the death allows Lightborn to demonstrate his prowess as Gaveston had demonstrated his (Kregor 158). This moment of recognition occurs in *Barnavelt* also in the death scene. As the Executioner of Utrecht approaches, Barnavelt finally faces his death and in doing so appears to acknowledge his awareness that he is in fact being killed by the Prince of Orange. He announces to the Executioner:

> my Game's as sure as yo[u]rs is,
> and with more care, and inocence I play it:
> take of my doblet: and I prethee, fellow
> strike without feare. (5.3.2958-961)

Barnavelt's reference to the 'game' that both he and the Executioner play alludes to the struggle for power they have both engaged in, which the more innocent Barnavelt has lost. Another symbolic gesture is the Executioner's removal of Barnavelt's doublet, whilst doing so he states how, 'I warrant ile fitt ye'; he has gained the prized item of clothing which he had previously boasted to his comrades that he would steal from the old man and this is also the piece of clothing detailed in the anonymous Dutch print, 'Op de Wag Schael'. The symbolic suggestion is that the mantle of power has been passed from Barnavelt to the Prince of Orange through the implicit awareness that the audience recognise the actor playing the Executioner and the one who also plays Maurice van Nassau (5.3.2962). It seems to indicate that the corruptive force of power will now pass from Barnevelt to Orange. Barnavelt's statement strongly indicates to the confrontation he has had with the Prince of Orange, they have jostled for power and Barnavelt has lost, but the perceived message is that United Provinces has also lost as it will now be ruled by a monarch with less care and even less innocence than their previous master.

Doubling has a clear function and serves a clear purpose in *Edward II* and also in *Barnavelt*. In *Edward II,* doubling the roles of Gaveston and Lightborn provides perspectives on Edward's character, while their correlated relationship provides perspectives on themes in the play and its plot. This encourages the contemporary Renaissance audience (whose conscience has been shaped by monarchy and class) to consider leadership, character, and their moral consequences. Sensitive to traditional views, Marlowe revisits the events surrounding the death of Edward II in order to create within his play another commentary on the current reign's tangled affairs (Kregor 157). This could explain why Fletcher and Massinger copied his dramatic technique as they embarked to stage and question a profound political event which had considerable ramifications for English Protestantism and English monarchy itself. In doing so, the act of doubling imprints an array of truths for the audience to consider in both of these plays (Kregor 158). The doubling technique in *Barnavelt* not only questions the motives surrounding Barnavelt's execution but undermines the whole notion of monarchy itself. As Berger notes the act of doubling makes anew a variety of readings plays have already received (97). The subject matter of the *Barnavelt* itself is also reminiscent of *Edward II.* Both plays deal with a power struggle and both have contemporary historical allusions. Hattaway has noted that when Edward said, 'two kings in England cannot reign at once' (v.i.58), he presumably reminded the audience of the awful pragmatism that had led to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots only a few years before the play (Hattaway 143). Similarly, in *Barnavelt*, in a particularly xenophobic and anti-feminist scene, an Englishwoman castigates a group of Dutch women for their dominance over their husbands, warning them to, 'obey and serve' their husbands,

for 'two heads make monsters' (2.2.816), a subliminal reference to the power struggle between Barnavelt and Orange.

Dutton believes that *Barnavelt* was intended to be read in part as a shadowing of the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh (Dutton *Licensing* xvi). Dutton bases this parallel on the similarities between Raleigh and Oldenbarnevelt; the resemblance in the final words of these two once great heroes has already been noted in this chapter. Both men were patriots and leaders in their country's struggles with Spain who were beloved by the populace who lost royal favour and were thereby beheaded on dubious charges (Dutton *Licensing* xvi). The timing of these deaths is also quite close; Raleigh was executed in October 1618, while Oldenbarnevelt faced the scaffold in May 1619. Fletcher and Massinger appear to be using the themes of power and control exhibited in Marlowe's *Edward II* and use his ploy of doubling in this play to stimulate what Booth calls the audiences' 'double consciousness' or awareness of doubling within this play and the unsettling and enriching effect that it has on the plot and characters (Kregor 104). Marlowe's *Edward II* gives the audience a double perspective on the world of the court; in applying this perspective to *Barnavelt* we are given a double perspective on his fall (Kregor 148). This enables *Barnavelt's* structure in conjunction with its content to be a didactic experience for the audience, they are confronted with a dualism which asserts that they must contemplate the death of Barnavelt as an evil and unjust act and consider the Prince of Orange as a murderous tyrant, bent on the eradication of his enemies and the seizure of absolute power.

Edward II and *Barnavelt* are both connected by their practise of role doubling but also intrinsically by the theme of power, its use and abuse. In fact, it could be argued that both plays share a republican sub text. The theme of republicanism is

another reason why alluding to the works and dramatic practises of Marlowe are so appropriate in this play. Cheney argues that Marlowe is the pioneer author in literary writing of English republicanism (Cheney 1). In fact, the characterisation of Caesar in Marlowe's translation of Book 1 of *Pharsalia* has been credited by scholars as influencing the depiction of the typical Elizabethan and Jacobean stage villain in many of his own plays and in those of the playwrights that he influenced (Blissett 553). Lucanic influences are to be found in many of the works by Massinger, Fletcher, Jonson and several other poets and playwrights with connections to the Herbert and Sidney families. It seems no accident that the Herbert family who patronised Fletcher and Massinger also bore a republican agenda and this will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter. Marlowe's works unmistakably participate in a cultural conversation, at once political and literary, that recent scholars describe as republican, and further, that Marlowe performs an inaugural role in this conversation (Cheney 4). Coincidentally, the classical figures of Cato and Pompey figure prominently in this play and these historical Roman characters are first recorded by Marlowe in the English language. Marlowe is the first Englishman to translate Book 1 of the classical author, Lucan's, *Pharsalia* into English, a work which epitomised the struggle of Pompey and Cato against Caesarean imperialism. Lucan is a poet whom Norbrook calls 'the central poet of the republican imagination' from antiquity through to the seventeenth century (Cheney 7; Norbrook *Poetry* 24). The connection between *Barnavelt*, Marlowe and Lucan strongly suggests that this play was composed with a republican subtext which was communicated to the audience through the classical allusions and parallels to Cato, Pompey and Caesar and the act of doubling in the finale. This suggests that the works of Marlowe proved to be a prominent influence on this play, specifically

Edward II and possibly also his translation of Lucan. By incorporating the Marlowe corpus so noticeably in this play also alerts the audience and the reader to Marlovian ideological associations and political networks.

The first clear reference to Lucan's *Pharsalia* occurs during the suicide of Barnavelt's co-conspirator, Ledenberg. Cato is a prominent figure in Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Lucan portrays him as a true patriot and staunch opponent of Caesar's tyrannical regime. In *Barnavelt*, after the failure of the military coup, Ledenberg, prepares to commit suicide while in prison, evoking the aid of, 'Thou soule of Cato, /and you brave Romaine speritts, famous more / for yor true resolutions on yor selves, / then Conquest of the world' (3.4.1663-666). Like Ledenberg, Cato was a politician and statesman and a firm supporter of the republican cause. While known to be stubborn, he was also famed for his adherence to righteous ideals, stoicism, morality and disdain for the corruption, so closely associated with his nemesis, Julius Caesar. After Augustus' victory in the civil war which led to the end of the Roman Republic, Cato committed suicide as he refused to live under Augustus' rule. Cato was to be remembered as a martyr for the republican cause for generations to come and was featured in Dante's *Divine Comedy* as the guardian of Purgatory. On the contrary, Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus are remembered as military dictators who transformed the Roman Republic into the Principate; the first phase of the Roman Empire.[150] The confrontation between Cato and Caesar is remembered in the poetry of Lucan as ending the traditional liberty of Rome, this association is something that Barnavelt is later keen to emphasise as he approaches death at the hands of Prince Maurice. As Ledenberg is about to end his life he beseeches these 'Romaine speritts' to,

150 Akin to Oldenbarnevelt, Octavius was king in all but name, preferring to take instead the title, Princeps Civitatis (First Citizen). However, Princeps is also the root of the word 'Prince' so the evoking of the spirit of Octavius possibly alludes to the flaws of both of the main characters.

behold, and see me
an old man and a gowne man, with as much hast
and gladnes entertaine this steele that meetes me
as ever longing lover, did his mistris. (3.6.1663-669)

Ledenberg asks the audience to view his death as the fall of a classical, honoured hero, akin to Cato; who has failed against tyranny. The infusion of Roman history into the speech of Ledenberg, not only encourages the audience to view them as romantic, classical heroes but also introduces a subtext which can be read as a parallel comparison with this Dutch downfall of republicanism. The repeated mention of the names of Caesar and Cato evokes Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a text which depicted suicide as an act of final rebellion against a tyrannical ruler. Barnavelt's own death can also be viewed as such.

In keeping with the republican Lucanic theme, Barnavelt uses the ancient example of 'Octavius', who he decries as desiring to 'strove to tread vpon the neck of Rome, / and all hir auncient freedoms' (4.5.2434-435). Barnavelt compares the present situation to that of the past as he claims that Octavius 'tooke that course cutt of his opposities. [That now is practisd on you]: for the Cato's / and all free speritts slaine' (4.5.2436-438). Barnavelt ends his comparison by describing this situation as the quest for 'the absolute rule of all', and informs the court, and by default the audience, that '[you can apply this]' (4.5.2440). He warns onlookers that 'when too late you see this Goverment / changd [to a Monarchie] to another forme, you'll howle in vaine / and wish you had a Barnauelt againe' (4.5.2444-447). Barnavelt's speech is passionate, forbidding and thought provoking. His words are eloquent and carry with them the mantel of truth which is magnified by the Lucanic analogy of the rise of Octavius and fall of Cato, something contemporary audiences would have

perfectly understood. This parallel also points to the English sources for this play by showing the influence of Lucan and Marlowe.

The final Lucanic allusion occurs in the final scene of the play, when the Prince of Orange, doubled as the Executioner of Utrecht, emerges on stage brandishing his executioner's sword and exclaims 'looke here puppies / heer's the Sword that cutt of Pompeis head / looke on't, but come not neere it' (5.2.2736-38). This final Lucanic reference to Pompey completes the significance of the triangular relationship between Barnavelt, Leidenberch and the Prince/Executioner.

In Marlowe's translation of Book 1 of Lucan's *Pharsalia,* there are clear analogies that can be drawn between Barnavelt and Pompey. The reasoning given behind the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey is strikingly the same as the Dutch situation. The ensuing war between the two is described as occurring due to,

> Thou feared'st (great Pompey) that late deeds would dim
> Old triumphs, and that Caesar's conquering France
> Would dash the wreath thou wear'st for pirate's wrack.
> Thee wars use stirde, and thoughts that alwaies scorn'd
> A second place; Pompey could bide no equall. (Marlowe A1)

This view of Pompey as a flawed but admirable man is similar to the characterisation in *Barnavelt* of the old Advocate as a stubborn, arrogant man who could not tolerate the supremacy of the Prince; however, he was no tyrant. On the contrary, it is stated in Book 1 that neither Pompey could tolerate an equal, 'Nor Caesar no superior' (Marlowe A1). The characterisation and biography of Pompey also bears a strong resemblance to that of Oldenbarnevelt. Marlowe's translation states how,

> Pompey was strooke in yeares,
> And by long rest forgot to manage armes,

> And being popular sought by liberal gifts,
> To gaine the light unstable commons love,
> And joyed to heare his Theaters applause;
> He liv'd secure boasting his former deeds,
> And thought his name sufficient to uphold him,
> Like to a tall oake in a fruitfull field,
> Bearing old spoiles and conquerors monuments,
> Who though his root be weake, and his owne waight
> Keepe him within the ground, his armes al bare,
> His body (not his boughs) send forth a shade;
> Though every blast it nod, and seeme to fal,
> When all the woods about stand bolt up-right,
> Yet he alone is held in reverence. (Marlowe A1)

Pompey is an old man, similarly to Barnavelt, and one who has gained his country's love and admiration due to his historical deeds. There can be no doubt that the playwrights echo Marlowe's understanding of this classical confrontation through their Lucanic allusions in the text. It can be argued that the Prince follows Lucan's description of Caesar, who he describes as 'glad when bloud, and ruine made him way' and as one who succeeds in battle 'when Lucifer did shine alone, /And some dim stars' (Marlowe A2). This analogy between Lucan and *Barnavelt* allows an interpretation of the Prince as a Caesarian, Machiavellian villain who delights in death and destruction and is a purveyor of dark, demonic energy. Similarly to *Barnavelt,* Marlowe's translation describes the divided nature of alliances which came about due to the differences between Caesar and Pompey. Marlowe tells us that,

> …which of both
>
> Had justest cause unlawful tis to judge:
>
> Each side had great partakers; Caesars cause ,
>
> The gods abetted; Cato likt the other;
>
> Both differ'd much……
>
> Cato whom fooles reverence;
>
> Must Pompeis followers with strangers ayde,
>
> (Whom from his youth he bribde) needs make him king? (Marlowe *Pharsalia* A1)

The playwrights use a frame of reference clearly Marlovian and republican in nature. Cato is resembled by Leidenberch, Pompey by Barnavelt and Caesar is represented by the Prince; the ultimate killer and exterminator, not just of his two adversaries, but of Dutch republicanism as a whole. Lucan cites the fall of Cato and death of Pompey as the two seminal events which allowed Octavius to assume absolute rule in Rome. Pompey contended with Octavius for the leadership of the Roman State which led to a civil war, his defeat at the Battle of Pharsalus and ultimate execution. Pompey was remembered as a leader who achieved extraordinary triumphs, a hero and morally upright statesman who was murdered through treachery. This reputation was keenly alive in the early modern period and is evident in George Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* (1612-1613); a poet and playwright already discussed due to his connections with the Netherlands in Chapter 3. In *Barnavelt,* the characters of Barnavelt and Leidenberch are paralleled with these famous martyrs for righteousness and the republican cause.

This representation of Oldenbarnevelt and his cohorts differs monumentally from the English sources and instead bears a similarity to many co-terminus, often

illegal, Dutch sources. As shown in Chapter 2, histories were often read in the early modern period in order to apply their dynamics to modern situations. Dutton states that early modern readers read plays and other texts analogically, often applying quite exotic fictions to contemporary persons and events. This was something that censors were totally aware of, they chose to ignore it unless they deemed the 'application' to be too transparent or provocative (Dutton *Licensing* xi). Therefore, the playwrights are consciously aware of the Lucanic and Marlovian references they have created in *Barnavelt.* However, their interpretation is the opposite of the official stance of the Jacobean court, and as Dutton argues, if this play is applied analogically to the English political situation, it is openly seditious.[151] This interpretation of the play encourages the audience to consider Barnavelt and Leidenberch as misjudged by their accusers and secondly to contemplate their own model of government as being led by an odious tyrant, bent on destroying anyone who questions his authority. Howard-Hill believes that the application of Octavius and Cato to modern circumstances creates a clear parallel with the regime of James I. His assertion of absolute rule over his prerogatives of Parliament, the addled Parliament of 1614 which was quickly dissolved, held between 1611 and 1621, and severe restrictions on all forms of dissent during his reign make this comparison all the more likely (Howard-Hill *Buc* 59). However, it is clear that the playwrights are criticising both the English and Dutch form of government alike, the biting dialogue is aimed solely at the role of monarchy in both of these societies and possibly in

151 Dutton believes that *Barnavelt* was intended to be read in part as a shadowing of the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh with the play's foreign topicality conveniently disguising its English application (Licensing xvi). Raleigh was executed in October 1618, Oldenbarnevelt in May 1619 and the King's Men performed the play in August; despite intervention from the Bishop of London due to the play's discussion of Arminianism. Certainly, there are some key references in the play which aim to blacken Oldenbarnevelt and the character of Arminians by likening them to nonconformist lecturers familiar to London audiences, with Leidenberch confirming that the Arminians have been made aware of Barnavelt's plans for rebellion and stir up their congregations as they 'thunder in their [Pulpitts]' (2.1.588) thereby associating them with dissenters and unruly women (Howard-Hill Buc 61).

Europe as a whole. The issue of religion, the key issue in Oldenbarnevelt's demise, is not even deeply investigated in the play, it is merely referred to. Monarchy and royalty are the two problematic issues and the suggestion is that they need to be eliminated from a country at all costs if the nation wishes to thrive. In *Barnavelt* both Barnavelt and the Prince of Orange demonstrate themselves to be tarnished by corruption in various ways. Barnavelt is proud and vainglorious while the Prince is vengeful and delights in savagery. This goes against traditional dramaturgy of the protagonist and antagonist but fits in with Lucan's insistence in *Pharsalia* that Caesarian style absolute power corrupts absolutely (Martindale 75). Barnavelt wanted to begin war in his country in order to take control, akin to Caesar in *Pharsalia*, however he fails and Orange instead reveals himself too to be corrupted from the caustic effects of absolute power. The play is adulatory and complimentary of republicanism and bemoans the fact that the United Provinces are now on course to adopting an absolute monarchy once more. It is these ideas of republicanism and the right of the people to rule a country that many English Puritans returning from the Netherlands would later adopt in the mid-seventeenth century once the monarchy had been toppled. Interestingly, many of the individuals who provided patronage for Massinger and Fletcher and their coterie were either present themselves or represented by their descendants on the Parliamentary side during the English Civil War.

It is ominous that Massinger and Fletcher would use Lucan's text to draw parallels between these current and classical depositions as Lucan is remembered as the true and ardent lover of the Roman Republic. During the late Elizabethan period, Lucan's admirers were attracted by the poet's espousal of *libertas* and hatred for autocracy (Martindale 64). Lucan was utterly devoted to his philosophy of liberty

and shared power. After Lucan composed *Pharsalia,* he attracted much hatred from Rome's ruling elite as they were insulted by his abhorrence for absolute monarchy, as espoused in the work. Suetonius reports that Nero, as a deliberate snub, walked out of a rectiatio by Lucan and henceforth Nero banned the poet from engaging in lawsuits or publishing poetry due to what he had written. Lucan also wrote a poem attacking Caesarism and as such, he was banned from promulgating his poetry and he died in a conspiracy to remove a Caesar, which is of immense significance to the subtext of republicanism evident in *Barnavelt* (Martindale 66-67). Even in the seventeenth century, the power of Lucan's words and thoughts still had this affect.

Christopher Marlowe began the first English translation of Lucan, however the first full translation of Lucan was completed by Arthur Gorges (1614) and then again by Thomas May (1620), not long after the first performance of *Barnavelt*. May became a Republican after earning his reputation at court and through his study of Lucan. There were also connections between Gorges and May with the Herbert and Sidney families and with Lucy, Countness of Bedford who bore known republican sympathies (Smith 'Philip Herbert' *ODNB*). Philip Herbert's became a moderate Parliamentarian leading up to the civil war and this is attributed to his alienation from court and underlying attachment to godly Protestantism (Smith 'Philip Herbert' *ODNB*).[152] Massinger and Fletcher's *Barnavelt* with its express concerns about Parliamentary government and the fate of Protestantism in the Low Countries, takes as one of its dramatic models Chapman's *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1607-1608) and Massinger's *Roman Actor* is closely modelled on Jonson's *Sejanus* in several speeches on freedom from censorship (Tricomi 345). Other dramatists credited with displaying Lucanic

152 Another reason may have been that the Herbert family's ancient rivals to dominance in Wiltshire, the Seymours, chose to become royalists (Smith 'Philip Herbert' *ODNB*).

influences in their work include Ben Jonson and George Chapman; coincidentally, dramatists who had both served as soldiers in the Netherlands and had connections to the Sidneys. Massinger's *Roman Actor,* a play he composed several years after *Barnavelt* in 1626, also uses the doubling dramatic technique.[153] It appears that these plays and their authors influenced each other's works greatly. Tricomi argues that Massinger's drama continues the reformist tradition of Republican drama practiced a generation earlier by Jonson and Chapman (344). Jonson and Chapman had had active experience as soldiers in the Netherlands and their works teem with topical allusions to events which occurred there. The Netherlands weighed heavily on their minds as they viewed themselves as more approximate to Dutch republicans than to the developing absolute form of monarchy within the Stuart court. It also suggests what is evident in *Barnavelt* is the influence of the works of Christopher Marlowe which was transmitted from Jonson and Chapman to dramatists like Massinger and Fletcher. Marlowe spent time in the Netherlands under mysterious circumstances. However, more importantly, Marlowe is connected with republican thought. The influence of Marlowe, Lucan and *Edward II* is all too noticeable in *Barnavelt.* It shows that one aspect of *Barnavelt* is a critique of monarchy, corruption and ambition; more correctly the practice of those three things in England and more specifically their prevalence in the Stuart court. Although, a biting analysis of the Dutch government is also being practised too.

4.3. Censorship and the Patronage Networks Surrounding the Play.

Similarly to *Sir Thomas More*, discussed in Chapter 2, the original version of the play that exists (BL MS Add. 18653) shows that it endured heavy censorship

153 Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (1629) reveals hirelings (minor actors) played single parts while a sharer (senior actor who shared in the profits of the performance) T. Pollard chose to play two (Kregor 149).

before it could be staged. As stated, the play had been already licensed and was ready for performance by August 14th 1619, and as Thomas Locke's letter testifies, the King was on progress during this timeframe; in Locke's second letter at August 27th he reports that this 'progress is prolonged about 1 weeke' (SP14/110/f. 57). There is a clear trend where highly subversive material was shown when the King was on progress, such as Middleton's *Game at Chesse* (1624), which was shown on August 13th by the King's Men. Dutton proffers the argument that the William Herbert allowed his cousin, Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, to grant a license in 1624 for Middleton's extremely offensive and anti-Spanish play, *A Game at Chesse*. Dutton states that Herbert bore an extreme distaste for the Jacobean pro-Spanish policy (Dutton *Mastering* 243). The fact that the Bishop of London chose to object to the performance of *Barnavelt* while the king was away shows that he was aware of its controversial subject matter. Bentley suggests that the Bishop of London prohibited the play on account of the controversial nature of the subject matter, however, there is no evidence extant to confirm what exactly his issues were (Bentley 3.417). McCabe states that the chief criterion calling for the intervention of a bishop was when a work was deemed to be indecent (McCabe 75). The play had, however, already been granted a license which makes it a complex issue to decide whether the censorship of the play in the extant manuscript took place before or after the Bishop's objection.

Similarly to *Sir Thomas More,* there are many different hands on the manuscript of the play. Howard-Hill states that these are the scribe, Ralph Crane, the company book-keeper and Sir George Buc (Howard-Hill *Buc* 42). The additions, corrections, deletions and substitutions suggest a series of negotiations between Buc and the players. This makes it somewhat plausible that the censorship took place

after the Bishop's objection making this a highly-subversive play if staged in its original form due to the discussions of monarchy, absolute power and tyrannical control. Buc went over the manuscript twice, first in pencil and then in ink and used a careful method of lightly pencilled markings, some of which are later reinforced in heavy ink, with warning crosses in margins where he perhaps intended to consult the actors (Howard-Hill *Buc* 42). Where Buc found objectionable material he sought to find acceptable alternatives, and seemed only to cross it out altogether as a last resort (Dutton *Licensing* 11). The scribe of the King's Men, Ralph Crane, also deleted material, making it illegible and included changes and alterations. There is much evidence, however, to suggest that this manuscript in its original form was the version licensed by Buc and that the revisions came after the Bishop's objection.[154]

Barnavelt is the most heavily censored manuscript surviving from Buc's period of involvement in the Revel's office (Howard Hill *Crane* 148).The evidence, therefore, suggests that this copy of the play was returned to the licenser's office for further censorship due to the Bishop's objections after its initial licensing. The censorship is so thorough, that Buc risked destroying the play. There was a relatively broad criteria of what was permissible to be shown on stage and this was determined largely by their position within the court (Dutton *Licensing* 6). With regards to

[154] Crane made all but one of his surviving manuscripts as presentation, commissioned, or possibly, printer's copies as they are Quarto sized rather than the more common folio size used in theatre; his one exceptional folio-sized manuscript being *Barnavelt*, the size normally used by the acting company and the version prepared for printing (Iopollo 147). Howard-Hill agrees that this is the company copy of the play and it is unlikely that the company made two of these folio sized copies as copying plays cost money (Howard-Hill *Buc* 42; Iopollo 150). It was not until later in the seventeenth century that the then Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, demanded that he receive two copies of a play, one for him to license and return and the other for him to keep in his files (Iopollo 151). After his objection, it must be assumed that the Bishop obtained a copy of the text for his perusal and this could have possibly been the Quarto sized version of the play (Howard Hill *Crane* 148). Howard Hill has estimated that it would take five days for Crane to create a folio sized transcription of the play and considering the short time parameters that the company were working under, it seems highly implausible that there were two company copies in circulation (Howard Hill *Crane* 154 n. 28).

subversive material, a foreign or classical setting could mask the topic being discussed in the play. The Master's function was precisely to ensure that the fictional veiling was adequate, so that serious offence might not be offered to members of the court of friendly foreign dignitaries (Dutton *Licensing* 7). Someone who could have authorised the play in its original form was William Herbert, who was also the Lord Chamberlain, had a particular brief for acting matters (Dutton *Licensing* 3). As aforementioned, William Herbert is also the figure suggested by many scholars as the authority figure who allowed Sir Henry Herbert to licence the anti-Spanish critique, *A Game at Chesse* (1624). There is a possibility, therefore, that Herbert could have similarly forced the licensing of *Barnavelt*; thereby showing his support for the subversive themes and messages enacted in the play.

The Master of the Revels was as much the protector of the most successful actors, as much as their regulator and was the mediator of the court where differing views of court factions could be articulated on the stage but not too strongly (Dutton *Licensing* 5). For example, Dutton describes one example detailed in Buc's successor, Sir Henry Herbert's office-book (January 1631), when states that he,

> did refuse to allow of a play of Messinger's, because itt did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian king of Portugal by Philip the [second], and ther being a peace a peace sworen twixte the kings of England and Spayne. (Herbert cited in Dutton *Licensing* 6-7)

Yet five months later he licensed a play called *Believe As You List* which is transparently a re-working of the play he had turned down, merely transposed to classical antiquity. Now that the play was no longer an overt affront to the royal prerogative or to a friendly foreign power (Dutton *Licensing* 6-7). This trend for drawing from Roman history was not only a scholarly enterprise but also protected

the playwright from being arrested for penning overtly offensive material and this technique of classical allusion combined with a foreign setting is visible in *Barnavelt*. In fact, Hadfield states that censorship took place only when something went drastically wrong, usually with one side over-stepping the mark. For the most part, dangerous and subversive material could be made public, as long as it was not explicit (Hadfield *Literature* 7). The censoring of *Barnavelt,* therefore, could have taken place at the Bishop's behest rather than Buc's. Similarly, the fact that the players 'fownd the meanes' so quickly after the objections to the play is quite suspicious (SP14/110 f. 57). In the absence of the king, the only person able to permit the showing of this play would have been the Lord Chamberlain, Sir William Herbert. It seems quite plausible to suggest that this play is a product of Herbert's anti-Spain, pro-Dutch faction. As for republicanism, Herbert maternal line linked him to the Sidneys – the foremost republican family in English of the day.

There is also evidence to suggest that Herbet was Massinger's patron. Massinger had historical connections to the Herbert family through his father, Arthur Massinger, who was Henry Herbert's, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, London 'solicitor' (Edwards and Gibson 1.xvi). By 1619, Massinger had already made several appeals to the Herberts for patronage, citing his father's relationship, including 'The Copie of a Letter written upon occasion to the Earle of Pembrooke Lo: Chamberlaine', where Massinger bemoaned how poverty had forced him to give up poetry and 'serve the stage'(Edwards and Gibson I xviii; Cruickshank 240). In this letter, Massinger pleads with Herbert,

> …yet wth any paine
> Or honest industry could I obteyne
> A noble Favorer, I might write and doo

> Like others of more name and gett one too
>
> Or els my Genius is false. I know
>
> That Johnson much of what he has does owe
>
> To you and to your familie, and is never
>
> Slow to professe it.[155] (cited in Cruickshank 45-52)

Herbert and his brother Philip would openly patronise Massinger in his later career, Philip later supplying him with a £20/£30 per annum pension, but this earlier letter provides the grounds to suggest that Herbert patronised Massinger during the penning of *Barnavelt* also. Herbert's connection to Massinger, the Sidneys and the Netherlands poses a possible route of transmission whereby other Stuart factional politics in conjunction to Dutch material and political parallels could have influenced the play.

Massinger is credited with penning and opening and closing scenes, possibly even all of Act 1 and Act 5 while Fletcher is believed to have composed the central sections (Garret 'Philip Massinger' *ODNB*). What has not been examined is the possibility that the connections between these dramatists and the former cautionary towns could have influenced its production. Tricomi states that early modern dramatists could write political allegory that everyone in London understood and in his later career Massinger composed political allegories using the reformist tradition of 'Republican' drama practised a generation earlier by Jonson and Chapman (Tricomi 332-344). During this period freedom loving Protestants everywhere were

155 Prior to Massinger's explict request for patronage, he bemoans Herbert's neglect of him despite a seeming earlier declaration of affection for him: When thou sighst, thou sigh'st not wind, but sigh'st my soule away/ When thou weep'st unkindly kind, my lifes blud doth decay It cannot bee / That thou lov'est mee as thou sai'est, if in thine my life thou / wast, Thou art the best of mee. / Part soe wth myne owne Candor, lett me rather/ Live poorely on those toyes I would not father / Not knowne beyond A Player or A Man / That does pursue the course that I have ran/ Ere soe grow famous (cited in Cruickshank 21-28).

trying to preserve or re-establish a heritage of political liberty, *Barnavelt* could be viewed as a play warning Londoners about the threats to their liberty from their heads of state (Tricomi 344). This shows Herbert's support dramas like *Barnavelt* which could be read politically. Tricomi believes that *Barnavelt* expresses concern about the Parliamentary government and the fate of Protestants in the Low Countries, perspectives which are reflected in Massinger's patronage from the Herberts and other members of that family. Furthermore, Massinger secured patronage from Lady Katherine Stanhope, sister to Earl Huntingdon, who was believed to bear a similar political persuasion to the Herbert family (Garret 'Philip Massinger' *ODNB*). With regards to Fletcher, the most telling indications of his political persuasions are evident from his relationship with the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon. McMullan states it is apparent that Fletcher shared the Huntingdon's 'Protestant distaste for courtly extravagance and the desire of militant Protestants to see James drop his pacific policies with regard to Spain and the Counter-Reformation' (McMullan 'John Fletcher' *ODNB*). As a whole, Fletcher and Massinger's plays do not display servile royalism but question absolute values, sovereignty and nationalism (McMullan 'John Fletcher' *ODNB*).

Returning to the figure of William Herbert, he is also the best known patron of his generation. In 1597 he planned a trip to the continent, two years later he asked his uncle Robert Sidney for a loan of horses and weapons so he could 'follow the camp' (Shaw 113). Pembroke was associated with the Protestant, anti-Spanish faction at court and courtly success attached him as a patron with a range of books dedicated to him. Ben Jonson dedicated *Sejanus* and *Caitline* to him, and Pembroke gave Jonson £20 per annum to buy books. Furthermore, Dutton believes that Pembroke could have protected Thomas Middleton when *A Game at Chesse* came

out (Dutton *Mastering* 261). *Barnavelt* may have attracted Pembroke as not only did he consistently seek to challenge Spanish interests at home and abroad, in 1618 he also argued on Raleigh's behalf after his abortive incursion into Spanish America. Most chillingly, the Puritan polemicist and preacher who scurried into exile in the Netherlands, Thomas Scott, was one of Pembroke's chaplains (Kelsey 'Thomas Scott' *ODNB*). The evidence for his support of this play and his connections to the Netherlands are astounding. In *Mastering the Revels,* Dutton reads *Barnavelt* as a parallel to the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, two militant heroes who fought for their countries against the absolutist policies of Spain only to be destroyed by the absolutist policies of their respective monarchs. When combining this reading of the play together with the argument regarding the play's censorship, it is suggestive to think that Herbert aimed to have this play broadcasted to a wide segment of the London population at the Globe while the king was away on progress. The Bishop's intervention into the matter eliminated much of the most polemical material in the play but the clever use of doubling and classical republican allusion surely made the audience aware as to what this play was really about.

Returning to this point, in the same letter sent from Thomas Locke to Carleton on the 27th August 1619, he gave him an analysis of some of the points in the play that the audience disagreed with after it was shown. Locke describes how,

> some say that (according the the prouerbe) the Quill is owt so bad as he is painted, & that Barnavelt should perswade Ledenberg to make away himself (when he came to see him after he was prisoner) to preuent the discourse of the plot, & so tell him that when they were both dead (as though he meant to do the like) they might sift it out of their ashes, was thought to be a point strayned. When Barnevelt

> vnderstood of Ledenbergs death he comforted himself wch befores he refused to do, but when he perceaueth himself to be arested then he hath no remedie, but wth all speedes biddeth his wide send to the Fr[ench]. Amb[assado]r: wch she did & he spake for him. (SP14/110 f. 57)

Locke's account shows that many disagreed with Barnavelt's suggestion for Ledenberg to commit suicide, finding this case of poetic license either too unhistorical or perhaps too ruthless before its dramatic reversal in the second half. The spectators also took issue with Barnavelt's oscillation between self-pity and stoicism, finding this difficult to follow. This critical approach to historical drama shows that people were broadly aware of the allusions in the story and how characters may be maninpulated to further certain subliminal themes. Tricomi has shown how Philip Herbert critiqued comments on his copy of Chapman's *Byron* shows that he was able to note down the names of real historical figures from the court and align them with their representatives in the play. This evinces a tradition of reformist political drama that all theatre goers were well aware of (Tricomi 345). Certainly then, the audience were well aware of the parallels between Barnavelt and Raleigh and similarly knowing of the republican anti-monarchical theme of the play.

The connections between *Barnavelt,* the dramatists involved in it, the people who had roles in its licensing and its subject matter all bear strong links to the Herbert family. It does seem quite plausible then that this play was conceived by that family as something profitable to be shown on the London stage. They also supplied the dramatists with the subject matter, Dutch sources and advised on the English literary traditions of classical republicanism to follow. The influence of Marlowe explains the act of doubling. The fact that Sir William Herbert was the only person

who could have allowed the swift licensing of this play is too strong of a fact to ignore. Therefore this shows the importance first of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange on the shaping of this play but also the prominence of Dutch politics on the minds of influential English members of society, such as Herbert himself. The Dutch practice of republicanism impressed Herbert and his cohorts and became something they wished to possibly emulate in the future. While Herbert may have bemoaned the success of the Prince of Orange in eliminating his foe and reinstituting a monarchical form of governance, the people of England and English parliament would not have to wait so long before they could conduct their own republican experiment. The old animosity is clearly evident between the two and it is obvious why Carleton would have been delighted to see the fall of his enemy.

Sir John Ogle, the English Governor of Utrecht, showed his favour for the Arminians and incurred the disfavour of Prince Maurice. Sir Horace Vere was officially addressed by Oldenbarnevelt's supporters, being presented with a 'letter of credence', to which he declined although the very fact that he was consulted in this debacle shows that Oldenbarnevelt did consider him an ally and perhaps even a friend (Carleton 282). Oldenbarnevelt had been friendly with Vere's elder brother, Francis, even when he was universally disliked. Sir Robert Sidney notes how, 'Barnevelt was lately advised not to bend so much graced Sir F. Vere above all men else….Barnevelt is his only friend' (cited in Shaw 587). Oldenbarnevelt had many friends amongst the English in the Netherlands. Interestingly, in the play, Barnavelt approaches English captains although they do not support him. In reality, Sir John Ogle was not so obedient. Carleton reported how although Prince Maurice,

> rests ill satisfied of the governor, Sir John Ogle, not only for his former carriage of himself, but likewise for secret meetings he is

> accused to have had by night with Grotius and Hogerbets, whilst they were at Utrecht; for which I find there is a purpose to take his government from him, if he have not the foresight to resign the same, whereby to prevent the disgrace. (Carleton 282)[156]

The relevance of all of this to Fletcher and Massinger's play is that the playwrights managed to articulate the two sides of the tale of the fall of Oldenbarnevelt. The playwrights presented a subtly subversive play that was as critical of Prince Maurice and of Oldenbarnevelt. While Oldenbarnevelt is certainly shown to be a scheming, arrogant and power hungry individual, the Stadtholder is characterised as an altogether more sinister figure.

4.4. Dutch Sources of the Play.

The details the playwrights include about the background, trial and execution of Oldenbarnevelt are striking. Bullen and Frijlinck have previously researched the manuscript of *Barnavelt* and have located several pamphlets in circulation in England during the time period leading up to his execution in May 1619. The pamphlets on the whole case are quite numerous, Frijlinck cites a reference to this reality that Oldenbarnevelt made in a letter to the Dutch ambassador, Noel de Caron, noting how,

> we are tortured more and more with religious differences; the factious libels become daily more impudent and, and no man comes undamaged from the field. I, as a reward for all of my troubles,

156 Ogle was favourably disposed to Ledenberg and Oldenbarnevelt and did not think that Maurice would try them with such severity. This misjudgement resulted in Ogle resigning half-voluntarily when Count Ernst Casimir of Nassau was appointed over him, after which he left for England (den Tex 2.636-38).

> labours, and sorrows, have three double portions of them. (Frijlinck xxv)[157]

Frijlinck also notes the play's own self-awareness about the abundant libels in Act 1 of the play when Barnavelt reflects on how his open Arminianism, 'hath drawne libells against me' (1.2.244). Frijlinck has also shown how several other pamphlets provided the playwrights with the contextual, historical and political information necessary in order to write the play, while there is other material that they must have garnered from more informal sources. Frijlinck believes that dramatists took their conception of Barnavelt's character from the pamphlets as well as the plot as the pamphlets accused him of conspiracy although this was never proved (Frijlinck xxvi). The pamphlets include *Barnevel's Apology or Holland's Mysterie with the Marginall Castigations of Petrus Holderus* (1618)*, The Confession of Ledenberch* (1619)*, The Arraignment of John van Olden Barnevelt* (1619)*, Newes out of Holland* (1619) and *Barnavelt Displayed or The Golden Legend of the New St. John* (1619). For the most part, these pamphlets are translations from Dutch originals, however, Motley mentions three additional English pamphlets translated from Dutch which are now no longer extant. These include *The Declaration of the Golden Bellows* (*De Verclaringhe van den Gouden Blaesbalck*), *The Arminian Road to Spain* (*De Arminiaensche Vaert near Spaegnien*), and *A Little Window by Peeping through which We Can See the Great Masters Rolling Down to the Gates of Hell* (*Een Cleyn Vensterken, waer door Gekeecken Werdt, hoe die Groote Meesters haer tot de Poorten der Helle Wentelden*). Frijlinck has analysed these pamphlets using their Dutch originals and found some broad similarities between these and the manuscript

157 In a dispatch from England dated 14th September 1618, the Venetian ambassador reflected the close relationship between the two, stating that Oldenbarnevelt's arrest had been extremely upsetting for Caron, at which point he left England as 'Caron…[was] extremely dependent on that minister' (cited in Hinds 312).

such as Oldenbarnevelt's alleged treasonous behaviour and the belief in an Arminian conspiracy to take over the United Provinces.[158]

The play, however, is self-aware of the rampant pamphlet literature surrounding the fall of Oldenbarnevelt and Frijlinck has found several examples of where the play reflects on the pamphlets which shaped its creation (xxvi). *The Apology* is a pamphlet which is copied verbatim in some parts of the play and these will be given more attention shortly in the chapter. The play also refers to this pamphlet, when Hogerbeets mentions 'th' Appollogie he wroat, so poorely raild at' (3.5.1589). Similarly, Vandort's order to Barnavelt to 'read the Confessions / of Leidenberch, and Taurinus' (4.5.2190-91) makes reference to this pamphlet bearing the same name; and Vandort's other order to 'looke vpon this / signd by the Gouernor, Chauncellor, and Counsell / of Gilderland, and Zutphen', is a reference to the pamphlet entitled *The Proclamation of Gelderlandt and Zutphen* (4.5.2394). *The Arraignment of John Van Olden Barnavelt*, is a pamphlet which details the thirty four charges against laid against Oldenbarnevelt. In the play, the Prince of Orange discusses how Barnavelt must die in relation to being 'convincd too / of fowre and thirtie articles' (5.1.2563-64). The play is consciously self-aware of the fact that it is based on English translations of Dutch texts.

Returning to the pamphlet, *Barnevel's Apology,* there are many sections which have been copied from the pamphlet into the play, some of which will be discussed, however, they are so numerous that it is not possible to discuss them all. The original pamphlet was translated from Dutch to English and was written by Oldenbarnevelt in which he explained his position and reasoning on religion, stating

158 The pamphlets describing the fall and death of Oldenbarnevelt entering London are universal in their criticism of his behaviour but some many admire his achievements during the earlier stages of his life. There is one pamphlet, *Barnevelt Displayed*, which is bitingly satirical and offers a completely lewd and treasonous account of the life and death of Oldenbarnevelt.

that that he always preached tolerance rather than the primacy of one religious group. The pamphlet opens with Oldenbarnevelt stating that he has been forced to use his pen to argue his case against the vicious libels circulating against him. He states that in the past he,

> was often intreated by the King of France, by Elizabeth Queene of England both of famous and imortall memorie…I was often intreated by the King of great Brittaine, and the King of Sueland, the Elector Palatine of Brandenburg, the Elector of Colen in divers occurrences to do unto them acceptable offices and services. (Oldenbarnevelt 4)

In Act 4, Scene 3 of *Barnavelt,* alone in his study Barnavelt looks back on his political career and notes peruses through old papers noting that some are

> …from the King of Fraunce, of much importance
> and this from Englands Queene, both mightie Princes
> and of imortall memories: here the Rewards sett:
> they lou'd me both: the King of Swethland, this,
> about a Truyce: his bounty too: what's this?
> from the Elector Palatine of Brandenburge
> to doe him faire, and acceptable offices. (4.3.1884-90)

The playwrights have obviously copied this section of the *Apology* and seem to have based much of Barnavelt's character on this text.

The playwrights based the plot of the play and Barnavelt's treachery on *Barneuelt Displayed or the Golden Legend of the New St. Iohn,* and on the previously mentioned *Castigations. Barneuelt Displayed* is a semi-fictional portrait of Oldenbarnevelt and accuses him of plotting to destroy his country and most interestingly, it contains an account of an offensive experience that the Prince of

Orange endures in the play, however, there is no historical record of such an incident. The pamphlet states that Oldenbarnevelt organised meetings in the Raad van State where he,

> maliciously rayled upon and slandered his Excellency, onely to make the commons hate him; when he put him from all Colleagues and Negotiations, especially out of the Councell of the State of Holland, at such a time as weighty and serious matters were treated concerning the place and oath of his Excellency, then was he banished from the council chamber and might not be admitted, although many of the best rancke did earnestly intreate it. (*Barneuelt Displayed* 14)

This blockage against the Prince is recorded in the play and was something which Buc took serious issue with, writing the infamous comment, 'I like not this', beside it and marking it for deletion. This incident, however, never actually happened and is entirely fictional. The playwrights also incorporated some of this pamphlet to create Barnavelt's character. The pamphlet states that Barnavelt, 'boasting that now he had one foot upon the neck of his Excellency, hee would soone haue the other on his head and crush him' (*Barneuelt Displayed*). At the start of the play, Barnavelt unleashes his plan to destroy the Prince of Orange, when drunk on his own power he exclaims how, 'in this disgrace I haue one foot on his neck', and then vowing that 'ere long Ile set the other on his head / and sinck him to the Center' (1.2.329-31). The phrasing is very similar and shows the use that Fletcher and Massinger made of this pamphlet. *Castigations* is the pamphlet which accuses Oldenbarnevelt of using religion to cover his real purpose which was destruction of the United Provinces. The dramatists use this as they also show Barnavelt resort to religion as a shroud for his conspiracy. As Frijlinck notes, this is made clear in the first scene when Barnavelt

hears of the growing popularity and power of the Prince and then, enragaed with jealousy, he lays a treacherous plot and in the second scene confesses himself openly of the Arminian sect in order to excel (Frijlinck xvii). It must be noted, however, that this pamphlet is virulently opposed to the real-life Oldenbarnevelt and the depth of the treachery accorded to him in this text does not make its way into the play. Frijlinck notes that it must be admitted to the credit of the dramatists that they were little influenced by the slanderous personal remarks in the *Castigations* and *the Golden Legend* (Frijlinck xxxvii).

Many of the pamphlets are constructed to act as warnings for any other monarchical critics or prospective conspirators. *A True Description* uses the downfall of the old Advocate as a caveat for others who may consider seditious thoughts about toppling the monarchy. The author warns how, 'Euen the end of a great man', who bore, 'great age, and greater wealth and authoritie, but of greatest wordly wisdome and policie', fell so far that he allowed himself, 'to make and maintaine a mischieuous faction in a potent State, to the iminent perill and danger thereof' (*A True Description* A). While the author admits that the fact that Oldenbarnevelt's fate, 'to die in this manner, is more remarkable.' The author warns readers that to take heed, advising that,

> that all busie-headed plotters of treacherous and dangerous designes, would take warning by this example, and be deterred from interprising against their Soueraigne and their natiue Country or against God and true religion. (*A True Description* A)

This is a clear warning for any proponents of the Prince of Orange's rule and James I's rule alike. Similarly, they utilise the actualities of his death such as how the Executioner accidentally, 'cut off…two of his fingers' during the beheading which is

dramatised in the play, while ending with the foreboding message that, 'What shall be done vnton the rest of his complices, time shall shew you' (*A True Description* A1). The pamphlet helped shape the overall play and is an important example of literary and cultural exchange between the two countries.

The playwrights used the information about the support of two French diplomats for Oldenbarnevelt described in detail *A True Description*, and illuminated this in the play. The sympathetic and supportive viewpoints offered by the French delegation also could have influenced the more positive view of Barnavelt in the second half of the play. The French pleas for clemency are recorded in this pamphlet and are recorded as those the French ambassadors to the United Provinces, De Thumerie and Du Morier, to the States General. This document questions the guilt of Oldenbarnevelt and strongly advises his release. The ambassadors express their surprise that one of the suspects on trial is,

> is the auncientest Counsellor of your state, which is Monsieur Barneuelt, so much commended for the good and notable seruices by him done for these countries…it is hardly to be thought or beleeued, that he should haue conspired treason against his natiue Countrie, for the which you your selues know hee hath taken so great paines. (*A True Description* A3v-A4)

In addition, the pamphlet states that the French king cannot accept that Oldenbarnevelt is in anyway, 'culpable, vntill by euident proofes you make the crime manifest vnto him' (*A True Description* A4v). The French value for Oldenbarnevelt certainly could have helped the playwrights to consider the play from a different angle, as would have the plea from the French king, 'not to vse rigour against', the prisoners, 'but rather fauour and clemency, as most acceptable vnto God, and fir and

conuenient to with the hearts of the people, & to make them obedient' (*A True Description* A4). The French support of Oldenbarnevelt could have also influenced the playwrights in the second half of the play.

The availability and linguistic accessibility of such material demonstrates the range of cultural exchanges taking place between the two countries and the ease with which Dutch material was transmitted into London. Undoubtedly, this is due to the military, mercantile and diplomatic relations between the two countries as discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis.

There is other information which the playwrights must have received from local sources in the Netherlands. The playwrights express familiarity with the Dutch language and create scenes which reflect historical accuracy. In the play, three executioners gamble and play dice over the coffin of Barnavelt to establish who will kill him. Motley states a letter from an eyewitness, Pr. Hanneman, to his cousin, Abraham van der Bruggen, details how in reality two common soldiers sat upon Oldenbarnevelt's coffin playing dice, betting whether the Lord or the Devil would get his soul (Motley 2.385-86). This usage of factual information is also evident in the playwrights' representation Barnavelt's family decorating their house in celebration of a Dutch 'Keramis' fair, which is true because the family did decorate their house in Mayday celebrations. The Prince of Orange, writing on day of Oldenbarnevelt's execution to his cousin William Louis van Nassau (who had tried to save Oldenbarnevelt's life), blamed Oldenbarnevelt's death on his wife and children for not having made any petition for pardon, but on the contrary clamouring for justice. The Prince declared that, 'Putting up a maypole…And other merrymaking and effronteries, instead of behaving humbly as they should have', were 'highly improper, and furthermore not calculated to induce the judges to grant

any pardon, even if they had been so inclined' (cited in den Tex 2.690). It is therefore clear to see that the playwrights were partial to a gossip network emanating from the Netherlands where they were able to avail of much more local colour surrounding the story. Yet, the Dutch influence on the play is much more substantial. While James I and much of the Stuart court admired the Prince of Orange and supported the execution of Oldenbarnevelt, in the Netherlands this was not the case. Oldenbarnevelt was beloved by the people and illegal poetry and pamphlet material circulated bewailing his loss to the Dutch nation, particularly by the Dutch poet and historian, Joost van den Vondel. Vondel's poem accompanying the print, 'Op de Waegschael' (On the Weighing Scale – represented below), states how the theologian Arminius metaphorically places several items on 'the scales of judgment' (3) which represents the religious debate between himself and Gomarus. On this scale, Arminius places,

> the robe of th' Advocate,
> Cushions of the magistrate,
> And the brain, the source and spring
> Of some solid reasoning;
> Charters, too, from which were shown
> The due rights of every town. (Vondel cited in Schenkeveld 9-14)

In response, the Calvinist preacher Gomarus, has nothing to give weight to his argument until the Prince of Orange comes to his aid and throws down his hefty sword, thereby tipping the scales. The sword, undoubtedly, represents the method of execution which ends the life of Oldenbarnevelt. Furthermore, in the play itself, the passage of Barnavelt's 'robe of th' Advocate' to the Prince signifies the transmission of power from one man to the other making it probable that the playwrights were

aware of this print and of the struggle for power between the two leaders. This robe is also referred to it the play when Vandort chastises Barnavelt for challenging the Prince, stating that it is 'too late ye find, Sir / how naked and vnsafe it is for a long Gowne / to buckle with the violence of an Army' (3.1.1080-82).

What makes this print and the accompanying poem even more alarming is that it is based on a much older painting detailing Catholic treachery where Catholic monks in prayer use a double edged sword to tip the scales of judgement in their favour against the simple Bible of a group of Netherlandic peasants (also shown below). While the Spanish used violence to dominate the Dutch people, now the Prince of Orange uses violence to secure absolute power. One oppressor has been superimposed by another. While the first half of the play paints Barnavelt as the tyrant, the Prince of Orange assumes this role in the second half. With limited public awareness of the republican and absolutist power struggle between Oldenbarnevelt and the Prince of Orange, Fletcher and Massinger possessed knowledge of this view and were able to construct an analogy between it and the co-terminus English political situation. The dramatists give voice to the Dutch concern that Oldenbarnevelt's execution represents the loss of republicanism and in doing so, this play is implicitly connected to Dutch republican literature lamenting Oldenbarnevelt's loss and to English republican literature mourning the death of Raleigh and Elizabethan Protestant militancy.



Attributed to Salomon Savery, Joost van den Vondel's 'Op de Waag Schaal', 1619.

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.



Anonymous. 'De Waagschaal van het ware Geloof', circa the first half of the seventeenth century. Beeld Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

4.5. Conclusion.

Fletcher and Massinger's *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619) offers audiences complex points of view regarding the execution of Oldenbarnevelt and the rise to absolute power by the Prince of Orange, in addition to presenting a thought-provoking commentary on Jacobean politics by the comparison between the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh and that of Oldenbarnevelt. The incorporation of Marlovian techniques and themes, such as the use of doubling and the theme of republicanism in the face of despotism add more layers of complexity to this play which strongly allude to the playwrights' awareness of the Dutch political situation and the power struggle between Oldenbarnevelt and Maurits van Nassau. This knowledge could have only been gained by the Anglo-Dutch military networks associated with the play, primarily by means of the Herbert family. The

play is possibly another example of Anglo-Dutch literature generated as part of the militant Protestant network still striving to exist and advance their goals during the pacificism and absolutism of the Jacobean reign. The English and Dutch sources used to create the play show that its composition is another example of Anglo-Dutch *métissage* and influenced by the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas emanating from the cautionary towns.

The play advances ideologies circulating around the physical community of the cautionary towns, by the connection to Robert Sidney, and the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas through its interest in the theme of republicanism. It is also a product of Anglo-Dutch cultural, literary, and intellectual exchange. Furthermore, the representation of the characters in this play allowed for a distanced critique of the Jacobean court without incurring the wrath of the monarch. The effect of doubling means that the play offers a subtle, yet highly subversive critique of Jacobean rule. Similarly to the Prince of Orange, James I appeared to be a monarch more interested in securing his own absolute control of the island of Britain rather than advancing the goals of the previous militantly Protestant Elizabethan regime.

Conclusion: the 'Duchification' of English Militant Protestantism.

The growing absolutism of the Stuart monarchs and the ideological division between the Caroline court and the English military in the Netherlands brought about a severing of the Anglo-Dutch militant Protestant relationship in the seventeenth century. The Caroline court's distrust for the old guard of the Anglo-Dutch military network is palpable in the words of the Catholic priest and Royalist agent, Stephen Goffe, in his complaint to Sir Dudley Carleton's successor, Sir William Boswell, in November, 1633, that English military captains in the Netherlands could no longer be trusted because they were now 'Duchified' (Stearns 774). In relation to the English Civil War, Conway's daughter and her husband, Lady Brilliana and Sir Robert Harley were noted Parliamentarians, as were many members of the Sidney family who had connections to the cautionary town of Flushing, and it is arguable that these families' inter-generational contact with Dutch culture could have influenced these republican views.

However, the most notable influence of this history of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange is evident in those who organised the deposition of James II and the English crowning of the Dutch King, William III during the Glorious Revolution. Signatories of the 'Invitation to William' included Henry Sidney, grandson of Robert Sidney (Governor of Flushing), and inheritor of the lineage of the Earl of Leicester; Sir Edward Harley, Edward Conway's grandson; John Holles, Sir Horace Vere's great-grandson; and Edward Russell, grandson of William Russell who had served as Governor of Flushing from 1587-1588.[159] Most strikingly of all: William III arrived in England on the 5th of November, 1688 in Brixham, aboard the *Brill*. The name

[159] It is worth noting that these are the two primary lines of descendents for both the Conway and Vere families. Sir Horace Vere produced no male descendents and Sir Edward Conway's male line died out along with his titles in 1683.

seems to be much more than mere coincidence. Understanding these later generational connections could provide an important insight into factors and influences behind the Glorious Revolution which could have been heretofore overlooked. One needs to just examine the longevity of Sir Horace Vere's heroic image in Chapter 3 to observe how long these Anglo-Dutch influences can exist in a community.

The texts studied here, however, rediscover these forgotten migrations, cultural revolutions, international friendships, networks, and political movements. Chapter 1 documented exchanges and connections in Brill which led to a series Anglo-Dutch militant and theological writings and translations which furthered the aims of militant European Protestantism. The development of a military training ground or *tyrocinium* of young male English aristocrats in militant Protestantism documented the influence of Dutch intellectuals, such as Lipsius, on English militant Protestants in the Netherlands. Anglo-Dutch military contact also generated Conway's collection of Dutch and English military poetry as well as the abundant amount of literature produced by one soldier resident within Brill, Henry Hexham. This Anglo-Dutch military and intellectual contact represents an important channel of cultural exchange, translation, and interchange which could have a lasting impact on early modern English literature and culture. Hexham and Conway can be considered as transmigrants engaged in *métissage* to create a unique 'third space' of cultural transfer, translation, and exchange.

Anglo-Dutch networks and Low Countries transmigrants located in located also contributed to Anglo-Dutch literature through the creation of Low Countries stock themes, types, and characters on the early modern London stage. Warfare in the Low Countries significantly influenced these portrayals of the Netherlandic

identity and the economic competition brought about by these 'strangers' also shaped the work of the playwrights which witnessed the economic threat that they brought into London. The plays discussed in this chapter self-consciously focused on the question of emigrants and artisans as cultural agents and Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange by showing Low Countries migrants as an everyday component of urban London. Furthermore, the association between the plays and arguments advanced in favour of the Dutch and Flemish stranger community in London demonstratees the absorption of the Anglo-Dutch religious and political ideologies of the pro-Netherlandic political faction in the Elizabethan court into English drama.

Chapter Three demonstrated the influence of the Anglo-Dutch military alliance on the English literary imagination, as evinced in the quantity of poetry inspired by the heroism and *humanitas* of Sir Horace Vere. This heroic status of Sir Horace Vere is a product of the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas used as a means of 'soft power' those who supported militant Protestantism, such as George Chapman, but also by those who opposed it, as Ben Jonson did. This interesting applicability of Vere's heroism to both sides of political divides reappeared once more in the Caroline age through the Oxford elegists appropriation of his image as a hero to inspire the competing sides of the English Civil War. The continued usage of Horace Vere's image and exploits documents the power of the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas who promoted his exploits, in conjunction to their goals, throughout the start of the seventeenth century.

Finally, in *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, the clever dramaturgical devices and meta-theatrics, and wide range of Anglo-Dutch sources available to Fletcher and Massinger allowed for the staging of subversive Dutch perceptions of the real Oldenbarnevelt's execution, inspiring a sense of anti-

monarchism and republicanism. This enabled a subtle but extremely effective critique of the perceived failures of the Jacobean reign in the eyes of the Anglo-Dutch military network. This play was created due to Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange and it represents another example of the Anglo-Dutch community of ideas at work to promote their ideologies using the 'soft power' of persuasive literature.

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