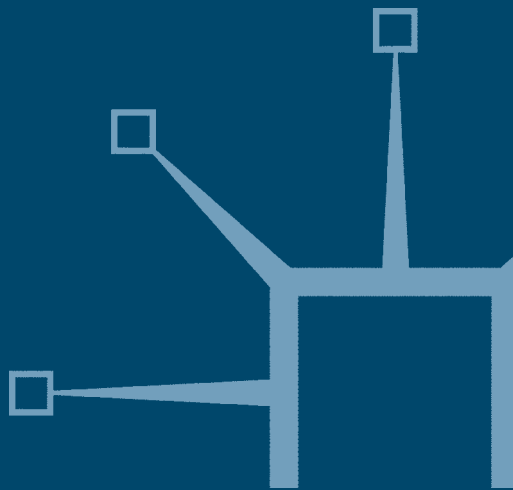


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Early Modern Civil Discourses

Jennifer Richards



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Early Modern Civil Discourses

Edited by

Jennifer Richards

University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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Note on Spelling Conventions

Old-spelling texts have been produced as accurately as possible. However, modern spelling has been adopted for 'i'/'j' and 'u'/'v'.

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Introduction

Jennifer Richards

Ideas of ‘civility’ are implicated in defining the period 1500–1700 as both the ‘Renaissance’ and the ‘early modern’. Civility can be called upon to identify the limits of this period (Renaissance versus the Middle Ages or the Enlightenment) or to locate its place within a longer historical process (Modernity). One influential distinction between the ‘Renaissance’ and the ‘Enlightenment’, for instance, rests on an opposition between the concepts ‘civic’ and ‘civil’. The political ethos of the Renaissance, argues J. G. A. Pocock, is distinguishable by its classical forms of civic humanism: an ideology of active citizenship within a closely knit, aristocratic political community. In contrast, the rise of an increasingly commercial social sphere in the eighteenth century was dominated by concepts of civility and manners. The Renaissance citizen, Pocock explains, ‘required the autonomy of real property’ as well as the right to bear arms: it is ‘hard to see’, he argues, how such a being ‘could become involved in exchange relationships, or in relationships governed by the media of exchange ... without becoming involved in dependence and corruption’. In contrast, in the eighteenth century there emerged a new ‘social psychology’ which held that commercial exchange ‘evoked passions and refined them into manners’.¹

Like most definitions of period this one has its uses and its limitations. One weakness is that it takes at face value the idea of ‘progress’ implicit in Enlightenment accounts of civil society. Thus, Pocock describes eighteenth-century England as witnessing the evolution of a more ‘dynamic’ and ‘complex’ society.² Another limitation is that this definition ignores the fact that the interest in civility is not unique to the Enlightenment. Indeed, as Anna Bryson argues in *From Courtesy to Civility*, an encyclopedic study of manners and social mores in ‘early modern’ England, the terms ‘civil’ and ‘civility’ are also keywords in this period.³

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the term ‘civil’ was synonymous with orderly and accommodating manners, but it could also be used to describe metropolitan, commercial, expansionist and self-consciously technological societies. Thus, in the preface to his monumental study of

manners and customs in Asia, Africa and Europe, *Omnium Gentium Mores* – an early anthropological study popular throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Englished as *A Fardle of Facions* in 1555 – Johann Boemus (fl. 1520) describes a civil society as one which seeks to ‘transplante [its] progenie, and offspring into place unenhabited, and to enjoye the commodities of eche others countrie, by mutuall trafficque’, which uses cattle and horses for farming and which has the technology to work metals. The members of such a society wear handsome apparel and speak with ‘finesse’; they will also have ‘more calmenesse, the fare more deintie, the Buidlyng more gorgeous’ and be ‘over all ... milder and wittier’.⁴ Boemus’s conception of civility in this last sense is consonant with the emphasis upon gentle and accommodating manners in the courtesy books of the period, which aim to create individuals who can engage in ‘conversation’ – meaning both social and commercial exchange – in the ‘market’ of the world.⁵ Such individuals are usually conceived of as citizens rather than as deferential subjects. In many courtesy books, civil and civic ideologies are interwoven in a way which draws upon the political meaning of Latin *civilitas*, which applied to citizens and was ‘usually understood as the “art of government” or “politics”’.⁶ As Markku Peltonen has argued, there is ‘substantial evidence for arguing that humanist and republican categories were used to express the civic nature of urban politics and to defend the self-government of local communities’, and that one source for these was the genre of the courtesy book. English readers of George Pettie’s 1581 translation of Stefano Guazzo’s *Civile Conversation* could discover in its pages a defence of ‘the importance of public debate, for “Commonweales, Cities, yea, small Townes”’.⁷

It is also difficult to appreciate ‘Renaissance’ ideas of civility, however, because the concept is understood by many students of the ‘early modern’ to be implicated in the origins of a repressive modernizing process. The label ‘early modern’, as Douglas Bruster notes, differs from the prestigious, value-laden ‘Renaissance’ in a distinctive way; it ‘points back in time with one finger while three others aim squarely at the here and now’.⁸ This label was in circulation among some historians in the 1960s, for whom it represented a range of economic and social experiences deemed distinctly ‘modern’: population growth, urbanization, trade and commerce. The social historian Mervyn James went one step further, to describe a shift that took place under the Tudors from a feudal (medieval) to a civil (modern) society. This is a transition, he argues, from a cultural system of lineage, hospitality, fealty and strong communal ties to a nation state of private and possessive individuals and centralized government.⁹ The widespread adoption of the label by literary critics since the 1980s has added yet another dimension to this apprehension of early modernity: the discovery in the period of a burgeoning consciousness of nation and race, changing sex roles, and intensified forms of self-fashioning.

The shift in terminology has important implications for the debate about civility and associated terms. The term 'Renaissance' is 'not so much a historical *period*', writes Lorna Hutson, 'as it is a statement of belief in the civilizing power of certain forms of culture, specifically literature and the fine arts'.¹⁰ The re-titling of the 'Renaissance' as the 'early modern' has made possible sceptical evaluation of this 'belief'. For example, in the 1960s, Spenserian critics accepted the promise of the courtesy books to inculcate civilized values. In 'The Legend of Courtesy', Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*, wrote Donald Cheney in 1966, 'courtesy' is portrayed 'as the principal motive in man's collective efforts toward civilization, the expression on the social plane of man's awareness of his own "humanity" and of the dignity and responsibility which that awareness entails'.¹¹ From the 1980s, though, civilizing processes could be seen for what they often are: acts of aggressive conquest and colonization against peoples stigmatized as uncivilized, and/or attempts to regulate and subjugate groups and individuals within the bounds of a civil society. In his study of 'The Legend of Temperance', Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, Stephen Greenblatt discovers a homology between the advocacy of civil conduct and the violence of English colonial forces in Ireland. Spenser, he argues, discovers in the courtesy tradition a discourse which promotes psychic and moral repression. This helped to justify (and to disguise) the violence required to establish a civil self and a national identity.¹² This sceptical turn was supported by revised readings of the courtesy books, in particular, Daniel Javitch's portrayal of the 'courtier' as suppliant and, later, Frank Whigham's conception of courtesy as a vendible skill.¹³ However, Greenblatt's suspicion of civility is also influenced by an earlier key text, Norbert Elias's remarkable account of *The Civilizing Process* (1939), which sought, among others things, to unravel Enlightenment confidence in the progress of history.

Elias's study explores the relationship between the rise of civility and state-formation from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, the period he views as proto-modern. In contrast to medieval courtesy books, he argues, their sixteenth-century counterparts signal an increase in thresholds of embarrassment and self-surveillance which grew out of, and enabled, the centralization of government. This change is represented in their different manner of correcting apparently anti-social behavior. In Giovanni della Casa's courtesy book *Galateo* (1558) a kindly bishop uses an intermediary (Galateo) to advise a visiting nobleman of a fault of which he is unaware: that when eating he makes 'certaine straunge noyes, unpleasaunt to all men that heare it'.¹⁴ This gracious advice, Elias explains,

shows, above all, how the pressure people now exert on one another in this direction has increased. It is immediately apparent that this polite, extremely gentle, and comparatively considerate way of correcting is, particularly when exercised by a social superior, much more compelling

as a means of social control, much more effective in inculcating lasting habits, than insults, mockery, or any threat of outward physical violence.

Books such as *Galateo* are the 'direct instruments' of a newly centralized society; they facilitate the 'adaptation of the individual to those modes of behaviour which the structure and situation of his society make necessary'.¹⁵

The Civilizing Process was finished while Elias was in exile in the early years of the Second World War. The dating of this book matters; the two World Wars led of course to a drastic dissolution of faith in the idea of Western civilization. Elias's argument, however, is also influenced by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critique of the Enlightenment tradition. His study draws upon the work of another German-speaking, Jewish exile, Sigmund Freud. Elias uses much of the language of Freudian psychoanalysis – ego, super-ego, drives, libido, unconscious, repression – to assert the psychological dynamics of the civilizing process which develops internal control mechanisms.¹⁶ He adapts the argument of Freud in *Civilization and its Discontents* that 'men are not gentle creatures who want to be loved' but, on the contrary, are 'creatures among whose instinctual endowments is to be reckoned a powerful share of aggressiveness'. In this essay Freud is explicitly overturning an idea drawn from the philosophical writings of the ancient 'civilizations' which inspired much Enlightenment thinking: that men are instinctively social. The argument of the Roman orator and philosopher Cicero in *De officiis* (On Obligations) is that a 'civilized' society depends on a network of intimate relations between (in descending order) compatriots, citizens, neighbours, friends, and families.¹⁷ In contrast, in Freud's bleak account, a neighbour is 'not only a potential helper or sexual object, but also someone who tempts them to satisfy their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without compensation, to use him sexually without consent. ... *Homo homini lupus* [man is a wolf to man]'.¹⁸

For Elias the civilizing process implies 'advancing integration, increased differentiation of social functions and interdependence, and the formation of ever-larger units of integration on whose fortunes and movements the individual depends'.¹⁹ Civilization and modernization are part of the same movement, as others have also argued.²⁰ Nonetheless, this kind of critique is problematic. It does not untangle adequately the dualism of these terms or their cognates. Just as the adjective 'civil' depends for its definition on its antithesis, 'uncivil', so the adjective 'modern' presupposes its antithesis, the 'pre-modern'. 'Modernity' structures a dualistic view of history, of 'now' and 'then', a view which can tend to confirm deep-rooted cultural prejudices.²¹ Many early modern critics inherit from the sixteenth-century humanists the view of the 'medieval' period as culturally barbarous.

Indeed, as Andrew Hadfield notes, the term 'early modern' makes unacknowledged use of 'an Enlightenment faith in the progress of European civilisation, of the growing maturity of Western society emerging from the Dark Ages'.²²

The problem does not disappear when we reverse the value judgment made about the civilizing process. Thus, Elias's critique of this progression implies the existence of a pre-modern society in which individuals were less inhibited, less controlled, and more intimately interconnected. Such nostalgia reinforces the opposition between the civil and the uncivil and it can serve the debate about civilization and modernization in other, less helpful, ways. Harold Nicolson's *Good Behaviour* (1955) is a rose-tinted defence of the traditional civility of the English gentleman, the public schoolboy and other 'minorities', which nurtures individualism and eccentricity in the face of the advancing uniformity threatened by welfare and educational reform: the modernizing projects of the Labour Party and the Trade Union movement in post-war Britain. 'Even if we British lose our aristocratic tradition', writes Nicolson bravely, 'even if we forget all about the public school manner, even if basketball supplements cricket as a national game, there will always be those who take an interest in the subtleties of human relationships'.²³

It is not enough, then, simply to expose the incivility of any so-called civilizing process. Such an approach, I would suggest, runs the risk of reinforcing the myth of civility because it fails to question a stadial conception of history. It leaves unquestioned the very idea of the transition to modernity that lies at its heart.²⁴ In general, incivility is equated with a nomadic lifestyle or a violent society outwith the rule of law, while civility implies a more developed (or orderly) social organization. The emphasis on advancement from a simple, archaic society to a dynamic and complex one informs the discussion of civility in many early modern texts. For example, Boemus advises that his reader will 'learne to discerne, how men have in these daies amended the rude simplicitie of the first worlde, from Adam to the floude and many yeres after'. However, so, too, does an emphasis on decline. Thus, Boemus's description of civil society is also tinged with nostalgia for those uncivil – that is, freer, simpler and less constraining – societies which existed 'without knowlege of Money, or what coigne ment, or Merchauntes trade', which had 'no maner of exchange, but one good tourne for another. When ... lande and water ware as commune to al, as Ayer and Skie', and whose members 'gaped not for honour, ne hunted after the richesse, but eche man contented with a litle, passed his daies in the wilde fielde' (sigs. A1v–A2r). This sense of decline derives from ancient historians of Roman civilization. Tacitus recognizes the freedom enjoyed by the northern European tribes he castigates as uncivilized, unsettling his critique of barbarism.²⁵ It is carried over to eighteenth-century debates about the progress of the Enlightenment as well as to more recent debates about

'modernization'. In his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), Adam Ferguson laments the decline of masculinity and the concomitant rise of a bureaucratic elite in the eighteenth century. Perfecting humanity, he complains, has meant 'plac[ing] every branch of administration behind the counter, and com[ing] to employ, instead of the statesman and warrior, the mere clerk and accountant'.²⁶

In countering this myth, then, it is important to attempt to move beyond the polarities of the modern and the pre-modern, the civil and the uncivil. Such an attempt was made in some 'Enlightenment' writing; this is sometimes recognized, sometimes ignored, in deconstructive critical readings. Thus, Paul de Man sees what Jacques Derrida does not: that the key Enlightenment thinker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, describes the progress of history as simultaneously progressive and regressive.²⁷ The double movement that Paul de Man discovers in Rousseau is also an aspect of some recent post-modern contributions to cultural studies. It is integral to John Frow's conception of history as repetition. Frow describes the 'continuous shifts' and 'partial continuities running through multiple strands of time'. He does not reject periodization: the past is different from the present. Nor does he deny the 'intense' changes that have taken place over several centuries. 'But such changes', he argues, 'do not consolidate into the vast binary opposition through which "modernity" is defined as an essential tranche of historical time'.²⁸ For example, the economic shift from an archaic gift to a modern market economy is repeated over and over again: in ancient Athens, in sixteenth-century Europe, as well as in the 'modern' world.²⁹ It is also integral to Homi K. Bhabha's insight that civility can mean one thing at 'home' and something else in imperial India, an insight that explains the contradictory identity of the colonial governor as both "'father and the oppressor ... just and unjust"'.³⁰ Its 'doubleness', Bhabha argues, 'is not simply the violence of one powerful nation writing out the history of another' according to an ideology of 'civil progress'; it also 'puts on trial the very discourse of civility within which representative government claims its liberty and empire its ethics' (pp. 95–6). What these different approaches share is a commitment to the critique of discourses which are defined by antitheses – modern/pre-modern, civil/uncivil, civilized/uncivilized – but in such a way as not to reproduce them. They perform a kind of critical doubleness, keeping faith with the discourses of modernity and civility (or rather, the promise of change they carry) even as they deconstruct them.

These interpretations offer a promising starting point for the study of early modern civil discourses. It is important to recognize that civility is often duplicitous. Civil speech can be directed by a master or husband towards his servants or wife in place of force so as to win their goodwill: as the Roman orator Cicero admitted, the 'function' of the civil virtues is 'to win the hearts of men, and to attach them to one's own service'.³¹

Meanwhile, a government can represent itself as ‘civilizing’ in order to justify an act of aggression against a reputedly ‘barbarian’ Other.³² However, civility must also be conceived as double; it embraces a set of terms and ideas that could be used both to deny *and* to confront social ‘injustice’ in its many forms. In the early modern period civility can be seen in some contexts to entail the subjection of both the self and the ‘Other’; elsewhere, it can underpin social and political opposition.³³ Thus, Michael Schoenfeldt shows us how a misconception of classical temperance – a defining virtue of civility – has skewed recent discussions of the politics of self-discipline. In early modern discourse it is ‘self-control that authorizes individuality’. Temperance ‘is about how to fortify a self, not police a state. Its focus is a regime of self-discipline which an earlier culture imagined as a necessary step towards any prospect of liberation’.³⁴ This is a moral discourse which can be aimed equally at arrogant and unruly aristocrats or monarchs as well as indigenous peoples or women.³⁵ It could also be used to manage elite masculinity. The accommodating manners advised in Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* offer to temper the hubristic manliness of prince and courtier alike, not to perform the effeminizing act of submission to a despotic lord that so many early modern critics have regretted.³⁶ We may not recognize or use this civil vocabulary of temperance any more, but we do need to understand how it might offer a critical tool, and also, that its deployment and exploration were often permeated with a sense of the ambiguities, contradictions and possibilities of ‘early’ modernity.

If a male aristocrat can become the unexpected object of a civil discourse, then who can be its subject? Books on civil conduct are invariably regarded as anticipating an aristocratic male audience. Even Frank Whigham, who describes their strategic reading by upstarts in the sixteenth century, believes that these books were originally intended to protect the privileges of an established nobility.³⁷ Yet, as Jonathan Barry reminds us, ‘civility’ is not owned exclusively by the aristocracy. He notes the paradox of the courtesy books, that the manners they recommend are ‘in many cases, those practised by servants and tradesmen, as well as other inferiors, in their dealings with their masters, customers, and superiors’. He also explores the acquisition of civility by the quite different social group of urban freemen in the early seventeenth century through the experience of associational life.³⁸ Many courtesy books in turn reveal a fascinating uncertainty about who can or cannot be ‘civil’, and in so doing, provide the opportunity to interrogate terms of social definition: ‘gentle’, ‘noble’, ‘base’. Some books, like James Cleland’s *Institution of a Noble Man* (1607), take an uncompromising stand on the issue of social rank. A nobleman, he argues, should ‘put a distinction between [his] discourses and a Scythians, a Barbarians, or a Gothes. For it is a pitty when a Nobleman is better distinguished from a clown by his golden laces, then by his good language’.³⁹ In contrast, the

English translation of Stefano Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* extends civility to 'yeomen', a term that applied to men who 'leased or rented land for a fixed sum' as well as to landowners.⁴⁰ Guazzo also recognizes the capacity for civil speech among artisans: 'you shall see artificers, and others of low estate to apply fitly to their purpose in due time and place, Sentences, pleasant Jestes, Fables, Allegories, Similitudes, Proverbs, Comptes, and other delightfull speache'.⁴¹

Civility is often seen as the 'social attribute' of men, as Sara Mendelson notes. This is because the courtesy books are invariably directed at a male readership. Yet, if we study a broader range of sources, she adds, 'the terms "civil" and "civility" and their synonyms crop up in a diversity of female contexts': at the Caroline court and in noble households, but also in the court depositions of 'plebeian' women.⁴² (This is an invitation that is taken up by several contributors to this collection.) We should not forget, though, that women are also attributed a key role in the cultivation of civil communities in many courtesy books.⁴³ Guazzo's consideration of women in *Civile Conversation* is often uncertain and contradictory. Book 3 describes the civility of wives as depending on the virtues of silence, chastity and obedience. In this context, conversation between men and women carries the connotation of sexual intercourse (Book 2, p. 234). Book 4, however, dramatizes a lively and flirtatious dialogue between a party of aristocratic men and women which recalls the argument articulated in Book 2: that women civilize men by engaging with them in light-hearted conversation (Book 2, p. 235–6). Anxiety about the role of women as civilizing agents propels the plots of many Elizabethan prose fictions. In Robert Greene's *Pandosto. The Triumph of Time* (1588), a source for Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, the 'honest familiarity' of its 'flower of courtesy', Pandosto's queen Bellaria, which she directs at her husband's childhood friend, is also the source of his sexual jealousy.⁴⁴ Greene catches for his male readers the ambivalence of Guazzo's manual which worries about what conversation between men and women 'really' means, even as it recognizes its civilizing action. Other writers, though, discreetly acknowledge the dangers of excluding women from civil conversation. In John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) Eve's exclusion from the sociable exchange between Raphael and Adam carries attendant difficulties. In contrast to the banquet scene in *Civile Conversation*, there is no female interlocutor present at this Edenic meal to check the shared chauvinism of the masculine angel and Adam, with the result that the assumption of man's natural superiority leading up to the fall remains dangerously unchallenged.⁴⁵

Debates about social rank and gender cut across the discussion of civility in unexpected ways, but so, too, does the debate about national identity and cultural otherness. In the early modern period, the uncertain civility of the English is often defined against the barbarousness of an Other. However, the adjectives 'civil' and 'barbarous' did not have a fixed

affiliation. They were as interchangeable then as now. Many writers discovered incivility within their own nation, and civility outwith its boundaries. For example, the most impressive examples of civility in *A Fardle of Facions* are to be found in India (sigs. K8r–M5r). Many travellers and colonial adventurers applied the adjective ‘barbarous’ with a casual ease; however, others, most famously Michel de Montaigne, interrogate the term with calculated scepticism.⁴⁶ Bartolomé de Las Casas countered the ‘crude ethnology’ of some of his countrymen which had contributed to ‘a rigid natural distinction between the civilised Spaniard and the barbarian other’, the native peoples of the New World. As Brian Cummings argues, Las Casas insisted that the ‘term “barbarian” is a function of an accumulated culture rather than inherited nature’.⁴⁷

English writers were also quick to apply to the American Indians the stereotype of the European Wild Man. Thus, one promoter of the Virginia Company, writes Karen Kupperman, described America as ‘“inhabited with wild and savage people, that live and lie up and downe in troupes like heards of Deare in a Forrest”’. Yet, she adds, ‘no one who actually came to America and described personal experience ever projected such an image’; ‘eyewitnesses all agreed that the Indians passed, that they lived in civil society’.⁴⁸ One such eyewitness was Roger Williams, a radical puritan and New England colonist who lived among and traded with the Narragansett. His study of their language, conversation and culture, *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), is ostensibly a tool to ‘spread *civilitie*’ and ‘*Christianitie*’ among them but, in fact, it offers commentary on the incivility of European Christians.⁴⁹ His belief that ‘no true churches existed in the world’ explains his actual reluctance to minister the church in New England and to convert the Indians; it also informs his disassociation of Christianity and civilization in the *Key*.⁵⁰ ‘We weare no Cloaths, have many Gods,’ an Indian persona declares in the didactic poem that concludes the chapter ‘Of their Government and Justice’, ‘And yet our sinnes are lesse: / You are Barbarians, Pagans wilde, / Your Land’s the Wildernesse’ (sig. L1r). As several essays in this collection will argue, such reflection on the interchangeability of the terms ‘civil’ and ‘barbarous’, as well as their cynical and ignorant application, is also integral to English writings preoccupied with those cultural others closer to home: the Irish, the Welsh and the Scots.

The essays in this collection address a range of original and translated writings in English and Scots – among them, conduct manuals, colonial tracts, diaries, letters, dialogues, poetry, drama, chronicles – by English, Welsh and Scots men and women in and about the Atlantic archipelago. The period-label of its title, ‘early modern’, is used carefully. It recognizes that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers interested in the *topos* of civility are contributing, as they often see it, to a modernizing process. The

modernity of the period which these essays aim to capture, however, is not conceived as progressive in any simple sense. That is, this collection is not seeking to repeat familiar narratives concerning the formation of the early modern state or British imperialism. On the contrary, several essays explore how historical accounts of epochal transition have simplified our representation of earlier cultural debates: we learn that there was no straightforward shift from a medieval honour culture to one of modern civility, and also that paradigms of modernization can create cultural oppositions – civil and uncivil, rational and irrational, moderate and fanatical – which reproduce those employed by the successful side in any ideological conflict. Our concern is to understand how telling the story of modernization can sometimes obscure those who envisaged different futures, and, thus, avoid enacting what Paul Hamilton describes as the textual colonialism of recent historicist criticism.⁵¹

The genre of the ‘collection’ is ideally suited to promoting dialogue and discovering difference. Accordingly, the ambition of this collection is to convey something of the variety of civil discourses and their interlocutors within the period. We dispute the many meanings of civility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; we recover some of the lost associations of civility (for example, the political import of civil discourses in a civic context or within traditions of religious dissent), and also the complex deliberations on the ascription of the adjectives ‘civil’ and ‘barbarous’ in cultural and colonial encounters. Essays in this collection aim to explore the reversal of these terms in early modern writing; they aim to identify the bad faith of civil discourses *and* their potential integrity and self-reflective usage. In so doing, they recover the historical dimension of the adjective ‘civil’ that makes up one half of that very modern idea of ‘civil society’, and which remains fraught with the traditional problems and possibilities of associational life.⁵²

The collection opens with Cathy Shrank’s examination of the various interrelated meanings of ‘civil’ in Reformation England, which included “‘not barbarous’ and “‘having a proper public or social order in the sense of men dwelling in community’” and “‘civic’ and “‘municipal’ dwelling’. ‘Civil’ is rooted in linguistic performance, she argues; it was also used to describe restrained sexuality, decent apparel and courteous manners (p. 20). The proximity between the terms ‘civil’ and ‘civic’ was exploited by John Stow in his apology for London and by English colonists in Ireland. For example, the qualities of civility Edmund Spenser describes in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* – courtesy, law-abiding and urban-dwelling – are also ‘the characteristics of those living in the “corporate towns’” (p. 24). Shrank is concerned, however, to identify those who are defined as ‘uncivil’: this includes garrulous women, children, the northern English, the ‘boolie-dwellers’ of Ireland, criminals and Catholics. In this way, her argument establishes the double-edged quality of civility, which could be used both

to recommend the values of metropolitan incorporation and self-government and to define others as savage or uncivil.

This uncomfortable doubleness is developed in Helen Moore's essay. The use of controversy to explore ideas of civility, she explains, tends to enact formally a process of control over others: discord between speakers is resolved in the course of a civil conversation, usually in such a way as to invite the 'silent submission' of junior interlocutors to an orthodox viewpoint. However, debates about civility also link to the *querelle des femmes*: to the defence of the virtuous equality of men and women. The second important contribution of Moore's essay is to show how ideas of civility are implicated in the debate about ethics and politics. This insight enables her to question the commonplace opposition between the classical orator and Italian courtier – an opposition which has often been used wrongly to characterize the courtesy books as apolitical. It also enables her to introduce an idea missing in recent critical debate about civility and morality: the importance of good government in the household. With reference to Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (1582) Moore draws attention to the overlap in the early modern period between the discourses of civility and companionate marriage. She explores the debates about manners within marriage so as to consider why gender relations tend to be 'legislated alongside the values and norms of civil behaviour' (p. 41). Finally, she examines the interplay between marriage and civility in the political debates of the 1580s, and the representation of Elizabeth as a marriagable commodity.

Markku Peltonen explores the interrelationship between duelling and civility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The commonplace that this period saw a shift from a feudal culture of honour, lineage and locality to a civil society has been modified in recent years to make way for a 'multi-vocal' model of change. However, there still persists the view that duelling is a remnant of the older system. Yet, Peltonen observes, courtesy writers saw duelling as integral to the culture of civility inherited from the Italians. These writers invariably disseminate the importance of being pleasing to all men and emphasize assent rather than argument. However, if gentle words and manners are so important, then so is the converse: the courtesy books imply a culture with a heightened sensitivity to insult. In this essay Peltonen reveals that duelling played an accepted and necessary role in the restoration of civility: it ensured that assent did not become submission. This period, he argues, witnessed the emergence of 'reflexive honour', and not just repressive courtly *politesse*.

Shrank's Reformation authors may have had a narrow view of who counts as civil, and many civil conversationalists, as Peltonen indicates, were aristocratic men. In practice, though, civility is claimed and redefined by a range of others. David Norbrook argues that there is a need to extend civility to other, potentially unruly, interlocutors – here, the 'zealously puritan' Lucy Hutchinson – in order to understand the complex affiliations

of the civil war period (p. 68). The godly faction among the Puritans, he observes, distrusted civility as a royalist attribute. Hutchinson, however, redefines as 'uncivil' those aristocrats dependent on the private interests of the monarchy, clergymen insistent on maintaining hierarchical structures within the church and the self-interested members of Puritan, urban elites. Hutchinson's conception of 'civility' encompassed civic republicanism and the vituperative language of a woman writer. The subtle deliberation on the relationship between civility and godliness even influences Hutchinson's conception of her relationship with her husband: on the topic of wifely civility she preferred 'compliance' to 'obedience'.

Civility could also belong to the 'fanatical' men and women of the dissenting tradition in the Restoration, argues Sharon Achinstein. The civil war left an enduring sense of an urgent need to address the problem of civility, which was figured as a contest between fanaticism and cultural advance. Achinstein explores how the concept of civility, both in its qualitative senses (civic virtue, politeness and courtesy) as well as its structural meaning (the civil sphere, as opposed to the religious or domestic sphere) mediated the changes in radicalism through the period. In so doing, she modifies Max Weber's account of the secularization of the Renaissance which has tended to 'mask contests of power' in the period (p. 86). Her essay explores the different ideas of civility in the writings of the middle-class dissenter Mary Mollineux and of Anglican antagonists, John Dryden and Samuel Butler. She exposes the politically-motivated denigration of the uncivil prophet by Dryden, and she discovers in Mollineux a model of civil virtue as modesty, simplicity, and godliness. For Mollineux the commitment to civil conduct and violent apocalyptic change could co-exist in fruitful negotiation.

The essays in the second half of this collection explore the civility of national identities; they also consider how the ascription of civility and barbarism is troubled and not just eased by national self-consciousness. We start with Neil Rhodes's study of the civilizing of that 'barbarous' English national, William Shakespeare. His essay emphasizes the interchangeability of the concepts of barbarism and civilization for the Elizabethans. English denunciation of the 'savage' Irish, observes Rhodes, was complicated by the fact that some of these 'barbarians' were able to speak Latin – the language of a civilized antiquity – with the same facility as their mother tongue. It was convenient for the English to define themselves against barbarians as they began to forge their national identity. Yet, it is important to remember, too, that when they self-consciously inspected their own civility and cultural status, they found themselves sadly wanting. Rhodes explores how, in the 1570s and 1580s, English was increasingly recognized as a suitable vehicle for poetry and eloquence, qualities which were seen to guarantee the nation's civility. Early attempts to 'civilize' English involved discussion about whether it could accommodate classical quantitative meters. This

involved a conflict between the weight of classical authority and a new nationalistic self-confidence, and between a humanist grammar school pedagogy and the demotic cultural traditions of the public theatre. From this contention emerged the plays *Titus Andronicus* and *The Tempest*, both of which contribute to the reassignment of civility and barbarism as cultural categories.

English representation of the Irish as barbarous, as Rhodes reminds us, is commonplace. A fruitful source for such representations in this period, unsurprisingly, is colonial literature. The colonial experience, however, could also offer an occasion to reflect on the barbarity of contemporary English and ancient Roman civilizing processes. Thus, Andrew Hadfield argues that a shift in political ideology in the late sixteenth century encouraged more considered reflections on the process of colonization. A fascination with the Roman historian Tacitus underpinned arguments in favour of setting up colonies. Those in favour of settlement often drew upon Tacitus to support the notion that the Irish were at a similar stage as the Britons, when the Romans conquered their island. However, interest in Tacitus also created a different kind of historiography which impacted on the representation of other cultures. The employment of a comparative, dispassionate method of historical and political analysis inspired by Tacitus, Hadfield suggests, led to a questioning of assumptions of civilized superiority and opened the way for more balanced approaches to historical examples.

The impact of Tacitus on debates about colonization is developed in Thomas Healy's essay. Tacitus's writings are seen as enabling the 'barbarian' English to oppose their own traditions of liberty with continental tyranny, but also as underpinning the critique of the emasculated civility of the Elizabethan court. Healy explores the difficult dialectic between civility and incivility in two plays performed in London in the late sixteenth century. In *Sir John Oldcastle*, the presence of a murderous Irish servant does not simply confirm English prejudices. On the contrary, the emphasis here is on the dangerous and deceiving forces undermining England's civil order from within. Equally, the action portrayed in the domestic tragedy *A Warning for Fair Women* (1599) resists the stereotyping which its morality structure seems to accept. The signs of civil London, embodied in its system of commercial proprieties and its prosperity, are witnessed as signs of incivility and over-consumption. These plays, Healy argues, demonstrate the existence of a thriving debate about whether a different civil order exists on the English side of the Irish sea.

Dermot Cavanagh's essay is also concerned with a perceived increase in national consciousness during the early modern period, and how this is predicated on the designation of others as barbarous. Yet, as the above essays demonstrate, many treatises which exhibit a national self-consciousness also offered more complicated accounts of identity: writers might find incivility within their national boundaries and civility

without. Cavanagh contributes to this debate with an analysis of the historical reputation of James IV on both sides of the border. He argues that the attribution of the terms civil and uncivil along national lines was as likely to be unsettled as confirmed 'when the sensitive relationship between monarchy and nationhood' was taken into account (p. 146). The fate of James IV reminded many Scottish humanists that key political and ethical values could be destroyed by international conflict and corrupted by apparently 'heroic' forms of kingship. In England, James IV's complex identity – an enemy of the Tudor dynasty and a member of it (by marriage) – helped provoke some equally acute reflections on his similarity to the 'civilizing' power that vanquished him. Both England and Scotland could produce histories where civility was not necessarily preserved within national boundaries or embodied in national icons. Indeed, the concept of civility was used as a medium to enable national self-criticism and a sceptical attitude to monarchical conduct.

The Welsh hold an ambivalent position in relation to civility for their English neighbours; they were often represented by them as rude and uncivil in the same terms used for the Irish or Native Americans. Yet, argues Kate Chedgzoy, there is plentiful evidence to indicate the existence of a thriving civil culture among the rural gentry of seventeenth-century Wales, and moreover, an ambivalent recognition of this fact in some English representations. Chedgzoy explores the distinctive bilingual (and multilingual) culture of sociability within Welsh gentry communities, paying particular attention to the contribution and experience of women family members. Their civility depended on a network of intimate community relationships and the valorization of the Welsh language. Chedgzoy aims to unravel the intersection between gender, civility and the representation of national identities. She explores, first, the double representation of Welsh women as barbaric and civil in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part One*. Secondly, she examines the family letters of one Welshwoman, Ann Wen Brynkir of Clennenau, to examine the interrelationship between rural and metropolitan, domestic and public, sociability in action. Examples such as this raise the possibility that gender, sexual and political relations were organized differently in Wales; they also indicate a need to be sensitive to the experience and practice of civility by women outwith the prescriptive conduct literature of the period

The collection concludes with Robert White's consideration of how an act of barbarity in the French civil wars – the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day in 1572 – influenced the debate about civility in the following centuries. The papacy and Catholic countries mythologized the slaughter of Huguenots as part of a holy war condoned by God. Meanwhile the Protestant world, unsurprisingly, recoiled in horror at this barbarism, representing it as a martyrdom of innocents that violated all civilized values. White traces the cultural reception of this traumatic event from its perpetration to the twentieth century,

placing it in a perspective that raises questions about how we can address the violent breach of norms of civility. The Massacre is inscribed in literary and cultural discourse as an act which radically undermined the stable values which should underpin a civil society. White explores literary allusions in Elizabethan drama, especially in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre of Paris* and Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*. He considers how this interplay between civil form and uncivil content is registered in the breach of dramatic decorum at the end of the latter play; he also explains why the terms 'civil' and 'barbarous' remain essential to our political and legal vocabulary.

The essays in this collection aim to convey something of the complex usage of the word 'civil' and its cognate terms and concepts in the early modern period. They also propose to complicate and enrich modern critical understanding of this terminology especially when it is used to define the distinctiveness of the period and its status as one of epochal transition. More broadly, this collection aims to explore how the core political and ethical vocabularies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were open to a constant process of negotiation; this expresses how key elements of social and historical change are reflected and embedded in language. Such an enquiry helps to recover the depth and range of the period's critical debate about cultural encounters, gender relationships, authority and its responsibilities, sociability, and politeness. Another aspect of this is a greater sensitivity to the way in which 'keywords', and the complex structure of values they represent, define, exceed and question period-boundaries. Perhaps in this way, the essays in the collection can contribute to dialogue between literary critics and historians working on the 'long' early modern period; for such a dialogue can help us to understand not only the particular 'modernity' of different periods, but also how debate about the form of social and political life can continue across generations, even though terminology may change.

Notes

1. J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History. Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 48–9
2. *Ibid.*, p. 105. For recent studies which explore the complexity of early modern communities see Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester University Press, 2000), Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) and Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
3. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 47–8.
4. Johann Boemus, *The Fardle of Facions*, trans. William Waterman (London, 1555), sig. A3r. For discussion of Boemus see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in*

the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania State Press, 1964), pp. 131–43.

5. On the double meaning of 'conversation' in this period see Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, chap. 5 'The Sociability of Credit and Commerce'. See also Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap 4.
6. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 49.
7. Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 57. Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, trans. George Pettie (1581) and Bartholomew Young (1586), ed. Edward Sullivan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf; London: Constable and Co. Ltd, 1925), book I, p. 42.
8. Douglas Bruster, 'Shakespeare and the End of History: Period as Brand Name', in *Shakespeare and Modernity: Early Modern to Millennium*, ed. Hugh Grady (London: Routledge, 2000), 168–88, p. 176.
9. Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region 1500–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). For a study of civility in terms of such shifts see also Marvin B. Becker, *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300–1600* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) and *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994). See also C. Dallett Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860* (Oxford University Press, 1999) for a study of the development of manners in America conceived as a three-stage historical process.
10. Lorna Hutson, ed., *Feminism and Renaissance Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 1.
11. Donald Cheney, *Spenser's Image of Nature: Wild Man and Shepherd in 'The Faerie Queene'* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 177.
12. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (rev. edn., Chicago University Press, 1984), chap. 4.
13. Daniel Javitch, *Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England* (Princeton University Press, 1978); Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
14. *Galateo of Maister John Della Casa*, trans. Robert Peterson (London, 1576), sig. C2v.
15. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephott (rev. edn., Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 65, 67.
16. See Stephen Mennell, *Norbert Elias: Civilization and the Human Self-Image* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), esp. p. 100.
17. Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (London: William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 1. 53–5.
18. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. Joan Riviere, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1982), p. 48. For a fascinating study of the critique of civility and politeness by Freud and other Jewish intellectuals in relation to the nineteenth-century 'Western' assimilation of middle class Eastern European Jewish communities see John Murray Cuddihy, *The Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Lévi-Strauss, and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).
19. Elias, *Civilizing Process*, p. 332.

20. Most notably Michel Foucault who traces the evolution of modern techniques for diagnosing and treating the disease of civilization, madness. See *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967).
21. John Frow, *Time and Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 1.
22. Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 15.
23. Harold Nicolson, *Good Behaviour, being a Study of Certain Types of Civility* (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1955), pp. 283–4.
24. For an account of this myth see Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1. 2. (Cicero's account is discussed by Cathy Shrank in this collection, p. 19).
25. For discussion of Tacitus see Debora Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians', *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 494–525, esp. pp. 499–501.
26. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), p. 225, cited in Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Society*, p. 107.
27. 'Rhetoric of Blindness: Jacques Derrida's Reading of Rousseau' in Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism*, introd. Wlad Godzich (rev. edn., London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 120–1.
28. Frow, *Time and Commodity Culture*, p. 3.
29. *Ibid.*, chap. 3, 'Gift and Commodity'.
30. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), chap. 5 'Sly Civility', esp. pp. 95–6; citing T. B. Macauley, 'Warren Hastings', *Critical and Historical Essays* vol. III (London: Methuen, 1903), pp. 85–6.
31. Cicero, *De officiis*, 2. 17. For discussion of this aspect of civility see Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994), chap. 1.
32. For a helpful study of civility and colonial expansion in North America see Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585–1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
33. The value of this kind of dialectical reading of the 'civilizing process' is exemplified in Gerald M. Sider's critique of Antonio Gramsci in 'The Ties that Bind: Culture and Agriculture, Property and Propriety in the Newfoundland Village Fishery', *Social History* 5 (1980), 1–39.
34. Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 11.
35. See Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians'.
36. See Jennifer Richards, '"A wanton trade of living"? Rhetoric, Effeminacy and the Early Modern Courtier', *Criticism* 42 (2000), 185–206.
37. Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege*, p. 18.
38. Jonathan Barry, 'Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: the Meanings of Urban Freedom', in eds Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack, *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 181–96, p. 181.
39. James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1612 edition), ed. Max Molyneaux (New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1948), pp. 169, 192, 186.
40. Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts* (rev. edn., London: The Merlin Press Ltd, 1960), p. 24.

41. Guazzo, *Civile Conversation*, Book 2, p. 136.
42. Sara Mendelson, 'The Civility of Women in Seventeenth-Century England' in Burke, Harrison, Slack, eds, *Civil Histories*, 111–25, esp. pp. 111–12.
43. See Helen Hackett, 'Courtly Writing by Women', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 169–89, who notes that the inclusion of women is usually overlooked by modern commentators, p. 169.
44. Robert Greene, *Pandosto. The Triumph of Time* in ed. Paul Salzman, *An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose Fiction* (Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 157–8. On the representation of women in the courtesy books see Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth-Century Women's Lyrics' in eds Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Ideology of Conduct and the History of Sexuality* (Methuen: New York, 1987), 39–72.
45. In book 8 Adam and Raphael fail to understand the implications of their initial debate about the shifting hierarchy of the planets ('What if the sun / Be centre to the world ...?' (book 8, lines 122–178)) in the later discussion of Adam's relationship with Eve (book 8, lines 530–594), John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (rev. edn., London: Longman, 1998).
46. Michel de Montaigne, 'On the Cannibals', *The Complete Essays*, trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (rev. edn., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 228–41.
47. Brian Cummings, 'Animal Passions and Human Sciences: Shame, Blushing and Nakedness in Early Modern Europe and the New World' in eds Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, Susan Wiseman, *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 26–50, p. 43.
48. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 78; citing Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (1609) in *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, collected by Peter Force, 4 vols. (rev. edn., Washington D.C., 1963), I. II.
49. See W. Clark Gilpin, *The Millenarian Piety of Roger Williams* (Chicago University Press, 1979), pp. 121–5.
50. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America or, An Help for the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England. Together, with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worships etc.* (London, 1643), sig. A3r.
51. Paul Hamilton, *Historicism* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 153.
52. On the history of this term and its meaning for Locke, Smith, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Marx see Adam B. Seligman, 'Civil Society as Idea and Ideal' in eds Simone Chambers and Will Kymlicka, *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society* (Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 13–33.

1

Civil Tongues: Language, Law and Reformation

Cathy Shrank

Al thinges waxed savage, the earth untilled, societye neglected, Goddes will not knowen, man againste manne, one agaynste another, and all agaynste order. Some lived by spoyle: some like brute beastes grased upon the ground: some went naked: some roomed like Woodoses: none did any thing by reason, but most did what they could by manhood. None almost considered the everliving GOD, but all lived most commonly after their owne lust. [...] None remembred the true observation of wedlocke, none tendered the education of their children: Lawes were not regarded: true dealing was not once used. For vertue, vice bar place: for right and equitie, might used authoritie. [...] Therefore even nowe when man was thus paste all hope of amendmente, God still tendering his owne workemanship, stirred up his faythfull and elect, to perswade with reason, all men to societye. And gave his appoynted ministers knowledge bothe to see the natures of men, and also graunted them the gift of utteraunce, that they myghte wyth ease wyne folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order.¹

There is a passage in the opening pages of Cicero's *De inventione* – a standard sixteenth-century textbook – where he describes the origins of civilized societies, the development of which he attributes entirely to the role of language.² According to Cicero, it is 'through reason and eloquence' ['rationem atque orationem'] that men are 'transformed from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk' ['ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos'].³ This essay examines the inheritance of this Ciceronian link between language, reason and civil living by sixteenth-century writers, arguing that there is a recurrent link between disorderly, disobedient or 'deviant' behaviour and incomprehensible or redundant speech.

Among the many authors influenced by Cicero was Thomas Wilson, who recycled Cicero's aetiological fable in the preface to his *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553/54), one of the first manuals of English rhetoric. According

to Wilson, following Cicero (in the epitaph to this essay), it is the 'gift of utteraunce' which is used 'to perswade all men to societie'.⁴ Wilson's narrative can here be used to unpack the complex understanding of the term *civil* in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Civility in this passage is demonstrated by establishing and obeying laws and by subscribing to standards of 'true dealing', where before men 'lived by spoyle' and 'might used authoritie'. Civil order is further demonstrated by restrained sexuality and 'the true observation of wedlocke', and by adopting suitable attire, where before 'some went naked'. Wilson's newly civilized society is also marked by city-dwelling sustained by agriculture as his civil beings 'builde and maintaine cities'. In contrast, their former nomadic lifestyle, when – with 'the earth untilled' – 'some [...] grased upon the ground' and 'roomed like Woodoses', is rendered barbarous: the life of 'brute beastes'. Wilson's preface thus demonstrates the complex values invested in Renaissance conceptions of the multi-faceted term *civil*, the meaning of which ranged from 'not barbarous' and 'having a proper public or social order' to the sense of 'men dwelling together in a community' and, more precisely, to 'civic' or 'municipal' dwelling.⁵ The word *civil* also encompasses expectations of behaviour 'becoming or befitting a citizen': namely, 'tenderi[ng] the education of their children' (which Wilson's savages failed to do); adopting 'decent' apparel; and being 'polite or courteous to others'.⁶ Above all, however, civility relies on eloquent and orderly speech.

G. H. Mair once described Wilson as 'one of a band of grave and dignified scholars, men preoccupied with morality and citizenship as well as the lighter problems of learning and style'.⁷ In this essay, I want to suggest that morality and style are not as distinct as Mair implies. Language was not merely the instrument by which civility was achieved: it was also the sign of civility of itself, the mark by which civility was measured. Orderly language was believed to show an orderly mind, and – in turn – an orderly mind to endorse an orderly society. As Wilson says in his *Rhetorique*, if 'thou lives wickedly, thou speakest naughtely', a stricture that is used to introduce an allusion to the Norfolk rebellion of 1549, a prime instance of 'naughty', or disobedient, behaviour (fol. 108r). In contrast, correctly ordered speech mirrors the 'correct' social order, as – in Wilson's eyes – the order of phrasing adheres to, and upholds, the established social order: 'For who is so foolish as to say, the Counsaile and the King, but rather the King and his Counsaile, the Father and the Sonne?' (fol. 89r). Those who place the woman before the man are also singled out for being socially and linguistically disruptive, as well as contrary to logic and the natural order. As Wilson writes:

Some will set the cart before the horse, as thus. My mother and father are both at home, even as though the good man of the house ware no breaches, or that the graye Mare were a better Horse. And what thoughe it often so happeneth (God wotte the more pitye) yet in speakinge at the

least let us kepe a natural order, and set the manne before the woman for maners sake.

Wilson is often cited for his strictures against 'inkhorn terms'.⁸ Yet this concern for clarity pervades Wilson's *Rhetorique*. If eloquence is necessary to 'perswade [...] all men to society', then it is crucial that the orator be understood. Indistinct or incomprehensible speech, imperfectly pronounced, or deploying inappropriate diction, is more than an aesthetic flaw: it is a dereliction of duty and detrimental to society. The 'distribution', or orderly division of an oration, the 'duetie' of an orator, is thus compared to the duty which subjects owe their prince, or servants owe their masters (fol. 99r).

Wilson was not alone in making this association between style and 'maners'. Extreme examples of this connection between civility and orderly speech are found in *The Arte of English Poesie*, usually ascribed to George Puttenham, and Philip Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*. Both these texts, written in the 1580s, adapt Wilson's Ciceronian theories of rhetoric and apply them to poetry in particular, commending poets (in Sidney's words) for their ability 'to draw with their charming sweetness the wild untamed wits to an admonition of knowledge'.⁹ For Puttenham, who uses Wilson as an authority for his own vernacular versions of Greek or Latin poetic terms, poetry is one of the 'civil arts' and – in his version of the Ciceronian evolution myth – is responsible for bringing 'rude and savage people to a more civill and orderly life'.¹⁰ Tragedy, satire and 'civill and pleasant' comedy perform educative functions, instrumental to the 'reformation' of manners, as satire 'by good admonitions' induces men 'to reforme the evill of their life', and tragedy and comedy aid 'the good amendment of man by discipline and example' (p. 25). It is poets, moreover, who are appointed linguistic role models, and arbiters of correct and refined language, because they are 'men civill and graciously behavoured and bred' (p. 120).

Even outside poetical theorizing, that same link between style and respectability is resolutely present. When Thomas Hobbes excluded the insane (natural fools and madmen) from legal, or civil, processes, he did so on the grounds that they were incapable of understanding the laws that would otherwise bind them. Reliance on linguistic capacity as evidence of the sanity necessary for legal participation can also be found in the fact that, in early modern practice, 'orderly' speech on the deathbed was required proof of a mind sufficiently ordered, or sane, to participate in legal ritual and make a binding will.¹¹ Unruly speech, in other words, is enough to exclude someone from the legal processes on which 'civil' society depended. Irrationality manifests itself in oral delivery. For Wilson, anger is evident, for instance, in 'snarling' speech, 'wherein is declared a brutishnesse, considering he speaketh bytyng wordes, and much without reason, and as uncomly as a dog doth'.¹² The irate speaker is aligned with an

animal: not only does he sound like a beast, but his momentary or habitual loss of reason also brutalizes him, as he loses the reason that distinguishes human from beast.

When Hobbes excluded the insane from legal and civic participation, he also exempted children on the same grounds: that they could not be bound by laws they did not understand. In theory (although not on the pages of *Leviathan*), there is a further group barred, at least officially, from civic participation: namely, women, whose supposedly endemic irrationality is marked by the womb-based etymology of the word *hysteria*, a term that was shifting into the vernacular by the end of the sixteenth century, where the condition was also known as ‘the mother’, another quite obviously gendered word. Like the ‘unreasonable brauler’ who ‘barke[s] like a dog’, both women and children are recurrently marked by defects of speech: children ‘babble’ and ‘whine’; women ‘chatter’ (like magpies) or ‘gabble’ and ‘goe so fast away with their wordes’.¹³ Their uncontrolled speech mirrors their uncontrolled emotions, women, according to Wilson, being – like children – more ‘subject to passions’ and ‘furthe[r] from fortitude of mind’ than men.¹⁴ All these categories would merit further attention; for the remainder of this essay, however, I want to concentrate on three other types of ‘disorderly’ speech which – for Protestant humanists, such as Wilson – designated ‘uncivil’ behaviour, in the sense of behaviour that is both unrefined and inimical to ‘the internal affairs of the body politic’.¹⁵ These three types of speech are regional speech, the speech of criminals and of the ‘papists’ represented by, and castigated in, Protestant polemic.

Throughout the early modern period, London and the southeast increasingly regarded themselves as more civilized than the northern and western regions. This view was even endorsed by some of those who were themselves born outside the metropolis and its environs. As Wilson, Lincolnshire born and bred, decrees:

it is much better to bee borne [...] in London then in Lincolne. For that the ayre is better, the people more civill, and the wealth much greater, and the men for the most parte more wise.¹⁶

John Hart, a sixteenth-century orthographer who sought to standardize English spelling along phonetic lines, strikes a similar note, as does Puttenham. Both writers deem the ‘most perfect’ speech to be that of London and ‘the shires lying about [...] within lx miles’.¹⁷ Hart and Puttenham therefore advise their readers against imitating the speech found ‘in the marches and frontiers’ along the Welsh and Scottish borders, and ‘any uplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rustical and uncivill people’.¹⁸ Puttenham’s prohibitions also single out ‘the far Westerne mans speech’, ‘the termes of Northern’ and ‘any speech used beyond the river of Trent’, which runs just south of

Nottingham, a boundary that effectively cuts the country into the 'civil' south and 'uncivil' north. For Wilson, meanwhile, northern speech borders on the bestial, as they 'barke out English Northren-like, with I say, and thou lad'.¹⁹

In the 1620s, John Ford wrote light-heartedly, with false incredulity, of the 'new and strange' phenomenon of being instructed in eloquence by a west countryman, Henry Cockeram 'of Exeter'.²⁰ As Ford writes in his prefatory poem to Cockeram's *English Dictionarie*:

*Borne in the West? lyve there? so far from Court?
From Oxford, Cambridge, London? yet report
(Now in these daies of Eloquence) such change
Of words? unknown? untaught? [...]*

In the mid-sixteenth century, however, the 'uncivil' speech of England's northern and western regions was no laughing matter, linked as it was with their quite literally uncivil, or rebellious, reputation. Wilson, for one, was writing in the early 1550s, in the aftermath of the Western Rising and Kett's Norfolk rebellion (both in 1549). As a boy in Lincolnshire in 1536, he had also witnessed at first hand the Pilgrimage of Grace, one of the most dangerous revolts of Henry VIII's reign, which enflamed the northern counties. The pages of Wilson's *Rhetorique* are consequently bespattered with references to these recent insurrections, such as 'the rebels of Northfolke' used to demonstrate 'lyke ending', as they behave 'in deede miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause devillishly' (fol. 108r). Through these reminders of the damage and disruption caused by civil strife, and of the punishments incurred by its instigators, Wilson attempts to coerce his readers into obedience, and general disapprobation for northern, western and eastern provinces, their rebelliousness, and their deformed speech.

There is, however, an additional link between civility and city-living. Puttenham's reference to 'poor rusticall and uncivill people', cited earlier, exposes the ready equation between rural and uncivil living, and their antitheses: city-dwelling and civil living. As we saw in relation to Wilson's account of human evolution, civility is marked by the construction and maintaining of cities, a potent connection between building and refinement epitomized by the word *edify*, stemming from the Latin *aedificare*, to build. The etymological proximity of civil and civic (from the Latin *civis*, citizen) provides a rhetorical resource exploited by early modern apologists for London, such as the anonymous author of the 'Apologie' appended to John Stow's 1598 *Survey of London*, where 'Cicero' and 'Etymologie' are used to claim London, not the court, as the site and arbiter of civil behaviour. This ready alliance between civility and city-dwelling is also found in the term 'urbanity', from the Latin root *urbs* (city), used from the early sixteenth century onwards to mean 'the character or quality of

being urbane: courtesy, refinement, or elegance of manner', whilst the *OED* definition for *uncivil* moves seamlessly between 'civic unity' and 'civil well-being'.²¹

The city, then, can be seen to symbolize decorous behaviour. This is especially true in regard to sexuality, which (as mentioned earlier) was felt to be unrestrained in more barbarous times, 'when all lived most commonly after their own lust' and 'none remembered the true observation of wedlocke'.²² In Wilson's terminology, marriage is likened to a civil, and civic, defence: for just as 'a citie is like to fal to ruine, except there be watchmen to defend it with armour', so too the 'assured destruction' of society 'must here nedes folow, except men through the benefite of mariage supplie issue' (fol. 24r). Wilson also notes with approval the Roman practice where only married men could hold public office and thus perform their civic duties (fol. 24r). In contrast, extra-marital sex and its consequences were seen to occur beyond the city walls, in the brothels outside the city limits, as in Southwark, on the south bank of the Thames, or witnessed by the bastards, to quote *Macbeth*, 'ditch-delivered by a drab', and put out to nurse, according to Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, in suburbs like Brentford.²³ When Portia famously talks of dwelling 'in the suburbs' of her husband's pleasure in *Julius Caesar*, it is to call herself a 'harlot', not a lawful wife (2.1. 284–6).

Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) – a text which repeatedly bemoans 'the abuse of language' – is concerned from the outset with reforming the 'wild Irish', 'reducing that nation to better government and civility'.²⁴ Within the text, decorous behaviour, loyalty, lawfulness and urban-dwelling are all interchangeable: the characteristics of those living in the 'corporate towns'. The systematic establishment of corporate towns is even seen as an instrument of civility and – in Ireland's case – of settlement and pacification, since 'nothing doth sooner cause civility in any countrie than many market towns, by reason that people repairing thither for their needs will dayly see and learne manners of the better sort' (p. 156). It is these corporate towns which also stay loyal in times of rebellion. In contrast:

the people that thus live in these boolies, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could do in townes, using what manners they list, and practising what mischiefes and villainies they will, either against the government there [...] or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. (pp. 55–6).

Here we can see a strong association between extra-mural living and incivility: it is as a result of dwelling in the 'boolies', or hill pastures, that the people 'thereby' increase in barbarity. This 'licentious barbarisme' is, moreover, explicitly linked to sexual license and criminal activity against

both the state and private persons, activities enabled by the choice of native Irish garb. Eschewing the 'decent' attire expected of the civil individual, Spenser's lawless rural dwellers are distinguished by the mantle or cloak which allows them to sleep rough, outside the 'civil' environment of the corporate town; enables their thievery and civil disobedience, as identities and stolen goods are concealed beneath its voluminous folds; serves as a 'coverlet for [...] lewde exercise', and 'when she has filled her vessel, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame' (p. 58). Spenser's concept of civility thus combines civic residence, restrained sexuality and non-Irish dress with adherence to 'a proper public or social order' and obedience to the body politic.

Spenser's attitude to the boodie-dwellers of Ireland also shows how regionality, or non-metropolitan living, can shade into accusations of criminality, and Wilson's northern men (their speech distorted by their dog-like 'barking') are also said to show a greater propensity for crime, 'for which they may the sooner be suspected'.²⁵ As an example of a judicial oration, Wilson relates the story of a northern-born soldier accused of murdering 'a worthie Farmer' (fol. 50r). In Wilson's words, the very 'soyle (where he was borne) giveth him to bee an evill man: considering he was bredde and brought up among the denne of Theeves, among the men of Tinsdale & Riddesdale', regions in reiving country along the Scottish border, well beyond Puttenham's civil frontier of the River Trent. Wilson's choice of the northern marches as the location for the accused's upbringing is significant, comprising as they did 'archaic communities', notable for their clan culture and 'introverted regional loyalties' which ran counter to a primary allegiance to king and country.²⁶ As Robert Bowes wrote in 1550, 'the country of North Tynedale [...] is more plenished with wild and misde-meanoured people' who 'stand most by their surnames' (their clans).²⁷ According to Wilson, in these northern reaches, 'pillage is good purchase, and murthering compted manhood'.²⁸ The use of paradiastole, or the art of renaming, of which these northerners are here accused, adds a further element of subversion to their lawlessness. They are not merely breaking the laws of the realm: they are also overwriting them, by changing the meaning of the words which would otherwise condemn them, exemplifying the type of linguistic activity which – as Quentin Skinner has shown – caused considerable concern amongst English Renaissance poets and moralists, who objected to paradiastole on the grounds that it suits the 'disposition' of non-elites 'to confuse the language of vice and virtue to suit their own purposes'.²⁹

These northern reivers thus threaten more than linguistic uniformity: they cut against cultural, social and legal stability. It is therefore notable that Wilson's murderous soldier is not only a native of this area, but that his disloyalty is then compounded with further evidence of unEnglish behaviour. Somewhat unexpectedly, this 'Royster among Ruffians' is noted for his love

of 'Silkes and Velvet', a process of dandification which reeks of the type of disreputable foreignness more suited to Wilson's 'Angleschi Italiani' than the borderers to whom this 'Royster' is kin. The apparent inconsistency of this portrait is overruled by its consistency as an iconic depiction of social disruption and incivility. The richly-clad northerner breaches expectations of civil attire ('not showy, decent') as much as he does the laws of the land, fraternizing with the raiding clansmen of Redesdale and Tynedale and murdering innocent and socially-profitable folk (the victim, a farmer, is significantly part of a settled agricultural economy, which – as we saw earlier – was seen to complement the maintenance of an urban system).³⁰ Further to that, the murderer is also 'a notable Whoremonger', an obvious affront to the equation of civility with the observation of wedlock, whilst his identification as a soldier invokes yet another meaning of the term *civil* as 'non-military', as in Puttenham's phrase 'martiall barbarousness'.³¹

The association of distorted English and criminality found in Wilson's portrait of the murderous soldier is strengthened by the early modern concept of 'cant', the secret underworld language which allegedly allowed criminals to operate outside, and against, lawful society. Language is a social contract. As Wilson's contemporary Thomas Smith puts it:

an Englishman speaking English to a Frenchman who understands English, and deceives him by some verbal trick, will be as guilty of fraud as a Frenchman who deceives a Frenchman in French.³²

Those who manipulate language for their own ends thus stand accused of 'fraud', whether it be those Wilson charges with 'counterfeiting the kynges englishe', or those 'cunning higglers, and pedlars, and that mob of rascals, prostitutes and thieves' whom Smith describes using 'a different and distinct language [...], unknown to others and serving only themselves and their cheating'.³³ Smith's words pre-empt those of William Harrison, who has 'the first deviser' of cant 'hanged by the neck, as just reward [...] for his deserts', and the Elizabethan vogue for coney-catching pamphlets.³⁴

Cant does not only allow these 'cunning higglers' to swindle (in Robert Greene's terms) 'the honest substantiall Citizen', the incomered bulwark of city living.³⁵ The foreign origins of many of its words – comprising snippets of Dutch, bastardized French and mangled English with, as Thomas Dekker indicates, terms 'barbarously coynde' from Latin – also, like Wilson's dandified soldier, resist notions of Englishness and Spenser's 'kingdome of our owne language'.³⁶ Thanks to Reformation polemic, the use of Latin to deceive also aligns these coney-catchers with 'papists', who were, in the eyes of English Protestant writers, uncivil in the sense of being inimical to 'the internal affairs of the state'.³⁷ There is a further link between coney-catchers and the discredited papists: namely the mendicancy from which they were both seen to profit. Once again, failure to live in an established

settlement is linked with civil disobedience and uncivil behaviour. The ‘cursetors’ exposed in coney-catching pamphlets are deviant in language, through their use of cant and the resonance of the word *cursetor* with cursing. They are also deviant in lifestyle, being ‘cursetors’, wanderers (from the Latin *cursare*, to run) and ‘vacabondes’ (from the Latin *vagari*, to wander). To use another epithet, they are errant: wandering and wrong (from the Latin *errare*, to err). Within the sixteenth century, the word *error* also acquired strong associations with Roman Catholicism, as in the serpentine Error whom the Red Cross Knight encounters in the Wandering Wood in Book I of the *Faerie Queene*, whose snake-like form resembles the papal beast crushed under the martyr’s foot in the colophon of John Bale’s *Fyrst and Lattre Examinacyons of Anne Askew* (1546, 1547), a woodcut also reproduced in the *Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande* (1553). Wilson makes a similar play on the association between geographical and spiritual disorientation in his *Rhetorique* in direct relation to disorderly speaking, where the need to structure an oration logically is recommended by ridiculing the obverse, for:

Would not a man thinke him made that havynge an earnest errand from London to Dover, would take it the next way to ride first into Northfolke, next into Essex, & last into Kent? And yet assuredly many an unlearned & witlesse man hath strayed in his talke much farther a great deale, yea, truely as farre, as hence to Rome gates.³⁸

Disordered speaking is consequently aligned with adherence to the Church of Rome, and evidence of ‘witlesse’ (or even insane) and ignorant behaviour. It is also telling that the misguided man heads ‘first into Northfolke’, a seat of rebellion in 1549, and a county known for its papist sympathies.

That association between distance from London, harbouring papists, rebellion and local dialect is equally pertinent for northern England, home of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, and is exemplified by William Bullein’s *Dialogue bothe Pleasaunt and Pietiful [...] Against the Fever Pestilence* (1564). The dialogue, which critiques the incivility caused by plague and usury, setting neighbour against neighbour, opens with the character Mendicus and his conversation with Civis and Uxor, the citizen and his wife. Mendicus, who describes himself as ‘borne in Redesdale in Northumberland’, challenges perceptions of civil discourse in a number of ways.³⁹ His speech is peppered with dialect terms, such as ‘wight ridyng’, ‘rowfooted’ and ‘limer’ (sig. A6r). These prove so incomprehensible to his interlocutor (Uxor) that she cannot believe him English: ‘me thinke thou art a Scot by thy tongue,’ she notes. Unlike Civis, who was also ‘borne in the Northe’ (sig. A6v) but has chosen the settled, civic and civil life, Mendicus – as his name shows – has remained an uncivil wanderer, living off society, rather than (like Civis) contributing to it. The parasitical

nature of Mendicus' lifestyle (but also the false civility of an uncharitable society) is shown most shockingly by the way in which he preys on the dying. 'Their losse is our gaine,' he claims: 'when they doo become naked, wee then are clothed againste their willes [...], their sicknes is our health, their death our life' (sig. A8v). The northern Mendicus is also associated with Catholicism, prevalent in the north. Not only is his name reminiscent both of coney-catchers and the mendicant friars castigated in Reformation polemic and those texts, such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, claimed for a proto-Protestant canon; Mendicus's frequent invocations of 'our ledie' (for which he is reproved by Uxor) and offer to say the Pater Noster and De profundis in Latin (despite understanding neither) also distinguish him as papist.

For Protestant polemicists, the link between incomprehensible speech and 'papisty' was easily forged, through reference to the continued use of Latin by the Roman Church, which – according to men such as Spenser – meant that any man could 'say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth'.⁴⁰ Clarity of speech consequently assumes moral and religious significance and civility is continually associated with adherence to the Protestant faith. *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549) includes frequent directions for certain parts of the service to be spoken clearly 'with a loud voyce', whilst Edmund Coote promotes his *English Schoolemaister* (1596), which contains the first sizeable glossary explaining 'hard English words', as a way of teaching 'knowledge of the principles of true Religion with precepts of vertue and civill behaviour'.⁴¹ Giving readers access to difficult words is thus made compatible with civility and promoting the 'true Religion'. Protestant claims that theirs is the only true religion, based on its commitment to the word of God, are, of course, unfounded, and Ceri Sullivan has conclusively shown how Catholics in Reformation England also invested in preaching and clear and plain language.⁴² Nevertheless, the association of 'papisty' and garbled speech was a potent resource repeatedly used in Protestant polemic. The final section of this essay focuses on the representation of 'popishe' speech in two works by the rabidly Protestant John Bale: his self-hagiography, *The Vocacyon*, and the morality play *King Johan* (1538–39), a piece of propaganda which seeks to rehabilitate King John as a proto-Protestant martyr, killed for his defence of England's liberty from the Roman Church.

Bale had been sent to Ireland in 1553 'as part of a concerted English plan to convert the Irish to Protestantism', and the *Vocacyon* consistently depicts Bale endeavouring to replace Catholic ceremonies with the clear and audible word of God.⁴³ Reticence is not a virtue the book endorses, and the worthy Protestant activities commended by Bale include 'speaking forth' and 'setting forth'. *The Vocacyon*, which relates the dangers Bale endures for his faith and his deliverance from them, is part of this process of godly

publication, serving as homily from which Bale's Protestant flock can learn and take strength and hope. Unsurprisingly, great store is also set by preaching, an activity that is given divine precedent, as God features as the first preacher, instructing Adam, followed by Christ 'of hys heavenly father appointed a universall doctor over all the worlde / and commaunded to be heard' (sig. A2v). Bale consequently models himself as a preacher, climbing into the pulpit in Kilkenny even when sick, and declaring that his first 'consideracyon' in writing his book is 'that men shulde wele perceive / that the office of a Christen bishop / is not to loyter in blasphemous papistre / but purely to preache the Gospell of God / to his christened flock' (fol. 2r). When faced with the return of Catholicism to Ireland on the death of Edward VI, Bale's first response is to turn again to the word. Whilst the 'prebendaryes and prestes' indulge in ritual, 'wearinge the cope / the croser / and myter in procession', Bale stages his own Protestant morality plays in the market place in Kilkenny, the centre of civic activity. On 20 August, after his sermon on 'the .xii. chap. Of S. Paule to the Roma.', in which – with the Bible, 'Christes testament', in his hand – he declares 'to them bravely / what autoritie was of the worldly powers & magistrates', 'the yonge men' of the town spend the 'forenone' performing the *Tragedy of God's Promises* at the market cross; the 'Commedie of sanct John Baptistes preachings / of Christes bapty synge and then temptacioun in the wilder-nesse' follows in the afternoon (fol. 24v).

Whilst Bale's depiction of Protestantism emphasizes the clearly spoken word, his papists are conversely characterized by 'singing' and 'momblings' (fol. 27v), both modes of orality in which comprehension is compromised: mumbling being overly quiet and indistinct; singing, an excess of noise which values ornamentation over clarity. Bale therefore objects to 'chauntynge / pypyng / syngygne' taking precedence over preaching and instruction (fol. 20v). Comprehension is further undermined by the fact that these 'momblings' are 'Latine momblings', and as such, beyond the comprehension of most of the congregation. However much the Irish priests 'chatter' and 'chaunt' the 'Latine letanie' with 'great noyse and devocion', it remains – for Bale – meaningless worship (fol. 27r). His summary of the Catholic mass stresses the lack of communication between clergy and flock, as the priest 'turneth his back to the people / and telleth a tale to the walle in a foren language' (fol. 30v). In Bale's eyes, the people are being denied the word of God (the *verbum Dei* that is inscribed on the martyr's book in the woodcut after the preface). It should come as no surprise, then, that with so little religious instruction the Irish people adopt what Bale sees as a pagan attitude to death, lamenting the departed as if there were no promise of afterlife. As he complains, 'there wawled they over the dead / with prodoygyouse howlynges and patterynges / as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and redemed by hys passion' (fol. 17v).

Bale's papists are further categorized for using their mouths, not in talk, but for consuming; not to profit the community, but to harm it. The unreformed priests are 'Epicuryshes', more akin to pagan philosophers than shepherds of Christ (fol. 17v), and feature as 'lecherous locustes' (fol. 15r), feeding off the people (additional impact supplied by the bestial and biblical associations of the image). At news of Edward VI's death, Bale describes them merrily toasting the news in Latin ('Gaudeamus in dolio', let us rejoice in grief) and going 'by heapes from taverne to taverne / to seke the best Rob davie and aqua vite / which are their speciall drinks there' (fol. 22r). A mere mention of papists is, moreover, enough to spark off an excess of speech on Bale's part, as if redundant speech were catching. References to the Irish priests consequently cause outbreaks of hyperbole (as in 'prosperouse welth' and 'lordely dignite') or volleys of alliteration, such as 'chattering chaplaynes and sorcerouse sacrificers', 'corruptible creatures' and 'persiall pompes' (fol. 15r), over-use of alliteration that is noted as one of the faults of speech in Wilson's *Rhetorique*.⁴⁴ Another feature of Bale's prose style when treating of papistry is the recurrent use of Wilson's 'lyke ending', where a series of words 'doe ende in like sillables', as in Bale's objections to 'bowynges and beckynges / knelinges and knockinges', and 'gaddinge and ganglinge processions'.⁴⁵

Bale's Irish priests are also explicitly linked with lawlessness, being complicit with the corrupt justices of Ireland, and themselves hindering the reformation of manners as much as the reformation of religion by harbouring mistresses and spawning bastards (unfettered sexuality and flouting of wedlock being a direct affront to the emphasis on wedlock associated with 'civil' societies). As Bale reports, Syr Phyllyp, the parish priest at Knocktover, unabashedly confesses to being the bastard son of the last prior of the White friars there and later relates how:

muche were the prestes offended also / for that I had in my preachinges / willed them to have wives of their owne / & to leave the unshamefast occupieng / of other mennes wyves / daughters / and servants. (fol. 20v)

The Dublin priests are also accused by Bale of murdering Hugh Goodacker, 'poysoned [...] / by procurement of certen prestes of his diocese / for preachinge Gods verite & reubukinge their commen vices', a sequence that again aligns the reformation of religion with the reformation of manners, whilst Bale is also warned by his 'speciall frindes' to 'beware the like' happening to him in Kilkenny (fol. 22r).

As, within the *Vocaycon*, Catholicism regains its official hold in Ireland on the death of Edward VI in 1553, so too (according to Bale's text) there is a corresponding rise in banditry and murder:

So sone as it was there rumoured abroad that the kyng was departed
 from thys lyfe / the ruffians of that wilde nacyon / not only rebelled
 against the English captaines / as their lewde custome is in such changes
 [...] / but also they conspired into the very deathes of so many English
 men and women / as were left there alyve. (fol. 27v)

This connection between unreformed religion, civil disobedience and disorderly speech is played out in *King Johan*. Although the play seeks to celebrate John as a proto-Protestant hero for resisting the pope's authority within England, it is not just religion which the eponymous monarch seeks to reform. The king's primary aim is 'to reforme the lawes and sett men in good order / That trew justyce may be had in every bordere', redressing the problem of disorder on the frontiers that so troubled Wilson.⁴⁶ It is John's commitment to justice, then, that initially draws Widow England to him with her complaints that the 'false hypocryse' of the clergy 'hath done very sore amys / In mysusyng me ageynst all ryght and justice' (lines 27–8), and which sets John on the path to religious reform.

Within *King Johan*, Bale harnesses the conventions of medieval morality drama for what is, in effect, a piece of Reformation polemic. The main Vices are recognisably 'papist': Sedicyon is revealed as Stevyn Langton, the prospective archbishop of Canterbury; Dissymulacyon as Simon of Swynsett, the monk who allegedly poisoned John; Usurpid Power, as the Pope; Privat Welth as Cardynall Pandolphus. These revelations are almost tautological: as the man who foments opinion against John, Langton is literally sedicious; as a regicide, Simon of Swynsett must dissemble; for Protestant polemicists, the power of the pope is usurped, and cardinals are the epitome of private wealth. As in the *Vocacyon*, the moral corruption of these 'papist' characters is duly played out in their language and behaviour, both of which can be deemed 'uncivil', as the Vices attract accusations of beastliness and bastardy: dubbed by England 'bastardes' who follow the 'wyld bore of Rome [...] lyke pyggys' and 'ever are fed with his vyle ceremonies' (lines 69–73). Bale's papists – like traditional Vices – swear like troopers, a characteristic, according to Romans 3.14, of the unrighteous, whose 'mouth is full of cursynge & bitternesse'.⁴⁷ Here again, though, these oaths are used to signal papistry, as Sedicyon's speech is packed from the outset with oaths: 'by Jesus' (line 43); 'by the messe' (line 50); 'by Holy Trynyte' (line 52). Like the Vices of the morality tradition, the register of these 'papist' Vices can also descend to the scatological, as Sedicyon tells Privat Welth to 'kys' Dissymulacyon's 'ars, for that is holy' (line 892).⁴⁸ As in Bale's passages on the papists in the *Vocacyon*, speeches given by the Vices are also more likely to deploy alliteration: 'ye are a wyly wort, and wander here full warely,' Sedicyon notes (line 60); 'he conventeth clerkes of cawses crymynall,' Usurpid Power complains (line 914).

These papist Vices also tend to indistinct speech, singing and talking Latin, and to a lesser degree, French, which is used between Sedicyon and Dissymulacyon as a sign of the false civility of traitors: '*Par me faye, mon amy, je tote ad voutre plesaunce*' (line 668). Sedicyon describes Dissimulacyon 'Momblyng thy *Pater noster* and chauntynge the Letany' (line 655); similarly, Usurpyd Power and Privat Welth enter 'syngyng on after another' in Latin (line 764). The false religion of the Vices is further exposed by their recourse to the litany even as they plan John's murder, and the use of the promise of absolution to induce Dissymulacyon (Simon of Swynsett) to carry out that murder:

SEDICYON: Thu shalt be assoyled by the most Holy Fathers auctoryte.

DISSYMUL: Shall I so in dede? By the masse, than, now have at the!
Benedicite.

SEDICYON: *In nomine Pape, Amen.*

DISSYMUL: Syr, this is my minde; I wyll gyve Kyng Johan thys poison.

(lines 2016–20)

Latin is not entirely banished from the language deployed by the virtuous characters: Widow England and Imperyall Majestye both speak in Latin at one point in the play. However, not only is their Latin noticeably less frequent than that of the Vices, they both translate their Latin tags so that everyone can understand them. Their Latin is also biblical (from Isaiah and Matthew respectively), and therefore the word of God, rather than the ceremonial Latin of the litany.

There is, in other words, that same strong link in Bale's writing between unclear speech, Catholicism and unlawful and uncivil behaviour that we have seen elsewhere. It is also striking that the papist characters of *King Johan* appear to be itinerant, lacking a fixed and civil abode. As Sedicyon boasts:

I hold upp the Pope, as in other places many,
For his ambassador I am contynwally,
In Sycell, in Naples, in Venys and Ytalye,
In Pole, Spruse and Be[r]ne, in Denmarke and Lumbardy,
In Aragon, in Spayne, in Fraunce and in Germanye,
In Ynglond, in Scotlond, and in other regyons elles.

(lines 212–17)

Bale's Vices have, moreover, renounced the 'pure word of God', which makes a direct link between clarity of language (the pure word) and the 'true religion' of Protestant polemic. It is here worth pointing out a significant difference between Cicero's fable of social evolution and Wilson's version. According to Cicero, it is a 'great and wise man' ['*magnus*

[...] vir et sapiens'] who realises that humankind would profit from living in civil societies, and who duly uses his rhetorical skills to persuade them to do so.⁴⁹ According to Wilson, it is God who 'graunted them the gift of utteraunce, that they might with ease win folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order'.⁵⁰ In the English sixteenth-century version, civility is more than an interrelated knot of courtesy, obedience and decorous urbanity: it is also instituted at the will of a Calvinist God through the workings of his 'faythfull and elect'.

Notes

1. Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553/54), sigs. A3r–v.
2. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), 2 vols, I, p. 509.
3. Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1. 2.
4. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, sig. A3v.
5. *OED*, 'civil', senses 8, 7, 1, 4.
6. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, sig. A3r; *OED*, 'civil', senses 6, 9, 10, 11.
7. G. H. Mair, ed., *Wilson's The Arte of Rhetorique, 1560* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), p. xxvii.
8. Alexander Gill, *Logonomia Anglica* (London, 1619), sig. B3r.
9. Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester University Press, 1973), p. 96.
10. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, eds Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 17, 4. Examples of Puttenham's vernacular terms include 'the Single supply' (for *Zeugma*), 'the outcrie' (for exclamation), 'the Insertour' (for parenthesis).
11. Elizabeth Hallam, Jenny Hockey and Glennys Howarth, *Beyond the Body: Death and Social Identities* (London: Routledge, 1999), chap. 6.
12. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fols. 91r–v.
13. *Ibid.*, fols. 92r, 3r.
14. *Ibid.*, fol. 42v.
15. *OED*, 'civil', sense 2.
16. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 7v.
17. Puttenham, *English Poesie*, p. 121; cf. John Hart, *A methode or comfortable beginning for all unlearned, whereby they may bee taught to read English, in a very short time, with pleasure* (London, 1570), fol. 43v.
18. Puttenham, *English Poesie*, p. 120.
19. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 117v.
20. John Ford, 'To my industrious friend, the Author of this English Dictionarie', in Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie, or an Interpreter of Hard English Words* (London, 1623), sig. A8v.
21. *OED*, 'uncivil', sense 5.
22. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, sig. A3r.
23. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds, *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 4.1. 31; all further citations from Shakespeare's plays will be from this edition. Thomas Middleton, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, in Kathleen McCluskie and David Bevington, eds, *Plays on Women* (Manchester University Press, 1999), 2.2.209.

24. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, eds Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 11.
25. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 50r.
26. Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 95, 98.
27. Cited by G. Watson, *The Border Reivers* (London: Robert Hale, 1974), p. 119.
28. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 50r.
29. Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 180.
30. *OED*, 'civil', sense 10.
31. Puttenham, *English Poesie*, p. 48.
32. Thomas Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*, trans. Bror Danielsson, *The Literary and Linguistic Works of Thomas Smith*, part III, *Stockholm Studies in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1983), p. 56.
33. 'Inter callidos negotiores conspicimus, & erroneos illos, qui pedariam exercent mercaturam, atque illam colluuiem nebulonum, meretricum, & furum quos appellant *AEgyptios*, discretam, distinctamque linguam exerceri, incognitam aliis, sibi suaeque tantum imposturae seruientem', Smith, *Dialogus*, p. 6r; trans. Danielsson, p. 33.
34. William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 184.
35. Robert Greene, *The third and last part of conny-catching* (London, 1592), sig. B2r.
36. Thomas Dekker, *The Belman of London* (1608), sig. B3v; Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, *Three proper and wittie, familiar letters* (London, 1580), p. 6.
37. *OED*, 'civil', sense 2.
38. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 48r.
39. William Bullein, *A Dialogue bothe Pleasaunt and Pietiful [...] Against the Fever Pestilence* (London, 1564), sig. A5v. I am grateful to Joan Beal for bringing Bullein's text to my attention at the 'Urbane Myths' conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, July 2000.
40. Spenser, *A View*, p. 84.
41. Edmund Coote, *The English Schoolemaister* (London, 1596), sig. A2v.
42. Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580–1603* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1995). Although Sullivan's book concentrates on writing after 1580, as her introduction shows, the deployment of Catholic rhetoric and preaching preceded this date.
43. John Bale, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, eds Peter Happé and John N. King, *Renaissance English Text Society*, seventh series, 14 (1989) (Binghampton, NY, 1990), p. 13.
44. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fols. 88v–89r.
45. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, fol. 108r; Bale, *Vocacyon*, fols. 17v, 15r.
46. John Bale, *King Johan*, in Peter Happé, ed., *Four Morality Plays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), lines 20–1.
47. *The Bible*, translated Miles Coverdale (London, 1537), fol. 72v.
48. Cf. Sedicyon to England: 'She shall rather kysse whereas it doth not ytche', line 96.
49. Cicero, *De inventione*, 1. 2.
50. Wilson, *Rhetorique*, sig. A3v.

2

Of Marriage, Morals and Civility

Helen Moore

George Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (1582) tells the story of an English traveller in Italy, nicknamed Cavaliero Ismarito or 'the wandring Knight', who arrives at a palace about ten miles from Ravenna.¹ It is Christmas, he is offered a warm welcome, and Signor Philoxenus, the lord of the castle, invites him to join in the company's feasting and entertainment. Philoxenus' sister, Madona Aurelia, is crowned the queen of the revels, and the subject of their entertainment, a 'civill contention', is 'whether Mariage or the single lyfe, is the worthyer' (sig. C2v). On the sixth day of his stay, Ismarito is introduced to the library of his host, which is said to come 'very neare in excellencie, to the famous Lybrarie of Cosmos de Medicis in Florence: who imitated in his Monument, Ptolomey, surnamed Philodelphus: who had the seventie Interpreters of the Jewes, to translate the Sacred Bible, into the Egiptian Language: and with great dyllygence, soughte to have the severall Coppyes of all Bookes' (sig. R4v).² Philoxenus' library is a model of humanist learning, containing theological texts which 'cleared the mistes of Ignoraunce, and unmasked the deceiptes of the superstitious Monkes, Friers & c.', medical texts informing him 'what meate and Medicine, agreeede with his nature', texts of civil law, military textbooks such as Vegetius' *De rei Militari*, historical chronicles, and texts on cosmography and heraldry. Ismarito's most detailed attention is reserved for those books which bear witness to his host's civility:

For Government, and Civil behaviours, he read Plutarches Moralles: Guevaraes Dial of Princes: the Courtier of Count Baldazar, Castillio: and others. And (in trueth,) it is not so necessarie, to be well borne, as to be well quallyted and of good behaviour: wherfore, the studie of Moralltye, is verie needefull for a Gentleman.

The association of Guevera's *Dial of Princes* (translated into English by Sir Thomas North in 1557) with Castiglione's *Courtier* (translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561) is not surprising: both were readily acknowledged

to be texts of 'government and civil behaviour', and of particular value to those for whom self-government was a prerequisite for good government of the people. What is unusual, however, is firstly, the classification of these books under the heading of 'Morallitie' (that is, moral philosophy) and secondly, the prioritization not of the 'modern' theories of conduct advanced by Guevara and Castiglione, but of Plutarch's first-century advice. The implication is that the modern writers of conduct literature are participating primarily in a philosophical discourse, and, furthermore, that it is a discourse which demonstrates a continuity from the ancients to the present day.

This description of conduct literature as a sub-category of moral philosophy is highly relevant to the academic debate on the interaction, separation and overlap of the terms 'civility' and 'courtesy' in the early modern period. Daniel Javitch, for example, begins his study of courtliness and literature by outlining a fundamental difference between the humanist conception of the civilized and civilizing man – expressed pre-eminently in Cicero's *De oratore* – and Castiglione's courtier, who deploys his courtly eloquence not for the benefit of the *civis* but for self and ruler.³ Javitch's inspiration for this comparison is Hoby, who in the preface to his translation of the *Courtier* remarks the similarity of method between Cicero and Castiglione: both are fashioning an ideal who did not and does not exist, nor is likely to do so.⁴ The differences between the orator and the courtier are indisputable, but the similarities are striking too, especially if one employs the same reasoning as Philoxenus (or his librarian): both ancient orator and modern courtier are participants in worldly affairs, and as such they are ever-aware that the government of the self is inextricable from the political influence that self may wield. Herein lies the importance of manners, speech and other forms of conduct: they are, in both ancient and modern discourses, the mechanisms by which the individual achieves influence as a result of being 'well quallyted' and 'of good behaviour', rather than nobly born. The fundamental opposition in early modern discourses of civility is, therefore, not between the orator and the courtier, but between those who are born to power and those who attain it by means of the government of the self. Of course, that government of the self may be differently expressed, prioritizing restraint in the case of the orator and grace in the case of the courtier, for example, but the fundamental connection remains: both are participants in the processes of rule, practitioners of eloquence, and deeply preoccupied with the analysis, legislation and construction of the self as a means of ensuring continued agency and virility in the realm of political action.

So much for introductory remarks on 'Morallitie' – how is marriage pertinent to this debate? Self-government (or ethics) and the government of the state (politics) are two branches of moral philosophy: the third is 'oeconomics', or the government of the household.⁵ Hence in moral

philosophy there is an affinity between household and commonwealth as realms of government; similarly, the deportment of the self in relation to oeconomics is likely to be worth comparing to the forms of self-regulation required in the public sphere. So Plutarch writes not only on 'moral virtue' in relation to worldly affairs in the *Moralia*, but also on conjugal relations and parental grief at the death of a child. (In the Renaissance, Plutarch was also regarded as the author of the essay on the education of children, but this attribution is now considered spurious.⁶) As Margo Todd has demonstrated in her study of the 'social ideology' of humanism, ancient domestic theory exercised considerable influence on humanist doctrines of the family, leading to 'a concept of marriage as a state of intellectual and spiritual companionship' and the elevation of the family 'to the level of a church and commonwealth in microcosm'.⁷ When Juan Luis Vives describes the purposes of marriage in the opening to Book II of *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1523) the terms he uses reveal the sociable and civil potential the humanists identified in matrimony:

So [God] joined to [man] a living partner, like to him in mind and body, with whom he could associate, converse, and spend his life suitably and agreeably; and, finally, provide for the procreation of offspring, if he so desired. For marriage was instituted not so much for the production of offspring as for community of life and indissoluble companionship.⁸

In denying the pre-eminence of procreation in marriage, Vives is participating in a religious controversy as well as the age-old debate on marriage and the *querelle des femmes* (or 'woman question'). Various aspects of Roman Catholic teaching on marriage – such as its status as a sacrament, the value placed on celibacy and the bipartite justification of marriage as a means of avoiding lust and of procreation – were all areas in which humanists, and later Protestants, found themselves in conflict with authority and orthodoxy.⁹ Most interpretations of the humanist writing on marriage prioritize this immediately oppositional character at the expense of its retrospective interest in moral philosophy; hence my concern in this essay is to draw attention to the ways in which the early modern discourses of civility and companionate marriage display their common roots in the ancient discourses of 'morallytie'.¹⁰ Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch would all be fertile areas for study, but I take my cue from Philoxenus' library and will concentrate on Plutarch's *Moralia*, and in particular his writings on marriage.

The *Moralia* as early modern 'Morallytie'

Plutarch was born in about A.D. 40, and lived at Chaeronea in Boeotia until his death in c.120 A.D.¹¹ His *Lives* of the Greeks and Romans, which was translated by Thomas North in 1579, has long been acknowledged as

an important influence on Shakespeare, but his *Moralia*, the name given to an extensive body of essays on diverse social and ethical topics, was also widely read and absorbed into the commonplace books of generations of early modern schoolboys and gentlemen.¹² The most widely-used compendium of moral philosophy for English readers was William Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Phylosophye* (1547), which makes extensive use of Plutarch's writings. Baldwin, in his biographical sketch of Plutarch, emphasizes his eloquence and the exemplary character of his life: 'He was faythfull in hys sayinges, and eloquent in hys wordes, and very diligent & ware in his maners, of a chaste lyfe and good conversatyon'.¹³ Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries, the *Lives* and *Moralia* were used as a source of ethical precepts, pithy sayings, argumentative proofs and moral exempla.¹⁴ One of the reasons for Plutarch's enduring popularity was his concentration on practical matters of self-government and day to day living, and also his compassion in depicting human virtues and vices. This can be attributed to his 'common construction of character',¹⁵ which holds that there is a 'common pool' of virtues and vices that are expressed as the passions in every human being, thus allowing for an affinity between historical and living personages and between the great and the humble, and also facilitating the exemplary use of other people's life-stories. (I will return to the question of virtue and its gendering below.) In a sixteenth-century context, the enthusiasm for Plutarch went hand-in-hand with a veneration of the Stoic philosophers more generally, whose teachings were regarded as being broadly compatible with Christianity. Indeed, in humanist and reforming circles, the two offered complementary ethical instruction: Erasmus, in his *Institutio Principis Christiani*, moves naturally from one to the other, prescribing from the Old Testament Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom, from the New Testament the Gospels, and from ancient writings Plutarch's *Apothegms* and *Moralia*, Seneca, Aristotle's *Politics*, Cicero's *De officiis* and Plato.¹⁶ In his prologue to the reader Baldwin describes philosophy as the 'handmayden' to Christianity, possessing the ability to 'perswade suche thinges as Scripture dothe commaunde' (sig. ¶5v).

In Tudor culture, the particular appeal of the Stoic philosophers lay in their observation of the tribulations attendant upon the individual's involvement in public life. The favoured Stoic attitude was 'Quyete of mynde', to borrow the title of Sir Thomas Wyatt's translation of the essay *De tranquillitate animi* (1528) from the *Moralia*. 'Quiet of mind' is the state of mental equanimity achieved on accepting, for example, the vicissitudes of fortune, the press of poverty or a lack of worldly success.¹⁷ Another Tudor courtier, Lord Morley, also embraced the Stoic value of quietude in his translations from Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch.¹⁸ Further translations quickly followed, many of them showing the influence of Erasmus's translations of Plutarch: *The governaunce of good helthe* by Robert Wyer (c.1555), Sir Thomas Elyot's *The education or*

bringinge up of children (?1530), *Howe one may take profite of his enemies* (?1535), *The garden of wysedome* by Richard Taverner (?1550), *The preceptes of the excellent clerke and grave philosopher Plutarche for the preservacion of good health* by John Hales (1543), *Three morall treatises* by Thomas Blundeville (1561), *The amorous and tragicall tales of Plutarch* by James Sandford (1567), *A president for parentes* by Edward Grant (1571), *A philosophicall treatise concerning the quietnes of the mind* by John Clapham (1589), *Inimicus Amicus* (1601), and Philemon Holland's *The Philosophie, commonly called the Morals* (1603).¹⁹ Queen Elizabeth also made a translation in 1598 of the essay *De curiositate* from the *Moralia*.²⁰ Philip Sidney read the *Moralia* in the influential French translation by Amyot (1572), and borrows from it in the *Old Arcadia* and the *Apology for Poetry*, the latter of which owes a particular debt to Amyot's preface and its discussion of history and moral philosophy.²¹

The appeal of the *Moralia* to Renaissance readers is characterized by Robert Aulotte in a contrast with the *Lives*. Whereas the *Lives* emphasized courage and magnanimity – particularly appealing, Aulotte suggests, during the period of the French civil wars – the *Moralia* prioritize:

vertu, parfaite connaissance de soi, judicieux équilibre entre le trop et le peu, harmonieuse conciliation de notre liberté personnelle et de nos obligations sociales. Grâce aux *Oeuvres Morales*, l'honnête homme qui ne se pique de rien allait bientôt succéder au héros qui se guinde sur tout.²²

virtue, a perfect knowledge of oneself, a judicious equilibrium between excess and deficiency, a harmonious reconciliation between our personal liberty and our social obligations. Thanks to the *Moralia*, the gentleman who rises to nothing was soon going to take over from the hero who bridles at everything.

This ideal of the virtuous man, who exists in harmony and equilibrium with himself and society, is reflected in Philoxenus, who is both a literary-philosophical ideal and, Whetstone claims, a real person. The dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton refers to the covert naming of Philoxenus, who represents a 'Right noble Italian Gentleman' and one who bears a 'zealous affection' to the Queen (sig. A2v). The real identity of Philoxenus is, however, a mystery. Sidney Lee's article for the *Dictionary of National Biography* suggests that he represents Giraldi Cinthio, whose *Hecatomithi* supplied one of the stories in the *Heptameron*, and may have inspired the *Heptameron's* theme of the Platonic path to heaven in marriage. Thomas Izard, the author of the only study of Whetstone, tried to identify Philoxenus from his device of a holly tree, but was unsuccessful.²³ He was also tempted into speculating that Philoxenus and his sister Aurelia correspond to Philip and Mary Sidney, but, whilst Whetstone may have been present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586 (where Sidney died), and penned

an elegy on Sidney's death, there is little more to suggest close links between the two.²⁴ There are indeed similarities between Sidney and Philoxenus: the latter is a model of civil behaviour and an embodiment of courtesy, and he is particularly given to hospitality; he is also a desiring subject, whose device is described in the marginal note as 'a covert description of desire' and whose motto is 'Qui me nourit, me destruit' ('Who nourishes me, destroys me').²⁵ He was brought up in the French court, was a Protestant, and an admirer of Elizabeth and of England, 'where the people live in peace and prosperytie' (sig. B2v).

The concord of the English nation is compared from the first with the civil wars of France, which are also contrasted with the harmonious ideal of marriage. Thus civil war and marital disharmony (in the form of forced or inappropriate marriages and adultery) are placed in opposition to peaceful government and civil, companionable forms of marriage.²⁶ Implicit in this contrast is the opposition of the civil fortunes of France and England. This prioritizing of concord *versus* civil strife is achieved by taking a poem that is given by Urania to Ismarito, the narrator, on the seventh day, and placing it at the beginning of the narrative (sigs. ¶1v–2r). The poem presents a story of discord inspired by *Metamorphoses* Book I. Jove, beholding 'The mistes of sinne, which from the earth arose', sends Iris, 'who poured downe her Ire, / And with debates, set Monarchies a fyre' (sig. ¶1v). While 'Whole Countries burnde', Jove sends Cyllen (Mercury, whose birthplace was the mountain Cyllene) to hold back the slaughter; he then sets foot in England, described as blessed with 'Grace, Peace and Wealth' and a haven for the persecuted, in a likely reference to the Huguenot refugees who fled to England. Cyllen binds 'Dissention, Wrath, and Tiranny' and returns to heaven, leaving England, 'Where this good Queene, and Subjects quiet lyve, / When civill warres, her neighbor kingdomes greeve' (sig. ¶2r).²⁷ This concern with the quiet life is typical of Renaissance Neostoicism, as is the contrasting of constancy and civil strength with discord and civil division. As Gerhard Oestreich explains, Neostoicism makes a powerful connection between the individual exercising of reason and virtue, and the public manifestation of these concepts; indeed, the qualities of the Neostoic are also those of the peaceful state:

The prime concept, constancy, is defined as the proper and immovable strength of mind that is neither elated nor downcast by outward or fortuitous circumstances. ... The mother of constancy is patience and quietness of mind. It is governed by the balance of unique reason, which makes it the touchstone for every test.²⁸

This emphasis on the government of reason and the danger of discord operates in the sphere of oeconomics as well as ethics and politics. Hence it produces in the *Heptameron's* debates on marriage an overriding concern with acts of control and legislation, figured most powerfully in the 'Lawes

of Queen Aurelia' which are promulgated at the beginning of the entertainments. These laws proclaim that each gentleman is 'bound' to serve a mistress, to defend her honour, to court her with 'Civill speaches' and to show himself worthy of her. Each gentlewoman is 'bound' to 'imploye her owne Servaunt', to encourage him and to reward him. For both men and women each injunction is accompanied with a threatened penalty: they must perform these amorous civilities 'upon paine' of suffering disgrace and abandonment (sig. B4v). Susan Dwyer Amussen demonstrates in her study of family life in early modern Norfolk that the debating and legislating of gender relations (primarily in marriage) is an analogy for *and* a mechanism of the ordering of class relations.²⁹ The same principle is at work in the *Heptameron*, as gender relations are legislated alongside the values and norms of civil behaviour.

The staging of controversies, whilst it may seem to licence dissension and division, is in fact a highly legislated activity which seeks the transformation of discord into liberated (and orthodox) 'Trueth' (sig. C2v): it is, therefore, a mechanism of social and philosophical control which is exercised under the guise of linguistic and narrative liberty.³⁰ The controversy is an ideal context for the examination and promulgation of theories of political and oeconomic civility. Civility, like the controversy, is concerned with the resolution of discord and so when the conduct book takes the form of a controversy it enacts the very process of control that it is seeking to recommend. Of course, such an outcome is usually achieved at the expense of the demonization of the Other in the form of the uncivil or barbarous, or the female, as in the case of Erasmus's text on the education of boys, *De civilitate*.³¹ In the *Heptameron* the primary critic of marriage is the German, Doctor Mossenigo; another is Lucia Bella, who at the beginning of the controversy had determined on a life of religious chastity. After Philoxenus' praise of marriage on the seventh day, Lucia Bella 'confessed that they were enemies to Nature, & not worthy the society of men, which scandylised, or scorned this sacred Institution'; the other members of the company confirm her view or, significantly, 'by silence shewed a willyng consent' (sig. Z3v). This rhetoric of confession and silent submission to orthodoxy demonstrates the way in which a social aim – the binding of the company into civil and ideological conformity – is achieved through a verbal conflict which pits conflicting narratives, *exempla* and aphorisms against one another. It is ironic, of course, that the literary interest of the text resides more in the competition between speakers and stories than in the final unity which is achieved.

Marriage as morality

One of the aspects of Neostoic thinking which relates directly to the Renaissance version of the *querelle des femmes* and the debate on marriage

was the idea that women and men were equally capable of virtue.³² Hence the progress of woman towards the *summum bonum* of Stoic virtue (and, of course, God)³³ became a matter of pressing theoretical and practical concern. It is to address this concern that Vives wrote his *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, as the English translator Richard Hyrde recognizes in his extension to the title of the work (1529):

A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the Instruction Of A Cristen Woman ... Which boke who so redeth diligently shal have knowledge of many thynges, wherein he shal take great pleasure, and specially women shall take great commodyte and frute towarde the encrease of vertue and good maners.

Woman's capacity for virtuous action is the subject of Plutarch's essay *Mulierum virtutes* (*The virtues of women*). In the words of the summary prefixed to Philemon Holland's translation of the essay, it seeks to demonstrate 'that the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very same': to this end Plutarch narrates the deeds of famous women such as Camma, who was 'wise, magnanimous, and passing well beloved of all her subjects and tenants, in regard of her gentle nature, and her debonair and bounteous disposition'.³⁴ The women in these *exempla*, whether acting singly or collectively, are possessed of qualities of fortitude, prudence and wisdom which make them the virtuous equals of men. Admittedly, this is still a relative and conditional heroism, which validates woman within an existing martial and political (male) value system rather than proposing an alternative female heroism or agency.³⁵ A more genuine equality is envisaged for the Renaissance male and female readers who encounter these stories: according to the summary, the essay contains

goodly instructions for men and women of name and marke, to induce them to governe themselves in such sort, that in the mids of the greatest confusions, they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requieth; and to hold this for certeine, that enterprises lawfull and necessarie, will sooner or later have good issue, to the shame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repose and quietnesse of all persons, who desire, seeke and procure that which is good (sig. 2S1v).

Courage, the exercising of vocation, quietness and the procurement of that which is good are the central tenets of Stoic philosophy, and they are just as desirable for women as for men. Such moral virtues are also common to both the public and the private spheres: Cornelius Agrippa's *De sacramento matrimonii* (1526; translated into English in 1540 as *The Commendation of Matrimony*) holds that 'matrimony gyveth a gret exercise to moral philosophy. For it hath a certayne householde common welth annexed, in ruling

the whiche a man maye some lerne and have experyence of wisdom, temperance, love to god and his kynne, and all other vertues, by which ... he may leade a life most happy' (sigs. C7v–C8r). The same kind of Stoic happiness is also invoked for the wife by Vives in his discussion of the 'community of life' that is marriage: '... you will be mistress of a happy household, you will be happy, exultant, and will bless the day you were married ...'. In Vives's Christianised version of the happy household, this oeconomic happiness, with attendant female 'duties' (in the Ciceronian sense), is rooted in the 'sacred fellowship' of marriage which is in turn derived from Christ's commandment to 'love one another'. Vives is so steeped in the moral philosophy of marriage that he attributes Stoic impulses to Christ: this commandment was fashioned to ensure that 'All would proceed in the greatest tranquillity and harmony' (p. 177).

The government of the household is treated by Plutarch in his essays 'Advice to the Bride and Groom', called 'Precepts of Wedlocke' by Holland, and 'A Consolation to his Wife'. The summary of the former in Holland again points to marriage as a sphere in which moral virtues are to be exercised and for which the reward is Stoic happiness: the aim of the essay is that 'husband and wife shall live in contentment and blessed estate' and its precepts will 'make mans life much more easie and commodious than he is' (sig. 2D2r). 'Advice to the Bride and Groom' is written to the newly-married couple Pollianus and Eurydice, who were both Plutarch's pupils.³⁶ He tells them that not only the teachings, but also the methods, of philosophy are indispensable to married life: Hermes and the muses assist Aphrodite, 'to ensure the tunefulness of marriage and home by discourse, harmony and philosophy' and 'that married couples might gratify their desire with each other by persuasion, not in conflict or quarrelsomeness'. Relations between husband and wife are conceived as social, as well as amorous: love and reason bring them to marriage, but philosophy teaches them to learn to live together in civility. Physical attraction 'is not secure unless it settles in the character, lays hold of the mind, and acquires a life of its own' (p. 6) or, in Holland's translation, 'unlesse it be surely founded upon the conformitie of good and honest maners, and take hold of wisdom, whereby it may engender a lively affection and recipocall disposition one toward the other' (sig. 2D2v). The idea of the 'manners' of marriage underlines the essentially civil character of the bond, and highlights the instructional similarities between the conduct book and the marriage manual: Plutarch's offering of advice to the young couple is simultaneously a philosophic discourse, gathering together wisdom from learned authors, and a civil discourse, laying out rules for speaking, dressing and eating just as the Renaissance conduct books do. Anna Bryson characterizes the principle of good manners as a mechanism of social 'accommodation' which prioritizes the comfort of others over the demands of the self: she observes that one of the features of the Renaissance courtesy manual was the 'general obligation

to “accommodate” or “frame” the self to the sensitivities and sensibilities of others’.³⁷ This is the general principle of civil conduct to which marital consideration and reciprocity also belong, and it is indebted to the emphasis laid by moral philosophy on social harmony. It is worth noting too that early books of manners such as the fifteenth-century *Babees Book* concerned behaviour in the household: the importance given to table manners in these works, for example, is explained by the fact that the meal is the primary corporate activity of the household, and is therefore in need of legislation to preserve unity and harmony. Hence the manners of marriage and household – the sphere of oeconomics – are a precursor to the codes of manners which came to prevail in court and salon. The manners of marriage as advised by Plutarch are straightforward: husbands and wives should not quarrel in public or criticize one another to third parties; they should eat and ‘converse cheerfully’ with one another and have the same friends (p. 7); they should banish the words ‘mine’ and ‘not mine’ from their marriage (p. 8) and hold goods as common property (p. 8); they should avoid anger (p. 9) and respect one another in bed (p. 11); the husband should not be unfaithful (p. 12). The wife is advised to be particularly skilled in the use of manners, which secure her influence in the household: she should ‘cultivate the art of handling her husband by charms of character and daily life, training him in good ways with pleasure’ (p. 9).

The influence of Plutarch on Renaissance marriage treatises is profound: the *Moralia* provided many of the anecdotes and instructions deployed by Vives in the *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, for example. The vernacular treatise on marriage is also heavily indebted to Plutarch: Edmund Tilney’s *Flower of Friendship* (1568) cites the ‘Advice to the Bride and Groom’ on five occasions, as well as the spurious tract on education, the apothegms, the essays on hearing and bridling anger, ‘Against Colotes the Epicurean’, ‘The virtues of women’, and seven of the *Lives* (Alexander, Antony, Cato, Tiberius, Caius Gracchi, Themistocles and Marcus Brutus).³⁸ In the *Heptameron*, the legacy of moral philosophy is apparent during the third day’s discourse, which begins with ‘sundrie Morall Preceptes’ on such traditional subjects as the ‘uncertaintie of worldly thinges’, the need for endurance in adversity and the folly of trusting in ‘Pompe and painted Prosperytie’ (sig. H2r). The subject of the disputation is free choice in marriage, and the first topic to be considered is rashness in marriage. Both sides acknowledge that a rash marriage is a potentially uncivil act, ‘robbing’ the parents of their ‘comfort’ and the groom of his ‘credit’. However, the defenders of marriage argue that if the marriage itself demonstrates ‘sweet accorde’ between husband and wife this internal ‘unitie’ can restore the happiness of the parents and the reputation of the couple (sig. I1v). The debate is essentially one of individual impulse versus conformity to the ‘dutyies’ and ‘offices’ pertaining to marriage as laid down by the community (which is represented by parents and ‘neighbours’). These

'offices' begin before marriage in the careful contemplation of a marriage partner and in making provision for a household. The duties of the married couple are outlined in the seventh day's discourse, in the form of Philoxenus's 'sound Lawes and directions, to continue love betweene the married' (sig. U4r). The husband should govern his 'petty Common wealth' (sig. Y1r) in a manner that emphasizes its civil function – glorifying God, rewarding servants, pleasing neighbours and providing for his family.

The wife devotes herself to the traditional tasks of 'Oeconomie' and thus manifests the virtues of 'Morall Philosophie' (here named as prudence, temperance and piety). The manners of marriage are very similar to those outlined by Plutarch. The husband should not be lewd, the wife not jealous; each should accommodate their mood to that of the other, especially after 'householde jarres' (sig. Y2r) or if there is a great difference in age, and, in a reformulation of the traditional chastisement of woman for her love of fine clothes, the husband is instructed to provide 'civill and comely apparell' for his wife. Philoxenus's discourse ends with a story, taken from the *Mulierum virtutes*, exemplifying the civil role and benefits of marriage: the 'vertuous Love' of Pieria and Phrigius overcomes the longstanding enmity of their parents and leads to an idealized domestic concord in which 'while the Parents parled of their common profit: the Children, uppon lawfull oportunities, devysed of their pryvate Loves' (sig. Z2v).

I have argued in this essay that Whetstone's *Heptameron* partakes of a wide-ranging debate on marriage which has its roots in ancient moral philosophy, and which is re-invigorated as a result of the changing ideas about marriage expressed during the Reformation, the values of Neostoicism, and the burgeoning fashion for conduct books. The subject of marriage is inherently political, and it is clearly understood as such in the early modern period: Aristotle's *Politics* and Plato's *Republic* are among the most frequently cited texts in all the writings about marriage, and the discourse of civility is deployed freely in laying down the good 'manners' of marriage, whether the advice is addressed to a woman or a man. In the 1580s there is also a more nuanced and specific sense in which any debate about marriage is potentially political: Elizabeth had for many years been deploying herself as a marriageable commodity on the international diplomatic stage, and in 1582 when the *Heptameron* was published her marriage negotiations had reached a pitch of expectation and anxiety. The strategy employed by Elizabeth and her advisers throughout the late 1570s was intended to maintain peace at home (by holding out the prospect of a marriage and an heir) whilst stopping short of an outright alliance. However, by 1581 this strategy was coming under increasing pressure firstly from the renewal of civil war in France (in 1580) and secondly from the prospect of either a Spanish victory in the Netherlands or a French intervention to prevent just such a victory. England and Elizabeth's response was to make an agreement for

the marriage of the Queen to the Duke of Anjou; to that end, a French embassy arrived in London and was accommodated, according to William Camden, in a Westminster house 'royally furnished' for them, where they were entertained with tilts 'to say nothing of other Courtlie sports not proper for an historiographer to relate'.³⁹ One of those appointed to conclude the marriage treaty with the French was Sir Christopher Hatton, the dedicatee of the *Heptameron*. Elizabeth, however, deferred the match, and Anjou arrived to press his case on 31 October; he stayed for three months and it was during this time that the *Heptameron* was licensed to the printer Richard Jones, on 11 January 1582, under the title *An heptametron* [sic] *of Civill discourses unto the christmas Exercises of sundry well courted gentlemen and gentlewomen*.⁴⁰ The matter of the *Heptameron* was doubly appropriate at this time, dealing as it did with courtly entertainment and debates on marriage, all presided over by the benevolent figure of Madonna Aurelia. One incident recorded by Camden reveals the intimate connection between courtly play and marital negotiation during these three months: while the court was celebrating the Accession Day festivities on 22 November, 'the force of modest love amongst amorous talke, carried her so farre, that shee drew off a ring from her finger, and put it upon the Duke of Anjou's, upon certaine conditions betwixt them two. The standers by tooke it that the marriage was now contracted by promise ...' (sig. 2A4v). In the Netherlands there was rejoicing when this was reported, but 'At home the Courtiers minds were diversly affected, some leaped for joy, some were astonished, and some were cast downe with sorrow. Leicester, who had begunne to enter into a secret conspiracie to crosse the marriage, Hatton Vice-Chamberline, and Walsingham, fretted as if the Queene, the Realme, and Religion were now undone.' The end result was that Elizabeth continued to dither, suffering 'the most perplexed cogitations of marriage' while Anjou 'tax[ed] with one or two quippes the lightnesse of women, and the inconstancy of Ilanders'. The arguments pro and contra the marriage are summarized by Camden:

... if shee married a subject, shee should draw dishonour upon her selfe by disparagement, and give fire to Domesticall grudges and commotions; and if a stranger, shee should subject both her selfe and her people under a forreine yoake, and endanger Religion (sig. 2B1r).

The titlepage of the *Heptameron* bears the date 3 February 1582.⁴¹ Several factors make it likely that the *Heptameron* was published then in order to take advantage of this critical stage in the queen's marital negotiations and to participate in the public debate on this topic. The dedication to Hatton, the timing of the licence to the period when Anjou was still in England, and Whetstone's military service in the Low Countries in 1572–4 (which may have led him to support the Anjou match) all suggest a keen interest

in the political realities of royal marriage as well as its philosophy. There is also an allusion to Anjou in the text. At the beginning of the fourth day's exercise, Philoxenus shows Ismarito the pictures in his gallery, one of which is labelled 'Hercules Franciscus valesius', a Latinization of Anjou's name, Hercule-François Valois. Philoxenus explains that he obtained the picture because 'when I followed the Frenche Court, I admyred a young Prince of rare towardlinesse, whose counterfeit at my departure I brought with me' (sig. M3r). It is also worth noting that Ismarito recognizes the prince immediately: it is a picture 'which he verye well knew'. Whetstone would not have been the first writer to exploit the queen's courtships in this way: Valerie Wayne has argued that Lady Isabella in Tilney's *Flower of Friendship* imitates Elizabeth's position on marriage and probably represents her.⁴² The irony of course is that Elizabeth ultimately rejected the arguments in favour of marriage, and Whetstone's text may well have missed its moment by the time it was published.

'T.W.', in his commendatory verse for the *Heptameron*, praises 'Morall Whetstone' who 'to his Countrey doth impart, / A Worke of worth, culd fro the wise, with Judgement, wit & art' (sig. A5r). The 'worth' of the *Heptameron* is variously located. Firstly, the text participates in the immediate and highly-charged discussion of marriage as an analogue to the state, with all that that implies about the usefulness of marriage (and royal marriage in particular) as a mechanism for the resolution of civil discord. Secondly, in culling from the wise, especially the ancient moral philosophers, it instructs the Elizabethan reader in the moral virtues pertaining to politics, ethics, and especially oeconomics. Finally, it demonstrates the indebtedness of the Renaissance conduct book to the traditions of moral philosophy, and marks the importance of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the instruction of those who seek to be 'well qallyted and of good behaviour', like Signor Philoxenus.

Notes

1. George Whetstone, *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (London, 1582), sig. B4r.
2. The extensive library of Cosimo dei Medici included religious works and classical texts in history, philosophy, poetry and drama. It was further expanded by his grandson, Lorenzo, and housed in its own building, the Biblioteca Laurentiana in Florence. Ptolemy's library refers to the library at Alexandria, the most famous of all classical libraries, which was maintained and enhanced by the succession of rulers called the Ptolemies after 305 B. C. Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, fourth edition (Metuchen, N.J. and London: Scarecrow Press, 1995), pp. 42–7, 122–3.
3. Daniel Javitch, *Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England* (Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 23–49.
4. 'Cicero an excellent Oratour, in three bookes of an Oratour unto his brother, facioneth such a one as never was, nor yet is like to be: Castilio an excellent Courtier, in thre bookes of a Courtyer unto his deere friende, facioneth such a one as is harde to finde and perhappes unpossible', in Sir Thomas Hoby, 'Epistle

- of the Translator', prefaced to his translation of *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. Virginia Cox (London: Dent, 1994), p. 7.
5. Jill Kraye, 'Moral philosophy', in Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner, eds, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 303–86, here p. 303.
 6. D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 164.
 7. Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 98–117, pp. 98, 100. This point is part of her refutation of Christopher Hill's attribution of the 'spiritualization of the household' to the Puritan movement, p. 5. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964). Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300–1840* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 151–62, addresses the historical interplay of the 'procreative' and 'companionate' justifications for marriage. For the household as commonwealth, see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 85–8.
 8. Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 175.
 9. See Eric Josef Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
 10. Luther's view that marriage was primarily a civil, rather than religious, contract is worth noting here, even though it relates to the wider social function of marriage rather than the exercising of civility within marriage (Carlson, *Marriage*, pp. 5–6). See also Euan Cameron, "'Civilized religion" from Renaissance to Reformation and Counter-Reformation' in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack, eds, *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 48–66.
 11. Russell, *Plutarch*, pp. 1–17.
 12. Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957–75), for example vol. V (1964), which details the sources in Plutarch of *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*.
 13. William Baldwin, *A treatise of Morall Phylosophye, contayning the sayinges of the wyse* (London, 1550), sig. H5r.
 14. Martha Walling Howard, *The Influence of Plutarch in the Major European Literatures of the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1971).
 15. Simon Swain, 'Plutarch's Moral Program', in Sarah Pomeroy, ed., *Plutarch's 'Advice to the Bride and Groom' and 'A Consolation to his Wife': English Translations, Commentary, Interpretative Essays and Bibliography* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 85–96, p. 86.
 16. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), vol. I, p.58. On the affinity between Christianity and Stoicism see Jill Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy'; she discusses the Protestant argument about the incompatibility of ancient ethics with aspects of Christian teaching such as the fall and original sin, p. 323. Patricia Thomson describes the 'ethical bias' of early Tudor translation in 'Sir Thomas Wyatt: Classical Philosophy and English Humanism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 25 (1962), 79–88.
 17. Patricia Thomson and Kenneth Muir, *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool University Press, 1969), pp. 440–63.

18. Jeremy Maule, 'What did Morley give when he gave a 'Plutarch' Life?' and David R. Carlson, 'Morley's Translations from Roman Philosophers and English Courtier Literature' in Marie Axton and James P. Carley, eds, *Triumphs of English: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court: New Essays in Interpretation* (London: The British Library, 2000), 107–30 and 131–51 respectively. Hans Baron, 'Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22 (1938), 72–97 reads *De officiis* as a validation of civic involvement against the tranquillity advised by the Greek philosophers: the currency of both ideas in Renaissance literature is evident, for example, in the contradictory impulses towards retreat and participation in Wyatt's poetry.
19. Robert Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque: la traduction des 'Moralia' au XVIe siècle*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965), pp. 43–9, 343–4.
20. Caroline Pemberton, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, 'De consolatione philosophiae', Plutarch, 'De curiositate' and Horace, 'De arte poetica'* (London: Early English Text Society, original series 113, 1899).
21. Anthony Miller, 'Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* and Plutarch's *Moralia*', *English Literary Renaissance* 17 (1987), 259–76.
22. Robert Aulotte, 'Plutarque et l'humanisme en France et en Italie', in Mitchiko Ishigami-Iagolnitzer, ed., *Les Humanistes et l'antiquité Grecque* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1991), 99–104, p. 102. For the wider reception of Plutarch in Europe, see Rudolf Hirzel, *Plutarch* (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1912), chap. 17, which addresses Plutarch's influence on the works of Shakespeare, Bacon and Dryden. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.
23. Thomas C. Izard, *George Whetstone: Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 88, 112.
24. *Ibid.*, p.81; the device is described on sig. B2r. Whetstone's elegy is titled *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (1587). For Whetstone's account of the battle at Zutphen see *A true discourse historical, of the succeeding governours in the Netherlands* by his friend Thomas Churchyard (1602). See also Diana Shklanka, ed., *A Critical Edition of George Whetstone's 1582 'An Heptameron of Civill Discourses', The Renaissance Imagination* vol. XXXV (New York: Garland, 1987), pp. xv, xxii–xxiii.
25. Compare Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 71 line 14, "But ah," Desire still cries, "give me some food" and 'A Shepheard's Tale', lines 203–4, 'Desire the more he sucked, more sought the brest, / Like dropsy folke still drinke to be a thyrst', William A. Ringler, ed., *The Poems of Sir Phillip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 201, 247. If Whetstone is presenting Sidney as the model of courtesy, he would not be alone in doing so: Gabriel Harvey dedicated his verse adaptation of the *Courtier* to Sidney, and Thomas Nashe links Sidney and Castiglione in his *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589); see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 125. Sidney is also a model of the virtuous man, being described by Lodowick Bryskett as 'stayed' and 'discreete' before his time, Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life*, ed. Thomas E. Wright (Northridge, California: San Fernando Valley State College, 1970), p. 119.
26. For the incivility of domestic discord (albeit from a non-elite and seventeenth-century perspective) see Martin Ingram, 'Sexual Manners: The Other Face of Civility in Early Modern England' in Burke, Harrison and Slack, *Civil Histories*, 87–109.

27. See Henry Wotton, *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels* (London, 1578), sigs. C1v–D1r for a similar poetic complaint about the civil wars in France and the breaking of God's laws.
28. Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 19.
29. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 37–48, 96–111, 134.
30. See Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), chap. 3, 'The uses of the dialogue in sixteenth-century Italy: celebration and control', 22–33. For Italian dialogues, debates and games see Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), chap. 11, 505–54.
31. Barbara Correll, 'Malleable Material, Models of Power: Woman in Erasmus's "Marriage Group" and *Civility in Boys*', *English Literary History* 57 (1990), 241–62, argues that the discourse of civility manifests a fragile fashioning of 'secular male selfhood', in which woman is subordinated and effeminacy is demonized in order to counteract the 'instability of adolescence', pp. 242–3.
32. Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 55–7.
33. For God as the Christian *summum bonum* see Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', pp. 319–25 and Bryskett, *Discourse of Civill Life*, p. 19.
34. Philemon Holland, *The Philosophie, commonlie called, the Morals written by the learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea* (London, 1603), sigs. 2S2r and 2T4v. In the *Heptameron* one of the gentlewomen, Aluisa Vechio, argues that woman is 'a creature every way, as excellent and perfecte as Man': one of her proofs is that 'in Morall vertues, you men that reade Histories and Cronicles of all ages, shall finde Women, renowned for learnyng, Government, and pollycie', sig. O4r.
35. Mary Beth Rose discusses the gendering of heroism and the heroics of fortitude from a political, rather than a philosophical, perspective in her *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature* (University of Chicago Press, 2002).
36. Pomeroy, 'Reflections on Plutarch, "Advice to the Bride and Groom"', in *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom*, p. 34. Quotations are taken from the translation by Donald Russell, pp. 5–13. 'A Consolation to his Wife' is translated on pp. 59–63.
37. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 110.
38. Valerie Wayne, ed., *The Flower of Friendship: A Renaissance Dialogue Contesting Marriage by Edmund Tilney* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). 'Advice to the Bride and Groom' is cited at lines 377–82, 423–8, 650–2, 1316–20, and 1330–4; 'The virtues of women' is cited at lines 1025–47 and 1311–14.
39. William Camden, *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England* (London, 1630), sig. 2A3r; the proposed marriage agreement is given on sigs. 2Ar–2Av. Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), discusses the Anjou match on pp. 154–94.
40. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 AD*, 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875–94), vol. II (1875), p. 404.
41. Shklnka, *A Critical Edition*, p. 237, surveys the evidence on dating and concludes that this is a New Style date.
42. Wayne, ed., *The Flower of Friendship*, pp. 6, 47 and 49.

3

'Civilized with death': Civility, Duelling and Honour in Elizabethan England

Markku Peltonen

David Hume wrote in 1742 that 'the point of *honour*, or duelling, is a modern invention, as well as *gallantry*; and by some esteemed equally useful for refining of manners'.¹ Many of his contemporaries agreed, but recent commentators of early modern English duelling have not taken up Hume's suggestion. Instead, modern scholars strongly contrast duelling as a remnant from the medieval honour community, on the one hand, and the civility of manners as the early modern novelty, which quickly displaced medieval honour culture, on the other. In his well-known essay – 'English politics and the concept of honour, 1485–1642' – Mervyn James argued that duelling was one of the most 'characteristic expressions' of medieval 'honour violence' – of the knightly code of honour, which early modern "civil" society' quickly ousted.² Similarly, for Richard McCoy, the challenges and single combats of Elizabethan aristocrats were epitomes of the chivalrous 'rites of knighthood'.³

Many more recent commentators have followed suit. Of course, they have expanded the area which honour and reputation occupied in early modern England and have thus questioned James's rather neat transition from one honour culture to another, and in its stead have perceived multi-vocality. But in so far as duelling and its ideology are concerned, they have merely confirmed James's earlier analysis. It is the clear-cut transition from one honour culture to another which is called in doubt, not the definitions of these cultures. Duelling in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century is still taken as a clear sign of the vitality of an earlier honour culture which allegedly demonstrates multi-vocality. Little wonder then that duelling is habitually described as a 'neo-feudal' custom.⁴ When the Earl of Essex was 'fighting duels' he not only 'proselytized his belief in the nobility's right to use violence in the defence of honour'; he also expressed 'the neo-feudal dimension' of his self-fashioned image.⁵ And Lord Eure's fashionable education, his employment by the government and his European tour have been juxtaposed (rather than linked) with his propensity to duelling, which

ostensibly was part of his 'general sympathy for the old faith, and an acceptance of the violent elements of the honour code'.⁶ Anna Bryson notes in her study on the early modern notion of civility that the duelling theory was a recent import from Italy, but sees the wider ideology in which it was embedded as 'left over' from the late medieval political world.⁷ John Adamson has set duelling as part of 'an inherited value-system' over against new 'courtly *politesse*' and 'decorum'.⁸

Despite this scholarly consensus, I argue in this essay that the ideology of duelling (and thus a distinct notion of honour) emerged in Elizabethan England as part of the novel Renaissance Italian theory of courtesy and civility. Far from being a remnant from medieval honour culture which a new humanist culture of civility replaced, the duel of honour came to England alongside the Italian Renaissance notion of the courtier and gentleman.

Of course, the duel of honour ultimately derived from various medieval forms of single combat – most importantly from the judicial duel. Yet, medieval precedents notwithstanding, the duel of honour was essentially a Renaissance creation. As many recent scholars of the Italian Renaissance have emphasized, during the first half of the sixteenth century the medieval forms of single combats were refashioned in Italy into a duel of honour which replaced the vendetta.⁹ From the very beginning the duel of honour was an integral part of the new Renaissance ideology of courtesy and civility. It was created within a new court culture, where a prime emphasis was placed on sophisticated manners and where courtiers and gentlemen were compelled to control and repress their emotions.

Perhaps the earliest English commentary on this novel theory of courtesy and duelling is to be found from *The Historie of Italie*, published in 1549 and written by William Thomas, a scholar who had just returned from his five years stay in Italy. Dedicating the volume to the Earl of Warwick, Thomas noted that 'the Italian nacion ... semeth to flourishe in civilitee moste of all other at this date'. Later in his work Thomas described the Italian customs in the following manner:

And generally (a few citees excepted) in maners and condicions they are no lesse agreeable than in theyr speche: so honourable, so courtesie, so prudente, and so grave withall, that it shoulde seeme eche one of them to have had a princely bringing up. To his superiour obedient, to his equall humble, and to his inferiour gentill and courtesie, amiable to a straunger, and desyrous with courtesie to winne his loue.¹⁰

There were two momentous consequences of this courtesy. First, 'a straunger can not be better entreteigned, nor more honourable entreated than amongst the Italians'. Secondly, the Italians were 'sobre of speche', but also 'enemies of ill reporte, and so tendre over their owne good name

(whiche they call theyr honour)' that 'who so ever speaketh ill of one of them, shall die for it, if the partie sklaundered maie know it, and finde tyme and place to do it'. The Italians' disposition to private revenges had been responsible for the fact 'that few gentilmen goe abroade unarmed' (p. 4r). Moreover, 'if one gentilman', Thomas wrote, 'happen to defame another, many tymes the defamed maketh his defiaunce by a writte called *Cartello*, and openly chalengeth the defamer to fight in campe: so that there are seen sometyme woorthy trialles betwene them' (p. 4r). Was this habit of duelling reprehensible? Of course, Thomas admitted, there were some who 'dooe discommende them', but, he argued, 'mine opinion dooeth rather allow than blame them'. The benefits of duelling were obvious. As Thomas put it, 'the scare of suche daungers maketh men so ware of theyr tounes, that a man maie goe xx yeres through Italie without findyng reproche or vilanie, unlesse he provoke it hym selfe' (p. 4r).¹¹

In this remarkable passage, Thomas put forward several views which would become central to the entire duelling tradition. First, duelling was described as a relatively new phenomenon. Second, Thomas argued that unflinching courtesy and a penchant for duelling went hand in hand. Third, not only was duelling perceived as an integral part of courtesy, but it was even said to enhance the general level of civility within gentlemanly society. Moreover, both the exceptionally high level of politeness and the concomitant aptitude for duelling were seen as a peculiarly Italian phenomenon. Finally, it was perhaps only natural that Thomas, a great admirer of Italy, found duelling a highly commendable social custom.

At the time Thomas published his account of civility and duelling its message seemed rather foreign to the English, and few, if any, paid close attention to it. Yet, none of his points were lost on the subsequent generation of Englishmen. By 1590 the situation had dramatically changed. One Englishman pointed out that if one wanted to know more about duelling and the concomitant notion of honour, one could do worse than peruse Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, first published in English in 1561. 'The Earle Balthazar Castilio in his booke of the Courtier', the Englishman wrote, 'doth among other qualities requireable in a gentleman, specially advise he should bee skillfull in the knowing of Honor, and causes of quarrell'.¹²

During the latter part of the sixteenth century there occurred a sudden rise of Italian treatises and guides which explored courtly and gentlemanly civility as well as the concomitant notion of the point of honour and duelling. There had of course been a long medieval tradition of courtesy books and also a distinctively Christian tradition of civility whose origins are to be found in monastic and clerical rules of conduct.¹³ The most famous and influential work in this tradition was Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium*, first published in 1530 and translated into English as early

as 1532. Although the Italian treatises had much in common with religious civility guides, they also differed from them in many important respects.¹⁴

In addition to Castiglione's *Courtier*, these Italian treatises published in England included Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* (originally published in 1558) translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1576, Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversatione* (1574) published in English in the early 1580s and Annibale Romei's *The Courtier's Academie* (originally published in 1585) translated into English by the poet John Keper in 1598. A strikingly similar account of the courtly code of conduct was to be found in Philibert de Vienne's satirical *The Philosopher of the Court*, originally a French work published in Lyon in 1547 and Englished in 1575.

The thoroughness with which this code of conduct was perceived as an import from Italy is most graphically attested to by the fact that the only comprehensive English imitation of these treatises was camouflaged as a translation of an Italian tract. This was Simon Robson's *The Courte of Civill Courtesie* first published in 1578. The invented author of Robson's short tract was 'Bengalasso del Mont. Prisacchi Retta'. The trick obviously worked efficiently for it seems to have misled Gabriel Harvey who wrote: 'And nowe of late forsoothe to helpe countenance owte the matter they have gotten Philbertes Philosopher of the Courte, the Italian Archebyshoppies brave Galatro [Galateo], Castiglioes fine Cortegiano, Bengalassoes Civil Instructions to his Nephewe Seignor Princisca Ganzar: Guatzoes newe Discourses of curteous behaviour.'¹⁵

One of the overriding themes in these Renaissance courtesy treatises was to explain how the perfect courtier and gentleman should conduct his manners and behaviour so that he won a favourable response from other courtiers and gentlemen. A successful pursuit of this end demanded two kinds of behaviour. On the one hand, the courtier had to master a technique of self-representation – to offer as good a picture of himself as possible. On the other hand, he had to take his fellow courtiers and gentlemen into account and to accommodate his outward behaviour accordingly.¹⁶

The code of civility ensured that courtiers and gentlemen were agreeable and pleasing to one another. The aim was, as Castiglione argued, 'to purchase ... the general favour of great men, Gentlemen and ladies'.¹⁷ According to Philibert, 'courtly civilitie' entailed 'a certayne framing and agreeing in all our actions, to the pleasing of the worlde' – to 'be pleasing to all men'.¹⁸ Della Casa's central topic was 'what manner of Countenance and grace, behoveth a man to use, that hee may be able in Communication and familiar acquaintance with men, to shewe him selfe pleasant, courteous, and gentle'. The answer he gave was to the effect that, although virtues might be necessary, they were rarely of great use. It was therefore the gentleman's 'courteous behaviour and entertaynement with good manners and wordes' that assumed the most central part in conveying his courtesy and pleasantness.¹⁹

Good manners and grace, beauty and attire were important, but speech and words were perhaps the most crucial factor in shaping a gentleman's courteous image. 'You must', della Casa advised, 'accustome your selfe, to use suche gentle and courtious speache to men, and so sweete, that it may have no manner of bitter taste' (p. 84). According to Castiglione, in order to please his interlocutors, the courtier had to 'frame himselfe' and his topics according to those with whom he happened to converse (pp. 110, 136). He must, in short, never 'wante good communycatyon and fytt for them he talketh wythall, and have a good understandynge with a certein sweetenesse to refresh the hearers mindes, and with meerie conceites and Jestes to provoke them to solace and laughter, so that without beinge at any time lothesome or satiate he may evermore delite' (pp. 149–50).

The fullest analysis of the centrality of conversation in civil courtesy is to be found in Guazzo's lengthy *The Civile Conversation*. According to Guazzo, civil conversation was of great importance, it had a central place in gentlemanly courtesy, in conveying politeness. It referred to both 'our tongue, and ... our behaviour'.²⁰ There was nothing surprising in Guazzo's insistence that the main aim of conducting a civil conversation was to please one's interlocutors. He emphasized several times that the end was to be 'better thought of', to win 'the love & good will' of our peers. But the converse was no less true. 'I first admonish him', Guazzo noted, 'which taketh pleasure in civile Conuersation, to eschue all things which make the talke lesse delightfull to the hearers' (p. 60v).

The Christian tradition of courtesy had always emphasized the fact that the body was the outward reflection of the soul – 'this outward honesty of the body cometh of the soul well composed and ordered', as Erasmus had put it.²¹ In the Renaissance notion of civil courtesy a much greater emphasis was placed on the exterior – decorum.²² When James VI wrote to Robert Cecil in 1602 he assured him that his words 'proceed *ex abund[ant]ia cordis*, and not of any intention to pay you with Italian complementoes'.²³ In civil courtesy the content of the conversation could be negligible as long as *decorum* was maintained.

It followed that there could be a considerable discrepancy between surface and reality in conduct or speech and that dissimulation was an integral part of civil conversation.²⁴ Honest dissimulation was thus justified because social life took precedence over inner life.²⁵ This is of course central to Castiglione, who pointed out that 'it is not ill for a man that knoweth himselfe skilfull in a matter, to seeke occasyon after a comelye sorte to shoue hys feat therein, and in lykecase to cover the partes he thynketh scante woorthye praise, yet notwithstandinge all after a certeine warye dyssymulacion' (pp. 148, 146, 127). Whereas for Erasmus and others courtesy was an outward sign of the soul, for Castiglione and his followers it was largely a means to repress outward indications of inner feelings.²⁶

Della Casa accepted flattery as a necessary component of courtesy in his discussion of ceremonies. Ceremonies were almost like 'lyes & dreames'. 'Though so fayre and gallant without', ceremonies were 'altogether vaine within'; they consisted 'in semblance without effect, & in wordes without meaning'. Yet, no matter how empty they were, it was misleading to assume they were dispensable. First of all, they were faults of the times rather than of particular gentlemen, and gentlemen were thus bound to follow them. Moreover, ceremonies performed an important social task. 'For he that faileth to doe them, dothe not onely displease, but doth a wrong to him, to whom they be due' (pp. 40–8).

Guazzo's view was very similar. 'To be acceptable in companie', he insisted, 'we must put of as it were our owne fashions and manners, and cloath our selves with the conditions of others, and imitate them so farre as reason will permit'. Of course, in so far as 'honestie and vertue' were concerned, 'we ought to be alwayes one and the same'. But far otherwise were things with manners. As Guazzo put it, 'but touching the diversitie of the persons with whome we shall be conversant, we must alter our selves into an other' (p. 46v).²⁷ Underlying this conviction was a more general principle that exterior was more important than interior – that 'we take more pleasure to seeme than to bee' (p. 75r). Guazzo agreed with Castiglione that 'the dutie of a perfect Courtier ... is to doe all things worth carefull diligence, & skilful art', but 'so that the art is hidden, and the whole seemeth to be done by chaunce, that he may thereby be had in more admiration' (p. 8r).

Guazzo also concurred with della Casa's analysis of the importance of ceremonies. Of course, it was possible to argue that many 'professe them selves mortall enemies to those ceremonies'. But on closer inspection this was not the case and even those who 'openly detest' ceremonies, in fact, 'secretly desire them'. The reason was not far to seek. 'Ceremonies', Guazzo maintained, 'displease no bodie', because 'they are doone in signe of honour, and there is not he, who is not glad with all his heart to be honoured'. The conclusion was obvious: 'these worldly ceremonies purchase us the good will of our friends and superiours, to whome they are addressed and make us knowne for civile people' (pp. 77r–v).

Why was it so essential to meticulously follow the rules of outward civility? The key to this lies in Simon Robson's claim that to master civil courtesy would enable the young gentleman 'to purchase worthy prayse of their inferiours: and estimation and credit amonge theyr betters'.²⁸ Civil courtesy and conversation were, in other words, an important way to win and confer honour and reputation. Honour was horizontal: a gentleman's honour was taken to be his reputation amongst his peer group. It was his exterior or appearance; above all, it was how other gentlemen regarded him.²⁹ Explaining how other people's 'good opinion' could be received,

Guazzo argued that this was done 'by using that common meane and instrument, whereby mens hearts are wonne, that is, curtesie and affabilitie'. It followed that 'our name dependeth of the general opinions, which have such force, that reason is of no force against them' (pp. 72v, 24v–25v).

If a gentleman's status and reputation *qua* gentleman depended on other gentlemen's opinion, the importance of dissimulation was understandable. This becomes clear in Guazzo's analysis. According to him, all those were good men who were 'wel reported and reputed of in the worlde'. Conversely, they were bad 'who for their apparent faults are pointed at with the finger and holden for infamous' (pp. 23r–v). But in such a case it would be possible to dissemble and thus to appear honest. As Guazzo posed the question, 'howe shall I behave my self with some, whom I knowe farre more wicked than those whome you have spoken of, albeit by their dissembling hypocrisie, they are accounted of everie men for honest men?' He admitted that this was a real problem but insisted even more strongly that we have to accept that if someone through his cunning dissimulation earned a good reputation, he was then to all intents and purposes a good and honourable man (pp. 24v–25v).

Annibale Romei concurred. He noted that there were two kinds of honour. First, there was 'acquired honour, and perfect', which was simply 'the reward of vertue'. Second, there was 'natural and imperfect honour', which was 'a common opinion, that he [who was] honored, hath never failed in justice, nor valor'. It was, in brief, his reputation. This was not honour which could be won, 'because man bringeth it from his mothers wombe'. It could thus only be lost; man 'preserveth it unspotted, except through some greevous offence or suspition, he loose[s] this good opinion' (p. 100). The gentleman's genuine moral character was negligible as long as he could maintain a favourable reputation. It followed that all those were men of honour who – be they 'good or wicked', as he revealingly put it – 'have not lost the good opinion that the worlde conceived of them' (p. 100).

From a perspective that emphasized manners rather than matter, identity was to be derived from external behaviour and social indelicacy was a most serious vice.³⁰ The authors of civility and civil conversation agreed that if civil behaviour was so important in shaping a perfect gentleman, even the smallest departure from the code of courtesy could be taken as supercilious behaviour and thus cause serious rupture between gentlemen.³¹ Della Casa carefully listed all the particular actions which might give offence to other people. He insisted that not only 'rude behaviours' but even rude 'fashions' indicated that 'they doe esteeme them but light'. But it was above all speech-acts which had this undesired effect, and della Casa focused his main attention on the gentleness of our speech.³² Guazzo agreed. Unlike in rhetoric, in civil conversation a gentleman had to be extremely careful and always to remember that 'he which wisheth to be well spoken of by others,

must take heede he speake not ill of others'. Guazzo drew the conclusion 'that it is better to slip with the foote, then with the tongue' (p. 55v).

The worst of these uncivil rogues were of course those who were telling lies.³³ According to Castiglione, lying was the source of the worst mischief in a courtier. He therefore advised his reader to 'take heede he purchase not the name of a lyar, nor of a vaine person'. Moreover, the courtier should even avoid telling true but extraordinary stories (pp. 149, 296). The courtier must never be 'yll tonged' or utter words which 'may offende, where his entent was to please' (p. 121). Similarly, della Casa strongly advised against lying, and Guazzo also warned of those 'ill tonged forgers, whose naughtinesse is such, that they will accuse you to have done or sayd that which you never thought' (p. 30r). One must even avoid speaking 'of things which are not easily beleevd' (p. 71v).

In his duelling manual, Vincentio Saviolo insisted that a gentleman must abstain from everything which might tarnish 'his woorthye calling', and should thus 'embrace myldnes and curtesie'. But the gentleman should also 'be in minde magnanimous', which implied courtesy towards his equals but awareness of his own worth as well. What this amounted to in practice is well brought out by Saviolo's subsequent discussion of practical situations, where even the smallest deviation from the code of courtesy might occasion insult. Even 'to stare and looke [at] men passing by' could breed 'such an offence unto some men so marked, that they cannot take it in good part, and therefore it is verie dangerous'. Most importantly, in 'the companye of honorable Gentlemen' it was crucial 'to have a great regarde of their tung, to the end they say nothing which maye be evil taken or mis-consted'.³⁴

The fact that gentlemen were required both to be pleasing and agreeable and to avoid lying entailed, as Edward Muir has pointed out in the Italian context, that 'it became discourteous to be truthful' whilst at the same time accusing someone of lying was by far the most serious insult.³⁵ How was the gentleman expected to respond to insults? The only efficient means, it was widely agreed, was to issue a challenge to a duel. When one gentleman had shown signs or uttered words of discourtesy to another gentleman he had in effect insulted him and thus questioned his status as a gentleman. A challenge was thus the only possible way out of this situation for the insulted gentleman, because that would be the only way to demonstrate his courage and valour, to display his genteel character and thus to restore his tarnished reputation as a gentleman.

The notion of honour underlying duelling was thus not only horizontal but also reflexive. This meant that a gentleman's honour was diminished or destroyed altogether unless he responded with an appropriate counterattack. The reflexive character of honour was well brought out by Castiglione who averred that 'the fame of a gentleman that carieth weapon, yf it once take a foile in any litle point through dastardlines or any other reproche,

doeth evermore continue shameful in the worlde and full of ignoraunce'. Gentlemen had to do something about defending their honour. Castiglione was seeking such a 'courage of spirite ... in our Courtyer' that he would 'suffer not the leaste thyng in the worlde to passe that maie burthen them' (pp. 42–3, 38).

Guazzo also concurred that honour was reflexive. Reputation went before everything else – including even life. It was 'a greater offence to take awaie ones good name, which refresheth the soule, than to defraude one of foode, which sustaineth the bodie'. But if this was indeed so, it followed that a gentleman had to safeguard his reputation, irrespective whether his reputation was based on sincerely virtuous character or on pure dissimulation and hypocrisy. As Guazzo concluded, 'we cannot abide to be il spoken of our selves, whether it be rightfullie or wrongfullie' (pp. 27r–v).

The concept of reflexive honour emerged even more clearly in Romei's account. According to his definition, honour was lost as soon as a man lost the good opinion of the world. Every discourtesy was a clear indication that a gentleman was not being treated as he might expect. His reputation or status as a gentleman was, in other words, questioned. When this happened the only means of retaining the good opinion and thus one's status as a gentleman was a counterattack. As Romei's interlocutors agreed, he was 'amongest men dishonourable, who with his proper valour, makes no shew of being touched with an injurie'. If one wanted to 'be an honorable man' he must preserve 'the opinion of the world'; and the only way to do this in case of an injury was an appropriate counterattack (p. 99).

Castiglione exhorted the courtier to be skilfull in arms, which would stand him in good stead in 'variaunces betwene one gentleman and an other, whereupon ensueth a combat'. The courtier was advised not to run rashly to duels because it was both dangerous and unbecoming. Recourse to the duel was, however, necessary for a courtier 'to save his estimation'. As soon as the courtier thought it would be too late to pull out of a controversy 'without burdeyn', he must be ready to issue a challenge and be 'utterlye resolved with hymselfe' in the actual fight as well (p. 47).

In della Casa's scheme of things it was a failure in performing ceremonies for duty which prompted insults and thus gave rise to challenges and duels. As soon as a gentleman failed to carry out his courteous duty, duels could be provoked. According to della Casa, 'many times it chaunceth, that men come to daggers drawing, even for this occasion alone, that one man hath not done the other, that worship and honour uppon the way, that he ought'. It was in order to avoid these situations that we always say to everyone who 'is not a man of very base calling' 'You' rather than 'Thou', because by using the latter 'wee disgrace him and offer him outrage and wronge: and by suche speach, seeme to make no better reconing of him, then of a knave and a clowne' (pp. 40–8).

Guazzo put forward a similar analysis in outlining his theory of civil conversation. Whilst all the affronts to God could easily be ignored, 'we cannot be quiet when either we our selves or our friends are injured either in word or deede' (p. 24r). These situations were exceptionally common in princely courts, where 'oftentimes Princes being desirous to trie out the truth, have graunted their servaunts the combat one against the other'. There were thus public duels of honour, but there were also private duels, where the sole aim was to deliver a gentleman from an accusation of ungentlemanly behaviour and to clear his tarnished reputation. 'And I knowe', Guazzo affirmed, 'when upon like occasion certaine Gentlemen have conveied themselues into some close place, where because the one would not live with the name of an evill speaker, & the other of a false accuser, they have made an end of their lives and their quarrels both together' (pp. 29r-v).

Philibert opened his discussion of duelling by claiming that gentlemen and courtiers were accustomed to 'blade out their brawles manfully by armes', a habit 'not only to be excused, but rather to be commended'. Although courtiers were inclined to resort to arms in various situations, it was most commonly done to 'defend their persons, or their honour' (pp. 48-9). While courtly philosophy turned a blind eye to many other offences, insults touching our reputation required an immediate response. Because the courtier 'never regarde but the superficial part of any thing, and that which sheweth it selfe unto us', he was bound to challenge anyone who touched his exterior (p. 49). But it followed that the inward life was, if not wholly negligible, at least much less important to the courtier; it was something which did not pertain to his philosophy at all. Therefore, matters 'touching loyaltie in worde, or humanitie in deede towarde oure equalles or inferiours, it is nothing so requisite in our justice as in the Auncientes' (p. 51). Honour, reputation and duels, in other words, only appertained to questions touching exteriors, appearances and courtesies. But as well as being an efficient way of maintaining one's reputation, the duel was also a way to conceal one's faults. Challenges, Philibert asserted, were issued either by those who were inclined to 'defend their persons, or their honour', or by those who wanted to 'have ever suche pretectes, or likely cloakes, under which the truth of their faultes and contentions lyeth hidden, and is couched so cunningly, that wee see them not' (p. 49).

According to Robson, the challenge should be given circumspectedly rather than directly: 'I will quarell with no body, but if any body have any quarell to mee, I have businesse into sutche a place, sutche a day, at sutche an hower: I wil have but my selfe and my man, or but my selfe and my freinde, there hee may finde mee if hee dare' (pp. 20-2). Robson emphasized that every offence and injury led to a duel. They were requited by giving the other 'reprochefull names for it, as the Lie, or knave', in which case it was necessary not only to reply 'with like woordes' but also to

'counte the wrong mine: and either offer the first blowe ... or els challenge him into the field' (pp. 23–4).³⁶

Duelling was thus an integral part of the novel theory of civility or civil courtesy. According to its principles, a challenge was a polite response to an uncouth word or act which had degraded gentlemanly courtesy, and offered the only means to restore this courtesy. In *Romeo and Juliet* Tybalt was not only 'a duellist' but also 'the courageous captain of compliments'.³⁷ When the notorious duellist of Lord Herbert of Cherbury discussed in his autobiography 'the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers', he recommended '*Guazzo de la Civile Conversation* and *Galeteus de Moribus* [i.e. Della Casa's *Galateo*]'.³⁸

Even though many Englishmen rapidly embraced this new Italian theory of civility, their opponents were scarcely less quick to trace the ideological origin of duelling. The critics of duelling, in other words, not only castigated this new social custom; above all, they questioned its underlying theory. First, they were quick to point out that duelling was neither ancient nor homebred.³⁹ Lodowick Bryskett wrote that 'this matter of the lie giving and taking [i.e. duelling], is growne of late among us',⁴⁰ and Thomas Churchyard claimed that duelling was something which 'our old Fathers' had not taught to us; indeed it was scarcely known at all 'till our youth beganne to travell straunge Countreys'.⁴¹ When James VI and I and his ministers became alarmed about duels in the 1610s, this same view acted as the basis for their explanation of their increased frequency. Duels were imported from the Continent, and it was only the soft spot the English had for novel and strange things which might account for this menacing development. In his proclamation 'against private Challenges and Combats', James VI and I declared that all those who properly understood these matters 'must acknowledge that this bravery, was first borne and bred in Forraine parts; but after convaied over into this Island, as many other hurtfull and unlawfull Wares are oftentimes in close packs, that never had the Seale of the places from whence they were brought to warrant them'.⁴²

As well as insisting that duelling was a recent import from Italy and France, many critics also emphasized that it was the most menacing consequence of the novel but utterly misleading theory of civility. The travel writer Fynes Moryson wholeheartedly agreed with those who thought that the Italians were the masters of refined manners. He declared: 'By sweetnes of language, and singular Art in seasoning their talke and behaviour with great ostentation of Courtesy, they make their Conversation sweete and pleasing to all men, easily gaying the good will of those with whome they live.' But, as anyone even modestly acquainted with the theory of civil conversation well knew, this courtesy was far from being thoroughly sincere. Indeed, Moryson pointed out that the Italians were 'the greatest dissemblers in the world'. It followed that 'no trust is to be reposed in their wordes, the

flattering tounge having small acquaintance with a sincere heart, espetically among the Italyans, who will offer Curtesyes freely, and presse the acceptance vehemently, only to squeeze out Complement on both sydes, they neyther meaning to performe them, nor yet dareing to accept them, because in that case they would repute the Acceptor ignorant and uncivill'.⁴³

Closely related to the Italians' total command of civil courtesy was their profound knowledge of the points of honour. They could, Moryson wrote disparagingly, 'excellently dispute of honour and like vertues'. It was no surprise therefore that the Italians were 'most impatient of any the least reproch or injury'. But because the Council of Trent had prohibited duelling and because their princes were 'severely punishing all quarrells', the Italians, instead of duels 'upon equall tearmes with [an] Adversarye', had now to resort to murder.⁴⁴

Another early seventeenth-century travel writer, Thomas Palmer, concurred. According to him, 'the civilitie of that Countrey' was mixed with several 'inconveniencies and corruptions'. On the one hand, Italian civility only concerned the appearance; on the other hand, it was coupled with extreme sensitivity to insults. Paraphrasing William Thomas, Palmer described the Italian: 'in conversation hee be not offensive, but obedient and humble to his superiour, to his equall observant, to his inferior gentill and courteous, amiable to strangers and swimming in complements and loving tearmes'. But 'the least occasion dissolveth auncient bonds of love'; their 'civill offices' were exceptionally 'unsteadie and inconstant'. Most importantly, even the smallest insult could end in a duel. Palmer was convinced that 'the civilitie that is in them cannot brooke uncivilitie proffered, without risentment in the highest nature'.⁴⁵ Palmer contrasted this with the civility and manners which he found in 'the Court of *England*'. Mainly because of 'the puritie of Religion (which is the best Civilian)' the English court was 'perfect in civility & good manners'.⁴⁶

In *The Magnetic Lady* Ben Jonson called duelling 'the courtliest kind of quarrel',⁴⁷ and in *The Alchemist* he also parodied the duelling code of the courtesy theory. When Druggier observed that:

... to carry quarrels,
As gallants do, and manage 'em, by line,

Face replied that there was:

... a table,
With mathematical demonstrations,
Touching the art of quarrels.⁴⁸

It was, of course, the new theory of civility and duelling on which Shakespeare heaped ridicule in *As You Like It*. Throughout the play the

court is closely associated with both civility and duels. When Touchstone presented himself as a courtier he listed his accomplishments:

... I have trod a measure, I have flattered a lady, I have been politic with my friend, smooth with mine enemy, I have undone three tailors, I have had four quarrels, and like to have fought one.⁴⁹

But Touchstone also linked duelling directly with courtesy manuals and noted that:

... we quarrel in print, by the book, as you have books for good manners ...(5. 4. 81–2)

If the Italian theory of civility and duelling was often criticized, its fascination with giving the lie was found utterly ridiculous. In *As You Like It*, Shakespeare offered his famous mockery of the degrees of the lie. More generally, many critics maintained that the absurd nature of giving the lie became readily obvious, owing to the fact that the whole theory of civility implied nothing so much as constant lying. Walter Raleigh pointed out that most of the men 'who present death on the points of their swords to all that give' the lie to them, 'use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsely'. Above all, they continuously used 'complimental lies', which formed an integral part of polite conversation. 'Nay', Raleigh asked, 'what is the profession of love that men make nowadays? what is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary compliments, and, in effect, to every man whom they bid but good-morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and courtlike kind of lying?' Complimentary lies were such a great fashion that he who failed to use them was 'accounted either dull or cynical'.⁵⁰

To accept the theory of civil courtesy and thus to take trifling incidents as serious insults was ridiculous enough, but to take a lie given as the most serious insult of all was downright ludicrous. Raleigh pointed out that, on the one hand, he who gives the lie to a man who had actually lied 'doth him no wrong at all, neither ought it to be more heinously taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made'. If, on the other hand, there had been no lie, and yet the lie is given, then the giver 'doth therein give the lie directly to himself'. To feel deeply insulted in such a situation was utterly ridiculous. 'Of course', Raleigh acknowledged, 'it is an extreme rudeness to tax any man in public with an untruth ... but all that is rude ought not to be civilized with death'.⁵¹

Notes

1. David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis, 1985), p. 626. I owe this reference to my student Mikko Tolonen.
2. Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 308–415.
3. Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: the Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), esp. p. 58. See also G. M. Pinciss, 'The Old Honor and the New Courtesy: "1 Henry IV"', *Shakespeare Survey*, 31 (1978), 85–91; Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960), pp. 13–14; Arthur B. Ferguson *The Chivalric Tradition of Renaissance England* (Washington DC.: Folger Shakespeare Library; London: Associated University Presses, 1986), 96–7, pp. 111–12.
4. Cynthia Herrup, 'To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon': Gender and Honour in the Castlehaven Story', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 137–59; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 201–13; Elizabeth Foyster, 'Male Honour, Social Control and Wife Beating in Late Stuart England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, 6 (1996), 215–23; Laura Gowing, 'Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 225–34; Felicity Heal & Clives Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 5, 18–19. For an excellent recent summary see R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1565–1685* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 8–17, which perceptively avoids the dichotomy between medieval honour culture and early modern politeness culture. For a recent critique of James's analysis of the Tudor north see William Palmer, 'Scenes from Provincial Life: History, Honour, and Meaning in the Tudor North', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53 (2000), 425–48.
5. John Guy, 'Introduction: the 1590s: the Second Reign of Elizabeth I', in John Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–19, p. 7.
6. Felicity Heal, 'Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russel and Sir Thomas Hoby', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 161–77, p. 176.
7. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 236–7.
8. John Adamson, 'Introduction: The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500–1700', in John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750* (London: Seven Dials, 2000), 7–41, pp. 20–1.
9. For recent studies see Francesco Erspamer, *La Biblioteca di don Ferrante. Duello e Onore nella Cultura del Cinquecento* (Roma, 1982); Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1993); Edward Muir, 'The Double Binds of Manly Revenge in Renaissance Italy', in Richard C. Trexler, ed., *Gender Rhetorics. Postures of Dominance and Submission in History, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 113 (1994), 65–82; Donald Weinstein, 'Fighting or Flying? Verbal Duelling in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Italy', in Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe, eds, *Crime*,

- Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 204–20; David Quint, 'Duelling and Civility in Sixteenth Century Italy', *I Tatti Studies*, 7 (1997), 231–78.
10. William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), sigs. A2r, A3v–4r. For a short account of Thomas and his debt to Renaissance Italy see Peter S. Donaldson, *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 40–4. Donaldson does not discuss *The Historie of Italie*.
 11. See also Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), part III, pp. 25–6.
 12. [Anon.], *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590), sig. A3r, see also p. 39.
 13. Dilwyn Knox, 'Disciplina the Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility', in John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto, eds, *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.* (New York: Ithaca Press, 1991), 107–35; Dilwyn Knox, 'Erasmus's *De civilitate* and the Religious Origins of Civility in Protestant Europe', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 86 (1995), 7–55.
 14. For a general survey of courtesy and civility in early modern England see Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*.
 15. Gabriel Harvey, *Letter-book, AD 1573–1580*, ed. E. J. L. Scott, Camden Society, 2nd series, XXXIII, (London: Nichols and Sons, 1884), pp. 78–9. This letter is normally dated between 1575 and 1580, but the inclusion of Robson's tract narrows the first date to 1578. Robson's tract states that it was printed 'primo Januarij 1577', that is, in 1578. Both Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: the Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 26, and Daniel Javitch, 'The Philosopher of the Court: A French Satire Misunderstood', *Comparative Literature*, 23 (1971), 97–124, pp. 113, 123 and n. 25, seem to take Robson's tract as a piece of 'an avant-garde continental literature' rather than as an English adaptation of it.
 16. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 107–11, 121–2.
 17. Baldessare Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, ed. Virginia Cox (London: Dent, 1994), p. 119. All references to the *Courtier* are to this edition.
 18. Philibert de Vienne, *The Philosopher of the Court*, trans. George North (London, 1575), pp. 95, 98, 108–10. All references to *The Philosopher of the Court* are to this edition.
 19. Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo of Maister John Della Casa. Or rather, a treatise of the manners and behauiours*, trans. Robert Peterson (London, 1576), pp. 2, 3–4. All references to *Galateo* are to this edition.
 20. Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young (London, 1586), fol. 54r. All references to *Civile Conversation* are to this edition. See also Martin Ingram, 'Sexual Manners: the Other Face of Civility in Early Modern England', in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack, eds, *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 86–109, p. 91.
 21. Cited in Ingram, 'Sexual Manners', p. 93; see also Knox, 'Erasmus' *De civilitate*', pp. 19–28.
 22. John Martin, 'Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: the Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe', *American Historical Review*, 102 (1997), 1309–1342, esp. pp. 1314, 1333, contains an interesting discussion of this issue.
 23. James VI and I, *Letters of King James VI & I*, ed. G. P. V. Akrigg (Berkeley, 1984), p. 199.
 24. Michael Curtin, 'A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy', *Journal of Modern History*, 57 (1985), 395–423.

25. Jacques Revel, 'The Uses of Civility', in Roger Chartier, ed., *A History of Private Life, vol. 3: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 167–205, p. 192.
26. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 119–20.
27. See also Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: the Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 77; David M. Posner, *The Performance of Nobility in Early Modern European Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 17.
28. S[imon] R[obson], *The Courte of Civill Courtesie* (London, 1577), title-page. All references to the *Courte of Civill Courtesie* are to this edition.
29. See Frank Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago University Press, 1994), pp. 54–71.
30. Frank Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court: Courtesy and the Performer-Audience Dialectic', *New Literary History*, 14 (1983), 623–39, pp. 625, 627–8; Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege*.
31. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 110.
32. Della Casa, *Galateo*, pp. 5–7, 20, 22, 57–64.
33. For a wide-ranging discussion of lying and truth-telling in early modern genteel society see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), chap. 3.
34. Vincetio Saviolo, *Vincetio Saviolo his Practise* (London, 1595), sigs. P2v, P3v. For doubts about Saviolo's authorship see Sergio Rossi, 'Vincetio Saviolo his Practise (1595): A Problem of Authorship', in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack, eds, *England and the Continental Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 164–75; Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 100–1. For the importance of eye contact in general see Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 89–90.
35. Muir, 'The Double Binds', pp. 80–1; Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 121–2, 141–4.
36. Cf. in general F. R. Bryson, *The Point of Honor in Sixteenth-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman* (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1935), p. 48. Robson gave no advice on how to achieve this. The only possibility seems to have been to reply to an insult with a blow rather than a challenge. It was not possible, Robson stated, simply to return the lie.
37. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, eds Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York, London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1997), 2. 3. 17–21. When Shakespeare parodied Saviolo's treatise in *As You Like It*, he specifically linked it with 'books for good manners', 5. 4. 82. For Saviolo's influence on *Romeo and Juliet* see Sergio Rossi 'Duelling in the Italian Manner: the Case of *Romeo and Juliet*', in Michele Marrapodi et al., eds, *Shakespeare's Italy: Functions of Italian Locations in Renaissance Drama*, (rev. edn., Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 112–24.
38. *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. Will H. Dircks (London, 1888), p. 52.
39. For more detailed documentation see my *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap. 2, and 'Francis Bacon, the Earl of Northampton, and the Jacobean Anti-Duelling Campaign', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 1–28.
40. Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life* (London, 1606), p. 65. All references to *Discourse of Civill Life* are to this edition.

41. Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyards Challenge* (London, 1593), pp. 59–60. See also e.g. John Norden, *The Mirror of Honor* (London, 1597), pp. 24–5; Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden, or Gabriell Harveys hunt is up* (London, 1596), in Thomas Nashe, *The Works* vol. III, p. 21; Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (London, 1592), sigs. B2v, B3v–4r.
42. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, eds James F. Larkin & Paul L. Hughes (2 vols., Oxford, 1973), vol. I, p. 307; [Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton], *A publication of his majesties edict, and severe censure against private combats and combatants* (London, 1613), p. 13; Francis Bacon, *The charge of Sir Francis Bacon knight, his Maiesties Attourney generall, touching duells* (London, 1614), p. 10.
43. *Shakespeare's Europe: A Survey of the Condition of Europe, at the End of the Sixteenth Century. Being Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1617)*, ed. Charles Hughes (rev. edn., New York, 1967), pp. 415, 408.
44. *Shakespeare's Europe*, pp. 404, 402. See in general, Thomas Churchyard, *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres* (London, [1579]), sig. O4v–P1r.
45. Thomas Palmer, *An essay of the meanes how to make our travailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), pp. 42, 64–5.
46. Palmer, *An essay*, pp. 43–4.
47. Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady*, 3. 4. 127, quoted from *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. G. A. Wilkes (4 vols., Oxford University Press, 1982).
48. Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 2. 6. 63–4, 66–8.
49. William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, 5. 4. 44–7.
50. Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* [1614], in Walter Raleigh, *The Works* (Oxford, 1829), vol. IV, pp. 459–60.
51. Raleigh, *The History of the World*, in *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 459–60, see also p. 465. Raleigh had been reprimanded twice for duelling in 1580, Paul Hammer, "'Absolute and Sovereign Mistress of her Grace"? Queen Elizabeth I and her Favourites, 1581–1592', in J. H. Elliott and L. W. B. Brockliss, eds, *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 38–53, p. 46.

4

'Words more than civil': Republican Civility in Lucy Hutchinson's 'The Life of John Hutchinson'

David Norbrook

'Civility' is probably not the first word that springs to mind in discussing the zealously Puritan writings of Lucy Hutchinson (1620–81). Contrary to contemporary and later ideas of the ladylike writer, she commanded a remarkably large vocabulary of vituperation and deployed it throughout her substantial canon of writings. The wars she chronicled were 'more than civil' in wider senses than Lucan's (*Pharsalia*, book 1, line 1). And yet civility greatly concerned her. In the normative sense of an ideal of moral or public intercourse, 'civil' and cognate words occur more than fifty times in her life of her husband and twelve times in an earlier version. And her apocalyptic zeal did not impede a very strong concern to vindicate the civil sphere against the religious. Her concern for civility proves to throw a broader light on the nature of English republican discourse, as well as illuminating the tight thematic and conceptual unity of a text that has been more often quarried as a historical source than carefully read as a whole.¹

In tracing the emergence of civility as an ideal of manners and conduct, there has been a tendency, following the lead of Norbert Elias, to adopt a top-down model, with the court setting the agenda that the rest of the country followed. Early modern England, it has often been argued, lacked the strong civic culture that had developed in Italy, and aristocratic and courtly norms of conduct were very strong.² However, Markku Peltonen and others have been challenging that view, showing that England did generate an urban culture in which civility emerged not as a downward transfer of aristocratic norms but as a codification of the social, linguistic and political practices of an urban collectivity, with the civic and the civil being co-extensive.³ Jonathan Barry has located a tradition of specifically urban civility, a civility of urban freemen. And he takes as his text a comment by Henry Ireton at the Putney Debates, where he presents freeholders and the freemen of corporations as 'the permanent interest of the kingdom' in the ancient constitution; they were able to live without dependence.⁴ Henry Ireton was a neighbour and close friend of the Hutchinsons,

and his is the first name to be mentioned in her first narrative of her husband's life; later she wrote that he 'had receiv'd so much advantage to himselfe and his famely in the country by Sir Thomas Hutchinsons countenance that he seem'd a kind of dependant on them'.⁵ The great theorist of independency thus becomes a dependent of the Hutchinsons; but at least they are independent people.

At the start of the biography of her husband which she composed after his death in prison, Lucy Hutchinson presents his republican ideals as originating in long family traditions of resisting courtly advancement and remaining close to the local grass roots: 'as if there had bene an Agrarian law in the famely, assoone as any of them arrived to any considerable fortune beyond his who was first transplanted hither, they began other houses'. In a middling position, upon an 'even ... ground' yet 'elevated enough from the vulgar', the family maintained a 'plaine and honest conversation with all men' (p. 15). From this background came John Hutchinson, a man who 'hated cerimonious complement, but yett had such a naturall civillity and complaisance to all people as made his converse very delightfull' (p. 4). His civility manifested itself again and again in his readiness to put the public interest against private interests. Lucy Hutchinson caught this note of republican simplicity, a life in which military rank was only a regrettably necessary moment, in her original title for the manuscript, 'The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe in the County of Nottingham Esquire' (*Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* was bestowed by her nineteenth-century editor).⁶

Against this ideal of a plain and honest republican communication, Hutchinson presents a Harringtonian analysis of a nobility and upper gentry who have become first corrupted and then undermined by becoming dependent on the private interests of the monarchy. Their corrupt communication thus becomes the true barbarism, separating language off from the public interest into the jargons of ecclesiastical and political interests. Hutchinson often accuses the royalists of barbaric practices (pp. 60, 232, 251, 260, 261, 276); and the charge links up with her political analysis. At the start of the war 'the ordinary civill sort of people ... adher'd to the better, but all the debosht, and such as had liv'd upon the Bishops' bawdy persecuting Courts, and bene the lacqueys of projectors and Monopolizers and the like, they were all bitterly mallignant' (p. 70). With heavy irony she writes that her husband's royalist jailor gave him 'the base termes of Rebell and murtherer, and such language as none could have learn'd but such as had bene conversant among the civill society of Pickt-Hatch, Turnball-Streete, and Billings-gate, neere which last place the Heroe had his education' (p. 260).

This emphasis on the royalists' incivility can be found in the defence of her husband's activities as Governor of Nottingham which was compiled around 1645. This narrative is sometimes described as an early draft for the

'Life'; she did indeed draw heavily on it for the later work, written in the later 1660s, but it is best considered without benefit of hindsight as a separate 'Defence of John Hutchinson'.⁷ (The forensic quality of this text, which probably drew heavily on notes and documents provided by her husband, helps to explain the impersonal or 'masculine' voice which critics have detected in her writings.) At the very start of the narrative much attention is given to two episodes of incivility during the tense period just before the outbreak of war. Hutchinson was drawing on a widespread Parliamentary practice of depicting the royalist armies as marauding, self-interested hordes, appealing to the worst instincts of the populace. In an exchange with the Earl of Newark, which the 'Defence' presents in dialogue form and is greatly trimmed in the 'Life', her husband is reported as complaining that:

there is a troope of horse now in the towne and it hath often hapned so that have committed greate outrages and insolencies calling divers honest men puritanes and roagues with divers other provoking termes and carriages I my selfe was abused by some of them as I passed on y^e roade I chanced to meet some gentlemen who assoone as I was past enquired my name and being told it gave me another saying among themselves that I was a puritane and a traitor or some such base termes as 2 or 3 honest men y^t came behind told me.... under the name of Souldiers rude people dayly passe from north to South and terrifie the country[.]⁸

Although the threat of armed violence is John Hutchinson's greatest concern, he is acutely sensitive to verbal violence as well, and we can see the opposing sides in the war coalescing as different groups either take up or deplore the pejorative use of the word 'Puritan'. Soon afterwards, an 'uncivilly vapouring' royalist tries to requisition the house of John Hutchinson's father; Hutchinson 'thrust him out of doors' and when Lord Lindsey arrived 'in a great chafe', told him that his servant 'deserved y^t usage he had for his uncivillitie' and explained that the house was not fit to receive 'a person of his quallite'. Lindsey was mollified, and now that he 'came upon termes of civillity, Mr Hutchinson was as civill to him, and my Lord only employ'd one roome, staying there with all civillity to those that were in the house'.⁹ Thus the Puritan gentry teach civility to the aristocracy.

But as the civil war continues, Hutchinson does not give us a straightforward opposition between civil republicans and corrupt royalists. On the contrary, most of the rhetorical energy of the 'Life' is directed not against royalists but against the leaders of the city of Nottingham and other enemies on the Parliamentary side. This animus reflects the intense divisions that emerged over the nature and direction of the war, with John Hutchinson complaining that commanders like Sir John Gell at Derby were

lukewarm in support for total victory. In an escalating war of words, Gell's supporters declared that 'since you bid us defiance we as much slight you, though you have advantage of us, quitting a poore Towne upon each alarum & mewing up yourselves, up in your supposed invincible forte ... Thus loath to have uttered such expressions, had not your unexpected bitterness extracted them from us'. Lucy Hutchinson's 'Defence' of her husband can be considered a parallel to the narratives Gell composed at the same time for his defence before a Parliamentary committee.¹⁰ Her animus towards Gell, however, cannot just be put down to the passions of immediate military and political conflict. When she came back to these events twenty years later, she elaborated her criticisms of Gell's 'barbarisme', declaring that 'he had not understanding enough to judge the equity of the cause, nor noe pietie or holinesse, being a fowle adulterer all that time he serv'd the Parliament' (p. 67). She added many other vivid pen-portraits of her opponents and inserted minute deflationary details.¹¹

The anger that boils through her writing so many years later reflects the precariousness of the ideal of Puritan civility that Hutchinson was trying to uphold; and also ambiguities in the term 'civility'. In many of the usages I have cited so far, it connotes a broad form of civic virtue; but at other times the emphasis is more on courtesy, on good manners particularly within the ruling elite. In that conception, true civility is to be found not in the urban elite but in the uncorrupted residue of the rural gentry. What makes it seem so precarious is that Hutchinson has no belief in the court as a centre of manners: for her it is irredeemably corrupted, and she writes that her husband was miraculously preserved 'from wallowing in the mire of sinne and wickednesse wherein most of the gentry of those times were miserably plunged, except a few that were therefore the scorne of mankind' (p. 35). Rather than serving as a positive ideal, the court creates structures of dependency that for Hutchinson are incompatible with civic virtue. All the more obligation then accrues on the small number of independent gentry to provide a space where manners and learning can be cultivated; and Hutchinson does not find this space in the city. There is a strong top-down element in her analysis, even though manners are passed down from the gentry rather than the court. Her husband and his supporters in fact came from a very narrow constituency, almost all belonging to the gentry of a small area of the county fairly close to Nottingham. In the rest of the county the gentry were overwhelmingly royalist.¹² This meant that leadership on Parliament's side devolved on John Hutchinson even though his family was not of the first rank in the county.

When he was made governor not only of Nottingham Castle but also of Nottingham city, however, John Hutchinson found himself at constant odds with the city leadership, who saw him as a patronizing interloper imposed on them from outside. They believed that his civility was a form of defeatism, leading him to be much easier in horizontal relations with

other, royalist members of the gentry than in vertical relationships with the citizenry. For all her interest in Ireton, Lucy Hutchinson shows herself sceptical about any idealization of urban freedom, which in her analysis becomes self-indulgence:

The Townsmen, being such as had liv'd free and plentifully of themselves, could not subject themselves to Government, but were so sawcy, so negligent, and so mutinous that the most honorable person in the world could expect nothing but scandall, reproach and ingratitude for the payment of his greatest merit; and this the worthy Governor found sufficiently from them. (p. 106)

Even their strongest supporters amongst the successive mayors 'had no more but a Burger's discretion' (p. 70). Her husband is praised for the distance he maintains from the townsmen: his brother is over-familiar, whereas John Hutchinson, 'still keeping a greater distance, though with no more pride, preserv'd an awe that made him to be equally fear'd and lov'd'. Without such awe, 'vulger spiritts' will be liable to 'cast off their bridle and be their owne only rulers' (p. 156). He insisted on verbal forms even amongst his allies: it is with some resentment that Lucy Hutchinson recalls Colonel Francis Pierrepont's addressing remarks to 'John (for soe in a jesting way he used to call Lft Coll Hutchinson'.¹³ (This comment, incidentally, gives us a sense of what she would have thought of the common practice of referring to her as 'Lucy'.)

While insisting on a certain distance from many on his own side, John Hutchinson aroused suspicion by showing cordial civility to royalists like his cousin Sir Ricard Biron, 'to whom he was forc'd, against his nature, to be more uncivill than to any other that were governors in that place' (pp. 89–90). The godly suspected such civility because they 'thought it scarce possible for any one to continue a gentleman and firme to a godly interest' (p. 89). At the start of the war the godly 'would not allow him to be religious because his hayre was not in their cutt, nor his words in their phraze, nor such little formallities altogether fitted to their humor, who were, many of them, so weake as to esteeme rather for such insignificant circumstances than for solid wisdom, piety and courage' (p. 63). His long hair was associated with forms of speech that in their view made his godliness suspect. And the Nottingham citizens' suspicions would only have been confirmed by the readiness with which Hutchinson herself drew on royalist satires of base-born Puritans. In describing Puritan hostility to long hair she quotes a satire by John Cleveland, accepting his condemnation of the absurdity of this fetish (p. 63), and indeed this poem was copied into her commonplace book.¹⁴

By the time Lucy Hutchinson was writing the 'Life', her enemies' suspicion of the couple's excessive civility to the royalists would have been

intensified. During the Protectorate they lived in semi-retirement, and John Hutchinson followed many pursuits indistinguishable from those of royalists espousing an Epicurean retirement in political hard times: he collected paintings, landscaped his gardens, and taught his children music and dancing (p. 207). Lucy Hutchinson embarked on a translation of the great Epicurean epic, Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, a project not at first sight easily compatible with her frequent denunciations of royalist atheism, and likely to have scandalized many of the godly. During this period the Hutchinsons formed close relationships with opponents of Cromwell from royalist as well as republican directions. Lucy Hutchinson already had many royalist friendships, her brother and most of her family being royalists. When Charles returned, she forged a letter of recantation from her husband and his life was spared at a time when other regicides received the death penalty. Her relatives argued that for the last seven years the Colonel had been working covertly for the king's return, and noted that he had urged lenience towards Sir George Booth and his royalist insurgents. In 1660 Booth and his party 'all appear'd for the Collonell, in gratitude for his civility to them' (p. 231); though other royalists to whom he had shown civility turned against him (pp. 185–6, 231). Lucy Hutchinson's ready accommodation with royalists surely does reflect on one level the pressure of bonds of social solidarity that cut across ideological divisions.

She herself came to regret and repudiate her wavering in 1660 – though she believed at the same time that her husband had been providentially saved to find a deeper knowledge of God. But it is also possible to trace some consistency in the couple's allegiances. Some groups amongst the Independents had always tried to build up a cultural politics that would unite former royalists and the more radical Puritans against the establishment of a strict Presbyterian national church.¹⁵ Milton, John Hall and others were ready to echo some cavalier critics of Puritanism, attacking Presbyterians' censoriousness on some external forms like the length of hair as reflecting a narrowness of mind that also led to persecution of independent religious thought. Appeal could be made to a wider, and partly secular, early modern anti-clerical tradition. We can see this process in a revealing entry from the Nottingham borough records, where John Hutchinson's enemies accused him and his allies of abusing 'orthodox, painful, and p[ro]fitable preachers' with 'Cavallier like language'. One preacher was 'called to his face, proud preist, peevish preist, and factious preist'. The page chronicling these terms of abuse was later struck through, presumably because the Independents were now in control. But it is a striking index of the intricacies of the politics of verbal abuse in this period that it should have been the Presbyterians who were so eager to record for posterity the choicest terms of abuse their enemies had heaped on them, while their opponents wanted to deprive themselves of credit for their vituperative skills.¹⁶ Lucy Hutchinson finds it very hard to use the word 'priest'

without an abusive epithet: 'proud encroaching priests' (p. 44), 'loose malignant priests' (p. 131; 'malignant scandalus priests' in the 'Defence', fol. 67v), 'persecuting Priests' (p. 132), 'these charitable priests' (heavily ironic, p. 179), 'a coachfull of Presbyterian Priests' (p. 179), 'an insolent proud priest' ('Defence', fol. 80r). To the Presbyterians, this was a 'Cavallier like language'. But of course it also drew on the traditions of anti-clerical polemic, fortified by the prophetic books of the Bible as well as the humanist rhetoric of vituperation, to which Presbyterians had often given ambivalent assent, as at the time of the Marprelate controversy. In his captivity John Hutchinson marked passages which were applicable to his situation and his wife transcribed them in the manuscript of the 'Life', under such titles as 'Applicable Scriptures to the Prelates'.¹⁷

A striking example of how such rhetoric could be broadened from Anglicans to Presbyterians appears in a letter of 1637 from the Hutchinsons' friend Gervase Pigot, enclosing a copy of some 'sharpe invectives against y^e B^{pp}s' which had been sent him by one of the Bishop of London's chaplains. These 'Episcoporum Epitheta, extracted from the poyson of detraction spew'd out in a Libell' included such terms as 'Lazy Lubbers, & Idle Droanes', 'Linsy-Woolsy Lukewarme Laodiceans', and 'Fellow traytors to Judas' (it must be said that Hutchinson's abusive terms are relatively uninventive in comparison). The chaplain had doubtless singled out these epithets to reveal the monstrousness of the forces being ranged against the church, and Pigot sent them on to Clifton in that spirit; but as he was from the first a Parliamentary supporter and staunch ally of the Hutchinsons, we may wonder whether he did not take a certain pleasure in relaying this invective.¹⁸ By the mid-1640s, he and his friends were starting to direct these terms against the Presbyterians, and were in turn being attacked in Presbyterian sermons for 'arbitrary power' (p. 141). When one of these sermons was defended by a group of the Colonel's enemies, Pigot rounded on them as a whoremaster, a drunkard and a knave – abuse which he justified as being 'in desire of their reformation' (p. 147). Such abuse of the Presbyterians was 'Cavallier like language' to the extent that it could potentially unite royalists and independents, but the Hutchinsons considered that they were only furthering a course of reformation which was being blocked by new presbyters who closely resembled the old priests. Indeed, before too long their enemies stopped attacking them as cavaliers and labelled them as 'Castillian' instead (p. 146).

For the Hutchinsons and other radical Independents, any clerical monopoly was an enemy to civility, maintaining the hierarchical power structures that had displaced republican liberty in later antiquity. Abusive epithets against the clergy, though open to accusations of incivility, might be argued to help the cause of widening the scope of civility. In their obsession with length of hair, the godly accepted a very narrow conception of civility as reflecting the external manners of the gentry, and thus eroded

the possibility of a broader conception of civil life. There is some evidence that John Hutchinson, in line with Barry's analysis, deliberately tried to broaden the city's forms of civility by putting pressure on its political structures. Nottingham's government had been in the hands of a small committee; but as was happening in London at that time there was pressure for the much larger Common Hall, made up of all the burgesses, to have the ultimate say in major decisions, and several large meetings of this body were called while John Hutchinson was governor.¹⁹

His problem was that in Nottingham there seems to have been no local equivalent to the groups of small artisans and anti-monopolists who in London were hostile to the urban oligarchy and sympathetic to religious tolerance. Lucy Hutchinson writes that her husband was sympathetic to the London Levellers (p. 179), and at Nottingham the Hutchinsons showed sympathy towards religious dissent, allowing meetings to be held in the Castle. This became a major source of contention between city and castle, but the dissenters were in far too much of a minority to make an appeal to them over the heads of the city leaders politically effective. Of their relations with the leaders Lucy Hutchinson writes: 'the Governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsooke not their assemblies, nor retracted not their benevolences and civillities from them, yett were they revil'd by them and calld fanaticke and anabaptists, and often glanc'd at in their publick sermons' (p. 169). A broader and more inclusive model of civility here encounters resistance from defenders of a more traditional set of liberties. But it is understandable that the Nottingham leaders should have read that civility as in fact a much narrower kind of patronizing and condescension. When Lucy Hutchinson writes that the wife of a mayor who sides with the godly is 'a woman of greate zeale and courage, and more understanding than weomen of her ranke usually have' (p. 70), it does not sound as if she is proposing a programme of republican education that might broaden such understanding, but rather dealing with a few enlightened exceptions. The citizens are too dependent on trade to achieve full political independence; the freemen are not free enough.

In the end, though, Hutchinson does not place the blame for what goes on in Nottingham primarily on the traditional civic elite or on the Presbyterians; though these had their faults, they became disastrous, and turned wholly against the public interest, only because they were manipulated by cavalier infiltrators, wolves in sheep's clothing. The real problem, it turns out, is not the Puritans but the atheists. In her general analysis of the causes of the war, Hutchinson laments that the godly party was deeply corrupted from the start by 'many of witt and parts' who used their wits for private not public advancement, and encouraged the Puritan leadership to enter into 'countermines and other engines' of secular policy which ultimately overreached themselves and collapsed (pp. 44–5). In the long term, that was why the revolution failed.

On a micro-level, Hutchinson analyzes this process in Nottingham in two figures, Huntington Plumtre, a doctor who was also a neo-Latin poet, and James Chadwick, the deputy recorder of the city, with the responsibility of composing formal orations of welcome. As members of a local literary community, they might be expected to have aroused Lucy Hutchinson's fellow-feeling; but in fact she rounded on them with particular savagery. Both, in her view, were worse than the cavaliers, in that they imitated the worst cavalier parodies of the godly and thus in effect made them come true. Plumtre's case perhaps aroused particular hostility because it indicated the fundamental difficulty of maintaining a coalition between the godly and the anticlerical Erastians. He 'had learning and other naturall parts and understanding enough to discern between naturall civill righteousnesse and injustice' (p. 70), which meant that he supported Parliament, for Hutchinson was convinced that the good old cause could be justified in civil as well as religious terms. Indeed, she wrote that her husband became 'convinc'd in conscience of the righteousnesse of the Parliament's cause in poynt of civill right' and considered the religious aspect of countering a campaign to bring back Popery was not 'so cleare a ground of the warre as the defence of just English liberties' (p. 53). On that civil ground, Plumtre stood with the Hutchinsons, and partly because of his family connections - he had addressed poems to John Hutchinson's father - the Hutchinsons 'protected him a little against the bitter zealotts' (p. 71).

In a larger sense, however, he proved sadly lacking in civility, having 'such an intollerable pride that he brook'd no superiours, and having some witt, tooke the boldnesse to exercise it in the abuse of all the gentlemen' (pp. 70-1). He had already shown a satirical bent in his poems, one of which was a mocking account of a mayoral election, another an anti-Puritan satire.²⁰ His incivility towards his betters might during the civil war take on the appearance of a bold commitment to public liberty, but in Hutchinson's view this was all an illusion. In an incident she recounts both in the early manuscript and in the 'Life', Plumtre rails at John Hutchinson for supporting 'the godly townsmen, whom he call'd a company of Puritanicall prickear'd rascalls'. When the Colonel defends them as faithful to the cause, 'Plumtre replied he was as honest to the Cause as the Governor. "No", sayd the Governor (who was not ignorant of his Atheisme), "that you cannot be, for you goe not upon the same Principles". The Doctor told him it was false, with such uncivill insolence that the Governor struck him' (p. 85). Lucy Hutchinson's analysis suggests that precisely because his support for Parliament was merely civil, he was incapable of acting with true civility. 'What is the cause to me,' he exclaims, 'if my goods be lost?' (p. 85). He lacked the faith that would sustain his cause through difficulties and dangers. Though John Hutchinson's striking of Plumtre for his 'mallitious and uncivill raylings' persuades him to leave for a while, and he shows his true colours by going to royalist Newark, he later

returns, having managed to obtain a pass, and after being treated by John Hutchinson 'with more civillity than he deserv'd' (p. 98) continues to intrigue with the Presbyterians against the Independents, gloating that 'he was glad the Governor was taught manners' (p. 131). Plumtre's hypocritical appearance of civic virtue thus dwindles into a shell of civility that is indistinguishable from cavalier discourse.

If Plumtre never claims to be one of the godly, Chadwick is in some ways a more grievous case because he masquerades as a saint. He had begun as 'a boy that scrap'd trenchers in the house of one of the poorest justices in the County', but 'having an insinuating witt and tongue, procur'd himself to be Deputy Recorder of Nottingham'. Though he ingratiated himself with the king, he also 'by flatteries and dissimulations ... kept up his credit with the godly, cutting his haire, and taking up a forme of godlinesse, the better to deceive ... it is almost incredible that one of his meane education and poverty should arrive to such things as he reacht'. For Hutchinson it is entirely predictable that he 'was a libidinous goate, for which his wife, they say, pay'd him with making him a cuckold; yett were there not two persons to be found that pretended more sanctity than he and she, who had a tongue not lesse glavering and false than his' (pp. 71–2). It is easy to see why the townspeople accused the Hutchinsons' faction of using 'Cavallier like language'. As Lucy Hutchinson presents him, Chadwick, the base-born upstart hypocritically using religion for self-advancement, might have stepped out of the pages of Ben Jonson and the later cavalier poets; while Plumtre uses the cause of liberty as an excuse for abusing his betters.

But what is going on in these passages is more complicated than the standard anti-Puritan satire. Earlier in the 'Life' Hutchinson has herself attacked the playwrights and satirists who ridiculed the godly as 'an illiterate, morose, melancholly, discontented, craz'd sort of men, not fitt for humane conversation' (p. 44). She represents Chadwick in terms reminiscent of Jonson but within an overall context that has criticized such analysis, and her hit at his cropped hair functions differently from Cleveland's generic antipuritan satire; the problem is not Chadwick's Puritanism but his lack of the godliness without which any religious profession, Puritan or otherwise, will be empty. Plumtre's malignant attack on John Hutchinson's Puritanism is politically very different from the language of Hutchinsons' attacks on the Presbyterians. The fact remains that the Puritans' readiness to accept people like Plumtre and Chadwick in their midst does reflect badly on their judgement. Lucy Hutchinson, normally reluctant to acknowledge that her husband had any faults at all, goes so far as to say that 'the greatest of the Governor's defects' was that his candour and preference for 'honest, plaine friendship' made him 'more unsuspecting of others, and more credulous of faire pretenders, than suited with so greate a prudence as he testified in all things elce' (pp. 133–4).

The problem is epitomized in Hutchinson's description of Chadwick's patron Gilbert Millington, who tries to cover up his intrigues against the Governor, 'excusing his intimacy with his enemies upon a zeale he had to doe him service by discovering their designes against him, and call'd himselfe therein Sir Pollitick Woodbe' (p. 135). The allusion here is meant to work doubly against Millington, as showing both that he is familiar with ungodly plays and that he does not even understand them properly, taking Jonson's *Sir Politick* to be a sympathetic character.²¹ On a more general level, he epitomizes those attempts at merely wordly countermines and engines into which secular action degenerates without an underpinning of faith. At some points in the 'Life', Hutchinson makes a sharp division between civil and religious issues that seems to imply a total loss of faith in secular action. At the start of the war, it is true, the 'civill sort of people' do adhere to Parliament, though they do so coldly; and atheists like Plumtre can agree with John Hutchinson in finding the strongest cause for taking up arms in civil motives. As the conflict progresses, however, it emerges that only those also sustained by a godly faith can be fully civil, while those lacking such a faith allow civil activities to degenerate into Machiavellian dealings that tend inexorably away from public towards private interests, and thus do the royalists' work for them.

This plot structure, then, is not as reminiscent as it first seemed of a Jonsonian or sub-Jonsonian comedy. We are shown Machiavellian dissimulators who use their wit and learning to undermine godly ideals, and who are ultimately representative of the traditional social hierarchy in all its incivility. These machiavels can use Puritan and Parliamentary rhetoric even though their goals are ultimately private revenge rather than the public good. In short, we have a plot structure less like a Jonson comedy than *Paradise Lost* – or Hutchinson's own Genesis epic, *Order and Disorder*, where the seed of Cain found the Worldly State and constantly intrigue against the simplicity of the godly.

Does the Puritan vulnerability to false civility mean that the project of a godly civility is impossible? Hutchinson seems to come close to saying so. She relates of her husband's last months that

Often times he would say, if ever he were at liberty in the world, he would flie the conversation of all the Cavaliers, and would write upon his doores, *procul hinc, procul este, profani*, and that, though he had in his former conversation with them never had any communication with their manners nor vices, yet henceforth he would never, either in one kind or other, have any commerce at all with them ... he was convinc'd there was a serpentine seed in them. (p. 265)

A little later he repeats that 'he would never have so much as a civill correspondence with any of them again' (p. 269). He now regretted the civility

he had shown to the cavaliers, which had discredited him with his own side; but he had little faith in most of those who had fought on his side. Such a dark conclusion had been implied by Milton in the 'Digression' to his *History of Britain*: where he laments that 'civilitie, prudence, love of the public more then of money or vaine honour are to this soile in a manner outlandish', that the British have minds 'headstrong and intractable to the industrie and vertue either of executing or understanding true civil government'.²² In some ways, however, Lucy Hutchinson had a more positive view than Milton of the possibilities of political change. At one point in the 'Life' she subscribes to a Harringtonian belief that land transfers will inexorably undermine the authority of the monarchy (p. 41). She did not subscribe to Harringtonian or other models for radically new constitutions, however. Like Ireton, she and her husband believed that with judicious change the existing Parliamentary system could be restored to a proper representative function; like Ireton, she again and again uses a language of secular 'interest'. She and her husband were deeply wary of military intervention in Parliamentary affairs, and their move towards royalists in the 1650s reflected their alienation from the attempts of the army to impose a godly society without the mediation of traditional civil forms. In the long term, religious and civil liberty could be attained without such premature forcing.

Such a strongly civil analysis of politics seems a long way from John Hutchinson's abjuration of the 'serpentine seed'; but there is a dialectical, rather than simply dichotomous, relationship between her conceptions of religious and civic virtues.²³ The demands of civic virtue, in the face of the very complex social and political forces arrayed against it, were so immense that only the elect would be able in practice to sustain them; all others would fall by the wayside. Yet the elect should not therefore conclude that they could throw aside civil laws: until the final arrival of the millennial kingdom, any such attempts at unmediated godly rule would only frustrate their own ends. Her analysis of the godly people's liability to dissimulation carries with it a strong warning for the future: uprisings undertaken purely in the name of godliness rather than civil motivation may in fact be peculiarly liable to infiltration by false motives. John Hutchinson's last advice to his son is to hold back from involvement in any republican rising – and he is sure there will be many – until it is clear that 'men of interest' will be involved (p. 269). Those secular interests are a necessary condition of a godly republic, even though the sufficient condition is that the republicans should also prove to be God's elect: God's interest is the public interest.

The complexities of Hutchinson's conception of godly republican civility emerge when she describes her husband's departure from Newark jail:

when he was forc'd through their streetes they gave him very civill respect, and when he came away civill farewells, and all muttere'd

exceedingly at their Mayor, and say'd he would undoe their Towne by such simple illegall proceedings. The Collonell regarded all these civillities from the Towne, who were generally much concern'd in his injuries ... not as of themselves, but as from God, who at that time overaw'd the hearts of his enemies, as once he did Laban's and Esau's, and was much confirm'd in the favour of God thereby and nothing at all daunted at the mallice of his prosecutors, but went as cheerefully into captivity as another would have come out of it. (p. 248)

During the Civil War Newark had been the enemy citadel, the recourse of Plumtre and other malignants; yet its people are civil to him because they see him as a defender of civility against the manifestations of arbitrary rule in the Restoration government. The links he has built up with opponents of the Protectorate's arbitrary rule in the previous decade help to give a secular explanation of his popularity. But Lucy Hutchinson goes on to reject a secular explanation.

It is particularly striking that she should have used the Laban-Esau analogy both at this climactic moment of the 'Life', where John Hutchinson begins his journey southwards to prison and death, and at the point where *Order and Disorder* breaks off. In her poem, the struggle between Jacob and Esau is a recapitulation of the primal struggle between Cain and Abel, between the persecuting authority and its younger challenger, between the corrupt Wordly State and Visible Church and the godly elect. In her poem, she generally pays little attention to secular politics. At this point, however, she launches into a diatribe against the intervention of priests in civil affairs:

Under devotion's name thus do they hide
The rage of their own envy, hate, and pride,
Perhaps even from themselves: mistaken zeal
Hath made more wounds than Gilead's balm can heal;
Engaged rash erring multitudes oft-times
Into rebellious parricidal crimes;
Made regal shepherds kill the gentle sheep
Which the Almighty gave them charge to keep;
Made subjects 'gainst their sovereigns to conspire,
With civil discord set the world on fire ...
For when the priests war's silver trumpets sound,
Cruelty rages without any bound.²⁴

Anti-clericalism here outweighs republicanism: kings and rebellious populace are equally in error because both allow themselves to be seduced into 'civil discord' by the clergy's 'mistaken zeal'. This analysis has points in common with royalist attacks on the godly, though in this context it is directed both

at the Presbyterians and the triumphant restored Anglican church. Civil authority is being wrested into inappropriate religious hands. And yet Jacob's victory will be a sign of divine election rather than secular prudence; in her attack on zeal, Hutchinson deploys her most zealous prophetic invective.

Finally, it should be observed that this complex account of the relations between civility and godliness underlies what may at first seem a quite distinct part of the 'Life': the celebrated account of the couple's courtship. This operates within Caroline modes of fashionable Platonism, and what might be considered a cavalier-like language of love; and yet it is clearly marked as providential. John Hutchinson is reserved for Lucy Apsley's love, refusing to be entangled in 'the fine snares' of fashionable women: 'without any taint of incivillity', he 'in such a way of handsome rallerie reproov'd their pride and vanitie as made them asham'd of their glory' (p. 28). He is ready to show enjoyment of the minor deceptions of love: having learned about Lucy Apsley through her sister Barbara, it is by 'pre-tending civillity to conduct her home' that he at last sees his future wife face to face (p. 31). But once they have had a serious meeting, 'having bene told and seeing how she shun'd all other men, and how civilly she entertain'd him', he 'believ'd that a secret power had wrought a mutuall inclination betweene them' (p. 32). Once again he has to defend his course against the fashionable ladies, who:

with wittie spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dresse and habitt and all womanish ornaments, giving herselfe wholly up to studie and writing. Mr Hutchinson, who had a very pleasant and sharpe witt, retorted all their mallice with ... just reproofes of their idlenesse and vanity. (p. 32)

Her love of study makes her an appropriate partner for a companionate marriage which will centre on civic ideals; indeed, he is interested in her first of all when he sees her collection of books in Latin, the language of humanist civility which was not always considered an appropriate female accomplishment. Civility in the fashionable world of the 1630s made apparently contradictory demands on women: both a special attention to modesty and reservedness and a leading role in refining and polishing manners.²⁵ Lucy Apsley, in the account given by a friend noted for 'civillity', pushes the first quality to a point where it becomes a kind of aggression towards polite society: 'she shuns the converse of men as the plague ... and hath not the humanity to communicate that happinesse to any of our sex'. On the other hand, her poems have 'stollen forth', and John Hutchinson finds in them not the expected conventional grace but 'something of rationally ... beyond the customary reach of a she witt' (p. 29).

When we first meet them, John Hutchinson and Lucy Apsley are already using their shared wit and rationality to push at the limits of

fashionable norms of civility, accepting external social forms but united in a melancholy that distances them from those norms. Lucy Hutchinson will accept female subordination in marriage as a Christian command: 'meeting a compliant subject to his owne wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave' (p. 33). 'Compliant' was a relatively new word at this time; the first *OED* definition is 'Practice of civility, complaisance'.²⁶ 'Compliant' was Lucy Hutchinson's second thought after deleting 'obedient'. The choice of words softens the Biblical register of obedience with the tones of a civility that was newly fashionable at the time she was describing. Though a little earlier she had described herself as her husband's mirror, a passage that has occasioned much comment as indicating an unbecoming passivity, the wider context of this part of the 'Life' indicates a complex reciprocity of agencies, with hierarchical obedience complemented by an ideal of civility that will turn out, as the work develops and their lives come under increasing external strains, to imply strong public commitments for both partners. Their godly civility has a sharp edge that may make it hard to distinguish from vituperation; yet it claims the power at once to affirm and to spiritualize civic institutions.

Notes

1. Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 172–85, remains the most acute political analysis; see also N. H. Keeble, "'The Colonel's Shadow': Lucy Hutchinson, Women's Writing and the Civil War", in Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 227–47; David Norbrook, 'Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*', in David Womersley, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Literature from Milton to Blake* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 82–8; Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670–1820* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 28–46.
2. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 58ff, offers a nuanced account of the not exactly 'bourgeois' yet not purely courtly connotations of civility in England.
3. Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570–1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), chap. 1.
4. Jonathan Barry, 'Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: the Meanings of Urban Freedom', in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack, eds, *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 181–96, p. 181.
5. British Library Additional MS 39,799, fol. 42r; Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. James Sutherland (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 53. All references to the *Memoirs* are to this edition.
6. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Julius Hutchinson (London, 1806). I am working with Martyn Bennett on a new edition; for the textual problems see my 'Editing "The Life of John Hutchinson": from Manuscript to Print and Back Again?', in W. Speed Hill, ed., *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, vol. III,

forthcoming. I am grateful to Mrs Hugh Priestley and to the Principal Archivist of the Nottinghamshire Archives for permission to reproduce Hutchinson material on deposit at Nottingham.

7. The manuscript was broken up and dispersed in the early nineteenth century and different parts found their way to the British Museum separately; they are now British Library Additional MSS 25,901, 39,779, 46,172N. Substantial extracts from the first two manuscripts are given by C. H. Firth in his edition of *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (London: Routledge; New York: Dutton, 1906).
8. BL Additional MS 39,799, fols. 43v–44r (deletions omitted), Firth, ed., *Memoirs*, pp. 81–2; the same passage occurs with slightly different wording at BL Additional MS 25,901, fol. 1; cf. Sutherland, ed., *Memoirs*, p. 55.
9. BL Additional MS 46,172N, fol. 93r; Sutherland, ed., *Memoirs*, p. 64.
10. Derbyshire Record Office D803/Z9/F80; Brian Stone, *Derbyshire in the Civil War* (Cromford: Scarthin Books, 1992), pp. 128–42; Andrew Polkey, ‘Civil War Derbyshire: Sir John Gell’s “True Relation” Reconsidered’, *Derbyshire Miscellany*, 14 (Autumn 1997), 151–76.
11. For examples beyond those cited here see Sydney Race, ‘The British Museum MS of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson and its Relation to the Published Memoirs’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 18 (1914), 35–66, pp. 52–3. This remains after nearly a century the only serious study of the manuscripts.
12. Alfred Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the Civil War* (rev. edn, East Ardley: S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1971), p. 129.
13. BL Additional MS 25,901, fol. 14r.
14. Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/HU1, 247–9 (not in Hutchinson’s hand); Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 217–8.
15. David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 158ff.
16. W. T. Baker, ed., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, vol. V (London: Bernard Quaritch and Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons, 1900), p. 230.
17. Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/HU4, [431].
18. University of Nottingham Library, Portland Collection, CIC616a, Gervase Pigot to Sir Gervase Clifton, 16 January 1637; I have been unable to identify which of the many anticlerical satires circulating at this time was being quoted.
19. Patricia A. Lloyd, ‘Politics, Religion and the Personnel of Politics in Nottingham, 1642–1688’, University of Nottingham M.Phil. thesis 1983, pp. 56ff, 79ff, 116ff.
20. Huntington Plumtre, *Epigrammaton Opusculum duobus libellis Distinctum* (London, 1629), pp. 77ff, 46, 3.
21. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N. H. Keeble (London: J. M. Dent, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1995), p. 365.
22. Milton, *The History of Britain*, ed. French Fogle, in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, eds Don M. Wolfe et al., 8 vols. in 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Oxford University Press, 1953–82), vol. V:1, pp. 449–51.
23. For further discussion see David Norbrook, ‘The English Revolution and English Historiography’, in N. H. Keeble, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 233–50, pp. 239–40.
24. Lucy Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder*, ed. David Norbrook (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), Canto 20, lines 97–106, 109–10. Cf. Sutherland, ed., *Memoirs*, p. 38: ‘We have spirituall weapons given us for spiritual combates, and those who go about to conquer subjects for Christ with swords of steele shall find the base mettall breake to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully flie in their own faces’.

25. Sara Mendelson, 'The Civility of Women in Seventeenth-Century England', in Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack, eds, *Civil Histories*, 111–25, pp. 116–7.
26. The *OED* dates the earliest of any of the related forms, 'compliant', to 1635, and the second usage comes from Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643): 'it is not the joyning of another body will remove lonelines, but the uniting of another compliant mind' (*Complete Prose Works*, vol. II, p. 327); Milton later celebrated the unity of married souls as 'compliant' in *Paradise Lost*, book 8, line 603.

5

'When civil fury first grew high': Politics and Incivility in Restoration England

Sharon Achinstein

The year 1660 may have marked the end of the English Revolution, but that year did not end the legitimation problems of the Stuart state. There were not only reiterations of revolutionary conflicts in repeated plots and rebellions against the restored regime, there was a cultural war as well. As Samuel Butler pointed to the oxymoron of the phrase 'civil war' in his opening to *Hudibras* – 'When civil fury first grew high' – the English experience of violence did not end with the return of monarchy in 1660. The mid-century crisis left a remainder, registered in an urgency over the problem of civility, and figured as a contest between fanaticism and cultural advance. With dissent still a threat to stability, and amidst rising fears of international popery and domestic sedition, victorious Anglican royalists stringently opposed religious diversity. The new parliaments sought political revenge against the Cromwellian regime not only by exhuming and then mutilating the bodies of regicides, but also by taking aim at its professional ministry. Between 1660 and 1662, at least two thousand nonconforming ministers, clergy, and lecturers – at least one in five – were expelled from livings for refusing to adhere to the orthodoxies prescribed by the Act of Uniformity. Most of these were moderate Presbyterians, who would have supported a national church, but who were pushed into separation by the requirements of the Act.¹

Anglican policies of persecution simplified and consolidated disparate groups across a broad spectrum – granting such opposing groups as radical Quakers, apocalyptic Calvinists, and Arminian Presbyterians a new political identity, the nonconformist. Over the next twenty years, Parliament repeatedly took up the divisive problem of legislating orthodoxy, and defining unorthodoxy, through a series of Acts which stripped, then reinstated, rights of dissenters. Numbering something over 340,000 in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, dissenters made up about six per cent of the population as a whole; even as they won a limited toleration in 1688, they remained excluded from public office, or found

loopholes such as the politic practice of occasional conformity in order to take places in university and in county politics.² This essay is interested in how the binary opposition of Anglican and dissenter embodies the contradictions in the concept of civility, both in its qualitative senses – civic virtue, politeness and courtesy – as well as in its structural meaning – the civil sphere, as opposed to the religious or domestic – and how that binary opposition mediated the changes in radicalism through the period after the defeat of the puritan revolution in 1660. The civil war period inaugurated a series of responses in the political and religious registers that gave rise to discourses of secularization, but, as we shall see here, by various means, from within as well as from without dissent. The fabrication of the uncivil prophet as against the polite subject was one such means of transformation.

Weberian analysis gives us an account of secularization over the early modern period, a ‘disenchantment of the world’ which stresses the formalizing processes of religion, what Weber calls the rationalization of religious life. He contrasts impersonal and systematic processes (rational bureaucratization, for example) against the lone and unaccountable authority of the prophet, whose social power is attained by virtue of personal gifts, what Weber calls *charisma*. Weber writes, ‘since it is “extra-ordinary”, charismatic authority is sharply opposed to rational, and particularly bureaucratic, authority, and to traditional authority, whether in its patriarchal, patrimonial, or estate variants, all of which are everyday forms of domination; while the charismatic type is the direct antithesis of this.’³ Weber holds that secularization entails a process by which charisma is made routine, where authority comes to be perpetuated through internal norms rather than by charismatic leaders.

Weberian analysis is a starting point for exploring the tensions expressed in Restoration English culture over the question of religious dissent, a conflict that may be seen schematically as a clash between rationalization and charisma: certainly those advocating persecution of dissenters saw it that way. But Weber’s binary oppositions mirror just the same kind of pairings produced by Restoration conservatives in order to delegitimize religious unorthodoxy. Our stories of the processes of modernization need to take account of the ways schemes such as Weber’s serve to mask contests of power: rather than a transition from one form of legitimation to another, what we have in the Restoration period is one construction of a binary opposition between rationality and prophecy. This essay explores how the tensions over religious authority in the Restoration state *produced* ecstatic prophecy as outside the social, a representation that served the discourses of secular control.

This is not to say that the construction of the unruly prophet was a total fabrication. Indeed, some dissenters, notoriously Quakers, for instance, did maintain a commitment to prophetic authority, but for most dissenters,

apocalyptic prophecy or violent millenarianism was never the lone legitimating authority; there were discourses of ancient liberty, common law, virtue, charity, Providence, reason, and even civility, as well. The evocation of the irrational aspects of dissent, I suggest, contained an aesthetic and a social discipline. Dissenters, contrary to their image as lonely, frenzied prophets, usually insisted upon sociality; indeed the name for the Quakers, friends, imagined an ideal community of worshippers. In *Christian Directory*, the nonconformist leader Richard Baxter strongly advocated friendship 'moderately and wisely managed' (p. 856), including a long account on the good choice of a friend and on the conduct of good friendship. As Baxter put it: 'We are not sufficient for our selves, but need others as well as they need us.'⁴ Dissenters, like Anglicans, imagined sociality; but, with respect to the here-and-now, they placed their hopes differently in the unsteady years after the reassertion of the monarchy. By examining instances of post-Puritan English cultural anxiety over dissent specifically in the writings of John Dryden, Samuel Butler, and, in contrast, the Quaker Mary Mollineux, this essay explores how the discourse of charismatic authority, and its opposite, the self-disciplined political subject, registered an important engagement with the complex social meanings of religious radicalism. However much the construction of all dissenters as prophetically inspired served the interests of the Restoration state, that construction also became a problem within dissent as contests over rationality, authority, and community raged across the period.

Anglican perceptions

To be sure, the structural divide between civil and spiritual, in England maintained by the separation of civil from ecclesiastical courts, bears a long legacy in the political analysis of the church-state relations. In England's mid-seventeenth-century lexicon, the term 'civil' was often juxtaposed to the term 'spiritual' or 'ecclesiastical,' to define the spheres of activity over which the state could exert control or to define the nature of contract. Dryden, attacking sects in *The Medall*, accuses them of defying 'civil power'; John Milton praised Sir Henry Vane for knowing the difference between 'spiritual power and civil'.⁵ Restoration Anglicans caricatured dissenters as unruly subjects and dangerous prophets, liable to outbreaks of violence in the name of godly vocation. Dissenters were also bad poets, notoriously thin on wit. Even Daniel Defoe, stung by the poor reception of his satire, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, would lament that his fellow nonconformists did not know a joke when they saw one: 'That's a further testimony of your being a Dissenter ... I say, God Almighty would have seemed unkind to you, if he had not given you a great deal of grace; for he has given you but little wit.'⁶ Wit was more than a mental ability; it was a linguistic ability as well, and there nonconformist poets were said to lack it.

Writing to the nonconformist champion Philip, Lord Wharton, one G. T. commented on those 'heavy and dull' nonconformist writers who imitated the Presbyterian Robert Wild's political satire, asking, 'are they not more dull, than daring?' and concluding his judgment on a particular poet, that 'our Episcopal men shall have yr ready Vote to bee much more the better Poets ... I am confident Yr Lordsh[ip] will as little as my self either esteem his Poetry, or believe his Prophecy.'⁷

These aesthetic attacks, however, mask an anterior plane of discomfort regarding Dissent: its popularity, both in the sense of encouraging the lower orders to participate in political and religious choices; and its ubiquity, thanks to the ever-expanding uses of print. In the Restoration period, Stuart apologists saw these factors behind the mid-century civil war. Stuart apologists such as John Dryden and Samuel Butler discounted that spiritual authority of the people was any kind of political authority at all, and deemed those many who claimed to follow prophetic command as rude, even inhuman agents. The success of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, running to three parts, and provoking many imitators and an execrable literary legacy, tells us how much those having lived through the civil war period saw the importance of religious diversity as a cause of great social and political unease; they also wanted easy targets to blame. Through his portrait of the varieties of comic nonconformity, Butler acknowledges the tensions in the polity that were political, cultural, economic, no less than religious. Though his diagnosis repeatedly refuses to recognize any legitimacy to the dissenters' claims, it very much notes the social register of the radical agents. These Butler imagines, as is traditional in assaults on the lower orders, as irrational forces, spasms of popular revolt, humans' foolish adherence to their spiritual hunger, and power-lust: all causes of civil war. At heart what the poem recoils against is the danger of popular authority, the code-word for which is fanaticism. Ralph, Hudibras's squire, is of the company of those who speak by a *new Light*. This is, however, a false light: "'Tis a *dark-Lanthorn* of the Spirit, / Which none see by but those that bear it' (I, lines 499–500). Rejecting the charismatic authority of the prophet, Butler dismisses the doctrine of freedom of conscience:

*What's Liberty of Conscience,
I'th' Natural and Genuine Sense?
'Tis to restore with more security,
Rebellion to its ancient Purity.*⁸

Even as Butler notes the common allusion to 'ancient liberty' and 'reformation,' twin engines that fired revolutionary civil war projects, he recognizes the true threat of these radical doctrines. The humour would have no force without Butler's acknowledging his antithetical relation to these ideas.

Although John Dryden repeatedly represented prophetic utterances as a threat to civil power, his analysis does not simply equate dissent with rebellion; in fashioning the divide between earthly and otherworldly, the civil and the spiritual, Dryden voids ideological content, rebellious or otherwise, from the dissenting position. Dissenters seek only power. In *Absalom and Achitophel*, those 'Hot Levites,' the Presbyterian clergymen, threaten to foment rebellion, as Dryden recalls their ambitions from the civil war days. These leaders:

Resum'd their Cant, and with a Zealous Cry,
Pursu'd their old belov'd Theocracy;
Where Sanhedrin and Priest enslav'd the Nation,
And justifi'd their Spoils by Inspiration;
For who so fit for Reign as *Aaron's* Race,
If once Dominion they could found in Grace?⁹

The rhetorical question needs no answer; the observant reader is compelled to agree. Further, Dryden's nonconformists, driven by powerlust, are not simply uncivil or unruly beings; they are barely even human, as the poet summons imagery of the common people as an indistinct herd: 'A num'rous host of dreaming saints succeed / Of the true old enthusiastic breed: / 'Gainst form and order they their pow'r employ, / Nothing to build and all things to destroy' (lines 529–32). Represented only as a corporate body, or as a hereditary class (a 'breed'), there are no individuals here, only a rough force driven by the power of their own verbiage: 'But far more num'rous was the herd of such / Who think too little, and who talk too much' (lines 533–34). The gentlemanly art of economy of speech, then, is posited against the interminable, common loquacity of the dissenters.

A few further examples illustrate Dryden's ample and prolonged derogation of the sects, as his antipopulism negates the processes of reading, speaking, communication and the popular dissemination of radical ideas. In his satire against the Whigs, *The Medall* (1681–82), for instance, Dryden warns of the dangers of disrupting 'true succession' in recalling the recent civil war:

The swelling Poyson of the sev'ral Sects,
Which wanting vent, the Nations Health infects,
Shall burst its Bag; and fighting out their way
The various Venoms on each other prey.
The *Presbyter*, puft up with spiritual Pride,
Shall on the Necks of the lewd Nobles ride:
His Brethren damn, the Civil Power defy;
And parcel out Republique Prelacy.¹⁰

Sectarians, here represented as poisonous vermin, infect the body politic; division is, as ever, figured as an injury to the organic whole. Yet that organicism is an ideological construction fashioned to serve the interests of conservative uniformity, defying a power that is both civil in its distinction from spiritual, but also civil in its moral valence.

Unlimited proliferation, rampant powerlust, and popular appeal are all the evils of nonconformists, figured often as vermin. When, in *The Hind and the Panther*, Dryden has to defend toleration in the King's surprise Declaration of Indulgence for nonconformists, he nonetheless maintains his representation of the sectarian radicals as repulsive. As 'A slimy-born and sun-begotten Tribe / Who, far from steeples and their sacred sound, / In fields their sullen conventicles found: / These gross, half-animated lumps,' they are barely discernible as human.¹¹ Meeting in fields, dissenters did gather in secret congregations when the strict policies of the Clarendon code prohibited their communion. Yet Dryden takes the opportunity to liken them to field animals. Beast imagery is all too common for a class attack on the lower orders, and Quakers in particular were seen as the lowest of the low. The anonymous Anglican author of a 1672 satirical broadside lances at those now claiming liberty after the King's issuance of Indulgence for nonconformists: 'You'd have all *Joy*n, even the Quakers too, / (Insects that first *crawl'd* out upon's from you),' this author writes; the accusation is that their 'curs'd intent/ Is only old *Divisions* to foment.'¹² Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* offers yet another image of texts and maggots, showing that what is feared and reviled is not simply difference in ecclesiology or doctrine; rather these images indict the processes of individual interpretation, rampant Bibliolatry borne of beliefs in the spiritual worth of any believer:

Religion spawn'd a various Rout,
Of Petulant Capricious Sects,
The Maggots of Corrupted Texts,
That first Run all Religion down,
And after every swarm its own.¹³

In these conservative accounts of civil war social relations, then, we have a binary pair, here that of human versus pest. The Anglican diagnosis of radical prophecy thus bore a political imprint, refusing to perceive the dissenters' theology, ecclesiology or social practices as legitimate ethical possibilities, but nonetheless recognizing their threat to power.

Such representations of sectarians and Puritans as swarms reflect the perception of a sudden outburst of writing by and about sects: 'the verbal outpourings of personal consciences created discursive as well as social anarchy', argues Kristen Poole.¹⁴ Yet these Anglicans also realized the anti-nomian possibilities of the beliefs in individual liberty of conscience and

especially, the doctrines of apocalypse that fired the imaginations of many dissenters; indeed, the violence of much of dissenting literature, the numerous plots against the Stuart regimes, and the loyalty of the lower orders to their sectarian leaders, attest to the legitimacy of Anglican Tory worries. It was true that popular readership had expanded over the course of the seventeenth century, and the matter of their reading was very often politics or religion.¹⁵ Many of the plots against the restored Stuart regimes were fired by radical religion; and the assault on the Stuart succession in the Exclusion crises was centrally to do with religious outlook.¹⁶ The political construction of the unruly and uncivil saint, then, was not wholly a lie. What that construction did do, however, was to meld all dissenters into one ignoble lump, rendering them inhuman, ignoring the very real differences amongst dissenting denominations; and, instrumental to an exclusionary politics, making invisible the many modes of communication and consort between Anglicans and Dissenters. The political outcome was to seek to prohibit rapprochement between those whose views were not very far apart and to divide readers in a class war.

To be sure, these caricatures hoped to blind readers to the nuances of theological or ideological difference; indeed, in the Restoration period, theological and class differences alone did not always lead to those ceremonial chasms which were the cause of so much civil and ecclesiological strife. Independents and Particular Baptists, for instance, shared a Calvinist doctrine; both required Scriptural warrant for all ordinances; both believed in extemporaneous prayer; and both groups supported the local autonomy of each gathered church. Disagreement between them focused on the practice of Baptism, not on its meaning: they parted in their interpretation of scriptural precedent for that ceremony rather than believing dissimilar things about it. Many distinguished themselves from Quakers, but many Presbyterians and Independents who shared similar theological outlooks, too, varied in their practices of Baptism.¹⁷ Achsah Guibbory has laid emphasis on the ways that 'disputes over ceremonial worship signified deep cultural conflicts encompassing more than what we now think of as religion.'¹⁸ But divisions in the seventeenth century were unusually labile; it was polemic that often sharpened them. Individuals living through this time often underwent significant theological change, whether dramatic personal conversion such as that of John Bunyan, or, as in the case of Richard Baxter, a more subtle drift from Calvinist to Arminian belief about grace, and in his moderate Anglicanism Andrew Marvell shared political ideas with Dissenters and led to his writing a tract in defence of a Presbyterian minister's theological views.¹⁹ This is not to discount the significance of denominational differences amongst various dissenting groups and between nonconformists and Anglicans. But it is to show that the development of the sharp binary opposition, the Anglican creation of the uncivil prophet, was a powerful construction, and that the history of

Enlightenment that places reason and unreason in opposite poles is in part based upon various political and social registers of control. What that opposition accomplished was to hide the class rhetoric and claims for equality produced by the doctrines and practice of unorthodox religion.²⁰

Mary Mollineux and the Paradoxes of Worldliness

One instance of middle-class Dissent will suffice to explore how those who refused to come in to the uniform church ignored the ruthlessness of such class attacks. Dissenters who resisted state persecution on grounds of conscience during the Restoration period also opposed civility with spirituality, but it was to appeal to a higher authority than civil authority.²¹ The division between civil and spiritual was, for dissenters, part of a fundamental split between this-worldly and otherworldly orientation. For the Quaker Mary Mollineux (1651–1691), for instance, the divide between world and Truth could not be sharper. Mollineux, though given a grounding in classical education by an enlightened father, wrote poetry instead that chose the legacy of a Scriptural tradition, adapting Genesis and the stories of notable Israelites, including Elijah and, as we shall see, Daniel. Mollineux met her husband Henry whilst both were in prison in Lancaster Castle in 1684 for attending Quaker meetings. Unusually popular, her *Fruits of Retirement* was first published in 1702, but circulated in manuscript before then, going into six editions through the eighteenth century.

For Mollineux, the structural division between the civil and the spiritual permitted her to assert a principle of populist justice, to challenge the values and methods of the current political regime. Contemporary English politics and persecution over set forms of prayer were the themes of her 1685 poem 'On Daniel,' which outlines Daniel's refusal to comply with an 'unjust Decree' (line 1) requiring compulsory worship: 'For he resisted even unto Blood, / therefore the Lord brought all about for good' (lines 67–8). Daniel is the model for godly comportment, and the poem finishes by turning to those 'Valiant hearts' who must be ready to serve under their true Lord, 'the only wise Commander', ready to vanquish, proud *Gog* and *Magog*; 'His Wrath shall overtake them suddenly: / He, and his Saints must have the Victory.' God the warrior will overcome injustice, and power relations will be reversed in an apocalyptic finish:

For he resisted even unto Blood,
Therefore the Lord brought all about for good ...
Tho' the *Philistines* long against them boast.
And tho' worm *Jacob's* Seed be often prov'd
With Tribulations, he is still belov'd,
And for his sake great Kings shall be reprov'd.
The Lord of Lords will get himself a Name,

He'll overturn, and overturn again,
Until he come, whose Right it is to reign.²²

These terrifying rumblings of prophecy, the echo of Ecclesiastes, assert a kind of rights discourse; where God is the guarantor of the rights of the humble, a vindication whose proof was destructive violence, even against 'great Kings'.

For Mollineux, as for many dissenters, God's love and care for His people are evinced by violent deeds against enemies committed on their behalf. Millenarianism can ask for the surrender of agency to God's will; it also concedes that violence is a necessary component of proof of God's protection, visible in the truth of the prophecies Mollineux cites here from the Old Testament and Revelation. Longing to surrender her physical and mental powers to the supervailing power of God – perhaps to become God's puppet – this poem raises questions about human agency, intention, and ultimately responsibility. Were these weapons of the spirit or of the flesh? The Bible, and the hermeneutic practice of typology, left the answer equivocal.²³ Through typological readings, the present could be experienced in ways that intensified and located its meaning within a larger scheme of meaning. By emplotting current events within a biblical framework, historical events could be understood as caused by supernatural struggles between forces of good and evil. By ascribing divine causes, perhaps a way was found to integrate the trauma of revolution, and the complexities of Calvinist theology, but there was a turning away from earthly, human-centered political analysis, as believers in a greater cosmic scheme could choose otherworldly terms to explain political or personal failure. The conservative vision of the uncivil prophet, then, had some grounds in reality.

Yet Mollineux does not urge a complete acosmic withdrawal or a surrender to God's overarching determinism; indeed in her otherworldly orientation she does not reject civil society. On the contrary, Mollineux also develops a concept of civil virtue, a qualitative ethos of inner worth, simplicity, modesty, eloquence and innocence: she launches these values against the libertine obscenity she observes in contemporary courtly culture. Her 1679 poem, 'Of Modesty' presents a personal notion of civility as comportment; the final lines are these:

... Civility disdains
To vie in Folly, where no Prize pertains
Unto the Victors; the true Noble Mind
Conquers a Wrong by Patience, is resign'd
For Vertue's sake to bear, that Reason may
Be Re-enthron'd, and Passion pass away.
Th'Examples, which the Ancients did afford

Hereto, are many, left upon Record;
 For Civil Natures dictates in each Breast,
 Do far exceed what here can be express'd.²⁴

Does the abrasive thunder of prophecy of her 'Daniel' jar with this ethos of civil virtue? Mollineux's poetry veers between these two extremes; personal self-discipline is part of the cosmic scheme of redemption. In one hexametric poem, she speaks a protest against oppression, recalling the circumstances of the earliest Christian faithful of *Acts*, who were persecuted for their beliefs: 'What a Succession of Delusion's here, / Whilst Righteous Reason is dethron'd!' the poem opens.²⁵ Pleading 'a little for the Dove,' that is, speaking for the persecuted, the poem offers 'such Advice as this', hoping the persecutors will 'learn to shew more Clemency' (p. 168). This poem is not a call for divine justice so much as it is an appeal to earthly powers to relent. God's judgement is not yet fixed and certain.

Mollineux emphasizes earthly existence, and the *labor* of faith in her poem, 'On the Parable of the Ten Virgins,' dated 1669, where she reworks biblical material to fashion a pattern for contemporary Dissenters suffering persecution. The story becomes an archetype for a dissenting concept of civility as self-control precisely *because* of the unpredictability, the suddenness of God's intervention. Current history is a way to understand the presence of God in daily life, as God's story is ever enacted anew. The Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew 25. 1–12) becomes counsel to the oppressed to maintain faith, and Mollineux the modern Matthew to tell the story again:

... the King discern'd
 Who were his Faithful Ones, for they had learn'd
 To be prepar'd, and in their Vessels they
 Had taken Oyl, and labour'd in the Day,
 And furnished their Lamps; that in the Night,
 The Bridegroom coming suddenly, they might
 Find Favour ...

Mollineux has added a few touches; unlike the originals, who merely 'took oil in their vessels' (Matthew 25. 4) these modern virgins have 'labour'd in the Day,' to *furnish* their oil; oil is not there for the taking, but needs work to obtain it. Moreover, they have *learn'd* to be prepared; it was not natural or casual, but the result of discipline or education. The poem ends with advice to those who would be 'wise' to maintain vigilance for that greater light will soon come:

Now, you that would be numbred with the *Wise*,
 Take heed of sleeping in Formalities;
 Let ye forget the Oyl, the Life of Light,

And so be unprepared in the Night:
 For, though you imitate the Wise, and bear
 A shew of Lamps, there can no Light appear,
 If Oyl be wanting. O Redeem your Time!
 Have Oyl in th'Vessel, that your *Lamps* may shine;
 Lest, if it be to seek, when 'tis too late,
 Such may in vain stand Knocking at the Gate,
 But find no Entrance: Therefore watch to hear
 The Midnight Cry, Arise, prepare, prepare
 To meet the Bridegroom; 'tis the Wise that shall
 Be entertain'd, that waited for the Call,
 And in their Vessels kept the Oyl for Light;
 Such were in Readiness, and therefore might
 Have free access unto the Marriage-Feast.²⁶

The sense is of God's imminent arrival, and Mollineux alludes to *Song of Songs* in her readiness.²⁷ Her charge to the faithful is not to forget earthly duties, and to maintain self-discipline and godliness so that they might participate in the work of redemption, whenever that might be.

Though hers is an eschatological framework, she very much presses the living to maintain their earthly obligations and duties, with her poems developing a robust ethos of civil life. In her poem, 'Of a Happy Life', twenty-seven lines illustrate the importance of the ethical here-and-now. The life imagined is simple, and the audience for the poem is indicated by her praise of modest means, posited neither as innocence as against the luxury of the court, nor as the country versus the city, but as against dependence on others:

The honest Man, that lives in Health,
 Enjoying still sufficient Wealth,
 Though not from an Inheritance,
 But sure supply from Providence,
 Estate by Industry can find,
 But treasures Goodness in his Mind ...

In the rest of the poem, the comforts of home, labour, marriage and friendship and independence from debt paint a portrait of humble domestic happiness. The final lines, however, deliver a blow, devastating that scene of comfort: 'And what's more Happy, yet more Strange! / He's always ready for a Change.'²⁸ In the writings of Mary Mollineux, then, the violence of apocalyptic change could coexist with domestic, industrious, and this-worldly activity. As she admits the 'strangeness' of this readiness, she notes the paradoxes of living in the present for those whose faith demands its relinquishment. Mollineux does not give the Anglican conservatives an

answer to worries regarding orderly submission or to the fears about popular religious agitation; rather, her corpus of poetry is a testament to the ways that living in the here and now should be conducted with modesty and civility.

In this essay, I have been exploring the different ways that a binary opposition between ecstatic prophecy and rational conformity was one fiction created both by those like Mollineux who sought to maintain a commitment to a God-centered politics while at the same time balancing earthly obligation, as well as those like Dryden and Butler who used it in a conservative attempt to control unruly subjects, particularly fearful of the popular effects of unorthodox worship. As our own post-Enlightenment paradigms, filtered through Max Weber's ideas of the charismatic prophet, reiterate these binary oppositions, we should do more to explore how their origins may be found in these complex social conflicts, and to interrogate our own categories for their complicity in the discourses of power and class that binary pair serves to legitimate. Dissenters, no less than Anglicans, were interested in the grounds for a sociable commonality; their differences from each other and from Anglicans may obscure their own commitment to an alternate 'civility', based on godly comportment, liberty of worship, and domestic tranquility.

Notes

1. Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London: Faber, 1984), p. 17; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 63; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 219; Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1667* (Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 1; John Spurr, 'From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660–1700', in Christopher Durston and Jaqueline Eales, eds, *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 234–65.
2. Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 267–89; 227–38.
3. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, 2 vols., eds Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California, 1978), vol. I, p. 244.
4. Richard Baxter, *Christian Directory*, in *The Practical Works of Richard Baxter*, 4 vols., (London, 1707), vol. I, pp. 857, 861.
5. John Milton, 'Vane, young in years', George Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane* (London, 1662), p. 94.
6. Daniel Defoe, *A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator, Concerning the Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1703), in P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, eds, *Daniel Defoe: The True-Born Englishman and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 154.
7. G. T. to Philip, Lord Wharton, 25 May 1666. Bodleian Ms. Rawl. Letters 53, fol. 71.
8. Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, Third Part, I, lines 1303–6, ed. John Wilders (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 225.

9. John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, lines 521–6, ed. James Kinsley, *The Poems and Fables of John Dryden* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 203.
10. Dryden, *The Medall*, in *Poems*, p. 234, lines 294–301. On the ambivalence of Dryden's theatrical antipopulism, see Pauline Kewes, 'Dryden and the Staging of Popular Politics', in Paul Hammond and David Hopkins, eds, *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 57–91.
11. Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, vol. I. lines 311–14 in *Poems*, pp. 362–63.
12. Anon, *Poor Robbin's Parley with Dr. Wilde* (1672), s. sh. fol.
13. Butler, *Hudibras*, Third Part, vol. II, lines 8–12, p. 234.
14. See Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 105–6; and see Neil Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth Century England* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1987), pp. 127–55.
15. On literacy, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Thomas Laqueur, 'Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England 1500–1800', *Oxford Review of Education* 2:3 (1976), 55–75; Wilmer G. Mason, 'The Annual Output of Wing-Listed Titles 1649–1684', *The Library* 5th series 29 (1974), 219–20.
16. Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet*, p. 124; Tim Harris, 'Introduction: Revising the Restoration', in Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie, eds, *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 1–28; Gary S. De Krey, 'Rethinking the Restoration: Dissenting Cases for Conscience, 1667–1672', *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995), 53–83; Gary S. De Krey, 'The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667–73', *Albion* 25 (1993), 565–80.
17. Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, From Andrewes to Baxter and Fox, 1603–1690* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996), p. 507. On differences within Restoration nonconformity between Calvinists and Arminians, see Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: a Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 89–163.
18. Achsah Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 14.
19. In 'Samuel Parker, Andrew Marvell, and Political Culture, 1667–73', in Derek Hirst and Richard Strier, eds, *Writing and Political Engagement in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 145–64, Derek Hirst sagely warns of accepting the polemical divides as the truth, properly insisting on the political fluidity of religious positions during the Restoration.
20. See Clement Hawes, *Mania and Literary Style: the Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 25–49.
21. See my *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
22. Mary Mollineux, 'On Daniel', *Fruits of Retirement* (1702), pp. 122, 123.
23. On this debate between spirit and letter in Puritan thought see Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 268–307; Thomas Luxon, *Literal Figures: Puritan Allegory and the Crisis in Representation* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).
24. Mollineux, 'Of Modesty,' *Fruits*, p. 81.

25. Mollineux, 'Dat veniam Corvis, vexat censura Columbibus', *Fruits*, p. 167.
26. Mollineux, 'On the Parable of Ten Virgins (1669)', *Fruits*, pp. 27–9.
27. The Baptist Anne Wentworth also alludes to this parable in her rousing condemnation of England: 'Will you not awake, and trim your Lamps, to meet the Bridegroom?' in her 'Revelation II. March 22 [1678]', *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (London, 1679), p. 2.
28. Mollineux, 'Of a Happy Life', *Fruits*, p. 141.

6

Shakespeare the Barbarian

Neil Rhodes

Placing the central literary figure of the early modern period within a discourse of civility leads immediately to the point that the period is alternatively described as the Renaissance. For as well as indicating a literary revival that term comes loaded with the freight of classical (especially Roman) civilization and its values of *humanitas* and *urbanitas*.¹ The peculiar character of the English Renaissance, and Shakespeare's role in that, is obviously a very large subject, so I shall concentrate here on two themes. The first is cultural relativism, by which I mean the view that the relationship between civilization and barbarism is unfixed, that the values associated with each are not polarized and are even interchangeable. The second is the role of poetry as a civilizing agent. My aim is to explain how these two things come together in Shakespeare. In order to do this I want to begin with some very broad historical perspectives, but they will shortly converge on the Renaissance, and then on *Titus Andronicus* and *The Tempest*.

Just over a hundred years ago a short novel was published which was to become one of the defining works of the modern era. Dismantling nineteenth-century imperialist assumptions, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* set an agenda for the twentieth century that was picked up by T. S. Eliot and Francis Ford Coppola. The core figure of the novel – 'rotten at the core' – is the identikit Euro-man, Mr Kurtz, 'emissary of pity, and science, and progress, and devil knows what else',² who starts out with the belief that he can bring civilization to the sink of sadism and exploitation known as the Belgian Congo. We all know what happens, but it is important also to remember that Kurtz's story is narrated from the vantage point of a boat which is situated not on the River Congo, but on the River Thames, a couple of miles from the capital of the largest empire the world had ever known, then at the summit of its power. Marlow, the narrator, begins his story with a reminder of how relative this all is: 'this also ... has been one of the dark places of the earth'. He goes on to explain: 'I was thinking of very old times, when the Romans first came here, nineteen hundred years ago ... Imagine him here [the Roman commander] – the very end of the

world, a sea the colour of lead, a sky the colour of smoke Land in a swamp, march through the woods, and in some inland post feel the savagery, the utter savagery had closed around him'.³

Marlow's cautionary tale might act as a paradigm for the subject of this book. Culturally dominant nations fashion a self-image which casts them as guardians of civilization and arbiters of its attendant values – a myth which Marlow eventually describes as 'that great and saving illusion'.⁴ It is an illusion, whether or not 'great and saving', because those shining lights have also been, at one time, the dark places of the earth, and may be so again; the darkness is always there and is part of us all. In Roman culture itself the combination of urbanity and savagery is graphically illustrated by Ovid. The subject matter of the *Metamorphoses* is primitive, but these tales of sex and violence are delivered to us with cool sophistication. It is in this sense a city poem, and it was from the city of Rome, capital of the largest empire the world had known (etc.), that Ovid was banished in AD 8, to the very end of the world, as he puts it in *Tristia*. Not, in fact, to a British swamp, but to Tomis in what is now Romania. As Conrad's imaginary Roman landed in savage Britain, Ovid lay down his head in a barbarous land, wondering if he would still be able to write in the same urbane manner. In the prosopopeia at the beginning of Book Three of *Tristia* the book itself apologizes on behalf of its author, explaining that 'if some phrases seem perhaps not Latin, / The land he wrote in was a barbarous land'.⁵

Ovid and Conrad, then, offer perspectives, from very different periods in history, on the meeting-point between the civilized and the barbarous, and they will also provide contexts for that meeting-point in Shakespeare and some other Renaissance writers. The confrontation between civilization and barbarism is reproduced over and over again in history and literature, so often figured as an antithesis, so often revealed to be nothing of the kind: roles reversed, places changed, as in a mirror; or combined and transformed in a process of renovation, a process which in Shakespeare is described as the art of grafting.

Both these kinds of transformation can be illustrated by Ovid, or rather by the Protean nature of modern responses to Ovid, and he will also provide an entry into my second theme of poetry as a civilizing agent. In recent years there has been a remarkable degree of interest in the *Metamorphoses* especially and among creative writers as well as scholars. Michael Hofmann and James Lasdun's 1994 collection, *After Ovid*, which is virtually a showcase for modern poets writing in English, demonstrated the versatility as well as the endurance of Ovid's creative appeal. That versatility is notable in the contrasting contributions of Ted Hughes and Seamus Heaney. Hughes was particularly enthusiastic about the project. He had just completed a five hundred page book which found the key to all the mysteries of Shakespeare in his Ovidian poem, *Venus and Adonis*. He would go on

to publish a critically acclaimed collection of his own versions of Ovid, *Tales from Ovid*.⁶ For Jonathan Bate, however, Hughes's Ovid was an utter distortion, a product of Hughes's own knot of obsessions, and he referred dismissively to his 'countless misrepresentations' in a footnote to his own book, *Shakespeare and Ovid*.⁷ What Bate clearly objected to was Hughes's presentation of Ovid as a primitive bard, a myth-soaked shaman, a prophet of the Dionysiac primal urges, all traces of his urbanity and sophistication removed. And this is certainly how Hughes did see Ovid. Hoffman's collection begins with Hughes's version of the Creation, the Four Ages and the Flood, and the subject allows Hughes to do his characteristic high-energy turn on the symbiosis of creativity, violence and destruction. Heaney, on the other hand, chose the story of Orpheus for his contribution. As the original poet, Orpheus is also a creator, of course, but one associated with the civilizing process, charming the beasts and leading men away from savagery. He is, eventually, destroyed by Dionysus, but that is because he has declared his mission to be the amelioration of the primitive, in opposition to the god.⁸ This was truly a fitting subject for the Boylston Professor of Oratory at Harvard and Nobel laureate. Hughes's rugged free verse is exchanged for the polish of the rhyming couplet. Heaney puts the urbanity back into Ovid.

After Ovid is a remarkable example of the art of grafting, new on old, replicating Ovid's own transformation of the primitive through the sophisticated, modern texture of his verse, two thousand years on. Responding to quite different aspects of the Roman poet, both Hughes and Heaney make poems for their own time. But their contrasting responses to Ovid also offer a telling instance of role-reversal in the ever-fluid relationship between the civilized and the barbarian. The Englishman speaks for the primitive forces of the natural world and the Irishman for the figure who would tame and civilize those forces. This would have been incomprehensible in the early modern period, when the English and then the Scots were attempting to subdue the wild people of Hibernia, landing in a swamp, marching through the woods and in some inland post feeling the savagery, the utter savagery that had closed around them. Any evidence of Irish poetry had to be redescribed as something quite different from the civilizing song of Orpheus, as Fynes Moryson explains in his *Itinerary* of 1617:

The wild or mere Irish have a generation of poets, or rather rhymers vulgarly called *bards*, who in their songs used to extol the most bloody, licentious men, and no others, and to allure the hearers, not to the love of religion and civil manners, but to outrages, robberies, living as outlaws, and contempt of the magistrates' and the King's laws. Alas, how unlike unto Orpheus, who, with his harp and wholesome precepts or poetry, labored to reduce the rude and barbarous people from living

in woods, to dwell civilly in towns and cities, and from wild riot to moral conversation.⁹

The last point might suggest that part of the colonial mission is to help the Irish communicate in lofty Ciceronian dialogue, but if so there is an element of redundancy in the plan. English contempt for these savage bards – a sort of poetic breed of Circean swine – was complicated by the fact that they were apparently able to speak Latin with the same facility as their mother tongue. This had been remarked on earlier by Edmund Campion in his *History of Ireland* (1571): ‘Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law ... I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses’.¹⁰ One cannot help feeling here that Campion’s indignation suggests that he is not a little unsettled by the paradox of this barbarous people speaking a learned language with such ease. Again, it has to be explained away as a travesty of the real thing.

The denial to the Irish of these badges of civility – poetry and language skills – has to be seen in the context of England’s own literary renaissance in the period demarcated by the texts just cited. It was convenient for the English, as they began to forge a national identity, to define themselves against a barbarous Other just across the water.¹¹ But it is important to remember, too, that when they self-consciously inspected their own credentials with regard to civility and cultural status they found themselves, at first, sadly wanting. At the time of Shakespeare’s birth England was not quite one of the dark places of the earth, but in the estimation of its own scholars and intellectuals it was still fairly dim, and it was the language itself that was the problem. Princess Elizabeth’s future tutor, Roger Ascham, writing in 1545, apologizes for using English because ‘to have written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name’, and he adds that ‘In the Englysh tonge contrary every thinge [is done] in a manner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse’.¹² In the following decades, which include Shakespeare’s formative years, this low self-image alters. English is increasingly recognized as a suitable vehicle for poetry and eloquence, and this in turn guarantees the nation’s cultural status.¹³ The connection between poetry and civilization, embodied in the figure of Orpheus, is insisted on over and over again. The usual source is Horace’s *Art of Poetry*, where we are told that this ‘bard’ made men ‘shrink from bloodshed and brutal living’, and Puttenham amplifies this with the claim that poets were the first legislators, the first politicians, the first philosophers, astronomers, historiographers, orators and musicians in the world.¹⁴ The list seems fairly comprehensive. Norbert Elias does not discuss poetry as an aspect of the civilizing process, nor, in fact, was it one of those

benefits of European civilization which Kurtz hoped to export to Africa, but for many Elizabethan writers it was the source of civilization itself.

The concept of poetry as a civilizing agent is dependent upon a belief in the affective power of speech. This means that eloquence, articulation and even elocution, in its modern as well as its Elizabethan sense, become indicators of civility. Puttenham, who is, of course, writing for a courtly audience, remarks that 'There is no greater difference betwixt a civill and brutish utteraunce than cleare distinction of voices: and the most laudable languages are alwaies most plaine and distinct, and the barbarous most confuse and indistinct: it is therefore requisit that leasure be taken in pronuntiation'.¹⁵ A little later (1593), Thomas Lodge claimed that 'moderne poets' had 'brought the Chaos of our tongue in frame', presenting poetry as a process of articulation which imitates the primal act of creation.¹⁶ The popular etymology of 'barbarian', on the other hand (from Greek *barbaros*), is that the word replicates, from a Greek point of view, the inarticulate noises made by all non-Hellenes, and the association of the barbarous with linguistic solecism is preserved in the term *barbarismus*. Richard Sherry, for example, refers in his *Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetoricke* (1555) to the three kinds of faults in an oration, 'Barbarisme, Barbaralexis, Solecisme'.¹⁷ In modern literature the association is sardonically acknowledged in much of Tony Harrison's writing, most pointedly in 'The Rhubarbarians' from his 1978 collection *The School of Eloquence*. What all this means for the Elizabethans is that the debate about the adequacy of English, and consequently the cultural status of the nation, was closely tied to the expressive capacity of a language still conceived primarily in oral terms. And as far as poetry is concerned, we must include numbers or measure, alongside articulation, as oral elements which raise it to the level of civil eloquence.

If English poetry was to achieve the kind of status enjoyed by classical literature it had to find an adequate form. In the 1570s and 1580s, at the start of the Elizabethan literary revival, there was much discussion about the viability of classical, quantitative metres in English. The quantitative movement, also known as the Elizabethan hexameter movement, has been studied in depth by Derek Attridge. It sounds a rather dry topic, but it is in fact central to the development of a national poetic form, and to Shakespeare. To our ears, blank verse sounds so obviously natural in English that it is difficult to understand how Surrey's translation of Virgil could be described on the title page as being done in a 'straunge metre'. But, as Attridge explains, 'there was simply no word, and no concept, for blank verse'.¹⁸ Quantitative unrhymed verse was contrasted with what Ascham called 'barbarous and rude Ryming', 'rhyme' itself deriving from medieval Latin *rithmi*, which denoted accentual verse.¹⁹ Since accentual verse also happened to use rhyme, accent and rhyme in our modern sense were taken to be a package, and if the verse did not rhyme it was assumed

that the writer was attempting a quantitative metre. Hence the description of Surrey's blank verse as 'strange'. Eventually, however, it was recognized that accent and rhyme were not inseparable from one another and the concept of blank verse emerged.

The *OED* gives Nashe's *Preface to Menaphon* (1589) as its first citation of the term 'blank verse', which he amplifies as 'the spacious volubilitie of a drumming decasillabon'.²⁰ Nashe is clearly talking about accented iambic pentameter, and has coined the term (if it is his coinage) 'blank verse' to indicate the fact that it does not rhyme. What has happened is that the stress or beat or accent is being recognized as the principal characteristic of English verse and that the iambic foot has been appropriated from classical metrics in order to denote the typical stress pattern in English. Nashe himself does not talk about iambs, but others do. Ascham, a firm believer in the virtue of imitating quantitative metres in English, admits that English hexameters 'trotte and hoble', but adds that 'I am sure our English tong will receive *Carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greke* or *Latin*'.²¹ Although Ascham is still thinking quantitatively, his telling use of the word 'naturallie' reveals an awareness of the quite different properties of English verse. This awareness is developed in William Webbe's *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, published in 1586, which in fact partly derives from Ascham. Webbe complains that although the English language has been 'polished from barbarousnes', English poetry still cannot 'finde a vayne whereby it may appeare like it selfe'. He thinks that reformed versifying might involve imitation of classical metres, but qualifies this by saying that 'where it would skant abyde the touch of theyr Rules, the like observations [might be] selected and established by the naturall affectation of the speeche'.²² So what is wanted is a metre that will reflect the rhythms of spoken English, and about fifty pages later Webbe finally hits the target: 'The naturall course of most English verses seemeth to run upon the olde Iambicke stroake',²³ he writes, where 'stroake' suggests something more like Nashe's 'drumming decasillabon' than Ascham's '*Carmen Iambicum*'.

The Englishness of iambs is finally nailed down in Daniel's forceful, nationalistic treatise, *A Defence of Rhyme*, composed as a reply to Thomas Campion's rather belated attempt, in 1602, to argue again for quantitative metres in English. Daniel distinguishes between rhyme as 'accent' and rhyme as 'harmonie of words', but emphasizes that 'English verse most religiously respects the accent'. He is particularly keen to establish the principle of cultural relativism in relation to poetic metre (and, indeed, more generally), pointing out that 'Every language hath her proper number or measure fitted to use and delight, which Custome, intertaineinge by the allowance of the Eare, doth indenize and make naturall'. He argues that 'rhyme' is practised by 'Barbarian' and 'civil nation' alike, and observes sarcastically: 'Will not experience confute us, if wee shoulde say the state of *China*, which never heard of Anapestiques, Trochies, and Tribraques, were

grosse, barbarous, and unciville?'²⁴ As for English, all the discussion of quantitative metres turns out to be the dressing up of native measures in foreign clothes:

For what adoe have we heere? what strange precepts of Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our language? which, when all is done, reaches not by a foote, but falleth out to be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of ten sillables or five feete, which hath ever beene used amongst us time out of minde ... you see what we have: Onely what was our owne before, and the same but apparelled in forraine Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall attire of Ryme, wee should never have suspected that they had affected to be other.²⁵

Daniel's combative mixture of nationalist sentiment and multiculturalist sense marks the end of the debate; not surprisingly, since by now Shakespeare has written over half his plays, including *Hamlet*. What has happened in the decades from Ascham to Daniel is that the iambic pentameter has been prized away from its classical and quantitative roots and recognized as the natural English metre, conforming to the rhythms of English speech. What has also happened is that the constant fretting by English writers about 'grosse, vulgare, barbarous' rhyming has come to an end. Accentual verse, rhymed or unrhymed, is now officially civilized.

So how does all this serve as an introduction to Shakespeare's first tragedy? I want to answer that question by asking another one: why should a novice Elizabethan dramatist, drilled in Latin language and literature at school, have chosen to set his first tragedy at the time of the *fall* of the Roman empire. It is not even as though Shakespeare has picked out a famous story from late antiquity. If Jonathan Bate is right, in his introduction to the Arden *Titus Andronicus*, the story-line of this play about the barbarians at the gate is Shakespeare's own invention.²⁶ So it is not unreasonable to suspect that some kind of agenda is being set. The play is indeed self-consciously classical and literary, particularly in its use of Ovid, but it is also defiantly *anti*-classical. By choosing a moment from late antiquity when the Goths are rampaging through the Empire and intermarrying with the Romans, Shakespeare seems to be deliberately destabilizing the cultural basis of the Tudor educational system. Bate is surely right to describe the play as presenting a critique of humanism, and his point about the classical texts in the play being turned into 'manuals for barbarians'²⁷ is a very clever one, but there is, I believe, more to say about these matters. What is clear, I think, is that *Titus* is a play which emerges from the conflict, in the later sixteenth century, between the weight of classical authority and a new, nationalistic self-confidence; and from a conflict between a humanist grammar school pedagogy and the demotic, native

cultural traditions which were more suited to the arena of the public theatre. The fact that its author was a provincial now working in the metropolis may also account for its pointed contrasts between *rus* and *urbs*, between corrupted civilization ('The palace full of tongues, of eyes and ears') and barbaric pastoral ('The woods are ruthless, dreadful, deaf and dull', 1. 1. 627–8).

What is also clear is that *Titus* makes a strong statement about cultural relativism. The word 'barbarous' occurs more often in this than in any other of Shakespeare's plays, and it is catapulted backwards and forwards between Roman and Goth: 'O cruel, irreligious piety!' – 'Was never Scythia half so barbarous!' (1. 1. 133–4) ... 'barbarous Tamora/For no name fits thy nature but thy own' (2. 2. 118–9). Oxymoron ('irreligious piety') might in fact be regarded as the rhetorical figure best designed to express cultural relativism, as the contradiction in terms deconstructs the apparent polarization of different value systems. What is more, the dramatic context in which this figure appears – the Roman desire for human sacrifice – looks back to a reiterated theme in classical tragedy, where, as Edith Hall points out, 'many plots involved both the barbarians and the sacrilegious violation of divine law'.²⁸ Here in *Titus*, however, it is not just barbaric practice but also civil speech which helps to reassign the cultural categories. The relativist position is stated by Tamora herself in a speech which has all the features of Roman eloquence:

But must my sons be slaughtered in the streets
 For valiant doings in their country's cause?
 O, if the fight for king and commonweal
 Were piety in thine, it is in these.
 Andronicus, stain not thy tomb with blood.
 Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
 Draw near them then in being merciful.

(1.1. 115–21)

If mastery of eloquence is a badge of civilization, then Tamora is part of the club.

So why does Shakespeare, in the first act of his first tragedy, go to such lengths to deconstruct the antithesis between Roman and barbarian? Revenge for his schooling? A less cynical answer would take us back to the debate about 'rhyme' and quantitative metres, and to Ascham and Webbe, Puttenham and Daniel. The story goes that 'rhyme', though invented by the Greeks, was reintroduced to Italy by the Goths at the fall of the Roman empire. Ascham, no more a friend to the Goths than to the Italians, writes curtly that if they had properly imitated the Greeks, 'we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggerly

ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*'.²⁹ Webbe, echoing Ascham, says that this 'brutish Poetrie ... first began to be followed and maintained among the *Hunnes* and *Gothians*' who 'brought it into *Italy*', from where it was 'at last conveyed into *England*'.³⁰ Puttenham gives a slightly different version of this. His fifth chapter is titled 'How the wilde and savage people used a naturall Poesie in versicle and rime as our vulgar is', where he argues that 'our maner of vulgar Poesie' is even older than classical verse, which was itself corrupted by 'the barbarous conquerors invading [the Roman Empire] with innumerable swarmes of strange nations'. As a result, 'the ryming Poesie of the Barbarians' was established in Europe.³¹ Lastly, Daniel, who presumably knows about the Gothic origins of rhyme, chooses to credit the Goths with further contributions to civilization. In a superb passage from the *Defence of Rhyme* he repeats his multiculturalist perspective ('Nor can it be but a touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation Barbarous, these or those times grosse ...'), and then assimilates the debate about rhyme to wider issues:

The *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Longobards*, whose comming downe like an inundation overwhelmed, as they say, al the glory of learning in *Europe*, have yet left us stil their lawes and customes as the originalls of most of the provinciall constitutions of Christendome, which well considered with their other courses of governement may serve to cleare them from this imputation of ignorance.³²

The Goths, then, are the mothers not only of English poetry but also of English law, twin pillars of civilization.³³ What better ancestors for a nation struggling towards cultural self-definition in the face of the massive authority of the classical tradition, newly established in print and transmitted through a greatly expanded education system?

That system was, of course, perfectly capable of stimulating rather than stifling creativity, and *Titus* is certainly a product of such a regime, but that is another story. Insofar as it offers a critique of humanism, *Titus* is very much in tune with Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme*, which trains its guns on the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique³⁴ and other supposed abuses of eloquence promoted by Erasmus and company. *Titus* itself is far from being unrheterical, but it is equally far from displaying a servile obedience to the rules, and in breaking the rules Shakespeare sets out an anti-classical agenda for English drama. The first major turning point in the history of Shakespeare's critical reception is Samuel Johnson's recognition that 'The censure which he has incurred by mixing comick and tragick scenes, as it extends to all his works, deserves more consideration ... *Shakespeare's* plays are not in the rigorous and critical sense either tragedies or comedies, but compositions of a distinct kind'.³⁵ The turning point in *Titus* itself is Titus's hysterical laughter when he receives the delivery of his sons' heads and his

own severed hand. At this moment his brother voices the neoclassical critic's objection: 'Why dost thou laugh? it fits not with this hour' (3. 1. 265). Marcus seems here to be invoking the principle of *kairos*, a Greek term which combines the notion of decorum or decency with opportunity and timeliness, and a prominent theme in Isocrates.³⁶ But academic considerations such as these are merely tyrannical rules. Titus's laughter, and Marcus's stolid, conventional response, pits the new English drama against classical precedents. The play does mix comedy and tragedy: in the grotesque of such lines as 'Come, brother, take a head; / And in this hand the other will I bear' (3. 1. 280–1), or in the malevolent glee of the cookery scene. After the intensity and seriousness of the first act in urban Rome, ceremonial violence followed by violated ceremony, and the atrocities of the second act out in the rural wild, the play is suddenly released into a strange and savage laughter. The messenger who brings the delivery of body parts in Act 3 is a stock figure from classical tragedy; in Act 4 his role is taken by the Shakespearean clown. In 1570 Lodovico Castelvetro produced the first vernacular version of Aristotle's *Poetics*, where in chapter 13 he warned against mixing comedy and tragedy: 'T'would be very barbarous to mix Murders with Comical divertisements' is the way the later English translation puts it.³⁷ Gothic Shakespeare clearly had a different agenda.

Johnson's vital perception about the nature of Shakespearean drama was that it is heterogeneous, a hybrid creature. *Titus* fits this pattern, and self-consciously so, because the play is actually about hybridity. The most striking illustration of this is, conveniently, in the illustration – Peacham's mysterious picture of a scene or scenes from a contemporary performance of the play. What we notice is the racial difference, but also the anachronistic mix of costume, the doublet and toga effect. Titus is identifiably Roman, while the soldiers are in modern military dress; Tamora wears a medieval-looking gown, while her sons might be in Elizabethan puff-pants or possibly Roman bases.³⁸ So what the picture records is not a translation, 'spoyled of hys Romaine garment and turned into a playne Englyshe cote',³⁹ but some cultural cross-dressing. Roman meets Goth, and Goth is styled Elizabethan, if Demetrius and Chiron *are* in modern English dress, that is. And then we might wonder why Tamora's sons have Greek names in the first place. Perhaps Shakespeare thought that the Hellenic label would add a touch of class to these barbarian rapists. But if we put these details to one side, what the picture certainly provides us with is a striking visual image of the way in which this play represents difference and assimilation, both ethnically and historically. Its display of heterogeneity maps out the series of cultural conflicts and combinations in *Titus* and at the same time echoes the play's generic mix of tragedy and comedy.

Perhaps the most flamboyant instance of rule-breaking in the play itself involves the outsider's outsider, or barbarian's barbarian, Aaron. Sympathetic parenting is not much in evidence among either Romans or

Goths, and least of all in Titus himself, and it is left to Aaron, the absurdly monochromatic villain, to bring a note of ordinary humanity into the shambles. His infant child, born from his adulterous union with Tamora, ought to be a monster of miscegenation, and in a play where all life is cheap, this life should be less than worthless. Yet none is more strenuously preserved. Aaron refuses to have the child killed, kills to protect him and flees the city. As Titus's son, Lucius, approaches Rome at the head of an army of Goths, one of his soldiers finds father and child crouched by the wall of a ruined monastery. Twice Lucius reassures Aaron that 'thy child shall live' (5.1. 60, 69). The moment of tenderness is produced from the most incongruous of circumstances, and none is more so than the setting itself. What is a ruined monastery doing on the outskirts of ancient Rome? We must in fact have suddenly time-travelled to post-dissolution Tudor England. While the point of this may not be immediately obvious, the anachronism is undoubtedly part of a pattern of cultural dislocation which can accommodate irreligious piety, humane villainy and civil barbarism.

To stress the play's anti-classical elements is not meant to obscure the fact that it is visibly the product of a humanist literary and educational culture. The barbarian is the unRoman, but also what may be married to the Roman. As Tamora confidently announces, after her wedding to the Emperor Saturninus

Titus, I am incorporate in Rome,
A Roman now adopted happily.

(1. 1. 467–8)

It is not too much of a stretch, I think, to read Tamora's announcement as a statement also about the new Elizabethan drama: a mixed marriage of the Roman and the Gothic, an English appropriation of the classics. We do not have to equip Shakespeare with a Jonsonian-style mission statement in order to feel that the play makes a number of deliberate gestures towards its own status as a cultural artefact. Nor do we have to pretend that it is some sort of allegory in order to recognize that the historical and geographical arena in which the emotional dynamics of revenge are performed was chosen, and was chosen to be significant. When he decided to set his first tragedy at the fall of the Roman empire and present a conflict between the civilized and the barbarous, Shakespeare was echoing similar patterns of confrontation in classical tragedy. Edith Hall notes that nearly half of the extant Greek tragedies 'portrayed barbarian characters, or were set in a non-Greek land, or both' and that 'Greek writing about barbarians is usually an exercise in self-definition'.⁴⁰ Unlike the Greeks, however, Shakespeare, as a 'grosse, vulgare, barbarous' Englishman, would have been at least as inclined to identify with the outsiders as with the cultural centre, whatever

the extent of his classical education. We see again roles reversed, places changed, as in a mirror; a process of renovation, the art of grafting. The alliance between Roman and Goth at the start of *Titus*, the marriage of Saturninus and Tamora, turns out to be spectacularly unstable, but the appearance of Lucius with the Gothic army at the end of the play promises a different kind of co-operation. It promises, too, a drama which could be described equally as neo-classical and neo-Gothic, an educated barbarism.

At the time of *Titus* England had just begun to free itself from cultural self-doubt; at the time of *The Tempest*, roughly seventeen years on, the country was a nascent imperial power. So we might expect the perspectives on the civilized and barbarian to have shifted somewhat. Where in *Titus* the barbarians are set to invade the imperial citadel, in *The Tempest* civilized Europe embarks on its colonial project, taming the wild. But while an audience might tend now to identify more closely with the cultural centre, in *The Tempest* there is no centre, nor indeed any firm sense of geographical location at all. Are we on an island near the North African coast, in the New World, in Ireland even (the Ulster Plantation was settled two years earlier), or in an *ou-topos*, a nowhere which creates a free space for the Utopian play of ideas?⁴¹ One thing we do know is that sources for the play are provided by the Bermuda pamphlets and by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The first of these would have produced a colonial context, whatever the ostensible setting. William Strachey's account of the storm which devastated the Gates-Summers expedition to Virginia in 1609 was eventually published in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* in 1625. Shakespeare had seen an earlier version of this and the relation of the Strachey papers to his play has attracted a good deal of discussion.⁴² However, it is not Strachey but Samuel Purchas himself who supplies perhaps the most telling observation as far as cultural relativism is concerned:

Can a Leopard change his spots? Can a Savage remayning a Savage be civill? Were not wee our selves made and not borne civill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not Caesars Britaines as brutish as Virginians? The Romane swords were best teachers of civilitie to this & other Countries neer us.⁴³

At first sight the Roman equation sounds exactly like the point that Marlow makes at the start of *Heart of Darkness*. But this striking instance of cultural relativism is really only being adduced as justification for colonial deprivations of a more immediate nature, and the reference to 'other Countries neere us' is both familiar and ominous. The boot is indeed on the other foot and comes equipped with a steel toe-cap.

Purchas offers one uncompromising view on the relation between civil and savage. Montaigne, whom Shakespeare had read, offers a different and quite opposite view.⁴⁴ Can we tell where Shakespeare stands? I want to

answer that by returning to the subject of poetry as a civilizing agent. Imperialist readings of this play, though not misleading, have perhaps come to be over-emphasized. Where Stephen Orgel's Oxford edition of *The Tempest* focused on colonial issues, Frank Kermode's Arden edition placed art and nature at the centre of the debate. In fact, a contemporary audience would surely have regarded these issues as inseparable. Certainly, none of Shakespeare's plays is more obviously concerned with civil values and their antitheses, with terms such as gentility, nobility, baseness and slavery. The political and the aesthetic are a continuum, and I will end with the aesthetic, asking a second question to join with my earlier question, 'Why does Shakespeare set his first tragedy at the fall of the Roman empire?' which is 'Why does Shakespeare end up by allowing "a salvage and deformed slave" to speak blank verse?' Caliban has indeed learned how to curse, and has reached an impressive level of artistry in this particular mode, but he is also capable of the kind of poetry we hear in the speech that ends, wistfully, 'I cried to dream again' (3. 2. 135–43). Caliban's is a versatile eloquence, moving between the furious and the visionary, as Prospero's does. He has nothing in common in this respect with the ordinary 'slaves', Stephano and Trinculo. He says that he has been taught language by Prospero, but allows him no credit for his poetry, and given Prospero's own claim that he is ineducable we are more likely to conclude that Caliban is really some sort of primitive bard or barbarous rhymmer. He could, of course, be Aaron and Tamora's son, whom Lucius promised would be allowed to live at the end of *Titus*, but of whom we hear no more. Perhaps Caliban decided to disguise his parentage by pretending that it was his mother, rather than his father, who came from North Africa. After all, we may remember that Aaron promised his son a nourishing diet of berries, which are an important feature of Caliban's own lifestyle. But in fact we do not need to indulge in these flights of fancy to find the origins of Caliban's eloquence. For in the passage where Puttenham claims that 'our maner of vulgar Poesie' is more ancient than Greek and Latin verse, he also explains that 'the American, the Perusine, & the very Cannibal, do sing and also say, their highest and holiest matters in certaine riming versicles, and not in prose'.⁴⁵ So whatever his parentage, Caliban, like the Goths, would seem to be part of the English family tree as far as poetry is concerned.

The poetry of singing cannibals can always be dismissed as worthless, a barbaric inversion of the real thing, like the poetry of the Irish bards, or Irish vulgar Latin, but I don't think this is how we are supposed to respond to Caliban's verse in *The Tempest*. For one thing, Prospero's own eloquence is deeply compromised. In the famous speech modelled on Ovid's Medea, where he demonstrates the full range of his so potent art, he also demonstrates his affinities with the uncivil. Medea is not only a witch, like Scyrorax, but also a barbarian. In the passage from the *Metamorphoses* which precedes the speech imitated by Prospero, Medea decides to leave behind

her father's 'barbarous land' and 'become acquainted with all the art and culture of [Greek] cities'.⁴⁶ For all his elaborate concern with the values of civility, Prospero is perhaps only passing for white, like J. Edgar Hoover. And this is why Prospero and Caliban are reconciled at the end of the play. Prospero's line 'this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine' (5. 1. 275–6) is a statement as much about himself as about Caliban. It is a statement about the darkness within himself and its message is one that reverberates through Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, articulated finally in its most extreme and laconic form in Kurtz's last words. In Shakespeare's play it is also counterpointed by Caliban's 'and I'll be wise hereafter / And seek for grace' (5. 1. 295–6). The two pairs of half lines fall together as a distich, changing places and reversing roles, in a neatly complementary move which echoes the oxymoron as a figure of cultural relativism.

What I have tried to do in this essay is to offer a series of displacements, opening up different perspectives on the civil and the barbarous. In the case of Shakespeare, his celebrated ability to see things from different points of view should be placed in the context of a career trajectory that shadows a crucial period in England's national self-definition, as the country moves from barbarous margin towards cultural centre. What I have also wanted to emphasize is the degree to which anxieties about cultural status are involved with questions of language, eloquence and poetic form. An examination of discourses of civility in the early modern period is bound to focus on formal issues, the linguistic and the aesthetic, not least because Renaissance writers themselves believed they were of paramount importance. There is a world of difference between cultural poetics and a culturally informed poetics, and now seems a good moment for criticism to reorient itself towards the latter. In the case of Shakespeare, the choices he made, and his attachment to barbarism, led to charges of rudeness and incivility in more strictly neoclassical times at the end of the seventeenth century. But those choices also helped to fashion a very English Renaissance.

Notes

1. On this aspect of sixteenth-century English culture see Mike Pincombe, *Elizabethan Humanism* (Harlow: Longman, 2001).
2. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 36.
3. *Heart of Darkness*, pp. 7–9.
4. *Heart of Darkness*, p. 108.
5. Ovid, *Sorrows of an Exile: 'Tristia'*, trans. A. D. Melville (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 42, book 3, lines 17–18.
6. See Michael Hofmann and James Lasdun, eds, *After Ovid: New Metamorphoses* (London: Faber & Faber, 1994); Ted Hughes, *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992); Ted Hughes, *Tales from Ovid: Twenty-four Passages from the 'Metamorphoses'* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997).
7. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 244 n 31.

8. See Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 150.
9. Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* in James P. Myers, Jr., ed., *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), p. 202.
10. Myers, ed., *Elizabethan Ireland*, pp. 28–9.
11. See especially Michael Neill, 'Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (1994), 1–32.
12. Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus in English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. xiv.
13. The progress of English was charted by Richard Foster Jones in *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford University Press, 1953). On the relationship between Latin and English in the theatre see Janette Dillon, *Language and Stage in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 141–61.
14. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London: William Heinemann, 1926), lines 393–4; George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, eds Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker, (Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. 6–9.
15. *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 73.
16. Thomas Lodge, *Phyllis* in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, 4 vols (Glasgow: Hunterian Club), vol. II, p. 6.
17. Richard Sherry, *Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetoricke* (London, 1555), p. vi.
18. Derek Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 95; see also Carlo Ginzburg, 'Selfhood as Otherness: Constructing English Identity in the Elizabethan Age' in *No Island is an Island: Four Glances at English Literature in a World Perspective* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2000), 25–42. (Ginzburg's essay, which covers some of the same ground as I do, had not been published when the original version of this paper was delivered.)
19. Ascham, *The Scholemaster* in *English Works*, p. 289; see also Brian Vickers, ed., *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) p. 388 n. 214.
20. Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols, ed. R. B. McKerrow, rev. F. P. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), vol. III, p. 312.
21. *The Scholemaster*, p. 290.
22. William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1904), vol. II, pp. 227–9; see also Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, p. 361 n 104.
23. *English Poetrie*, vol. II, p. 273.
24. Daniel, *Defence of Rhyme* in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. II, pp. 359, 361, 368.
25. *Defence of Rhyme*, vol. II, pp. 376–8.
26. See William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate (Arden Shakespeare) (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 83–92. All references to *Titus Andronicus* are to this edition.
27. Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, pp. 107, 109.
28. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, p. 187.
29. *The Scholemaster*, p. 285.
30. *English Poetrie*, vol. II, p. 240.

31. *Arte of English Poesie*, pp. 10–12; Andrew Hadfield points out the circularity of Puttenham's argument about the naturalness of rhyme in *Literature, Politics and National Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 125.
32. *Defence of Rhyme*, vol. II, p. 367.
33. For more on the Goths and English law see Samuel Klinger, *The Goths in England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 16–26, and on Daniel, the Gothic and English nationalism, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 21–62.
34. *Defence of Rhyme*, vol. II, p. 363.
35. Samuel Johnson, *Prose and Poetry*, ed. Mona Wilson (rev. edn., London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957), pp. 493–4.
36. See Stephen Usher, *Greek Oratory: Tradition and Originality* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 301.
37. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*, [translator unidentified], (London, 1714), p. 233.
38. The drawing is well-known and has not been reproduced here. It appears in Bate's edition, p. 39. On the costumes see Stephen Orgel, 'The Comedian as the Character C' in *English Comedy*, eds Michael Corder, Peter Holland and John Kerrigan (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 43–5.
39. Leonardo Bruni (Aretino), *The Historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the warres betweene the Imperialls and the Gothes*, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1563), sig. A2v. Despite the subject and the translator this work does not seem to have left any impression on *Titus Andronicus*.
40. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, p. 1.
41. On the last of these see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 242–3.
42. See especially Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1988), pp. 147–58.
43. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1906), vol. XIX, p. 62.
44. See Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 47–50 and their edition of *The Tempest* (Arden Shakespeare) (Nelson: London, 1999), pp. 60–2. All references to *The Tempest* are to this edition). See also Ginzburg, 'Selfhood as Otherness', pp. 39–40.
45. *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 10.
46. Ovid, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, trans. Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), p. 156.

7

Tacitus and the Reform of Ireland in the 1590s

Andrew Hadfield

The English have always tended to regard the Irish as barbaric, and themselves as civilized.¹ Gerald of Wales, who accompanied King John on his expeditions to Ireland in the 1180s, described the Irish as 'so barbarous that they cannot be said to have any culture'. He observed that they did not make proper clothes, used no saddles when they went riding, went into battle naked and unarmed, grew no corn because they had never progressed beyond the primitive habits of pastoral living, could not produce 'any kind of merchandise or mechanical art', and lived like beasts.² Most English writers in the sixteenth century invariably following Gerald, represented the Irish in terms of a similar discourse of stark binary oppositions, as a people who were barbarous because they lacked the accoutrements of civilized life.³ Even the most superficial acquaintance with the writings of Fynes Moryson, Edmund Campion, Barnaby Rich, Thomas Churchyard, John Derricke, John Hooker, as well as the numerous anonymous treatises collected among the state papers and elsewhere, will give a clear indication of the ubiquity of these representations of the Irish.

However, such a discourse was not and could not be monolithic. The range and content of English representations of the Irish might not have changed but the significance of them clearly did. In this essay, I want to argue the case that other, wider changes had a crucial influence on the meaning and importance of what might seem like an endlessly recycled series of images.

Richard Tuck has argued that the most significant development in European political philosophy in the last decades of the sixteenth century was the change from the philosophy and style of Cicero to that of Tacitus. The former was regarded as the philosopher of advice, the founder of a *speculum principis* tradition which engaged in dialogue with the state, republic or monarchy holding sacred the central principle 'that the survival and advancement of one's republic had to take precedence over all things, and that the conventional virtues might not in fact always be adequately instrumental to that end'.⁴ Given this definition, Thomas More's *Utopia*,

with its stress on the importance of service to the government, can be defined as an archetypally Ciceronian work. As Brendan Bradshaw has pointed out, it is Morus not Hythlodæus, who has 'grasped the meaning of the Utopian message: in the resources of reason, rhetoric, and moral virtue, the humanist possesses the means and, therefore, incurs the duty, to pursue the interest of the commonwealth even in the world of *Realpolitik*.'⁵

A work on Ireland that can be regarded as Ciceronian in style and purpose is Edmund Campion's *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* (1571), which formed the basis of Richard Stanihurst's 'History of Ireland' in the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577).⁶ Campion not only displays a Ciceronian eloquence and desire to produce ornate sentences which unite argument and persuasion as Cicero recommended, but claims that education will be the key to transforming the Irish from barbarians to civilized subjects of the crown.⁷ Spreading proper education to Ireland would ensure that the Irish would become useful subjects of the crown, as Ciceronian humanists desired they should be.⁸ However, as events in Ireland assumed even greater importance in the late 1580s and early 1590s, Campion's optimism came to seem rather outdated and naive.

Tacitus, in contrast, was used as the basis for a markedly different style of politics, one based on the conception of 'interest' and '*ragion di stato*'. The basic vocabulary and ideas for this style of political thought were mainly derived from the writings of Francesco Guicciardini, Justus Lipsius, and Niccolò Machiavelli.⁹ Such writers stressed that there was no principle of government or order beyond the cold eye of sceptical reasoning. They did not have faith in the fundamental nature of constitutions or constitutional values – although, by the same coin, they were not necessarily opposed to such values or programmes. They did not believe that governments ruled for noble or exalted purposes. As Guicciardini stated in his *Maxims*: 'all political power is rooted in violence'.¹⁰ Self-interest was deemed to be, if not more laudable, then more sensible, practical and for the greater public good, than altruism. Lipsius was quite happy to argue that the law could be overridden when necessary but only for '*preservation ... not for any other reason, such as the enhancement of a ruler's or his country's glory*'.¹¹ Moreover, he also argued that public religion should be made subordinate to political considerations, a judgement which corresponded with the more notorious pronouncements of Machiavelli, and made Lipsius appear to be a 'Machiavellian'.¹²

The transformation should not be regarded as absolute and irrevocable, and it would clearly be a grave error to pretend that Cicero's political philosophy had little influence after the 1580s; after all, Cicero was still a central part of the school and university curriculum, and is referred to frequently in all the works examined in this essay.¹³ But the significance of this change in political emphasis and focus should also not be underesti-

mated.¹⁴ What I want to argue in this essay is that Tacitus – and Tacitism – had a key influence on the ways in which Ireland was analyzed, represented and perceived by English writers in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign, especially in the 1590s when it seemed more likely than not to many observers that Ireland would be wrested from English control by Hugh O'Neill's alliance with the Spanish.¹⁵ Tacitus, Guicciardini and Lipsius all forced writers to engage in the comparative analysis of governments and cultures, and to leave aside straightforward faith in the sanctity of their own civilization and civilized superiority.

Tacitus wrote two major histories of the Roman empire, *The Histories* and *The Annals*, covering the period from the death of Augustus to the reign of Vespasian. The first was translated into English in 1591 by Sir Henry Saville, and the second by Richard Greenaway in 1598.¹⁶ Tacitus was widely admired and imitated for his impartial representations of the virtues and flaws of the emperors he scrutinized, Tiberius in particular.¹⁷ These histories and the approach to history they justified had a considerable appeal for Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, who was keen to foster and develop an analytical method of reading political examples which would advance his own position at court as well as his ability to advise the queen, but which 'risked raising dangerous political questions.'¹⁸ Essex, of course, played a crucial role in Irish politics in the last years of the sixteenth century and used Ireland as a power base to launch his rebellion in 1601. His intellectual influence undoubtedly spread to English settlers in Ireland.¹⁹

Tacitus was also important for his works on Britain and Germany, *Agricola* and *Germania*, which were appended as translations to the English translations of the *Histories* and the *Annals*. The 'grim picture of barbarian life' represented in the *Agricola* was used to support a teleological reading of human evolution, whereby societies developed from a state of savage barbarism to enlightened Christian civilization. Tacitus was used to support the notion that the Irish were at the same stage as the Britons when the Romans had conquered their island, labelling them as one of the many 'ancient barbarian tribes of northern Europe', so justifying the English conquest of Ireland.²⁰ In short, it is little wonder that Tacitus became such an important writer for English commentators on Ireland in the dangerous 1590s.

Ciaran Brady has argued that the upsurge in writings about the reform of Ireland from the 1530s onwards was based on the assumption that the problems which the English government faced in Ireland were analogous to those it had successfully dealt with in England and expressed a confidence in the spread of the rule of law throughout the king's dominions. Ireland was not of a different order to England and, sooner or later, it would be absorbed into the same body politic.²¹ However, experience suggested that Ireland was immune to the political philosophy of Erasmian humanism, with its emphasis on Ciceronian concepts of virtue, and would

stubbornly resist anything other than coercion and violent repression.²² Brady points out that a large number of writers in the 1580s and 1590s, including Andrew Trollope, Sir William Herbert, Richard Beacon and Edmund Spenser, began to ask why 'had English law failed to take root in the island; why, after so much effort, had their demonstrably superior civilization failed to improve the Irish?' Ireland 'raised a fundamental challenge to humanist assumptions' based on a faith in the power of civilization to reform primitive peoples and, specifically, the inherent virtue of the English common law.²³ The disappointment and radical change is clearly signalled in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, in which the good humanist, Eudoxus, has to be schooled in the harsh realities of Irish life by the experienced Irenius, whose experience has changed his mind.²⁴ In a long and often analyzed passage, Irenius tells Eudoxus that the common law will not function in Ireland until the basis for a stable state has been established, through violent military conquest. Irenius cunningly short-circuits the debate between those who regarded the Norman conquest as a violation and repression of the ancient Saxon laws and liberties of England, and those who argued that the reception of Roman Law through William the Conqueror was a victory for civilization by conflating the two traditions. Irenius asserts that the common law was actually imported by '*William of Normandy broughte in with his Conquest and laied upon the necke of England*' [my emphasis].²⁵ *A View* cleverly dismantles and replaces a whole reform tradition of Ciceronian inspired humanist approaches to England's Irish problem with an emphasis on the need for military action to precede political and religious change.²⁶

Brady argues that the key intellectual figure who justified such changes was Machiavelli who 'not only explained the failure of English law in Ireland in a manner that exonerated English government from the burden of guilt, he also justified the abandonment of the discredited policy of gradualist reform and the adoption where necessary of the more ruthless alternatives'.²⁷ It would, of course, be wrong to downplay the influence of Machiavelli. His writings lie behind the political analysis of Ireland as a conquered country in Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594); they are mentioned in Herbert's *Croftus Sive De Hibernia Liber* (1591), and Spenser's *A View*.²⁸ But it needs to be pointed out that Machiavelli was one amongst a cluster of thinkers who were read by those interested in 'Tacitean' history: Tacitus himself, Justus Lipsius and Guicciardini, are the most significant, but the list would also include writers as diverse as Jean Bodin, Livy, Sallust and Polybius.²⁹

Furthermore, I would suggest that the impact of such thinkers on English commentators in the 1590s went beyond the straightforward justification of the use of violence to transform the Irish body politic. The employment of a comparative, dispassionate method of historical and political analysis led to a questioning of the assumptions of civilized superiority and opened

the way for more problematic – and balanced – approaches to historical examples.³⁰ Dealing with the extent, scope and trauma of the Irish rebellion led numerous writers to question their own cultural position, something that life in Ireland frequently demanded anyway. Don-John Dugas has suggested that Thomas Lee, subject of the famous portrait by Gheeraerts, was simply presenting himself as he really was, a man who dressed in a mixture of English and Irish clothes, not someone trying to indulge in symbolic self-fashioning or representation.³¹ After all, such cross-cultural transformations were routinely observed by English authorities in Ireland and formed the basis of the draconian sumptuary laws.³² This process was highlighted and exaggerated by the very authorities they turned to in order to explain the situation. If, as Guicciardini and others alleged, all political power was rooted in violence, then who had the right – rather than simply the might – to rule? All too often, English commentators found themselves arguing contradictory cases because of their confused or ambivalent sense of who made up the body politic.

It is no great surprise to discover that the three substantial treatises produced by the circle of English intellectuals resident on the Munster Plantation in late Elizabethan Ireland are all ambiguous, potentially subversive works of political analysis. In short, all show signs of emanating from a culture immersed in Machiavellian, Guicciardinian and Tacitean principles and modes of historical and political analysis; what I would argue was an intellectual and cultural climate that thrived among the English exiles and settlers on the Munster Plantation.³³

Perhaps the most confused of the three treatises produced by the Munster Planters is the earliest, William Herbert's *Croftus Sive De Hibernia Liber*, written in c.1591, a Latin work which circulated in manuscript, but which may have been intended for publication.³⁴ Herbert places great stress on the need to have the Bible and public prayers translated into Irish, arguing, somewhat platitudinously, 'that ignorance of the true God and the true faith is the fount and origin of innumerable ills both private and public and of evil counsels in a state'. Knowledge of the Bible would enable 'the sun of justice [to] rise in that western land and would illuminate the minds and actions of believers in its sacred light' (p. 97). Herbert proclaims his faith in the efficacy of the word of God which he, in a common image from Protestant writing, suggests is 'more penetrating than that of a double-edged sword' (p. 99).³⁵

Herbert is clear that he derives much of his analysis from the staple of English humanist education, Cicero, most notably the Cicero of *De officiis* and *De sententia*. The preface, concerning the benefits to be derived from wisdom and philosophy, contains large quotations from Cicero on the ways and means of living a good life and creating harmony in the universe, leading ultimately to an ethical, utilitarian political philosophy 'which has in view the happiness of the greatest number and the right administration

of the state' (p. 11). Furthermore, Herbert invokes Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, casting his relative and mentor, the former Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir James Croft, as Africanus and himself as Scipio (pp. 15–17). Just as Scipio learnt his practical, political wisdom from the dream of his dead predecessor, so will Herbert and his readers learn how to govern Ireland from the words and spirit of the recently deceased Croft: 'we shall consider those matters which best serve for the public advantage and safety of the greatest number, and aided by the precepts, observations and instruction of the wise and distinguished Croft, we shall, in what follows, philosophise on the condition, the government and the happiness of Ireland' (p. 23). As Herbert's editors point out, in style and substance 'The Ciceronian stamp on this passage is almost total' (p. xx).³⁶

However, if Herbert wished to represent his political vision as a mild and humane one, there are clear warnings that he realized that political power was rooted in violence and that the sword was rather more double-edged than Herbert's metaphor indicated. Herbert's real 'antidote' to prevent the decay of Ireland consisted in two things. While there was an attempt to incline 'the inhabitants' minds towards virtue and goodness', there was also a need to weaken 'those forces which lead them to wickedness and evil' (p. 97), and Herbert is quite clear about how this aim is to be achieved:

If the Irish are not disposed by any laws, persuasion or examples to embrace from the heart a way of life distinguished by the best principles and ordinances but decide, whenever any opportunity is offered, to fall back and relapse into their old habits and vices, then I avow and predict with quite as much truth as force that some king of England and Ireland, of great prudence and power, prompted by political considerations and designs, will disperse that entire race and will extirpate all the inhabitants there who have lapsed into the habits and customs of the Irish. (pp. 85–7)

Irish and 'degenerate' English, who have become Irish in habits of thought, will both be removed from the landscape. Herbert, like Beacon, Spenser and most contemporary English commentators on Ireland, stresses the need for a strong figure in authority, a vice-regent, to cope with protracted and sustained resistance to their political will. Herbert warns against the 'leprosy' of 'stubbornness of mind' and refusal to obey the precepts of good government and devotes considerable space to outlining the powers which should be granted to the 'chief magistrate', the Lord Deputy, by the crown whom he serves and for whom he stands as the symbol of authority.

At this point in the text, Herbert's debt is openly to Machiavelli and not Cicero. Immediately following the passage that outlines the hypothetical destruction of the Irish and fellow-travelling English, Herbert cites the

'distinguished Italian' at length from Tegli's Latin translation of 1560. Machiavelli 'has made a most acute and perceptive observation':

[I]f a state which is accustomed to live by its own laws and customs comes into the power of someone who thinks it should not be destroyed, then he must expect that it will destroy him. For always at a time of rebellion it will have a place of refuge, namely those ancient ordinances of its own. These can never be consigned to oblivion either by the lengthy passages of time or by the conferring of benefits, and whatever one might do or provide for, if the inhabitants are not divided up and scattered, those institutions never pass from their memory, and they will immediately return to them at every turn of events. (p. 87)³⁷

The earlier focus on the virtue and good government of the wise ruler and his counsellors has given way to a hardheaded analysis of the dangerous situation in Ireland, one which implicitly acknowledges the limits of a Ciceronian politics. If a prince is to take advice from Machiavelli and behave in a way that preserves his power over an alien people he has subdued, then the moral right of England to rule over Ireland, asserted from the *Laudabiliter* onwards, is challenged and qualified.³⁸ Herbert attempts to square this particular circle with a pious hope for the influence and character of the 'supreme magistrate' who 'ought to be surpassing in ... extraordinary piety and virtue', as well as an assault on Machiavelli's functionalist conception of religion. Political and cultural change will be achieved through 'the true fear of God ... not the assumed and simulated piety of Machiavelli'.³⁹ In short, what Herbert has argued in his treatise, whether knowingly or not, is that a narrative based on the principle of *realpolitik* comes before one based on a belief in the sacred power of the prince to rule with his or her attendant natural rights. For all the Ciceronian artifice of *Croftus*, the real basis of the work's political principles are those of the Renaissance Tacitus and other Tacitean thinkers: Lipsius and Machiavelli, supported by Livy, Polybius, and Sallust.⁴⁰

Tacitus, Livy and Sallust are invoked especially in discussions of the ways and means of controlling and dispersing rebellion, passages which cast aside moral outrage in favour of practical advice. Tacitus's *Histories* are quoted to characterize the rebel mind: 'They think the greatest honours are to be found in the greatest dangers and "they delight not so much in the rewards of dangers as in the dangers themselves", as Tacitus says' (p. 61).⁴¹ Lipsius and Tacitus are then invoked as authorities to justify the maxim: 'Those who are rebellious are to be separated by guile ... Some can approach them craftily, "pretending to have the same aims. In this way their advice will carry more weight"' (p. 63).⁴² Tacitus, Livy, Sallust and Thucydides, as well as the more famous words of Machiavelli, are cited to justify the use of colonies, Tacitus providing an argument based on

efficient surveillance: 'Tacitus is also of this opinion: colonies should be conducted to conquered peoples so that they may be more securely restrained and watched' (p. 75).⁴³

Herbert, as his editors suggest, was probably not fully in control of the political moves and intellectual leaps made in his work, somehow failing to understand that the ruler he desired bore little resemblance to the one fashioned by Machiavelli.⁴⁴ The same case cannot be made with regard to the much more astute and subversive *Solon His Follie*, published by Richard Beacon in 1594. Beacon's work clearly owes much to republican thought, especially Machiavelli's *Discourses on the First Decade of Livy*, which stands as the principal authority for Beacon's political analysis.⁴⁵ However, it is a point of contention whether *Solon His Follie*, despite its use of republican theory and Tacitean history, actually works to endorse a monarchical position, or whether it genuinely advocates alternative forms of government as a means of solving England and Ireland's problems. For Markku Peltonen, Richard Beacon in *Solon His Follie* 'is perhaps the most important as well as the most radical exponent of classical humanist political discourse in England before the 1650s'.⁴⁶ Vincent Carey argues a diametrically opposed case, seeing 'The deployment of the language of classical humanism [as] ... superficial', and that 'far from articulating a republican consciousness Beacon and other New English commentators on Ireland like their contemporaries at home were monarchists who resorted to the Florentine political theorist in a limited and selective way'.⁴⁷

The radical disagreement between two scrupulous readers of the text, and the assumed relationship between 'real' meaning and rhetoric, are, I would suggest, of more significance than the straightforward question of whose is the better reading of *Solon His Follie*. The point is that any work which has to look at the violent origins of society in order to understand and rebuild the social fabric, and does so employing a sceptical, comparative method of historical investigation, is forced to consider ideals and methods more threatening and subversive than those recommended elsewhere, and run the risk of becoming gamekeeper turned poacher. As Clare Carroll demonstrates, Beacon's dialogue is conspicuously monologic in style, deliberately abandoning the balanced nature of the Ciceronian dialogue, 'which calls for "discussing both sides of the question"', as it does the Ciceronian ideals of using 'the language of everyday speech and the flavor of real conversation', preferring the text to be 'laden with quotations and abstract outlines' (*Solon His Follie*, pp. xxx, xlii).

Solon His Follie consists of three books. The first of these has the characters, Solon and Epimenides, discuss the possibility of reforming a 'declined commonwealth' (p. 18), whether and in what circumstances this can be achieved through laws or military action. The second has them discuss how a commonwealth can be reformed, and what measures can be used, frequently emphasizing, in the spirit of Machiavelli, the need to win the

goodwill of the people: 'Sith therefore the consent of the people, doth give so great furtheraunce unto this action of reformation, it seemeth a matter verie necessarie, that everie Magistrate shoulde retaine the arte, skill, and knowledge, of perswading and inducing the multitude' (p. 48).⁴⁸ Such assertions suggest that Beacon has his eye on England as much as Ireland, and that the use of Ireland to argue a more general political case should not be seen as a subterfuge. The book concludes with advice – again largely following Machiavelli – on how to retain commonwealths once they have been acquired, and the need to establish and maintain good laws.⁴⁹ It is better to act before a commonwealth has declined too far because then 'a milde course of government doth worke his office, and carrieth with it allowance and commendations'. When 'the people are in manners corrupted' – as is the case in Ireland – the authorities need to 'sharply prosecute and punish offendours' (p. 83). The final book, inspired more by the Book of Revelation than republican political theory, illustrates which signs show that a commonwealth has declined, and what forms of decay can be detected. A long final chapter draws on a variety of classical and contemporary sources, including Plutarch, Bodin, Lipsius, and Guicciardini.

Here, Beacon includes a long discussion of the merits of establishing colonies. Solon opens his argument with the assertion, 'A nation conquered may not be contained in their obedience without the strength of colonies or garrisons' (p. 136), equating the two institutions (again, following Machiavelli).⁵⁰ Colonies serve three functions, as Epimenides explains. First, they help to control 'the people poor and seditious which were a burden to the common-weale ... whereby the matter of sedition is remooved out of the Cittie'; second, 'by translating of colonies, the people conquered are drawn and intised by little and little, to embrace the manners, lawes, and government of the conquerour'; and third, they help reveal and suppress mutinies, acting 'like Beacons' (pp. 139–40).

Beacon's political analysis poses more questions than it can answer. The tenor of the work is 'Tacitean' in its sceptical comparativism, although there are no specific references to Tacitus. Nevertheless, it is hard not to believe that the *Agricola* was not a major source for the comments on the decline of commonwealths and the need to establish colonies (especially if one considers that a translation of that work was included in Saville's 1591 translation of the *Histories*). In that work, Tacitus writes of a situation in which 'neither before nor since has Britain ever been in a more uneasy or dangerous state. Veterans were butchered, colonies burned to the ground, armies isolated.'⁵¹ The Britons were 'barbarians', who have military valour, but have become decadent through an excess of liberty and are now divided up into 'jarring factions' who are fighting amongst themselves.⁵² *Agricola's* great military success is based on the establishment of forts/colonies: 'It was observed that no general had ever shown a better eye for ground than *Agricola*. No fort of his was ever stormed, ever capitulated

or was ever abandoned.⁵³ The sixteenth-century commonplace that the contemporary Irish were the same as the ancient Britons, made in works such as Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), is central to Beacon's political analysis and recommendations.⁵⁴

More challenging, is the implicit comprehension that when one goes beyond the certainties of a Ciceronian tradition of 'advice to princes', the very nature of civilization and government comes under scrutiny. It is no surprise or accident that *Solon His Follie* has one eye on England as well as on Ireland, and confidently moves from the particular to the general. There is a telling comparison near the end of Book II, when the interlocutors turn their attention to 'Howe a Magistrate of rare and excellent vertues is required in this action of reformation'. Epimenides refers the reader to the decline of Rome under the line of the last kings, the Tarquins, and argues that the great city would have been ruined 'if the great vertue and severitie of *Brutus* had not governed at that time the helme and sterne; whereby the courage and boldnes of the traitours, raised by the suffrance and lenitie of *Collatinus*, as a tempest was suddenly calmed and pacified'. Solon makes an instructive comparison: 'Therefore provident were the counsel of *Athens* in committing this action of the reformation of *Salaminia*, sometimes into the handes of *L. Gray*, sometimes into the handes of *Sir William Russell*' (p. 65). A direct link is made between the establishment of the Roman republic, and the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, a suggestion, perhaps, that efficient masculine government based on the qualities of the self-selecting elite of the best magistrates was preferable to that of hereditary monarchy. One might also note Beacon's enthusiastic praise of republican Venice, specifically for giving their rulers powers 'with certaine limits and bondes, not lawfull for them to exceede; and further do appoint certaine watchmen, as daily beholders and observers of all their actions and doings' (p. 44).

Beacon's political analysis bears numerous comparisons to that of Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which is hardly surprising given their existence in the political milieu of the Munster Plantation in the 1590s. *A View*, like *Solon His Follie*, reads as an explicit rejection of the Ciceronian dialogue, replete with difficult stylistic passages, obscure references, and challenging arguments, all directed towards one goal, that of persuading the rational but ignorant English humanists that cruel and vicious methods, way beyond their limited experience, are necessary in Ireland (see above, p. 118). Again, it is not, at first sight, a work that conspicuously owes a debt to Tacitus, although in Irenius's long discussion of the origins of the Irish there are two references to the *Agricola*, albeit both at second hand.⁵⁵ But, even more than *Solon His Follie*, it can be described as 'Tacitean' in its desire to analyze coldly and objectively the ways and means of solving the Irish crisis, deliberately provoking and undermining received wisdom and certainty and demonstrating that successful policy in Ireland always runs the explicit risk

of turning into what it is supposed to prevent, in the same way that liberty and success lead to decline and decay in the cycle of history represented in the *Histories* and *Annals*.⁵⁶ Significantly enough, Spenser's text concludes with a discussion designed to limit the powers of magistrates who abuse their powers, based on Machiavelli's reading of Livy, followed by fulsome praise of Florence and Venice as well-ordered principalities.⁵⁷

A View tells a story of English occupation in Ireland which closely resembles many aspects of Tacitus's histories of Rome. The real villains of the story are the 'Old' English who conquered Ireland in the twelfth century, but then decayed through an excess of liberty and the lack of the law to uphold civilized standards, and became Irish. Eudoxus blithely assumes that Irenius will find little fault with the Old English – or English-Irish – because they managed to abolish most of 'the olde badd Irish Customes' and establish 'more Civill fashions'. In fact, Irenius corrects him, the contrary is the case, 'for the Chiefest abuses which are now in that realme are growen from the Englishe and the Englishe that weare are now muche more Lawles and Licentious then the verie wilde Irishe' (p. 113).

The confrontational nature of the text is clear, as is its desire to recommend and produce truthful answers which do not avoid key issues, however painful they might be, a particularly Tacitean quality. *A View* tries to emphasize the need for strong, clear action to sort out English rule in Ireland. Its proposals are remarkably simple: before law and religion can be reformed, a military conquest has to be undertaken which will either kill off all Irish rebels or force them to accept English rule.⁵⁸ Like Beacon, Spenser singles out Lord Grey for special praise, as someone who knew how to deal with the crises he had to face as Lord Deputy, even though his wise actions have only brought him opprobrium (pp. 159–62). But perhaps the most famous passage of *A View*, the harrowing description of the Munster famine, best expresses the text's rhetorical strategies and style of argument:

Out of everie Corner of the woods and glinnes they Came Crepinge forth upon their handes for their Leggs Could not beare them, they loked like Anatomies of deathe, they spake like ghostes Cryinge out of their graues, they did eate the dead Carrions, happie where they Coulede finde them, Yea and one another sone after, in so muche as the veye carkasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves ... in shorte space theare were non allmoste lefte and a moste populous and plenti-full Countrye sodenlye lefte voide of man or beaste, yeat sure in all that warr theare perished not manie by the sworde but all by the extremitie of famine *which they themselves had wroughte* [my emphasis]. (p. 158)

This is a horrifying passage, and is clearly intended to be. On a straightforward level, it shows that harsh courses of action must be pursued by those who wish to save Ireland from anarchy and rebellion. It is the fault of the

Irish themselves if they starve and the pity one might feel in the description only serves to emphasize the criminal folly of opposing the power of the prince. But, more worryingly, it also shows what a thin line divides savagery and civility. The cure may be worse than the disease, making the situation effectively an impasse. The standard metaphor of the disordered state as a diseased body politic is one which features prominently elsewhere in *A View*, drawing our attention to this very problem. Irenius argues that usually the care of the soul is to be given priority over the care of the body, unless, as is the case in Ireland, 'youe should knowe a wicked person daungerously sicke havinge now bothe soule and bodye sore diseased', in which case the physician takes precedence over the preacher.⁵⁹ Again, the comparison is, I would suggest, designed to shock the reader, and persuade him or her that ordinary considerations have to be suspended in Ireland: in this case, the urgent need for religious reform as the key to civilized existence.

Obviously far more points could be made to flesh out such a reading of *A View* (the work's discussion of the law, the origins of the Irish, customs, language, etc.). But the key issues are, I think clear. *A View* may not directly owe its form, style and content to Tacitus – although there are substantial links between Spenser's vision of Ireland and Tacitus's analysis of Rome and the Roman invasion of Britain. Nevertheless, it is a distinctly 'Tacitean' work, developing out of an English cultural and intellectual milieu in Ireland, one which used a series of sceptical and detached histories and political commentaries to make sense of, and so try to reform, a situation which went beyond those educated in an English Ciceronian tradition.

For intellectuals in Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century, a Tacitean approach to political analysis and action clearly seemed preferable to one based on Cicero's ideas. However, as Spenser's *A View* so aptly demonstrates, the very purpose of the exercise could be paradoxical. The establishment of English civilization, as the quotation dealing with the degeneration of the Old English makes clear, was the desired goal. For Spenser, writing within a sceptical tradition that was prepared to challenge established wisdom and shibboleths, the danger was that establishing civility could only be achieved at the cost of being savage.⁶⁰

Notes

1. See Seamus Deane, *Civilians and Barbarians* (Derry: Field Day, 1983); Liz Curtis, *Nothing But The Same Old Story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism* (London: GLC, 1984); Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh, eds, *Strangers To That Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1994).
2. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), pp. 101–3.
3. See D. B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); J. P. Myers, ed., *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writing by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland* (Hamden, Conn.: Archæon, 1983).

4. Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 20.
5. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Transalpine Humanism', in J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95–131, p. 125.
6. See Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 9.
7. Edmund Campion, *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland*, ed. A. F. Vossen (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1963). On Cicero, see Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
8. For further comment see Andrew Hadfield, 'The Naked and the Dead: Elizabethan Perceptions of Ireland', in Michele Willems and Jean-Pierre Maquerlot, eds, *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge University Press), 32–54, pp. 37–8.
9. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, chap. 2. This is not, of course, to discount the significance of Machiavelli for English readers. See also Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation, 1500–1700* (London: RKP, 1964); Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 331–2.
10. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, p. 38.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
13. See T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944).
14. Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 257.
15. Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995), chap. 10; Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), part 3.
16. *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba: Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola* (Oxford, 1591); *The Annales of Cornelius Tacitus. The Description of Germanie* (London, 1598). Markku Peltonen has pointed out the significance of translations in developing political ideas in early modern England; *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, introduction. See also Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, chap. 5.
17. David Womersley, 'Sir Henry Saville's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts', *Review of English Studies* 42 (1991), 313–42.
18. Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 315.
19. Essex was probably Spenser's last patron and paid for his funeral. See Rudolf B. Gottfried, 'Spenser's A View and Essex', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 52 (1937), 645–51.
20. Debora Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians', *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 494–525, pp. 498–9. See also Andrew Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor Representations of Irish Origins', *Irish Historical Studies* 28 (1993), 390–408.
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22. See also Brendan Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation of Ireland', *Historical Journal* 21 (1978), 475–502; *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).
 23. Brady, *Chief Governors*, p. 297. On the common law tradition, see J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (rev. edn., Cambridge University Press, 1987).
 24. See Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Ireland and Sixteenth-Century Political Theory', *Modern Language Review* 89 (1994), 1–18.
 25. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* in *The Prose Works*, ed. Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1949), p. 46. All references to *A View* are to this edition.
 26. See, for example, Ciaran Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present* 111 (1986), 17–49.
 27. Brady, *Chief Governors*, p. 297.
 28. For Beacon's use of Machiavelli see Richard Beacon, *Solon His Follie*, ed. Clare Carroll and Vincent Carey (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Text Society, 1996), introduction, pp. xxvi–xliii (all references to *Solon His Follie* are to this edition); Sydney Anglo, 'A Machiavellian Solution to the Irish Problem: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594)', in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack, eds, *England and the Continental Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), 153–64; Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, pp. 75–102; Vincent Carey, 'The Irish Face of Machiavelli: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* and Republican Ideology in the Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan, ed., *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 83–109. For Herbert's see Sir William Herbert, *Croftus Sive De Hibernia Liber*, eds Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992), p. 205 (All references to *Croftus* are to this edition). On Spenser's see *A View*, p. 229; Edwin A. Greenlaw, 'The Influence of Machiavelli on Spenser', *Modern Philology* 7 (1909), 187–202; Richard A. McCabe, 'The Fate of Irena: Spenser and Political Violence', in Coughlan, ed., *Spenser and Ireland*, 109–25.
 29. On the influence of this cluster of writers on one particular seventeenth century gentleman, see Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, chap. 2.
 30. Hammer, *Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p. 338. See also Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), introduction.
 31. Don-John Dugas, 'Elizabethan Appropriation of Irish Culture: Spenser's Theory vs. Lee's Practice', *Mosaic* 32 (Sept. 1999), 1–20, p. 8. See also Hiram Morgan, 'Tom Lee: the Posing Peacemaker', in Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, eds, *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 132–65.
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 42. See Tacitus, *Histories*, p. 69.
 43. See Tacitus, *On Imperial Rome (The Annals)*, trans. Michael Rant (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), pp. 256–7.
 44. Herbert, *Croftus*, pp. 189–91.
 45. Anglo, 'A Machiavellian Solution to the Irish Problem'.
 46. Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, p. 76.
 47. Vincent Carey, 'The Irish Face of Machiavelli: Richard Beacon's *Solon his Follie* (1594) and Republican Ideology in the Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan, ed., *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 83–109, p. 90.
 48. Machiavelli, *Prince*, chap. 19.
 49. *Ibid.*, chap. 6.
 50. *Ibid.*, chap. 20.
 51. Tacitus, *On Britain and Germany*, trans. H. Mattingly (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1948), p. 55.
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 55. Spenser, *A View*, pp. 86, 89, 313–15, 317–18.
 56. See, for example, *Histories*, pp. 80–1, 223–4; *Annals*, pp. 168–9, 376.
 57. For discussion see Andrew Hadfield, 'Was Spenser a Republican?', *English* 47 (1998), 169–82.
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8

Drama, Ireland and the Question of Civility

Thomas Healy

J. O. Bartley's ground breaking survey of representations of the Irish on the Renaissance stage, Anneliese Truninger's and Kathleen Rabl's further considerations all point to the common feature of most depictions: the Irish are portrayed as wild.¹ As Rabl significantly notes, this wildness undergoes a transformation to a form of 'wild civility' over the space of some fifty years: beginning with *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) where we are told unambiguously that the Irish signify 'revenge and fury' to Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque* of 1613 and finally Davenant's presentation of an ancient Irishman initially disorderly but later decorously dancing in the masque *Salmacida Spoilia* (1637). Yet, the temptation remains to witness representations of the Irish in Renaissance drama in reductive terms. If they are brought to conform to ostensibly civil English or British norms, it is because of the influence of the colonizer's 'superior' civilization upon them. Rabl suggests that Renaissance drama's Irish characters, whether performed in London or Dublin, were 'in the act of becoming stereotype "Stage Irishmen"'.²

In this essay, I propose that this view is somewhat too simple. There are instances in plays – and I will consider two of them that appeared around 1600, *The First Part of the True and Honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the Good Lord Cobham* and *A Warning for Fair Women* – where representations of the Irish lead to more complex meditations on the nature of English civility. In doing so, I am conscious of adhering to Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley's important observation: 'that English representations of Ireland were in point of fact representations of England'.³ In both these plays, it is misleading to try to separate out incidents involving Irish characters from their dramatic contexts. In *A Warning for Fair Women*, as we shall see, it is indeed difficult to know the implications of the Irish origins of the major character, Browne, because he himself is uncertain of them. What is clear in both plays, however, is that Ireland is involved in a meditation on the nature of civility in England.

Among both historians and literary critics, there has been a great deal of critical interest in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English attitudes

toward Ireland in recent years. I find Andrew Murphy's suggestion of witnessing Ireland as a 'proximate' culture to England instructive: 'that which is close – "proximate" – while at the same time retaining a sense of that which is "approximate" – a relationship simultaneously of similarity and difference'.⁴ As Murphy argues: 'a defining feature of English colonialist writing on Ireland generally [is] its encountering sameness at the heart of presumed difference'.⁵ Murphy's perspective certainly informs this essay.

The recent surge in interest around Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* has allowed this text to dominate our current understanding of the English and Ireland.⁶ Though, as J.O. Bartley noted some forty-five years ago, it is surprising to find how little of Spenser's attitudes find their ways into the plays when contemporary prose pamphlets are full of them, it is useful to begin by briefly recalling Spenser's perspective in order to consider it alongside others.⁷

Irenius, the mouthpiece for Spenser, in *A View's* ostensible dialogue is a character with actual experience of Irish affairs and Eudoxus is the reasonable, but hopelessly naïve, mainlander who does not see Ireland's potential dangers to England. Irenius's endeavour is to argue that England's stability is imperilled if nothing is done about Ireland. In the words of Hadfield and Maley: 'Ireland serves as the limit and boundary of the spread of English political culture, always threatening to overturn the values the English regard as their defining characteristics'.⁸ The tone is set immediately from *A View's* opening:

Eudoxus: But if that countrey of Ireland, whence you late came, be so goodly and commodious a soyl, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Irenius: Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realme, but they say it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared. (p. 11)

As Irenius's argument proceeds, his fears about English corruption become increasingly clear. The wild and degenerate qualities of Ireland will, or, indeed, have contaminated the long-standing English settlements, with the result that in many respects Spenser is more suspicious about the Irish gentleman or woman, or the ostensibly civil Irish, because though their cloth may be cut more finely than the wild Irish, they may actually be as barbarous as the undisguised natives.

As numerous commentators have noted, Spenser's anxieties and observations about Ireland are not original, and part of *A View's* utility in illustrating English attitudes is the work's elaboration of widely articulated concerns with a rhetorical energy that gives Spenser's argument a particularly charged quality. It might also be remarked that Spenser's tract has a current appeal in a post-colonial climate where the extremity of his perspective seems to exemplify particularly well the colonizers fear of 'the other', and provides an instance of that apparently unchanging colonial attitude: 'we must stamp out indigenous culture in order to preserve our civilization'. Spenser's argument, and the whole of the pamphlet and other literature he represents, rests on a perception that there is an essential difference between the Irish and English. The danger of Ireland as some 'secret scourge' that might come into England is one of the future. This position considers English life as yet fundamentally uninfected by whatever disruption Ireland holds. It is Eudoxus's lack of Irish experience, not his own corruption, that directs his apparent reasonableness in arguing that Irenius's sinister claims are the type of exaggeration that results from failed actions of the claimant's own causation, not some supernatural force over which the English have no influence.

By using Eudoxus to exemplify how the well-motivated Englishman fails to grasp the nature of Ireland, Spenser is also reinforcing an English difference from Ireland. Thus, while Spenser's Old English (those original and long-standing English settlers in Ireland whose accommodation of Irish custom Spenser is harshly critical of) reveal the precariousness of English civility if it is not sanitized from Irish infection, his dialogue rhetorically posits a basic health to English civilization on his side of the Irish Sea. The danger, for Spenser, is that the very qualities that English civilization represents, perhaps summed up by the idea of 'good will', are what make it vulnerable because it will not immediately recognize the intrinsic corruption of the Irish. The English will seek toleration and accommodation with Irish qualities, particularly when they appear to be wearing a civil face, and not grasp that Ireland's native culture essentially leads toward barbarity and incivility.

In Book V of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, the recalling of Artegall before he can complete his work results from the Queen's merciful inclinations prompting her to pay too much heed to slandering counsels. Mercy in this instance is misplaced; Spenser is not repudiating the virtue in itself. Thus, Spenser's position, as with most of the contemporary prose tracts about Ireland, necessitates the affirmation that England is on the whole a civil place and Ireland fundamentally an uncivil one. Spenser's tract leaves interesting questions unresolved about whether any English colonization of Ireland can remain untainted if Ireland's widely celebrated 'goodly and commodious soyl' is something of an illusion and that soil's 'very genius' means that no project meant for her good 'will prosper or take good effect'. But, in raising doubts about Ireland, Spenser is acting to confirm England's claim to civility.

A different and important view of Ireland is presented by Marcus Gheeraerts's portrait of Captain Thomas Lee painted in 1594.⁹ In this depiction, far from being mutually exclusive, features associated with savage areas are frequently seen as necessary to maintain the health of the civilized centre. Rather than a rigorously maintained border, movement between savage and civilized can be celebrated. It is worth considering this portrait at some length as it interestingly illustrates a different emphasis from Spenser.

Captain Thomas Lee was part of the minor Oxfordshire gentry but his career was spent in the borderlands of sixteenth-century Ireland.¹⁰ This frontier separated the English pale, the area around Dublin directly governed by the English crown in the shape of the Lord Deputy, from the territories controlled by Anglo-Irish chieftains whose loyalty to the Elizabethan government was at best variable. Lee's distinction was that he was both a childhood friend of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who controlled Ulster, and the cousin of Sir Henry Lee, an influential courtier and Elizabeth's champion of the tilt. Thomas Lee used these connections to try to set himself up as a peace negotiator between the Crown and the rebellious Ulstermen. But Lee was not a diplomat by inclination. His actions in Ulster alternately earned him commendations for bravery and censure for banditry. Like many recent English arrivals in Ireland, he was ambitious to acquire lands and this did not endear him to the local landowners. At the same time, he was constantly accusing Elizabeth's officers in Ireland of corruption, and thus developed powerful opponents at the court. Eventually his misjudgement of the political situation led him to follow his then master, the Earl of Essex, to a traitor's death on the scaffold in 1601.

In the painting, Lee appears dressed partly as a native Irish foot soldier or kerne holding their characteristic long spear and showing their lack of cladding about the legs, while his beautifully embroidered shirt, expensive armour and weaponry also mark him out as an Elizabethan gentleman of worth.¹¹ One key to understanding the painting is the Latin quotation near his shoulder: roughly translated as 'both to act and suffer with fortitude is a Roman's part'. This is from Livy's *History of Rome*, where it is spoken by Gaius Mucius Scaevola. Scaevola had entered the Etruscan camp, disguised as one of them, in order to kill their leader. Importantly, he did this with the approval of the Roman Senate. Being apprehended before he could complete his mission, he thrust his hand into a sacrificial fire, an act that so impressed the Etruscans that they concluded peace with Rome. The curious position of Lee's hand may be designed to further reinforce this parallel. Lee, therefore, is making a public claim about his loyalty to Elizabeth and the English. Although his actions and appearance may often seem to suggest he has more in common with his friend the rebel Tyrone, this is a disguise enabling him to perform his duty to the State.

There are, however, other implications to Lee's depiction as both Elizabethan courtier and wild Irishman, ones that may be glimpsed

through his connection with the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favourite through much of the 1590s. Essex became the focus of numerous gentry and aristocrats within England who were disillusioned with what they saw as Elizabeth's over cautious and accommodating policies both at home and, particularly, abroad. Fired by strange combinations of religio-national zeal, desires for an 'imperial' English policy that would match the great powers on the continent (notably Spain), and the cultivation of a heroic code that could often easily be confused with an inclination to sheer adventurism, Essex and his followers pursued a view of themselves as part of an aristocratic *megalopsyche* or great soul. As Mervyn James has shown, Essex and his followers employed the rhetoric and actions of a 'cult of honour' that had grown up during the Middle Ages as 'an appropriate code of political conduct for the kind of political conflict in which lords confronted unworthy kings, and in which the last resort was resolved by the violence of war and battle'.¹² At the same time as upholding this virtually medieval set of attitudes, Essex and his circle were also keen humanist historians and particularly interested in Tacitus as a model of historiography. As the Lee painting indicates, associations between a Roman past and an English present are commonly exploited by this period's writers and painters, as they are in virtually all European countries.

Tacitus is particularly interesting in the British context because his early work the *Agricola* considers the Roman expansion on the island undertaken by his father-in-law Agricola when he was governor of Britain between 77 and 84 AD. While unquestionably aligned with Roman endeavours in both *Agricola* and *Germania*, a work of the same period, Tacitus frequently contrasts the moral integrity of 'the barbarians' with the modern decadence of the imperial centre. Commenting on the policies of his father-in-law whom he wholly admires, Tacitus reveals how his policy of 'civilizing' the Britons coerced their acceptance of Roman rule. Agricola:

educated the sons of the leading men in the liberal arts and he rated the natural talents of the Britons above the trained skills of the Gauls.

The result was that those who just lately had been rejecting the Roman tongue now conceived a desire for eloquence. Thus even our style of dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. Gradually, too, they went astray into the allurements of evil ways, colonnades and warm baths and elegant banquets. The Britons, who had had no experience of this, called it 'civilization', although it was part of their enslavement.¹³

For Tacitus, if the barbarians lack the order of Rome, they celebrate the idea of liberty. In an invented speech by the Caledonian leader Calgacus before the Roman victory of the Graupian Mountains, Tacitus has him proclaim a number of telling denunciations against Rome, including a famous

rebuke of the *pax Romana*: 'They plunder, they butcher, they ravish, and call it by the lying name of "empire". They make a desert and call it peace.' But Calgacus's most stirring appeal is to the Britons' desire for liberty:

Whenever I consider the causes of the war and our desperate position, I have great confidence that today, the day on which you are of one mind, will mark the beginning of freedom for the whole of Britain. For all of you have united together, and you have not tasted servitude. There is no land beyond us and even the sea is no safe refuge when we are threatened by the Roman fleet. Thus battle and arms, which brave men honour, are the safest recourse even for cowards ... our forces are the Britons' hope and their reserve, for we, the noblest in all Britain, who dwell in her innermost sanctuary and do not look across at subject shores, had been keeping even our eyes free from the defilement of tyranny. We are the last people on earth, and the last to be free.¹⁴

Calgacus's imagined oration notably omits Ireland as another place where liberty still remains; but Tacitus has earlier remarked that Agricola favoured an Irish invasion so that: 'Roman arms were everywhere and freedom was, so to speak, removed from sight'.¹⁵ The ambivalent implications of Tacitus for sixteenth-century England are apparent. On the one hand, it allows the English to claim a special affinity with liberty as opposed to continental tyranny ('We are the last people on earth, and the last to be free'). It also allows a special claim to 'natural' eloquence within the Latin discourses that were still the measure of learning 1500 years after Tacitus wrote (Agricola favoured 'the natural talents of the Britons above the trained skills of the Gauls'). On the other hand, it allows those feeling dissatisfied with Elizabeth's court to present it as a place of decadence and luxury that was enslaving true nobility. As in Roman times, it might appear that the places distant from the civilized seat of power are where valour and liberty remain, where a type of natural strength and energy counters the complacent and exhausted centre.

Gheeraerts's portrait of Captain Thomas Lee is, therefore, potentially doing much more than making a point about Lee's loyalty to the Elizabethan state, though his appearance may suggest otherwise. Lee's portrait is also proposing that this strangely clad figure represents nobility precisely because of its peculiar hybridity between savage and civilized. By embracing both, Lee allows the barbarian vigour of the uncivil Irish to temper the refinement of the civilized courtier. As with Tacitus, this does not only reflect on questions of moral integrity but on political ones, too. Implicit in the reflection on vice at the civil centre is that this enslaves, it is the character of government by tyranny. Lee may be making an ironic comment that the truth of his loyalty rests with his liberty, a feature to be found more in the borderlands than at the heart of empire.

A number of recent studies have shown how Shakespeare's dramatic representations of Ireland are frequently far more complex than previously assumed.¹⁶ Expanding upon a point noted by Bartley in his 1954 study, Willy Maley shows how the best known staged Irishman of this period, *Henry V's* Captain Macmorris, has a name that reveals him to be Anglo-Irish: Norman settler families often substituted the Irish 'Mac/k' for the Norman 'Fitz'.¹⁷ Macmorris's angry demand of Fluellen 'What ish my nation?' probably is occasioned because he sees himself as English, whereas, because of his origins and accent, others in the play assume that he is Irish. Richard Stanyhurst in Holinshed's *Chronicles* recounts the comic tale of an English lord who returned from Ireland boasting he could understand Irish, not realizing that he had simply been listening to the English dialect of the Old English settlers there.¹⁸ Macmorris is not responding as a colonized native Irishman. As is so often the case with Shakespeare, the dramatic crispness of the scene does not entail political and social reductiveness; in fact, precisely the opposite.

The First Part of the True and Honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the Good Lord Cobham, as its prologue tells us, sets out to correct misrepresentations of Oldcastle, notably his association with Falstaff.¹⁹ In a wider sense, though, the play seeks to redress what may be called a Lancasterian version of history by showing that Lord Cobham is not involved in treachery against Henry V. Either his name is falsely invoked by Sir Roger Acton and his fellow rebels to increase support for their cause, or when Cambridge, Scroop, Grey, and the French ambassador approach him to join their plot against Henry (an event familiar from Shakespeare's play, though here given more political legitimacy), he feigns participation so as to gain the evidence to reveal their treachery directly to Henry. Crucially the play reveals Oldcastle continuously being victimized by the clergy who deplore his sympathies with Wycliffe.

Following an escape from the Tower, Cobham removes toward St Albans. There is then a scene in which we meet an Irish servant who has killed his master, Sir Richard Lee, returning from Ireland and only a short distance from his home. He is dressed in his native costume (Oldcastle's faithful servant later switches clothes with him to escape detection) and the play gives him a language and accent that emphasize his treacherous instability. In the act of rifling his Master's pockets he comments on his own incivility:

Alas poe mester, Sir Richard Lee, be Saint Patrick, I's rob and cut thy t'rote for dee shain, and dy money and dee gold ring. Be me truly, I's love dee well, but now dow be kil, thee beshitten knave.

(sc. 16, lines 22–5).

Eventually, the truth of the murder comes to light and the Irishman is condemned to hang, a sentence he accepts with equanimity if he can have his own clothes back and be hanged in the Irish fashion.

The appearance of the Irishman dramatizes a basic treachery and wildness – in one respect he is merely a cipher for savage incivility. But though he is brought to legal justice, his presence in the play does not act to reinforce a sense of English civility in contrast to Irish savagery. Immediately before the Irishman is sentenced, Sir Richard Lee Senior, the victim's father, announces his loathing for the Irish:

Is this the wolf whose thirsty throate did drink
My dear son's blood? Art thou the snake
He cherished, yet with envious piercing sting
Assailed'st him mortally? Foul stigmatic,
Thou venom of the country where thou lived'st
And pestilence of this!

(sc. 22, lines 108–13).

Lee has a few scenes earlier poured out a similar diatribe against the innocent Oldcastle and his wife, who in disguise have been discovered sleeping in the wood close to the body of the son, a fact they are unaware of. Further, in the act of his murder the Irishman is surprised by the thieving cleric Sir John of Wrotham and his prostitute Doll who rob him of Sir Richard Lee's effects.

Throughout this play Oldcastle's hospitality and civility are constantly emphasized. He relieves the poor whom others have turned away. He is always courteous, loyal and generally disposed to think well of others until he has evidence to the contrary. This accords with the play's endeavour to present him as a model proto-Protestant.²⁰ As the play details, Oldcastle's charity is the exception. A group of the poor comprising crippled soldiers and the old remark that 'housekeeping decays in every place': 'If a poor man come to a door to ask for God's sake, they ask him for a licence or a certificate from a Justice'; 'Faith we have none but what we beare upon our bodies, our maimed limbs, God help us' (sc. 2, lines 5–16). The play presents us with a decayed social fabric where religion is invoked to gain personal advantage, a disguise for covetousness. Rather than a civil commonwealth potentially disrupted by a minority's treachery, this is a state where incivility is the rule. The kingdom's rot stretches to the court and the King, though the play remains ambiguous about whether Henry V is directly implicated in these conditions or whether they result from others taking advantage of his lack of attention to domestic issues as he prepares for the French war.

Sir John Oldcastle begins with a civil commotion at the Hereford assizes between the Welsh Lord Powis's followers and those of Lord Herbert. Powis is a defender of Wycliffe. The tenor of this scene is that Powis is judged particularly responsible for the disruption and may be treacherous. It is

suggested England's stability may be threatened by a disorder stemming from an unruly Wales. The play ends, however, with Oldcastle and his followers preparing to retreat into Wales with Lord Powis, who apparently shares Oldcastle's charity and civility. The values they represent, which should be cherished at the centre, have been banished to the margins; the court has become controlled by a treacherous deceiving clergy. This is of course entirely appropriate in a play seeking to witness a Protestant history that saw a chastisement of true believers and, by implication, the true English during this era. Interestingly, therefore, the savage, master-murdering Irish servant does not work to confirm English civility. He is nothing more than a churlish figure. Indeed, it might be argued that the play is actually directing criticism onto his master, as it is he who is responsible for introducing him to England. What is demonstrated, though, is that this type of savagery is capable of being controlled, it presents no lasting threat to the play's – or by implication to the nation's – order. What the scene brings into relief is the more dangerous deceiving forces that are persecuting England's civil order from within. If this scene uses a stereotypical Irishman, it does not do so for stereotypical purposes. Oldcastle's retreat toward the borderlands of Wales as a place where Powis will civilly accept him, carries strong parallels with a Tacitean view of the barbarian margins as a place where liberty may thrive when corruption dominates the centre. Not presenting easily compartmentalized social, political, and religious contexts to Oldcastle's drama, the play articulates contemporary contrasting attitudes about civilization and its opposites that refuse 'black and white' perspectives.²¹ It seeks to represent some of the difficult historical inheritances of a Reformed Elizabethan England that is less than confident about its current direction.

A very different type of Irish representation is offered by the anonymous, *A Warning for Fair Women*, printed in a quarto of 1599 and 'lately acted by The Lord Chamberlain's Men'.²² In one respect, this is a domestic tragedy that clearly has developed from the Protestant morality tradition, though based on actual murders committed in the 1570s. George Browne, a gentleman, incurs a burning lust for the wife of a London merchant, George Sanders, and constructs a plot by which the wife is enticed to believe she is 'fated' to marry Browne on the death of her husband. He then brutally murders Sanders but evidence rapidly comes to light against him. He is arrested, as are his accomplices and Sanders' wife, and all of these are executed after acknowledging the errors of their ways and having embraced religion. A hurried reading might suggest the play is a rather crude piece celebrating the collusion of divine and state forces in England, resulting in the characters ultimately welcoming their ends because their true repentance gives them a chance of supernatural clemency. But if these elements are present so are others that refuse to relegate *A Warning for Fair Women* as a predictable late morality play.

I do not have the space here to consider the play at length, and particularly its interesting dramatic framing through an argument among history, comedy and tragedy about who will get 'to play' on the day, a disagreement tragedy wins. After this induction the scene turns to London and a realistic exchange between Sanders, his wife, Browne, and other guests as they come out from dinner. Sanders thanks Browne:

for your good discourse of Ireland
Whereas it seems you have been resident
By your well noting the particulars.

Browne: True Sir, I have been there familiar
And am no better known in London here,
Than I am there unto the better sort,
Chiefly in Dublin where ye heard me say
Are as great feasts as this we had today.

Sanders: So have I heard, the land gives good increase,
Of every blessing for the use of man,
An 'tis great pity the inhabitants,
Will not be civil nor live under law.

Browne: As civil in the English pale as here,
And Laws obey, and orders duly kept,
And all the rest may one day be reduced.

Sanders: God grant it so.

At a couple of key points, we are reminded of Browne's Irish connections – including his birth in Dublin – drawing attention to his status. (Interestingly, although a good deal of the detail of the play is drawn from sources in Golding, Holinshed and Stow, none of these mention Browne coming from Ireland). Browne is confident that he is a law abiding, orderly gentleman from within the English pale. He discovers he is not. Dublin is, Browne argues, a place of great civility, where as great feasts as are found in London are held. This exchange signals a set of key issues the play raises: lack of moderation in appetite, both in a material and at a moral level, is illustrated throughout.²³ Sanders is a man of new commercial wealth, one who, like Arden of *Arden of Faversham*, is observed pursuing his worldly affairs. But unlike Arden, who is shown to be neglectful of the management of his household as he pursues riches, Sanders is a much less easily defined figure. What he signals, what he inscribes, is not clear. In certain respects he is wholly differentiated from the appetite driven Browne, in other respects he is uncomfortably similar.

Sanders announces that he has heard that Ireland 'gives good increase, / Of every blessing for the use of man,' yet 'the inhabitants will not be civil, nor live under law'. Browne replies that they are civil in the English pale: he is an instance of this. But he clearly is not. Yet, as Browne proposes, the feasts of Dublin are as fine as London. Throughout, whenever attempts are made to distinguish the corrupt from the uncorrupted, the civil from the uncivil, the play refuses what its morality structure seems to be directing us to. The very signs of civility in London: its commercial proprieties, hospitality and resulting prosperity are presented so that they may be potentially witnessed as signs of its incivility and over-consumption, leading to destructive appetite. Apparent devils it suggests may become saints, whereas apparent saints may be instruments of destruction. Ireland may be different from England, the one savage the other not, or London may be as corrupt as Dublin. In a play whose structure is explicitly directed by tragedy within a readily displayed morality tradition, the play actually reveals no clear guidance, no properly codified signs as to what warnings fair women or others should actually take. How can we know who we are and what type of world we live in when the signs that might give guidance may deceive or mean the opposite of what we think; when a land 'which gives good increase' may be a sign of its propensity to sinfulness?

It would be easy to suggest that this is all a result of the play being artistically flawed, failing to align the morality scenes within the dumb shows and stylised confessional speeches with the vigorous realistic qualities of the rest of the play. This, though, would be to overlook its forceful insistence on the difficulties inherent in trying to fathom or read the world accurately. *A Warning for Fair Women* is an instance of later sixteenth-century drama acknowledging how attempts to register its culture within a previously effective morality framework only confuse the quality and identity of social organizations, while at the same time stressing the need to be alert to what they might be.

John Speed's map of the Kingdom of Ireland printed in his 1613 *Theatrum* has in its margins a depiction of six of the island's inhabitants. The bottom two's appearance, the 'wilde' Irishman and woman, are the expected figures of uncivil barbarism. The man is longhaired and carries a spear. Both wear the *brat*, the rough mantle that was the noted mark of Irish dress and which Spenser calls 'a fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a thiefe' (p. 57). But above them Speed depicts figures described as the gentleman and gentlewoman of Ireland, and the civil Irish woman and man. Interestingly here too, the *brat*, the Irish mantle, is worn, but now they are well tailored and suggest prosperity and dignity. Speed's *Theatrum* is a useful reminder that incivility was only a part of the English perception of Ireland.²⁴ But, as with *A Warning for Fair Women*, this depiction raises difficult questions. The civil Irish are apparently like the English, yet they adapt a costume whose usual associations

are with savagery. Is the well-tailored costume an even more 'apt cloke for a thiefe'? Does it falsely mirror English civilization? In Spenser or in the Gheeraerts's portrait where the English in Ireland are presented as either wholly degenerate or as possible upholders of liberty, these issues are problematic enough. They become even more awkward in the case of a character such as Browne where he is seemingly indistinguishable from other gentlemen at court or in the city. Does being born in Dublin make him Irish? Is he a vivid illustration of the worry found in Spenser's *A View* that: 'they say it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect'? Or does Browne show that incivility is as likely to be provoked by the affluence and hospitality of London as it is in more liminal places?

Elizabeth's wayward favourite the Earl of Essex patronized Spenser (paying for his funeral); yet interest in Tacitus was also a feature of Essex's circle.²⁵ The Earl might indeed serve as a good paradigm for some of the problems in separating the savage from the civil in late Elizabethan England or Ireland. In 1599, Essex was sent as governor-general to Ireland to deal with the Irish rebellion led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. He was given near sovereign powers and departed with great popular acclaim. Shakespeare's *Henry V* reflects the popular enthusiasm for Essex when in Act V the chorus reflects on the huge acclaim Henry is given when he returns victorious from France:

Were now the general of our gracious empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!²⁶

In fact, Essex was not successful against O'Neill. He entered into negotiations with him, returned suddenly and against orders to Elizabeth's court and was placed under house arrest. He then attempted to organize a rebellion against the Queen but it quickly failed without attracting popular support. Essex was arrested for treason, tried and executed. At his trial, the Crown produced documents that indicated that Essex was prepared to grant recognition of papal supremacy in Ireland. Witnesses claimed he promised to make O'Neill regent in Ireland if he secured the English crown. This seems to have been concocted evidence with little basis in truth, but its pattern well illustrates how cultural fears about Ireland could be politically manipulated.

Dispatched as the glory of the Elizabethan court to Ireland, Essex returns as a traitor. Far from gleaming qualities to reinvigorate England, he returns to destroy it. At least this was the prosecution's inference at his trial.

Interestingly, having brazenly defied his accusers during his trial, when he approached execution, Essex made a full confession of his crimes and presented himself as the penitent: 'God of his mercy hath opened my eyes, and made me see my sin, my offence, and so touched my heart as I hate it'.²⁷ Thus, at his end Essex actually confirmed the image the Crown had made of him: the civil courtier who had declined into treacherous savagery. Now back within the civil pale and about to experience the rigour of its law against traitors he embraces its actions against him, re-establishing his claims to belong to its norms, returning to the fold through providential grace. He did not sue Elizabeth for pardon.

Yet, the arguments around civility and savagery that we have seen vividly reflected in England's relation with Ireland and particularly surrounding incidents of the O'Neill rebellion in the 1590s have another strand which further complicates the issue of this border between what constitutes civility, what savagery. Essex's successor in Ireland, Lord Mountjoy finally brought O'Neill to submit. Pardoned, he even visited the English court where to the annoyance of those who had fought against him, he was 'curteouslie favourede, honourede and well liked'.²⁸

In fact, O'Neill appears to have been wonderfully adept at shifting between an Irish identity and an Anglicized one – appearing as it suited him as either a Gaelic chieftain – The O'Neill – or as the courtier-like Earl of Tyrone. As Andrew Murphy proposes, in this environment, 'no sense of identity seems stable':

The picture of the Irish traditionally cultivated by the English cannot hold. Because O'Neill, his sons, and his soldiers appear on the scene bearing the trappings of English identity, yet asserting fidelity in other respects and at other times to their Gaelic lineage and yet apparently not truly faithful to that identity either, they seem to beg a question as to what exactly *is* their identity, rather as if Spenser, in turning from his meditation on the Old English were compelled to address a new question: 'not are they that were once English abiding English still' but rather are 'not they that were once *Irish* abiding *Irish* still?' But if the nature of 'Irishness' is called into question by the ambiguity inherent in O'Neill's position, his ability to manipulate the counters of *English* civility seems to raise question about the nature of *English* identity. In the uncertainty of O'Neill's Ireland, where the signs of identity are traded and manipulated the loss of stable identity emerges, again, as a threat to the English themselves.²⁹

Civility in the early modern perception is more than the expected fluidity of cultural borders, or even of querying whether the border is there at all, but becomes an issue of what rests on either side of the border. The very qualities (of geography, race, custom, etc.) that appear to allow one side to

be separated from the other seem to be able to uncannily reverse. Captain Thomas Lee, as his master the Earl of Essex, attempted to use the Irish borderlands to help restore liberty and reinvigorate English culture. They failed and were declared traitors to their culture. Moving from the civilized to the savage and then back was not ultimately tolerated. But O'Neill *beginning* on the other side of the border could enter the civil centre, the world of the court and be 'well likede', despite being the prime exemplar of Irish rebelliousness. Of course, there are distinct political and particular historical reasons why these respective fates took place. Yet, they point to complex contemporary issues about cultural or civil identity that the drama also reflects complexly. It is wrong to imagine simple definitions of savagery and civility performed on the stage any more than it was to find them in real life. That a popular theatre sought to engage so dynamically with the web of issues involved in these questions testifies to the seriousness of both dramatists and playgoers in Renaissance England.

Notes

1. J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being an Historical Survey of the Earliest Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork University Press, 1954); Anneliese Truninger, *Paddy and the Paycock. A Study of the Stage Irishman from Shakespeare to O'Casey* (Bern: Francke, 1976); Kathleen Rabl, 'Taming the Wild Irish in English Renaissance Drama', in *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England and the World*, eds Wolfgang Zack and Heinz Kosok, *National Images and Stereotypes* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1987), vol. III, 47–59.
2. Rabl, 'Taming the Wild Irish', p. 59.
3. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, 'Introduction: Irish Representations and English Alternatives' in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660*, eds Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, Willy Maley (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 1.
4. Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us: Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), p. 16.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
6. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, eds Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1997). All references to *A View* are to this edition.
7. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*, p. 29.
8. Spenser, *A View*, p. xvii.
9. Hadfield's and Maley's use of this portrait on the front cover of their edition of *A View* does not recognize that it offers a different perspective.
10. My information about Lee largely comes from Hiram Morgan, 'Tom Lee: The Posing Peacemaker', in Bradshaw, Hadfield, Maley, eds, *Representing Ireland*, 132–65.
11. For the painting see, Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530–1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), pp. 176–7.
12. Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 413.
13. Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany*, trans. Anthony R. Birley (Oxford University Press, 1999), chap. 21.

14. *Agricola*, chap. 30.
15. *Agricola*, chap. 24.
16. Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea*; Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Crisis over Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Mark Thornton Burnett and Ramona Wray, eds, *Shakespeare and Ireland: History, Politics, Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).
17. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*, pp. 16–17; Willy Maley, 'Shakespeare, Holinshed and Ireland: Resources and Contexts' in *Shakespeare and Ireland*, 27–46.
18. Hadfield and Maley, *Representing Ireland*, p. 15.
19. *Sir John Oldcastle, Part I*, eds Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, *The Oldcastle Controversy* (Manchester University Press, 1991). All references to *Oldcastle* are to this edition.
20. Cobham's martyrdom is vividly presented in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.
21. This complexity would likely be even more pronounced if we possessed the now lost Part II of the play that was commissioned and performed within a few months of Part I. In Foxe's account, Powis is eventually corrupted and betrays Oldcastle, thus revealing himself as a Judas figure. The issue of where and if the border between civilization, liberty and tyranny may be demarked would only be more difficult to resolve if, as is certainly probable, the dramatists Henslowe commissioned (Drayton, Hathway, Munday, Wilson) were in these scenes of Part I, anticipating the later betrayal of Oldcastle in Part II. See Corbin and Sedge, *The Oldcastle Controversy*, p. 9.
22. *A Warning for Fair Women: A Critical Edition*, ed. Charles Dale Cannon (The Hague: Mouton, 1975). All references to *A Warning for Fair Women* are to this edition.
23. See Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert and Milton* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Margaret Healy, *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies Plagues and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) for important considerations of temperance, economics and psychology, esp. Healy on 'The Glutted, Unvented Body', pp. 188–228.
24. In John Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611). This illustration is used on the jacket cover to this collection of essays.
25. Essex was a friend and patron of Sir Henry Savile, for example, who published the first English translation of Tacitus in 1591. See James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, pp. 418–19.
26. William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. J. H. Walter, (London: Routledge, 1954) 5. [Chorus], 31–4. See Andrew Murphy's excellent consideration of the play in the context of the O'Neill rebellion, in *But the Irish Sea*, pp. 97–123.
27. An abstract of the Earl's confession remains among the *Calendar State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1598–1601*, pp. 587–8 and the *Hatfield MSS.*, xi, p. 75; cited in James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, p. 456 n 142.
28. Sir John Hartington, *Nugae Antiquae* (London, 1804), cited in Murphy, *But the Irish Sea*, p. 123.
29. *But the Irish Sea*, pp. 108–9.

9

Uncivil Monarchy: Scotland, England and the Reputation of James IV

Dermot Cavanagh

One influential means of distinguishing the early modern period has been to emphasize its increasingly distinct forms of national consciousness.¹ Moreover, current understanding of how such identities are formed stresses that 'Self-definition comes from the not-self, from the alien other'.² For example, the Scots, according to the Elizabethan topographer and historian William Harrison, in his notorious reflections on their origins, 'were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters'.³ For Hector Boece, the sixteenth-century Scottish historian, it was English influence that had depleted the austere quality of life enjoyed by his ancestors. Boece deplored how 'through our dailie trades and conversation with them [the English]', the Scots had learnt 'also their maners, and therewithall their language ... Heereby shortlie after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be judged worthie of small estimation amongst us'.⁴

Of course, as previous essays in this collection have shown, more complicated forms of reflection upon both domestic and foreign identities also took place in the sixteenth century. This could involve an awareness of the incivility within one's own nation as well as civility without its boundaries. Such critical deliberation upon self and other, it will be argued here, was enabled, rather than inhibited, when the sensitive relationship between monarchy and nationhood was considered. Moreover, the character of this reflection alerts us to another aspect of its early modern rather than its 'national' character and this will be examined in relation to the reputation of James IV (1488–1513) in sixteenth-century England and Scotland. The debate aroused by the actions of this monarch demonstrates that the perimeter between the civil and the uncivil was not always coextensive with the borders of opposing kingdoms.

Firstly, this essay will explore the conflicting responses aroused by James IV among Scottish writers and historians. A division will be noted between commentators who share a broadly 'royalist' perspective – one proleptic of the king's later presence in Stuart myth – and an increasingly critical

tradition of historiography that perceived monarchy as impeding rather than embodying the civil potential of the country. The latter body of writing – exemplified here by David Lindsay, by his kinsman, the historian Robert Lindesay, and by George Buchanan – is characterized by a distinctively early modern idiom, a discourse which, in the terms made familiar by J. G. A. Pocock, employs and explores a paradigm.⁵ This derives from the classical ideal of temperance, reminding us of the intense political significance that informed this concept of civility.

Secondly, this chapter will consider a more curious aspect of the historical afterlife of James IV: his appearances in sixteenth-century English writing across a variety of genres – poetic, historiographic and dramatic (although only the first two of these will be explored). This phase of the argument will examine a neglected area: the parallels, continuities and imaginative exchanges that exist between English and Scottish writing in the sixteenth century as well as the contrasts between them. Again, the idea that a uniformly patriotic or proto-nationalist discourse is increasingly dominant in the sixteenth century will be questioned. A more complex image of James IV was present in English culture. This demonstrates not only a cross-border concern with temperance, but also that an equitable relationship between civility, national character, and monarchy was far from guaranteed even in rival examples of historical discourse. This will involve investigating how English writers conceived the uncivil potential of their own monarchy as well as the intemperate language and actions of James IV. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of, first, two early reactions to James's defeat and death at Flodden – in Thomas More's *Epigrammata* (1518) and John Skelton's *Agaynst the Scottes* (1513) – and, finally, his treatment in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587). Throughout the focus will be on the responses aroused by James's most notorious decision: his invasion of England in August 1513.

In his panegyric to 'Jamys of Scotlonde' included in his version of *The Ship of Fools* (1509), Alexander Barclay emphasized the king's 'audacyte / And proved manhode', commending him as an epitome of chivalric kingship. For Barclay, James's prowess as a warrior was tempered by his commitments both to the code of honour and to Christian idealism: 'Yet this his manhode increasyth nat by his pryde / But ever sheweth his mekenes and humylyte / In worde and dede to hye and lowe degre'.⁶ James embodies an ideal of proportion: he achieves manly assertion without pride and humility without weakness; this equipoise is also expressed in the fitting language he finds for each occasion and for each kind of subject. This admiration for the ideals that informed and perfected James IV's kingship continued after his death in battle. 'This king led his lyfe in pietie and godlynes', wrote John Leslie – the Catholic Bishop of Ross and loyal servant to Mary Queen of Scots – in *The Historie of Scotland* (1578; trans. 1596), '[he] governet his

Realme sa weil and wislie, that to quhat vertues he was naturalie inclyned, eftir war evident to all'.⁷ Courageous, devout, and just, James IV appears in Leslie's account as a belated example of chivalric heroism ensnared in a new world of political calculation and self-aggrandizement. There was 'not ane in ancient antiquitie amang al his predecessours, to quhom he wald be sa conforme as to King Arthur' (p. 128). This is in sharp contrast to the vainglorious lust for land and reputation displayed by Henry VIII; the latter's 'flatering wordes' issuing from a 'false mynd' (p. 136) helped to deceive and destroy his trusting opponent.

Such perceptions of James IV constituted a powerful resource for the subsequent development of Stuart myth as a totemic feature of a distinctively Scottish past.⁸ More broadly, the conception of James IV as a symbol of the failing, but still enthralling, energies of a distinctive feudal world has proved surprisingly enduring.⁹ In Louise Fradenburg's recent study of his 'arts of rule' the king is identified, in a more contemporary twist, as the producer, rather than the product, of the Arthurian myth that perpetuated his reputation. The durability of the latter is perceived as a testament to the fullness and scope of a royalist poetics. In the power-fixated idiom of new historicism, James IV succeeds, for Fradenburg, even in his failure as this demonstrates how sovereignty can lay 'a hold on the vast duration of time'. Thus, legends 'such as those of Arthur and James IV' have 'an intense relation to loss', but this does not deplete their efficacy: 'both because of sovereignty's claim to restore the fullness of time and its involvement in the passage of time'.¹⁰

Yet, to claim sovereignty as an undivided point of origin for its own passage through time depends on a highly selective account of historical experience. It obscures, in particular, a significant body of early modern commentary upon James IV within Scotland that remained immune to royalist myth. This is manifest in the work of the Scots humanist and Calvinist, George Buchanan. For Buchanan, there was nothing glorious in James's chivalric temperament and little connection between his enthusiasm for personal rule and national well-being. In his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (1582), Buchanan acknowledged the continuing allure of the James IV 'legend': 'the Remembrance of him stuck so fast in the Minds of Men, as the like was not known of any other King that we have heard or read of'. Yet, he continued: "'Tis probable that it happened, by making a Comparison with the Evils which preceded his Reign; or else were likely speedily to follow after it ... And his Want of Money was such, that if he had lived longer, the Merits of his former Reign would have been extinguished, or at least out-balanced by his Imposition of new Taxes; so that his Death seemed to have happened rather commodiously, than unseasonably to him'.¹¹ Buchanan's mordant analysis is admittedly that of a republican and a monarchomach – the latter term was in fact coined to demonize the heterodoxy of his ideas¹² – but it is far from exceptional. As J. H. Burns has made clear, political thought in sixteenth-century Scotland embraced a

communitarian and constitutional theory of kingship which Buchanan extended rather than breached.¹³ We might also glimpse in the remarks upon James IV's extravagant taxation an emphasis of great moment for his subsequent reputation on both sides of the border: an association with excessive behaviour and with inordinate will. This alerts us to the presence of a key political concept, and a vocabulary that derives from this, that recurs in sixteenth-century debates concerning James IV – the virtue of temperance; it is to the significance of this that I will now turn.

Temperance has had some rough handling from contemporary critics who have seen it as embodying the bad faith that informs Renaissance ethical discourse. Taking their cue from Foucault's history of inhibition, temperance has been perceived as both a product and a facilitator of the moral regime required by an increasingly colonial and mercantile society. In this reading – and given its general emphases on moderation, self-discipline and the regulation of appetite – temperance is posited as helping fashion a versatile, pragmatic subject ready to control unruly impulses in the self (and in others). Self-contained, socially adept, pragmatic, the temperate subject inculcates the skills required for success in a nascent market economy: good timing, plausibility and opportunism.¹⁴ Yet, as the classical scholar Helen North has demonstrated, temperance was subject to a complex process of debate and this included competing definitions of its significance.¹⁵ Perhaps recent criticism has lost touch with an important element of this whereby temperance is envisaged as an ethical standard that authority must live up to. The virtue could also be used to critique autocratic self-assertion and hubristic manliness.¹⁶ Temperance, therefore, has another more radical passage through early modernity and the reputation of James IV is one piece of cultural evidence for this.

James IV had good reason to be personally familiar with the demands of this classical ideal. *The Meroure of Wysdome* (1490), a *regimen principum* composed by John Ireland, emphasized how 'temporaunce is richt necessar and convenient to all king & prince, for and a prince be nocht temporat in him self bot lat passiounis regne and have dominacioun in him he can nocht reule him self na the realme and the multitud of pepil committit to him'.¹⁷ Yet, such conventional counsel concerning the observance of personal and political limits also became a starting-point for identifying the sources of incivility within monarchy. It was with this potential that a range of Scottish writers associated James IV in the sixteenth century. This raises, as we shall see, profound questions about the nature and limits of sovereignty and, again, this occurs in both English and Scottish interpretations of the king.

In Scotland, this tradition of reflection upon James IV can be seen in the work of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, a courtier of the king's, and of his successor James V. Lindsay's *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* (c. 1530), included a complex panegyric to the liberality, nobility and

magnificence of the 'gentyll' king; yet his work, unlike John Leslie's, included some less sanguine memories. The poem is unflinching in its criticism of, first, James IV's inordinate affection for France and, second, of the king's overmastering self-will that rendered him immune to counsel. These flaws are used to explain the catastrophe at Flodden:

Nocht be the vertew of Inglis ordinance,
 Bot be his awin wylfull mys-governance.
 Allace, that daye had he bene counsalabyll,
 He had obtenit laude, glore, and victorie.
 Quhose pieteous proces bene so lamentabyll,
 I nyll at lenth it put in memorie.¹⁸

Lindsay's emphasis on 'mysgovernance' emphasizes how James is conceived habitually in Scots writing in terms of a humanist vocabulary that stresses the king's failures of self-regulation. Yet, these strictures are cognate with a conventional late medieval understanding of the chivalric code and its martial ethos, which, complemented by good counsel, would have succeeded in James IV defending the realm and securing victory.¹⁹ A much more radical break in the historical comprehension of the king takes place after the Reformation and, especially, after the revolutionary events of the 1560s. After this period, James IV's changing stature and reputation are expressive of a much broader reconstitution of Scots historiography, where increasingly explosive questions were asked 'over the nature and location of sovereignty'; these indicated 'that the broad ideological consensus which had sustained the Stewart monarchy in Scotland since the late fourteenth century was shattered beyond repair'.²⁰ Moreover, it is the virtue of temperance that stands at the centre of these new traditions of historical reflection providing an ideal and a language that allow the rightful limits of sovereignty to be identified. Thus, in *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (c. 1550–1575), Robert Lindsay interprets James IV's invasion of England as typifying how an ill-disciplined monarchical will can wreak both national and self-destruction. Lindsay is uncompromising in describing James as a man possessed with the disastrous enterprise of invasion, and as oblivious to the eloquence of those who sought to prevent this: 'no goode consall might stope the king at this present ffrome his vaine purpos and wickit interpryse'.²¹ Lindsay exposes the terrifying extent of James's heedlessness and his consequent ethical dissolution; this is contrasted with the prudence and humanity of his wife, Margaret Tudor. Here wisdom and moderation are the possession of both a female and an English speaker. The king ignores any advice which:

was contrair to his porpois, but reffussit allways godlie consall quhilk
 [which] was to his honour and commone weill of the contrie and wald

nocht wse no consall of his prudent wyfe Margarit quene of Scotland for no prayeris nor supplicatioun scho could mak ... Zeit [yet] this wyse consall and admonitioun was of no wyse acceptit nor takin in goode pairt be him and because scho was the king of Englandis sister was the less regairdit; zeit this nobill woman did hir dewtie and labouris sa far as scho might for the weill of hir husband and the commone weill of the contrie and also for the lufe that scho buire [bore] to her brother the king of England desyrand no discord to be betuix the tuo realmes in hir tyme. Bot nevertheles nothing wald be hard bot 'fordwart' (pp. 261–62).

James continues in this intemperate manner, indulging in 'the stink and adullterie and fornicatioun' with the lady of Ford – who betrays the military secrets he shares with her – as soon as he crosses the border. As 'ane feminnat prince subdewit and intyssit be the allurement and fallis desait of this wickit woman' (p. 263), James's manhood undergoes further decline. Thus, he careers towards his annihilation at Flodden, taking with him the 'haill realme of Scotland and the haill nobilietie thairof' (p. 268).

It is this understanding of James IV as being consumed by the fury of chivalric violence that underpins George Buchanan's sympathy for those who disdained such arbitrary behaviour. Like Lindesay, Buchanan dismisses the legend that the king had survived the battle. Instead, he recounts an alternative narrative concerning James's possible escape from the carnage at Flodden, whereby he was quickly set upon and butchered by his own followers: 'the King re-passed the Tweed, and was slain by some of Hume's men near the Town of Kelso ... For they being desirous of Innovation, thought that they should escape Punishment, if the King was taken off; but if he should survive, they should be punished for their Cowardice' (p. 125). Buchanan reports, one feels with some delight, the later testimony of one of the Hume affinity when they complained of a subsequent Scots regent: 'who would suffer that Stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them; whereas he himself had been one of the six private Men that had put an end to the like Insolency of the King at Kelso' (p. 125). Buchanan perceives the king's 'Insolency' not as a tragic dissolution of James's better self, but as part of a systemic pattern of behaviour. His history reminds us of James's extravagant habits of expenditure and how these reflected his arrogant self-conception as a Renaissance prince. Buchanan disparages James's love of ceremonial and show, his ambitious policy of building, and his construction of a naval fleet, as 'these ludicrous Exercises' (p. 111). The novel taxation required to finance such endeavours became 'a greater Grievance to the Country, than his Father's Covetousness had been' and it was fortunate that 'his other Virtues procured him such Reverence amongst them [i.e. his subjects], that their Indignation did not proceed to a natural Insurrection' (p. 112). Yet James was surrounded by flatterers 'who covered this vicious Excess under the plausible Names of Splendor and

Magnificence'. His long expressed desire for pilgrimage, 'whether true or pretended', and a return to the crusade, were really evasions of the ruin that would inevitably follow 'his vast Expence' (p. 112). As might be expected, Buchanan perceives Flodden as the climax of James's intemperance leading to a national calamity. As Roger A. Mason has argued, temperance was the keystone of Buchanan's ethical conception of politics: it helped him to formulate a political solution to the enduring problem of the arbitrary passions of a ruler. For Buchanan, the constitutional precedence of law was required because it provided 'a restraint on his [the ruler's] appetites'.²²

Some of the political implications of temperance in Scottish historical and political writing can now be identified with greater clarity. In relation to James IV we can perceive how the language of temperance allows the moral predilections of the prince to be scrutinized for their public consequences and to identify the ways in which a monarch can lose self-control, life and legitimacy. In this respect, the king provides a significant reminder of how incivility can arise both from within and from above. In Scotland, James IV reminded many commentators that there were values and commitments that transcended the nation and that monarchy was not always a fit embodiment of these. It was not simply expansionist English policy that threatened to destroy the commonwealth, but James's intemperate will.

In English writing, of course, very different modes of evaluation are at work in relation to James IV. Many English writers remember what we might expect about the Scots king who had invaded their realm whilst Henry VIII pursued his continental military ambitions in France. James IV's failure was used to illustrate the consequences awaiting the Scots crown if it exceeded its ordained status as a feudal vassal of its Southern neighbour. As Patricia Palmer has noted, sixteenth-century 'England was embarking on a self-conscious project of imagining, representing and, ultimately, vaunting the nation' that 'was partly defined oppositionally, through counterdistinction with uncivil others'.²³ Yet, James IV's reputation in the historical accounts of his enemies did not always conform to this pattern. An evaluation of his identity was complicated by several factors. James IV's papal excommunication for his assault on England counted for little after the Reformation. (The progress of the latter, of course, both complicated and enriched cross-border dialogue.) Similarly, his invasion had a chivalric recklessness whose allure grew over time.²⁴ Most flagrantly, this avowed enemy of the Tudor dynasty was also a member of it, through his marriage to Margaret Tudor in 1503, making him a literal example of that disorientating spectacle that interests Jonathan Dollimore: an 'outlaw [who] turns up as inlaw'.²⁵ English writing about James raised, to say the least, sensitive issues of definition and decorum and keeping such a mutable figure within a coherent political and patriotic perspective was not always easy. Moreover, the actions and

language of this monarch also allowed the limits of English civility and its embodiment in monarchy to be scrutinized, as well as testing the adequacy of national feeling in ethical and political judgement.

For many English writers, of course, such subtleties mattered little and their responses to James IV guaranteed a simple binary opposition between the civil and the uncivil. This often involved emphasizing the king's degraded language, confirming Patricia Palmer's argument that, for early modern nationalism, 'civility was indissociable from language.'²⁶ To this end, James's speech became an obvious target for denigrating the boastful and duplicitous national character. William Harrison remarked on the debased and grating character of Scottish speech: 'they deale in this as in the most parte of their historie, which is to seeke great honor by lieng, and great renowme by prating and cranking'.²⁷ The Scots 'will aye bee bostyng and crakyng' Richard Grafton reminded his readers in the dedicatory poem appended to his continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543); Grafton described these enduring national enemies as dedicated to rebellion, dissension and crime: those 'whom God dooth hate and curse / Thei alwaies begyn, and ever have the worse'. His dedicatee, the Duke of Norfolk, is perceived as continuing the heroic efforts of his father, then Earl of Surrey, at Flodden by his present exertions in the Anglo-Scots war of 1542. So James IV appeared in 1513 'makyng great bragge' and challenging Norfolk's father to single combat, but once battle was ventured, the gulf between defiant language and ignoble character became apparent: 'thei ranne awaie moste shamefully'.²⁸ In this respect, Scottish intemperance is part of their treacherous collective character whereby vaunting and cowardice are bred into the bone.

This gap between Scottish speech and the shallow, unruly character it conceals, recurs in different English versions of Flodden. In Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (1550), Henry VIII is depicted at his most heroic in his defiant response to James's declaration of hostilities which he receives in the field at Therouanne. The English king excoriates the 'good woordes, swete woordes, pleasaunt woordes' James has used previously: 'not onely to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kyndnes and perfitte amitie to ensue'.²⁹ It is here that Henry learns the real nature of 'our brother in law': 'In his wordes he professeth an insoluble amitie, he allegeth kynred, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is he speaketh another language to all the worlde in dedes' (p. 849). 'I am the very owner of Scotland', Henry declares, 'and he holdeth it of me by homage'. This reassertion of traditional English suzerainty allows him to perceive James as the figure who is truly reverting to type: 'he sheweth himself not to be degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes for the most parte hath ever byn violated and ther promises never observed, farther than they liste' (p. 545). From this perspective, James embodies that native duplicity Homi K. Bhabha terms 'sly

civility', a subtle mimicry of propriety that endangers 'the boundaries of truth itself'.³⁰ In a lengthy historical excursus, Henry reinstates these boundaries by demonstrating that no 'prince hath more just title ... to any realme that he can clayme, then we have to Scotland' (p. 850). This is confirmed by documents 'in our treasury' and by adducing the founding settlement of the ancient kingdom of Britain. Before Brut there was a 'people without order or civilitie', but after his settlement and the subsequent tripartite division of the kingdom, Albanact, as ruler of Scotland, did homage to his elder brother Lochrine in the southern half of the kingdom. The origins of British civilization demonstrate, therefore, Scottish subordination (pp. 850–56).

To some extent, this representation of James and Flodden in terms of Scottish incivility became a received idea in English historical consciousness.³¹ Yet, there was also a more complex image of James IV in English culture, a figure who proves more difficult to address as a merely uncivil 'other' and who thereby troubles the relationship between civility, national character and monarchy.³² The nature of the king's language and behaviour could be located in a more complex historical context and addressed in less phobic idioms. In conclusion, this chapter will concentrate on three examples of this, two dating from the aftermath of Flodden, the other from the later sixteenth century: Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

In Thomas More's *Epigrammata* (1518) James IV is commemorated on three occasions. Two of these poems are virulent attacks on James as a traitor, heretic and fratricide who received his providential deserts upon the battlefield. Yet, in keeping with the deliberative effect of the collection, More's *Epitaphium Jacobi Regis Scotorum*, offers a very different perspective:

Scotorum Jacobus princeps, regno hostis amico
 Fortis et infelix, hac ego condor humo.
 Quanta animi fuerat fidei uis tanta fuisset,
 Caetera contigerant non inhonesta mihi.
 Sed pudet heu iactere, queri piget, ergo tacebo.
 Garrulaque O utinam fama tacere uelis.
 Vos tamen, O reges, moneo rex nuper et ipse
 Ne sit (ut esse solet) nomen inane fides.

It is I, James, King of the Scots, brave and ill-starred enemy of a friendly power, who am interred beneath this sod. Had my loyalty been equal to my courage, the sequel with its shame for me would not have happened. But, alas, I must not boast and I will not complain – therefore, I shall say no more. And I hope, O chattering Infamy, that you may be willing to keep silent. You kings (I was once a king myself) I warn not to let loyalty become, as it often does, a meaningless word.³³

More's decision to speak *in persona* as the dead monarch is far from being an imperious gesture of appropriation. Instead, this allows him to render not only the pathos attending a courageous fallen enemy, but also to intuit the latter's awareness of moral failure. In this sense, James's conscience has been instructed by his fate, redeeming his speech from either boastfulness or querulous complaint. This new and clear-sighted equanimity demands a reciprocal gesture from posterity: English speech also needs to be reformed. James's prescience demands a many-sided response and More's collection embodies this in articulating both triumphalism as well as its necessary qualification. In this respect, his collection enacts one of the reflexes of temperance advocated by classical tradition: overcoming an immoderate joy in victory. Thus, James's fate offers an opportunity for self-reflection. The homiletic lesson now applies to victors as well as defeated and it is addressed, equally, to the failings of monarchy itself. In speaking to all kings, James IV invites them to consider how their qualities will also be judged. This may glance at the military ambitions Henry VIII shares with his dead brother-in-law as well as implying that disloyalty imperils not only those demonized for it. We might consider More's discomfiting suggestion here in the terms suggested by Andrew Murphy's analysis of English writing on Ireland. Murphy examines a range of texts that demonstrate an ability to 'turn back' upon the system of national difference they express. This indicates how a construction of a subaltern Other as uncivil founders upon its surprising proximity to oneself.³⁴ In More's response, James IV and his nemesis appear not as negations but as versions of each other, or, more accurately, as embodying troubling potentialities within monarchy itself.

Such subtleties and qualification may appear remote from the three consistently abusive poems that More's contemporary John Skelton also wrote concerning Flodden. His most notorious treatment of this subject, *Agaynst the Scottes* (1513), is a work unblessed with the virtues of either temperance or magnanimity. Here Skelton's triumphant vituperation is exercised at the expense of the defeated who are stigmatized as violent, barbarous, and denuded of grace; this is typified by the retribution that destroys their king. *Agaynst the Scottes* excoriates James IV's personal vanity and intemperance, his shameless duplicity, and the hollowness of his kingly stature as a vassal of English power:

Kinge Jamy, Jemmy, Jocky my jo,
 ...
 Thus fortune hath tourned you, I dare well say,
 Now from a kyng to a clot of clay.
 Out of your robes ye were shaked,
 And wretchedly ye lay starke naked.
 ...

The rude ranke Scottes, lyke dronken dranes,
At Englysh bowes have fetched their banes.³⁵

As noted above, James IV had been excommunicated during his invasion and so, for Skelton, his behaviour had embraced those two most fearful transgressions of Christian fellowship and humanity: treason and heresy. These aberrations had rendered James's presence disgraceful, a thing of fearful impurity and one fit to be subjected to a verbal ritual of shaming and expulsion.

Yet, manifesting James IV's sinful impropriety involves Skelton in his own form of transgression and this threatens to disclose, in turn, the limits of English civility. *Agaynst the Scottes* might well be cited as an archetypal example of the intemperate joy in victory More had avoided, with the immodesty and distorting anger this involves. Indeed, this issue arose at the time and perhaps there was a peculiar pressure here, due to James's ambivalent status as an 'in-law' of the Tudor dynasty. The poet's biographer notes that his work was 'ill received in certain quarters. His raving over a corpse was considered as bad taste'.³⁶ The risk involved in such aggressive jubilation was conveyed to Skelton reminding him that James IV was Henry's brother-king and his body was still that of an anointed monarch. Skelton added a defensive envoy to his poem, replying with more force than subtlety that if James was Henry's brother, so was Cain Abel's and adding that no one of 'true Englysh blood' could object that the Scots king was not a traitor, a recreant knight, a heretic and schismatic:

And for he was a kyng,
The more shamefull rekenyng
Of him shuld men report,
In ernest and in sport.

(*Envoy*, lines 31–4)

This passage also alerts us to the volatile quality of *Agaynst the Scottes* and not only in terms of its implication in the incivility it condemns. Skelton also claims the right to make kingship accountable for its earthly actions and this sense of entitlement is obtrusive. It has been well observed that Skelton is asserting his own poetic authority here as an English laureate: 'He no longer speaks solely for the King, but for the nation'.³⁷ Yet, the poem also raises the question of how unified this imagined community can be. The poet rebukes his internal enemies as lacking 'true Englysh blood' and this implies a barbarian or traitor within. As with the potential conflation between rival monarchs in More's *Epigrammata*, so disordered speech and reflection are acknowledged by Skelton to be equally present at the heart of English society. For some of his original readership, *Agaynst the*

Scottes indicated, dismayingly, that civility was far from being the distinctive property of the victors at Flodden and the author was happy to return the suspicion. Thus, the poem's attempt to articulate a national consensus is acknowledged as, simultaneously, imperiled and incomplete by its unruly, disputatious form. That James IV 'was a kyng' – by implication *any* king – does not inhibit Skelton's right, as a subject, to propose monarchy as the focus for uninhibited public comment once it has violated its responsibilities.

Skelton's and More's poetry are useful examples of the complexities and contradictions that could attend English disparagement of James IV, especially the issue of how attacking Scottish incivility raises questions concerning English integrity. *Agaynst the Scottes* also invites reflection upon monarchical intemperance and transgression and the limits of the decorum demanded, if not always observed, by monarchy. These issues surface again in the extended treatment afforded to James IV in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Here, political complication has, of course, very different origins. It arises from Holinshed's distance from these events and, from the prospect of James VI's succession, from the use of Scots, as well as English sources: the latter offer competing accounts of James's motivation, language and behaviour. In its revision by Francis Thynne for the 1587 edition, the works of both John Lesley and George Buchanan were included. A detailed analysis of the complex issues of transmission and interpretation this involves is beyond the scope of this chapter but, for now, some of its broader consequences will be noted.

Holinshed avows the dispassionate nature of his rendition of his Scottish material 'rather leaving the judgement of other mens reports unto the readers discretion'.³⁸ This history, he declares, will not be distorted in the interests of national sympathies:

having delivered nothing unto you to impaire the credit of the Scottish nation, otherwise than I have found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) having put off the parcial affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seeme to wrest the words of writers, either to the advantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in polike government, warlike exploits, civill demeanor, and other vertuous exercises. (V: p. 653)

In this respect, Holinshed wants to achieve a more civil form of conversation with his sources. His text aims to create a space for historical enquiry and for the exercise of ethical judgement outside of the constraints that arise from partisan feelings of national pride. This helps confirm Annabel Patterson's sense of the textual protocols of the *Chronicles* as inviting readers to participate in the historiographical process and to read further – and outside of their habitual interpretative frames – so as to increase their

skills in historical evaluation.³⁹ One consequence of this commitment to inclusive forms of political reflection is the creation of a 'double image' of James IV by the unfolding structure of the work. The English history largely follows the patriotic account presented by Edward Hall; yet, these same historical events are appraised from an entirely different angle in its Scottish sections. Here, the most complimentary aspects of Buchanan's account – which are not extensive – and of Lesley's work are absorbed. Holinshed notes James IV's capacity for civility in both his conduct of public affairs – 'He governed his realme in great rest, peace, justice, and quietnesse'⁴⁰ – and in his private demeanour. The latter includes expressly the civil temper of his speech:

He was easilie to be spoken unto, gentle in his answers, just in his judgments, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was unwillinglie drawn unto them. Against the detraction of the evill, and admonishment of the good, there was such woorthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as use a sharpe woord unto them.

(V: p. 483)

In this version of history, James appears as desperate to dissuade Henry from his provocative stance towards France. It is the Scots king who appears as the embodiment of temperate kinship and Christian humility and whose patience is sorely tried by the overbearing actions of his brother-king. When Holinshed returns to Hall as a source and records Henry VIII's lengthy condemnation of his brother-in-law as typically Scots – treacherous and cowardly, a foe with no sense of honour – the effect is disconcerting. What James IV 'really is' is precisely what is put in question. Here, English civility appears in its thinnest guise as a rationalization of the intemperate pursuit of war and conquest at any price. It is only when James IV begins his own campaign that he becomes resistant to counsel. The shock of this transformation is vividly described by its impact upon those who knew James best: 'the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run upon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexities, that they knew not what to doo; but looked upon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despair now after the death of their king to recover the victorie' (V, p. 481). In this telling, James IV's story is given tragic dimensions with the emphasis upon how events provoke an escalating recklessness that causes him to lose perspective; this is the result of necessity rather than choice. In Holinshed's 'Chronicles of Scotland', therefore, the opposition between civil and uncivil monarchy confirmed earlier in the work threatens to undo itself.

In his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, George Buchanan complained in this manner of the courtly followers of James IV: 'And yet there were not wanting some of those sort of Creatures, who always admire the Atchievements of Kings, whatsoever they be; and if they be great, yet they view them in a multiplying Glass' (p. 97). This essay has demonstrated how sixteenth-century Scottish political thought differed from later Stuart nostalgia by its adoption of the discourse of temperance. Moreover, even in the historical imagination of his enemies, James's fate and presence did not altogether confirm an assured sense of collective, patriotic identity. English accounts of his life and actions could also raise disturbing questions concerning the limits of English civility and the adequacy of a monarchist version of historical events. This helps us to indicate areas of common political concern between two societies whose encounters were often violent and mutually derogatory. Yet, the limits of national difference were nowhere more apparent than in the cross-border consideration demanded by the dominant institution of power they both shared.

Notes

In quotations from Middle Scots any obsolete symbols have been replaced and unfamiliar words 'translated' in square brackets.

1. See in relation to English nationalism, Alan G. R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England 1529–1660* (London: Longman, 1984). That such processes are distinctively 'early modern' is, of course, contested by medieval historians, see in relation to Scotland, Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984).
2. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago University Press, 1992), p. 22.
3. 'The Description of England', in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, 6 vols (London, 1807–1808), ed. Henry Ellis, vol. I, p. 10. All references to the *Chronicles* are to this edition.
4. In *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. V, pp. 25–6. It is a measure of the complexities to be analyzed in this chapter that the translator of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* (1526) here is William Harrison. Boece was Harrison's principal source for his topographical 'Description of Scotland', as translated into Scots by John Bellenden (1531). Alison Taufer analyzes this surprising dependence, concluding that Harrison's work here was both 'hastily assembled and cursory' and that he valued Boece's 'moralizing critique of the contemporary Scots', see *Holinshed's Chronicles* (New York: Twayne, 1999), 108–115, p. 115.
5. See J. G. A. Pocock, 'Languages and their Implications: the Transformation of the Study of Political Thought', in *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (London: Methuen, 1971), 3–41; 'Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought', in *Politics of Discourse: the Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, eds Kevin Sharpe and Steven Z. Swicker (Berkeley: California University Press, 1987), pp. 21–34.
6. Alexander Barclay, *The Ship of Fools* (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1874), 2 vols., ed. T. H. Jamieson, vol. II, p. 208. Barclay's national origins are disputed,

- see *The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay*, ed. Beatrice White (London: Early English Text Society, original series, 175, 1928), pp. i–liv, esp. p. i–x.
7. John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland*, trans. James Dalrymple, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. eds E. G. Cody and W. Murison (Edinburgh and London, 1888–95), vol. II, p. 108.
 8. See Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991).
 9. See, for example, the Royalist, if measured, evaluation of James IV in William Drummond of Hawthornden's *The History of Scotland, From the Year 1423 until the Year 1542* (London, 1655), esp. pp. 152–3. R. L. Mackie's admiring modern biography, *King James IV of Scotland, A Brief Survey of His Life and Times* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), contrasted its subject to Henry VIII in this way: '[he] was no wary, disillusioned statesman but a moonstruck romantic, whose eyes were ever at the ends of the earth ... he thought himself a second King Arthur', p. 201. Norman Macdougall's, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997) has now superseded this work.
 10. Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Wisconsin University Press, 1991), p. 162.
 11. *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1751–52), trans. Anon., vol. II, p. 127. All references to *History of Scotland* are to this edition.
 12. By his royalist opponent William Barclay in 1600. See J. H. Burns, 'George Buchanan and the anti-monarchomachs', in *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 138–58, p. 139.
 13. See J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
 14. See Michel Foucault's influential, *The Use of Pleasure: Volume 2 of the History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (rev. edn., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992). See also Stephen Greenblatt's influential analysis of Spenser's Legend of Temperance in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago University Press, 1980), 157–92; Lorna Hutson, 'Chivalry for Merchants; or, Knights of Temperance in the Realms of Gold', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 29–59. For a new reading see Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
 15. Helen North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).
 16. Jennifer Richards, "'A wanton trade of living'?: Rhetoric, Effeminacy and the Early Modern Courtier', *Criticism* 42 (2000): 185–206.
 17. Johannes de Ierlandia, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, Scottish Text Society, 3 vols. (1926–1990), ed. Craig McDonald (Aberdeen University Press, 1990), vol. III, p. 121.
 18. 'The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo', in *The Works of Sir David Lindsay*, Scottish Text Society, 3rd series, 4 vols., ed. Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh & London, 1931–36), vol. I, lines 512–17.
 19. Carol Edington sees Lindsay as caught between traditional chivalric assumptions and the spirit of Christian humanism in *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland* (Amherst, Mass.: Massachusetts University Press, 1994).
 20. Roger A. Mason, 'Imagining Scotland: Scottish Political Thought and the Problem of Britain, 1560–1650', in *Scots and Britons*, 3–13, p. 6.

21. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, Scottish Text Society, 3 vols., ed. AE. J. G. Mackay (Edinburgh and London, 1899–1911), vol. I, p. 259.
22. Cited in Roger A. Mason, 'Rex Stoicus: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, eds J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 9–33, p. 17.
23. Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 18–19.
24. Even the patriotic Edward Hall could admire the 'noble and triumphaunt courage' James demonstrated in joining battle, see *Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809), p. 562.
25. Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 15; cited in Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us: Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature* (Kentucky University Press, 1999), p. 30.
26. Palmer, *Language and Conquest*, p. 19.
27. In *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. I, p. 14.
28. Richard Grafton, *The chronicle of John Hardyng from the firste begynnyng of Englande* (1543), fols. 3r–3v.
29. *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 847.
30. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 100.
31. See James's representation (and that of Flodden) in the 1587 edition of a *Mirror for Magistrates* (Cambridge University Press, 1938), ed. Lily B. Campbell, pp. 483–7, 488–94.
32. Similarly complex treatments of James IV can be found on the English stage. See Robert Greene's admittedly idiosyncratic, *The Scottish History of James IV* (c. 1590) and John Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (c. 1625–34).
33. *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More*, eds Leicester Bradner and Charles Arthur Lynch (University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 166. The third hostile epigram was omitted from the third edition in 1520, see pp. xv–xvi.
34. Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea*, esp. pp. 30–1.
35. 'Agaynst the Scottes', in *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), line 91; lines 164–7, 172–3.
36. Maurice Pollet, *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England*, trans. John Warrington (London: J. M. Dent, 1971), p. 74.
37. Nancy A Gutierrez, 'John Skelton: Courtly Maker / Popular Poet', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Society* 4 (1983): 59–76, p. 70.
38. *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. V, p. 653.
39. Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (University of Chicago Press, 1994).
40. *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. V, p. 460.

10

The Civility of Early Modern Welsh Women

Kate Chedgzoy

The position of the Welsh in relation to discourses of civility was volatile and ambivalent in the early modern period. Sometimes perceived by English commentators as ‘very beastly and rudely in respect of civility’,¹ at other moments they were depicted as relatively good neighbours, rough and backward yet potentially educable in the ways of civility. In this essay, I take issue with Prys Morgan’s recent assertion that throughout the early modern period, the Welsh were perceived by their English neighbours as ‘wild and uncivil’.² Rather, I contend that English representations of the Welsh were more complex and diverse than he suggests: indeed, many of the examples he offers in his essay actually demonstrate a more nuanced English account of Welsh culture than this stark assertion indicates. Morgan’s emphasis on English representations of Wales is a salutary reminder of the key part played by notions of civility in managing the difficult relations of neighbours who are forced to dwell in uncomfortable proximity. But the Welsh are never the subjects of their own civil histories in his account, and in privileging English depictions of early modern Wales’s ‘barbarism and incivility’ he both neglects the possibility that these representations might have encoded English cultural prejudices rather than transcribing reality, and overlooks a cosmopolitan European version of Wales, which does not need to route its relations to civility via its English neighbours. As I hope to demonstrate, the Welsh enjoyed a distinctive cultivation and civilization which, though not necessarily always conforming to English standards, was not negligible. Glanmor Williams argues, for example, that the courtly and civil values of the continental Renaissance were readily embraced by elite men in Wales, and so became ‘influential in moulding the cultural and educational ethos of the country’.³ An example of this process which is particularly pertinent to this essay – which focuses on the distinctive relation of Welsh women to discourses and practices of civility – is Richard Owen’s incomplete translation into Welsh of Juan Luis Vives’s Latin treatise on the education of women, *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1523), which was widely translated and read across Europe.⁴ In

this essay, I will both complicate the account Morgan presents of English perceptions of Welsh civility, and use the evidence of Welsh texts and documents to reveal that some at least of the Welsh understood themselves as a civil and cultivated nation.

Civility was produced in the early modern period as a highly gendered way of making sense of social behaviour. Modern scholarship on it has tended to re-enact this gendering, but has lacked a critical recognition of the extent to which practices of civility are complicit with the production of masculinity. Like the Welsh as a national grouping, women have often been perceived as excluded from civility, although the work of scholars like Sara Mendelson has recently challenged this notion.⁵ The present essay contributes to the project of investigating the gendering of civility by complementing its dual reading of the Welsh relation to civility with a bifocal understanding of the gendering of civility in Wales, attending both to women's negotiations with practices of civility, and to male perceptions of those processes. One influential account of the civilizing process sees it as functioning above all to regulate behaviour in situations where differences of status and interest have the potential to be disruptive or even destructive – situations like the neighbourly relations of Wales and England. In a hierarchal society like early modern Britain, its importance for the management of more intimate – gendered, sexualized – relationships is also clear. In her ground-breaking study of the role of the civilizing process in shaping the society of colonial America, C. Dallett Hemphill argues that practices of civility are acutely significant in the case of gender relations, because of the distinctive tension between intimacy and equality they enact.⁶ Discourses of civility are primarily concerned with the socially acceptable management of relations among individuals, and between the individual and the collective, and in many societies the institutions of heterosexual courtship and marriage furnish a key site where this process can be carried out. Hemphill argues that in a hierarchical, patriarchal society, gender relations offer a distinctively revealing instance of the production of relations of inequality:

They are unique because they are always crosscut by the intimacy (for most) of heterosexuality and the fixity (for most) of gender status. Paradoxically, this has meant that while gender inequality has in fact been one of the milder forms of inequality, it has required the most cultural work ... because of the permanence of sex difference.⁷

Hemphill's study of early modern America has a curious pertinence to questions of gender and civility in early modern Wales, because those contemporary English commentators who emphasized Welsh barbarism frequently did so by comparing the Welsh with Native Americans. In 1622, for example, John Brinsley placed Wales alongside Ireland, Bermuda and

Virginia among the 'barbarous nations'; another commentator would compare Welsh with the 'uncouth lingua' of Cherokee Indians.⁸ Crucially, Brinsley's point is made in the context of a work on educational reform, which envisages that the inhabitants of all these nations may be reduced to civility through linguistic instruction and literacy. The potential of the Welsh – as of the Irish and Americans – to be rendered civil is more important than their barbarism. Similarly, in the realm of gender, the question of how far women's errant natures can be tamed and domesticated is a central preoccupation of the conduct literature that translates discourses of civility into the sphere of feminine social behaviour.⁹

The ambivalent position of Wales and Welsh culture in relation to civility is further complicated by the uncertainties of women's situation with respect to civil discourses and practices. Sara Mendelson points out that in general, the literature of civility in early modern Britain was written by and for men: it inscribes the masculine conversation that the civil practices it delineates were supposed to enact.¹⁰ And yet, she reveals, in moving beyond the limitations of the prescriptive texts, it is possible to uncover a much richer and more various set of assumptions about civility, one in which women are intimately concerned. Mendelson delineates two key meanings of the term 'civil' in connection with female speech and behaviour: 'polite or appropriate modes of social interaction', and 'civility as modesty or sexual propriety'.¹¹ The evidence drawn from the lives and writings of early modern Welsh women that I present in this essay demonstrates that in these senses, civility did indeed shape gendered experience in Wales, in ways that both participated in larger understandings of civility in early modern European society, and were nuanced by the specificities of Welsh life. The implications of civility for women were not confined to the specifically feminine behavioural prescriptions Mendelson focuses on, however, and I will also explore some distinctive Welsh instances of the gendered meanings of civility as it affected such traditionally male domains of action as civil government and national politics. My investigation of the civility of early modern Welsh women has a dual focus, pairing English perceptions, in the form of Shakespeare's fictions of Welsh femininity in *1 Henry IV*, with a letter from a gentlewoman in North Wales that engages with the questions of power, status, and social difference negotiated by civility. These examples, drawn from the turn of the seventeenth century, illustrate both the way in which Wales functioned as a site on which gendered concerns about the relations between civility and barbarism as a matter internal to British society could be explored, and the investment that the Welsh themselves had in the notion of civility.

Rural, provincial and non-aristocratic, Wales might seem doomed to exclusion from the widely assumed equivalence of civility and metropolitan urbanity. There are several reasons why this assumption is too simple. As

Alice Friedman has recently argued – and as Ann Wen Brynkir's letter, discussed in the conclusion of this essay, vividly demonstrates – connections and interactions between rural elites and the metropolitan civility of London were strong and influential in the early seventeenth century.¹² This is not to say that urban manners were simply exported to the country, but that they were taken up and used there in locally appropriate ways. Friedman focuses on the interactions between the elite culture of the metropolis and the country households of aristocratic families. But the rapid growth of London throughout this period was fuelled by and depended on migration to the capital from the regions of England as well as Wales and Scotland, so that many people of all classes and backgrounds would spend a portion of their life in the capital, bringing to it a set of locally-rooted tastes and attitudes which would find expression partly through the social connections they sought out with others from their neighbourhood, and taking home from it a different repertoire of values and cultural knowledges. The remarkable corpus of letters written by Magdalen Lloyd, a young Welsh woman in service in Tooting in the 1670s, to her cousin Thomas Edwards (a senior member of the household staff at Chirk Castle), stands as an example of this phenomenon, as well as showing versions of civility filtering through the class hierarchy.¹³

A second reason for challenging the assumed exclusion of Wales from civility is that, as many historians have recently argued, the seventeenth century was a period that saw the growth of small and medium-sized provincial towns where the gentry as well as the elite evolved their own distinctive cultures of sociability and civility, in dialogue with received perceptions of metropolitan manners and culture.¹⁴ In South-West Wales, for example, Carmarthen became something of a focus for gentry sociability: John Taylor, in his humorous account of his travels in Wales, excepted it from his general disparagement of the amenities of the country,¹⁵ and the letters of Eliza Lewis of Carmarthen to her older brother John, living variously in Monmouthshire and London, confirm that the social life of the small but regionally important town was conducive to civil pastimes.¹⁶ The relative poverty of many of the Welsh gentry, compared both with their English peers and with the handful of Welsh families, like the Wynns and Myddletons, whose growing wealth and power were eroding gentry status and holdings, meant that the performance of civility at a comparatively low social level was actually very important in Wales, as a way of perpetuating traditional status distinctions that were now endangered by the social and economic pressures of encroaching modernity.¹⁷

Among the elite, this is a period which saw an upsurge in the building of large country houses in Wales, as in other parts of the British Isles. They became foci of local culture and civility, in ways that were often enabled by the cultural agency of elite women. In the mid-seventeenth-century, for example, Goldengrove in Carmarthenshire was presided over by Lady Alice

Vaughan, who as Alice Egerton had performed in Milton's *Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*,¹⁸ and who continued after her marriage and relocation to Wales to exchange verse with Lady Jane Cavendish.¹⁹ Such developments may have been continuous with existing practices of civility in Welsh gentry society, involving obligations to patronize the indigenous arts of poetry and music, and the traditions of hospitality (although such features might also be seen as remnants of an earlier, essentially medieval and feudal order – I return to this point below in my discussion of *1 Henry IV*). In her important account of the development of gendered sociability among the girls and women of the early modern Welsh elite, Simone Clarke notes that traditional historiography has tended to read such developments negatively, by way of a gendered rhetoric of purity and corruption, with scholars like Geraint Jenkins lamenting that the gentry's 'avid' pursuit of the 'pleasures and temptations of sophisticated London' led them to abandon their responsibilities to their native culture.²⁰ Such comments encode a xenophobia (native purity vs foreign naughtiness) that is, Clarke convincingly argues, inappropriate to a situation which might be more usefully seen as cosmopolitan, with 'culturally bilingual' young women, 'European as well as Welsh', participating in a redefinition of female social roles that was by no means limited to England, but shared in a 'Europe-wide re-orientation of genteel sensibilities in response to economic and social change'.²¹ The validity, and indeed necessity, of understanding women's cultural experience in such a context, attentive to the local, national, and transnational dimensions of cultural production and consumption, is endorsed by Ruth Geuter's study – focused on Wales – of early modern needlework, which shows how the conjoined effects of distinctive local practices and tastes, unequal economic development, social and cultural links between the courts of Europe, and 'the diffusion effect outwards from the metropolitan cores of Edinburgh, Dublin, London and Paris', would have shaped the various meanings given to women's agency as makers of the domestic interior across the British Isles and western Europe.²² The most celebrated woman to write in Wales in this period, Katherine Philips, confirms this: her translations of French plays, made in Wales and performed in Ireland, reveal extensive familiarity with European and classical cultural tradition. The libraries of affluent Welsh households in this period also bear out Geuter's argument: they contain books in Latin, French and Italian as well as English and Welsh,²³ and there is evidence that Welsh families sought to ensure that their daughters as well as their sons were linguistically equipped to profit from the civilizing influence of cosmopolitan European culture.²⁴

The Wynns of Gwydir neatly illustrate the Janus-faced hybrid nature of Welsh gentry civility in this period. In 1597, Sir John Wynn was carrying out extensive building works on his house at Caernarfon that included the construction of a study and dining room, reflecting developments in

domestic architecture that were helping to foster the growth of new European and metropolitan cultural influences across the British isles.²⁵ The Wynn correspondence provides valuable evidence of a Welsh gentry civil culture that is both indigenous and outward looking. Sir John is glad to report that his daughter-in-law, Lady Margaret Wynn, will soon have picked up Welsh from the servants and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth.²⁶ But he also decided that it was necessary to go up to London for the winter season each year, as a condition of his plans 'to place [his children] theareabouts for Educatyon and course of lyf'.²⁷ A letter to Sir John from his gentry neighbour Humffrey Jones in July 1621 paints a rich picture of how the Welsh gentry sought English interactions in the pursuit of civility, and one which resonates pleasingly with Shakespeare's depiction of Owen Glendower's musical daughter, who also 'had not her Englishe tongue very readie' (see below, p. 171):

Ther is at this instant with us here at Craveloen a yonge man boarne in Salesbury in Wilkshire that is a very good musician upon the base violl and virginnalls and can teach yonge gentlewoman to play not only upon other and these instruments but can trayne them up in ther prick songs ... He hath contynued at Brynkir this twelvemonth and a half being ther hired to teach our daughter pricksonge and upon the virginnalls. Wherein she profitted exceeding well and withall taught her to write a faere Romance in that tyme and to reade perfect Englishe and because she had not her Englishe tongue very readie, they were forced to send her to Chester.²⁸

The ideological and social pressures working against Welsh and in favour of English were considerable. The claim that the Welsh language was inherently wild and brutish and therefore a barrier to civility was one of the chief ways of accusing the culture of early modern Wales of barbarism. In his immensely significant 1621 work, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae*, Dr John Davies of Mallwyd listed some of the criticisms made of his mother tongue: '*difficilis, impedita, confragosa, injucunda, illepada, insulsa*' ('difficult, tied up, hard to be understood, unpleasant, without delectation, hath no pleasant fashion in words').²⁹ This accusation was given a fascinatingly gendered spin in an image by W. Faithorne that prefaced the *Lexicon Tetraglotton: An English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary* edited by (Welsh-born, but ambivalent about his background) James Howell in 1660. The picture foregrounds 'four voluptuous and rather grand ladies representing the four major languages [i.e. English, French, Italian, and Spanish]',³⁰ whose dress and posture encodes cosmopolitan fashion and manners. The Welsh language, in contrast, is embodied by an uncouth warrior maiden, lurking in taciturn bashfulness behind a tree. The Welsh tongue's lack of civility is here emphasized by its depiction as a specifically feminine social inadequacy.

In the context of the rise of English usage in Wales, a complex form of bilingualism was probably the norm for the Welsh gentry in this period. In his *Description of Pembrokeshire*, Ann Wen Brynkir's contemporary George Owen lamented of Welsh people that 'allthoughe they usuallye speacke the welshe tongue, yett will they writte eche to other in Englishe, and not in the speache they usuallye talke'.³¹ By opening up the possibility of valorizing the Welsh language and the culture associated with it, Owen's comment dramatically challenges the typical assumption of the period that the language is the most significant barrier to the Welsh attainment of civility. Ann Wen Brynkir's letter, discussed below, is written in English, but it is likely that in common with the residents of Pembrokeshire Owen mentions, she would have used Welsh as the medium of everyday oral communication, reserving English for written transactions. Questions of language use, orality and literacy were particularly charged for women in this period. The production of appropriate speech and the regulation of linguistic propriety were key aspects of civility, closely related to the gendering of speech and language, which was of course a major concern of early modern attempts to discipline and organize gendered behaviour. Both the examples I discuss below are particularly focused on Welshwomen's ability to manage language appropriately, and both reveal a rather more complex politics of linguistic civility than the English determination to locate Welsh as barbarous gibberish would allow.

I turn now to consider one of those English representations of Wales that have loomed so large in previous examinations of the nation's civility. My focus is on Shakespeare, whose dramatizations of Welshness are both unusually suggestive, and exceptionally culturally significant. Ambivalence is, I am contending, key to the early modern representation of Wales by the English. In English texts, Wales's geographical position between England and Ireland is moralized, so that it is assumed always to lurk on the borders between civility and savagery, from where it has to be insistently shepherded into the space of civility, while constantly risking a lapse into the barbarism of its westward neighbour. Borrowing Patricia Palmer's twofold taxonomy of English perceptions of the Irish capacity for civility, it can be said that English commentators oscillated between perceiving their Welsh neighbours through the lens of a 'humanist confidence in the potential for civility of even savage-seeming peoples', and subscribing to a 'Renaissance anthropology' which allocated the Welsh to a position on the irredeemably inferior side of a binary opposition of 'civility' and 'barbarism'.³² Both these perceptions exist, in complex and volatile relation with each other, in Shakespeare's representations of Wales and the Welsh in his British history plays – and indeed in *Cymbeline*, a play concerned with a much earlier phase of British history, where a rough Welsh cave is a site both of traumatic violence and of highly civil domesticity and ritual.

In Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (c. 1596–7), the English encounter with the Welsh is gendered and sexualized by being staged in the dramatic context of courtship and marriage, which as we have seen is a uniquely significant location for anxieties about the properly civil management of intimacy and difference. One of the key concerns of civil discourse is the management of the body and its boundaries. The representation of Wales in *1 Henry IV* uses metaphors of disordered corporeality to explore anxieties about the limitations of civility and the borders of society. The play stages a dramatic exploration of the discourses and practices of civility that participated in the reshaping of the relations between the constituent parts of James's kingdom. There is a certain irony in the fact that it takes as its dramatic starting point a civil war, a term which shows how far the notion of civility is implicated in power relations, functioning to index its own limitations and failures. King Henry IV speaks of the 'intestine shock' (1. 1. 12) of civil war that has trenched and bruised (lines 7, 8) the body of his realm.³³ An image of monstrous cannibal motherhood is employed to repudiate this violence: 'No more the thirsty entrance of this soil / Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood' (lines 5–6). Bodily violations too terrible to be named are reported by Westmoreland, announcing that Mortimer has fallen into the hands of the Welsh rebel Owen Glendower, losing a thousand of his men,

Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
Such beastly shameless transformation,
By those Welshwomen done as may not be
Without much shame retold or spoken of.

(1. 1. 34–46)

Westmoreland's polite reticence has not been emulated by recent critics, who have had a great deal to say both about these lines,³⁴ and about the more explicit account which Abraham Fleming contributed to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which describes:

the dead bodies of the Englishmen, being above a thousand lieng upon the ground imbrued in their owne bloud ... the women of Wales cut off their privities, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of everie dead man, in such sort that the cullions hoong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailles as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced.³⁵

The preposterous, doubly sodomitical violence of the mutilations comments on the disorder of civil war in an echo of the play's opening speech of *1 Henry IV*, reversing the earlier focus on unnatural female orality.

Silenced in death by an oral rape, the Englishmen are gagged, their mouths stopped in a hideous parody of the period's efforts to discipline the female tongue and to insist that women should be chaste, silent, and obedient – an injunction which the marauding Welsh ladies clearly failed to take to heart. The gesture is also a horribly comic literalization of the tongue-penis equation which figured in the gender ideologies that produced that demand for female silence.³⁶ Coupled with the ludicrous and shameful subjection of the dead men to anal penetration with their own noses, the passage is paradigmatic of that version of the sodomitical or preposterous that both Jonathan Goldberg and Patricia Parker have recently argued is a fundamental othering strategy in early modern productions of national identity.³⁷ The dead English men are preposterous auto-sodomites, incarnating the bodily and social inversions caused by the women of Wales. The mutilations are a terrible perversion of the unique combination of bodily and emotional intimacy with deferential subjection that women are supposed to exhibit towards their husbands. In *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias considers such mutilations as a normal part of medieval warfare, designed specifically to shame the defeated enemy. His discussion of shame is interesting here for its suggestion that only if there is a certain intimacy or congruity of values will the feared lapse into inferiority inspire shame: it is the likeness and proximity to the English of the Welsh that makes their strategic incivility so humiliating in this instance, undermining the civil/barbarian opposition through which this passage is often read.³⁸

The Welshwomen mentioned by Westmoreland are literally and figuratively obscene: they never appear on-stage, and their actions are too terrible to be uttered there. In Act 3 scene 1, however, Shakespeare takes the action of the play to Wales, to the home of rebel leader Owen Glendower, and brings on stage a Welshwoman, Glendower's unnamed daughter. For Terence Hawkes she recalls the female duplicity and savagery enacted in the earlier battle between the Welsh and English forces, being a 'disturbing figure who, Circe-like, seems easily able to subvert Mortimer's English manhood'.³⁹ In contrast, Phyllis Rackin and Jean Howard suggest that Fleming's account of the violent inversions inflicted on the bodies of Mortimer's men is transvalued when the affectionate Welsh wife tenderly invites Mortimer to lay his head in her lap, in an erotic submission that will lead not to death but to the 'pleasing heaviness' of charmed sleep.⁴⁰ In their account, the scene both enacts a transformation in the status of Welsh women, and remakes Mortimer after the model of a Welsh civility that values feminine, European attributes that are at odds with the aggressively feudal English masculinity celebrated by Mortimer's co-conspirators. The question of linguistic difference as a sign of otherness and site of cultural division, and the need for its appropriately civil management, is crucial to this scene: Mortimer laments, 'This is the deadly spite that angers me: / My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh', and Glendower

interprets the woman's body language as well as her Welsh speech to his son-in-law: 'My daughter weeps she'll not part with you' (3. 1. 189–190). Reasserting his patriarchal claim in her while acknowledging that her loyalties have passed to Mortimer, Glendower's words inscribe his daughter as an example of the exchange of women that consolidates bonds between men. 'My wife', 'my daughter', 'the lady': identified only in terms of gender and status, this Welsh woman remains anonymous. Yet we know that Glendower's historical daughter was called Catrin – another Kate to join the trio whose interpellation into wifeness is compared by Laurie Maguire, in an essay that forcefully analyzes the nexus of violence, control and coercion that so frequently subtends the domestic, and that the rituals of manners analyzed by Elias and others serve to mask, if not control.⁴¹

Mortimer's induction into Welsh manners enables him to interpret the lady's body language correctly, and he responds in kind, moved by the inarticulate orality of kisses, and by the speechless eloquence of the fluids that flow from a woman's body:

I understand thy looks. That pretty Welsh
Which thou down pourest from these swelling heavens
I am too perfect in, and but for shame
In such a parley should I answer thee.

(3. 1. 196–9)

If he fears the humiliation of contamination by these feminine bodily fluids, nevertheless he is willing to allow Welsh to flow from his body, assuring his lady

I will never be a truant, love,
Till I have learned thy language; for thy tongue,
Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penned,
Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower
With ravishing division, to her lute.

(3. 1. 203–6)

In these lines, the anonymous Welshwomen's violent and grotesque parody of the sexual politics of orality is transvalued. Glendower's daughter's tongue has the beneficially transforming capacity to turn the wild and irregular Welsh language into an emblem of courtly European femininity. Stereotypically represented in the period as rude and natural, Welsh is here depicted as thoroughly artificial. The identification of Welsh with music serves both to underline its cultured nature, and to associate its speaker with a cultured elite, in sharp contrast to her scarily uncivilized sisters.

Mortimer's compliment thus revises Hotspur's earlier insultingly feminizing remarks on Glendower's speech:

O, he is as tedious
As a tired horse, a railing wife,
Worse than a smoky house. I had rather live
With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,
Than feed on cates and have him talk to me
In any summer house in Christendom.

(3. 1. 155–60)

Ironically, Hotspur himself is connected by his abuse of Glendower to the rough, uncivil domesticity of the poor and the Welsh, whose love for cheese and onions was proverbial in this period. His words also have a striking echo of condemnations of the barbarously meagre and unsettled nature of Irish domestic arrangements, used by commentators like Fynes Moryson to underline Irish failures to achieve the norms of English civility: 'Wee liue in Clenly houses, they in Cabinns or smoaky Cottages.'⁴²

Opening his home to his fellow rebels and laying on magical musicians to entertain them, Glendower manifests the aristocratic virtue of hospitality, undermining Hotspur's attempt to cram him into the stereotype of the vulgar provincial. Mingling quirky exoticism with civilized values, Glendower epitomizes the ambivalence of English perceptions of the Welsh. Andrew Murphy's reading of this scene emphasizes Glendower's distinctive location as a mediator between English and Welsh society, a claim made as part of a larger argument that Glendower stands in for the Irish rebel leader, Hugh O'Neill, a similarly liminal figure whose activities were a cause for considerable English concern in the 1590s.⁴³ More importantly, Glendower typifies a class of culturally mobile Welshmen prominent in early modern London. The value of such intercultural contact did not go unremarked in Shakespeare's time: Thomas Wright commented in 1601 that when wild and irregular Welshmen arrive in London, 'by conversing a while and by the experience of other men's behaviours, they become wonderful wise and judicious'.⁴⁴ The ability of civil conversation to transform the rough and rustic into the urbane and articulate is celebrated here. Yet the speech of the Welsh is a site of complexity and ambivalence in this play. Twice in this scene Hotspur characterizes Welsh as intrinsically unintelligible, associating it with magic and nonsense. When he says, responding to Glendower's description of the signs and portents that disturbed the order of nature at his own nativity, 'I think there's no man speaketh better Welsh' (line 48), and expresses his disdain for the 'skimble-skamble stuff' (line 150) that is the matter of Glendower's speech, he is uttering the colonialist derision of the native's language and culture

inscribed in such later imperial terms as ‘mumbo-jumbo’. But Glendower responds to the contemptuous challenge ‘Let me not understand you, then: speak it in Welsh’ (line 117) with an eloquent assertion of cultural hybridity and participation in a transnational civility that far exceeds anything Hotspur can aspire to:

I can speak English, lord, as well as you;
For I was trained up in the English court,
Where, being but young, I framèd to the harp
Many an English ditty lovely well,
And gave the tongue a helpful ornament –
A virtue that was never seen in you.

(3. 1. 118–23)

Combining the accomplishments of the European courtier with the Welsh bardic tradition of improvising politically motivated song to the accompaniment of the harp, Glendower is a master of ambivalence: he implies that the Welsh have something distinctively valuable to contribute to a shared British culture at the same time as evoking Spenserian anxieties about the capacity of the Irish bards to foster resistance to English incursions.⁴⁵

This conjunction of elite European courtly behaviour, Welshness, and music is Glendower’s patrimony to his daughter, as we have seen, and it is one to which even Hotspur accords grudging and ambivalent respect. As the enchanting music plays, he concedes,

Now I perceive the devil understands Welsh;
And ’tis no marvel, he is so humorous.
By’r Lady, he’s a good musician.

(3. 1. 226–8)

But the register of that Catholic oath invoking mystically powerful femininity quickly shifts when Hotspur expresses his antipathy to hearing ‘the lady sing in Welsh’ (line 231) by exclaiming ‘I had rather hear Lady my brach howl in Irish’ (line 232). The keening or howling of Irish women was repeatedly used by English commentators as a metonym for the Irish language, and as a symbol of the simultaneously animal and demonic nature of the Irish people. Barnabe Rich variously likens it ‘to the howling of dogges, to the croaking of Rauens, and to the shrieking of Owles, fitter for Infidels and Barbarians’, and to the noise made by ‘a company of *Hags* or *hellish Fiendes* ... carrying a dead body to some infernall Mansion’.⁴⁶ As Patricia Palmer points out, such invective against Irish women’s speech powerfully ‘demonstrates how the colonial context intensified male anxieties about a figure around whom their fears of losing control over women

and language already clustered'.⁴⁷ All the stereotypical associations of savage, bestial, inarticulate Irish femininity that circulated in the period are here concisely used by Hotspur to insult the Welsh lady. But this denigration of her is performed by someone whose point of view has not necessarily been authorized by the scene; and she does, finally, get to sing her song, countering Hotspur's abuse with a performative assertion of the civility of Welsh women's voices.

Shakespeare's ambivalent staging of the volatile mixture of civility and savagism that the English could ascribe to Welshwomen remains an external perception. In order to reinstate Welsh women as subjects of their own negotiation with civility, I now bring forward another Welsh-speaking lady who offers a different perspective on English-Welsh relations, and who deploys civility to frame the possibilities for accommodation and resistance in quite different ways from Glendower's daughter.

In February 1603/4 Ann Wen Brynkir of Clennenau in Caernarvonshire wrote a letter to her brother Sir William Maurice MP, a fervent supporter of the Jacobean union project who had gone up to London to attend the first parliamentary session of James's reign. This letter makes audible a voice from the geographical margins of the early modern British Isles, intervening directly in a debate which was precisely about the incorporation of those margins into a national polity. The formal letter as a genre of writing has its own privileged position in respect to civility, of course. While Ann's letter does not correspond to this genre, it exemplifies the mobility across the public and private realms, and the careful negotiation of social relationships in which matters of status and community are at stake, which make particular demands of civil behaviour. As a woman entering these fraught domains – social spaces from which, in the eyes of many of her contemporaries, she ought to be excluded – the requirement on Ann to conduct herself properly is especially stringent.

The first part of the letter was dictated by Ann to her brother's secretary George, and contains political advice to Sir William. He should complain to the newly-crowned James I about the harsh treatment he had received from the Council in the Marches, and should seek, she says, the king's support and favour, asserting his claim to royal interest by emphasizing:

the great service that you have done in Her Majesty's [Elizabeth's] raigne and alsoe in His Majesty's raigne being Knight of the Shire soe manie yeers and attendinge upon the Parlemeute soe duelie and truelie as you have done. By reason alsoe that you are his God father and intitiled his highnes 'Kinge of Great Britaine'.⁴⁸

Traditional Welsh historical scholarship has ignored or mocked Ann's pretensions to have any grasp of national politics.⁴⁹ Traditional Welsh sexism

aside, I see no reason not to take her seriously. Historically, the spheres of high politics and of civility have frequently both been constituted as exclusively masculine realms. As Sara Mendelson points out, in the early modern period women who were not queens were explicitly barred from participation in the duties and responsibilities of civil government.⁵⁰ An understanding of the political as a masculine space inevitably requires that Ann's intervention be relegated to a feminine sphere of the domestic and personal, trivializing her perspective on national affairs. Recently, however, the work of feminist scholars like Hilda Smith has demonstrated that women did in fact have a stake and a voice in political debate and action in early modern Britain, and Ann Wen Brynkir's letter is a rich and intriguing example of this.⁵¹ Her advice reveals a sound understanding of how preferment at court may be achieved, both as recompense for faithful service to the state within the framework of local and national institutions, and through patronage based on personal connections, particularly the kind of elective alliance, replicating kinship structures in the political arena, that is embodied here in Sir William's role of godfather to the king. In other words, it is based on a conception of the political that explicitly undoes that separation of private and public which historians have employed to denigrate her views.

While Ann advises her brother to exploit to his advantage the networks of patronage and obligation to which he has access in London, her letter shows that her life at Clenennau is also embedded in a rich and complex web of social relations. It testifies, therefore, to a locally situated civil culture, as well as revealing that for a prominent woman like Ann, a key aspect of her role in the community is precisely to mediate between local needs and the broader possibilities opened up by the participation of elite men in a different social world in London. Such mediations between the local and the metropolitan are embedded in the smallest material and personal details of this textual exchange. Having delivered her political advice, Ann dismisses her brother's secretary and continues the letter in her own hand, passing on family news, the respects of relatives and servants, and assorted requests for household necessities to be sent from London: shears and seed for the garden, 'for there is none to be had in this country'; a bottle of 'sinamunt' water for Lady Maurice; and a plea from cousin Grace verch Humphrey for Sir William's assistance in placing her son in service in London. The pairing of demands for practical and homely gardening equipment and for an exotic luxury good associated with the emergent transoceanic spice trade neatly illustrates the broad scope of material culture in this North Wales gentry household. Balancing a traditionally feminine duty of care to friends and family with insight into major current political events, the letter offers a glimpse of one gentry woman adroitly deploying civil manners in a way which strikingly exposes their capacity to 'at once reveal and regulate relations of power and the formation of personal and collective identities', as Karen Halttunen puts it.⁵²

As brother and sister, Ann and William warn against an anachronistically heterosexist understanding of the early modern household, and gesture to the possibility of other ways of thinking about the heterogeneous alliances that constitute home and family in the period. Such alliances give rise to practices of civility that are not easily reducible to the focus on the patriarchal marriage that is the centre of advice in most prescriptive books on household government in this period, as discussed in Helen Moore's essay in this collection. In her brother's absence, Ann acts as head of the household; that she does so as an unmarried woman is particularly striking. Even the most attenuated expressions of deference to his patriarchal domestic authority are absent from the letter, apparently confirming scholarly suspicions that the proliferation of conduct manuals and books on household government in this period speaks less of the ubiquity of patriarchal control in the domestic realm, than of anxieties that women were actually exercising a far greater degree of autonomy than such prescriptive writings would require.⁵³ As C. Dallett Hemphill points out, if '[t]he role of manners' is precisely 'to help [people] live with the contradictions of their culture', they may accomplish this task 'by quietly creating, communicating, and controlling status' in ways that are more volatile and unpredictable than the prescriptive codifiers of those manners would wish.⁵⁴

Ann's name, like that of her patronymically-identified cousin Grace verch Humphrey, is formed according to Welsh convention, signalling that she is an unmarried woman ('Wen'), whose social identity relates to a particular location ('Brynkir'). As in Scotland, it was common for Welsh women who married in this period to retain the patronymic rather than adopting their husband's name. Such factors may indicate that the proprieties of gendered behaviour in early modern Wales were not necessarily wholly congruent with those in England. As I suggested earlier, drawing on Hemphill's study of the civilizing process in early American society, heterosexual courtship and marriage is a social location where canons of civility are particularly significant, and it may well be that those canons operated differently in Wales. This is an area that requires further research. For example, the tendency to use allegations of sexual impropriety to substantiate charges of incivility is not unique to English comments on Welsh society, of course; it is an extremely common strategy for denigrating other cultures. It goes hand in hand with the advocacy of English good husbandry as a method for reducing both undomesticated land and savage inhabitants to appropriately civilized behaviour, a theme which has been most vigorously treated in relation to the colonization of early modern Ireland.⁵⁵ However, critiques of the cultural preconceptions and aspirations to dominance embedded in such allegations may have overlooked the possibility that gender and sexual relations really were organized differently in early modern Wales.⁵⁶

Ann Wen Brynkir and Sir William Maurice may thus be fairly typical of the gentry of early modern Wales in seeing no necessary contradiction between a commitment to their local, traditional, Welsh-language culture, and an embrace of the opportunities opened up by increasing anglicization. The Stradling family of Glamorgan and the Myddletons, eminent both in the Vale of Clwyd in North-East Wales and in the City of London, are further examples. The Myddleton family were typical of a rising group among the Welsh elite in following a policy which combined seeking advantageous marriages with English women;⁵⁷ active commitments to their estates in Wales and to the Welsh language and culture – subsidizing the translation of the Bible into Welsh, for example, employing bards, long established as a crucial duty and status marker for the Welsh elite, and supporting traditional, popular Welsh cultural forms;⁵⁸ patronizing culture in London as a means of advancing their civic prestige, for example through commissions to the playwright Thomas Middleton;⁵⁹ and entrepreneurial success in the developing transoceanic economies that contributed so much to that city's wealth – three of the Myddleton brothers were founder members of the East India Company. Like their Shakespearean compatriot, Owen Glendower, then, they are 'worthy gentlem[e]n, / Exceedingly well read ... as bountiful as mines of India' (3. 1. 161–2, 164–5).

The crucial value of practices of civility to people like the Myddletons and Maurices lay in their capacity both to manage the specific and disparate requirements of social existence in Wales and in London, and to negotiate the frequent transitions between these social worlds they had to carry out. Participating, then, in a bilingual social world, rooted in the provincial cultural life of North-West Wales, yet acutely aware of the new opportunities opening up for the Welsh in London, Ann Wen Brynkir and Sir William Maurice stand for many of their compatriots as they hold together the familiar intimacies of home with the strangeness of the metropolis, dwelling in the ambivalences of this transitional moment in the cultural politics of early modern Britain.

Three stage directions in *1 Henry IV* Act 3, scene 2, explicitly state that Glendower's daughter speaks in Welsh, and a fourth implies it (at lines 193, 195, 199 and 188, respectively). Unlike some of his contemporaries, Shakespeare gives no indication in the playtext of what she says: presumably the dialogue was either entrusted to a Welsh-speaking member of the company, or simply consisted of the incomprehensible babble that Welsh apparently resembled to English ears.⁶⁰ Dramatically prominent and textually elusive, this Welsh female speech marks the limit of what we can say about the civility of Glendower's daughter, and its relation to the actions of her equally voiceless but wilder sisters, reported in Act 1, scene 1. The unknowability of her words – points up the ambivalence of Welsh civility: in some ways, the Welsh lady conforms to recognizable European criteria of

civility, and thus enables Welshwomen to cross, from the English point of view, the line that divides civil from barbaric behaviour. The impossibility of divining her meaning holds open a dramatic space in which we can glimpse a different set of Welsh cultural values, an alternative civility, that might conceivably look barbarous to the English without being so in Welsh eyes. Similarly, the survival of Ann Wen Brynkir's letter in English also points to an enigmatic silence that both invites and refuses interpretation, namely the almost complete lack of documentary and textual sources composed by women in the Welsh language in the early modern period.⁶¹ The fact that Ann's letter was written in English, in the context of a region where Welsh was the language of daily interaction, necessarily frustrates and complicates an outsider's attempt to evaluate Welsh civility, and also holds open the possibility that beyond the textual traces available to us, a distinctive set of Welshwomen's cultural practices existed, taking forms we can only imagine.

I noted earlier that in early modern writings on civility and barbarism, the Welsh often shared their location on the uncivil side of the line with Native Americans: and Margo Hendricks's critique of the representation of Native Americans in Aphra Behn's *The Widow Ranter* provides an extremely useful analogy in clarifying the multifaceted complexities of the Welsh relation to the binary discourse of civility and savagism. Hendricks argues that:

in its representations of the American Indians, *The Widow Ranter* maps a central paradox of the concept of civility: the more the native becomes assimilated, the more her/his alienness becomes culturally reified. ... Civility does not erase difference but, in fact, serves to emphasize difference.⁶²

'Assimilation' is too simple and too one-directional a concept to explain adequately the Welsh appropriation of elements of elite English culture in order to construct their own forms of civility. Yet – as both Shakespeare's fictionalized Catrin Glendower and Ann Wen Brynkir demonstrate, in their different ways – these forms of civility also provide Welshwomen with a cultural ground on which to reassert a difference that is neither reducible to derogatory English fantasies of Welsh savagism, nor wholly comprehensible within an Anglocentric understanding of civility.

Notes

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11

The Cultural Impact of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day

Robert White

Anna Bryson's study, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*, signals in its title the argument that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'quite a major shift in aristocratic values and patterns of behaviour occurred. In the field of manners, it was a shift from ideals and practices governed by the concept of "courtesy" to those which were expressed and moulded by a new concept – that of "civility"'.¹ For example, we can observe Spenser, writing from outside the court, lamenting the decline in the personal and behavioural standards of courtesy, while tracing the dangers of the more political code based on one's place as a citizen in the state. In this book, which explores from different perspectives, concepts of 'civility', it may be seen as an incivility in itself, a violent breach of decorum, to look at a historical episode which abruptly stepped completely outside the bounds of manners altogether, and plunged Europe into the consequences of sheer barbarism. However, as previous chapters demonstrate, the difference between civility and barbarism is not necessarily one of category but of degree, both linked along a continuum running from civil behaviour to a denial of civilized values. The continuum can be traced through a series of redefinitions running from *cives* through citizen, civil, civility, civilization, uncivilized – beyond the bounds of codes of conduct altogether. Where good manners and civil politics are swept perfunctorily aside, then an act of existential chaos or nihilism may be perpetrated. Paradoxically, such an act of barbarism can subsequently be mythologized in such a way that its very naming is a talisman warning against such excesses and drawing societies back into a shared recognition of civil boundaries. For the twentieth century, the holocaust was such a watershed of extreme violation of civility, and for the sixteenth century and beyond the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day in Paris was another.

Claude Chabrol's film, *Le Boucher*, focuses the extreme ambiguity of the word 'butcher' in most languages, and highlights the continuum from the civil to the uncivilized. These days meat comes in pre-packed, cling filmed,

ready-priced packets from supermarkets, sometimes under the classification 'butchery' but more often 'meat products'. Suburban butchers still exist, amongst the few tradesmen still disallowed by law from trading on Sundays, and their shops evoke the comfortable associations of yesteryear. With abattoirs safely out of sight, the butcher's shop taps nostalgic childhood memories of a large, red-cheeked figure in blue and white apron, permanently bandaged thumb, constantly scrubbing with salt and brush the wooden slab hollowed in the middle over many years. When I was a child, he was the one who used to give me large sheets of white paper for drawing and making large aeroplanes, although he economized by finally wrapping in newspaper, a little bloodstained but still not especially smelling of mortality. A thoroughly decent and innocent figure in the community, offering his premises for chats about the weather and this and that. But twist the focus a little, turn the knife as it were, as does Chabrol, and we touch the more sinister and frightening phrase, 'the butcher of ...', image of serial killer, mass murderer, and concentration or extermination camp commandant. There can be few words in any language with such an extreme range of cultural associations.

On the evening of Saturday 23 August 1572, the butchers of Paris must have sharpened their knives and lifted glasses of wine to their lips with more relish than usual, in anticipation of their Feast Day on the morrow. Saint Bartholomew, emblemized as holding in his hand his own flayed skin, stood in celebration of the butcher's craft or mystery, although, mysteriously, the 'butchered' martyr Saint Bartholomew seems to have been a plasterer.² It was to be the last innocent celebration. Sunday 24 August in that fateful year marked the end of the Feast Day's unambiguous respectability. For ever afterwards it would stand, bloodied and gruesome, as the day challenging that of Stephen, saint of martyrs. The phrase 'Saint Bartholomew' would suddenly be instated as a chilling, European-wide shorthand at least among Protestants, for gratuitous massacre, religious intolerance, martyrdom of the innocent, and racism. For Catholics, it meant the opposite, an act of God's vengeance against infidels. What makes this particular massacre unique and mysterious, however, is that it was perpetrated not by a megalomaniac like Ghengis Khan, Tamburlaine or Hitler, nor was it an institutional response of a militia as at Peterloo or Kent State University. Instead, in the words of H. G. Koenigsberger describing one interpretation of the events, 'These were Frenchmen killing Frenchmen, respectable neighbours murdering respectable neighbours'³ – people whose behaviour would normally abide within civil codes of manners. Although international relations between France, Spain and the rest of Europe clearly were involved, although the royal family of France was implicated, and although the religious differences between Catholics and Calvinists lay behind the event, yet in the final analysis it was 'neighbour slaying neighbour'. Women and children were not spared.⁴ These

shocking facts are what would make St Bartholomew stand, in fact, for the most perverted violation of natural law and civilized values, the law of survival for humane societies since before Plato. However, the butchers of Paris were not responsible for the events of that day. That the massacre happened on their feast day was no more than a bizarre coincidence. It seems, as Edmond N. Cahn argues,⁵ that it is hard to derive a sense of justice without prior experience of injustice, or for that matter perhaps of peace without awareness of war as alternative, civility without examples of incivility, so I believe the Massacre stood for many centuries – through to the French Revolution, in fact, as a touchstone case of victimization, injustice and martyrdom and barbarism, leading, paradoxically but inevitably, to the assertion of principles of social justice and strengthening codes of civil behaviour. The very violation of natural law⁶ in its clearest form led, at least in England and almost certainly throughout the Protestant world, to the conclusion that such an atrocity should never be allowed to happen again.

The events, 22–24 August 1572

The political events that led up to the Massacre are not my province, and they have been documented and analyzed by historians such as Herbert Butterfield,⁷ N. M Sutherland,⁸ J. E. Neale,⁹ Garrett Mattingly,¹⁰ and the various contributors to the quatercentenary collection edited by Alfred Soman under the title *The Massacre of St Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*. Furthermore, since all these specialists concede that much remains unexplained and mysterious, I cannot hope to add anything to historical documentation. But in order to launch a discussion on the cultural and literary consequences of the Massacre, I should briefly rehearse what seems to be uncontested about the historical events.

From 1523, when the first French Protestant martyr, Jean Vallière, was burned at the stake, the Calvinist Huguenots were persecuted, particularly by the Guise family, and St Bartholomew was by no means the first massacre. Just as atrocious was the slaughter by the Duke of Guise of Huguenots (variously estimated between 200 and 1200) as they prayed in a barn in 1562. Over the years of the Wars of Religion, thousands of Huguenots fled France, the most famous of these emigrées being John Calvin himself, who left for Basel in 1534. The immediate trouble in Paris in 1572 emerged rapidly but as a set of distinct episodes that set up a wave effect sending rivers of blood out into the provinces of France. The context was the wedding in Paris of the Huguenot Henry of Navarre (later King Henry IV) and the Catholic Margaret of Valois, daughter of Catherine de Medici, which took place on 18 August. In itself, such a wedding could be viewed as a social enactment of civility, a formal and structured symbol of reconciliation and old-fashioned courtesy. However, this was no marriage

of love, as is indicated by the bride's refusal to say 'I do' (or rather, '*j'accepte*') a formal deficiency rectified by the king forcing her head forward to indicate a nod. With a deadly irony, this ill-fated marriage was supposed to reconcile factions, but the extreme tension and explosiveness of the occasion was palpable. Many of the Huguenot nobility attended. On the Friday before the Massacre, an attempt, ordered by Catherine de Medici, was made in a Paris street on the life of the Huguenot leader and Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny. Why, we will never know. The older, romantic myth, now historically discredited but picked up in the film *Queen Margot*, was that Catherine de Medici feared her son, King Charles IX would fall under the influence of Coligny, or was jealous that this had already happened.

J. E. Neale is the historian who sees the personality of Catherine as the central fact of the whole period. Coligny was the charismatic Huguenot leader who advocated a united French front against Spain, to which the marriage was a first step. As Catherine realized, this would diminish Catholic power in France. Another conjecture is that from the beginning she cold-bloodedly planned to eliminate the whole Huguenot leadership as a part of the wider *Realpolitik* of French power-struggles, and that she was supported by Henri duc de Guise, later Henri III, and more reluctantly by her son, Charles IX. The assassination failed, but naturally it provoked outraged mistrust from the Huguenots, and – to raise the tension further – Coligny's group was harassed on the Saturday night. The aggression, met by resistance, spluttered and was finally ignited into full fury by the killing of minor leaders and then of all Huguenots within reach of the soldiery and the mob. The massacre continued even after a royal order to stop, and it spread like a conflagration from Paris into other sections of France. Massacres continued into October through the provinces of Rouen, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Bordeaux. Estimates of casualties vary considerably, but it seems that some 3,000 were killed in Paris, 70,000 in all of France. Not surprisingly, international reaction polarized along religious lines. Pope Gregory XIII in his jubilation wanted bonfires to be lit in Rome, declaring that God had been merciful in giving the Catholic people 'a glorious triumph over a perfidious race'. The Kings of Spain and Italy praised the Massacre as part of a holy war, while Geneva and the Protestant world in general expressed indignation and horror. The killings rekindled the mutual animosity between Protestants and Catholics and resulted in the resumption of civil war in France and the Wars of Religion internationally. It may have been a tragic irony or a calculated result that turned a diplomatic marriage of reconciliation directly into a new and more disastrous division. Whether the incident was a premeditated plot by Catherine or an opportunistic blunder has been a central historical question and, for example, Herbert Butterfield traces the reasoning which led Lord Acton to switch from one end of the

argument to the other.¹¹ Butterfield also usefully emphasizes the general context:

The student of these times has to remember how events had undermined the system which is necessary to procure a stable order, a world of steady expectations, and a civilized way of transacting business – all what we regard as ‘normality’. In the wildest melodrama there is hardly the like of this – for both sides feel free to commit treachery and constantly expect it in return. When life is carried on under these conditions even the deeds of atrocity are by no means so numerous as the fears, the suspicions, the whisperings, the rumours of atrocity.¹²

The nature of martyrdom

In some ways the afterlife of the event – its meaning and significance – existed even before it happened. The continued history of religious persecution meant that even if it had not happened on this day, at some stage a group of Protestants would be killed *en masse* because of their faith, and the whole tradition of martyrdom, especially in Protestant theology, made the inevitable massacre into an instant paradigm ripe for propaganda. Donald R. Kelley has traced the tradition of martyrdom as ‘the simplest form of sainthood’,¹³ the strongest evidence of people being true to their calling in the face of persecution. The concept was available in humanist thought in general, and of course there had been pre-Christian and Catholic martyrs aplenty, but it proved strongest in appeal to militant Protestantism. Given their Christ-centred theology and their emphasis on individual conscience and choice, for Protestants dying for one’s beliefs was the ultimate emulation of Christ as well as the ultimate test, and an event exemplifying the very basis of civilization. Luther was seen as the latest in a long line of examples stretching back to the crucifixion, and the very continuity of persecution was an important part of the Protestant view of history. Right from the very first assassination attempt on Coligny, the Huguenots marched through the streets in outrage, proclaiming a martyr, so when the mass slaughter followed, its status as a myth of barbarism was already established. The deaths of many people were considered far worse than the death of one, but the message was the same in this militant tradition, and future revenge was a part of its ideology: while Calvinism preached pacifism, the Huguenot military leadership did not.

A second significance was more political, and it links up with Ghandi’s passive resistance and Shelley’s ‘Mask of Anarchy’. This reading holds that institutional or national persecution presages the imminent fall of the political system of authority in place at the time. In the particular case, in J. E. Neale’s words, ‘Huguenot writers now deliberately attacked the monarchy, making use of the distinction between a king and a tyrant and

plundering the Old Testament and classical history for examples of tyrannicide and liberators'.¹⁴ In other words, it led to a revised model of civil behaviour which turns on an act of overthrowing the fount of incivility, a tyrant. The psychology, perhaps taking its source from Christ's emphases on passivity and turning the other cheek, turns on the manifestation of evil in such a clear light that it either leads to shame, contrition and reconciliation (as in the current case of indigenous populations in various countries), or it required punishment either from God directly or from human agents carrying out His moral law. It could galvanize institutional opposition to overthrow the offending regime. As a direct consequence of the Massacre, a spate of works appeared justifying tyrannicide. One which was particularly influential was by the Calvinist Philippe Duplessis-Mornay's *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1579). This argued that subjects do not need to obey rulers who violate the law of God, and that it is legal for appointed officers to resist and even overthrow such a tyrant. This tradition linked up with natural law as explicated, for example, by Aquinas. His own message was that tyrants who originally had proper authority to rule should not be resisted or opposed, but that their violation of Natural Law was so blatant that they would inevitably be punished and civil equilibrium re-established. (Unfortunately, the life-stories of the world's worst offenders, Ghengis Khan, Tamburlaine, Hitler and Pol Pot, do not conveniently or easily prove this lesson.) Duplessis-Mornay's work, it has been argued, influenced resistance theory and the idea of the social contract through Locke and down to Rousseau.¹⁵ Above all, the orderly structure of society – civil values – are threatened by the tyrant's actions. Opponents of the royal family in France, such as Henri de Navarre who became leader of the Huguenots on the death of Coligny, and Protestant countries in general, of course leapt upon this political reading of events, although the power of the propaganda was neutralized by the corresponding approval of the Massacre (chorsed from the Vatican and Catholic countries like Italy). To the latter, the actions of the authorities in Paris were no more than a successful implementation of the fashionable politics of Machiavelli, and a precondition for stable civil values presiding. As propaganda material, massacre cuts both ways, since it can equally be seen as martyrdom, or as a purgative and punitive enactment of God's will against His enemies, or as an expedient and necessary stratagem to defeat enemies in a covert civil war.

The third reading of massacre is only lightly touched on by Kelley, but I believe it turned out to be the most potent of all for literature. Most of Kelley's examples indicate more or less willing martyrdom by individuals prepared to follow their faith literally to the stake. He tends to elide innocent followers with this type of leader or father-figure. The neglect of the innocent may date the article as pre-feminist, when most issues were seen from the point of view of a male protagonist or 'hero'. I believe the slaughter of innocents forms a third and different tradition of the mythologiza-

tion of martyrdom, bypassing the history of political persecution and the line of affirmation of faith and going back to the original biblical 'massacre of the innocents' when according to St Matthew (2. 16–8) Herod is said to have ordered the massacre of new born children in Bethlehem and its surrounds in an attempt to eliminate a 'child born King of Israel',¹⁶ and pointing forward to Peterloo, extermination of Jews, and peasants in Mai Lai, Vietnam, in 1968. Only in an impossibly strained sense can the children and women who died in these events meaningfully be said to have concluded in their deaths because of their faith, and indeed, what is so shocking to history and natural law theorists is that their very innocence precluded them from making such a choice. Their deaths violate every possible assumption about the survival of the human species in its instinct for self-preservation, because their diurnal lives had so obviously run along lines of civic passivity. Whatever other myths were fashioned from the Massacre, it is the one stressing injured innocence which was immediately emphasized by the English eye-witnesses. Sir Thomas Smith evidently responded to words from Walsingham in urging the latter to go 'out of that Countrey so contaminate with innocent blood that the Sun cannot look upon it but to prognosticate the wrath and vengeance of God', while Smith also wrote to Walsingham on 26 September saying 'Will God, think you, still sleep? Will not their blood ask vengeance, shall not the earth be accursed that sucked up the innocent blood poured out like water upon it?'.¹⁷

The Elizabethans and St Bartholomew

News of the Massacre naturally flooded into Protestant England immediately. Some of it was no doubt brought back by influential eye-witnesses like Sir Francis Walsingham, who describes the terrible sounds; Philip Sidney who was close to Henri de Navarre; and Timothy Bright who was to write not only *Treatise of Melancholy* but also to abridge Foxe's account of the persecution of Protestants under Mary Tudor. Sidney and Bright were protected in the lodgings of Walsingham, to whom Bright dedicated his later book on John Foxe's account of persecution of Protestants under Mary Tudor – without Walsingham's help, he wrote, 'myself, with a number more, should at that butchery of Paris now long ago been martyred'.¹⁸ Ceremonial mourning was led by Elizabeth herself, as, dressed in black, she coldly received the French ambassador, La Mothe-Fénelon. The steady stream of Huguenot refugees to England immediately and over the next twenty years steadily familiarized the English to the events, and reinforced their Protestant interpretation. Books and translations concerning French affairs published in England escalated. A. G. Dickens counts the rise from 31 titles in the decade 1561–1570, rising to an average of over 70 per decade between 1571 and 1600, 117 in the years 1581–90 alone. If one adds pamphlets, the number rises even more steeply. At the very least this

fact would establish that virtually nobody in England, especially a voracious reader like Shakespeare, could avoid some knowledge of the context and the event. The tone, of course, was overwhelmingly anti-French and anti-Catholic.¹⁹

The massacre had long term political consequences, and these have been helpfully detailed by Dickens. The strain I want to trace, however, does not lie in these political consequences but in an insistent ethical concern. An anonymous correspondent of Leicester prayed that the queen remember 'conscience and eternity' to avoid the bloodshed witnessed in France, and Stubbs in his graphic way emphasizes not just political consequences of a royal marriage such as the one that precipitated the Massacre, but the outrages, 'valiant men surprised by cowards in their beds; innocents put to death; women and children without pity tossed upon halberds and thrown down [from] windows and into rivers; learned men killed by barbarous soldiers'.²⁰ One of these 'learned men' killed in the Massacre was Peter Ramus, the renowned rhetorician and philosopher, whom Sidney had just befriended and whose violent end must have struck writers in particular as being as horrifying as the death in similar circumstances of Cinna the Poet, since Ramus was killed, if not for his name and his bad verses, at least for the 'name' of his religion. In fact, in Shakespeare's play on political assassination, the fate of Cinna may be a reference to the Paris massacre, since writers, booksellers and academics in the Latin quarter became a target for casual slaughter, looting and book-burning – a testimony to the power of the written word in spreading Protestantism.²¹ Ramus had at first hidden in a bookshop, returning to his lodging on Tuesday 26 August, only to be slaughtered by stabbing while he prayed. His body was tossed into the street below, just as hundreds if not thousands of bodies were thrown into the Seine.

The pointless and shocking death of Ramus is given a powerful, cameo scene in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (sc. 7) which shows Guise himself stabbing 'the king's Professor of Logic', alleging that Ramus contradicted Aristotle.²² Marlowe's play, first produced by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose in 1593 and periodically revived as in 1594, 1598 and 1601, helped to keep alive English consciousness of the event, or bore witness to its continuing endurance in popular memory. Other plays were written up to the end of the seventeenth century. Webster and Henry Shirley wrote 'Guise' plays (1653) which are now lost, Dryden and Lee wrote *The Duke of Guise* in 1682, and Lee produced *Massacre of Paris* in 1689. Marlowe had ample reason to know in detail about the Massacre, not only because he befriended the nephew of Walsingham, but because a veritable flood of French Huguenot refugees arrived in Canterbury while he was a boy.²³ That his play is unusually short and fragmented is usually explained as a result of corrupt textual transmission, but surely the more likely explanation is censorship. At a time when political and diplomatic relations with France

were changing almost daily, and when an Anglo-French accord could not be ruled out, the subject was one that had to be handled with more finesse than is associated with the bold and candid Marlowe. What remains of the play suggests that Marlowe presented his audience with what Rick Bowers calls a 'consensus narrative' laying down like a blueprint the dominant popular mythology. Bowers points out that 'the *OED* credits Marlowe with the first use of the term "massacre" for an historical atrocity', which immediately suggests the play's point of view. It is an angry play, depicting Guise as a less witty but equally ruthless, ambitious and brutal figure as Shakespeare's Richard III, 'demented, determined, and coldly self-assured', as Bowers describes him.²⁴ I shall argue that Shakespeare in general was more pervasively affected by the historical events of the Massacre, but in a much more allusive way, conscious of the issue of martyrdom, but for Marlowe they are an occasion for anti-papal, anti-Machiavellian spectacle. The plot rounds upon revenge, confirming Navarre's early prophecy:

But He that sits and rules above the clouds
Doth hear and see the prayers of the just,
And will revenge the blood of innocents,
That Guise hath slain by treason of his heart,
And brought by murder to their timeless ends.

(sc. 1, lines 42 – 6)

In its plot-structure and its focus on the Guise family as villains, this play might have been even more decisive than Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* in whetting popular appetite for revenge tragedy that dominated the stage into the Jacobean period. If so, this is in itself a large legacy for English culture of the Paris Massacre, but to pursue the argument would take longer than this essay allows.

Shakespeare never refers directly to the Massacre of St Bartholomew, so evidence for its influence over his art must be circumstantial. But there is so much of such evidence that the argument is compelling. We do know for sure that by 1604, and for an indeterminate time before, Shakespeare lodged in the house of Christopher Mountjoy, a French Huguenot living in the Huguenot area of London. Shakespeare became so close to the family that he was asked to intercede diplomatically in the courtship of Mountjoy's daughter.²⁵ There is, of course, much anti-French sentiment in such plays as the *Henry VI* cycle and *Henry V* – perhaps too much, in view of Elizabeth's persistent policy of diplomatic and marital *rapprochement* – and it is tempting to see Shakespeare's studied distance from his monarch's policy. He is not always negative about individual French characters, but he is of the nation. The words of Henry V before Harfleur seem to carry the ferocity of national revenge as much as bellicose rhetoric before invasion.²⁶

Many critics, myself included, read the incitement to a massacre as brutal as Herod's in these lines as a tacit condemnation of Henry's thuggish brutality, if not a condemnation of war in general, but it can equally be read as a speech which would galvanize a patriotic English audience, or a Protestant audience, into a willingness for vengeance based on earlier French wrongs. Either way, subliminal memory of St Bartholomew is evoked.

A different kind of memory can, I think, be traced in a most unexpected place in Shakespeare. *Love's Labour's Lost* has struck all commentators as something of a mystery play. Disarmingly simple, it ends with an unprecedented and almost shocking violation of its clear dramatic expectations – death, disruption of carnival and separation instead of marriage and celebration. Undatable, and one of only three plays Shakespeare wrote without a source, it seems to contain some tantalizing contemporary message which has evaded discovery. Frances Yates's speculations about 'the school of night' and Giordano Bruno seem over-solemn and somewhat inconsequential.²⁷ My own suggestions will strike some as equally unconvincing but I wish to put them. The play gently alludes to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, unmistakably but obliquely, reminding the audience not of the horror but of the diplomatic circumstances. It is Shakespeare's only French play, except for *As You Like It* which has struck most playgoers and readers as more Warwickshire than Ardennes, although it does have a serious and pertinent point to make about tyrannical persecution of the innocent. To name a central character the King of Navarre, although a fictional Ferdinand, could not fail to have political connections with the Huguenot of the 1570s, King Henri of France by the 1590s, and therefore no longer either Navarre or Protestant. Berowne's name draws him close to the later empowered house of Biron, which Chapman was to deal with in the *Bussy d'Ambois* plays. In fact, a Biron played an honourable role during the Massacre – although a Catholic he saved the life of a Protestant boy who subsequently became his son-in-law. So did the Duc de Longueville, the Catholic Governor of Calais and Boulogne who refused to allow the massacre to spread into his province. The Spaniard Armado would evoke not only memories of the Armada but also the international situation of the 1570s when France and England were colluding against their common enemy, here ridiculed rather than demonized by Shakespeare. In a very kindly play, Armado's main fault is untrustworthiness, a common enough assumption about the Spanish in the 1590s. The name Moth, while having an honest English word as its basis, recalls the unfortunate French diplomat La Mothe who had formally to break the news to a terse Elizabeth about the massacre whereupon she finally terminated negotiations to marry into the French royal family.²⁸ She had been warned that a similar fate awaited her subjects if the marriage went ahead, and she had much to fear from a rumoured liaison between Catherine de Medici and Mary Queen of Scots. This last allusion, I believe, explains the occasion and the playfulness of

Shakespeare's play. By the 1590s Elizabeth, or some of her courtiers, while not contemplating a literal marriage, were engaged in a kind of cat and mouse game manoeuvring towards closer ties with Henri personally and France as a nation. Essex, the Queen's favourite at the time, was implicated in this move and his career was almost impaled on it. Such a strategy of appeasement amounting to metaphorical marriage was not universally popular among Protestant Englishmen eyeing their traditional enemies across the Channel, and many said so with varying degrees of bluntness. Shakespeare is, within the limits of necessary circumspection in a delicate political situation, offering a friendly warning. 'Remember', he is saying, 'what happened last time'. In the run-up to the Massacre of 1572, Elizabeth had been negotiating with the French king's brothers – first d'Anjou, who described the intricate negotiations by saying 'all was but dalliance'²⁹ just as in *Love's Labour's Lost* ('as bombast and as lining to the time') and then D'Alençon. She was also on good diplomatic terms with the King. So intertwined were all the events, that James Westfall Thompson has suggested Elizabeth herself must bear some of the blame for the Massacre, since her vacillation had become a part of the French conflict between Huguenots with moderate Catholics and the hard-line nationalists, the Guise family. The other crucial fact is that in 1593, just a year or two before Shakespeare wrote his play, the former Duke of Navarre renounced his protestantism, reputedly with the famous words 'Paris is worth a mass', and was converted to Catholicism in order to become King Henri IV. Most Protestants regarded him as insincere and an oath-breaker, the central issue of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

When one thinks about it, the expected destination of *Love's Labour's Lost* could be seen as ominously similar to the situation before the French royal wedding. Beforehand there had been unifying festivities attended by Protestant guests, and leading to a royal wedding – but that wedding in itself had precipitated the greatest bloodbath of innocents in living memory. We do know from the printed title page that *Love's Labour's Lost* was 'presented before her Highness' at Christmas in 1597, though since this text is 'Newly corrected and augmented by *W. Shakespere*' it was clearly an earlier play which has been variously dated between 1588 and 1595. Neither Shakespeare nor a patron could be too explicit in advising the Queen, especially since rationally there was no inevitable disaster in sight at the time – hence Shakespeare's playful, whimsical allusiveness rather than alarmism. He could withdraw with credit from danger by claiming the play as a mere fiction without contemporary significance. But of course there is a powerful sting in the play's tail. Wait and see, it seems to say, don't trust men who have proved themselves untrustworthy, perjurious and fickle. Don't 'marry' now but instead test the suitor's sincerity and honesty by setting tasks and waiting a good year before making commitments. D'Alençon in particular had been notoriously callow and 22 years younger

than Elizabeth at the time of the Massacre and, like the courtiers in *Love's Labour's Lost*, he had some growing up to do before being a partner worthy of the Queen of England. It is significant also that the play ends effectively on an unresolved question of royal succession, exactly the problem obsessing England in the 1590s, and as actually happened, Shakespeare's advice to the virgin queen seems to be, 'rule alone rather than marry rashly', mirroring her own reported words to Leicester, 'I will have here but one mistress and no master'. Events like the Ridolfi plot showed that imprisonment and assassination were daily dangers for Elizabeth, and her position would be far more vulnerable in England if she were allied more closely to a Catholic France, even apart from the very real fear held by many that England would become in time a French principality. Behind the sobering news brought by Marcade disrupting the celebrations, lies a grim hint – remember what happened last time. Remember St Bartholomew. *Memento mori, et in Arcadia ego*, and above all, do not trust the French. Read in this way, *Love's Labour's Lost* can be seen as Shakespeare's play of civility, as he courteously but firmly draws a thin line dividing propriety from impropriety, the civilized from the uncivilized.

Whether it is convincing or not, my argument concerning *Love's Labour's Lost* is not the most central or serious legacy of the Massacre for Shakespeare. As I have argued elsewhere, he developed and turned into his unique signature, the inset tragedy within a tragedy of the death of a young innocent, which even more graphically depicts the overstepping of the mark dividing civilized from uncivilized. He does it every time he writes tragedy: the children in *Richard III* and *Macbeth*, Lavinia, Ophelia, Desdemona, Cordelia, not to mention the hapless Cinna the Poet. It is so insistent and so exclusively Shakespeare's that it must hold a tremendous and mythic significance for him. Perhaps *The Spanish Tragedy* gave him the idea, but it is curious that the only critic who acknowledges 'victim tragedy', G. K. Hunter, does not look past Kyd to see the looming exemplar of Shakespeare.³⁰ Rather than rehearsing the evidence and ideas of my earlier book here, I simply wish to add a coda linking tragedy of innocent victims to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. As in *Love's Labour's Lost* the events are just out of focus, a premonitory memory rather than a current reality, so the Massacre would have been in Shakespeare's mind a distant memory (he had been eight years old when it happened) of events talked about throughout England in apocalyptic tones, and the memory would have been kept green and also adumbrated by the many Huguenot refugees in London down to his landlord, Mountjoy. In the process of sea-change that turns memory into art, the events had been polished by time into myth, its significance clear and shapely – the collective experience of witnessing martyrdom in the deaths of innocents. *King Lear* was played on Saint Stephen's Day, and it is not too fanciful to suggest that in all his tragedies which depict wrongdoing and revenge, massacre of the culpable and the innocent alike, Shakespeare aligns himself with this patron

saint of martyrs. If this part of my argument is correct, then the Paris Massacre had moral and artistic consequences that are constantly re-enacted every time a Shakespearean tragedy is played. Conspicuous violations of poetic justice mirror violations of social codes and expectations of civility. The feeling, either vague or sharp, that he is 'telling us something', instructing as well as delighting through his art, can be located morally by outrage and abhorrence of such events, whether they happened in ancient Judea, Paris in 1572, or Europe in the 1940s, or Bosnia and Albania in the 1990s, or the Middle East.

The affective aesthetics behind this strategy ultimately came from legal process and Aristotle, and they were eloquently voiced in Thomas Wilson's *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553):

In moving affections, and stirring the judges to be grieved, the weight of the matter must be so set forth, as though they saw it plain before their eyes. ... Now in moving pity, and stirring men to mercy, the wrong done must first be plainly told: or if the Judges have sustained the like extremity, the best were to will them to remember their own state.³¹

Cicero in his *De ratione dicendi* (*On the Theory of Public Speaking*) and his *De oratore* had made similar use of emotive advocacy in declaring that the main purpose of rhetoric as used in oratory is persuasion: 'The task of the public speaker is to discuss capably those matters which law and custom have fixed for the uses of citizenship, and to secure as far as possible the agreement of his hearers'.³² It is implicit in victim tragedy that the death of an innocent calculated to make audiences morally condemn the incident can 'secure as far as possible the agreement of his hearers' to a collective understanding that such atrocities should not occur in a civil society. Cicero's stress on 'the uses of citizenship' as the prime purpose of rhetorical persuasion allows us to locate a sharply didactic edge to Shakespeare's drama, even in its multi-voiced representation of conflicting points of view. Through recognition of uncivil discourses comes agreement on civil discourse. In a quite different way the vogue for revenge tragedy is based on the same underlying model. The genre demonstrates vendetta against injustice rather than depicting passive martyrdom, just as the Holocaust strengthened militant Zionism as much as it inspired pity for suffering, but just as pointedly it stems from an initial injustice or mini-massacre which generates a spiral of destruction until all implicated figures are dead on stage. The fashion for revenge tragedy from *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* in the 1590s, through to plays by Middleton, Webster, and Ford, is usually explained as a revival of Senecan drama, but it seems to me just as likely and more historically explicable that the genre, invariably set in Catholic Europe, either Spain or Italy, was part of the continuing cultural legacy, the *memento mori* of the Massacre of St Bartholomew.

This cultural legacy stretched down through the centuries in both France and England. The French Revolution was an obvious occasion for opposite propaganda points to be made out of the Massacre. Edmund Burke coined the verb '*Bartholomise*,' obviously likening the actions of the revolutionists to what he saw as mob violence in 1572. On the opposite side, the Jacobin John Thelwall, sarcastically calling Burke 'the Oracle of aristocratic abhorrence of massacre and cruelty', points out that the Massacre was orchestrated by the monarchy and aristocracy, motivated by the theories of 'our *serious Machiavel*'. This places it as more comparable to the *ancien regime* in eighteenth-century France. Thelwall argues that the massacre, far from being an 'abuse by the fury of the common people' was perpetrated by 'a royalist mob – a mob hired, instigated, marshalled by the *regular*, constituted government', in the service of a brutal policy of religious persecution.³³ He may be right. Thelwall repeats his contention in the only one of his many imaginative works still to attract some scholarly attention, *The Peripatetic*. Again, he says that the Massacre was carried out by what he ironically calls 'the most refined and enlightened members of society, instead of being hastily committed, in the hour of tumult and danger, by a few of the lowest, and most ignorant'.

With respect to the old government of France, in particular, it is sufficient to mention the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, in which so many thousand persons were murdered in one night, by the command of the *heaven-anointed* monarch, advised and assisted by the wisdom of his hereditary counsellors, and the humane admonitions of the pious ministers of the *established Religion*. And all this for no other reason than because the miserable victims professed those doctrines which are received in England as the true Gospel of Christ, and the genuine spirit of Divine Revelation.³⁴

In the same period, Helen Maria Williams, writing her letters from revolutionary France, also adverts to the Massacre. Charlotte Smith, initially as ardent a supporter of the French Revolution as Thelwall and Williams, performed the remarkable feat of religious and political tolerance in sheltering refugees from France's *ancien regime*, and as her poem *The Emigrants* makes clear, she feels the principle of victimization of personally innocent people overrides differences of politics and religion – 'Whate'er your errors, I lament your fate', she writes, and behind Smith's moving poem lies the memory of the flood of Huguenot refugees into England at the end of the sixteenth century. The poem can be read as an expression of compassion for both groups, and as a condemnation of persecution and terror. In her novel *The Old Manor House* (1793) Smith condemns the British government of her day for slaughtering their own kind in the American Revolution, by recalling the words of 'the monster Catherine de Medicis [sic] to urge her

son, the infamous Charles the Ninth, to the massacre of the Protestants in 1572 – “What pity,” said she, “do we not shew in being cruel! – What cruelty would it not be to have pity!”³⁵, and she repeats this sentiment from her previous novel, *Desmond*.

The German-Jewish composer Giacomo Meyerbeer, who after century-long neglect has enjoyed a remarkable revival in the 1990s and even has an internet Fan Club,³⁶ in 1835 wrote his most famous opera *Les Huguenots* based on the Huguenot persecutions. Its hero and heroine are killed in the massacre of St Bartholomew’s Day. Meyerbeer was the chief target of Richard Wagner’s notoriously anti-Semitic essay ‘Jews and Music’, but he never responded publicly to his accuser. His choice of a plot that turned on religious persecution is surely related to his own religion. In 1845 Alexandre Dumas co-authored with Maquet *La Reine Margot* as the first of a trilogy called ‘The Valois Romances’ which he also dramatized in 1847 in a famous production selected for the opening of the Théâtre Historique that lasted nine hours. At least five parodies were staged in the same year.³⁷ The work is based on the events of St Bartholomew, centring on the beautiful, proud, and wilful Marguerite Valois and her scheming mother, Catherine de Medici. Dumas’s works have been in turn unforgettably if brutally adapted into a film in 1994 which, by focusing on Marguerite’s reputed promiscuity, sexualizes and sensationalizes the Massacre (although the original events may have been even more sensational, if less sexual) in violent fashion. We recall scenes from the film such as the hundreds of silent and white, naked bodies, piled as in a grotesque sculpture. The provenance of the novel, play and film in France may indicate an invitation to national blood-letting in both moral and visual senses, that parodies a resistance to an expression of collective guilt, a refusal to say ‘sorry’.

To return to our beginning, the feast of the butchers,³⁸ without denigrating an ancient and noble profession, the symbolism is bizarrely irresistible. J. E. Neale notes that ‘One Parisian, a butcher by trade, boasted that he himself had killed four hundred on Bartholomew Day’.³⁹ With a macabre aptness, a celebration was used to enact its deeper significance: a day when innocent children, women and men were slaughtered with the indifference of those employed to kill animals, a day when the sanctity of human life and the individual right of citizens to have their existence protected rather than betrayed by the state were forgotten in an orgy of bloodshed. The shock waves of manifest martyrdom as well as frustrated impulses to revenge reached far beyond the early modern period, and the event came to be synonymous with abandonment of civility and civilization. Massacre begets martyrdom and revenge, which begets massacre. The narrative will repeat itself endlessly, until codes created upon civil discourses find their way not only into international rhetoric, but international law. This is the fundamental and timely level of applicability which such traumatic occasions provoke in imaginative writers, and haunt civil societies like cautionary tales.

Notes

1. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 24.
2. All we know of St Bartholomew, reputedly living in the first century, is that he is mentioned in the synoptic gospels and Acts as one of the twelve apostles. His name, a patronymic, means 'son of Tolomai' and scholars believe he is the same as Nathanael mentioned in John, who says he is from Cana and that Jesus called him an 'Israelite ... incapable of deceit.' The Roman Martyrology says he preached in India and Greater Armenia, where he was flayed and beheaded by King Astyages. The Gospel of Bartholomew is apocryphal and was condemned in the decree of Pseudo-Gelasius Feast Day 24 August. Accessed via http://saints.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=390, 9 May 2002.
3. H. G. Koenigsberger, 'Introduction', *The Massacre of St Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*, ed. Alfred Soman (Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague, 1974), pp. 4–5.
4. Henri Noguères, *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew*, trans. Claire Eliane Engel (New York: Macmillan, 1959), pp. 111–12.
5. Edmond N. Cahn, *The Sense of Injustice: An Anthropocentric View of Law* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1949).
6. The violation of reason and conscience in an act that goes against the preservation of human life. See R. S. White, *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).
7. Herbert Butterfield, *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951).
8. N. M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559–1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973).
9. J. E. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958).
10. Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1959).
11. Herbert Butterfield, 'Lord Acton and the Massacre of St Bartholomew' in *Man on his Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge University Press, 1969), 171–201.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
13. Donald R. Kelley, 'Martyrs, Myths and the Massacre: the Background of St Bartholomew', *The American Historical Review* 77 (1972), 1323–42, cited in Soman, *Massacre of St Bartholomew*, 181–202.
14. J. E. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de Medici*, p. 71.
15. See Stanley Bamberg, 'A Footnote to the Political Theory of John Adam's *Vindicae contra tyrannos*' in *Premise* (electronic journal for the Center for the Advancement of Paleo Orthodoxy, vol. III, number 7, 31 August, 1996, <http://capo.org/premise/96/aug/p960810.html>, accessed 9 May 2002).
16. Although early and medieval estimates of the number killed vary between 14,000 and 144,000, in fact a more likely estimate is 10 or 20 since Herod's real intention was to eliminate only the Maccabean line to the throne, in order to safeguard his own authority.
17. Sylvia Lennie England, *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew* (London: John Long Ltd, 1938), p. 231, citing Thomas Smith's letter to Walsingham, 26 September 1572.
18. Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), p. 60.
19. A. G. Dickens, 'The Elizabethans and St Bartholomew', in Soman, *Massacre of St Bartholomew*, 52–70. See Dickens on the long term causes.

20. A. G. Dickens, 'The Elizabethans and St Bartholomew', p. 69, citing John Stubbs, *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).
21. Noguères, *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew*, pp. 113–14.
22. Text quoted from *Christopher Marlowe: the Complete Plays*, ed. J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969). Scholarly detail can be found in *The Revels Plays* edition, H. J. Oliver, ed., '*Dido Queen of Carthage*' and '*The Massacre at Paris*' (London: Methuen, 1968), introduction.
23. William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury* (London: Faber, 1988), p. xxvi.
24. Rick Bowers, '*The Massacre at Paris: Marlowe's Messy Consensus Narrative*', in *Marlowe, History, and Sexuality* (New York: AMS Press, 1998), 132–41.
25. See S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 260–4.
26. *Henry V*, 3.3. 78–120 in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt *et al.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997).
27. Frances Yates, *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Cambridge University Press, 1936).
28. H. R. Woodhuysen mentions this possibility in passing in Appendix 3, 'Moth's Name' in the Arden edition, third series, *Love's Labour's Lost* (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998), pp. 342–5.
29. James Westfall Thompson, *The War of Religion in France, 1559–1576. The Huguenots, Catherine de Medici and Philip*, 2 vols (Chicago: Thomas Rockwell Press, 1909), vol. II, p. 427.
30. G. K. Hunter, 'The Emergence of the University Wits: Early Tragedy' in *English Drama 1586–1642: the Age of Shakespeare, the Oxford History of English Literature* vol. VI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 69–92.
31. Thomas Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric* (London, 1553), sigs. T1r–v.
32. *De ratione dicendi*, trans. Harry Caplan (London: Heinemann, 1954), p. 5.
33. John Thelwall, *The Rights of Nature*, in ed. Gregory Claeys, *The Politics of English Jacobinism: Writings of John Thelwall* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 421–2.
34. John Thelwall, *The Peripatetic* (1793) edited in three vols by Donald H. Reiman (New York: Garland Publishers, 1978), vol. II, pp. 10–11.
35. Charlotte Smith, *The Old Manor House*, ed. Anne Henry Ehrenpries (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), authorial footnote, p. 361.
36. <http://www.meyerbeer.com/index.html>, accessed 9 May 2002.
37. For details, see internet <http://www.cadytech.com/dumas/work.asp?key=302>, accessed 9 May 2002.
38. At a tangent from this paper's central concern, see Norbert Elias's 'sociogenetic and psychogenetic' account of meat-eating and the use of the knife in medieval and early modern societies, both surrounded by taboos and prohibitions, in *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (rev. edn., Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), vol. I, pp. 117–28.
39. J. E. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de Medici*, p. 68.

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