

**Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and
political writing 1553-1603**

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Abstract

This thesis examines anti-Spanish sentiment within Marian and Elizabethan literary and political writing. Although its primary aim is to reinvigorate the reader's perceptions about a topic that has traditionally been subject to considerable scholarly neglect, four 'core' objectives can still be identified (a) to demonstrate how 'anti-Spanishness' began as a deliberate, highly systematic attempt to tackle a number of unresolved issues within the minds of English Protestants through the dissemination of a key set of exegetical and eschatological myths (b) to show how these same myths were subsequently reinforced, both in the Marian and Elizabethan periods, by the extreme binary ideology that lay at the heart of early reformist thought itself (c) to redefine the ideological development of English textual hispanophobia within the early modern period and reveal how the triggers which catalysed it into birth, although dormant for a few years after Mary's death, never quite faded during its subsequent politico-literary mutations during Elizabeth's reign and (d) to propose and at the same time demonstrate that, even though English hispanophobia reached an unprecedented climax during Elizabeth's time in power both in terms of popular hatred for the Spaniard and number of anti-Spanish texts published, Elizabethan anti-Hispanism can still be viewed as one and the same thing as its Marian precursor - a purposeful and highly planned attempt to reinforce English religious and national identity in the face of a threatening, yet reluctantly respected Spain.

Contents

Acknowledgments (p. i)

Abstract (p. ii)

Contents (pp. iii-v)

Conventions and Abbreviations (pp. vi-vii)

Introduction (pp. 1-25)

1. Subject overview and objectives (p. 1)

2. Exegesis and Protestant national identity: the importance of binary difference in the formation of hispanophobic attitudes (p. 8)

3. Chapter Summary (p. 19)

Chapter One: ‘The Godly scourge: the political and theological necessity of reinventing the Marian Spaniard’ (pp. 26-70)

1. John Knox’s dilemma: the return of Catholicism to England and the Protestant need for a biblically-inspired reordering of history (p. 26)

2. The exegetical remoulding of the Spaniard: an exercise in Protestant self-legitimation? (p. 29)

3. Latimer’s and Knox’s Edwardian warnings: the Spanish presence in England and the use of historical prophecy as a tool of Protestant self-definition (p. 40)

4. The Godly scourge validated: the role of social and sexual demonisation within the Marian anti-Spanish tradition (p. 47)

5. The Marian Spaniard and the politics of sensationalism: the deliberate use of antithesis as a form of propagandistic discourse (p. 65)

Chapter Two: ‘A movement reawakened by foreign propaganda?: the decline and subsequent re-emergence of English hispanophobia’ (pp. 71-113)

1. A mid-century Tudor interlude: early Elizabethan perceptions of the Marian regime and the decline of anti-Spanish feeling in England (p. 71)

2. A 'discourse' in translation: the Dutch rebellion and the resurgence of anti-Spanish sentiment in English polemical literature (p. 84)

3. The sacking of Antwerp: eschatological paradigms and the emergence of an exclusively 'English' Dutch text (p. 100)

Chapter Three: 'The Godly crusade: Spanish moral culpability and the case for military intervention in the Low Countries' (pp. 114-156)

1. Politics, propaganda and the idea of a 'Godly' war: the role of 'Progressive' ideology in pre-war England (p. 114)

2. *The Apologie of William of Orange* and *The Spanish Colonie*: the engagement of foreign testimonies as evidence of Spanish moral culpability (p. 124)

3. *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* and the myth of 'Godly' English interventionism: religio-political propaganda and military self-justification in the early years of the Anglo-Spanish war (p. 142)

Chapter Four: 'The Armada as a paradigm of vindicated Protestantism' (pp. 157-220)

1. Strategies for the containment of pre-Armada hysteria: an examination of hispanophobic propaganda in the countdown to Philip's '*Gran Empresa*' (p. 157)

1. i) Millenarianism rebutted by exegesis: the domestic side of pre-Armada propaganda (p. 157)

1. ii) William Allen vs. the English government: an Elizabethan propaganda war? (p. 168)

2. Writing the Armada: myth, monumentalism and the transformation of event into national epic (p. 177)

3. Allegories of power: Godly providentialism and the use of the '*Veritas Filia Temporis*' legend in the post-Armada years (p. 196)

Chapter Five: 'Beyond the Armada: texts, residual ideologies and English ambivalence towards Spain in the final years of Elizabeth's reign' (pp. 221-278)

1. The Spanish '*miles gloriosus*': a post-Armada refashioning of the discourse of Spanish sexual and military predatoriness? (p. 221)

1. i) The origins of the '*miles gloriosus*' (p. 221)

1. ii) Braggartism on the Elizabethan Stage (p. 230)

2. Tracking down the enemy within: Jesuits, Appellants and 'Hispaniolated' Englishmen in the final years of Elizabeth's reign (p. 241)

2. i) The background to the Appellant controversy (p. 241)

2. ii) The role of Spain within the Seculars vs. Jesuits debate (p. 249)

3. A model to be emulated or an antagonist to be hated?: the appropriation and usage of Spanish imperialistic practices in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign (p. 261)

Conclusion (pp. 279-286)

Bibliography (pp. 287-318)

Conventions

In each chapter, first citations of any particular source are given in full and thereafter works are referred to by title. I have tried to access texts either in their original published form or in modern scholarly editions – although, in a few instances, this has proved impractical and I have had no option but to turn to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reprints. Common abbreviations such as y^e and y^t have been silently modernised in all cases, while non-substantive variants in original typography have also been standardised. I have retained original spellings in most quotations, changing only ‘i’ to ‘j’ and ‘u’ to ‘v’ for the sake of orthographical clarity. As a general rule, Latin texts have not been included in the study - except in those select cases where I believe their inclusion proves indispensable to the course of my arguments.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used for texts frequently cited. For particulars of the works concerned, the reader is advised to consult the bibliography at the end of the study.

<i>Arber.</i>	<i>Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640</i>
<i>CSP, Domestic.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
<i>CSP, Foreign.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign</i>
<i>CSP, Spanish.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish</i>

<i>CSP, Venetian.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
<i>DNB.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Ecc. Mem.</i>	<i>J. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials</i>
<i>STC.</i>	<i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books printed abroad, 1475-1640</i>
<i>TRP.</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>
<i>Wing.</i>	<i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Wales and British America, 1641-1700</i>

Introduction

1. Subject overview and objectives

This study seeks to analyse the development of anti-Spanish sentiment in Marian and Elizabethan writing. More particularly, it aims to unravel the complex web of socio-political issues that accompanied the demonisation of Spaniards in early modern English literature. Although recent works by Richard Helgerson, Andrew Hadfield and others have touched tangentially on the enormously important role occupied by Spain within the English national imagination in the so-called 'writing of England,'¹ a systematic study, as far as I am aware, has not yet been undertaken of the different ways that English authors used images of Spain to negate Spanish military, colonial and mercantile prestige as much as to reinforce their own religious, political and nationalist values. This scholarly lacuna is hard to explain, taking into account not only that Spain was England's foremost military and ideological enemy throughout most of the second half of the sixteenth century, but also, in the words of Richard Helgerson himself, that "England necessarily defined itself and the character of its overseas expansion in terms of its relation to Spain."²

Why, then, this reluctance to write about England's textual and ideological relationship to Spain? Could it be that the modern preoccupation with the non-European 'other' has tended to overshadow, or perhaps marginalize, the ways in which

¹ See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 181-187; Andrew Hadfield, 'Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism and the Fear of the Apocalypse,' *Reformation*, 3, 1998, pp. 303-322.

² *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England*, p. 182.

Englishmen sought ontological confirmation of their own ‘Englishness,’ as it were, from their own European neighbours? Or could it be no more than a perverse residue left over from early modern hispanophobia itself, a part-conscious, part-involuntary dismantling of Spanish cultural and historical influence of the kind David J. Weber, Philip Wayne Powell and other scholars of the so-called anti-Spanish ‘Black Legend’ have been attacking now for decades?³ It is indeed a difficult and rather litigious issue to deal with – one that has to be handled with care if the student of anti-Hispanic writing is not to overstep the thin dividing line between thorough, unpartisan analysis of his or her subject and a sublimated pro-Hispanic apologia. A typical example of the latter can be seen in W. S. Maltby’s *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (1971).⁴ Despite being a useful and in many ways cogent introduction to what is a neglected area of literary studies – and though it is indeed somewhat unfair to castigate Maltby’s efforts without recognising their considerable pioneering value - his text nonetheless suffers from a number of thematic, structural and above all historiographical flaws which serve to highlight the need for an immediate

³ It is widely believed that the term ‘Black Legend’ was first used in Julian Juderías’s *La Leyenda Negra y la Verdad Histórica* (Barcelona: Editorial Arlauce, 1878 [reprinted 1917]), a systematic exposition of fin-de-siècle Spanish nationalism that rallied against what its author perceived to be the derogatory and wholly inaccurate representation of Spain in the work of past and present Protestant writers. More recently, David J. Weber has defined the Black Legend as the “inherited... view that Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian” (David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992] p. 336). For an account of how English historiographers from Gilbert Burnet to J. A. Froude have invoked the ‘Black Legend’ in their writings, see Joan Marie Thomas, ‘Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984), pp. 1-15.

⁴ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1971).

reappraisal of anti-Spanish trends in the literature of the period. Like Philip Wayne Powell's equally pro-Hispanic but rather more generic *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*,⁵ *The Black Legend in England* is so hooked on the idea of exonerating an unfairly maligned Spain that its narrator overlooks the many ways in which anti-Spanish texts often ended up embracing, or at least inadvertently rehearsing, the very values associated with the images of Spain being vilified. Nor is this, it has to be said, the most serious of its faults. Divided into nine topical sections which in Maltby's eyes represent the most salient areas of English anti-Hispanism – a formula which in itself is highly questionable, since he fails to mention a topic as important within early modern English hispanophobia as post-Armada anti-Jesuitism - the author's methodological approach appears to be stoked by an overriding sense of politically-motivated opportunism, plundering texts from different decades without regard to their chronological/historical origins in order to engage them as useful, self-contained paradigms that prove his own ultra-defensive, pro-Hispanic conclusions on subjects such as the Armada or the Spanish Inquisition.

Maltby's deliberately myopic brand of historical revisionism remains endemic among most studies of early modern hispanophobia. Although one or two very informative essays have appeared since the publication of *The Black Legend in England* in 1971 - the work of Julian Lock and Eric Griffin needs to be especially singled out for

⁵ Powell discusses anti-Hispanism from a much more international and transhistorical angle than Maltby, preferring to trace its cultural and historical influence across a number of countries right down to the twentieth century. See Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

its engaging and persuasive intelligence⁶ – there is still a persistent proclivity among students of Marian and Elizabethan hispanophobia to engage their texts purely and exclusively as illustrative paradigms of some specific facet or other of early modern anti-Hispanism - Spanish pride, say, or Spanish predatory sexuality - thus failing to set the texts in question into the wider, much more significant historico-political context governing the relationship between Spain and England at the time of their physical production. Among the many irritating features associated with this sort of writing is the tendency to quote texts (especially non-canonical ones) without reference to either author, date of composition or even title, thereby placing them into precisely the type of ahistorical vacuum that stops them from being presented within the broader sixteenth-century cultural and political *zeitgeist*. Carol Z. Wiener's essay 'The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism' is a primary example of this reductive approach.⁷ A useful, in some ways highly informative, attempt to trace the development of anti-Catholic feeling from the publication of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* onwards (which also includes a detailed exploration of the relation between anti-Hispanism and anti-Catholicism at the time), Weiner's text nonetheless suffers from her repeated and somewhat frustrating propensity to cite author, title and date information in small and compressed footnotes at the bottom of each page, almost as if the texts in question (or their authors) had little, if any historiographic significance outside the scope of her own specialised and rather particularist arguments.

⁶ Lock's and Griffin's contributions to the field are discussed in pp. 15-16 of this study.

⁷ Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism,' *Past and Present*, 51, 1971, pp. 27-62.

The tendency to trivialise or gloss over the importance of anti-Spanish writing can even be found in Joan Marie Thomas's otherwise excellent 'Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558.' Thomas, who interestingly limits her study of anti-Hispanism to the Marian era in much the same way as Maltby purposefully excludes the same period from his, does this by relegating the work of the anti-Spanish polemicists to one single chapter of her study and by contending that, above everything else, anti-Spanish feeling originated out of a climate of "mutual distrust and incomprehension which did not depend upon the solution of practical problems." More specifically, she claims that the presence in England of Philip and his Spanish courtiers was synonymous with the threat of foreign invasion and that this precipitated a xenophobic backlash which soon resulted in the "lingering sense, strong among Mary's subjects, that these aliens... would soon, by sheer strength of numbers, overrun the realm." This, Thomas goes on to argue, was compounded by the 'chivalric' naivety that accompanied most Spaniards in England who, despite being held back most of the time by their leader's "notable tact and prudence," still persisted in seeing the marriage as "a crusade for the good of the kingdom and its inhabitants" and were therefore totally unequipped to deal with the strength of native xenophobic feeling.⁸

I am not totally convinced by this reading. Although Thomas's view, it is true, is basically more balanced than Maltby's pre-historicist offering - and although I do agree, in essence, with the way she dismantles Maltby's pseudo-moral reasoning and contextualises anti-Spanish feeling against some of the events and ideological

⁸ 'Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558,' pp. 230-250, 130, 133, 120, 158.

developments in Mary's reign – I still believe that her portrayal of Marian anti-Hispanism is too popularist and apolitical for it to be entirely correct. A. W. S. Samson, for example, has already shown how most manifestations of what scholars have traditionally seen as Marian hispanophobia were no more than camouflaged expressions of unresolved ideological issues and, as such, should not be regarded as part of some nationwide campaign of anti-governmental resistance. While many will find this a somewhat extreme position – his claim that Wyatt's rebellion has to be seen as a patriarchal reaction against female sovereignty (rather than as an expression of genuine anti-Spanish feeling) is an example of how far Samson is prepared to question established historiographic ideas - I do agree with it inasmuch as it stresses the essentially propagandistic and premeditative side of Marian hispanophobia. To quote Samson himself, “[t]here was undoubtedly popular hostility [against the Spanish], but it fed on opposition to Philip and Mary both at home and abroad, that was both political and literate.”⁹ In other words, Marian anti-Spanish feeling has to be understood first and foremost as a Protestant literary-political construct. In this particular sense, I think, Samson shows a better understanding of English hispanophobia's origins than either Maltby or Thomas before him. For, while it cannot be denied that Philip and his Spanish retainers played some kind of unwitting role in the dissemination of anti-Spanish sentiment across Marian England, any serious historical analysis of the co-regency years will reveal that, in most cases, anti-Hispanic propaganda bore little, if any correlation to

⁹ A. W. S. Samson, ‘The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England: political economies and culture, 1553-1557’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: Queen Mary and Westfield College, London, 1999), pp. 106-125, 255.

the actual political reality of having a Spanish Catholic consort on the English throne. This suggests that the origins of the anti-Spanish 'Black Legend' lie not so much in the Spaniards' policies or lack of political foresight, but in their Protestant enemies' persistent attempts to undermine the idea of having a foreign Catholic ruler. It also, rather crucially, transforms Marian anti-Hispanism from an unmediated, largely unplanned response to an actual set of historical events to a manipulated, and very much politically-motivated, fabrication designed with no other objective than to facilitate the reinstatement of English Protestantism itself.

Eschewing, therefore, both Thomas's and Maltby's historical focus on the 'Black Legend,' while at the same time resisting their mutual tendency to view the Marian and Elizabethan periods in isolation to each other, my study will expand upon A.W.S. Samson's assessment of the Marian political scene by centring on both Marian and Elizabethan anti-Hispanism as a direct textual expression of the English Protestant imagination. In doing so, it will view 'anti-Spanishness' from a much broader perspective than has been previously the case - one that purposefully avoids focusing on non-canonical works as ancillary 'historical evidence,' but instead treats all anti-Spanish texts as literary propaganda first and aesthetic productions second. While the study's primary aim must be to reinvigorate the reader's perceptions about a topic that has been subject to considerable scholarly neglect, four 'core' objectives can still be identified: (a) to demonstrate how 'anti-Spanishness' began as a deliberate, highly systematic attempt to tackle a number of unresolved issues within the minds of English Protestants through the dissemination of a key set of exegetical and eschatological myths; (b) to show how

these same myths were subsequently reinforced, both in the Marian and Elizabethan periods, by the extreme binary ideology that lay at the heart of early reformist thought itself; (c) to redefine the ideological development of English literary hispanophobia within the early modern period by revealing how the triggers which catalysed it into birth, although dormant for a few years after Mary's death, never quite faded during its subsequent politico-literary mutations during Elizabeth's reign and (d) to demonstrate how the discourse of anti-Hispanism often came linked with notional concepts of Protestant national identity that had little, if anything to do with Spain itself.

2. Exegesis and Protestant national identity: the importance of binary difference in the formation of hispanophobic attitudes

To understand the full implications of this four-part objective, it is necessary to digress briefly and turn to the binary structure of Protestant thought at the beginning of Mary's reign. For mid-century reformers such as Ridley, after all, history was a constant battle between "light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial" that would only end on the day the Whore of Babylon was destroyed and Christ would return to the world to command the last judgement.¹⁰ Moreover, since the outcome of this battle had already been predetermined by the creator himself, any military or political victories attained by Christianity's enemies were generally thought to have been allowed by God - either as a direct form of retribution for Christian transgressions, or, in the words of Heinrich Bullinger's popular commentary on the *Book*

¹⁰ Nicholas Ridley, *A Piteous Lamentation of the miserable estate of the Church in England* (London, 1566), in *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, edited for the Parker Society by Henry Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1841), p. 57.

of Revelation, in order to spiritualise the faithful and make them “partakers of the passion of the sonne of God.”¹¹

This curious, rather self-perpetuating sense of binary division is nowhere as evident in early English Protestant works as in John Bale’s *The Image of bothe churches* (1548), a text which is said to have appropriated the implicitly binary structure of Saint Augustine’s *City of God* and used it to legitimise the validity of the English Protestant Reformation.¹² For the perennially-exiled Bale, history could be seen as a titanic, pre-destined struggle between the lineal descendants of Cain on one side, and those of Abel on the other – that is, between the persecutors of God’s Church and the persecuted body of the faithful – a battle which passed all the way down through biblical and historical figures before finally settling upon the current conflict between Catholics and Protestants and, by implication, Spaniards and Englishmen:

From the worldes beginninge hath this beast rysen up in Cayn the fyrst murtherer, in the fleshelye children of men, in Cham the shamelesse childe of Noe, in Ismael & Esau... And now sens their tyme most of all in Mahometes doctours and the Popes queresters.¹³

Although Bale wrote these lines long before Philip arrived in England or he himself went on to display the furious brand of hispanophobia that characterised *A declaration of*

¹¹ Quoted in Richard Bauckham’s *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth century apocalypticism, millenarianism and the English Reformation* (Abingdon, Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), p. 117.

¹² See Gerard O’Daly, *Augustine’s City of God: A Reader’s Guide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), especially Chapter Four: ‘The Theme of the Two Cities,’ pp. 53-66.

¹³ John Bale, *The Image of bothe churches* (Antwerp, 1548), part 2, sig. II^v. Bale’s text is divided into three parts, each with separate title-page and signatures.

Edmonde Bonners articles (1561),¹⁴ it is obvious that the strongly-delineated and purposeful sense of differentiation in his work between the Protestant ‘self’ and the non-Protestant ‘other’ would have provided the Marian exiles with a powerful classificatory framework with which to demonise the Catholic and foreign Spanish. Bale’s direct influence, in fact, can be detected in the way that Marian writers such as John Ponet repeatedly compared Philip and his men to biblical persecutors like the Babylonians or the Ammonites,¹⁵ thereby placing the Spaniards in a state of diametric opposition to the English Protestant Church and its values. It can also be observed in the tactics used by Protestant authors to deliberately insert the Spaniards into a conveniently reordered, politically-acceptable vision of the recent historical past. A notable example of this can be encountered in John Foxe’s Latin play *Christus Triumphans* (1556), where recent church history is presented as a confrontation between the forces of good and evil in the manner already prescribed both by Bale and the *Book of Revelation*. While Foxe does not explicitly name any characters as Spanish in the play, there are more than enough pointers to make it clear on which side of the quasi-theological divide Foxe thought the Spaniards fell. Pseudamnus/Antichristus at one point summons to his aid figures that are evidently supposed to represent Philip and Mary,¹⁶ while Satan himself actually eulogises one of his closest allies with the epithet “Catholici” - in what is no doubt an

¹⁴ See pp. 59-60 of this study.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁶ This can be deduced from the episode in the play in which Pseudamnus asks Zenodore to take a golden rose to Dynastes and a sword in a golden sheath to Dynamicus. As J. H. Smith points out in his notes to his edition of the play, Pope Julius III is known to have proffered gifts like these in 1555 to Mary and Philip respectively. See *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe*, ed. J. H. Smith (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 349, footnote 2.

allusion to the title conferred by Pope Alexander VI on king Ferdinand of Spain and his heirs in 1494.¹⁷

The problem with Bale's theory of the 'Two Churches' was that it could not in itself rationalise the recent demise of English Protestantism. Although compartmentalising the Spanish as members of Bale's anti-Christian 'Church malignant' may, in some ways, have proved a highly effective tool of religious and nationalist self-definition, the fact still remained that the Catholic Spaniards were in the ascendancy and the English Protestants had been ousted from their own homeland. This simple, incontrovertible truth proved to be something of a *bête-noire* to the exiled reformers. Even if the Spanish presence was regularly blamed by men like John Knox on Mary and her Catholic government,¹⁸ it was still difficult to disassociate from the bewildering, almost unthinkable idea that God had abandoned the Protestant cause in favour of that of their Catholic antagonists. To tackle this cheerless problem the exiles once again turned to the placating comforts of exegesis, this time latching onto the widespread reformist idea that "Gods wrath" derived mainly out of "the despysynge and transgressynge of his godly commaundementes."¹⁹ Used in the right way, this premise not only palliated the exiles' considerable metaphysical woes, but actually complemented Bale's oppositional

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 336; 337, footnote 4.

¹⁸ See John Knox, *A Faythfull admonition made by John Knox, unto the professours of Gods truthe in England* (Emden, 1554), sigs. E6^r-E7^r; Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects* (Geneva, 1558), sigs. c1^r-c1^v.

¹⁹ Andreas Osiander, *How and whither a Christen man ought to flye the horrible plague of pestilence*, trans. Miles Coverdale (London, 1537), sig. A4^r.

view of the Catholic/Protestant struggle: after all, if God was the causal origin of everything that happened in the cosmological battle against evil as was traditionally believed, then the Spaniards must have surely been sent as a corrective against the moral transgressions of the ungodly sections of the English nation. This dynamically wishful idea came to aid the cause of English Protestantism in two separate, though mutually complementary ways: (a) it transferred the blame for the Spanish presence in England onto the English Catholics back home and (b) it justified the Protestant position in exile and even enabled the Marian refugees, by now suitably convinced of the moral and spiritual validity of their plight, to take comfort from the parallel reformist belief which argued that God only allowed true Christians to suffer because they “reigneth... most of all... whan they suffer persecution and death for Christ.”²⁰

In theory at least, this should have meant that Englishmen viewed the Spanish as the scourge of English Catholic immorality on the one hand and as an instrument of godly, spiritualising persecution towards the Protestants on the other. However, in practice it was not so simple. Even though Marian writers such as John Knox or John Foxe did differentiate *in general terms* between the godly suffering of the Protestant faithful and the ungodly, essentially punitive afflictions heaped upon their opposite number in England²¹ - and even though certain Protestant works such as John Foxe’s *Christus Triumphans* went as far as stressing the purificatory value of suffering

²⁰ *The Image of bothe churches*, part 3, sig. Hh.2^v.

²¹ Knox, for example, alternates between the conviction that “Christ Jesus... hath continually blowen in our eares that persecution & trouble should folowe the word that we professed,” and the unwavering belief that England’s recent afflictions had only started because “the true word of God [had] suffred contradiccion and repugnauncie.” See *A Faythfull admonition*, sigs. S3^r, C3^v.

persecution at the hands of God's enemies²² - we invariably find that English Protestant polemicists, influenced perhaps by their native insular distrust of foreigners, almost always portrayed the Spaniards as a God-meted corrective rather than as an instrument of spiritualising persecution. This meant that the Spanish tended to occupy a clear-cut, almost pre-programmed position within the complex structure of Marian Protestant eschatological polemic, persistently finding themselves compared to Nebuchadnezzar, Ahab, Athaliah and other biblical scourges.

There were, of course, strong religio-political reasons for this. Driven into exile and uncertain about the movement's long-term future, early English Protestantism needed any form of justification to legitimise its demise and in this sense the biblically-inspired reinvention of the Spaniards as the God-sent scourge of Catholic immorality went a considerable way towards assuaging English Protestant fears. It did not matter that decent mercantile relations existed between both countries - or that, only seven years before Mary's accession to the throne, the Duke of Northumberland had been considering an alliance with Spain by marrying her off to Charles V's son.²³ Nor did it matter that early Tudor texts from John Skelton's *Speke Parrot* to Thomas More's *Utopia* had focused upon Spaniards and Spanish achievements in less than

²² Foxe's play draws a parallel between the ten great persecutions of the early Christian church and the plight of his exiled Protestant brethren, thereby setting up a transhistorical analogy which stresses the purificatory value of persecution and arguably reaches its climax when the character of Ecclesia, herself a barely disguised personification of Bale's 'True Church,' declares that the enduring of injustices "indeed is the lot of saints and their victory." See *Tudor Apocalypse*, p. 80; *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe*, p. 359.

²³ See Wendy R. Childs's *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), pp. 1-9; *CSP, Spanish, 1553*, p. 36.

condemnatory tones.²⁴ Once the Protestant exiles grasped and understood that the interloping Roman Catholic Castilians could be neatly fitted into the sacro-historical model of historiography proposed by Bale and other early Protestant reformists – as well as the hardly insignificant fact that the foreign Spanish could barely retaliate against any textual attacks in the way that, say, the English Catholics themselves could – then there was no stopping them from deliberately adding other binary-structured myths (especially myths of a sexual or anti-patriarchal nature) onto the original biblically-inspired teleology first invoked by the reformists to split England and Spain into two opposing ideological camps. In short, it became something of a “spiritual and psychological necessity” for Englishmen to highlight “the evil character of members of the Spanish nation.”²⁵

With the exception of a few isolated years after Mary Tudor’s death, Elizabethan hispanophobia tended to follow the same premeditative line as that of its earlier Marian predecessor. Indeed, whether trying to reassure the English public in the run-up to the Armada, or whether attempting to discredit Spanish imperialistic policies in an effort to supplant them with a Protestant alternative of their own, it is clear that English writers in the decades that followed never quite abandoned the radical binarism that catapulted the movement into being in the first place. This is particularly evident, I believe, in the way the Elizabethans came to rely on biblical exegesis as one of the main tools to both define

²⁴ See *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 231; also A. A. Cave, ‘Thomas More and the New World,’ *Albion*, 23:2, 1991, pp. 209-229.

²⁵ ‘Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558,’ p. 233.

and contain the threat posed by the powerful Catholic Spanish. Corresponding with the rise of the Elizabethan Puritan movement (which from the very beginning included a sizeable number of exiles amongst its members²⁶), there is a noticeable return to the exegetical logic and language of the Marian dissenters in texts such as Edmond Harris's *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* (1588) or Henry Roberts's *A prayer for assistance against the Armada* (1588)²⁷ which reveals to what extent late Elizabethan hispanophobia had its roots entrenched in the original ideology of its Marian forerunner.

Unfortunately, this has been largely ignored in most recent attempts to chart the development of the sixteenth-century anti-Spanish 'Black Legend.' Time and again, early modern English hispanophobia has been focused upon as a movement in constant unilinear progression, a mid-century ideological phenomenon that evolved in a systematically organic and progressively more radical manner as Elizabeth's reign went on. Eric Griffin, for example, has suggested that there is a move away from the theoretical and rather abstract denunciations of 'Spanishness' seen in Mary's day to the more essentialist and racist anti-Spanish perspective found in Elizabethan texts such as *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie* (1589) or Anthony Copley's *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602).²⁸ By contrast, Julian Lock has argued that English 'anti-Spanishness' started first of all as an ancillary expression of

²⁶ F. G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands, 1586-87* (Utrecht: Hes Publishers, 1988), p. 20.

²⁷ See pp. 167-168, 161-162 of this study.

²⁸ Eric Griffin, 'Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing 'the Spaniard' in the Old World and the New,' *The New Centennial Review*, 2:1, 2002, pp. 69-116.

anti-Catholicism which later, some time after the repulse of the Armada, coagulated into an unadulterated manifestation of hispanophobia in its own right and led Catholic writers such as the Appellants to launch printed invectives against their own co-religionists in Spain.²⁹ While the sheer thematic diversity of Elizabethan anti-Spanish literature makes it possible to partially corroborate these and other arguments, I think that Lock and Griffin do not only underestimate the vice-like hold which Marian precedents had in the development of Elizabethan hispanophobia, but also appear to forget that virtually all expressions of ‘anti-Spanishness’ during Elizabeth’s reign already existed in germinal form in the Marian era. The tendency to define Spaniards in pejoratively racial terms, for example, can be encountered in Marian texts such as John Bale’s belatedly published *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles* (1561) – or even, for that matter, in the proclamation which the rebel Thomas Stafford issued upon landing in Scarborough almost two years before the end of Mary’s reign.³⁰ Likewise, the premeditated differentiation between anti-Hispanism and anti-Catholicism finds its Marian complement in the pages of John Bradford’s pro-Catholic, but markedly anti-Spanish

²⁹ I agree with Lock’s thesis inasmuch as it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between early variants of hispanophobia and the more generic forms of Elizabethan anti-Catholicism that were in circulation at the time – although I also believe that (a) the physical experience of having a Spanish regent on the throne ensured that, just as was to happen in the Low Countries several decades later, there was also a very specific anti-Spanish tradition which went beyond a simple amalgamation of anti-Catholicism and hispanophobia; and (b) even in anti-Catholic texts which criticised the Spanish from a marginal or secondary perspective, there are more than enough emblematically Spanish qualities attached to the ‘discourse of Spanishness’ to suggest that Protestant writers did not necessarily lump Catholics and Spaniards together as one undistinguishable, anti-English ideological entity. See Julian Lock, ‘‘How Many Tercios Has the Pope?’ The Spanish War and the Sublimation of Elizabethan Anti-Popery,’ *History*, 81, 1996, pp. 197-214.

³⁰ See pp. 59-60 of this study.

*The cotype of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke (1556).*³¹

Of course, that does not mean that Elizabethan hispanophobia did not evolve as a movement in its own right. As Elizabeth's reign went on and Englishmen became increasingly aware of their own military and mercantile strengths, there appears to have been a subtle shift in English attitudes towards the Spanish which helped to redefine the way the Queen's subjects perceived themselves in relation to the Castilian superpower. This is particularly noticeable in English texts dealing with new world expansionism such as Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) or Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), where it is not uncommon to find the outward demonisation of the Spaniards balanced against a clear, if somewhat reluctant sense of admiration for their process of empire-building. Yet even among works of this nature it is still possible to identify distinct traces of Marian influence. For, while it is no doubt true that the sheer recurrence of the admiration/repulsion polarity in Elizabethan texts suggests that English attitudes to Spain were obviously being redrawn, it must not be forgotten that John Ponet had already exhibited precisely the same forked view of Spanish imperialism in *A short treatise of politike power* (1556).³² What is more, it is normally possible to differentiate in Elizabethan texts between the latent, almost involuntary expression of English admiration for the Spanish

³¹ Bradford is quick to mention that he "never loved heresie" and also that "heritikes teache, that the most holy sacrifice of the masse... shoulde be naught." See *The cotype of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke* (n.p., 1556), sig. C1^r; henceforth referred to as *The cotype of a letter*.

³² See footnote 128 of this study.

(a classic example of this can be found in *The Discoverie* when Raleigh claims that “the shining glorie of this [i.e. Guiana’s] conquest will eclipse all these so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation”³³) and the purposeful, premeditated denunciation of Spanish imperialist malpractice (Raleigh’s widespread use of Las Casas in *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores* comes to mind³⁴) which employs the same binary methods of representation as those used in Marian hispanophobic pamphlets.

A similar argument can also be made about the so-called ‘*miles gloriosus*’ tradition in Elizabethan anti-Spanish writing. Beginning approximately with the publication of the anonymous ballad *A Skeltonicall Salutation* in 1589, there is a tendency among English writers, obviously symptomatic of their growing military self-awareness, to negate or at least counter Spanish military power through the use of comic negative stereotyping. Poems, ballads, political broadsides, religious meditations – virtually every contemporary literary genre bears the hallmarks of this shift in attitude, although it is perhaps on the Elizabethan stage that we are able to witness it in its most developed state. That does not mean, however, that there is no discernible Marian influence to speak of among such works. Quite the contrary. Though the shift towards comic stereotyping remains in essence a post-Armada development, it is still significant to note how, once we probe beneath the outer comedic shell of characters like Don Adriano in Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1598) or Lazarillo in Dekker’s *Blurt Master*

³³ Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (London, 1596), sig. N3^v.

³⁴ See pp. 134-135 of this study.

Constable (1602),³⁵ the anti-Spanish comic stereotype is normally built around the same premeditated discourse of socio-sexual difference first employed in Marian texts such as John Ponet's *A short treatise of politike power* or John Bradford's *The cotype of a letter*.³⁶ Alternatively – and equally validly - one could argue that the repeated use of negative comic stereotyping in Elizabethan anti-Spanish drama remains no more than a sublimated expression of Marian Protestant 'binarism' – inasmuch as it invokes comedic images of 'otherness' to accentuate the unbridgeable ideological divide between the Spanish and English faiths and races. One thing, in any case, remains beyond question: whether conscious of the ideological legacy behind them or not, Elizabethan writers simply could not afford to break away from the model of extreme dual representation upon which most Marian depictions of 'Spanishness' rested.

3. Chapter Summary

Due to the gargantuan nature of the topic under consideration, this study will focus on what I consider to be the most important and representative areas of English anti-Hispanism. The main body of the thesis will be divided into six, chronologically-arranged chapters - although the increasingly fractured and diffuse nature of hispanophobia towards the end of Elizabeth's reign will ensure a certain amount of thematic overlap from chapter three onwards. Moreover, because anti-Spanish sentiment occupies more of a textual presence in the final decades of the Elizabethan era

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-237.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-58.

than elsewhere, greater critical attention will be paid to this late period than to the early or middle parts of the reign.

Chapter One will start by assessing the political and psychological position of the Marian Protestant exiles. It will demonstrate how it was vital for them to represent the Catholic Spaniards as a godly scourge for the sins of their Edwardian predecessors – inasmuch as this legitimised the ‘failure’ of the ousted Protestant movement and also buttressed their own religious ideology in exile. To borrow A.W.S. Samson’s words, it will treat Marian hispanophobia as “literate, theologically sophisticated and in no sense popular”³⁷ and concentrate on the way it used eschatological prophecy, biblical exegesis and sexual difference to strengthen its own articulations of Hispanism. On a more general level, the chapter will also demonstrate how the Marian Spaniard can be seen as a kind of inverted template of English values and ideas, a structural and representational antonym which, through a short and simple process of extrapolation, can be used as a model of how Protestant Englishmen perceived themselves and their nation at a time of extreme geographical and psychological displacement.

Chapter Two will begin by investigating English attitudes to the Spanish in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign. In doing so, it will focus on a cross-section of texts dealing with Spanish themes (including, among them, the early Elizabethan chronicles of Cooper, Grafton and Stow) and argue that the demonstrable lack of hispanophobic sentiment within the latter proves that Marian anti-Spanish feeling was no more than a deliberate and opportunistic political fabrication on the part of the Protestant exiles. That

³⁷ ‘The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England,’ p. 16.

premise established, the chapter will turn its attention towards the causes behind the re-emergence of anti-Spanish sentiment in England. More particularly, it will demonstrate how the Dutch rebellion played a uniquely catalytic role within this matter – most notably by means of the large amounts of translated Dutch anti-Spanish pamphlets that came to be published in England from around 1575 onwards. Parallels will be identified between the latter and Marian anti-Spanish writing, both of which intentionally mixed home-grown alarmism with violent anti-establishment dialectic of the kind seen in the doctrine of ‘justified disobedience’ against the state. Finally, I will examine the reasons why native English hispanophobia pushed aside, and eventually came to supersede, its Dutch counterpart as the primary manifestation of anti-Spanish sentiment in England. More to the point, I will argue that Protestant Englishmen’s increasing distrust of the Spaniards’ military activities in the Low Countries led them to discard the Dutch model of hispanophobia (which basically presented Spanish atrocities in the Netherlands as an attack against Dutch civic liberties) in favour of a more anglicised, post-Marian form of anti-Spanish sentiment (which saw the sufferings of the Dutch purely as a didactic eschatological paradigm for the benefit of Protestant Englishmen).

Having outlined in Chapter Two how English hispanophobia was stimulated from its period of early Elizabethan dormancy, Chapter Three will analyse why English attitudes to the Spanish became increasingly more hostile in the years just prior and after the start of the Anglo-Spanish war. With this in mind, it will consider how the so-called ‘Progressive’ faction at court tried to manipulate pre-war attitudes to Spain - particularly

through the adoption and textual dissemination of the idea of English moral superiority over the Spanish. At the same time, it will look at ways in which foreign translated texts such as William of Orange's *Apologie* (1581) or the Dutch-sponsored translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima Relación* (1583) served to cement this same idea – both by verifying Englishmen's conception of Spanish moral degeneracy and by advancing the innovative premise, arguably first articulated in the pages of Orange's *Apologie*, that Philip himself was personally responsible for the atrocities allegedly being committed in the Low Countries. Finally, as if to prove beyond doubt the indelible influence that these foreign texts had upon contemporary English political thought, the chapter will consider how many of their ideas are expressed in the Elizabethan hierarchy's own printed attempt to justify its entrance into the Dutch theatre of war, *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* (1585).

Chapter four will explore some of the ways by which the Armada came to be represented as a paradigm of vindicated Protestantism. Since it is impossible to do this without some appreciation of what Englishmen had originally expected the Armada to be, the chapter will start by focusing on what could be loosely described as pre-Armada millenarian pessimism and how this impacted upon popular English attitudes towards the Spanish. More specifically, it will analyse how secular and non-secular forms of propaganda worked towards the containment of this sense of pre-Armada millenarianism, hoping to demonstrate how, as Medina Sidonia's fleet got closer to English shores, Elizabethan anti-Spanish sentiment increasingly imitated its Marian

forerunner in using biblical exegesis as a method of both compartmentalising and diminishing the coming Spanish military threat. That done, the chapter will turn its focus to some of the main ways by which English writers engaged with and mythologised the Armada in its immediate aftermath. Pivoted, to a large degree, against what Jeffrey Knapp has recently described as the topos of ‘disproportionate potentiality’ between England and Spain³⁸ – i.e. the theory which holds that throughout the 1580s Englishmen conceptualised their relationship with Spain in terms of English military inferiority, but also of overwhelming moral superiority – it will demonstrate how post-Armada texts such as Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* or William Warner’s *Albions England* came to invoke the topos as a dialectical tool which not only buttressed providentialist Protestant readings of the Spanish defeat, but also monumentalized the magnitude of the English nationalist and military achievement. Lastly, though by no means any less significantly, I will look at how post-Armada writers used the dictum ‘*Veritas Filia Temporis*’ (or ‘Truth is the daughter of time’) as a conceptual framework to inscribe the Armada (and other acts of alleged Spanish transgression) into a post-Marian eschatological/retributive template. In other words, I will argue that plays such as Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* or George Peele’s *Edward I* have to be seen both as allegorical re-enactments of the Latin dictum and stylised representations of the sequence of human (and in particular Spanish) transgression followed by God-meted punishment upon which most Protestant Englishmen’s understanding of the Armada rested.

³⁸ See footnote 407 of this study.

My fifth and final chapter will explore some of the ironies and contradictions underpinning English hispanophobia in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Owing to the multiplicity of anti-Spanish discourses during this period, I will be forced to adopt a much wider angle of focus within this section of the study - not just chronologically, but also structurally and thematically. In general terms, I will be arguing that English attitudes to the Spanish were very much in a state of representational flux towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and that, even though the Armada precipitated a very prominent current of jingoistic triumphalism among contemporary pamphleteers, it did not entirely exorcise the underlying fear of Spain that had been circulating among Protestant Englishmen since the days of John Knox and Christopher Goodman. I propose to demonstrate this by focusing on three separate, though chronologically contemporaneous areas of late Elizabethan hispanophobia (the Spanish '*miles gloriosus*,' the anti-Jesuitical writings of the Appellants, and the appropriation and usage of Spanish imperialistic practices in the textual promotion of English expansionism) and showing how in each case outward mockery or hatred for the Spanish is simultaneously balanced by a latent, often involuntary subtext of fear, envy or (in the case of the Appellants's own anti-Spanish position) political gain. This will surely serve to prove that, even though English hispanophobia reached an unprecedented climax during this period both in terms of popular hatred for the figure of the Spaniard and number of anti-Spanish texts published, late Elizabethan anti-Hispanism can still be viewed as one and the same thing as its pre-Armada precursor - a purposeful and highly planned attempt to reinforce English

religious and national identity in the face of a threatening, yet reluctantly respected Spain.

Chapter One

The Godly scourge: the political and theological necessity of reinventing the Marian Spaniard

1. John Knox's dilemma: the return of Catholicism to England and the Protestant need for a biblically-inspired reordering of history

“But God I take to recorde in my conscience,” John Knox wrote shortly after fleeing England in January, 1554, “that the troubles present (and appearing to be) in the Realme of England, are double more dolorous unto my hert, then ever were the troubles of Scotland.”³⁹ Although such a candid confession may at first seem difficult to reconcile with a man whose contemporaries believed could “sometymes uter soche sentences as can not easaly be dygested by a weake stomach,”⁴⁰ it becomes significantly less anomalous when one considers Knox's extreme anti-Catholicism and his almost pathological abhorrence of any form of papal power. Heavily influenced by Bale's bifurcated view of history in *The Image of bothe churches*, extremely adept at using negative stereotyping as a form of religious and nationalist self-definition, Knox clung to a strictly asymmetrical view of the Protestant/Catholic struggle in most of his published texts, repeatedly defining Papist and non-Papist in language reminiscent of the *Book of Revelation* itself:

³⁹ Quoted in Roger A. Mason, ‘Knox, Resistance and the Royal Supremacy,’ in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 165.

⁴⁰ Letter from Maitland of Lethington to Sir William Cecil, 25 October, 1561. Quoted in *The Works of John Knox*, Vol. 6, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1864), pp. 136-137.

For the first I say, that... from the beginning there hath bene, this day are, and to the ende shall remaine two armies, bandes, or companies of men, whom God in his eternall counsell hath so devided, that betwext them there continueth a battell, which never shalbe reconciled, untill the Lord Jesus put a finall ende to the miseries of his Church... The one of these Armies, is called the Church of God the elect Spouse of Christe Jesus... The other is called the sinagoge of satan, the church malignant...⁴¹

Measured against this contextual ideological matrix, it is not too difficult to imagine how Knox must have felt now that the Catholic Mary was on the throne and her coming marriage to the staunchly Romanist and anti-Protestant Philip of Spain had just been announced.⁴² Having already proclaimed in 1550, in no uncertain terms, that Catholic doctrine was “[i]dolatri & abomination before God”⁴³ – and having, what is more, spent the last few years disseminating virulently anti-Catholic propaganda throughout most of Northern England - it is obvious that the fiery Scottish preacher must have found himself caught in the horns of a very real theological dilemma. The central issue at stake was starkly, if painfully clear: if Protestantism was God’s own true religion like Knox and others claimed, then why did God not only allow the Catholics to “raygne without punishment,” but, even more puzzling from the perspective of those who subscribed to the theory of demographic division behind Bale’s ‘Two Churches,’ “transferre the

⁴¹ John Knox, *An Answer to a Great Number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist* (Geneva, 1560), sigs. Bb7^v-Bb8^r.

⁴² The marriage was announced by royal proclamation on 14 January, 1554. See Judith M. Richards, ‘Mary Tudor as ‘Sole Quene’?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy,’ *Historical Journal*, 40:3, 1997, p. 908.

⁴³ Knox articulated this position in *A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry*, sig. B6^r, a pamphlet originally written in 1550 but not published until it appeared attached as an appendix to Knox’s *The copie of a letter, sent to the ladye Mary dowagire, Regent of Scotland* (Wesel, 1556).

crowne of Englande into the handes of a forreyn nacion”?⁴⁴ Or, to extrapolate out of this its obvious corollary, how could England be viewed as an elect Protestant nation when God had abandoned it to the clutches of both foreign and English Papists?

For a movement as obsessed with the teleological rearrangement of history as early English Protestantism, these were hardly innocuous academic questions. First, they ensured that Catholicism and Protestantism could no longer be defined as straightforward, self-excluding ideological poles in the way that Bale and other writers had done when the Protestants were in power. Secondly, they thrust upon the exiles the very pressing ontological dilemma represented by Mary’s reign itself – or, as Joy Shakespeare puts it, the almost impossible task of finding “an ideological framework within which they could account for the eclipse of English [P]rotestantism, while at the same time castigating their successors to power, the Catholics.”⁴⁵ Thirdly, and perhaps more importantly as far as this study is concerned, they forced the exiled Marian Protestants to try and elucidate why God had allowed a large contingent of Spaniards to gather on English soil. This last fact, especially, seems to have escaped the attention of most commentators on the Marian Protestant movement, nearly all of which have focused on the exiles’ political or religious inclinations but have largely ignored their

⁴⁴ John Knox, *A Faythfull admonition made by John Knox, unto the professours of Gods truthe in England* (Emden, 1554), sigs. E6^r, E4^r.

⁴⁵ Joy Shakespeare, ‘Plague and Punishment,’ in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 104.

persistently anti-Hispanic biases.⁴⁶ While it is true that the bulk of exile propaganda was anti-Catholic first and anti-Spanish second – John Knox’s pamphlets, for example, normally use the negative stereotyping of the Spanish as an auxiliary way of highlighting or reinforcing their author’s condemnation of the English Catholics back home – it should not be forgotten that the Spaniards’ ‘foreignness’ and reputation for what Knox described as “vayne papistical & develysh Ceremonies,”⁴⁷ as well as the fact that they arrived at precisely the same time that the Protestants were being ousted from power, ensured that the exiles could hardly afford to ignore the Spanish presence in England. How could anti-Catholic demagogues such as Knox, after all, continue asserting the legitimacy of the English Protestant Reformation in the wake of an Anglo-Spanish marriage? Could not Philip’s position on the English throne, as much as the presence of his numerous Spanish courtiers in London, be interpreted as a celestial sign that God was in favour of the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism?

2. The exegetical remoulding of the Spaniard: an exercise in Protestant self-legitimation?

Faced by such highly uncomfortable arguments, it was not long before Knox and the other exiles turned to biblical exegesis as a way of explaining Protestantism’s current problems. *Isaiah* 10: 5 had already put forward the premise that God manipulated secular forces as instruments of his divine justice, categorically stating that the Assyrians were

⁴⁶ See, for example, Christina Garrett’s dated but still useful *Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938 [reprinted 1966]), pp. 1-29 or Kenneth R. Bartlett’s ‘The English Exile Community in Italy and the Political Opposition to Queen Mary I,’ *Albion*, 13: 3, 1981, pp. 223-241.

⁴⁷ *A Faythfull admonition*, sig. E5^v.

no more than a God-sent corrective against the transgressions of the Israelites. This view is subsequently reaffirmed in *Jeremiah* 51: 7, where Isaiah's theory is slightly altered so that it can be transposed onto the hated Babylonian military. While it cannot be said that the Marian Protestants were the only early modern writers to appropriate this particular biblical idea - it can be seen, for instance, in the reductive manner that Englishmen frequently conceptualised the Ottoman Turk as "a scourge sent and suffered by God, for the sins and iniquities of the Christians"⁴⁸ - it is probable that it never represented as much of a last-chance attempt to wriggle out of a virtually indefensible situation as it did to the exiles. We are able to gauge this from the fixated, almost fanatical sense of enthusiasm with which the latter latched onto the idea. Acting in total counterpoint to the encomiastic pro-Spanish tone found in Marian Catholic texts such as John Heywood's *A Balade specifienge... the mariage betwene our Sovereigne Lord, and our Sovereigne Lady* (1554)⁴⁹ or George Cavendish's posthumously-published *Metrical Visions*,⁵⁰ Protestant apologists went on to invoke the concept of the 'Godly scourge' in order to

⁴⁸ George Whetstone, *The English Myrror. A Regard Wherein al estates may behold the Conquests of Envy* (London, 1586), sig. E3^r.

⁴⁹ An allegorical representation of the union between the Habsburg eagle and the British lion, Heywood's ballad sycophantically describes Mary and Philip's marriage as "[s]o meete a matche in parentage/ So meete a matche in dignite... / As (thankes to god gyven for the same)/ Seelde hathe ben seene..." John Heywood, *A Balade specifienge partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke mariage betwene our Sovereigne Lord, and our Sovereigne Lady* (London, 1554), a single-sheet broadside.

⁵⁰ Although not published in its entirety until 1825, there is substantial evidence to suggest that the bulk of Cavendish's autograph manuscript was composed between 1552 and mid-1554. In its pages Cavendish detailed how "[t]he Roos and pomgranatt/ joyned in oon" when "England and Spayn/ by spousall allyed" - a retrospective defence of Mary's marriage to Philip which would surely have pleased the ruling Catholic authorities. See George Cavendish, *Metrical Visions*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (Columbia, S.C.: University of South California Press, 1980), pp. 9, 137.

incorporate the Spanish presence within a causal chain of events that stretched back to the time of Edward VI's reign and, more particularly, to what they saw as the rampant immorality and the sense of ingratitude which characterised Englishmen's behaviour in those days. A typical example of this calculated, and indeed highly effective, use of exegesis can be found in an anonymous and undated prayer of the time:

O Lord, deliver our Land, which thou hast given us for a Portion to possess in this Life, from the Invasion and Subduing of Strangers. Truth it is, we cannot deny but that our Sins have justly deserved great Plagues to come upon us; even that we should be given over into the Hands and Subjections of proud and beastly Nations, that neither know thee, nor fear thee...⁵¹

That the myth of the 'Godly scourge' should have filtered down into a non-canonical prayer of this sort demonstrates not only its latent ability to adapt itself to different stylistic, ideological and historiographic contexts, but also reinforces what Jane E. A. Dawson has described as the fundamental "flexibility of English apocalyptic thought."⁵² This same sense of adaptability – derived, no doubt, from the historiographical 'unverifiability' that accompanied most of its textual invocations - ensured that the myth cropped up in straightforward works of religious polemic such as Thomas Becon's *An humble supplicacion unto God* (where a direct causal link is established between England's previous "unthankfulness and wicked living" and "the plagues that be laid upon us"), political tracts like the anonymous *A Supplicacyon to the quenes majestie* (in which the narrator explains England's "bondag and slavery of such a nacyon as all the

⁵¹ *Ecc. Mem.*, Vol. 3: Appendix, sig. O4'. Strype's appendix has distinct signatures from the rest of volume three (which, in turn, has separate signatures to the other two volumes).

⁵² Jane E. A. Dawson, 'The Apocalyptic Thinking of the Marian exiles,' *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 10, ed. Michael Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p. 88.

world both hatyeth and abhoryth” by pointing to its “unthankfulnes” during the time of “that most vertues prynce king Edward the vi”), works of meditative historical reflection such as the anonymous *Lamentacion of England* (“Oh what a plage is it to see strangers rule in this noble realme violently, wher before time tr[e]we hartid Englishmen have governid quietly...”), boisterous doggerel like William Kethe’s rhyming postlude to Christopher Goodman’s *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects* (“But, oh dreadfull plague, and signe of Gods wrothe,/ On such noble Gnatos, stronge foes to Gods trothe”) and even mock-dramatic dialogue of the kind found in the anonymous pamphlet *A trewe mirrour or glase wherin we maye beholde the wofull state of thys our Realme of Englande* (1556):

[Eusebius:] I heare say the king of Spayne shal at last be crouned kyng of England, what say you to that... [Theophilus:] Alas brother Eusebius what should I say to it: If god have determyned, who maye wythstande: we muste commyt it to his good pleasure and wyll.... [Eusebius:] But do you not thynke it a plage... [Theophilus:] Yes verely and an utter desolacion of Englishe bloud.⁵³

Not that its ability to transmute itself into different guises was the only thing that made the concept of the ‘Godly scourge’ attractive to the Marian exiles. Together with such a high degree of stylistic ubiquity, it also had the advantage that it could be used to buttress a range of powerful, and in some cases surprisingly contradictory, Protestant

⁵³ Thomas Becon, *An humble supplicacion unto God, for the restoringe of hys holye woorde* (Wesel?, 1554), in *Prayers and other pieces of Thomas Becon*, edited for the Parker Society by John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), p. 225; *A Supplicacyon to the quenes majestie* (Strasbourg, 1555), sig. A1^v; *The Lamentacion of England. With an addycion off Callis 1558* (n.p., 1558), sig. A3^v; Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects* (Geneva, 1558), sig. p7^r; *A trewe mirrour or glase wherin we maye beholde the wofull state of thys our Realme of Englande* (Wesel?, 1556), sig. A8^v.

convictions about Mary's Catholic rule. Thus, it was possible to invoke the idea both as an expression of political pessimism of the kind seen in *A trewe mirrour* and a historiographical tool to rationalise – or, perhaps more accurately, justify - the failure of anti-marriage demonstrations such as that led by Sir Thomas Wyatt. Two closely-related examples of the latter can be found in Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet* and Christopher Goodman's *How superior powers ought to be obeyd*, both of which were published during their authors' joint residency in Geneva and probably came to exert a considerable synergistic influence upon one other.⁵⁴ In each case, Wyatt's rebellion is contextualised against the events in *Judges* 20-21, where it is recounted how the ungodly Benjaminites enjoyed some initial military successes over the God-fearing Israelites before eventually being crushed by the latter in battle. Goodman, for example, embarks on a tortuous defence of "that zelous and godly man Wyat" by rallying against those who, unlike the disgruntled Kentish nobleman, had "armed them selves agaynst the Gospel... to mayntayne Philipps warres... whiles their brethern [sic] be burned at home and their countrie like to be wasted, spoyled, oppressed, possessed, and replenished with ungodly Spanyardes." He simultaneously tries to justify Wyatt's failure by pointing the reader to the Benjaminites' first – and thoroughly undeserved - military success over the Israelites, arguing that this example proves that "some tymes we see the verie servantes of God to have evill successe in their doinges, according to mans judgement: and yet God is well

⁵⁴ Roderick Graham, *John Knox: Democrat* (London: Robert Hale, 2001), pp. 121-123.

pleased therewith.”⁵⁵ Knox, meanwhile, is even more categorical about the scourge-like role played by the Benjaminites and, by implication, Wyatt’s Spanish antagonists:

But by his [i.e. God’s] evident scriptures we may assuredly gather, that by such means doth his wisdome somtimes, beat downe the pride of the flesh... and somtimes by such overthrowes, he will punish the offenses of his owne children...⁵⁶

In seeking to exculpate Wyatt’s failed anti-Spanish mission and at the same time rationalise the victory of the pro-Spanish faction, Knox and Goodman had no option but to place the events of Mary’s reign against the biblically-derived pattern of transgression followed by God-meted punishment upon which most Protestant interpretations of recent history rested. More specifically, they were obliged to invoke a complex, self-sustaining matrix of scriptural precedents which served to reinforce the Spaniards’ status as the instruments of God’s deserved wrath. Although it would be impossible in a study of this scope to cover all the different strands of biblical exegesis used by the exiles to consolidate this last idea - *A Supplicacyon to the quenes majestie* (1555), for instance, lists examples from thirteen separate biblical books in a marginal gloss in an attempt to promulgate the concept that both Mary’s Catholic government and the Spanish military presence were part of a God-inspired plague⁵⁷ - it is still worthwhile to divide these into two groups: a) those that cite concrete prescriptions of dogma and (b): those that focus on specific episodes in the Bible which, seen from the parallelistic perspective of

⁵⁵ *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sigs. o1^r, n8^v, n7^r.

⁵⁶ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558), sig. G6^v.

⁵⁷ *A Supplicacyon to the quenes majestie*, sig. A2^r.

Protestant thought, were analogous to the situation witnessed in England with the arrival of the Spaniards. Central among the former was the commandment laid out in *Deuteronomy* 17:15 that forbade the anointing of foreigners as kings.⁵⁸ Virtually all Protestant propagandists of the period paraphrased this passage into their writings, some of them even embellishing it with ancillary descriptive commentary of their own in order to convince their readers that Philip's status should never change from that of a purely nominal king to that of a fully-crowned English monarch:

The true right and prerogative of a king...[is]... set out by God in the booke of Deuteronomie. After that God had prescribed who shold be their king, that is, no aliene or straunger, but one of their owne brethren: for naturally straungers doo not favour straungers. And a straunge prince seketh by all meanes to destroy the natural inborne, that he maie with quietnesse and suretie enjoie and use that he cometh evil by...⁵⁹

Not just Ponet here, but Goodman and Knox in their own writings also resort to *Deuteronomy* 17:15 in their efforts to prevent Philip from being crowned *de facto* king of England⁶⁰ – almost mirroring the way that Henry VIII's theologians and jurists had appropriated selected excerpts from *Leviticus* half a century earlier in their attempt to delegitimise Katherine of Aragon's position as England's reigning Queen.⁶¹ Knox, in

⁵⁸ "Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the LORD thy GOD shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother." See *The Bible: the Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, eds. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 239.

⁵⁹ John Ponet, *A short treatise of politike power* (Strasbourg, 1556), sigs. F5^r-F5^v.

⁶⁰ *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sig. c8^v; *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, sigs. E1^v-E2^r.

⁶¹ See Guy Bedouelle's 'The Consultations of the Universities and Scholars Concerning the "Great Matter" of King Henry VIII,' in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 21-36.

fact, even goes as far as ending his own biblical paraphrase in *The First Blast of the Trumpet* with the promise that “[w]hat may be objected for the parte or election of a strangier, shalbe, God willinge, answered in the blast of the second trumpet.”⁶² Though the controversial Scottish reformer, it is true, never quite managed to fulfil this particular undertaking, the fact that he intended to devote a whole pamphlet to the subject in question clearly shows how important *Deuteronomy* 17:15 was as a prescriptive device within the Marian anti-Spanish debate - both as a self-contained paradigm which explained the social and religious evils besetting England and an ideological bulwark against Catholic attempts to legitimise Philip’s alien succession such as Steven Gardiner’s *A Discourse on the Coming of the English and Normans to Britain* (1554).⁶³

In addition to denouncing the practice of alien kingship, *Deuteronomy* also aided the proposition that the Spaniards were a God-sent scourge in another, perhaps even more tangible manner. Enmeshed within the plethora of laws, warnings and commandments that lay scattered across its highly prescriptive pages, after all, there was one particular section that seemed almost pre-programmed for exile use: 28: 49-52 listed alien rule as one of the direct consequences of disobeying God’s laws. The point was not missed by the scholarly and calculatingly xenophobic exiles, whose denunciations of the Anglo-Spanish match often lay irremediably intertwined with their punctilious biblicism.

⁶² *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, sig. E2^r.

⁶³ Although originally written in English, this text has only survived in an Italian translation by George Rainsford entitled *Ragionamento dell’advenimento delli inglesi et normanni in Britannia*. The latter has been edited and translated into English by Peter Samuel Donaldson under the title *A Machiavellian Treatise by Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

Goodman and his fellow Geneva-based exile Anthony Gilby, for example, both paraphrase from the extract in question in *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects* and *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance* (1556) respectively⁶⁴ – although it is perhaps in John Ponet's *A short treatise of politike power* that we see the most literal and uncompromising adaptation of *Deuteronomy* 28:

And the lorde shall bring a nacion upon thee, a nacion whose tongue thou shall not understande: an harde favoured nacion, which shal not regarde the persone of the olde, nor have compassion on the yong...⁶⁵

In contrast to such rigid use of biblicism, the second group of scriptural precedents engaged by the exiles centred around incidents or narratives from the Bible that more or less paralleled the Marian political situation. As a general rule, these focused on episodes of scriptural history which invoked the basic blueprint of human transgression followed by divinely-ordered punishment that we have already been looking at. This, together with a starkly doctrinaire outlook on the part of those employing them, ensured a continuous dialogic interplay between biblical and contemporary history of the type found in Knox's *A Faythfull admonition*:

And to passe over the tyrauntes of olde tyme whom God hath plaged, let us come to the tyrauntes, whiche nowe are within the realme of Englande, whome God will not longe spare.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, [title-page]; Anthony Gilby, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance*, attached as a postscript to John Knox's *The Appellation of John Knoxe from the cruell and most injust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland* (Geneva, 1558), sig. H5^v.

⁶⁵ *A short treatise of politike power*, sig. L8^r.

⁶⁶ *A Faythfull admonition*, sig. E2^v.

Strengthened by parallelistic logic of this sort, the exiles did not waste time in linking Mary to female biblical tyrants such as Jezebel or Athaliah, or her Catholic councillors to traitors like Judas or Cain. To provide just one example, Robert Pownall's *An admonition to the towne of Callays* (1557) describes Mary as "another Athalia, that is, an utter distroier of hir owne kinerede [sic], kyngdome & countrie, a hater of hir owne subjectes, a lover of strangers, & an unnatural stepdame both unto thee & to thy mother Englande."⁶⁷ Although the Spaniards' role within these transhistorical comparisons is arguably less central than that of Mary and her fellow English Catholics, there are still a number of Marian texts that define the Castilian interlopers in the same exegetical and parallelistic manner. A case in point is Christopher Goodman's *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, where exegesis is invoked as the primary definitional tool to reinforce the idea that the Spaniards were a God-sent corrective:

The Israelites because they woulde not receave the oft admonitions of Gods P[r]ophetes to feare the Lord, coulde not after warde escape his plagues, nor the feare of men: no more shal you (o inhabiters of Englande) without speedie repentance escape the Spaynishe plague of adoulerous Philippe whom the Lorde will make his sworde and maul to beate downe your townes and Cities, and to devoure the people therof.⁶⁸

A similar, perhaps even more detailed, biblical parallel can be encountered in John Ponet's *A short treatise of politike power*, where the Spaniards are defined against an episode lifted out of the *Book of Judges*:

⁶⁷ Robert Pownall, *An admonition to the towne of Callays* (Wesel?, 1557), sig. [A1^v].

⁶⁸ *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sigs. i3^v-[i4^r - not, as printed, i2].

We reade that... whan through aboundaunce of wealthe and quietnesse they [i.e. the Israelites] fell to a certain careles securitie of life... God toke from them their natural liege lorde... and placed... a straunge prince among them... called Eglon. This Eglon used the matier so... bringing in a great power of Ammonites and Amalekites (two kinds of people in beggerly pride and filthinesse of life mucche like... Spaniardes)... that by and by seing himself strong ynough with his straungers and Inborne traitours, he brought the countrey and people under his subjection by fine force...⁶⁹

By equating the Spaniards with the Ammonites and Amalekites (and subsequently detailing how the latter subjugated and tyrannised over the Israelites) Ponet invites the reader to view the Spanish presence in England as a form of post-biblical punishment, a timely and very necessary sacral reprimand for Englishmen's "certain careles securitie of life." At the same time, he is also comparing England to Israel in what could be described as a typical Marian Protestant manner. Unlike many of his Elizabethan Protestant successors – who frequently aligned England with Israel as a means of strengthening fledgling notions of nationhood⁷⁰ - the exiled Bishop of Winchester prefers to focus upon Israel here as the trembling recipient of God's wrath rather than as a symbol of his elect nation. That is to say, he invokes the England/ Israel correlation primarily as a way of rationalising why the English were being plagued by a foreign Catholic scourge. Moreover, that John Ponet of all people – a man whose adherence to the doctrine of 'justified resistance' would have rendered him naturally sceptical about the intellectual submissiveness with which Protestant laymen were expected to endure

⁶⁹ *A short treatise of politike power*, sigs. H5^r-H5^v. The events Ponet narrates are described in *Judges* 3: 11-14.

⁷⁰ See pp. 162, 167 of this study.

the ‘Godly scourge’⁷¹ - should have laid down the story of the scourge-like Eglon in such detail only reinforces how strongly the idea of foreign military domination was associated within the minds of English Protestants with the Pentateuchal theory of divinely-inspired retribution for both national and individual transgressions.

3. Latimer’s and Knox’s Edwardian warnings: the Spanish presence in England and the use of historical prophecy as a tool of Protestant self-definition

Although scriptural paradigms undoubtedly helped to frame the Spaniards into a post-biblical historiographical context, the Protestant exiles also had another extremely important tool for rendering ‘foreignness’ within their hispanophobic armoury – eschatological prophecy. Strategically wielded, used as a kind of epistemic authenticating device in its own right, the latter could go even further than traditional biblicism in providing irrefutable proof that the Spaniards were indeed God’s “sworde and maul”⁷² against the people of England:

For the preachers and ministers of Goddes worde, in the tyme of the godly Josias king Edwarde the Sixthe preached and prophecied unto you, what miseries and plages should certaynly come to you:... that a straunge king and straunge people (not only in countrey, but also in condicones and maners in respecte of your owne) should reigne and rule by force over you, if ye in tyme repented you not of your wickednesse...⁷³

Here John Ponet introduces us to yet another common device designed to explain both the Marian regime and the presence of the Spaniards in England – the notion that

⁷¹ Barbara Peardon, ‘The Politics of Polemic: John Ponet’s *Short Treatise of Politic Power* and Contemporary Circumstance, 1553-1556,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 22:1, 1982, pp. 35-49.

⁷² See footnote 68 of this study.

⁷³ *A short treatise of politike power*, sig. K3^r.

Englishmen had already been forewarned during Edward's reign of the troubles that were in store for them should they have persisted in their immoral ways. Although evidently no more than an artificial religio-political construct, it nonetheless coincided with certain actual historical events witnessed in the previous reign that served to add a measure of authenticity to it. Knox, almost all of whose writings prophecy divine retribution in one form or the other, had already anticipated that "idolatrie myght be erected agayn" in a speech delivered at Newcastle on 25 December, 1552,⁷⁴ while, according to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Nicholas Ridley had preached a sermon shortly after the accession of Lady Jane Grey describing how Mary would "bring in [a] foreign power to reign over them [i.e. the English], besides the subverting also of all christian religion then already established."⁷⁵ Even more remarkably, one of Hugh Latimer's Edwardian sermons had openly speculated on the possibility that a foreign king might ascend the throne after Edward's death:

Oh, what a plague were it, that a strange king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us! Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery... Therefore, to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days...⁷⁶

It is not hard to see why the anonymous author of *The Lamentacion of England* chose to transcribe this passage in its verbatim entirety six years after its original publication.

⁷⁴ *A Faythfull admonition*, sig. E5^v.

⁷⁵ Quoted in John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, Vol. 6, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1838), p. 389.

⁷⁶ See *The First Sermon preached before King Edward, March 8, 1549* (London, 1549), in *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, edited for the Parker Society by George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), p. 91.

Claiming that Latimer's sermon had "partly cawsyd me to make this lamentacyon upon this realm off England," the unidentified pamphleteer goes on to use the martyred theologian's text as the central lynchpin holding together his biblicist convictions about the Spanish, as well as his belief that England was following the example of "the childern [sic] off Israell, who were gods electe and chosen people... [but]... as they had offendid god by worshipping ydols, he ponisshid them by sending strangers & tirants to Rule & rain over them who oppressid them (as our rulers do now us)." To this is added the quiet, self-assured expectation that God would one day "take from us our cruell rulers, that have so sore persecutyd and made havocke of his sayd congregacyon"⁷⁷ - a useful reminder of how prophecy could, at the same time, also be used to rekindle and sustain the hopes of the exiled Protestant congregation.

In a sense, then, prophecy could be said to have formed the historiographical mortar that linked past, present and future in an unbroken chain. More specifically, it would have acted as a semi-religious, semi-secular form of ideological self-justification whose 'otherworldly' nature ensured that it readily avoided the taint of human impeachment. Moreover, from the point of view of Protestant eschatological polemics, this would have made perfect sense. According to Mircea Eliade, one of the most significant characteristics of religious myth is the way that it grounds itself in history, both sustaining and defining itself against a standard which, because of its deeply-embedded position within a far-off historical matrix, usually transcends condemnation or criticism. Eliade identifies two main functions of mythic paradigms: (a) to explain how

⁷⁷ *The Lamentacion of England*, sigs. A3^r, B1^v, A2^v.

things came into being (b) to justify man's current form of existence.⁷⁸ Both of these variables, I believe, can be discerned in the exiles' historiographical 'reinvention' of Edward's reign, particularly in the way they highlighted the young king's saintliness and divided history into periods 'before' and 'after' the erosion of his Protestant patrimony:

The more pyttie deare Countriemen, that you have so stoutly or rather stubbernely shewed your willes and power in the dayes of Godly kynge Edwarde the VI. your late Prince and governour, and the zelous servant of God: who sought to rule you in Gods feare, and under whom you had the comfortable [sic] worde of God, and were delivered from the Romishe Antichrist, and from all superstition, for the most parte, having your Realme free from strangers, and quiete from all enimies, enjoying your goods and freinds [sic] in peace with out all force[,] imprisoning, reviling, banishing, or murthering... And [therefore] now in these matters wherin consisteth the glorie of God, the preservation of your owne lives, and defence of your countrie you are without all will, power and helpe.⁷⁹

Goodman here explains both the re-establishment of Catholicism and the arrival of the Spaniards themselves against the events witnessed in Edward's reign, thus transferring the twin concepts of causation and culpability out of the Marian Protestants' hands and into those of their earlier English compatriots. To my mind, this segmentation of the past into 'before' and 'after' periods serves to explain why it was so crucial for the Marian Protestants to demonise the Spanish as a God-sent plague. After all, if there was a direct causal relation between English Catholic immorality and God-appointed Spanish oppression, then logic surely dictated that the punishment inflicted by God must have been proportionately commensurate to the crime. What I am suggesting, in effect, is that

⁷⁸ See Mircea Eliade, 'Cosmogonic Myth and 'Sacred History,' ' in *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, ed. Alan Dundes (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 141.

⁷⁹ *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sigs. 18^r-18^v.

the exiles had a vested interest in presenting the Spaniards in the most lurid and sensationalist manner possible – since the greater and more defined their condemnation of Spanish malpractices, the worse it reflected upon their English Catholic enemies back home and, as such, the more psychologically and morally secure the Protestants must have felt with their own position in foreign exile.

Such intricate religio-political manoeuvring serves to highlight the fundamentally propagandistic nature of both exegesis and eschatological prophecy within the Marian anti-Spanish tradition. Whether portrayed as ‘the scourge of God,’ in fact, or whether held up as an anagogical warning sign for Englishmen to repent of their immoral ways, it is essential to realise that the Castilian presence in England had little meaning in itself for most Protestant writers – apart, of course, from how it helped them define and sustain those images of ‘self’ and ‘other’ which confirmed the binary division between the ‘Church militant’ and the ‘Church malignant.’ The imposition of biblical or prophetic meaning onto the Spanish presence can therefore be read as a premeditated act of historiographic legitimisation, outwardly similar to that undertaken by Edmund Spenser when appropriating Geoffrey of Monmouth’s mythologised view of history to buttress his own myths about the Irish in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*⁸⁰ - inasmuch as both Spenser and the Marian Protestants seek to legitimise a set of emerging political myths by recourse to other more established myths which in themselves have little direct connection to the contemporary historico-political situation.

⁸⁰ See Andrew Hadfield’s *Edmund Spenser’s Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), in particular Chapter Three: ‘Ripping up ancestries: The Use of Myth in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*,’ pp. 85-112.

This sense of deliberation is also reflected in the representational methods used by the exiles themselves. According to Joan Marie Thomas, reformers such as Knox often presented their adversaries in “slightly altered guise in order that... [they] might be fitted neatly into the framework of Protestant notions of the world as a battlefield for the agents of good and evil.”⁸¹ Mary herself, to offer but a small example, was persistently portrayed as being more Spanish than English – even though she did not so much as speak the language.⁸² The same can be said about John Knox’s treatment of the Spanish in *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), where the author merges excerpts from *Deuteronomy* with the remarkable accusation that Christ had been crucified by the Spaniards’ own ancestors:

If yet, I say, God wold not suffer that the commoditie[s] and usuall frute... assigned to one tribe shulde passe to an other: [w]ill he suffer that the... commodities and frutes of hole realmes and nations, be geven in to the power and distribution of others, by the reason of mariage, and in the powers of suche, as besides, that they be of a strange tonge, of strange maners and lawes, they are also ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true membres, and haters of all vertue? As the odious nation of Spaniardes doth manifestlie declare: who for very despit, which they do beare against Christe Jesus, whome their forefathers did crucifie (for Jewes they are, as histories do witnesse, and they them selves confesse) do this day make plaine warre against all true professors of his holie gospels.⁸³

⁸¹ Joan Marie Thomas, ‘Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984), pp. 235-236.

⁸² Thomas Stafford’s Scarborough proclamation, for instance, solemnly declared that Mary was at heart “a whole Spanyarde, and no Englyshe Woman... lovinge Spanyardes, and hatinge Inglyshemen, inrichinge Spanyardes and robbinge Inglyshemen” (*Ecc. Mem.*, Vol. 3: Appendix, sig. Kk3^v). A similar idea is also expressed in Knox’s *A Faythfull admonition* (sig. E4^v).

⁸³ *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, sigs. F8^v-G1^r.

Although the equation between ‘Catholicism’ and ‘Jewishness’ hinted at here was not exactly original at the time⁸⁴ – and although Knox was relying on a rare Renaissance postulation, probably derived from neo-Ptolemaic thought, which cited that the Spanish nation stemmed from the genealogical line of Japhet’s son, Tubal⁸⁵ – the charge that the Spaniards were lineally descended from Christ’s crucifiers has to be read as a clever, opportunistic construct which, because of its deeply-embedded position within a far-off historical context, is extremely difficult to disprove and therefore serves as the perfect rhetorical tool to underscore the Spaniards’ status as members of Bale’s ‘Church malignant.’ More to the point, I would argue that such a consciously sensationalist, ahistorical and essentially unverifiable attack on Hispanism masks a dearth of demonstrable ‘historical evidence’ of Spanish social or governmental misconduct within Marian England. This is partially corroborated by the findings of Philippa Tudor, whose penetrating analysis of the religio-political conditions facing non-exiled Protestants during Mary’s reign has revealed that “[f]or the vast majority of known [P]rotestant sympathisers who remained in England during the years 1553 to 1558 reality fell far short of... extremes.”⁸⁶ Add to this the surprisingly large and varied amount of Englishmen who, from the time of Mary’s death to just before the Armada itself, came to

⁸⁴ Chapter Two of Goodman’s *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, for example, was partially written with the intention of demonstrating to the reader how the papists “are no lesse deniers and blasphemers of Christ, then the Jewes.” See *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sig. b2^v.

⁸⁵ See p. 168 of this study.

⁸⁶ Philippa Tudor, ‘Protestant Books in London in Mary Tudor’s reign,’ *The London Journal*, 15, 1990, p. 19.

remember the Spanish presence in less than detrimental terms,⁸⁷ and it becomes clear how important it must have been for ideologues such as Knox to indulge in this type of sensationalist anti-Spanish propaganda.

4. The Godly scourge validated: the role of social and sexual demonisation within the Marian anti-Spanish tradition

Useful though they were in explaining the causal chain of events leading to the Spanish presence in England, prophecy and biblical exegesis could not obviously yield the specific historical instances of Spanish tyranny and cruelty needed by the Marian propagandists to completely validate their anti-Spanish stance. This was one of those tortuous paradoxes that frequently accompanied the Marian anti-Spanish position. If it is true, after all, that the abstract, practically unverifiable nature of both exegetical and prophetic taxonomy made it easy to define the Spaniards as a God-sent scourge, then it is equally correct to claim that their tenuous, ahistorical focus could not come up with the type of graphic and essentially demonstrable denunciations of 'Spanishness' needed to legitimise their own biblically-based conclusions. This, inevitably, meant that the Marian exiles had no option but to turn to non-scriptural, non-prophetic exemplars of Spanish cruelty to authenticate their representation of the God-sent Spanish scourge. Also, as far as this study is concerned, it means that the exegetical remoulding of the Spaniard explored in the preceding pages can only be seen as part of a larger and more

⁸⁷ Eric Griffin lists various examples of this type of pro-Spanish retrospection in his essay 'Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing 'the Spaniard' in the Old World and the New,' including the case of a weaver from the town of Smithfield – for obvious reasons recognised then and now as a symbol of anti-Catholic resistance - who in 1585 declared that "King Philip was a father to England, and did better love an Englishman than the Queen's Majesty, for that he would give them drink and clothes." See 'Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing 'the Spaniard' in the Old World and the New,' *The New Centennial Review*, 2:1, 2002, pp. 96-97.

intricate puzzle since it necessarily relied on complementary non-biblical, non-prophetic images of ‘Spanishness’ to verify its own arguments.

The problem faced by the Marian exiles was that images of this kind were not exactly numerous at the time. Unlike later in the century – when there was a plethora of Spanish texts translated into English, as well as a greater knowledge of Spain itself through a series of successive military conflicts with it - Marian perceptions of Spain were limited to a handful of translated pamphlets on Spanish new world colonialism and the direct, probably rather bewildering, experience of seeing Philip’s aristocratic retainers roaming through the city of London. To make matters even more difficult for the exiles, there was also the added obstacle that England’s Castilian consort had been promoting respect and tolerance between Englishmen and Spaniards ever since his arrival in England in June, 1554. For example, according to Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian ambassador at the time, Philip had determined “that the first Spaniard who shall dare to use a weapon is to have his hand cut off... not choosing that even in self-defence, as is almost always the case, they should come to blows, at the risk of tumult or insurrection; but rather put up, as they do, with any affront or persecution.”⁸⁸

This sort of political tact augured no good for the Protestant exiles. Although writers like Knox were quick to stress how the arrival of the Spaniards had brought “the utter decaye of the treasures, commodities, Navie and fortifications of the realme,”⁸⁹ the fact of the matter still remained that - asides from unsubstantiated generalisations such as

⁸⁸ *CSP, Venetian, 1555-1556*, pp. 126-127.

⁸⁹ *A Faythfull admonition*, sigs. E3^v-E4^r.

these - it was very difficult, at least during the early to middle years of Mary's reign, to link Philip's governmental methods with any specific instances of deliberately oppressive or manipulatively self-seeking behaviour. This is borne out by the high amount of Marian texts which consciously sought to portray Philip's "fayre promisses/ sugered talk/ & colored frendship" as a ruthless Machiavellian ploy designed to lull England into a false sense of security that would subsequently enable him to "disherite your chyldren for ever/ and bryng England un[a]wares to a most shamefull and perpetuall captivitie"⁹⁰ - a highly defensive tactic which not only endorses David Loades's assertion that the anti-Spanish polemicists created "an atmosphere of suspicion in which even the most exemplary behaviour would have been misrepresented,"⁹¹ but also reveals Philip's eagerness to follow his father's pre-nuptial advice about "gaining popularity and goodwill" during his stay in England.⁹² It is also supported by the assortment of petty and, in most cases, highly unverifiable charges which were levelled at the Spaniards in many of these same pamphlets, ranging from insulting the Queen by calling her "an old bich" to "tearing their meate lyke dogges, drinking like horses, [and] hangi[n]g their heades over their disshes" while at the dining table.⁹³

⁹⁰ *A Warnyng for Englande, conteynyng the horrible practices of the Kyng of Spayne in the Kyngdome of Naples* (Emden, 1555), sig. a2^r; henceforth referred to as *A Warnyng for Englande*.

⁹¹ David Loades, *The reign of Mary Tudor: politics, government and religion in England, 1553-1558* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), p. 160.

⁹² Letter from Charles V to his son, November-December, 1553. *CSP, Spanish, 1553*, p. 404.

⁹³ *The Lamentacion of England*, sig. A7^r; John Bradford, *The cople of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke* (n.p., 1556), sig. G3^r.

In order to overcome this dearth of 'homegrown' evidence, the anti-Spanish propagandists resorted to a pamphleteering manoeuvre that once again reveals the essential adaptability of exile political thought: they focused on Spanish governmental methods within their overseas colonial possessions. More particularly, they learned to recognise and then highlight specific episodes from the history of Spanish imperialism which appeared to validate the Spaniards' status as members of Bale's 'Church malignant.' A case in point is the exiles' repeated invocation of Spanish atrocities within the Habsburgs' Italian dominions. While it is difficult to say whether the Marian polemicists were aware of the handful of early Tudor texts dealing with some of these events - Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), for example, had touched upon some of the atrocities committed by Charles V's troops during the 1527 sacking of Rome,⁹⁴ while in 1533 an anonymous translation of Pierio Valeriano's *Pro sacerdotum barbibus* had related how "the noble citie of Rome [was] subdued, spoyled, and robbed, and the inhabitantis therof murdred and slayne"⁹⁵ - it is evident that the events alluded to were near enough, both geographically and mnemonically, for Marian writers to have proceeded without much need for extra-textual backup. This ensured that English pamphleteers wasted no time in articulating, practically without historiographic endorsement of any kind, how the "horrible destruction of the kyngdom of Naples/ wrought by the kyng of Spayne and his Spaniardes" served to highlight "the present

⁹⁴ See Thomas More, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 6, part 1, ed. Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain Marc'Hadour and Richard C. Marius (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 370-372.

⁹⁵ Pierio Valeriano, *A Treatise Writen by Johan Valerian a greatte clerke of Italie, which is intituled in latin Pro Sacerdotum barbibus* (London, 1533), sig. C5^r.

mysery that hangeth this day/ over the noble realme of England,”⁹⁶ or how “the realme of Naples, the Dukedome of Milane, the cite of Siena, [and] many partes of Duchelande... can to theyr coste right well testifie” that “ther is no nacion under the cope of Christ, like them [i.e. the Spaniards] in pride, crueltie, unmercifulnesse...”⁹⁷ In fact, Spanish governmental misconduct within the European continent was such a self-evident cultural commonplace within the English Protestant psyche that it could even be invoked in William Kethe’s epigrammatic denunciation of the Spanish character:

A people perverse, replete with disdayne,
Thogh flattrie fayne hide woulde their hate, and vile trayne,
Whose rage, and hotte luste, disceate, crafte and pride,
Poore Naples their bondslave, with great grefe hath tryed.⁹⁸

It proved slightly more challenging to replicate Kethe’s axiomatic certainties when the exiles focused on the Spaniards’ new world possessions. For, although the Spanish had been dealing in the American subcontinent for over five decades by the time Mary came to the throne – and although snippets of speculative information about their activities there had been steadily trickling into England over the last few years⁹⁹ – not

⁹⁶ *A Warnyng for Englande*, sig. a2^r. It is also worth noting that John Bradford’s *The cople of a letter* mentions “the lamentacion of Naples: the mourninge of Millane, and suche other [books], which have showed you the tyranny that Spaniardes have used in other countries.” See *The cople of a letter*, sig. F1^r.

⁹⁷ *A short treatise of politike power*, sig. L4^r.

⁹⁸ See *William Kethe to the Reader*, a postscript attached to Goodman’s *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects*, sig. p6^v.

⁹⁹ A recurring topic, for example, was the amount of gold that the Spaniards were finding in their new world possessions. See *CSP, Foreign, 1547-1553*, p. 193; *CSP, Foreign, 1553-1558*, p. 156.

enough was generally known about these matters at the beginning of 1554 to buttress the kind of unsubstantiated denunciations of Spanish imperialistic malpractice seen above. Luckily for the exiles, help came from an unexpected quarter – inasmuch as Mary’s pro-Catholic and pro-Spanish leanings soon began to precipitate the translation into English of a small number of texts that sought to glorify Spanish colonising achievements in the New World. Prominent among these were Pietro Martire d’Anghiera’s *De Orbe Novo* (1516) and Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia* (1534), both of which were partially translated by the Hertfordshire man-of-letters Richard Eden under the titles of *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes* (1555) and *A treatyse of the newe Indie, with other new founde lands and Ilandes* (1553) respectively. While neither of these last texts could be accurately described as anti-Spanish or even anti-Catholic – Eden’s original intention as a translator, after all, was not only to inspire Englishmen to emulate the colonising achievements of the Spanish as Richard Hakluyt would attempt to do when translating d’Anghiera’s text several years later,¹⁰⁰ but also, as he states in his own preface to the *Decades*, to celebrate the “manhodde [sic] and pollicie of the Spanyardes” and “extolle theyr doynge above the famous actes of Hercules and Saturnus”- there were certain passages in them which, once deracinated from their original context, could easily have served to exonerate or legitimise the exiles’ post-biblical assumptions about the Spanish presence in England:

¹⁰⁰ See p. 266 of this study.

For that kynde of men (the Spanyardes I meane which folowed the Admirall in that navigation,) was for the most parte unruly, regardynge nothings but Idlenes, playe, and libertie: And wolde by no meanes absteine from injuries: Ravysynge the women of the Ilandes before the faces of their husbandes[,] fathers, and brethrene: By which theyr abhominable mysdemaynour, they disquieted the myndes of all thinhabitantes [sic]...¹⁰¹

D'Anghiera may have only been decrying the defects of a very specific subset of Spaniards within this passage - but technicalities like these, of course, meant little to the staunchly hispanophobic exiles. Much the same can be said about Münster's fiery, moralistic reproofs against a small section of the conquistadors' military machine:

In this meane tyme, the Spaniardes which the admiral had left in the Iland of Hispana, had evyll entreated the inhabitauntes: so that for wante of vitayles & foode, they begonne to famyne... And... [therefore] thei sent an ambassadour to the admiral to desyre him to restrayne the outrageousnes and crueltie of his men, at whose handes they sustained such injuries and violence, as they scarcely loked for at the handes of mortal enemies. Declaringe, further, that under the pretence of seking for gold they committed innumerable wronges and mischievous actes, spoyling in maner all the hole region: and that for the avoyding of such enormities and oppressions, they hadde rather paye tribute, then to be thus dayly vexed with incursions, & never to be at quiete...¹⁰²

It remains an irony of history that the proto-democratic spirit of self-criticism which runs through passages such as these¹⁰³ – the same spirit, incidentally, which in 1552-1553 had allowed Las Casas to publish his fiercely anti-imperialistic tracts in the

¹⁰¹ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes*, trans. Richard Eden (London, 1555), sigs. a2^v, a2^r, E2^v.

¹⁰² Sebastian Münster, *A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes*, trans. Richard Eden (London, 1553), sigs. H5^r-H5^v.

¹⁰³ D'Anghiera, it should be noted, was appointed Charles V's official court historiographer in 1520, while Münster, a German by birth, lived throughout his adult life in Habsburg-dominated territories.

Habsburg stronghold of Seville¹⁰⁴ - should have been used by the Marian exiles as evidence of the essential fickleness and maliciousness of the Spanish character. Nevertheless, it is out of these tentative first descriptions of both new world and European colonising practices that the Spaniards' position as an antonym of Englishness found one of its most important corroborating agents. More than that, it is my belief that this 'emerging consciousness' of Spanish colonial atrocities lies at the heart of practically all Marian denunciations of hispanicity, ranging from John Bradford's dogmatically subjective assertion that no "nacion in the world is able to suffer the verye nature of Spaniardes"¹⁰⁵ to the kind of uncompromising, point-blank referencing of Eden's translations encountered in Ponet's *A short treatise of politike power*:

The people of that countreie whan the catholike Spaniardes came thider, were simple and plaine men, and lived without great labour, the lande was naturally so pleintiful of all thinges, and continually the trees hade ripe frute on them. Whan the Spaniardes hade by flatterie put in their foote, and by litel and litel made them selves st[r]ong, building fortes in diverse places, they to get the golde that was ther, forced the people (that were not used to labour) to stande all the daie in the hotte sunne gathering golde in the sande of the rivers. By this meanes a great nombre of them (not used to suche paines) died, and a great nombre of them (seing them selves brought from so quiet a life to suche miserie and slaverie) of desperacion killed them selves. And many wolde not mary, bicause they wolde not have their children slaves to the Spaniardes. The women whan they felte them self with childe, wolde eat a certain herbe to destroie the childe in the wombe. So that where at the comming thider of the Spaniardes, ther were accompted to be in that countrey nine hundred thousaunt persones, ther were in short time by this meanes so fewe lefte, as Petre martir (who was one of theemperour [sic] Charles the fiftes counsail there, and wrote this historie to theemperour) saieth, it was a shame for him to name.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ See Benjamin Kee, 'Black Legend,' in *Christopher Columbus and the Age of Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. Silvio A. Bedini (New York: Di Capo Press, 1998), p. 69.

¹⁰⁵ *The cotype of a letter*, sig. E8^v.

¹⁰⁶ *A short treatise of politike power*, sigs. F7^r-F7^v.

Ponet focuses here on what is possibly the most significant anti-Spanish myth to have arisen out of the exiles' opportunistic and highly selective engagement with the recent history of Castilian expansionism: the idea that the Spanish military represented a calamitous and virtually unstoppable threat against the established patriarchal order. Although this representational theme sometimes appears in Marian texts without any specific reference to a new world or European context,¹⁰⁷ both the doctrinaire sense of certainty that accompanied its use and its repeated tendency to set the Spaniards, just like in the extract above, in direct opposition to the local female population suggests that its widespread usage may have been catalysed by the already mentioned consciousness of Spanish imperialistic practices. Ponet himself, I believe, was almost certainly thinking of the latter when in *A short treatise of politike power* he relates how the arrival of the Spaniards to England was bound to bring "the deflouring and ravishing of your wyves and daughters before your eies, the captivitie of your bodies, wyves and children: the subversion of the policie and state of the Realme."¹⁰⁸

Nor was Ponet alone in highlighting Spanish sexual profligacy in this manner. According to the anonymous author of the so-called *Tower Chronicle*, Alexander Brett made a speech in 1554 in which he declared that the "proude Spanyardes... wolde... ravishe our wyfes before our faces, and deflowre our daughters in our presence..."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, *A Faythfull admonition*, sigs. E3^v-E4^r.

¹⁰⁸ *A short treatise of politike power*, sig. K3^r.

¹⁰⁹ *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, written by a resident in the Tower of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1850), p. 38. Brett, of course, was the captain of the London

Likewise, the anonymous narrator of *The Lamentacion of England* warned Marian readers that the Spaniards would defile “thy goodly women and faier donghters [sic],” while Bartholomew Traheron’s *A warning to England to repente... by the terrible exemple of Calece* (1558) informed them, among other things, that the current situation would soon lead to the “deflowring of virgines, [and] ravishing of wives.”¹¹⁰ Even the normally astringent Knox - who in comparison with other pamphleteers barely wrote of sexual matters - lamented how the “hole [of] England shal be made a commen Steues to Spanyardes” and could not refrain from commenting how the Spanish nation “surmounteth al other in pride and whordome.”¹¹¹ That these and other similar ideas were part of a widespread propagandistic commonplace, moreover, can be seen from the way that Robert Wingfield of Brantham, author of the encomiastically pro-Catholic and pro-monarchical *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* (1554), complained against those “men of little religion” who used “the stiff manners of Spaniards and their insufferable lust for women” as a pretext for rebellion.¹¹² Negative sexual stereotypification, clearly, was not just an unmediated expression of English Protestant xenophobia; it was a potent,

militia who famously defected over to the rebels’ side during the Wyatt-led insurrection.

¹¹⁰ *The Lamentacion of England*, sig. A4^v; Bartholomew Traheron, *A warning to England to repente... by the terrible exemple of Calece* (Wesel?, 1558), sig. B2^r.

¹¹¹ *A Faythfull admonition*, sigs. E6^r, E5^v.

¹¹² Robert Wingfield of Brantham, *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae*, in *The Camden Miscellany*, 1984, Vol. 29, edited and translated by Diarmaid MacCulloch (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984) p. 274. I have followed David Loades in dating Wingfield’s text to 1554. See David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 175.

strategic and, above all, extremely effective political weapon whose value was recognised by both Protestants and Catholics alike.

Perhaps the most striking corroboration of this idea can be encountered in John Bradford's *The cople of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke* (1556). Drafted, as David Loades has pointed out, as an open letter to four noblemen known to have been approached by Mary on the subject of Philip's coronation,¹¹³ Bradford's extraordinarily vitriolic catalogue of Spanish cruelties and perversions can be seen as a premeditated, if somewhat laboured attempt to transpose the 'lessons' learnt from the new world travelogue onto an even more sensationalist and alarmist frame of reference. Thus, from the very beginning of the pamphlet, we find that Bradford's vision of hispanicity is one of virtual sexual anarchy – Spanish priests "leade whores to churche in the morninge," *hidalgos* spend their time at mass "spienge... where is the fairest woman" and Spaniards in general think of nothing other than "howe to obtaine another mannes wife, maide or daughter." Nor is this type of sexual licence, of course, limited to the Spaniards' activities within their own country. Turning his hand to the Castilian presence in England, Bradford not only tries to rouse Englishmen's xenophobic instincts by claiming that "the princokes [i.e. the Spaniards] be so familierli received with Ladies of Englande, that they have no minde on Spanishe wenches," but also, in a move clearly designed to dredge up nationalist masculine pride, quotes a Spaniard as saying that "ther be more mongrels borne within this ii. yeres in London then Englishmens children."

¹¹³ David Loades, 'The Authorship and Publication of *The cople of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke*,' in *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation* (London: Pinter, 1991), p. 91.

Even Philip himself cannot escape the taint of sexual demonisation – with Bradford gleefully disseminating the rumour, later appropriated by Elizabethan writers such as William Warner, that, as far as Philip was concerned, a “good bakers daughter is more worth in her gown then Quene Mary without her croun.”¹¹⁴

Tempting though it may be to indulge in psychoanalytical interpretations when faced with excerpts such as these, one must not forget that the process of sexual demonisation in Renaissance writing was almost always harnessed by ulterior religio-political motives. By making the sexual transgressors foreigners and not Englishmen, after all, Bradford not only manages to destabilise notional concepts of male sexual pre-eminence and undermine their rigid patriarchal logic (in other words, he transforms the act of sexual intercourse from a re-vindication of ‘maleness’ into a crime against the body politic itself), but also inserts the Spaniard within the biblical tradition of alien interlopers sent by God as punishment for Israel’s moral transgressions. Viewed in this particular light, the sexually-threatening foreigner becomes a vague and morally indeterminate figure, engendering phallogentric feelings of fascination/revulsion on the one side while simultaneously working as an emotional lever which manipulates the reader’s proto-nationalistic biases against the Spanish ‘other.’ To a certain degree, we are reminded of the way that the African Moor was persistently conceptualised as a sexual threat within the writings of most contemporary ideologues.¹¹⁵ Although the

¹¹⁴ *The cotype of a letter*, sigs. C2^r, B8^r, B8^r, G2^r, G3^r; F7^v. Warner’s use of the ‘baker’s daughter’ motif can be seen in *Albions England: A Continued Historie of the same Kingdome* (London, 1596), sig. O3^v.

¹¹⁵ See Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 32-40.

Spaniards' European origins, it is true, ensured that Marian depictions of Hispanism carried an element of self-deception that was perhaps missing within the unswerving, altogether more dogmatic sense of ethnological certainty that accompanied most representations of the even lesser known African Moor, there is still an incontestable link between 'Spanishness' and the concept of an overbearing male sexuality in many of the texts that we have been looking at which transforms the Spaniard, I would argue, into a kind of 'Europeanised' African or Moor. Actually, a number of Marian Protestant texts even propose the idea of a direct racial connection between the Spaniard and the Moor, establishing in this way a tradition that perhaps reached its zenith around the time of the Armada.¹¹⁶ There is even an inference in some exile works - unspoken but still articulated on a subtextual level - that the *Reconquista* failed to cleanse Spain of Moorish bloodlines in a manner which brings to mind Spenser's subsequent assertions about the Spanish in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*.¹¹⁷ For example, the proclamation which the rebel Thomas Stafford issued shortly after landing at Scarborough in April, 1557 describes the Castilian interlopers as the "prowde, spytefull Spanyardes, whose Morysh Maners, and spytefull Condytions, no Natyon in the Worlde is able to suffer,"¹¹⁸ while Bale's retrospectively published *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles* portrays the Spaniard as "being as good a Christian, as is eyther Turke, Jewe, or

¹¹⁶ See pp. 193-194 of this study.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

¹¹⁸ *Ecc. Mem.*, Vol. 3: Appendix, sig. Kk3^v.

pagane.”¹¹⁹ Similarly, John Bradford’s *The cople of a letter* first of all berates “the morishe maners whiche they [i.e. the Spanish] use continually,” and later, in an unconscious echo of the same phrase, highlights what he describes as “their most morishe maners, and cursed condicions.”¹²⁰

The significance of the Hispano-Arab equation extends well beyond the historical reality of Spain’s Moorish past. As Nabil Matar has shown in his seminal *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, Moors and Arabs were normally defined and ‘othered’ in the Renaissance in terms of their alleged sodomitical practices – very much in the same way, I would argue, that the Spaniards were portrayed almost exclusively as an uncontrollable heterosexual threat against native English women.¹²¹ To present the Spaniards as Moors, therefore, or even to allude to their alleged Moorish origins, would have served to reinforce their status as antonyms of civilised, sexually-restrained Protestant ‘Englishness’; it would have, in effect, legitimised the exegetical presentation of the Spaniard both as a member of the ‘Church malignant’ and the antithesis of godly English Protestantism. To transpose Matar’s words from one context to another, the imposition of ‘Moorishness’ upon the Spaniards would have helped “to distance, dehumanize, and ultimately render the Other illegitimate.”¹²²

¹¹⁹ Although published in 1561, it is clear from the title of Bale’s pamphlet that it must have been originally written during Mary’s time on the throne. See *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles, concerning the cleargye of London dyocese whereby that excerable [sic] Antychriste, is... reveled in the yeare of our Lord a. 1554* (London, 1561), sig. F3^r.

¹²⁰ *The cople of a letter*, sigs. C7^r-C7^v, D1^r.

¹²¹ See Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 109-127.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

In a parallel manner, negative sexual stereotyping was also used to illustrate some of the military dangers facing England itself. To achieve this relatively complex objective, the exiles transposed the relationship between England and Spain onto the level of gendered personification – purposefully placing images of emasculated Englishness against those of Spanish libertinage in a way that would have reinforced their own convictions about the Spaniards’ tyrannical intentions. The irony of this typological arrangement has been pointed out by A. W. S. Samson, whose insightful analysis of Philip and Mary’s nuptial pageantry has reminded us that the official Latin verses welcoming Philip to London celebrated him as the male lover of the kingdom.¹²³ Samson goes on to suggest that the Marian propagandists deliberately distorted this original typology in their writings by setting the marriage against a patriarchal rhetoric of rape and dispossession, hoping in this way to demonstrate how “[t]hrough the marriage the body of the kingdom came to occupy a subordinate female position and Englishmen were consequently effeminised in relation to the strangers.” Once seen from this perspective, the Anglo-Spanish marriage became “a synecdoche for invasion, a metonymic conquest through sexual possession” which not only justified Englishmen’s

¹²³ The verses in question – which, among other things, articulate how “noble England openeth her bosome/ Of hartie affection for to bid the welcome” and London “doth her love vouchsafe,/ Rejoysing that her Philip is come safe” – were translated into English by the Catholic writer John Elder and can be found in *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 146. See A. W. S. Samson, ‘The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England: political economies and culture, 1553-1557’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: Queen Mary and Westfield College, London, 1999), p. 16.

xenophobic suspicions about the Spanish, but also strengthened the case for the immediate reinstatement of English Protestantism.¹²⁴

Samson speculates whether the Marian propagandists may have been influenced into adopting this stance by the publication in 1554 of *A faithful admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete* (1554). The latter was an anonymous translation of Martin Luther's *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen* - a pugnacious and virulently anti-Habsburg piece which had invoked the same phallogentric rhetoric when warning its readers how Charles V's government in Germany would "bring in Italianes, which shall overrunne his natural country, most shamefully defyle and abuse honest wyves, widdowes and virgyns even before the faces of theyr husbandes, parentes and frindes."¹²⁵ While the connection between this last work and the exiles' use of sexual stereotyping is not absolutely self-evident, it still remains a fact beyond contention that Marian writers such as John Ponet repeatedly relied on a process of literary personification in which England assumed the 'helplessness' of a victimised female, while its Spanish conquerors (and in particular Philip) in turn acquired an aggressively sexual attitude towards her:

And whan ye be ones cleane stripped of your stoare, and thus weakened out of courage, and your harte in your hose, as they saie: than shall your king returne to his welbeloved wife, England, with great pompe and power,

¹²⁴ 'The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England,' p. 127.

¹²⁵ Martin Luther, *A faithful admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete... Now translated into English... Wyth a Preface of M. Philip Melancthon* (London, 1554), sig. G3^v.

and shall compell you (in despite of your hartes) to rende and deliver her holly in to his handes.¹²⁶

By sexualising the politics of territorial possession in this way, Ponet arguably established a precedent for Elizabethan anti-Spanish texts such as Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596) or the infamous play *A Larum for London* (1602), both of which would go on to portray the advance of Spanish imperialism in disturbingly sexual terms.¹²⁷ That Castilian expansionism was focused upon from this particular angle, moreover, reveals as much about how Marian Englishmen perceived Spain as what they must have thought about their own nation at an especially volatile and uncertain time. Unlike later Elizabethan representations of the Spanish Empire – which tended to be uneasily balanced between outward demonisation of the Spaniards' colonial practices and a clearly demarcated, if somewhat reluctant sense of admiration for their process of empire-building¹²⁸ – Marian Protestant images of 'Spanishness' were still too heavily burdened by the relative mercantile and military insignificance of England in the 1550s to be able to aspire to the

¹²⁶ *A short treatise of politike power*, sigs. L3^v-L4^r.

¹²⁷ See pp. 274-275, 238-239 of this study.

¹²⁸ There were, however, definite signs that English self-confidence was slowly growing. Although Ponet's text, for example, is not suspended between oppositional forces of admiration and repulsion to the extent seen in later Elizabethan works, one can already begin to detect an ideological rift between what the text is trying to say on one hand and the encroaching imperialistic agenda it is subconsciously articulating on the other. This is borne out by the number of references that Ponet makes to the amount of gold to be found in America (he describes how the Spaniards lusted for "the golde that was ther" [sig. F7^v]) and its status as an earthly paradise ("the lande was naturally so pleintiful of all thinges, and continually the trees hade ripe frute on them" [sigs. F7^r-F7^v]). Were we to reverse the angle of focus, in fact, and view his text from the point of the coloniser rather than from that of the colonially-oppressed, Ponet's descriptions could arguably be seen as an imperialistic invitation to rape and pillage, a concise, step-by-step guide on how to exploit the 'other' for one's own commercial and sexual benefit.

same form of duality that emerges from Elizabethan times onwards and which, towards the end of the century, even gave birth to a polarised image of ‘mocked’ or ‘ridiculed’ hispanicity.¹²⁹ Instead, Marian depictions of Spain portrayed their Iberian rivals as the direct antithesis of ‘Englishness’ and can be read almost as ‘photographic negatives’ of the way Englishmen saw themselves and their country halfway through the sixteenth century:

Mark more of their natur[e]s... Howe manye Englishe men did the Spaniardes kil in their arses, or not much above the arse, when^u thei wer in England last of favour received: most commonlie one of them^u wil talke with you pleasauntly, & kill yo sodenlie when^u he seemth most your frend.¹³⁰

Comical and slightly surreal though Bradford’s extract may be, it is clear that the Spanish penchant for buttock-stabbing has to be read as an antonym of Englishness, a deliberately invoked, highly sensationalised fiction that was meant to conjure a contrary image of godly English morality within the reader’s mind. This suggests not only that Marian hispanophobia was frequently built on an opposition of two polarised contradictories, but that the negative stereotyping of the Spaniard was held in a permanent state of check by the English Protestant values that the stereotype was supposed to counterpoint. Any reference to Spain or Spanish qualities, then, cannot be read in isolation from an accompanying ghost image of ‘Englishness,’ reminding us in

¹²⁹ See pp. 230-241 of this study.

¹³⁰ *The cotype of a letter*, sig. B6^r.

this way of the theory which holds that within the oppositional logic of ‘binarism’ polarised opposites cannot make sense without each other.¹³¹

5. The Marian Spaniard and the politics of sensationalism: the deliberate use of antithesis as a form of propagandistic discourse

It is important to recognise at this point that Bradford’s ‘buttock-stabbing’ anecdote actively engages with the early modern proclivity to use antithesis as a self-legitimising dialectical tool. That is to say, it follows, and to a large extent relies upon, the widespread rhetorical convention which utilised oppositional logic to construct and reinforce an extensive range of arguments. The latter was particularly noticeable in the field of politics and historiography, in which the emergence of a so-called *speculum principum* tradition consistently described tyranny in terms that have been interpreted as nothing more than an inversion of good rule.¹³² Writers like Francis Bacon or James I

¹³¹ If this sounds like a somewhat complex way of thinking, the problem is further exacerbated by the intricacies of the existing political situation. Because it was virtually impossible for the Marian Protestants to claim God’s patronage while the Catholic Mary was still on the throne – and because it was theologically, as well as psychologically unfeasible, for Englishmen to conceptualise themselves as members of the ‘elect nation’ – we invariably find that, in most forms of Marian anti-Spanish propaganda, the secondary or hidden term (that is, the ‘negative image’ of ‘Englishness’ which all descriptions of Spain carry inscribed within them through the discourse of linguistic absence mentioned above) is pushed to an even more recondite and marginal position. Thus, when Ponet or Bradford talk about Spain and the dynamic of anti-social values it is supposed to represent, the image of ‘Englishness’ they are simultaneously trying to promote refers not so much to an image of present English values, but to an idea of ‘Englishness’ as an imagined historical concept (i.e. what Englishmen were before Edward’s reign) or even as an abstract ideal that has been projected into the future (i.e. what Englishmen will become when they stand up to the double tyranny of Mary’s reign and Spanish rule)!

¹³² W. A. Armstrong, ‘The Elizabethan Conception of the Tyrant,’ *Review of English Studies*, 22, 1946, pp. 161-181.

even advocated the use of antithesis or *contentio* as a form of analytical discourse,¹³³ the Anglo-Scottish monarch going as far as showing how an intimate knowledge of God's antithesis can be used to improve one's knowledge of the Godhead itself.¹³⁴ Read against this form of thinking, the reconstruction of 'Spanishness' encountered in certain parts of Bradford's pamphlet should be seen not so much as a verisimilous representation of external reality, but as a consciously-employed form of mythography invoked in the pursuit of wider pro-nationalist and self-defining ideas. How else, if not, are we to interpret a passage such as Bradford's extraordinarily elaborate complaint against what he saw as the Spaniards'

... pryde, malice and envie, their poolynge, braggeing, and bribrie, their boastynge, feyning and flattering, their devilish dealing, whorehunting, and most ruffull ruleing, ungracious government, unlawfull actes, insaciate luste, theyr stoutenes, stubbernes, chourleishnes[,] covetousnes, and unmesurable madnes, in lothesome lechery, vaine glory and hipocrisie, with all other vylanie, supersticion, desolacion, extorcion, adulacion, suppression, mutacyon, exaltacion, expulsion, decolusion, ye wotte what I meane, inductyon, reduction, possession, dysposytion, compulsyon, dissimulacion, ambycon, and so foorth...

Similarly, when Bradford writes that there are "no wemen in Spaine but commen whores, that will kisse any man excepte their husbandes,"¹³⁵ we should not automatically assume that he is only releasing subterranean sexual tensions in a manner that a purely psychoanalytical interpretation would maintain, but understand that he is also partaking

¹³³ See Brian Vickers's 'Rhetoric and Poetics,' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 715-745.

¹³⁴ James Stuart, *Daemonologie, in forme of a Dialogue* (Edinburgh, 1597), sig. H4^r.

¹³⁵ *The cotype of a letter*, sigs. C6^r, G1^v.

in an established dialectical tradition which went beyond conventional models of evidence-based representation and which, relying instead on the use of myth and antithesis as accepted forms of political discourse, led John Toppylow to declare that, once the Anglo-Spanish marriage was effected, Englishmen would soon be forced to “lie in swine sties, in caves, and the Spaniards should have our houses.”¹³⁶

A useful parallel can be drawn here with the way medieval writers invoked the concept of the ‘monstrous’ within their work. As Marie-Hélène Huet’s study on medieval images of monstrosity has demonstrated, the word ‘monster’ can be traced to two distinct but closely-linked etymologies. On the one hand, it can be seen to derive from the Latin ‘monstrare:’ to show, to expose. At the same time, however, it can also be linked to the verb ‘monere:’ to warn, to admonish.¹³⁷ Implicit within this dual etymology is the idea of ‘the monstrous’ as a cultural paradigm that seeks to explain social and political phenomenon outside the boundaries of itself. Deformity (and, by a process of extrapolation, I would include here the sexual demonisation of the foreign ‘other’ encountered in certain types of Marian anti-Spanish propaganda) can thus be seen as a consciously-applied tool which, in the words of David Williams, “probed the secrets of substance, existence, and form incompletely revealed by the more orthodox rational approach through dialectics”¹³⁸ – especially, I would add to this, when there were not

¹³⁶ Cited in Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), p. 91.

¹³⁷ Marie-Hélène Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 6.

¹³⁸ David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 3.

enough known examples of what was being demonised in the first place, as was the case with the Marian Spaniard. Observed from this particular perspective, Bradford's 'implantation of perversions' - to borrow a phrase from Michel Foucault - becomes not only an ideological tool designed to reinforce 'Englishness' through the discourse of antithesis, but, what is more important, would have been recognised in certain cases as being so.¹³⁹ It becomes, in effect, an artificial construct whose function is not so much to act as a mnemonical device within the reader's mind (say, in the way that later Elizabethan anti-Spanish propaganda, through an almost incessant process of reader indoctrination, transformed Philip II's policy of so-called territorial aggrandisement into an established socio-cultural fact), but to serve as a kind of rhetorical springboard towards the grasping of different models of hierarchical opposition (England vs. Spain, Protestants vs. Catholics, Edwardian vs. Marian morality, etc) held together by the logic of antithesis.

Such convoluted forms of propagandism should not surprise the reader unduly. Writing about the different sociological uses of the concept of 'wildness,' Hayden White has already demonstrated how many 'primitive' models of ideological expression which to the modern reader may seem crude or psychologically simplistic have to be re-contextualised against part of a tradition which utilised antithesis as one of the primary forms of social, political and nationalistic discourse. For White, the idea of 'wildness' is not simply a restatement of unadorned ontological truth, but a formulaic

¹³⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), p. 48.

vehicle used to explore and uncover fundamental oppositions and tensions that would have otherwise remained unearthed. Or, to put it in White's own eloquent terms:

The notion of "wildness"... belongs to a set of culturally self-authenticating devices which includes, among many others, the ideas of "madness" and "heresy" as well. These terms are used not merely to designate a specific condition or state of being but also to confirm the value of their dialectical antitheses "civilization," "sanity," and "orthodoxy," respectively. Thus, they do not so much refer to a specific thing, place, or condition as dictate a particular attitude governing a relationship between a lived reality and some area of problematical existence that cannot be accommodated easily to conventional conceptions of the normal or familiar.¹⁴⁰

It is this study's contention that certain forms of myth used in the presentation of the Marian Spaniard – from the exegetical remoulding of the Spaniards' position in history to the deployment of imaginary teratological and anti-patriarchal forms that would have served to legitimise such remoulding itself – can frequently be fitted into this same ideological scheme, being part of a complicated process of epistemology which, in the words of White himself, would have dictated "a particular attitude governing a relationship between a lived reality and some area of problematical existence that... [could not have been] accommodated easily to conventional conceptions of the normal or familiar." That is to say, in the hands of Ponet or Knox, myth very often functions as a method of compartmentalising the Spanish threat into a negotiable frame of reference; it becomes a way of delineating and marginalising the Spaniards' presence in England while simultaneously reinforcing latent notions of 'Protestant Englishness.'

¹⁴⁰ Hayden White, 'The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea,' in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 151.

If this is indeed the case, then it is easy to see how the exiles' use of sexual and anti-patriarchal exemplars would have carried more of a level of premeditation than is normally believed. More to the point, it could be argued that the paradigms of violence and threatening sexuality seen in Bradford or Ponet are employed as ideological levers to manipulate the reader's predispositions against the Spanish 'other' – just as Deloney and others utilised similar techniques to whip up anti-Spanish hysteria during the time of the Armada.¹⁴¹ Regarded in this light, it is not too difficult to go one step further and once again see the Marian Spaniard as a kind of inverted template of English values and ideas, a structural and representational antonym which, through a short and simple process of extrapolation, can be engaged as a model of how Englishmen perceived themselves and their milieu in the early modern period. If this is not wryly amusing in itself, then it is certainly quite ironical. Pushed to the outermost limits of opposition, the Spaniards simultaneously return to occupy a pivotal, at times crucial, way of defining the very values they are supposed to negate. To transpose the words of a famous twentieth-century philosopher into a different context, anti-Spanish rhetoric becomes “a debased, lateralized, repressed, displaced theme, yet exercising a permanent and obsessive pressure from the place where it remains held in check.”¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ See pp. 179-180 of this study.

¹⁴² Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology: Corrected Edition*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 270.

Chapter Two

A movement reawakened by foreign propaganda?: the decline and subsequent re-emergence of English hispanophobia

1. A mid-century Tudor interlude: early Elizabethan perceptions of the Marian regime and the decline of anti-Spanish feeling in England

In 1560 the printer John Kingston brought out a new edition of Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all soche as are studious of Eloquence*. It contained a newly-written prologue and a finer, much more ornamental frontispiece – but, asides from this, it remained essentially the same as the version which Richard Grafton had published a few months before Mary Tudor's 1553 accession to the English throne. Although at first sight, it is true, Wilson's circuitous reworking of Aristotelian literary theory may not seem thematically related to the other texts covered in this chapter, it nonetheless contains a short passage across its pages that sheds significant explicatory light on what could be termed 'non-Marian' English xenophobia:

And not onelie are matters set out by descripcion, but men are painted out in their colours... The Englishman for feding, and changing of apparel: The Ducheman for drinking: The Frencheman for pride and inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes of body, and moche disdain: the Italian for great witte and pollicie: The Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.¹⁴³

It remains highly symbolic that these lines should have been printed in both the 1553 and 1560 editions of *The Arte of Rhetorique*. While it is patently obvious that Wilson could not have been aware of it when first composing them, their appearance just outside both

¹⁴³ Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all soche as are studious of Eloquence* (London, 1560), sigs. m3^r-m3^v.

chronological extremities of Mary's reign emblematises, in a sense, how English attitudes to Spain generally reverted back to pre-Marian times once Elizabeth came to the throne. After all, even with the virulent legacy of Knox and his fellow Protestant polemicists behind them, early Elizabethan texts repeatedly failed to embrace the extremism of Protestant hispanophobia, but rather displayed a guarded ambivalence towards Spain not dissimilar to that encountered in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (neatly symbolised in the manner Wilson hovers between positive and negative descriptive polarities when referring to the Spaniards' "nimblenes of body, and moche disdain") which once again appears to validate the argument that Marian anti-Hispanism was largely a sophisticated and literate propagandistic construct.

If anything, this position is corroborated by the political situation at the beginning of the new reign. Though England and Spain clashed more than once diplomatically and militarily during the first few years after Elizabeth's accession,¹⁴⁴ Mary's half-sister not only failed to adopt the policy of open hostility against Spain so favoured by the Marian Protestants, but, as Geoffrey Parker and Colin Martin note in their masterly study of the Armada, "[f]or ten years... remained a fairly loyal friend of Spain."¹⁴⁵ There was even some support among Englishmen for a second Anglo-Spanish match - most notably on the part of the English merchants in Antwerp who believed that a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of the Netherlands would be beneficial both "for hyr [i.e. Elizabeth's] hone

¹⁴⁴ See Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised edition* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1999), pp. 57-70.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

wellthe and for ye wellthe of ye relme.”¹⁴⁶ Anti-Hispanism may have played a vitally important role in keeping Protestant hopes alive during Mary’s day, but it hardly appears to have been exerting any concerted political influence at the beginning of the 1560s.

Parker’s and Martin’s premise is indirectly supported by the substantial number of translated Spanish texts that continued to be published during the opening years of Elizabeth’s reign. Even though the disintegration of the Marian regime had effectively eroded the political appeal of publishing works with Spanish themes, English printers and stationers still carried on showing enough of an interest in texts dealing with Spain and Spaniards to suggest that popular English attitudes to the Castilian superpower were not as markedly antipathetic as the Marian Protestant propagandists had tried to intimate in their writings a few years earlier. We are able to gauge this not only from the publication of direct translations of Spanish works such as David Rowland’s English version of the anonymous Spanish picaresque novel *El Lazarillo de Tormes*¹⁴⁷ or Barnaby Googe’s plagiaristic adaptation of the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega in *Eglogs[,] Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, (1563),¹⁴⁸ but also from the translations of foreign texts dealing with Spanish themes such as Thomas Peend’s 1565 *The moste notable*

¹⁴⁶ Letter from Richard Clough to Sir Thomas Gresham, 2 January, 1559. Quoted in Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The courtships of Elizabeth I* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 23.

¹⁴⁷ The earliest extant copy of Rowland’s translation dates back to 1586 – although the work appears to have been published much earlier from its 1568-1569 entry to Thomas Colwell in the *Stationers’ Register*. See *Arber*, Vol. 1, p. 173b.

¹⁴⁸ As Robert S. Rudder has pointed out, Googe’s ‘Egloga Sexta’ is partly derived from Garcilaso. See Robert S. Rudder, *The Literature of Spain in English Translation: A Bibliography* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1975), p. 84; Barnaby Googe, *Eglogs[,] Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (London, 1563), sigs. B7^v-C3^r.

Historie of John Lord Mandosse (which contains a fiercely eulogistic portrait of the “noble region Spayne” across its opening pages¹⁴⁹), Geoffrey Fenton’s *Certaine Tragical Discourses writtten [sic] oute of Frenche and Latin* (1567) or William Painter’s 1567 *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (the last two texts demonstrating no qualms in having the melancholic Spanish lover ‘Don Diego’ as one of their central protagonists).¹⁵⁰

Spanish influence was also strong in other less traditional literary disciplines. Richard Eden, whose translation of Pietro Martire d’Anghiera’s *De Orbe Novo* had been earlier condemned by Gardiner on the grounds that it displayed marginally heretical ideas, returned once again to the scholarly fray when he translated the Spaniard Martin Cortés’s *Breve compendio de la esfera y del arte de navegar* (1551) – a highly influential treatise on navigational theory which first appeared in English in 1561 under the title *The arte of navigation, conteynyng a compendious description of the sphere* and which came to be reprinted several times in the years to follow.¹⁵¹ Other translated works from the same period include three new reprints of Antonio de Guevara’s *The Dial of Princes* (in 1559, 1566 and 1568), a 1563 reissue of Juan Luis Vives’s *Introduction to Wisdom* and Thomas Blundeville’s 1570 translation of Federico Furio Ceriol’s *El concejo i*

¹⁴⁹ Pierre Boaistuau, *The moste notable Historie of John Lord Mandosse*, trans. Thomas Peend (London, 1565), sig. B1^v.

¹⁵⁰ Matteo Bandello, *Certaine Tragical Discourses writtten [sic] oute of Frenche and Latin... no lesse profitable then pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquities or forreine reapportes*, trans. Geoffrey Fenton (London, 1567), sigs. Ll1^r-Qq1^r; Matteo Bandello, Giovanni Boccaccio et al, *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure, conteynyng store of goodly Histories, Tragical matters, and other Morall argument[s]*, trans. William Painter (London, 1567), sigs. IIIi1^v-TTTT2^r.

¹⁵¹ *STC*, Vol. 1, pp. 260-261.

consejeros del principe.¹⁵² Add to this the sizeable amount of indirect compliments to Spanish learning, military theory and colonising practice which are embedded across early Elizabethan works such as Sir Thomas Hoby's 1561 translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano*,¹⁵³ and one can perhaps begin to understand why it is difficult to accept the proposition that Spain was as hated as the Marian Protestant propagandists led their readers to believe.

A similar argument can be made about the way early Elizabethan writers engaged with their immediate Marian past. In the predictable spate of eulogies and encomiums that followed Elizabeth's 1559 coronation, for example, the tension between England's current situation and the memory of its Marian experience is generally dissolved into a series of binary abstractions – typically centred on metaphors of light and darkness as in John Awdelay's *The wonders of England* (1559), or else rendered through the medium of personified allegory such as that found in William Birch's *A songe betwene the queenes majestie and Englande* (1564).¹⁵⁴ While the allegorisation/abstraction of recent history encountered in these texts can be seen in part as a negotiatory strategy which allowed early Elizabethan ideologues to condemn Mary's Catholic regime without committing the tactical imprudence of directly insulting Elizabeth's dead sister and Tudor predecessor, one is nonetheless struck by the way writers like Birch or Awdelay

¹⁵² Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 543-544; Vol. 2, p. 429; Vol. 1, p. 507.

¹⁵³ See Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castlio divided into foure bookes*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), sig. A3^v.

¹⁵⁴ The earliest extant edition of Birch's poem dates back to 1564, although it was entered in the *Stationers' Register* to William Copland in 1558-1559. See *Arber*, Vol. 1, p. 32b.

totally avoided chronicling what John Ponet had described as the “pride, crueltie, [and] unmercifulnesse”¹⁵⁵ of the Spanish nation – almost as if, one cannot help but conclude, the latter had never happened in the first place. “With that the skies their hue did change,” Awdelay accordingly writes midway through his ballad, “And light out shone in darkenes steede” – thus emphasising the difference between Elizabeth and Mary without specifically criticising the latter or her alleged pro-Spanish tendencies.¹⁵⁶ Birch, for his own part, uses a similar climatic metaphor to dichotomise the memory of the Marian past from the actuality of the Elizabethan present – although, once again, *England’s* relation of how the country had waited till “all the stromes were past/ For to see this joyfull daye” can hardly be said to condemn the Spanish in the way that the Marian polemicists were doing a few years earlier.¹⁵⁷

Nor was the absence of hispanophobic commentary limited solely to post-coronal encomiums. Even though reactions to Spain are not exactly endemic across the first dozen or so years of Elizabeth’s reign, similarly muted or restrained attitudes to the Spanish can be seen in a string of non-canonical texts ranging from new world travelogues such as John Hawkins’s 1569 *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage of M. John Hawkins to the parties of Guynea and the west Indies* (which, despite being generally wary of Spanish intentions, nonetheless chronicles how the English experienced “reasonable trade and courteous intertainemente from the Ile of Margarita

¹⁵⁵ John Ponet, *A short treatise of politike power* (Strasbourg, 1556), sig. L4^r.

¹⁵⁶ John Awdelay, *The wonders of England* (London, 1559), a single-sheet broadside.

¹⁵⁷ William Birch, *A songe betwene the quenes majestie and Englande* (London, 1564), a single-sheet broadside.

unto Cartagena”¹⁵⁸) to most early proclamations issued by Elizabeth on Spanish-related subjects (the majority of which strove to “maintain the good and ancient amity betwixt her majesty and the King of Spain her good brother”¹⁵⁹). Even in the genre of the historical chronicle, I would argue – where the existence of a ‘standardised’ relational template would have made it more difficult to disguise or camouflage historical facts than in more overtly ‘propagandistic’ works – one can identify a comparable trend to either gloss over the Spanish presence or else to condemn it to the status of a marginal anecdote. Such, indeed, is the case when one engages with the main chronicles of the early Elizabethan period – Robert Crowley’s pirated edition of *Coopers Chronicle* of 1559, Thomas Lanquet’s official 1560 version of the latter, Richard Grafton’s *An abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1562) and John Stow’s *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565). While all four chroniclers allude to the xenophobic impulse behind Wyatt’s rebellion,¹⁶⁰ there is a noticeable thinness on Philip and the Spanish presence in England that clearly undermines the almost atavistic dislike of hispanicity which the Marian propagandists repeatedly attributed to the local population. Grafton and Lanquet, whose virtually identical accounts of the Marian era demonstrate the ease with which early modern chroniclers drew upon the work of each other, certainly do as

¹⁵⁸ John Hawkins, *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage of M. John Hawkins to the parties of Guynea and the west Indies* (London, 1569), sig. A4^v.

¹⁵⁹ *TRP*, Vol. 2, p. 243. See also pp. 235-236, 243-246 of the same work.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Crowley, *An Epitome of Cronicles* (London, 1559), sig. Ffff2^v; Thomas Cooper and Thomas Lanquet, *Coopers Chronicle, conteininge the whole discourse of the histories as well of this realme, as all other countreis* (London, 1560), part 3, sig. YYyy2^r; Richard Grafton, *An abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1562), sigs. U2^r-U2^v; John Stow, *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (London, 1565), sigs. Ffl^r- Ffl^v. *Coopers Chronicle*, it should be noted, is divided into three parts (each with separate signatures), with the added complexity that the third part starts with signatures ‘Aa’ before moving on to ‘A.’

much when limiting their observations on the Spanish to the terse and rather incidental comment that, by the closing months of 1558, “[t]he common people whiche before for the Queenes sake, favoured kyng Phillip and the Spaniardes, at this time spake muche againste them thinkinge those paimentes to comme especially by his occasion and charges of warre.”¹⁶¹

It is, of course, rather revealing that both Grafton and Lanquet should have recognised that the English populace initially favoured Philip and the Spaniards. However, what is even more significant as far as this study is concerned is that both of them endeavour to explain Englishmen’s subsequent dislike of the Spaniards solely in economic terms¹⁶² – without so much as hinting at the “bondag and slavery” attributed to them by the polemicists of the previous reign.¹⁶³ This not only tallies with the revisionist findings of modern scholars such as Philippa Tudor,¹⁶⁴ but also keeps in line with Stow (whose account of the final months of Mary’s reign ignores the Spanish presence and instead stresses the financial hardships which faced the English populace¹⁶⁵) and Robert Crowley (who fails to criticise the Spaniards altogether). In fact, unless John Knox and

¹⁶¹ *Coopers Chronicle*, sig. B3^v; also *An abridgement of the Chronicles of England*, sig. X4^r. For an informative account of the relationship between Grafton and the other early Elizabethan chroniclers, see Martin Holmes’s ‘Richard Grafton and his Chronicle,’ *History Today*, 19, 1969, pp. 634-641.

¹⁶² Philip was, of course, raising funds for the military campaign against the French which culminated in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559. See David Loades, *The reign of Mary Tudor: politics, government and religion in England, 1553-1558* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), pp. 259-261.

¹⁶³ *A Supplicacyon to the quenes majestie* (Strasbourg, 1555), sig. A1^v.

¹⁶⁴ See p. 46 of this study.

¹⁶⁵ *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, sigs. Gg4^r-Gg4^v.

the other Protestant pamphleteers were indulging in the straightforward propagandistic manipulation of facts, it is hard to believe that anyone could have forgotten about Spanish tyranny and oppression in such an arbitrary manner.

It is even possible to reach this conclusion when looking at early Elizabethan texts that outwardly appear to condemn or revile the Spanish. A case in point is John Aylmer's lengthy refutation of Knox's theory of patrilineal monarchy, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Wemen* (1559). Though Aylmer's pamphlet is principally concerned with justifying Elizabeth's position through the use of exegesis – much in the same way, it has to be said, that Knox himself had invoked exegesis when *attacking* Elizabeth a year earlier – the future Bishop of London also takes time to criticise diverse aspects of Mary's rule, including the great financial loss incurred through Philip's continental wars:

[W]ho seeth not the realme not Philipped, but flesed for Philips sake, by mainteining all the last sommer, such a navy on the seas, and an army on the land, besides som tokens of love that passed (I am sure) from the Quene to her spouse.¹⁶⁶

While Aylmer's denunciation of Philip's financial malpractice does not exactly paint the Spaniards in an encomiastic light, it is still important to note how, just like Grafton and Lanquet in their respective chronicles, he focuses solely on the economic losses brought about by Philip's European wars – a fact that hardly corroborates the litany of indictments levelled against the Spanish by Aylmer's Protestant predecessors. Much the same can be said about the select group of other early Elizabethan texts in which the

¹⁶⁶ John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Wemen* (London, 1559), sig. O3^v.

Spaniards are mentioned in a pejorative or reductive tone. Lemeke Avale's *A Commemoration or Dirige of Bastarde Edmonde Boner* (1569), for example, proclaims that the death of Mary's former Bishop of London must have been a source of "paine" to the "enquisters" and "friers of Spain"¹⁶⁷ – but stops itself short from explicitly condemning the Spanish presence in Marian England.¹⁶⁸ Likewise, Robert White's *A recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome* (1570) tries to convince its readers that English Catholics "pray night and day,/ That Spainyardes in Englaad [sic] might have a pray"¹⁶⁹ – although any references to what the Spaniards had done under Mary's reign are, perhaps not altogether surprisingly, conspicuous by their absence.

Even the first English edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563) cannot be said to rehearse a particularly pronounced or committed anti-Spanish position. Although commentators like Maltby have reiterated the importance of Foxe's oeuvre to the development of the anti-Spanish 'Black Legend'¹⁷⁰ - and although it cannot be denied that his gargantuan martyrology perpetuates the polarisation of religious binaries

¹⁶⁷ Avale's text is appended, with separate signatures, to Thomas Knell's *An Epitaph, or rather a short discourse made upon the life & death of D. Boner sometimes unworthy Bishop of London* (London, 1569), sig. B4^v.

¹⁶⁸ It is also worth noting that Thomas Broke's similarly-themed broadside *An Epitaphe declaryng the lyfe and end of D. Edmund Boner* (London, 1569) does not mention the Spaniards at all.

¹⁶⁹ Robert White, *A recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome* (London, 1570). Since I have not been able to access this text in its original form, I have cited it from the electronic version held at the Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-text Database:
http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:po:Z200475186:2 (28 May, 2004).

¹⁷⁰ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1971), pp. 35-41.

intrinsic to Bale's theory of the 'Two Churches' - I am firmly of the opinion that, at least initially, Foxe himself never sought to embrace a consciously anti-Spanish position. The 1563 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, for example, not only omits any specific references to the activities of the Spanish Inquisition (these were appended by the author to the 1570 edition, possibly as a reaction to the publication of Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus's *A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* two years earlier¹⁷¹), but largely fails to inculcate Philip or any of his Spanish Bishops in the Smithfield burnings. Neither can it be said that Foxe's exegetically-inspired vision of history discriminates against the Spanish in the manner that one would have expected of a man who had once formed an integral part of the exile movement. Though Eric Griffin has implied that Foxe's defence of Henry VIII's first divorce – what he describes as the 'unparagoning of Katherine of Aragon' – displays marked traces of anti-Spanish feeling,¹⁷² I am not so sure that this is indeed the case. Betty S. Travitsky has already shown, by means of a detailed textual analysis of all Tudor reprints of Juan Luis Vives's *Instruction of a Christian woman*, how it was not uncommon for English Protestant ideologues to alter Katherine of Aragon's legal and historical status in order to indirectly bolster the dramatic and often unforeseen turnings taken by the Tudor succession.¹⁷³ Combine this with the fact that Foxe's text was first

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 33

¹⁷² Eric Griffin, 'Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing 'the Spaniard' in the Old World and the New,' *The New Centennial Review*, 2:1, 2002, pp. 78-81. Griffin, in all fairness, also admits that "[w]hat we cannot hear in these passages from the *Acts and Monuments*... is the Black Legend of Spanish Cruelty" (p. 81).

¹⁷³ Betty S. Travitsky, 'Reprinting Tudor History: the Case of Catherine of Aragon,' *Renaissance*

published in English only four and a half years into Elizabeth's reign (and at a time when Anglo-Spanish relations were particularly stable) and it becomes clear that his reductive portrayal of Katherine of Aragon should be seen not so much as a latent endorsement of hispanophobia, but as a pragmatic, and in some ways very necessary, genealogical defence of the Elizabethan Protestant succession.

Thus, it can be seen that most early Elizabethan texts patently fail to corroborate the view of Hispanism propagated by the Marian Protestants. Indeed, whether embracing the spirit of religious 'binarism' which catalysed the Marian hispanophobes in the first place (as in the case of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*), or whether adopting a purposefully reactionary attitude to Spain (as in Aylmer's *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes*), there is little within them to suggest that English attitudes to Spain could have been anywhere near as hostile or as clearly demarcated as Knox and others had been previously articulating. Even so, one should be aware that the reason why the Spaniards are barely alluded to in these early Elizabethan texts could be one and the same as why Mary is hardly mentioned in them. Conscious, maybe, that England was technically still an ally of Spain, and knowing from previous experience that any attempts to censure the government's policy could end with drastic personal consequences for themselves, Elizabethan pamphleteers might have preferred to gloss over the thorny issue of Spain rather than risk offending the sensibilities of the new Queen's government. This could very well suggest that the lack of anti-Spanish texts in the first few years of Elizabeth's reign can be attributed as much to the non-existence of

a “Spanyishe plague”¹⁷⁴ during 1554-1558 as to an attendant dread of antagonising the newly-formed government, almost in the same way that fear of offending the monarch has been used to explain the lack of celebratory pieces in the aftermath of the Armada itself.¹⁷⁵ Yet, feasible though this proposition may sound, it does not in any way explain why there are hardly any incidental references in early Elizabethan pamphlets to either Philip or his Spanish retainers. Even in publications that were not sanctioned by the *Stationers’ Register* such as Thomas Brice’s *A compendiou[s regi]ster in Metre, contei[ning the] names, and pacient suffry[ngs of the] membres of Jesus Christ, a[nd the tor]mented; and cruelly burned [within] Englande* (1559),¹⁷⁶ a versified history of the Marian Protestant martyrs that is said to have cost the printers Richard Adams and Owen Rogers two hefty fines from the pertinent authorities,¹⁷⁷ one cannot help noticing the Spaniards through their sheer absence within the text - almost as if all that had been written about them a few years before had been no more than a historiographic sleight of hand on the part of the Protestant pamphleteers. To sideline certain issues in the interest of political caution, after all, may have been one thing; to consistently and unfailingly ‘rewrite’ recent history clearly another.

¹⁷⁴ Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects* (Geneva, 1558), [sig. i4^r – not, as printed, i2].

¹⁷⁵ See Anthony Esler, ‘Robert Greene and the Spanish Armada,’ *English Literary History*, 32, 1965, pp. 314-332.

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Brice, *A compendiou[s regi]ster in Metre, contei[ning the] names, and pacient suffry[ngs of the] membres of Jesus Christ, a[nd the tor]mented; and cruelly burned [within] Englande* (London, 1559).

¹⁷⁷ See E. A. Arber’s *An English garner: ingatherings from our history and literature*, Vol. 4 (London: privately published, 1882), p. 154.

2. A 'discourse' in translation: the Dutch rebellion and the resurgence of anti-Spanish sentiment in English polemical literature

How exactly did English hispanophobia stir from its early Elizabethan slumber? Though no one, to my knowledge, has so far tried to fully engage with this question, there is more than enough tangential commentary on the topic for us to be able to glean what could perhaps be termed 'the modern academic consensus' on the subject. Andrew Hadfield, for example, cites the Geneva Bible of 1560 and its attendant millennial commentary as the central catalysts behind most of the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish propaganda of the 1570s and 1580s, arguing that its reformist interpretation of history reinforced an essentially 'conspiratorial' reading of events such as the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570 or the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 - which in itself served to legitimise English attempts to set up an alternative Protestant variant to Spanish models of colonisation.¹⁷⁸ This view, which essentially reduces the relationship between England and Spain in the 1560s and 1570s to a matter of cut-throat economics, is mirrored in Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England*, where Englishmen's renewed interest in maligning or discrediting Spain is repeatedly contextualised against their own nascent enthusiasm for overseas expansionism.¹⁷⁹

I do not intend to dispute the accuracy of Hadfield's and Helgerson's readings – first, because I think that they make considerable sense when set against a mid- to late

¹⁷⁸ See Andrew Hadfield, 'Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism and the Fear of the Apocalypse,' *Reformation*, 3, 1998, pp. 303-322.

¹⁷⁹ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 181-187.

1570s context and, secondly, because I intend to refer back to them later during the course of this very chapter. However, at the same time, I do not believe that they fully serve to explicate why Englishmen suddenly decided to channel their energies into anti-Spanish publications some time during the late 1560s. Even though events such as Elizabeth's excommunication or the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre *did* induce the English populace to grow increasingly resentful towards the Catholic Spanish – and even though economic motives, without a doubt, were never far from the propagandists' political agenda – I still think that the resurgence of anti-Hispanism has to be seen, first and foremost, as a reaction to Spain's increasing militarism on the European continent and the threat which this posed to England's national security. More particularly, I would like to argue, it stems out of the combination of alarmism, Protestant indignation and latent distrust of the Habsburg dynasty that, stoked throughout by a never-ending supply of incoming foreign propaganda, was engendered by what has come to be popularly known as the Dutch rebellion.

Crucial to this process were the events witnessed in the Dutch provinces in August, 1567. In that year the Duke of Alba's army, the finest and most well-equipped at the time, arrived in the Low Countries with orders to curb the anti-Catholic iconoclastic rage that had began a year earlier and restore some badly-needed order to the Dutch provinces. For most Protestant Englishmen, this was hardly a welcome development. Suspicious of Philip's motives ever since his days as Mary's co-regent – unsettled, no doubt, by the thought that Alba's mission might herald the beginning of a long-term military onslaught against other Protestant nations - it was only to be expected that Elizabeth's subjects should have looked at Alba's army, now conveniently stationed

within striking distance in the Netherlands, and wondered whether one day it might be used against England itself. As Burghley himself would later famously go on to say, Alba's presence in the Low Countries came to be interpreted as an incursion into "the very counterscarp" of Protestant England.¹⁸⁰

Although official English responses to the conflict were somewhat guarded to begin with, this did not stop a number of privately printed pamphlets appearing on the subject in the years immediately after the start of the troubles. Almost all of these were translations of Dutch originals – like the case of *A briefe request or declaracion presented unto Madame the Duchesse of Parma. & c. Regente of the lowe Countrie of Flaunders* (1566), a list of grievances delivered to Philip's half-sister and regent after the first outburst of Calvinistic image-breaking and duly "Englished by W. F."¹⁸¹ - and have to be contextualised against the widespread efforts made by the Dutch rebels to foment outside Protestant interest in their anti-Spanish struggle. This rather unique set of circumstances – in which a country that had recently been flooded with anti-Spanish tracts now came to be inundated by a barrage of anti-Spanish material in translation – raises one or two fundamental questions about the genesis and subsequent dissemination of the pamphlets we are dealing with. Actually, it is not so much a problem of distinguishing between what is a piece of original English writing and what is a

¹⁸⁰ See R. B. Wernham, 'English Policy and the Revolt of the Netherlands,' in *Britain and the Netherlands: Papers delivered to the Oxford-Netherlands Historical Conference 1959*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), p. 29.

¹⁸¹ *A briefe request or declaracion presented unto Madame the Duchesse of Parme. & c. Regente of the lowe Countrie of Flaunders: By the Lordes and Nobilitie of the Same Countrie*, trans. W. F. (London, 1566), [title-page].

translation of a Dutch original – a task that can usually be achieved by a simple visual scan of the title-page itself – but one of making allowances for the common tendency among Renaissance translators to expand, and in some cases rewrite, large sections of their original material. Moreover, it is also hard to gauge to what extent these pamphlets represent an accurate reflection of English feeling on the Dutch rebellion - since many of them, as I have already mentioned, were specifically commissioned by the Dutch in an attempt to influence other Protestant countries to join them in the fight against the Catholic Spaniards.

A typical example of the murky web of propagandistic interests at stake can be seen in the publication of Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus's infamous *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae*, a vividly-written denunciation of inquisitorial practice that was purportedly written by a Sevillian Lutheran and which first emerged in English, barely a year after its original appearance in Latin at Heidelberg in 1567, under the title *A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*. Even though the translation was carried out by the English lawyer Vincent Skinner, it is known that the Flemish man-of-letters Charles Utenhove took great interest in the pamphlet's publication in England and even went as far as corresponding on the subject with the English ambassador in Heidelberg at the time, Christopher Mundt.¹⁸² At least one recent commentator has linked its authorship to the Spanish apostate, Antonio Del Corro, whose long trajectory in exile saw him

¹⁸² K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War,' in *Britain and the Netherlands: Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference*, Vol. 5, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), p. 40, footnote 18.

undertake ministerial duties in Flanders and whose *A Supplication exhibited to the moste Mightie Prince Philip king of Spain* (1577) tackles the theme of inquisitorial malpractice from a similar angle – although this remains more of a case of wilful supposition than of demonstrable fact.¹⁸³ Doubtless, if there is anything to be learned from the ‘mystery’ surrounding Montanus’s pamphlet, it is that the traditional interrelation between text and authorial point of production sometimes has to be overlooked when dealing with works of early modern propaganda – since it was often the case that writers of political polemic purposefully sought to distance themselves from their own work. The fate that befell men such as John Stubbes – who was imprisoned, tortured and mutilated for having written a pamphlet against Elizabeth’s projected marriage with the Duke of Anjou¹⁸⁴ - makes it easy to understand why.

Once suitable allowances are made for the problems of authorial identity and geographical derivation, it is indeed possible to detect a similar pattern between the chronological development of ‘Englished’ Dutch texts and those published on Spanish matters by the Marian exiles. With the exception of one or two pamphlets such as the anonymous *Certein Letters wherin is set forth a Discourse of the Peace* (1576) – a text which not only highlights Philip’s responsibility for the Dutch crisis, but additionally exhorts Englishmen to “thanck God we are delivered from him” in a manner which suggests that it may very well have been an original work of English polemic (or at the

¹⁸³ Brian Van Hove, ‘Beyond the Myth of the Inquisition: Ours is ‘The Golden Age,’ ’ *Faith and Reason*, Winter, 1992. <http://www.ewtn.com/library/HUMANITY/FR92402.TXT> (28 May, 2004).

¹⁸⁴ The title of Stubbes’s pamphlet was *The discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French mariage* (London, 1579) and he had his right hand struck off for his efforts.

very least a heavily-altered translation)¹⁸⁵ - initial accounts of the Dutch revolt tended to underplay the role Philip had taken in the troubles, very much in the same manner that Mary herself had been exculpated from all blame in some early Marian anti-governmental texts,¹⁸⁶ either by censuring “the intollerable yoke of bondage and Spanysh tirannie” brought about by the arrival of the Duke of Alba as in the anonymous *A true rehersall of the Honorable & Tryumphant Victory: which the defenders of the Trueth have had againste the tyranical and bloodthirsty heape of the Albanists* (1573),¹⁸⁷ or else by shifting the blame directly onto the activities of his inquisitors as in the case of *A defen[ce] and true declaration o[f the] thinges lately done in the lowe countrey* (1571).¹⁸⁸

A similarly guarded and diplomatic line can be found in William of Orange’s *A Supplication to the Kinges Majestie of Spayne* (1573), an early precursor of the infamous *Apologie* that came to be published in England eight years later. Under the pretence that

¹⁸⁵ *Certein Letters wherin is set forth a Discourse of the Peace that was attempted and sought to have bin put in effecte by the Lordes and States of Holland and Zelande in the yeare of oure Lorde, 1574* (London, 1576), sig. B3^v.

¹⁸⁶ Knox’s *A godly letter sent too [sic] the fayethfull in London, Newcastle, Barwycke, and to all other within the realme off Englande* (Wesel, 1554), for example, is appended with a prayer designed to “[i]lluminate the harte off our soveraigne lady quene Marie/ with prignant giftes of thy holy ghoste” (sig. C2^r – separate title-page and signatures) – much in contrast to his later inflammatory attacks on the Tudor monarch. See, also, David Loades’s ‘John Foxe and the Traitors: the Politics of the Marian Persecution,’ *Studies in Church History, Vol. 30: Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), pp. 233-234.

¹⁸⁷ *A true rehersall of the Honorable & Tryumphant Victory: which the defenders of the Trueth have had againste the tyranical and bloodthirsty heape of the Albanists* (London, 1573), sigs. A7^r-A7^v.

¹⁸⁸ See pp. 129-130 of this study.

Philip himself was not aware of what was going on in the Netherlands - a tactic also used in two other notable (anonymous) texts to have come out of the Orange camp: *A justification or cleering of the Prince of Orendge agaynst the false sclaunders* (1575) and *An Answer and true discourse to a certain Letter lately sent by the Duke of Alba (in manner of a pardon) to those of Amsterdam* (1573)¹⁸⁹ - *A Supplication* returns time and again to the subject of the inquisition, politicising what was supposed to be a mechanism of religious control in order to establish a direct link between the Spanish presence and the eroding of the country's so-called 'traditional liberties':

And to that intent, have they sought, to plant in this countrie the inquisition, devised and invented in Spaine by certaine Jewes, and Renegados, by that meanes to breake all privileges, rightes, and auncient customes, and to make frustrate all sworn contracts, usages, and counselles, and so to get a full power and dominion over all your Majesties faithfull servants, which stand to the oth which they have made to your Majestie, not acknowledging any foraine Lords, spirituall or temporall, which might seeke by false accusations to impute unto your subjectes, heresie and rebellion, to the intent therby to attayne to their purpose.

Together with this impassioned denunciation of the inquisition as an instrument of political suppression, Orange's *Supplication* also remonstrates strongly against the "most horrible and not before heard of tormentes and murtherings" suffered under Alba's rule in the provinces. Paradigms of Spanish tyranny, barbarity and, above all, transgressive

¹⁸⁹ *A justification or cleering of the Prince of Orendge agaynst the false sclaunders* (London, 1575) states that the origin of all the "distrustes, troubles, & mischiefes" in the Low Countries can be found in what "those good Counsaylers had perswaded his majestie to doo" (sig. C4^r) – much in the same way that *An Answer and true discourse to a certain Letter lately sent by the Duke of Alba (in manner of a pardon) to those of Amsterdam... [f]aithefully translated out of the Dutch into English, by T. W.* (London, 1573) establishes a clear distinction between "our most natural Lord and King[,] the kyng of Spaine" and the "unjust, and cruell tyranny" enforced by others under his name (sigs. A3^r, A2^r).

sexuality are held up as supporting evidence, thereby transforming Castilian governmental practice almost into a Hobbesian inversion of ‘civilisation’ and its values:

To consider what number of honest woomen and yonge maydens they have with force and violence ravished & that the one after the other: yea misused some even to the death. Howe often have they compelled the husbände to remaine with the wife, and the father with the daughter, to force them with their eyes to beholde their most vilanous filthinesse, and made them as instruments to the accomplishinge of their luxurious luste, using such unnaturall and beastly fashions, that wee are in a manner abashed and astoni[sh]ed to declare the same to your Majestie. Howe often hath it happened, that the husband seeking to defend hys wyfe or daughter of their ravishment, that they have all together as furious currees, run out of the house together crying Spania, Spania...¹⁹⁰

Although the theme of the Spaniards’ sexual misconduct had already undergone extensive treatment in the work of John Bradford (as well as in the anti-Spanish outpourings of many Italian polemicists in the first half of the century¹⁹¹), it is arguable that no one ever wielded it more efficiently as a tool of negative stereotyping than the Dutch propagandists. Primarily, this was because they redefined the relationship between sexual violation and territorial domination; that is to say, they preferred to see the former as a congenital expression of ‘Spanishness’ in its own right (hence the monstrous fusion of patriotism and sexual rage behind the cry of “Spania, Spania”) rather than as an inevitable, if unfortunate by-product of the latter. That is why texts such as the anonymous *Certayne Newes of the whole discription, ayde, and helpe... for the comfort*

¹⁹⁰ William of Orange, *A Supplication to the Kinges Majestie of Spayne, made by the Prince of Orange* (London, 1572), sigs. B3^v, C2^r, C3^r.

¹⁹¹ See Sverker Arnoldsson, ‘La Leyenda Negra: Estudios Sobre Sus Orígenes,’ *Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift*, 66:3, 1960; in particular Section Three: ‘Italianos y españoles en el siglo XVI,’ pp. 24-103. I have also touched upon the crosscultural interrelation between English and Italian forms of hispanophobia in pp. 226-228 of this study.

and deliveraunce of the poore Christians in the low Countries (1574) assured their readers that the Spaniards would “not bee content with our Cities, Landes, goodes, and possessions, but they would force our Wives, ravishe and defile our Daughters.”¹⁹² Spanish concupiscence, by this stage, was not simply an abstract symbol of the oppression of the Dutch people; it had become a concrete and, in the eyes of the rebel propagandists, very much self-evident ethnological fact.

In order to underscore this vision of Spanish sexual and physical oppression, Protestant pamphleteers frequently resorted to one of the favourite devices of Dutch anti-Spanish propaganda – the personal testimony of apostate or politically-disaffected Spaniards. Although Orange admittedly eschews such a technique in his *Supplication*, it was used with great effect in many other important pieces of anti-Spanish rhetoric of the period, including Vincent Skinner’s translation of Montanus’s *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae* (1568), Antonio Del Corro’s *A Supplication exhibited to the moste Mightie Prince Philip king of Spain* (1577), and, perhaps most significantly of all – even though it was not translated into English until 1583 - in the Dutch-sponsored translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas’s *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*.¹⁹³ Even when not dealing specifically with the inquisition’s activities in the Netherlands, the fact that these men, Spaniards by birth and loyal Catholics until the time of their apostasy/ rejection of Spanish governmental methods,

¹⁹² *Certayne Newes of the whole discription, ayde, and helpe of the Christian Princes and Nobles... for the comfort and deliveraunce of the poore Christians in the low Countries* (London, 1574), sig. B3^v.

¹⁹³ See pp. 134-137 of this study.

could openly criticise the machinations of inquisitorial practice evidently facilitated the accusations made against the Spanish Catholic Church in texts such as William of Orange's *Supplication* - inasmuch as their confessions came to be used as incontrovertible evidence of the double-standards and corrupt policies behind the institution in question.

A case in point is that of the mentioned Spanish apostate and pro-Dutch propagandist, Antonio Del Corro. Exiled in France, Flanders and England for most of his adult life, Del Corro wrote about a wide variety of theological, political and scholarly matters during the course of his peregrinations, at one point even coming to publish a handbook of Spanish grammar in English.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, it is his relation of the persecutions suffered by the Protestants in the Low Countries (which also included an account of "the chiefe occasions" leading to his disenchantment with Roman Catholicism and subsequent apostasy¹⁹⁵) that would have most served to consolidate the position of the pro-Dutch lobby. Structured in the form of an open letter to Philip II – which, like his earlier *An Epistle or godlie admonition... sent to the Pastoures of the Flemish Church* (1569), is built around the diplomatic affectation that the Spanish monarch still needed to be informed of what was really happening in the Low Countries¹⁹⁶ - *A Supplication exhibited to the moste Mightie Prince Philip king of Spain*

¹⁹⁴ Antonio Del Corro, *The Spanish grammer: with certaine rules teaching both the Spanish and French tongues* (London, 1590).

¹⁹⁵ Antonio Del Corro, *A Supplication exhibited to the moste Mightie Prince Philip king of Spain* (London, 1577), sig. E6^r; hereafter referred to as *A Supplication*.

¹⁹⁶ See Antonio Del Corro, *An Epistle or godlie admonition, of a learned Minister of the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, sent to the Pastoures of the Flemish Church in Antwerp*, trans. Geoffrey

argues against the compulsory enforcement of religion by subverting its psychological logic (“For whosoever possesse anye religion against theyr own consciences... do never embrace the same sincerely... but contrariwise become more frowarde and waiward”), as well as by highlighting the civil and sexual discord which it inevitably engenders:

But yet... I [be]seech your Majestie (moste gracious so[ve]raine) to weigh and consider how ma[ny] greate mischiefs and inconveniencies ensue of this civill dissention and disc[ord:] robbing, spoiling, and murdering w[ith]out measure, honest matrons are corr[ec]ted, chaste virgins defloured, mens go[ods]... taken perforce, all k[inds] of murther and manqueiling put in p[ra]ctise and exercise, some by the sword[e,] some by fire even in their owne house[s]... some drowned in the rivers whereby t[he] aire infected with the filthy corruption [of] the dead carcasses, bredeth a plague, wh[i]che is alwayes incident unto warres, a[nd] commonlye accompanied with great dearth, bycause where tumultes and uprores be raised, there can be no tillage [nor] husbandry maintained.

To prove his point, Del Corro considers the case of the inquisition in his native Spain and its infelicitous attempts to impose religious tyranny upon the Spanish people. More particularly, he embarks on a series of powerful and highly systematic attacks against its anti-social and anti-communal agenda, ranging from denouncing the inquisitors’ “filthy and uncleane single life, and the abominable vowes of theyr counterfaite chastitie” to presenting the reader with a detailed exposition of the different types of torture used by the inquisitorial courts against their political opponents:

[F]or suche as durste either privyly or openly make theyr mone to others, or declare their judgement in religion taisted the Inquisitours tyranny therfore: some being executed by fire quicke, some strangled to deathe, some perishing uppon the racke... some by the filth and corruption of the prison, others moste cruelly intreated at the Gaolers handes.

Here, as elsewhere across the pamphlet, Del Corro's Spanish Catholic past acts as a guarantee of reportorial authenticity; it serves, as it were, to lift his testimony above the possibility of human condemnation. That, essentially, is why Del Corro (a) repeatedly strives to contextualise the events he is relating against the framework of his own personal experience and (b) emphasises the value of ocular testimony to an extent not seen in any of the works we have been looking at so far. Meditating on his youthful repudiation of the inquisition, for example, he writes how one day God began "to open the eyes of my understanding, & to give me (as it were) certain spectacles, by meanes wherof I espied many horrible & abhominable things which before time were unknowen to me..." Similarly, just before describing Alba's 1567 entrance into Antwerp, he asks the reader "to give eare to a thing that happened at Antwarp in mine own sight and presence... the twelfth of March anno. 1567."¹⁹⁷

To understand why first-hand testimonies like these were so crucial to the Protestant insurgents, it is necessary to consider the essentially fictive nature of many Dutch accusations against the Spanish. Despite being virtually undeniable that a large amount of atrocities were committed by both sides during the course of the rebellion, it is also demonstrable, as the Dutch historian K. W. Swart has pointed out, that many Dutch polemicists "grossly exaggerated Spanish misdeeds and entirely ignored the tangible benefits which the Low Countries derived from their personal union with Spain."¹⁹⁸ While it is not in the interests of this study, of course, to act as an apologia for

¹⁹⁷ *A Supplication*, sigs. R1^r, Q4^v, D2^r, E1^r, C1^r, R5^r.

¹⁹⁸ 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War,' p. 36.

Spanish involvement in the Netherlands, it nonetheless cannot be denied that, just like the exiles had done during Mary Tudor's reign, many pro-Dutch pamphleteers necessarily resorted to 'first-hand testimonies' as a way of buttressing what were no more than half-truths or outright fabrications against the Spanish. It is fundamentally for this reason that most of the texts concerned have an extremely high incidence of the personal pronoun 'I' - or what, borrowing the kind of terminology employed by the French cultural historian Michel de Certeau, could be described as the "very point where language is connected to the enunciation of the subject."¹⁹⁹ The possessive 'I,' in other words, is used both as a linguistic metaphor for the act of seeing and a form of extra-diegetic authentication in its own right, imbuing the propagandistic tract in this way with the sort of immediacy and sense of credibility encountered in straightforward works of non-fiction.

Among the most dramatic instances of this strategy can be found in Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus's *A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*. In its bitterly hispanophobic pages, Protestant anti-inquisitorial feeling is both given expression and validated by the confessional structure of the narrative - very much in the same manner, I would argue, that John Bradford sought in *The cotype of a letter* to authenticate his own testimony by claiming that he was working "at this present among Spaniardes."²⁰⁰ Montanus achieves this

¹⁹⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 257.

²⁰⁰ John Bradford, *The cotype of a letter sent by John Bradforth to the Right Honorable Lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke* (n.p., 1556), sig. A4^v.

primarily by maintaining a strong authorial presence across the narrative – either through direct textual intervention (in his preface, for example, he is quick to assure the reader that “[w]e take God to recorde and our conscience that all this is true”²⁰¹) or else through the use of strategically-placed authorial asides (which in themselves function as subliminal reminders of the text’s status as a work of first-hand testimony).

Typically, as one perhaps might expect, this sense of ‘authorial presence’ is at its strongest when Montanus deals with the controversial topic of inquisitorial sexual malpractice. Mirroring Bradford’s earlier denunciations of sexual misconduct among the Catholic priesthood,²⁰² the narrator relies on a combination of highly voyeuristic reportage and bracketed authorial asides, together with a predictably large dose of propagandistic sensationalism, to emphasise how the inquisitors hide behind doctrinal/inquisitorial procedure in order to indulge in sadistic forms of sexual gratification:

For these wicked villaines without any regard of humanity or honesty, (which me thinketh they should somewhat respect, if it were but only for their long beards and side gownes, with the name and countenance of gravitie and holynes which they pretend, seing that neither for Gods sake, nor for the honesty of the good and Godly matrones & sober maidens they wil not forbear one jote of that barbarous impudency) cause them first to be stri[p]ped into their shirts and smockes, and then out of them also welnigh (saving your reverence) up to their privities, drawinge on a closse linnen breech, and after that make bare theyr armes also to their shoulders, as though the wrench and racke, wherewithall they are about to torment them, were not able to perce their linnen, or as though their linnen breeches would more manerly cover those partes, which they may be ashamed to discover,

²⁰¹ Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtile practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*, trans. Vincent Skinner (London, 1568), sig. ¶B2^v; henceforth referred to as *A Discovery and playne Declaration*.

²⁰² See p. 57 of this study.

then could theyr side shirtes or smockes. And here those ranke Rammes declare how they will not lose that devilish pleasure, which they take in that shamefull and unseemely sight, though the poore wretches that suffer this, bye it both with paine & shame enough full dearely.²⁰³

By equating sexual profligacy with the Catholic clergy in this way, Montanus clearly taps into the tradition of anti-priestly tirades encountered in Protestant texts from Luther and Melancthon's *Dettung der czwo grewlichen Figuren* (1523)²⁰⁴ to John Ponet's *An Apologie Fully Aunsweringe... a blasphemose book gathered by D. Steph. Gardiner* (1555).²⁰⁵ Drawing upon biblical (and in particular Pauline) acclamations of sexual self-restraint as the benchmark of civilised Protestantism, he utilises sexual deviance both as a dialectical tool which delegitimises the aspirations and beliefs of the Spanish priesthood and as a pivotal emblem of difference between the Catholic and Protestant faiths.

Montanus's portrayal of inquisitorial depravity is, of course, made doubly potent by the fact that once again we are ostensibly dealing with the testimony of a Spaniard and a former Catholic to boot. Although it may not have struck W. S. Maltby as immediately obvious,²⁰⁶ this vitally important detail transforms *A Discovery and playne Declaration* from a sensationalist, semi-pornographic account of inquisitorial misdeeds

²⁰³ *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. G3^v.

²⁰⁴ See Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, 'Unnatural Conceptions: the Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England,' *Past and Present*, 92, 1981, p. 26.

²⁰⁵ John Ponet, *An Apologie Fully Aunsweringe... a blasphemose book gathered by D. Steph. Gardiner* (Strasbourg, 1555), sig. E8^v.

²⁰⁶ Maltby, characteristically, condemns Montanus's pamphlet for "reaching depths worthy of the Marquis de Sade," but barely considers its value as religio-political propaganda. See *The Black Legend in England*, p. 39.

to something tantamount (in Dutch Protestant eyes at least) to an unmediated, first-hand corroboration of the barbarity and oppression that supposedly launched the Dutch anti-Spanish rebellion in the first place. This seems to have been implicitly recognised by the narrator himself – if we are to judge from the way he appears to be conscious of his pamphlet’s value as a disseminator of potentially damaging propaganda. Even more so than Bradford’s *The cōpye of a letter, A Discovery and playne Declaration* displays a recurring and near obsessive concern with the psychological mechanics of revelation and disclosure – a proclivity that not only leads its author to frequently ruminate upon how his text will be received “once noysed & bruted abroad,” but, what is more, finds sublimated expression in the way he moulds his documentation of inquisitorial misdeeds into a stage play, quite literally, about to be played out in front of his readers:

Then the linkes being lighted, and al the players entred that have partes in this tragedie, the Executioner, who taried last to make all fast (as they say) and to see every man in before him, commeth also at the length, and of him selfe alone maketh a shew worthy the sight, more then all the rest of that route, being wholly arayed all over from the toppe of hys head, to the soule of his foote in a sute of blacke canvas, such as the superstitious Spanyards weare one Maundie thursday when they scourge & whip them selves, as the custome is in most places under popery...²⁰⁷

The theatricalisation of inquisitorial practice seen here can be read as a strategy of authorial control (in the sense that it tries to ‘steer’ the reader through the events being narrated) as much as a carnivalesque reinforcement of ‘otherness’ (similar to that encountered in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* when, in one of the book’s short sections devoted to the Spanish Inquisition, the narrator describes how a victim was

²⁰⁷ *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sigs. G3^v, G3^r.

burned at the stake with “a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise” on his head²⁰⁸). More importantly, it also demonstrates to what extent Montanus’s pamphlet relies on the persuasive immediacy of ocular evidence – in as far as the whole episode can be seen as an attempt to replicate, for the benefit of the reader, the very events that the author himself allegedly witnessed.

3. The sacking of Antwerp: eschatological paradigms and the emergence of an exclusively ‘English’ Dutch text

So far we have seen how English hispanophobia went through a period of early Elizabethan dormancy that was largely terminated by a propaganda campaign conducted from abroad. This would seem to justify the thesis that Marian and Elizabethan forms of anti-Hispanism bear little ideological and political correlation with each other. But could this really be the case? Can the influence of Marian anti-Spanish polemic upon Elizabeth’s reign, as Joan Marie Thomas maintains, “be accepted only with some reservation”?²⁰⁹ I do not believe so. Although one or two isolated cases exist in which native English texts appear, outwardly at least, to have been more influenced by contemporary Dutch propaganda than the writings of their Marian predecessors - I am specifically thinking of those very brief pages which John Foxe added to his 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments* and which portray the inquisition as a vehicle of

²⁰⁸ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, Vol. 4, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1837), p. 450.

²⁰⁹ Joan Marie Thomas, ‘Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553-1558’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984), p. 259.

institutionalised anarchy²¹⁰ - one need only look at the biblical phraseology and strong binary outlook of English anti-Spanish material that begins to emerge from about the mid-1570s onwards to understand why scholars such as Loades or Harbison have repeatedly stressed its ideological indebtedness to the work of the Marian exiles.²¹¹

This seeming incongruity can be explained by the gradual ascendancy during these years of the Earl of Leicester and the so-called 'Progressive' courtly faction. Virulently anti-Catholic, deeply convinced of the need to defend their afflicted co-religionists in the Low Countries, the Progressives' political agenda hinged on the same brand of ultra-conservative Protestantism as that of their Marian forerunners and, as such, would have perpetuated the militantly nationalist ideology which lay at the heart of exile thought itself. This ensured that, while the pro-war circle took an active role in the publication of translated Dutch texts and even patronised foreign Protestant exiles such as Del Corro,²¹² its theocratic and essentially Anglo-Protestant outlook remained closer in spirit to that of the Marian hispanophobes than to that of the Dutch Protestants. Also, by virtue of the Progressives' support and active promulgation of the tenets of radical Protestantism, the movement helped Englishmen view proceedings such as Elizabeth's excommunication or the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre against the exegetical perspective identified by Hadfield in 'Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism and

²¹⁰ *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, Vol. 4, pp. 447-451.

²¹¹ See David Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 247; Elmore Harris Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 330-331.

²¹² Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 338.

the Fear of the Apocalypse,' thereby transforming even the most distant of events into 'incontrovertible' evidence for the existence of a Spanish master plan for a universal Catholic empire.²¹³

It is against this parallelistic use of exegesis that we must contextualise the event that Anthony Pagden rates as the single most important catalyst towards "the creation, at Flemish and English hands, of the so-called Black Legend"²¹⁴ - the 1576 sacking of Antwerp by the Spanish *tercios*. If the arrival of the Duke of Alba in Antwerp in 1567, after all, came to represent an incursion into "the very counterscarp of England," then the sacking of Antwerp of 1576 surely became the most infamous exemplar of Spanish cruelty yet, possibly the strongest and most alarming manifestation, in English eyes at least, of the intrinsically perfidious nature of the Catholic Spaniards. Parallels were quickly drawn in England between Antwerp's experience and the fall of Jerusalem related in the *Book of Daniel* – with most writers focusing on the sack as a post-biblical warning sign or admonition intended for the benefit of contemporary Protestant Englishmen.²¹⁵ Though, in many ways, this reaction was due to the exegetical reformulation of history mentioned above, in part it was also triggered by Antwerp's mercantile and geographical position in relation to England. Not only was the city an important focus for English trade abroad – we have already seen how English merchants in Antwerp went as far as supporting a second Spanish match to preserve their

²¹³ See p. 84 of this study.

²¹⁴ Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 4.

²¹⁵ See p. 107 of this study.

mercantile interests²¹⁶ - but it was also the nearest epicentre of Habsburg power in Europe, stretching far beyond its position across the heart of the Low Countries. That is why, when a mutinous army of Spaniards run amok in the city between 4 and 5 November, 1576 and killed 6000 of Antwerp's inhabitants, the event not only induced a sense of collective anxiety among the English population bearing no Elizabethan parallel save possibly for that witnessed in the years immediately preceding the launch of the Spanish Armada, but also made it easier for writers to return to the exegetical logic and radical 'binarism' previously employed by the Marian hispanophobes.

At any rate, the sacking's impact on the English national psyche can be calibrated from the material circumstances surrounding some of the texts published in England in the event's wake. George Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, for example, came to be written, printed and put on sale within a month after the sacking - a substantial act of literary production that would surely have never taken place had there not been a corresponding interest in the event among the native English readership.²¹⁷ This is complemented by a dramatic rise in the number of texts published on the rebellion. While translations of Dutch or French pamphlets, it is true, did not by any means stop pouring into the country after 1576, these were now counterbalanced by an increasingly large amount of 'English' accounts of the Dutch crisis, almost as if the events in Antwerp had finally alerted native Englishmen to the very real and tangible threat posed by the Spanish military presence in the Netherlands. That these texts were considerably

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 72-73.

²¹⁷ See Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 172.

influenced by the efforts of their Dutch predecessors, I readily admit, there can be very little doubt. Gascoigne's pamphlet, to go no further, is not only presented as a work of first-hand testimony like many Dutch propaganda tracts, but also takes a similarly prurient delight in chronicling the sexual misdeeds of the Spanish, at one point even going as far as detailing how a young woman was forced "in bed between two Spaniards, to worke their wicked and detestable wil with her."²¹⁸

Yet, while Gascoigne followed his Dutch Protestant forebears in some respects, he also diverged from them in his objective handling of the actual sacking. Some will no doubt dismiss this as an inevitable by-product of Gascoigne's nationality (can an Englishman, by definition, have anything other than a different viewpoint to a Dutchman?), but I believe that his unbiased approach can be explained just as much by his 'Englishness' as by his own unique sense of authorial detachment as a writer. For example, in *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, Gascoigne's verse account of his years as a pro-Dutch mercenary in the Low Countries which appeared in the 1575 edition of *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire*, he had exhibited no qualms in undermining his fellow English mercenaries' valour by relating how, upon hearing the sound of advancing Spanish drums, most of them had "bitte their thombes" with fear.²¹⁹ Similarly, in *Gascoignes voyage into Hollande*, another of the texts included in the 1575 *Posies*, he had not let his allegiance to the Dutch cause prevent him from commenting that

²¹⁸ George Gascoigne, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* (London, 1576), sig. C1^v.

²¹⁹ George Gascoigne, *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire. Corrected, perfected and augmented by the Authour* (London, 1575), sig. k3^r [folio cxlix]. Gascoigne's text is divided into a number of parts, without any systematic pagination or signatures. I have therefore cited both signatures and folio numbers in order to guide the reader through the text's erratic pagination.

Dutchmen were “a race of Bulbeefe borne/... And eke their braines with double beare are lynde...”²²⁰ Even so, it is in *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* where Gascoigne’s objectivity reaches its highest – and, as it were, most ‘un-Dutch’ - form of expression. Despite wishing midway through the pamphlet that the reader may “learne to detest the horrible cruelties of the Spanyerdes in all excecutions of warlike strategemes,” he is nevertheless detached enough from the proceedings to also make it clear that his intention is “not to robbe them [i.e. the Spaniards] of their deserved glorie, but to confesse that both their order & vallure in charging and entring was famous”²²¹ – an admission that would have been almost unthinkable in a purely ‘Dutch’ account of the sacking.²²²

Gascoigne’s strongly dualistic attitude to the Spanish can be partly explained by the mixture of awe and apprehension that the events in Antwerp inspired in contemporary Englishmen and women. Though the sacking’s impact upon the English psyche has been sadly ignored by modern historians, there is enough primary textual evidence to suggest that R. B. McKerrow must have come close to the truth when he asserted that “the fall of the town seems to have created a sensation in England, and to have been made an occasion of warnings to this country lest similar pride should end in

²²⁰ Ibid., sigs. K1^r-K1^v [folios 171-172].

²²¹ *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sigs. C7^v, C6^v-C7^r.

²²² For an example of a purely ‘Dutch’ reaction to the sacking, see *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, ed. E. H. Kossman and A. F. Mellink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 222.

like disaster.”²²³ Gascoigne’s highly moralistic stance, while by no means wholly representative of popular English reactions to the event, certainly appears to corroborate this view:

Wherein is to be noated, that the Spanyerdes and their faction, being but fyve thousande, the trenches made againste them of suche height as seemed invincible: the power within the Towne fifeteene or sixteene thousand able fighting men well armed, (I meane the Townesmen ready armed being coumpted:) it was charged, entred, & wonne in three howres... The which victory being miraculous and past mans capacitie, to comprehend how it should be possible, I must needs attribute unto Gods just wrath powred upon the inhabitants for their iniquitie, more then to the manhoode and force of the Spanyerdes... And let us also learne out of this rewfull tragedie to detest & avoyde those synnes, and prowde enormyties, which caused the wrath of God to be so furiouslye kindled and bent against the Towne of Antwerpe.

Gascoigne focuses on the sacking here predominantly as a coded admonition to Englishmen, a free-standing moral paradigm that needs to be unravelled and assimilated in order that he and his countrymen will be able to “amend our lyves” and achieve the “power and foresyght to withstande the mallyce of our enemyes.”²²⁴ According to Eleanor Rosenberg, this transforms Gascoigne’s text into an indirect defence of the interventionist lobby - in the sense that it provides “an argument and an excuse for intervention should the occasion arise.” For my part, I am inclined to agree. While it is true that Gascoigne’s account may not have been dedicated to Leicester or any other of the Progressives (perhaps a not altogether surprising fact, considering the rapidity with

²²³ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, Vol. 4, edited from the original texts by R. B. McKerrow; reprinted with corrections and supplementary notes by F. P. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 228.

²²⁴ *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sigs. C6^v-C7^v, C8^r.

which it came into print!), his associations with the Leicester pro-war circle were certainly strong enough, as Rosenberg herself has demonstrated, for him to have purposefully imbued his text with such strongly Progressive intentions.²²⁵

A similar, perhaps even more moralistic, angle of focus can be detected in the writings of contemporary Elizabethan balladeers. Although most of their ballads are no longer extant, the titles entered for them in the *Stationers' Register* - *A warnynge songe to Cities all to beware by Andwerps fall* (January 25, 1577), *Heavie Newes to all Christendom from the woofull towne of Antwerp comme* (July 1, 1577), *A godlie exhortacon unto Englande to repent him of the evill and sinfull waies shewing th[e] example and distruccon of Jer[usa]l[e]m and Andwarp* (November 15, 1578)²²⁶ – do not leave the reader in any doubt regarding their high-minded, semi-Calvinistic attitude towards the sacking. An extant example of the latter can be seen in Ralph Norris's *A Warning to London by the fall of Antwerp*, an undated single-sheet broadside that the editors of the *Short Title Catalogue* believe to have been published in 1577:

Let Antwerp warning be,
 thou stately London to beware:
 Lest resting in thy glee,
 thou wrapst thy self in wretched care
 Be vigilant, sleepe not in sin:
 Lest that thy foe doo enter in...
 Quail not but shew an english hart,
 Dout, dread, stil fear:
 For Antwerps plague approacheth neer.²²⁷

²²⁵ *Leicester: Patron of Letters*, pp. 172, 166-172.

²²⁶ See *Arber*, Vol. 2, pp. 137b, 140, 154.

²²⁷ Ralph Norris, *A Warning to London by the fall of Antwerp* (London, 1577?), a single-sheet broadside. See, also, *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 190.

It should be noted how the actual sacking of Antwerp takes second place here to the way the event was made to fit within the framework of English exegetical thought - with Norris preferring to stress the sacking's eschatological dimension rather than to chronicle the Spaniards' crimes against the native population. Inevitably, we are once again reminded of Marian anti-Spanish polemic - in particular how in texts like John Knox's *A Faythfull admonition* the Spaniards' "subvercion of the hole publicke estate and common wealth of Englande" is less important than the way they are represented as a godly scourge designed to "punysh our former ingratitude."²²⁸ This suggests that balladeers such as Norris may have been consciously eschewing the flood of translated Dutch propaganda in order to embrace a more Marian and eschatological angle of focus towards the event. Certainly this appears to be the case when it comes to Barnaby Rich's *Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people live without regarde of Martiall lawe* (1578). A long and thematically digressive treatise on the necessity of maintaining a strong military presence at home, it not only follows Gascoigne and Norris in viewing the sacking as the direct causal outcome of native moral transgressions, but in addition underscores its arguments with one of the most unflattering and acerbic accounts of Dutch ethical failings seen in early modern English:

²²⁸ John Knox, *A Faythfull admonition made by John Knox, unto the professours of Gods truthe in England* (Emden, 1554), sigs. E4^r, D3^v.

But Antwerpe thou thy woful wracke, thy spoyle hath proved plain
 where martiall mindes do want, no state in safety may remaine...
 For hadst thou trained but halfe the troupe, to bin of Mars his traine,
 that practisd dayly to be drunke, in Bacchus beastly vaine:
 Or hadst thou spent but halfe the pelfe, to maintaine martiall wightes
 that was consumde in vile excesse, by Bacchus drunken knightes,
 What keyser could have wrought thy woe, what prince have done thee[,]
 what forraine foe have thee anoid[?].²²⁹

Rich was not alone in highlighting Dutch moral deficiencies to such a pronounced degree. Even after England and the Netherlands became nominal allies in 1585 and the new political climate ensured that it was no longer expedient to malign the Dutch as before, the eschatological impulse was so strong among English writers that Antwerp's experience carried on being portrayed in similarly moralistic terms. Thomas Churchyard's account of the Hispano-Dutch Wars, published in 1587 under the title *A Lamentable, and pitifull Description, of the wofull warrres in Flaunders*, illustrates this point perfectly. Despite limiting his description of the actual sacking to a casual recognition that Antwerp was "spoyled, and in manye places burnt and defaced," Churchyard still spends a considerable amount of time suggesting how the event should galvanise Englishmen

to have suche regarde of God, and the leading of their lives, that they come not into the indignation of the highest, who often doth visite the base conditions of the people, with sword, fire and pestilence, and manye other punishmentes and plagues, that oure present daies doeth present us, and the worldes wickednesse cannot shunne.²³⁰

²²⁹ Barnaby Rich, *Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people live without regarde of Martiall lawe* (London, 1578), sigs. **3^v - **4^r.

²³⁰ Thomas Churchyard, *A Lamentable, and pitifull Description, of the wofull warrres in Flaunders* (London, 1587), sig. H2^v.

The overtly moralising tone witnessed in both the Rich and the Churchyard extracts should be read as a powerful form of theological self-definition - one in which Antwerp's experience is ruthlessly appropriated and placed within an eschatological context in order to reinforce the values and standards of English Protestantism at a time when they were coming under threat from both Spanish militarism and the machinations of the Counter-Reformation. S. M. Pratt, in his dated but still perspicacious essay 'Antwerp and the Elizabethan Mind,' describes this form of writing – sensationalist in tone, unashamedly moralistic in orientation - as the Elizabethan 'genre of alarm,' placing accounts of the sacking directly on a par with other contemporary 'alarmist' texts such as Robert Greene's and Thomas Lodge's *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (1587) or Thomas Nashe's *Christes Teares over Jerusalem* (1593).²³¹

What Pratt fails to observe, though, is that the moralistic tone adopted in these early representations of Antwerp's sacking also draws part of its roots from the strong current of eschatological thought found in most Marian works with an anti-Spanish disposition. Bartholomew Traheron's *A warning to England to repente... by the terrible exemple of Calece* (1558) and the anonymous *The Lamentacion of England* (1558), for example, both employ the same admonitory, sackcloth-and-ashes perspective as that used in Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* or Norris's *A Warning to London by the fall of Antwerp*, mixing strongly hispanophobic commentary with exhortations to "deteste thy unsindnes [sic], thy filthines, & beastlie abomination" and to "repent[,] repent, and

²³¹ S. M. Pratt, 'Antwerp and the Elizabethan Mind,' *Modern Language Quarterly*, 24, 1963, pp. 53-60.

bewaile thy miserable state.”²³² Does this mean, then, that from 1576 onwards English hispanophobia effectively cast aside the influence of Dutch anti-Spanish propaganda and returned, as it were, to its Marian point of origin? Overall I do believe that this is the case – although the increasingly complex and fractured nature of English anti-Hispanism ensured that future representations of Spain could never be as predictably one-dimensional as they had been during the days of the Marian Protestants. Traces of Dutch influence still existed on a number of different levels – if not diluting the virulence of English anti-Spanish feeling, then definitely trying to bring it more in line with its continental counterpart. Translated Dutch accounts of the sacking such as the anonymous *An Historicall Discourse, or rather a tragicall Historie of the citie of Antwerpe* (1586), for example, were noticeably silent on the subject of Dutch moral failings and concentrated instead on the sheer physical and mental horrors associated with the atrocity, emphasising how that ‘[n]oble citie the verie paragon and flower of all other ... cities and townes in Europe [was] cruellie sacked.’²³³ Neither was this angle of focus, it has to be said, limited solely to Dutch translations. Rare as it may have been in most early English accounts of the sacking, it begins to crop up in certain ‘official’ texts after 1585 - by which time England’s entrance into the Dutch conflict had made it necessary to adopt a less inimical line towards the nation’s new allies. This is exemplified in the English government’s own printed justification of their decision to

²³² Bartholomew Traheron, *A warning to England to repente... by the terrible exemple of Calece* (Wesel?, 1558), sig. B3^r; *The Lamentacion of England. With an addycion off Callis 1558* (n.p., 1558), sig. A4^v.

²³³ *An Historicall Discourse, or rather a tragicall Historie of the citie of Antwerpe, since the departure of king Phillip king of Spaine out of Netherland* (London, 1586), sig. E3^v.

side militarily with the Dutch rebels, *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the low Countries* (1585) - a text which first of all highlights the “speciall mutuall amitie to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular” and then goes on to chronicle how events like the sacking of Antwerp can be viewed as part of a process by which the Spaniards had “lamentably destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruel maners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & nowe the rich townes and strong places” of the Low Countries.²³⁴

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the intimations of a moral crusade witnessed in the 1585 declaration were no more than a calculated act of political expediency and in no way representative of the growing feeling of anxiety with which Englishmen had been viewing Spanish militarism in the Low Countries over the preceding decade. Indeed, once stripped of its pseudo-moral undertones and sense of political self-righteousness, the declaration only lends support to the idea that Anglo-Protestant fear of Spain had grown since the arrival of the Duke of Alba at Antwerp in 1567 to an almost ‘Marian’ point of intensity. It is principally for this reason that I have devoted the last few pages of this chapter to early English representations of the sacking of Antwerp and how these reflect, politically as well as psychologically, the marked increase in anti-Spanish sentiment that occurred some time around the middle to late 1570s. In particular, I have attempted to show how this heightened, very much resurgent fear of Spain led contemporary Englishmen to contextualise the Spanish

²³⁴ *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the low Countries* (London, 1585), sigs. A4^r, B1^v.

against the same exegetical, Protestant-centred vision of the world held by Knox, Ponet and other of their Marian predecessors. Was this a conscious act of retrospection on the part of the Elizabethans, one should ask at this point, or simply the natural corollary to have arisen out of a later, but fundamentally analogous, brand of radical Protestantism? Linguistic correspondences between Marian and mid-Elizabethan texts definitely seem to suggest the former – although, then again, these similarities may be due more to the attendant ideology of mid-1570s Protestant eschatology than to past textual and stylistic prescriptive influences. Of one thing, though, we can be certain: that radical Protestantism was still operative some twenty years after the Marian exodus is in itself testimony to the influence Knox, Goodman, Ponet and other of the exiles exerted over the succeeding generation of English Protestant pamphleteers.

Chapter Three

The Godly crusade: Spanish moral culpability and the case for military intervention in the Low Countries

1. Politics, propaganda and the idea of a 'Godly' war: the role of 'Progressive' ideology in pre-war England

In 1583 Thomas Stocker published *A Tragical Historie of the troubles and Civile warres of the lowe Countries, otherwise called Flanders*. A translation of a French version of Philip Marnix van St. Aldegonde's *Chronyc. Historie der Nederlandtscher oorlogen*,²³⁵ it was prefaced by a six-page translator's dedication to the Earl of Leicester in which Stocker heaped unqualified praise on his patron's "holie faithe, knowledge, zeale, and obedience."²³⁶ While St. Aldegonde's original text follows very much in the mould of traditional Dutch anti-Spanish propaganda – it is to be noted, for example, how he borrows on an almost wholesale basis from Montanus's *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae* to prove that the inquisition was no more than an institutionalised form of political suppression²³⁷ - one cannot help observing how Stocker intentionally steers the reader in his preface, as it were, towards an interpretation of the pamphlet that would presumably have been more in line with his aristocratic

²³⁵ The editors of the *STC* believe that there is a chance that Carolus Rijckewaert, and not Philip Marnix van St. Aldegonde, may have been the book's real author. See *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 140.

²³⁶ Philip Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *A Tragical Historie of the troubles and Civile warres of the lowe Countries, otherwise called Flanders*, trans. Thomas Stocker (London, 1583), sig. a3^r; hereafter referred to as *A Tragical Historie*.

²³⁷ Compare *A Tragical Historie* (sigs. F4^v-G1^r), for example, with *A Discovery and playne Declaration* (sigs. G1^v-H4^r).

patron's own brand of Anglo-Protestant hispanophobia.²³⁸ Thus, St. Algedonde's account of recent Dutch history is engaged not so much as a secular chronicle of Spanish injustices against the Dutch people, but as a post-biblical exemplar of how

the moste righteous God, in his moste juste Judgement hath, with his roddes of corrections, I meane the Spaniardes, and certaine other Hispaniolized low Countrey men, fatherly chastized that people for their greate disobedience, and woonderfull unthankfulnessse, especially for the contempte of the glorious Gospell...²³⁹

In language remarkably reminiscent to that employed by the Marian polemicists,²⁴⁰ Stocker not only re-contextualises the Dutch crisis here against a causal-moral framework in which native spiritual failings become the primary catalyst for the Spaniards' presence in the Low Countries, but goes on to qualify the whole episode as a didactic paradigm that "should move us of the Englishe nation [to] thoroughly consider" how God may "one daie, make us feele his heavie hand, as these low Countries, have already felt." This, it is important to stress, is in complete contrast to St. Algedonde's original text, where the narrator constantly strives to demonstrate how, as in the case of Jasper de Robles's attack against the city of Groningen, it was only "the good and

²³⁸ What exactly Leicester himself thought about the Spanish is difficult to determine. Unlike his more garrulous and literary-minded nephew (whose openly hispanophobic stance was admiringly chronicled by Fulke Greville – see footnote 253 of this study), he maintained a guarded silence on the matter which, taken together with the large number of anti-Spanish and pro-war texts dedicated to him during the years leading up to 1585, suggests that he probably encouraged the spread of hispanophobia for his own political advancement rather than out of any specific hatred for the Spanish nation.

²³⁹ *A Tragical Historie*, sigs. a2^r-a2^v.

²⁴⁰ See p. 38 of this study.

mercifull Lorde... [that] merveilously and mercifully delivered the Citezeins and Enhabitautes” from the “tyrannous Arrogancie” of the Spaniards.²⁴¹

The dichotomy between Stocker’s preface and the main body of *A Tragicall Historie* in many ways captures the underlying tensions that existed between Protestant Dutch thought and the views held by the interventionist lobby in England. Although anti-Spanish propaganda of the kind propagated by St. Aldegonde and other Dutch writers undoubtedly helped to increase English animosity towards the Spaniards, it was not enough on its own, I would suggest, to precipitate the level of interest in Dutch affairs needed to bring about the much-anticipated declaration of war against Spain. That is why most Progressive works of propaganda – be they prefaces to Dutch translations like Stocker’s or original works of polemic such as Thomas Bilson’s *The True Difference betweene christian subjection and unchristian rebellion* (1585)²⁴² - strove their utmost by means of biblical exegesis, military alarmism and other interrelated areas to anchor the Dutch crisis against what could be termed an anglocentric context; in other words, they needed to persuade Englishmen that, far from being just a distant, self-contained, essentially intra-national occurrence in mainland Europe, the Dutch rebellion was an event that impinged directly and threateningly upon the security of their own country.

²⁴¹ *A Tragicall Historie*, sigs. a2^v-a3^r, B3^r.

²⁴² Although essentially intended as a riposte to William Allen’s *A true sincere and modest defence of English Catholiques* (1584), Bilson’s text also justified Protestant Dutchmen’s right to “defend the freedome of their countrie” and, as such, can be seen as a tacit vindication of the Progressives’ call for war against Spain. See Thomas Bilson, *The True Difference betweene christian subjection and unchristian rebellion* (London, 1585), sig. Mm5^r.

At its crudest level, this manifested itself in the way that most Progressive texts magnified the extent of the Spanish military threat. Interweaving fact with carefully chosen propagandistic embellishments, they sought to exaggerate the reach of Spanish militarism by repeatedly stressing what Stocker's title-page describes as the "[b]arbarous crueltie and tyrannie of the Spaniard..."²⁴³ To appreciate the essentially sensationalistic nature of these texts, one need only look at the aggressively alarmist undertones contained within titles such as Barnaby Rich's *Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people live without regarde of Martiall lawe* (1578) or even Thomas Stocker's own *A Tragicall Historie* (where the strategic insertion of the word 'tragical' into the translation of Philip Marnix van St. Aldegonde's original title reveals Stocker's deliberately sensationalist intentions). Alarmism, the English pro-war polemicists understood well enough, remained the one sure-fire method of unlocking English opinion into supporting a war against Spain; it represented an easy, relatively unproblematic way of involving Englishmen within a conflict whose epicentre still remained firmly lodged within far-off mainland Europe. Consequently – and not exactly surprisingly – English Protestant translators found their most effective propagandistic material in extreme anti-inquisitorial treatises such as *Chronyc. historie der Nederlandtscher oorlogen* or the original French version of Del Corro's *A Supplication exhibited to the moste Mightie Prince Philip king of Spain* (1577). As Edward Peters notes in his magisterial study of inquisitorial theory and practice, Protestants "who found

²⁴³ *A Tragicall Historie*, [title-page].

it difficult to agree with each other on many issues found it easy to agree upon *The Inquisition*.²⁴⁴

In contrast to such blatant alarmism, other propagandistic works gathered support for an Anglo-Spanish war by fomenting what could be described as a militantly nationalistic consciousness. The latter can be seen in a wide variety of texts associated with the Progressive movement, ranging from encomiastic recitations of the Earl's qualities as a military leader (notably Gabriel Harvey's four-part anthology of Latin eulogies *Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri Quatuor*²⁴⁵) to conventional manuals of military practise (such as that which Nicholas Lichefield, the translator of Luis Gutierrez de la Vega's *De re militari*, had printed simply "because in our English tongue, I finde not the lyke extant, for the necessary instruction and generall commoditie of our common Souldiers"²⁴⁶). Traces of pre-war alarmism, it is true, occasionally surface in some of these texts – although these were almost always invoked to demonstrate, if not extol the benefits of being in a state of permanent military readiness. For example, Thomas Digges's military guidebook for Leicester's aborted 1577 mission to the Netherlands, *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise named Stratioticos* (1579), decries "what extreame disorders growe in those Armyes, where Militare Lawes, and Ordinances, have

²⁴⁴ Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 154.

²⁴⁵ See Gabriel Harvey, *Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri Quatuor* (London, 1578), sig. E1^r.

²⁴⁶ Luis Gutierrez de la Vega, *A Compendious Treatise entituled De re Militari, containing principall orders to be observed in Martiall affaires*, trans. Nicholas Lichefield (London, 1582), sig. A2^r. Similar arguments can also be encountered in the 1587 reissue of William Bourne's *The Arte of shooting in great Ordnance* (London, 1587), sig. A3^r; and in the translator's preface to Niccolo Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre, written in Italian by Nicholas Machiavel, and set foorth in English by Peter Withorne* (London, 1588), sig. a3^v.

bene neglected” at the same time that it proclaims “howe Kingdomes have flourished in all felicitie, [where]... this Arte hath bene embraced.”²⁴⁷ Likewise, Thomas Styward’s *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (1581) warns that “it is a thing impossible for anie Realme or dominion alwaies to live in peace without the use of the sword” before re-articulating the same conviction by means of an unambiguously militaristic and pro-war exhortation:

Prepare you[r] horse and launce to field, for now the time is cume,
Take pyke and swoord in hand againe, lift now to sound of Drum.
Harke how the Trumpet warning gives to hast us to the warres,
That we our Brittish soile maie keepe, from death and bloudie jarres.²⁴⁸

A similarly nationalistic spirit can be observed in Thomas Proctor’s *Of the knowledge and conducte of warres* - an impassioned treatise on military practice which first appeared in 1579 and which failed to understand why, “havinge a stronge bodie, good will enoughe, and a fertyle countrey,” English soldiers “shoulde not excell other nations in deades & exployctes of Armes, and extende the victorious forces of this Realme, by renowmed [sic] conquestes farre?”²⁴⁹ That same year, too, Thomas Churchyard’s *A generall rehearsall of warres* argued that the Spaniards feared English mercenaries in

²⁴⁷ Thomas Digges, *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos* (London, 1579), sigs. A2^r-A2^v, A2^r.

²⁴⁸ Thomas Styward, *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline, devided into two Bookes, verie necessarie for young Souldiers* (London, 1581), sigs. A3^v-A4^r, A4^v; henceforth referred to as *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline*.

²⁴⁹ Thomas Proctor, *Of the knowledge and conducte of warres, two bookes, latelye wrytten and sett forth... and necessarye for this present tyme* (London, 1579), sig. ¶3^v.

the Low Countries “more... then double the number of the reste,”²⁵⁰ while in 1580 the same author aggressively asserted in *A plaine or moste true report of a daungerous service* that Englishmen’s “labour, charge, courage, readdnesse, and warlike mindes” are “not inferiour to the greatest neighbours... nere us, in any Marciall order, maner, discipline of warre, or hazard of life.”²⁵¹

Equally militaristic promptings can also be encountered in William Blandie’s *The Castle, or picture of pollicy shewing forth... the duety, quality, [and] profession of a perfect and absolute Souldiar, [and] the martiall feates[,] encounters and skirmishes lately done by our English nation, under the conduct of the most noble and famous Gentleman M. John Noris* (1581). Blandie, who in 1576 had already dedicated to Leicester a translation of a work by the Portuguese Osorio da Fonseca,²⁵² this time saw fit to offer up his pamphlet to Leicester’s equally pro-war and anti-Spanish nephew, Sir Philip Sidney.²⁵³ Structured as a dialogue between the author and a fellow English soldier, Blandie’s tract strikes the reader as much for the textual absence of the enemy as

²⁵⁰ Thomas Churchyard, *A generall rehearsall of warres, wherein is five hundred severall services of land and sea: as sieges, battailes, skirmiches, and encounters* (London, 1579), sig. U1^r.

²⁵¹ Thomas Churchyard, *A plaine or moste true report of a daungerous service, stoutely attempted, and manfully brought to passe by English men, Scottes men, Wallons & other worthy soldiours, for the takyng of Macklin on the sodaine, a strong Citee in Flaunders* (London, 1580), sig. b1^v.

²⁵² Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p.172.

²⁵³ According to Fulke Greville’s posthumously-published *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*, Leicester’s nephew believed that the “safest, most quick and honourable counsel” for Elizabeth’s government was to “carry war into the bowels of Spain, and, by the assistance of the Netherlands, burn his shipping in all havens...” See *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 54.

for the blatantly eulogistic tone used to describe Sir John Norris and the soldiers that accompanied him in his pre-war incursions into the Low Countries. Norris himself is portrayed as “a fountayne of fame, a welspring of vertue, a river of royaltie,” while the men under his command are similarly transformed into model soldiers “who to winne their Prince and Countrye honor, feare no force, dread no daunger and terror of the Enemy.” More than anything else, though, it is Blandie’s equation of Englishness with military prowess that would have most served to buttress, and indeed justify, the interventionist agenda of the Leicester-led war party:

And to speake something of our Nation... it is incredible to thinke and report how their vertue doubleth the worthynes of other Nations... For, it is naturally geven to the right Englishman, to content himselfe with the victory, and to take pittye on the vanquished. And where this vertue of commiseration and mercye dwelleth, there also dwelleth naturally hardynes & prowes... So that I conclude of this principle: sith our Nation doth excell other[s] in love, gentlenes, courtesie, placabilitye and mercye, they also are to be preferred before the straunger in true valu[r]e, hardynes, courage, prowes, and magnanimitye.²⁵⁴

Finally, though by no means any less importantly, English pro-war propagandists tried to justify a military campaign against Spain by invoking traditional theological arguments. In this respect they were greatly helped by the widespread proclivity among contemporaries to define historical events against the ‘logic’ of biblical exegesis – particularly the all-too-common tendency to explain social and political evils according to the proclamations of biblical ‘prophecy.’ For example, if we are to accept Glyn

²⁵⁴ William Blandie, *The Castle, or picture of pollicy shewing forth... the duety, quality, [and] profession of a perfect and absolute Souldiar, [and] the martiall feates[,] encounters and skirmishes lately done by our English nation, under the conduct of the most noble and famous Gentleman M. John Noris* (London, 1581), sigs. H1^v, H2^r, H1^v-H2^r.

Parry's reading of Foxe's text, the 1576 version of *Acts and Monuments* had already "interpreted the Spanish atrocities in the Low Countries as the Tenth Persecution of the Church."²⁵⁵ In a similar manner, Francis Shakelton's *A blazyng Starre or burnyng Beacon... to call all sinners to earnest & speedie repentance* had argued in 1580 that "the bloudie broiles betweene the kyng of Spaine, and the Estates of the lowe Countries" had been predicted in *Mathew 24*.²⁵⁶

Spurred on by doctrinaire pronouncements such as these, it proved relatively easy for the Progressives to re-contextualise the call for war against the post-biblical teleology of Bale's theory of the 'Two Churches.' As early as 1575 an unpublished manuscript entitled 'A Discourse on Flanders' had intimated, in language very much evocative of John Knox and the more militant Marian exiles, that intervention in the Netherlands was necessary on the grounds that Spain intended to destroy "all those who profess the gospel."²⁵⁷ A few years later, the pamphleteer Thomas Styward went on to argue that military interventionism abroad would not only "please the mightie God," but that the Christian deity "hath and will preserve us still, from scourge of mightie rod."²⁵⁸ This view is also endorsed in John Lingham's short, but proudly militaristic pamphlet *A True Relation of all suche Englishe Captaines and Lieutenants, as have beene slaine in the lowe Countries of Flaunders* (1584). A passionate defence of English pre-war

²⁵⁵ Glyn Parry, 'Elect Church or Elect Nation? The Reception of the *Acts and Monuments*,' in *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 181.

²⁵⁶ Francis Shakelton, *A blazyng Starre or burnyng Beacon... to call all sinners to earnest & speedie repentance* (London, 1580), sig. B5^v.

²⁵⁷ See *CSP, Foreign, 1575-1577*, p. 219.

²⁵⁸ *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline*, sig. A4^v.

reconnoitring in the Netherlands, Lingham's text merges eulogistic reportage of Norris's martial achievements with an unswerving belief in the spiritual basis of the English military campaign, at one point declaring how England "hath... cause to declare the exceeding courage of her faithfull Countrimem [sic], who... hath fought in forrain cuntries for their conscience sake, & the glory of the Gospell..." Moreover, this deliberate intertwining of faith and militarism is subsequently restated in a passage that almost anticipates the myth of godly interventionism that lay behind the English government's 1585 declaration of war upon Spain:

All these notable and famous Captaines, so long as life indured, spared no paine nor travell for the defence of the lowe countries, but like Lyons in the fieelde, they enforced their foes to beare the brunt of their deadly blowes so that the Spanyardes to their pains can report, the Invincible courage of our english men, whiche alwaies armed themselves for the succour of the poore distressed countrey of Flanders being neither procured thereunto by Lucar, wealth, or riches, but onely for the good desire they have for the maintenaunce of the trueth, in which cause they have spent and lost their lives.²⁵⁹

While intervening in the Netherlands may have been nominally promoted as an attempt to empower or liberate a "poore distressed countrey," it is evident from Lingham's words that, if the call to war was going to be effected or even taken seriously at all, it needed to be simultaneously presented as a declaration and tacit affirmation of mainstream English Protestantism; to put it in even simpler terms, it had to be moulded into something that corroborated Englishmen's self-constructed notions about themselves and their moral character. That is why texts such as Lingham's *A True*

²⁵⁹ John Lingham, *A True Relation of all suche Englishe Captaines and Lieutenants, as have beene slaine in the lowe Countries of Flaunders* (London, 1584), sigs. A2^v, A7^v-A8^r; henceforth referred to as *A True Relation*.

Relation or William Blandie's *The Castle, or picture of pollicy* persistently invoked Marian concepts of English moral superiority in order to justify England's entry into the Dutch battlefield. National pride, once christianised and focused upon the idea of an approaching Anglo-Protestant crusade, was always going to be more effective as an argument for military intervention than conventional Christian sympathy alone.

2. *The Apologie of William of Orange and The Spanish Colonie*: the engagement of foreign testimonies as evidence of Spanish moral culpability

Although most forms of Progressive propaganda portrayed the Dutch crisis from an anglocentric perspective, this did not stop Dutch translations from indirectly reinforcing the idea that Englishmen were morally superior to the Spanish. Possibly the two most significant pamphlets to have done this were *The Apologie or Defence, of the Most Noble Prince William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange* (1581)²⁶⁰ and the English translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevíssima Relación* which appeared in 1583 under the somewhat misleading title of *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies*.²⁶¹ Heavily sensationalistic, extremely critical of the Spaniards' governmental methods in the Low Countries and other territories, their relentless recitation of Spanish transgressions and acts of unnatural cruelty would not only have served as corroborative ballast to those who saw the

²⁶⁰ William of Orange and Loyseleur de Villiers, *The Apologie or Defence, of the Most Noble Prince William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange* (Delft, 1581); henceforth referred to as the *Apologie*.

²⁶¹ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies... nowe first translated into english, by M. M. S.* (London, 1583); henceforth referred to as *The Spanish Colonie*.

Anglo-Spanish relationship in asymmetrical terms, but, equally importantly, also reinforced most of the moral arguments behind ‘Godly’ military interventionism. In effect, viewed from the perspective of Leicester and the Progressives, they would have served to legitimise an immediate declaration of war upon Spain.

The *Apologie*'s position of centrality within the canon of anti-Spanish writing has never really been in question. Philip Wayne Powell, writing in the early 1970s, described it as “[t]he propaganda pamphlet which had the widest spread and deepest, most enduring hispanophobic effect,”²⁶² while in 1988 Edward Peters defined it as “a political document that validated the entire Dutch Revolt.”²⁶³ Nor is it difficult to see why critical opinions such as these are so extensive. Despite reaching England in the form of a second-hand or possibly even third-hand translation, both the *Apologie*'s contents and the material circumstances behind its production reflect the spirit of internationalisation, as it were, which gave the Dutch revolt a position of centre stage importance within the theatre of contemporary European politics. Written originally in French with the help of William of Orange's Protestant chaplain Loyseleur de Villiers, and translated into Latin, English and Dutch within a year of first being published, its unparalleled levels of distribution and almost simultaneous multi-lingual publication are clearly representative of the growing momentum which the Dutch conflict was already taking outside the Low Countries by the beginning of the 1580s. In pre-war England alone, it is known to have been issued at least twice within the course of 1581 and once again as a wholly new

²⁶² Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 62.

²⁶³ *Inquisition*, p. 153.

edition in 1584²⁶⁴ - a circulatory record that is only substantially bettered among 'Dutch' anti-Spanish texts by Vincent Skinner's translation of Montanus's *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae*. Intended as a response to Philip's earlier proscription of Orange,²⁶⁵ its central propagandistic objective was to increase support for the uprising against Spain, both among native Dutchmen and foreign Protestant readers, by highlighting how the Spanish presence in the Netherlands aimed to deprive the Dutch of their

ancient priviledges and liberties, that they may dispose of yon [sic], your wives, and your children, and handle you, as his officers have done the poore Indians, or at the least as they do, the people of Calabria, Sicilia, Naples, and Millaine...²⁶⁶

For a nobleman who had repeatedly professed himself to be a loyal subject of the Spanish crown,²⁶⁷ this was a serious accusation that needed to be backed up by some kind of effective, indeed authoritative evidence. Orange/Villiers addressed this situation by interpolating different historical paradigms into his text that sought to demonstrate the actuality of Spanish political repression to his readers. While a substantial number of these dealt with cases of Spanish oppression in the Netherlands - a memorable instance

²⁶⁴ *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 48.

²⁶⁵ Philip's act of proscription is actually attached to the *Apologie* (sigs. P3^r-R2^v) under the title *A Proclamation and an Edict in Forme of a Proscription, made by the Majestie of the King our Lorde, against William of Nassau, Prince of Orange... by which every one is authorised, to hurt him and to kill him*.

²⁶⁶ *Apologie*, sig. F2^v.

²⁶⁷ See, for example, William of Orange's *A declaration and publication of the most worthy Prince of Orange, contaynyng the cause of his necessary defence against the Duke of Alba* (London, 1568), sig. A2^v.

of this can be seen in the narrator's description of Alba's "proude, ambitious, profane, heathnishe" decision to set up a statue of himself in the middle of Antwerp - for the purpose of this study it is important to note how many others veered towards exemplars taken from outside the parameters of direct Dutch experience, thereby indicating to what extent the author of the tract felt conscious of his text's value as a piece of international propaganda:

I have seene (my Lordes) their doings, I have hearde their wordes, I have bin a witnes of their advise, by which they adjudged all you to death, making no more account of you, than of beastes, if they had had power to have murdered you, as they do in the Indies, where they have miserablie put to death, more than twentie millions of people, and have made desolate & waste, thirtie tymes as much lande in quantitie and greatnes, as the lowe countrie is, with such horrible excesses and ryottes, that all the barbarousnesses, cruelties, and tyrannies, which have ever bin committed, are but sport, in respect of that, which hath fallen out upon the poore Indians, which thing, even by their owne Bishoppes and Doctours, hath bin left in writing, and, to make the King without excuse before God and men, the historie thereof was dedicated unto him, by one of his owne subjectes, in whom there remained, as it should seeme, some smal sparke of justice.²⁶⁸

By realigning the revolt against the much larger canvas of global Spanish imperialism, Orange/Villiers was clearly endowing his pamphlet with the kind of cross-cultural topicality that it needed to attract the attention of foreign Protestants²⁶⁹ - almost in the same studied and carefully orchestrated manner, it could be reasoned, that Gascoigne and other Elizabethan writers on the rebellion had sought to foment English interest in

²⁶⁸ *Apologie*, sigs. K2^r, F4^r.

²⁶⁹ See *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*, p. 66.

the Dutch situation by presenting it as an eschatological paradigm for the benefit of contemporary Englishmen.

A similar, if not greater level of authorial intentionality lies behind the *Apologie's* attempts to undermine the character of Philip II himself. Even if Orange's/Villiers's bitterly critical attitude against the king in some of these passages has been castigated by a leading Dutch scholar as "a sign of weakness, not of strength,"²⁷⁰ there would have been no better way of convincing the foreign Protestant reader of the rebellion's moral legitimacy than by stressing Philip's heavily autocratic personality and tyrannical style of government. That is why, I believe, Orange abandoned the circumspect, almost deferential attitude to kingship found in earlier texts such as *A Supplication to the Kinges Majestie of Spayne* (1573) – in which the most pronounced expression of anti-monarchical dissent is probably an exasperated plea to Philip to open "your eares and eyes to heare and see their [i.e. the Dutch people's] miserable estate"²⁷¹ – in favour of a much more belligerent and nationalistic stance. Within the pages of the *Apologie* itself, this was effected by means of a litany of fiery, hard-hitting allegations which held Philip II responsible for various acts of murder, incest and bigamy (including, among them, the deaths of his third wife Elizabeth of Valois and that of the Infante Don Carlos).²⁷² While most of Orange's/Villiers's accusations are heavily sensationalised and virtually impossible to authenticate, it is highly likely that most English readers would

²⁷⁰ See K. W. Swart, *William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London: The Historical Association, 1978), p. 34.

²⁷¹ William of Orange, *A Supplication to the Kinges Majestie of Spayne* (London, 1573), sig. A3^v.

²⁷² *Apologie*, sigs. E2^v-E3^r.

have followed the anonymous English translator of *A True Discourse of the Assault Committed upon the person of the most noble Prince, William Prince of Orange* (1582) in believing that they answered Philip's proscription "both to the great shame and discredite of some, & also to the wonderfull glorie and commendation of that good Prince [i.e. William]."²⁷³ Intermittent allusions to Philip's 'crimes' within later Elizabethan texts from Robert Greene's *The Spanish Masquerado* to William Warner's *Albions England* certainly appear to confirm this view.²⁷⁴

Yet the *Apologie* was also much more than a painstaking attempt at character assassination. Unlike earlier works to have been translated and disseminated out of the Orange propaganda camp,²⁷⁵ it no longer perpetuated the diplomatic pretence that Philip was essentially unaware of the troubles in the Low Countries, but instead singled him out as the most important catalyst behind the territory's problems. This represented a significant step in the development of Orange's political philosophy – even though the *Apologie*, it has to be said, was not the first to employ such a directly confrontational strategy. As early as 1571, *A defen[ce] and true declaration o[f the] thinges lately done in the lowe countrey* had traced the inquisition's activities in the Low Countries directly back to "the kinges authoritie" – even if it subsequently tried to extricate itself out of this

²⁷³ See the translator's preface to Juan de Jáuregui y Aguilar's *A True Discourse of the Assault Committed upon the person of the most noble Prince, William Prince of Orange* (London, 1582), sig. ¶2^v.

²⁷⁴ William Warner, *Albions England: A Continued Historie of the same Kingdome* (London, 1596), sig. P3^r; Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado. Wherein under a pleasant devise, is discovered... the pride and insolencie of the Spanish estate* (London, 1589), sig. C3^r.

²⁷⁵ See pp. 89-90 of this study.

by claiming that Philip had been acting under the “subtill wiles, & craftie persuasions” of the “good maisters of the Inquisition.”²⁷⁶ In like manner, William Riviere, the English translator of *Newes from Antwerp, the. 10. day of August. 1580*, had stated in the translator’s preface to the same work that his intention was to prove “by these Letters, that we may not any longer looke for peace with the king of Spayne, except we will yet suffer our selves to be burnt”²⁷⁷ - in what could feasibly be interpreted as a direct indictment on Philip II’s personal handling of Spanish foreign policy. However, neither of these texts matched or even approached the persistently condemnatory tone of Orange’s *Apologie*, where the matter of Philip’s personal moral culpability becomes one of the most enduring propagandistic leitmotifs throughout the pamphlet’s pages:

But neither the authoritie and commaundement of his father, nor the profit of his owne affaires, nor justice, nor his othe, (whiche yet notwithstanding [he] doth keepe in the most barbarous nations) were able in anie thing, to moderate and restraine, the naturall disposition and affection that he had, to tyrannise over us, but on the other side, as though he had bin above all lawes, priviledges, and liberties of the countrey, yea and above equitie and justice it selfe, he hath broken all bondes, that he might outrage in all maner of unreconcilable hatred and crueltie.²⁷⁸

Orange did not stop at uncovering Philip’s responsibility for the Dutch troubles. Influenced, no doubt, by the theories of Calvinistic anti-monarchical resistance circulating in contemporary European texts such as Théodore de Beze’s *Du droit des*

²⁷⁶ *A defen[ce] and true declaration of [the] thinges lately done in the lowe countrey*, trans. E. Newcomen (London, 1571), sig. B2^v.

²⁷⁷ Fredericke, abbot of Marolles, *Newes from Antwerp, the. 10. day of August. 1580*, trans. William Riviere (London, 1580), sig. A2^v.

²⁷⁸ *Apologie*, sig. F3^r.

magistrats sur leurs sujets (1574) or the anonymous *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (1579), and probably aware of the existence of these same ideas in England through the writings of John Knox and Christopher Goodman,²⁷⁹ Orange/Villiers realised that the concept of Philip's moral culpability could be used not just to win foreign Protestant sympathy, but as a dialectical tool which in itself validated the entire course of the Dutch rebellion:

If therefore we saye, that we do rejecte the gouvernement of such an incestuous king, the slayer of his sonne, and the murtherer of his wife, who can justlie accuse us therefore? Howe many Kinges have there bin, which have bin banished and driven out of their kingdomes, which had not committed such horrible crimes?²⁸⁰

Echoes of Orange's libertarian tone within this extract were not only to make their way into the Dutch States General's 'Act of Abjuration' of 26 July, 1581 (which delegitimised Philip II's authority in the Netherlands and, in effect, proclaimed a state of *de facto* independence from Spain by arguing that when a prince "violates their [i.e. the people's] rights, and tramples on their liberties... the Estates of the land are then justified in deposing him and placing another on his throne"²⁸¹), but also became the basis behind most English attempts to legitimise Leicester's participation in the revolt from Thomas Bilson's *The True Difference betweene christian subjection and unchristian rebellion*

²⁷⁹ See Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996), p. 77; Dan G. Danner, 'Christopher Goodman and the English Protestant Tradition of Civil Disobedience,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8, 1977, pp. 61-73.

²⁸⁰ *Apologie*, sig. E2^v.

²⁸¹ Quoted in Frederic Harrison's *William the Silent* (London: Macmillan, 1897), p. 214.

(1585) onwards.²⁸² This, clearly, suggests that the sudden intensification of invective witnessed in the *Apologie*, far from being the “sign of weakness” that K. W. Swart has advocated, was actually part of a conscious, carefully-planned strategy on Orange’s part which was intended to furnish “proof that Philip was no fit vessel for the divinity which God invests in kings.”²⁸³

Yet the *Apologie*’s anti-monarchical stance did not just challenge the juridical and moral legitimacy of Castilian governmental absolutism. Even more significantly for our purposes, Orange’s iconoclastic undermining of Philip’s character went on to function as a powerful cross-cultural precedent which (a) radically altered the way foreign (i.e. non-Dutch) anti-Spanish texts conceptualised Philip’s own personal political ideology and (b) redefined the very vocabulary used to engage and portray the Spanish king himself. Without Orange’s/ Villiers’s influence, for example, it is difficult to imagine how foreign Habsburg dissidents such as Vasco Figueiro, Antonio Perez or the Prior of Cato (all of whom came to be translated into English in the years that followed) could have formulated their strongly anti-monarchical views in the 1580s and 1590s,²⁸⁴ just as

²⁸² See p. 116 of this study.

²⁸³ C. V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent: William of Nassau, Prince of Orange 1533-1584* (London: Cape, 1945), p. 219.

²⁸⁴ Figueiro attacked Philip’s “cruel and sanguinarie ambition” and his “tyrannous usurpation” of the Portuguese throne in *The Spaniards Monarchie, And Leaguers Olygarchie*, while Perez similarly argued that Philip “did possesse the realme of Portugall by unjust & tyrannicall title” and that “tyrannie... doth belong unto him as properly and unseparably, as laughter doth to a man” in his own *Treatise Paraenetical*. See Vasco Figueiro, *The Spaniards Monarchie, And Leaguers Olygarchie... by Signor Vasco Figueiro a Gentleman of Portingale*, trans. H. O. (London, 1592), sig. A4^r; Antonio Perez, *A Treatise Paraenetical, That is to say: An Exhortation. Wherein is shewed by good and evident reasons... the right way... to resist the violence of the Castilian king... and to ruinate his puissance* (London, 1598), sig. M3^r. For the Prior of Cato’s own ‘anti-Philippic’ position, see pp. 140-141 of this study.

it is hard to see how Richard Hakluyt, writing shortly after the *Apologie's* publication, could have possibly criticised Philip's imperialistic territorialism to the extent seen in a

Discourse on Western Planting:

[H]ath not King Phillippe employed his treasure... injuriously to all princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that with his Indian treasure corrupted the Quinqueveri in Portingale, that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe, and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, with all the ilandes, townes, and domynions belonginge to that crowne?... Is it not he that by his treasure hath hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life? And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes?²⁸⁵

Elements of Hakluyt's 'Orangist' stance can be found practically in all post-1580 textual expressions of English hispanophobia - ranging from the way M. M. S., the translator of *The Spanish Colonie*, holds both Philip II and the Pope jointly responsible in his preface for the murder of "12. 15. or 20. millions of poore reasonable creatures, created (as our selves) after the image of the living God"²⁸⁶ to the manner in which the 1588 pamphlet *A true Discourse of the Armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled in the Haven of Lisbon* carries a direct imputation within its title to the Spanish monarch's personal responsibility in the launching of the Armada itself.²⁸⁷ This, I believe, serves to demonstrate how important the concept of Philip's moral culpability was to legitimise Englishmen's sense of hispanophobia and, at the same time, buttress their own

²⁸⁵ Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting*, edited by Leonard Woods for the Maine Historical Society (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1877), pp. 52-53.

²⁸⁶ *The Spanish Colonie*, sig. ¶3^v.

²⁸⁷ *A true Discourse of the Armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled in the Haven of Lisbon... Translated out of French into English, by Daniel Archdeacon* (London, 1588), [title-page].

concomitant feelings of Protestant moral superiority. Time and again, it helped to inscribe the Spanish and English into a framework of structural opposites – divided by moral difference, held together in asymmetrical equilibrium – which not only validated the hispanophobic agenda at the heart of English radical Protestantism, but also, in the words of a Parliamentary moderate such as Sir Walter Mildmay, verified the idea that “the malice that he [Philip II] beareth her Majestie will easelie move him to pike quarrells to her and this cuntrie...”²⁸⁸

It is against a similar self-validating framework that we need to focus on M.M.S.’s 1583 translation of Las Casas’s *Brevissima Relación – The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies*. Even more so than William of Orange’s *Apologie*, Las Casas’s text went on to become one of the most widely quoted exemplars of Spanish tyrannous oppression in the early modern era, displaying a rather ubiquitous ability to reappear in print at times when England was in direct conflict with Spain.²⁸⁹ Richard Hakluyt included various references to it in a *Discourse on Western Planting* barely a year after *The Spanish Colonie’s* publication, adding the pointed qualifier that “these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas.”²⁹⁰ Sir Walter Raleigh, likewise, hinged his attacks against Spanish imperialism in *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of*

²⁸⁸ Quoted in Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), p. 264.

²⁸⁹ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1971), p. 13.

²⁹⁰ *A Discourse on Western Planting*, p. 72.

Açores (1591), as well as his simultaneous acclamation of English moral superiority over the Spaniards, on a text “written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholome de las Casa, and translated into English and manie other languages, intituled *The Spanish cruelties*.”²⁹¹ Meanwhile, according to both Ethan Shaskan Bumás and Lewis Hanke, William Lightfoot’s pre-Armada tract *The Complaint of England* (1587) takes much of its material on the Spaniards’ military campaign in the Americas directly from *The Spanish Colonie*²⁹² - a proposition that makes sense when one compares Lightfoot’s accounts of the Spaniards’ carnivorous “helhoundes” with that of Las Casas’s own “fleshe fraunching dogges.”²⁹³

To understand why the work of a relatively unknown Spanish Catholic bishop could have attained such extensive intertextual presence, it is necessary to consider its position of unique centrality within the Dutch propaganda war against the Spanish. Despite being originally written as a plea for the defence of the new world Indians (and a

²⁹¹ Walter Raleigh, *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last Sommer. Betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine* (London, 1591), sig. D1^v.

²⁹² Ethan Shaskan Bumás, ‘The Cannibal butcher shop: Protestant uses of las Casas’s Brevisima Relacion in Europe and North America,’ *Early American Literature*, 35:2, 2000: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:abell:R01514915:0 (28 May, 2004).

²⁹³ See William Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England* (London, 1587), sig. H1^v; *The Spanish Colonie*, sig. E3^v. Other direct or indirect references to Las Casas can be found in Robert Greene’s *The Spanish Masquerado* (London, 1589), sig. E1^v; Robert Payne’s *A Briefe description of Ireland: Made in this yeare, 1589* (London, 1589), sigs. A4^r-A4^v; Richard Barckley’s *A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man* (London, 1598), sig. 18^r, folio 127; the anonymous *A Pageant of Spanish Humours. Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a Signior of Spaine* (London, 1599), sig. B2^v; and George Abbot’s *A Briefe Description of the whole worlde* (London, 1599), sig. H1^v. I have cited both signatures and folio numbers in the case of Barckley’s *Discourse* in order to guide the reader through the text’s erratic pagination.

simultaneous condemnation of the brutally repressive methods of their Spanish colonisers), Las Casas's tale of torture, rape, gold lust, enslavement and mass murder would not only have represented "a paradigm which could be applied to Spain's influence and policies towards Northern Europe"²⁹⁴ as Ethan Shaskan Bumás puts it, but, what is more, would have effectively upheld the accusations of Spanish moral degeneracy seen in the *Apologie* and other Dutch anti-Spanish writings:

The Spaniardes with their horses, their speares and launces, beganne to commit murders, and straunge cruelties: they entred into Townes, Borowes, and Villages, sparing neyther children, nor old men, neither women with childe, neyther them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces, as if they had been opening of Lambes shut up in their folde. They layed wagers with such as with one thrust of a sworde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a sworde woulde most redily and most deliverly cut off his head, or that woulde best pearce his entrals at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heades against the cliftes. Others they cast into the rivers laughing and mocking, and when they tumbled into the water, they sayde, nowe shift for thy selfe such a ones corp[s]es.²⁹⁵

It is difficult to imagine a more sustained, or indeed explicitly graphic, vision of Spanish imperialistic barbarism than that promulgated by Las Casas here. That is why, starting with the first Dutch translation printed in 1578, more editions of Las Casas's work came to be published in the Dutch language over the next 120 years than in all other European languages combined.²⁹⁶ With typical opportunistic foresight, Dutch ideologues came to realise that Las Casas's text formed a natural accompaniment to their own polemical

²⁹⁴ See footnote 292 of this study.

²⁹⁵ *The Spanish Colonie*, sig. A3^v.

²⁹⁶ K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War,' in *Britain and the Netherlands: Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference*, Vol. 5, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), p. 52.

writings – in the sense that it perpetuated their own politically-motivated deprecation of Hispanism and, at the same time, gave it the seal of verisimilitude by reason of Las Casas's own Spanish nationality. This last fact, above all others, would have represented a propagandistic coup of the highest order for the Dutch Protestants, especially when one considers that Las Casas was not simply a Catholic apostate like Del Corro, but an orthodox Spanish Bishop and Catholic theologian to boot. Moreover, unlike Del Corro or Montanus - whose testimonies remain virtually unique among the work of contemporary Spanish writers and could therefore be accused of being unrepresentative of a typical Castilian mentality - Las Casas's particular tale of Spanish infamy was backed up, in an almost circumstantial manner, by the testimony of other less important Spanish chroniclers. Among the latter we find the writings of Francisco López de Gómara and Augustín de Zárate, whose own accounts of the Spanish colonisation of Mexico and Peru had already been translated into English by Thomas Nicholas in 1578 and 1581 under the titles of *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne* and *The Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru*. While neither Gómara nor Zárate, it is true, intended to interrogate Spanish colonial rule in the same manner as Las Casas, both of them indirectly buttressed the Bishop of Chiapas's accusations through their inherent partisanship with the conquistadors' brutal methods of colonial repression. Zárate, for example, displays a contemptuous attitude to the indigenous population throughout his narrative, taking pride in relating how "in short time the Indian enemies were put to flight & many of them wounded & slaine" and later exhibiting an altogether grim delight in describing how the Spaniards "made a

marveylous spoile among them, which endured with fire and sword the space of 15. dayes.”²⁹⁷ Gómara, in turn, recounts how there “was much Indian bloud shedde, bycause they fought naked, [and] manye were wounded, and fewe [taken] Captive”²⁹⁸ – an admission which may sound slightly restrained in comparison with Zárata’s own writings, but which substantiates Las Casas’s allegations of Spanish genocidal depravity all the same.

Bearing these different factors in mind, one can perhaps begin to understand the political significance of M. M. S.’s translation of the *Brevíssima Relación* when it first appeared in 1583 as *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies* and again in 1584 under the significantly modified title of *Spanish cruelties and tyrannies*.²⁹⁹ Although there is not enough first-hand evidence to conclusively prove that M.M.S.’s efforts were directly sponsored by the Dutch rebels, there are still plenty of latent textual and non-textual clues to suggest, as Andrew Hadfield has argued in a recent essay, that *The Spanish Colonie* has to be read “as a plea for the defence of the Protestant Low Countries against the encroachments of the Spanish empire within Europe.”³⁰⁰ References to the Dutch conflict certainly recur at frequent intervals in the translator’s preface – in which M. M. S. not only dedicates his

²⁹⁷ Augustín de Zárata, *The Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru*, trans. Thomas Nicholas (London, 1581), sigs. H2^r, H3^v.

²⁹⁸ Francisco López de Gómara, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne*, trans. Thomas Nicholas (London, 1578), sig. G1^v.

²⁹⁹ See footnote 292 of this study.

³⁰⁰ Andrew Hadfield, ‘Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism and the Fear of the Apocalypse,’ *Reformation*, 3, 1998, p. 305.

work “to all the provinces of the Lowe countreys,” but describes it both as “a President and warning to the xii. Provinces of the lowe Countries” and as a text in which the reader “may learne not that which is yet fully executed in these low countries, but [that] which (had not god stopped their course) they [i.e. the Spaniards]... [would have] long since put in execution.”³⁰¹ If that was not enough, it is now known that virtually all non-Dutch editions of the work, including *The Spanish Colonie*, are based on the French translation produced by Christopher Plantin’s Antwerp press and not on Las Casas’s original Spanish text – a fact which strongly, if not almost certainly, points to some kind of tangible Dutch involvement in the translation and dissemination of M.M.S.’s ‘Englised’ efforts.³⁰²

Although Las Casas himself never meant to destabilise or undermine the ruling Spanish monarchy,³⁰³ it is not hard to see how a text like *The Spanish Colonie* – fiercely denunciatory in tone, persistently critical of Spanish overseas governmental methods - would have fitted into the same anti-monarchical and anti-imperialistic mould as that occupied by William of Orange’s *Apologie* and other Dutch hispanophobic texts. This,

³⁰¹ *The Spanish Colonie*, sigs. ¶2^v, ¶2^r, ¶¶1^r.

³⁰² A significant number of Dutch texts that arrived in England during the 1570s and 1580s were translated into English from Plantin’s French translations, including among them *A true copy of a letter sent by the Prince of Parma to the generall states of the Low Countries* (1579), *A True Discourse of the Assault Committed upon the person of the most noble Prince, William Prince of Orange* (1582) and *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tyle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Anthonie the first of that name, King of Portugall* (1585). For Plantin’s role in the dissemination of anti-Spanish propaganda, see Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell and Company, 1960), pp. 137-141.

³⁰³ See Benjamin Kee, ‘Bartolomé de Las Casas,’ in *Christopher Columbus and the Age of Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. Silvio A. Bedini (New York: Di Capo Press, 1998), pp. 408-412.

undoubtedly, was one of the more peculiar historiographic ironies of the post-Reformation age. Emblematically Catholic texts like Las Casas's, written principally to justify their own political ideologies in the face of internecine Catholic opposition, often came to be appropriated by Protestant ideologues to buttress and validate their own arguments. Take the Prior of Cato's *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tittle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Anthonie the first of that name, King of Portugall*, published simultaneously in Latin, French, Dutch and English in 1585. Essentially an attempt to demonstrate that "the sayd King Don Anthonio hath a rightfull & most just cause," its repeated attacks against Philip, which were formulated with the intention of discrediting the latter's annexation of Portugal as well as his hereditary claim to the Portuguese throne, were nonetheless generic enough to be presented as a kind of pan-European appeal "to all princes to helpe them that be afflicted and oppressed by tyranny." Antonio's charge against Philip of wilful negligence in his dealings with the young Portuguese king Sebastian is a perfect demonstration of this:

But the Kinge of Castile, under pretence that the greate Turke, prepared an Armye for that yeare... caused a proclamation to bee made and published thorowoute all Spayne,... whereby all his subjectes were commaunded uppon greate pennalties that none of them shoulde accompanye Kinge Sebastian in that Voyage, whereof certaynelye there can no other conjecture bee gathered, saving onely that the king of Castile by his unmesurable ambition & insatiable desire to have dominion... hoped... that the yong prince... should be overthrown and come to destruction in the same Journey.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Antonio, Prior of Cato, *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tittle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Anthonie the first of that name, King of Portugall* (London, 1585), sigs. G4^r, G4^r, A2^r-A2^v.

While Antonio, like Las Casas before him, would have almost certainly flinched at the idea that his writings were subsequently being used to underscore a militantly anti-Catholic position, it was only to be expected that his impassioned stance against Philip, the Catholic king *par excellence*, would have served to buttress the political prejudices of more aggressively anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic ideologues than himself. If anything, this is confirmed by the uncompromising way in which Claudius Hollyband, who translated Antonio's text into English out of a French translation issued by Plantin's Antwerp press, acknowledges in an introductory note that *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tytle* had been printed under the aegis of "the counselors of estate appointed in the provinces united of the low countreis." Although, in certain respects, this admission subverts the idea that Antonio's pamphlet had been published to show its readers "how muche it standeth them upon, to aid and succour the said king Anthony to recover his kingdom,"³⁰⁵ it nonetheless demonstrates to what extent Hollyband's textual efforts, like those of M. M. S. and even those of the English translator of William's *Apologie*, have to be read as a vigorous, carefully planned and, above all, highly sophisticated attempt to reinforce the moral legitimacy of the Dutch anti-Spanish rebellion in the eyes of the foreign Protestant reader.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., [verso of title-page].

3. *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* and the myth of 'Godly' English interventionism: religio-political propaganda and military self-justification in the early years of the Anglo-Spanish war

In order to understand why England finally declared war on Spain in August, 1585, it is necessary to consider the main political and military developments that had been occurring in the Low Countries over the last few years. Since the accession of Parma to the governorship of the Netherlands in 1578, Spain had recovered much of the territory it had lost in the previous decade and, by the time Antwerp fell to the latter in the summer of 1585, practically all of the Southern provinces were once again under Habsburg control. This resurgence in Spanish military power alarmed Elizabeth and her Protestant councillors who, almost since the very beginning of the Dutch Protestant uprising, had been keeping a wary eye on events across the other side of the North Sea. She tried to parry Spanish predominance in the Netherlands by (a) sending financial aid to the Dutch rebels (b) encouraging gentleman adventurers such as Sir John Norris to fight on their side and (c) even sponsoring foreign armies (such as that of the Calvinist Duke Casimir of the Palatinate) to take up the Dutch cause - a multi-layered policy which showed her disinclination to commit herself directly to war as much as it failed to halt the steady territorial advance of the Spanish. To make matters even more problematic, from around 1578 onwards the English monarch had the extra preoccupation of having to keep a watchful eye on the activities in the Netherlands of the Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III of France and known supporter of the Huguenots, whom the Dutch Estates General, no doubt frustrated by Elizabeth's procrastination over her unfulfilled promises of military aid over the last few years, had elected *Défenseur de la Liberte Belgique* and at

the same time promised him the sovereignty of the Netherlands should his military assistance enable the rebels to rid themselves of the Spaniards. Although Anjou finally bowed out of the Netherlands after the so-called 'French fury' of 1583 - in which he attempted to wrest sovereignty from a number of towns under his nominal control in a bid to gain total political power over them - the situation that faced Elizabeth by the middle of 1585 was hardly a reassuring one. Henry III's last-minute retraction of his offer of help to the Dutch insurgents earlier that year, together with the already mentioned loss of Antwerp to Parma's forces, made it appear as if the last rebelling provinces were about to be overwhelmingly crushed by the Catholic Spaniards. This, inevitably, strengthened the convictions of the pro-war party back in England and also made it harder for the Queen to justify a continuous policy of non-involvement. In the words of a letter from Francis Walsingham to Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, any increased delay by either Elizabeth or Henry III in siding against the Spanish represented a "manifest danger and peril... first to themselves and next to the whole state of Christendom."³⁰⁶

Though late in coming, Elizabeth's response to the crisis proved to be both astute and pragmatic. Inspired by the interventionist lobby headed by Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester, it followed what could be described as a twofold prong of attack - signing the treaty of Nonesuch with the Dutch on 17 August, 1585 and, almost concurrently, releasing a remarkable document that reveals to what extent the English government had taken the lessons of William of Orange's *Apologie* to heart. Partly an indictment against

³⁰⁶ Quoted in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth I*, Vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 76.

Spanish militarism in the Netherlands, partly an attempt to justify English involvement in Philip II's own monarchical affairs, *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* was published simultaneously in English, French, Dutch, German, Latin and Italian, while it is known that Elizabeth herself personally insisted that the Duke of Parma received a copy.³⁰⁷ Running to just over twenty-five pages in length, it invokes Spanish contraventions against the "ancient lawes" and "speciall priviledges"³⁰⁸ of the Dutch as one of its primary arguments - a tactic that is repeatedly exploited in the course of the *Apologie*.³⁰⁹ Moreover, *A Declaration* also evolves the highly improbable concept of the "speciall mutuall amitie" and "mutual Bondes" that existed between England and the Low Countries (almost in the same way, it could be reasoned, that Orange/Villiers had claimed in the *Apologie* that, whereas Spain was "a countrey which is naturally the enemye of the lowe countrey," Germany, where he was born, was "a countrey which is naturallie a freend and fellowe to this countrey"³¹⁰). This, needless to say, can only be regarded as yet another example of strategic propagandistic mythmaking. While there was some tenuous justification for the assertion that England and the Dutch Provinces

³⁰⁷ Winston Graham, *The Spanish Armadas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001), p. 59.

³⁰⁸ *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* (London, 1585), sig. B2^v; henceforth referred to as *A Declaration*.

³⁰⁹ See p. 126 of this study.

³¹⁰ *A Declaration*, sig. A4^r; *Apologie*, sig. EA^r.

had been historical allies,³¹¹ the idea that the two people were bound by “speciall mutuall amitie” was obviously no more than an opportunistic political fabrication on the part of the document’s authors. This is evidenced by the large body of sixteenth-century English writings aimed against the Dutch, possibly the most targeted foreign group at the time outside the Spanish and the Italians.³¹² It is also made apparent by a remarkable set of parliamentary memoranda, cogently analysed in Stanford E. Lehmberg’s *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government*, which reveals the very pronounced anti-Dutch misgivings that preyed on some of Elizabeth’s leading privy councillors in the run-up to the adoption of an openly pro-Dutch policy.³¹³

It can therefore be seen that the “speciall mutuall amitie” detailed in *A Declaration* was not so much the historical fact that the Earl of Leicester or Sir Francis Walsingham would have wanted it to be, but an opportunistic warmongering ploy first advocated by the interventionist party and later embraced by more conservative and cautious councillors such as Lord Burghley (who probably went on to co-author the document with Walsingham after the events of that summer made it virtually untenable for England to sustain a position of neutrality in respect to the Dutch conflict). That this ploy, moreover, wove its path into the very fabric of mainstream English history can be seen

³¹¹ To reduce a very complex matter to a few short lines, the argument principally revolved around an early fifteenth-century Anglo-Burgundian alliance by which England was obliged to defend Burgundian territories from foreign aggression. Given that the Burgundian Netherlands had only recently been acquired by the Spanish Habsburgs, it was conveniently assumed by the pro-intervention lobby that England was morally obliged to protect these same territories from Spanish militarism. See Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. xiii.

³¹² See, for example, pp. 104-105, 109 of this study.

³¹³ *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government*, pp. 263-270.

not only from the manner that *A Declaration* went on to totally ignore the scruples of the anti-war faction, but also from the way that early modern chroniclers such as William Camden, writing several decades after the event, proceeded to condemn those who had opposed the war against Spain in 1585 as “men degenerate, slothfull, and addicted to the Spanish party.”³¹⁴ To show anti-Spanish feeling by Camden’s day, clearly, had become a way of displaying patriotism; to refrain from doing so, by contrast, could only be interpreted as proof of a manifestly anti-English disposition. While this extreme binary division was still evolving as an ideological concept in the England of the 1580s, its key elements, I would argue, are already quite evolved in a text such as *A Declaration*, where the narrator’s condemnation of Spanish tyranny indirectly hints at the moral implications that would accompany a policy of non-intervention:

But these Spaniardes, being meere strangers, having no naturall regarde in their government to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and natural maner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise Emperour Charles, yea, & as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilst he remained in those countries, and used the counsels of the States... of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrarywise, these Spaniardes being exalted to absolute government, by ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed and destroyed without order of lawe within the space of a few monethes, many of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of government.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ William Camden, *Annales: The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth* (London, 1625), sig. O2^v, folio 100. The extract in question is taken from Book Three which is separately paginated to the rest of the work. I have included both the printer’s signature and the folio number to guide the reader through the text’s erratic pagination.

³¹⁵ *A Declaration*, sigs. B1^r-B1^v.

I believe that Burghley's and Walsingham's raucous denunciations against the Spanish not only managed to deflect attention from the rather more worldly and self-interested reasons that lay behind military intervention, but also gave Elizabeth's government the type of moral high ground, not dissimilar to that embraced earlier by William of Orange in his *Apologie*, it needed to justify English involvement in the Dutch conflict. Even more importantly, they would have acted as a catalyst in the establishment and dissemination of what is possibly the greatest and most enduring political myth to have been bequeathed by *A Declaration* to the pro-war propagandists - the fiction that Elizabeth was aiding her Protestant Dutch brethren solely to rescue them from the bonds of Spanish Catholic oppression.

A typical post-1585 expression of the latter can be seen in Thomas Digges's *A Briefe Report of the Militarie Service done in the Low Countries, by the Erle of Leicester* (1587). More of an encomium to the "nobilitie, valure and wisdom" of the Earl of Leicester than a piece of straightforward reportage,³¹⁶ Digges's pamphlet exhibits the kind of sycophantic flourishes, carefully mixed together with an unshakeable belief in the moral validity of the English military cause, that one would have come to expect from a man who, while basking in the rays of Dudley's patronly influence, had been appointed muster-master-general of the English forces in the Netherlands.³¹⁷ Certainly his flattering and uncompromisingly patriotic account of the years of Leicester's governorship - a period during which, in Bertrand T. Whitehead's words, "[t]he costs of

³¹⁶ Thomas Digges, *A Briefe Report of the Militarie Service done in the Low Countries, by the Erle of Leicester* (London, 1587), sig. [A3^v]; henceforth referred to as *A Briefe Report*.

³¹⁷ *DNB*, Vol. 15, p. 72.

intervention mounted, but [Dudley] failed to hold back the Duke of Parma's inexorable progress in regaining his king's lost territory"³¹⁸ - reads at points very much like a populist version of Burghley and Walsingham's *Declaration*, with Leicester's protégé taking great care to highlight the "magnanimitie, wisdom, bountie, and singular goodnesse of hir Majestie in yeelding so great and chargeable a succour" to the "greevouslie oppressed" people of the Low Countries.³¹⁹ Nor was Digges alone, it has to be said, in perpetuating the Elizabethan government's heavily embroidered political fictions. Two very similar propagandistic perspectives, both also dating from 1587, can be encountered in Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales: Wherein are more then a thousand severall things rehearsed* (in which the narrator declares that the Low Countries would have "been utterly destroyed, if her Highnes helping hand had not propped up that tottering State"³²⁰) and in Maurice Kyffin's nationalistic encomium *The Blessednes of Brytaine:*

A Mightie Queene, pure with Compassion prest,
 Rendring Reliefe, to Neighbour freends forlorn:
 Her helping Hand, holds up the weake distrest...
 Note Scotland, Belgia, and many places more.³²¹

³¹⁸ Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), p. 13.

³¹⁹ *A Briefe Report*, sig. [A3^v].

³²⁰ Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales: Wherein are more then a thousand severall things rehearsed* (London, 1587), sig. A1^v.

³²¹ Maurice Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine, or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday* (London, 1587), sig. B1^r.

That Queen Elizabeth's foreign policy might have been guided by such altruistic magnanimity, of course, remains highly improbable – especially when one considers her persistent refusal until 1585, almost always basing herself on secular grounds, to wholly embroil the English military in Dutch matters. Instead - more accurately – the extract should be read as part of an elaborate pious fiction, the purpose of which was to win support for the Queen's Dutch campaign and at the same time persuade her detractors that she was not acting “against honour and conscience,” as Sir Walter Mildmay at one stage believed, in aiding the king of Spain's subjects free themselves from his rule.³²²

A comparable argument can be made for the handful of other military accounts which appeared around this time – R. D.'s *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement of all the English Shippes, under the domin[ion] of the kinge of Spaine* (1585), Humphrey Mote's *The Primrose of London, with her valiant adventure on the Spanish coast* (1585), W. M.'s *A True Discourse of the late Battaile fought betweene our Englishmen, and the Prince of Parma* (1585) - all of which eulogise minor English victories over the Spanish at the same time that they stress the moral purity of the English martial campaign. Consider, for example, the self-consciously propagandistic tone employed by W. M. when reiterating how the soldiers of Elizabeth's “[n]oble Armie” had

not spent their time in vaine, but to the honour of their cuntry, and the joy of all her Majesties faithfull subjectes, have so valiantly behaved themselves, that by the helpe of the moste mightie God (who hath wonderfully prospered their proceedings) they have given their enimies the

³²² Quoted in *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government*, p. 265.

repulse from divers places, and gained sundrie Townes and Cities unto the Queenes Majesties use.³²³

It is worth noting here how the semi-anonymous narrator complements his exultation of English military might with a parallel reference to the sanctity of the English cause. Almost in all Elizabethan texts dealing with the Dutch troubles, one can detect a similar need, in many ways reminiscent to that found in Burghley's and Walsingham's *Declaration*, to reassure the reader that England was on the right side of the moral divide, to convince both Englishmen and foreigners that the Dutch campaign was one that had to be fought either to (a) prevent the Spanish from subjugating the "greevouslie oppressed" people of the Netherlands (b) thwart the king of Spain from overrunning "the whole state of Christendom" or (c) simply defend the maintenance of the true gospel.³²⁴

It is not without significance that this process of Protestant self-justification reaches its apex in the handful of hastily-written elegies that appeared after Sir Philip Sidney's death in 1586. For most contemporary Englishmen, Sidney's death represented a metonymy of Protestant selflessness in succouring the Low Countries, a powerful and highly utilisable symbol of English spiritual renown at a time of escalating national uncertainty. This, in the words of Dennis Kay, ensured that he was "mourned as a

³²³ W. M., *A True Discourse of the late Battaile fought betweene our Englishmen, and the Prince of Parma, on Monday the 15. of November 1585. and of such Towers and Cities as are of late conquered and brought to the Queenes Majesties subjection, by that valiant gentleman M. Norris* (London, 1585), sig. A2^r.

³²⁴ See pp. 148, 143 of this study. Additional material on how the concept of moral superiority was used to justify English militarism can be found in J. R. Hale's *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 487-517; and in James Turner Johnson's *Ideology, Reason, and the Limitation of War: Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200-1740* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 96-105.

Protestant champion, as a representative of a cause, more than as an individual.”³²⁵ For example, the narrator of George Whetstone’s *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (1587) not only eulogises the courageous way that Sidney was resolved to “dye eare he would yeilde,” but, what is more important, steps outside the young aristocrat’s death to rehearse the traditional Progressive argument that Spanish militarism in the Netherlands, if left unchecked, would lead to future attacks against England itself. Whetstone does this by relating how Sidney and his men - “inflam’d with countries zeale” - decided to fight against the Spanish who

... arm’de with wroth against this happy Islet
Our Neighbours burn’de, to make a way for spoyle.

For when we heard the out cries of the Dutch,
And how their foes, did make their will a lawe:
Theire harmes, that neare, did now our safety tuche...

Our Sovereigne Queene, that doth the Lyon beare:
... Lecester sent, to awe that common feare...³²⁶

Whetstone here clears away the path for interventionism by resorting to the ultimate of moral justifications: the idea that Spanish militarism in the Netherlands directly compromised the territorial integrity of England herself. For a writer as determinedly anti-Spanish as Whetstone – who that same year, in a pamphlet entitled *The Censure of a loyall Subject*, had attempted to prove how Philip had persistently “laboured for the

³²⁵ Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: the English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 68.

³²⁶ George Whetstone, *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (London, 1587), sig. B3^v.

Monarcal Diadem” during his short time in England³²⁷ - this would have represented a cogent blending of political and elegiac concerns within the scope of a single poem, a way of both justifying England’s 1585 entrance into the Dutch rebellion and enshrining the memory of the Earl of Leicester’s dead nephew.

A similar argument can also be made about John Phillips’s short elegy *The Life and Death of Sir Phillip Sidney, late Lord governour of Flushing* (1587). Although, unlike Whetstone, not a man with very strong associations with the Leicester circle³²⁸ – and therefore not as encumbered, it could be argued, by the need to eulogise Robert Dudley’s deceased nephew – Phillips still manages to monumentalize the latter’s death and turn it into an emblem of moral anti-Spanish resistance in his poem. He achieves this by symbolically exhuming Sidney’s corpse - in a manner not altogether dissimilar to that employed almost forty years later by Drake’s nephew when publishing, together with Philip Nichols, *Sir Francis Drake Revived: Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to folowe his Noble Steps for Golde & Silver*³²⁹ – and making him “speake... from out his grave”:

In Flaunders I against the Spanish rout,
that spit their spite against my God and Prince,
that seeke by force like tyraunts bold and stout,

³²⁷ George Whetstone, *The Censure of a loyall Subject: upon certaine noted Speach and behaviours, of those fourteene notable Traitors, at the place of their executions, the xx. and xxi. of September last past* (London, 1587), sig. F2^v.

³²⁸ Whetstone’s elegy was dedicated to Ambrose Dudley, Leicester’s brother and Earl of Warwick.

³²⁹ Francis Drake and Philip Nichols, *Sir Francis Drake Revived: Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to folowe his Noble Steps for Golde & Silver* (London, 1626).

those townes and forts that feare God, to convince,
 on barbed stead as one for their defence,
 incountred oft, amidst the troupe of those,
 repaying them with many bloody blowes.³³⁰

Invoking Sidney's ghost was not the only strategy by which Protestant Englishmen reinforced the subtext of moral difference which held together their oppositional relationship with the Spanish. A whole range of other representational techniques existed, the entirety of which would be impossible to document within the limited parameters of this chapter. Among the simplest and most dramatic is that found in R. D.'s pamphlet *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement of all the English Shippes, under the domin[ion] of the kinge of Spaine* (1585). Delivered in an idiosyncratic amalgam of prose and verse, the latter relates how a number of English ships had been "arrested by king Philips Commission to his use and service" while simultaneously assuring the reader, in language that could almost have been taken out of a Calvinistic manual of ethics, how "no such trouble, or adverse perturbation happeneth at any time unto gods people, which his provident wisdom doth not determine, both foreseeinge the beginnunge, the cause, the meanes, and continuance, and limiting the end or escape out of the same."³³¹ This highly suggestive observation – which, in some ways, reminds us of the common tendency among Armada writers to 'anglicise' the Christian deity for

³³⁰ John Phillips, *The Life and Death of Sir Phillip Sidney, late Lord governour of Flushing* (London, 1587), sigs. A4^v, B2^r.

³³¹ R. D., *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement of all the English Shippes, under the domin[ion] of the kinge of Spaine: and of the daungerous adventure, a[nd] wonderfull deliverance, of a Ship of London called the Viol[et]... by the especiall provid[ence] of God, from the violence of Spanyardes, at a Port called [St.] Sebastian in Biskay* (London, 1585), sigs. A4^r, A2^r; henceforth referred to as *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement*.

nationalistic ends³³²- is subsequently given textual corroboration by an English ship's flight to safety in the face of near insurmountable Spanish opposition:

[W]e called upon the Lord:
And humbled downe our woefull hartes
in prayers with one accord.

That he would still be unto us
our God and stretch his hand:
To rid us from the power and thrall
of this same cursed land.

It pleased the Lord of his good grace
to heare our woefull cry:
And in good time a gale of wind
he sent us prosperously.³³³

The similarities between an extract like this and later providentialist accounts of the Armada are quite striking and, to my mind, serve to confirm how texts like *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement* or *A True Discourse of the late Battaile fought betweene our Englishmen, and the Prince of Parma* predate the political smugness of works such as Charles Gibbon's *A Watch-woorde for Warre* (1596) or Roger Cotton's *An Armor of Prooffe, brought from the Tower of David, to fight against Spannyardes, and all enimies of the trueth* (1596),³³⁴ both of which gaze back on pre-Armada notions of English moral superiority with the self-righteousness of the militarily and ideologically vindicated. Conversely, it is also possible to look upon these early war pamphlets from what could be described as a rather more analeptic perspective. With increasing frequency, after all,

³³² See p. 167 of this study.

³³³ *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement*, sig. B2^v.

³³⁴ See pp. 197-198 of this study.

anti-Spanish polemicists not only turned to the Marian era as a historical/ eschatological paradigm of Spanish moral degeneracy,³³⁵ but also started to borrow the same exegetical concepts and even the same phraseology that their Marian predecessors had used to demonise the Spaniards some thirty years earlier. Certainly it is not too hard to identify traces of Marian formularism in texts such as *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement* (where the narrator differentiates between the “children of darknesse” and the “children of light”) or the anonymous *A most necessary and godly prayer, for the preservation of the right honourable the Earle of Leicester, Lieuetenant Generall of her Majesties Armie in the Lowe Countries* (where a similar biblical proposition is invoked when describing the “poore Church militant” of England and her Dutch allies in relation to “the malice of Sathan and his broode”).³³⁶

Thus, it can be seen that the concept of English moral superiority occupied a position of unique centrality within early war texts. On one level, it acted as a kind of otherworldly guarantee of national safety, similar, at least in psychological terms, to the way modern western governments embrace nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war. To quote one of the letters included in Henry Haslop’s 1587 *Newes Out of the Coast of Spaine*, it ensured that Englishmen could look upon the Anglo-Spanish war secure in the knowledge that “in this, as in all other our actions heretofore... our God wil, and hath

³³⁵ See, for example, George Whetstone’s *The Censure of a loyall Subject*, sig. F2^v; and Edward Hake’s *An Oration conteyning an Expostulation* (London, 1586), sigs. B3^r-B3^v.

³³⁶ *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement*, sig. A2^v; *A most necessary and godly prayer, for the preservation of the right honourable the Earle of Leicester, Lieuetenant Generall of her Majesties Armie in the Lowe Countries* (London, 1585), sig. A2^r.

alwaies made his infinite power to all papists apparant.”³³⁷ At the same time, though, it could be argued that its repeated textual engagement was in itself symptomatic of Englishmen’s own sense of military inferiority in relation to the Spanish. In fact, viewed from this last perspective, texts such *A true Report of the gener[all] Imbarrement* or *A most necessary and godly prayer* not only place the Spaniards as far away as possible from the traditional norms and values associated with ‘Englishness,’ but also articulate the uneasiness - political as well as psychological - that Englishmen must have felt at entering a war in which English territory was not directly involved and which also carried little prospect of tangible territorial gains. In time, of course, this sense of uneasiness would escalate into the climate of outright paranoia articulated in pre-Armada texts such as Henry Roberts’s *A prayer for assistance against the Armada* (1588) or Anthony Marten’s *A godly prayer for the preservation of the Queenes Majestie* (1588) - but this was still quite a distance ahead in 1585, 1586 and, even to a certain extent, 1587, during which years English writers carried on justifying the war with Spain in moral terms without succumbing to the deep-rooted, millenarian pessimism that accompanied the realisation, reached some time during the first months of 1588, that Spain was about to launch an all-out naval attack upon England and its people.

³³⁷ Henry Haslop (ed.), *Newes Out of the Coast of Spaine. The true Report of the honourable service for England, perfourmed by Sir Francis Drake in the moneths of Aprill and May last past, 1587, upon Cales* (London, 1587), sig. B1^v.

Chapter Four

The Armada as a paradigm of vindicated Protestantism

1. Strategies for the containment of pre-Armada hysteria: an examination of hispanophobic propaganda in the countdown to Philip's '*Gran Empresa*'

i) Millenarianism rebutted by exegesis: the domestic side of pre-Armada propaganda

According to De Lamar Jensen, Philip II's intentions towards England in the mid-1580s were Europe's "worst-kept secret."³³⁸ This view is not only corroborated by the historian Geoffrey Parker (whose meticulous research on the subject has uncovered that a copy of the Marquis of Santa Cruz's plans for the invasion actually fell into English hands just over two years before the arrival of the Spanish fleet³³⁹), but is also supported by a large quantity of contemporary epistolary evidence. Returning from 'singeing the king of Spain's beard' at Cadiz in April, 1587, for example, Francis Drake assured Sir Francis Walsingham in a private letter that "the like preparation was never heard of or known as the King of Spain hath and daily maketh to invade England."³⁴⁰ Shortly before Christmas of that same year, the letter-writer Philip Gawdy informed his father that London was ablaze with "certyne generall speache of the King of Spain's preparation of a great

³³⁸ De Lamar Jensen, 'The Spanish Armada: the Worst-Kept Secret in Europe,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, 1988, p. 621.

³³⁹ Geoffrey Parker, 'The Worst-Kept Secret in Europe? The European Intelligence Community and the Spanish Armada of 1588,' in *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History*, ed. Keith Neilson and B. J. C. McKercher (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 1992), p. 49.

³⁴⁰ Quoted in Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), p. 19.

navy.”³⁴¹ Just three and a half months later, at a special meeting of the Privy Council organised to discuss the state of England’s land defences, Burghley not only described the king of Spain as “the mightiest enemy that England ever had,” but also foresaw that the anticipated invasion would be accompanied by an attempt to induce “devoted papists and sworn enemies”³⁴² to attack England from both Scotland and Ireland – a premonition which greatly explains Burghley’s subsequent involvement in texts such as *A Briefe Discoverie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts* (1588) or even his own *The Copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza[,] Ambassador in France for the King of Spaine* (1588), both of which were outwardly designed to curtail the possibility of native Catholic subversion during the prognosticated Spanish invasion.³⁴³

Given the epistolary topicality of Philip’s militaristic designs, it is not surprising to find that rumours of invasion soon began filtering down into the domain of the broadside and non-governmental pamphlet. One of the earliest examples of this can be seen in William Gager’s Latin ode *In horribiliem et plane Catilinariam conivrationem novissime factam*, published in 1586 by the Oxford University Press as part of the collection of patriotic verse *In Catilinas prodiones* - in which the noted Elizabethan Latinist envisioned the Dantesque consequences of life in a post-conquest England.³⁴⁴ That same

³⁴¹ *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to various members of his family, 1579-1616*, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1906), p. 18.

³⁴² Quoted in Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Cape, 1960), pp. 418-419, 419.

³⁴³ See pp. 172-176 of this study.

³⁴⁴ See *William Gager: The Complete Works*, Vol. 3, edited and translated by Dana F. Sutton (New York and London: Garland, 1994), pp. 24-27.

year also saw the publication of George Whetstone's *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier*, a curious combination between travelogue and military manual which recounted how a Spaniard had recently declared that Philip II was assembling an army so "that we shall have the spoile of rich England, [and] that we shall embrace their faire wives, and make havocke of their long gathered riches."³⁴⁵ Perhaps the strongest and most direct expression of these early phobias, though, can be seen in William Lightfoot's *The Complaint of England* (1587), an elaborate anti-papal and anti-Spanish tirade entered in the *Stationers' Register* on 4 March, 1587. Drawing extensively from Las Casas's earlier compendium of Spanish new world infamy, Lightfoot argued that it was a sign of "desperate madnesse" to "feare not the mischief of Spanish invasion." He then went on to classify Philip's invasion plans as part of an international conspiracy orchestrated from both Rome and Spain, the objective of which was to restore the Catholic faith to England. "Invasion of the Spaniard is the meanes," Lightfoot accordingly declared, "advancing of Papistrie is the end."³⁴⁶

That Whetstone's and Lightfoot's warnings must have been taken seriously enough can be determined by the atmosphere of impending millenarian doom that engulfed many other pre-Armada texts. Although perhaps not as explicit about Philip's intentions as *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* or *The Complaint of England*, their anxious and unceasingly pessimistic tone is arguably even more symptomatic of the collective sense of malaise that gripped most Englishmen in the run-up to the Spanish Armada.

³⁴⁵ George Whetstone, *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier. With a Morall Report of the Vertues, Offices and (by abuse) the disgrace of his Profession* (Leyden, 1586), sig. C2^v.

³⁴⁶ William Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England* (London, 1587), [title-page], sig. G2^v.

Writing in the preface to his translation of Daniel Toussaine's *The Lamentations and holy mournings of the Prophet Jeremiah* (1587), for example, Thomas Stocker describes the Frenchman's pamphlet as "an apt and fitte peece of worke (in my poore opinion) to be every way applyed unto these our dayes... for the comforting of all the faithfull children of God... notwithstanding the great calamities which have fallen, and are like still to fall upon this latter age of the worlde."³⁴⁷ In a similar vein, John Udall's sermon *The Combate betwixt Christ and the Devill* (1588) warns Englishmen "most carefully to use all good & lawfull meanes for the preventyng of daunger imminent."³⁴⁸ However, over and above these vague allusions to a calamitous future, the most remarkable expression of pre-Armada millenarian pessimism can be found by way of a widely-disseminated prophecy, commonly attributed to Johann Müller of Königsberger but almost certainly calculated from the latter's astronomical tables by the Bohemian astrologer Cyprian van Leowitz, which foresaw mass catastrophes in the year 1588.³⁴⁹ Its first textual appearance in England, in all probability, came via Thomas Rogers's translation of Shelto á Geveren's *Of the ende of this world, and the second coming of Christ* (1577):

³⁴⁷ Daniel Toussaine, *The Lamentations and holy mournings of the Prophet Jeremiah*, trans. Thomas Stocker (London, 1587), sigs. A2^v-A3^r. Other 'eschatological' works entered in the *Stationers' Register* during 1587 include *The sor[r]owfull sobbes and sighes of England* (8 March), William Chub's *A sermon treatinge of Affliction* (2 May), *Certayne godlye treatyses concerninge the end of the wourld* (19 October) and *The Tokens of the children of God. and comfortes in their afflyctions* (30 October). See *Arber*, Vol. 2, pp. 216, 218, 221b, 222.

³⁴⁸ John Udall, *The Combate betwixt Christ and the Devill* (London, 1588), sig. B3^r.

³⁴⁹ See Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), pp. 157-168.

When after Christes birth there be expirde
 Of hundreds fifteen, yeeres, eightie and eight,
 Then comes the tyme of daungers to be ferde...
 For if the world in that yeere doo not fall,...
 Yet Empires all and Kingdomes alter shall,
 And man to ease himselfe shall have no way.³⁵⁰

That Leowitz's/ á Geveren's/ Rogers's prophecy was popularly associated in 1587 and 1588 with the arrival of the Spanish Armada can be seen not only from the repeated conjunction of both elements in the private correspondence of the period,³⁵¹ but also, if we are to accept Garrett Mattingly's theory, from the strenuous efforts made by the English government to suppress its inclusion in astrological almanacs and simultaneously encourage texts which sought to neutralise the "terrible threatenings, and menaces... [of] this present famous yeere, 1588"³⁵² such as John Harvey's refutation of divinatory practices *A Discursive Probleme concerning Prophecies* (1588) or Thomas Tymme's piously optimistic *A Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare* (1588).³⁵³

In some ways, though, the government was only delaying the onset of the inevitable. As the months went by and the Armada became more of a tangible reality in people's minds, what had once been vague eschatological premonitions rapidly gave way to the type of last-minute supplications found in texts such as Henry Roberts's *A*

³⁵⁰ Shelto á Geveren, *Of the ende of this world, and second coming of Christ*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London, 1577), sig. F2^v.

³⁵¹ *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, p. 167.

³⁵² John Harvey, *A Discursive Probleme concerning Prophecies* (London, 1588), [title-page].

³⁵³ *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, p. 167.

prayer for assistance against the Armada (1588), Anthony Marten's *A godly prayer for the preservation of the Queenes Majestie* (1588) or Christopher Stile's *Psalmes of Invocation upon God, to preserve her Majestie and the people of this lande, from the power of our enemies* (1588). Although written in order to counter and diminish the threat of invasion, many of these texts exhibit distinct signs of Marian influence – inasmuch as they use exegesis to condemn the Spaniards' military plans and at the same time stress England's inviolability in relation to its aggressors. Roberts, for example, beseeches God to “prevent now... the cruell devise of Amon, stave the rage of Holophernus, breake the counsell of Achitophell, and confound our enemies” – thereby comparing the Spaniards to biblical tyrants in much the same manner as John Ponet and other Protestant dissenters had done during the Marian Catholic interlude.³⁵⁴ Marten, for his own part, recalls the story of the parting of the Red Sea in *Exodus* when imploring God to “frustrate their devises, and fight thou with Israel, against all the hoste of the Assyrians... And, as it was with Pharao in the redde Sea, so let it be with them that seeke the death of thy servants.”³⁵⁵ Stile, meanwhile, purposefully blurs all nomenclatural distinctions between biblical Assyrians and sixteenth-century Spaniards when requesting

³⁵⁴ Henry Roberts, *A prayer for assistance against the Armada* (London, 1588), a single-sheet broadside.

³⁵⁵ Since I have not been able to access the original text of *A godly prayer for the preservation of the Queenes Majestie*, I have taken my citation from the reprinted version attached to Marten's own *An Exhortation, to stirre up the mindes of all her Majesties faithfull Subjects, to defend their Countrey in this dangerous time, from the invasion of Enemies* (London, 1588 [sig. F3^v]) which was published just after the Armada.

God to materialise “thy host in the aire to the amasing of the Spanish Assyrians, that they and theirs may be a pray for our Elizabeth, and our English host...”³⁵⁶

All the same, it is important to note that the Marian connection was not limited merely to biblical phraseology and parallelistic biblicism. John Carpenter’s *Time Complaining, giveth a most godly admonition, and very profitable Instruction to England in this our dangerous Tyme* (1588), for example, not only stresses the importance of prayer as a deterrent to avoid being “delivered into the hand of bragging Holofernes,” but, in addition, focuses on the coming Armada in much the same way as the Marian exiles had once centred on the Anglo-Spanish marriage as the natural consequence of Englishmen’s moral failings:

But alas, your long peace & prosperitie hath brought too manie men into such a carelesse security & contempt of the true Religion so long used amongst you, that thereby... it coulde not otherwise bee, but that the treacheries conspired, and horrible plagues threatned against us would take effect...

Plugging into the emblematically Protestant idea that moral determinism lay behind both individual and national woes, Carpenter wasted no time in proclaiming its concomitant and, to a certain extent, predictable corollary: just as God’s grace had been lost through man’s spiritual ingratitude, so there was still time “to seeke the Lord, whiles he may be found... that the Lorde may bee moved thereby the sooner to lead us to his everlasting peace through Christ Jesus...”³⁵⁷ Something of a spiritual ‘get-out clause’

³⁵⁶ Christopher Stile, *Psalmes of Invocation upon God, to preserve her Majestie and the people of this lande, from the power of our enemies* (London, 1588), sig. B3^v.

³⁵⁷ John Carpenter, *Time Complaining, giveth a most godly admonition, and very profitable Instruction to England in this our dangerous Tyme* (London, 1588), sigs. B7^v, A4^v-A5^v, A6^r. A

though this was, it still offered the proverbial glimmer of hope that many needed and this was more than enough for it to be explicitly used, as in the case of E. R.'s retrospectively-published *A Briefe Discourse intituled A Buckler Against A Spanish Brag* (1588), as a last-minute deterrent against the impending arrival of the Spaniards:

But notwithstanding this their malice, notwithstanding all the Spanish trecheries: our God saith, that if we call upon him, he will heare us, and not onely heare, but also deliver us from the jawes of these savage blood-suckers.³⁵⁸

An indication of just how valuable this idea seemed at the time can be gleaned from the fact that John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was soon sending instructions to all Church ministers for "fasting and daily prayer, in view of the danger from invasion."³⁵⁹ He followed this up in July, 1588 with an even more impassioned letter to all the bishops in his diocese, asking his deputies to spare no effort in the spiritual campaign against the Armada:

Considering the Dangerousnes of the Time, I think it very convenient, that you cause Publick Prayers to be had in every... Parish within your Dioces according to the Letters, heretofore written unto you.... I have caused a

similar line of reasoning can also be encountered in Thomas Tymme's *A Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588* (London, 1588), sig. B7'.

³⁵⁸ E. R., *A Briefe Discourse intituled A Buckler Against A Spanish Brag*, attached as an appendix to *Two fruitfull exercises, The one: A Christian discourse upon the 16. and 17. verses of the 16. Chapter of the booke of Judges... The other: A godly meditation upon the 41. and 42. verses of the 10. chapter of Saint Luke* (London, 1588), sigs. M6^v-M7^r. It is possible to deduce that this is a pre-Armada tract from E. R.'s assurances in the preface that, even though "it commeth out of season in respect of the action," his work "was penned when the rumor of the Spanish invasion was first dispered" (sig. K6^r).

³⁵⁹ *Brag and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada*, p. 47.

Book, upon the like Occasions penned, to be newly printed with some Additions: which you may have for your Dioces...³⁶⁰

The book in question was *A fourme of Prayer, necessary for the present time and state*. A collection of hastily-written psalms with a list of recommended homiletical readings thrown in for good measure, it was published with the full co-operation of the Privy Council in the hope that it would increase “publyke prayers to Almighty God, the giver of victoryes, to assiste us against the mallyce of our ennemyes...”³⁶¹ With this singular objective in mind, it followed the same formulaic lines already laid out in the work of the Marian exiles, focusing on biblical precedents in which the Godly had “bene provoked & stirred up to more fervencie and diligence in prayer” and, in so doing, had been “defended and delivered from all further perils & dangers.” At the same time, in a move which reveals Whitgift’s leanings towards Calvinistic introspection, it tried to steer its readers into a “deepe consideration of their consciences,” arguing that it was only by recognising their “unthankfulnesse and forgetfulnesse of Gods mercifull benefits towards them” that the Lord could be brought back to their side.³⁶²

That is not to say that English pre-Armada writings were characterised solely by an attitude of prayerful, inward-looking trepidation. Interwoven among the many clamours for godly intervention, there is an ancillary, almost contrapuntal sense of patriotism which aimed to inspire Englishmen to defend their country against foreign invasion.

³⁶⁰ Quoted in John Strype, *The Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, John Whitgift... in Four Books* (London: printed for T. Horne et al, 1718), Book 3, sig. Nn2^v.

³⁶¹ *Acts of the Privy Council of England. New Series*, Vol. 16, ed. John Roche Dasent (London: published for HMSO by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897), p. 172.

³⁶² John Whitgift, *A fourme of Prayer, necessary for the present time and state* (London, 1588), sig. A2^r.

“*Pugnate pro patria*,” William Averell, for example, proclaimed in *A mervailous combat of contrarities* (1588), “fight for your country, your dearest countrie, wherein you have ben bred, borne, nourished, & brought up, toward which you ought to bee as inwardly affected, as you are naturally moved to your mothers.”³⁶³ Likewise, in his *Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588*, Thomas Tymme urged “every true English man” to “bee in a readines with bowes, billes, morispikes, and gunnes, to march on in a warlike araye, lyke true soldiers, for the maintenance of the Gospel of Christ, for the preservation of our noble Queene Elizabeth, for the defence of our countrey, our landes, our children, our wives and our lyves...”³⁶⁴ What is more, it was not uncommon for such vigorously proactive sentiments - the opposite in many ways of the supplicatory, self-preservative passiveness that appeared to be at the heart of most pre-Armada rogations - to metamorphose into the belief that wars could not be won by faith alone. “[H]ave we practised anie feates of armes whereby we may be enhabled [sic] to meete a Spaniard in the field?” E. R. duly asked in *A Briefe Discourse intituled A Buckler Against A Spanish Brag*. “Let us exercise the same daily, and

³⁶³ William Averell, *A mervailous combat of contrarities* (London, 1588), sig. E3^r.

³⁶⁴ Thomas Tymme, *A Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588* (London, 1588), sigs. B1^v-B2^r. Other examples of this type of patriotic emotionalism can be encountered in the anonymous pamphlet *An Oration Militarie to all naturall Englishmen* (in which the narrator exhorts his readers to “set light by life, & willingly imbrace the greatest torments that tyranny can oppose, rather than see Religion defaced, our Countrie ruined, our Sovereigne Princesse injured, our wives and virgins defiled, our infants tost on pikes, and our goods the greedie Spaniardes spoyle”), as well as in T. I.’s *A Joyful Song of the Royall receiving of the Queenes most excellent Majestie* (in which the author rhetorically asks “[w]hat subject would not spend his life,/ And all he hath to stay the strife,/ Of forraigne foe that seekes to... invade this realme of England[?]”). See *An Oration Militarie to all naturall Englishmen* (London, 1588), sigs. A3^r-A3^v; T. I., *A Joyful Song of the Royall receiving of the Queenes most excellent Majestie... at Tilburie in Essex... the eighth and ninth of August. 1588* (London, 1588), a single-sheet broadside.

continue in this forwardnes of service... For although the Lord watcheth for his Israel, yet must not Israel snort securely; but be vigilant to heare that great watchman when he calleth...³⁶⁵

The truth, no doubt, was that most pre-Armada calls for divine intervention could not escape the need to manifest, and at the same time take comfort from, a concomitant sense of patriarchal defiance. That is why nearly all expressions of secular patriotism were anchored against the belief in the unquestioned sanctity of the English military cause. Thomas Tymme, for instance, ends his strongly militaristic address to “the Nobles and Captaines of this... lande” by declaring that “[t]he quarrell wee see is just: the cause is Gods.”³⁶⁶ In a similar manner, Edmond Harris’s *Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* (1588) argues that Englishmen “should not be faint harted in a good cause” before using exegesis to buttress the same idea:

Concerning Gog, looke Ezech. 38. and 39. and there you shall see that Gog is called the Prince of Mesech and Tuball: by which Tuball are understood the Italians and Spaniardes (as the learned may see in John Funcius his division of the world in his chronicle)... We see then who are Gog and Magog, as also that our enemies which warre against us, that is to say, the Italians and Spaniardes are a parte of them; what comferte have wee by this, or how doth this put us out of feare by shewing that the Lord will fight for us; that which followeth in the text will strengthen us in the Lord. For the holie ghost telleth us plainly, that Gog Magog shall compasse the tentes of the Saints about, but fire (sayth he) came downe from God out of heaven and devoured them.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ *A Briefe Discourse intituled A Buckler Against A Spanish Brag*, sig. M3^v.

³⁶⁶ *A Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588*, sigs. B1^v, B2^r.

³⁶⁷ Edmond Harris, *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall, before the Right Worshipfull, Sir John Brocket, and other Gentlemen there assembled for the trayning of Souldiers* (London, 1588), sigs. A4^r, B2^r-B2^v.

It is difficult to find a more explicitly eschatological view of the Spanish than that proposed here.³⁶⁸ Drawing partly on the tradition which said that Spaniards were descended from the genealogical line of Japhet's son, Tubal, and partly on the passage in *Ezekiel* 38:2-3 which cited Gog as the chief prince of the tribes of Meshech and Tubal, Harris not only invokes the Bible from the parallelistic, essentially illustrative perspective of conventional Protestant thought, but also uses it to undermine the genealogical origins of Hispanism and, thus, reconfirm the moral sanctity of the English cause. This, unquestionably, was one of the more striking and widespread features associated with the kind of pre-Armada propaganda produced by men like Edmond Harris or Thomas Tymme: it invoked biblical ideas just as much to cast England and Spain as ideological opposites as to mitigate the sense of panic which the Armada's impending arrival was causing among the native population. To use Harris's own words in *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall*, there would have been no greater pamphleteering objective for him and his contemporaries than to place Protestant Englishmen "out of feare by shewing that the Lord will fight for us."³⁶⁹

ii) William Allen vs. the English government: an Elizabethan propaganda war?

Edmond Harris's ruthless amalgamation of exegetical and propagandistic matters in *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* in many ways reflected the dual methodology adopted by the English government itself. Almost at the same time that the Archbishop of

³⁶⁸ The nearest analogue I can think of is that found in the post-Armada tract *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie* (London, 1589), in which the anonymous narrator fleetingly claims that the Spaniards' "descent" comes "from Tubal the sonne of Noah" (sig. F3^v) before continuing with the rest of his vigorous, though decidedly less eschatologically-minded, anti-Spanish diatribe.

³⁶⁹ *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall*, sig. B2^v.

Canterbury was bringing out *A fourme of Prayer, necessary for the present time and state*, after all, Elizabeth's Privy Council was engaged in the systematic circulation of a text which, possibly more than any other 'official' document of the period, showed to what degree the English government was cognizant of the mechanics of mass propaganda. This was the proclamation against the "[p]ossessors of Papal Bulls, Books, Pamphlets," issued by royal consent from Greenwich on 1 July, 1588. Written with the self-declared aim of curtailing "sundry false, slanderous, and seditious rumors and reports tending wholly to move the people's hearts to discontentment and offense,"³⁷⁰ the text's dryly prescriptive language and sense of political awareness not only make it stand in diametric opposition to the current of pious exhortations that we have previously been looking at, but also reveal to what extent Elizabeth's Protestant administration was engaged in a game of propagandistic brinkmanship with its Catholic opponents abroad.

Clearly, then, the government's advocacy of Whitgift's spiritual deterrent did not deter it from grasping the intricacies of the prevailing political situation. Nor, at the same time, did it impede the authors of the July proclamation from being perfectly aware of who their main adversary was and what he was trying to achieve. Although the wording of the document hints at the existence of a multi-layered international conspiracy headed by "the pope and other foreign enemies," there are more than enough pointers to suggest that Burghley and his ministers were specifically thinking of one man when composing their text: William Allen. The proclamation itself mentions "a most malicious and detestable bull or libel against her majesty and her most gracious

³⁷⁰ TRP, Vol. 3, p. 14.

and peaceable government”³⁷¹ - a clear reference to Allen’s broadside *A Declaration of the Sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Quene of Englande*. In the same way, an early draft of the document almost certainly had Allen’s *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* (1588) in mind when writing about a “blast or puff of a beggarly scholar and traitor... intended as a traitorous trumpet to wake up all robbers and Catholics in England against their sovereign.”³⁷² Even though these lines were later suppressed from the final version - no doubt, as Bertrand T. Whitehead claims, in order to avoid publicizing a work that as yet had not been properly released in England³⁷³ - their spirit lived on in the way the revised text launched an aggressive attack against books and pamphlets which had been “contrived, written, and printed by divers seditous and traitorous persons with purpose to be in covert and secret manner dispersed through this realm...”³⁷⁴

The attention given to William Allen in the first and second drafts of the July proclamation was not entirely unwarranted. A disillusioned young Catholic who left England shortly after the religious settlement, Allen remained an impassioned enemy of Elizabeth and English Protestantism throughout his long and toilsome spell abroad. He had already been involved in an abortive plan to invade England in the late 1570s (an enterprise meant to have been headed by Don John of Austria, Philip II’s brother and the

³⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 14, 14-15.

³⁷² *CSP, Domestic, 1581-1590*, p. 493.

³⁷³ See *Braggs and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada*, p. 79.

³⁷⁴ *TRP*, Vol. 3, p. 15.

hero of Lepanto³⁷⁵) and had subsequently divided his energies between the co-ordination of the Catholic missions to England and his attempt to gather support for Philip's 'empresa.' It is against this last context that we must view the two works of propaganda already mentioned – *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* and *A Declaration of the Sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Quene of Englande*, both of which were printed almost simultaneously from Catholic printing houses in Antwerp at the beginning of 1588. The latter was intended as a timely pre-Armada reminder of Pope Pius V's bull of excommunication of 1570, thereby hoping to destabilise Elizabeth's position at a time of impending national crisis. While technically not a papal bull – it did not carry the required papal imprimatur to merit such an appellation – Allen's text, described by Arnold Oskar Meyer as a "half-papal, half-Spanish broadside,"³⁷⁶ invoked the authority of Sixtus V not only to request Catholics across England the immediate "withdrawinge [of] all succor publike and private, from the party pursued and her adherents," but also – what was far worse in the eyes of Elizabeth's Protestant councillors – to encourage them to "unite them selves to the Catholike army conducted by the most noble and victorious Prince, Alexander Farnesius, Duke of Parma and Placentia, in [the] name of his Majesty."³⁷⁷ Even if in retrospect it is clear that Allen misread the political aspirations of the native English

³⁷⁵ *Braggs and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada*, p. 8.

³⁷⁶ Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth*, trans. J. R. Mckee (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 324. Meyer, in addition, proposes that Sixtus V hesitated from issuing a fully-fledged bull because he was worried that the 'empresa' could be defeated (p. 323).

³⁷⁷ William Allen, *A Declaration of the Sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Quene of Englande* (Antwerp, 1588), a single-sheet broadside.

Catholics – very much in the same manner, it could be argued, that his fellow exile and co-religionist Reginald Pole had, according to Robert Tittler, failed to grasp “English sympathies or political realities” some thirty odd years earlier³⁷⁸ – at the time his writings were deemed enough of a threat to English national security for Burghley to write to Walsingham that “[g]ood consideration would be had how both to suppress it [i.e. Allen’s *Admonition*] from being public here and to have some answer made to the reproof and remedy.”³⁷⁹ In time Burghley himself would take up the challenge through the production and dissemination of *The Copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza*, a fiery, incriminatory anti-Spanish letter supposedly sent by an English Catholic to Philip II’s ambassador in France, but in reality a forgery which served to denounce, among other things, a book “by the reverend father Cardinall Allen” which was “so violently, sharply, and bitterly written... so arrogantly, falsly, and slaundersously, against the person of the Queene...”³⁸⁰

However, the publication of *The Copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza* was still months away when Burghley received his print of Allen’s *Admonition* midway through June, 1588. With the Armada already having left Lisbon on 28 May, and with the possibility of native Catholic rebellion still lurking ominously in most English minds, it was clear that something had to be done to rebut Allen’s

³⁷⁸ Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), p. 30.

³⁷⁹ *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, p. 426.

³⁸⁰ William Cecil, Baron Burghley, *The Copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza[,] Ambassador in France for the King of Spaine, declaring the state of England, contrary to the opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his partizans Spaniardes and others* (London, 1588), sig. A4^r.

insurrectional outpourings and surely Burghley must not have been alone among contemporary politicians when, in the course of the mentioned letter to Walsingham, he found himself anxiously wishing that “some expert learned man would feign an answer... to advertise the Cardinal that he is deceived in his opinion to think that any nobleman in this land or any gentleman of possessions will favour the invasion of the realm.”³⁸¹ A provisional solution to the problem was evidently needed and the government finally appeared to have found it in the form of *A Briefe Discoverie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts*,³⁸² a vigorous work of anti-Spanish and ‘anti-Allenesque’ invective that had been circulating in manuscript among the London intelligentsia over the last few months and whose author was only known by the initials ‘G. D.’³⁸³ Although originally intended as a reply to Allen’s earlier *The Copie of a Letter written by M. Doctor Allen concerning the yeelding up, of the Citie of Daventrie* (in which the voluntary surrender of Sir William Stanley to the Spanish in 1587 had been defended as “lawful, honorable, and necessarie” and the English government’s involvement in the Netherlands attacked as “nothing elles but a publike robbetrie, and pyracie”³⁸⁴), G. D.’s text still managed to tackle most of the points raised in the *Admonition* and would in time go on to influence subsequent broadside attacks on Allen’s political beliefs such as the anonymous 1588 *The Holy Bull*,

³⁸¹ *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, p. 426.

³⁸² G. D., *A Briefe Discoverie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts* (London, 1588); henceforth referred to as *A Briefe Discoverie*.

³⁸³ Bertrand T. Whitehead speculates that ‘G. D.’ might have been the pamphleteer John Stubbes. See *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Spanish Armada*, p. 86, footnote*.

³⁸⁴ William Allen, *The Copie of a Letter written by M. Doctor Allen concerning the yeelding up, of the Citie of Daventrie, unto his Catholike Majestie, by Sir William Stanley Knight* (Antwerp, 1587), [title-page], sig. A5^r.

and *Crusado of Rome* (which condemned Allen's *Declaration* as an attempt to legitimise the "murder without any respect of religion, [of] all the Inhabitants of England"³⁸⁵) or James Lea's 1589 *The Birth, Purpose, and mortall Wound of the Romish holie League* (which launched a scathing attack against "that caitiffe Cardinall" and his "[c]annon of corrupt conceipt"³⁸⁶). More importantly as far as Burghley was concerned, G. D.'s pamphlet focused upon Allen himself in the same condemnatory and dismissive way that he had been hoping for in his letter to Walsingham:

I thought it a thing verie necessarie, to discover and lay open to the world, the slye & subtile dealings of D. Allen in this pamflet... to th' end that no man might either by simplicitie and ignorance, or for affection to him & his faction, or through overmuch credulitie of his doctrine, be seduced by his deceitful abuses & impostures, to their own utter ruine & destruction.³⁸⁷

Since most of Allen's "abuses & impostures" revolved around the supposed moral benevolence of the Spanish '*empresa*,' it was only to be expected that G. D.'s text should have enlightened gullible or impressionable Catholic readers as to the 'real' nature of Spanish intent. The easiest and simplest way of doing this, of course, was by adopting the tone of anti-patriarchal alarmism that had been buoying up most anti-Spanish pieces since the beginning of the 1580s. Where G. D., however, departed from the established norm was in directing this sense of alarmism specifically against the

³⁸⁵ *The Holy Bull, and Crusado of Rome: First published by the holy father Gregory the xiii. and afterwards renewed and ratified by Sixtus the sist [sic]... Together with a briefe declaration... which was founde in the Armado of Spaine, of the prowde presumption of the Spaniard* (London, 1588), sig. A4^v.

³⁸⁶ James Lea, *The Birth, Purpose, and mortall Wound of the Romish holie League* (London, 1589), sig. A3^r.

³⁸⁷ *A Briefe Discoverie*, sig. A4^r.

English Catholics themselves. In other words, he tried to make English Catholics painfully aware of the consequences attached to a politically treasonous stance. To do this effectively, Catholics had to be persuaded that, contrary to Allen's personal assurances that the invading Spaniards would take "great care... of every Catholike & penitent person,"³⁸⁸ their religion would in no way act as a deterrent against the physical, territorial and, above all, sexual depredations of a foreign enemy:

[W]hat favour can English Catholikes then expect of a forreine army? especially of the Spanish souldiour, who in the opinion and report of those nations which have felt his furie, and endured his yoake, is very hardly thought of, and almost infamous for his pride, insolence, crueltie, ravishments, and such like kindes of violence... Small favour or curtesie (god wot) is an Englishman to hope for at a Spaniards hand, be he never so Catholike. The Spanish souldiour, where he is lord, never useth to aske (or to heare) whose wife is this? whose daughter, whose sister, whose house or goods these are: A Catholikes wife, daughter, house, & goods, are as sweete to him, as another mans. And what pleasure would this be to an English man, whatsoever his religion be, to see his wife forced, his sisters ravished, his daughters deflowred, his house sacked, his goods pilled and spoyled by a stranger before his face?³⁸⁹

Despite not being written specifically with Allen's *Admonition* in mind (a serendipitous blessing of sorts, considering that it prevented G. D. from giving Allen's text the sort of inadvertent publicity witnessed in the first draft of the July proclamation), one can nonetheless gauge from this extract how G. D.'s text would have acted as the perfect propagandistic counterweight to Allen's seditious pro-Spanish ideas. Propelled at all times by a dynamic yet plainly uncomplicated logic, it rebutted Allen's avowals of

³⁸⁸ William Allen, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* (Antwerp, 1588), sig. D1^v.

³⁸⁹ *A Briefe Discoverie*, sigs. M1^v-M2^r.

Spanish friendship through a process which relied as much on traditional post-Marian alarmism (one should note, in particular, how it engages Spanish ‘sexual immorality’ as a catalyst of nationalist sentiment) as on redefining the relationship between English and Spanish forms of Catholicism (a technique which subsequently came to be appropriated by the pro-Catholic, but fervently anti-Spanish Appellant movement³⁹⁰). In a sense, its importance can be gauged from the way it rooted itself at the very centre of the Anglo-Spanish quarrel, eliciting a variety of reactions both from those opposed to and those in favour of the projected Spanish invasion. To the Jesuit Robert Southwell, for example, *A Briefe Discoverie* represented “a vapid production, quite alien to a Christian sense of justice.” “[V]ery impertinent and ridiculous” was the equally damning verdict proffered by one of Philip II’s agents in England.³⁹¹ More than anything else, though, it is the Privy Council’s own letter of recommendation for it to the Lords Lieutenant of England which gives us the finest indication of just how G. D.’s book was viewed: “We finding this treatise very convenient for the use of the Common subject, who is easiest to be abused by the cunning and lewd allurements of the adversary, and most necessary for the present time and occasions, have therefore thought good to give notice thereof...”³⁹²

³⁹⁰ See p. 255 of this study.

³⁹¹ Quoted in *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada*, pp. 84, 86.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

2. Writing the Armada: myth, monumentalism and the transformation of event into national epic

Venit, Ivit, Fuit ('it came, it went, it was no more'). With this clever variation on Julius Caesar's famous Latin epigram, an anonymous medallist saw fit to decorate a 1589 silver counter commemorating the repulse of the Armada.³⁹³ While probably the shortest and most self-contained of all Armada 'narratives,' it nonetheless captures with great accuracy the mixture of incredulity, triumphalist smugness and almost anti-climactic sense of relief which the Armada's demise must have elicited from contemporary Englishmen. If that is not enough, its epigrammatic succinctness also serves to emphasise the sheer chronological rapidity with which the whole Armada episode passed – having first been sighted off the English Coast on 29 July, it took less than two weeks before a combination of inclement weather and the English 'fire-ship' attack forced the Spaniards to retreat up England's north-east coastline.

The Armada's short-lived trajectory, however, should not blind us to the significance that the episode had for contemporary Englishmen. Although it was once fashionable to believe - thanks mainly to the efforts of early twentieth-century literary historians such as E. M. Albright and J. C. Lapp³⁹⁴ - that the Anglo-Spanish sea-battle failed to have a concerted impact on the literature of the time, there is enough textual

³⁹³ See *Armada 1588-1988: An International Exhibition to Commemorate the Spanish Armada: The Official Catalogue*, ed. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado and the staff of the National Maritime Museum (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), p. 276.

³⁹⁴ E. M. Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640: A Study of Conditions Affecting Content and Form of Drama* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1927), p. 109; J. C. Lapp, 'The Defeat of the Armada in French Poetry of the Sixteenth Century,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 43, 1944, pp. 98-100.

and non-textual evidence to suggest that, right from the very beginning and across a broad range of genres, the event came to grip the English national consciousness in a real and tangible manner. Why else, if not, would the preface to James Aske's *Elizabetha Triumphans*, possibly the first resolute attempt to inscribe the events surrounding the Armada into an epical-poetical framework, have assured its readers in 1588 that "the Booke-binders shops, and every Printers presse are so cloyed and clogged with Bookes of these and such-like matters..."³⁹⁵ Or why, in a similar manner, would the 1589 edition of Richard Hakluyt's *The principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation* have stated, in no less certain terms, that in the aftermath of the Armada "many verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men"³⁹⁶

Perhaps the first major textual engagement with the Armada came from the hand of Thomas Deloney, the irrepressible balladeer and proto-novelist who during the summer of 1588 published three ballads on the attempted Spanish invasion. The earliest of these ballads, *The queenes visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie* and *A joyful new Ballad, declaring the happie obtaining of the great Galleazo wherein Don Pietro de Valdez was the chiefe*, were entered in the *Stationers' Register* on 10 August³⁹⁷ – that is to say, midway during the Anglo-Spanish naval conflict itself. The latter centred on the capture, just three days earlier, of the Spanish flagship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* - thereby

³⁹⁵ James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (London, 1588), sig. A3^r.

³⁹⁶ Cited in Elkin Calhoun Wilson's *England's Eliza* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 289.

³⁹⁷ *Arber*, Vol. 2, p. 231.

revealing the broadside's importance as a medium of imparting news, as well as Deloney's timely sense of opportunism under what must have been exceptionally trying circumstances. This sense of near 'journalistic' alacrity ensures that Deloney's ballads are caught in a state of transitional flux between the pre- and post-Armada periods. In particular, one should note how he follows the precedent laid down by pre-Armada writers such as Thomas Tymme or the anonymous author of *An Oration Militarie to all naturall Englishmen*³⁹⁸ in using miscegenetic images of rape to heighten nationalist sentiment:

Although their bodies sweet and fayre,
 their spoyle they ment to make:
 And on them first their filthie lust
 and pleasure for to take.
 Yet afterward such sower sauce
 they should be sure to finde,
 That they shoulde curse each springing braunch
 that cometh of their kinde.³⁹⁹

The threat of sexual contamination hinted at in the final two lines once again reinforces the connection between Spanish militarism and rape, this time in order to induce a sense of nationalist indignation among the ballad's readers. To achieve this without descending into the blatantly pornographic, Deloney focuses on the act of rape from an aggressively male-centred perspective – strongly voyeuristic in outlook, built around the conventional Petrarchal opposition between subject/object, divided between the binary

³⁹⁸ See footnote 364 of this study.

³⁹⁹ Thomas Deloney, *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes which the Spanyards had prepared to whippe and torment English men and women* (London, 1588), a single-sheet broadside; henceforth referred to as *A new Ballet*.

poles of Englishwomen's "sweet and fayre" bodies and the Spaniards' "filthie lust" – but with the crucial distinction that the intended objects of rape are none other than Englishmen's wives themselves. This ensures that any lingering traces of phallogocentric interest in the textual depiction of rape are reversed and placed into a suitably xenophobic and anti-Spanish matrix. To borrow the words of *An Oration Militarie*, the act of rape is transformed into the one mobilising catalyst above all others that will lead men to "willingly imbrace the greatest torments that tyranny can oppose" before accepting its imposition.⁴⁰⁰

Deloney's ballads also looked back in other, perhaps even more tangible respects. Among the most important of these was the way in which Deloney clung to the pre-Armada interrelation between godly interventionism and military success. In a sense, it could be argued, this was only to be expected. With the fate of the Armada still in the balance, and with memories of pre-Armada sermons and prayers surely still etched upon the English collective conscience, it was perhaps inevitable that Deloney, just like his pre-Armada predecessors, should have carried on stressing the redemptive role of last-minute divine intervention:

O Noble England,
 fall downe upon thy knee:
 And praise thy God with thankfull hart
 which still maintaineth thee.
 The forraine forces,
 that seekes thy utter spoile:
 Shall then through his especiall grace

⁴⁰⁰ See footnote 364 of this study.

be brought to shamefull foile.⁴⁰¹

And yet, there was also a very significant difference between Deloney and his immediate forerunners – even at this early stage of the conflict, the Norwich man-of-letters was already beginning to gaze upon the Armada with the smugness and semi-disguised triumphalism of the ideologically vindicated. Thus, in the extended title of *A joyful new Ballad*, Deloney proclaims that his ballad will relate “the happie obtaining of the great Galleazzo, wherein Don Pietro de Valdez was the chiefe, through the mightie power and providence of God, being a speciall token of his gracious and fatherly goodnes towards us...”⁴⁰²

This subtle shift in emphasis is reflected in most subsequent English accounts of the Armada. Although it is true that the urge to give credit to God never entirely faded from most Protestant relations of the ill-fated invasion – one need only consider the titles of some lost works entered in the *Stationers’ Register* in 1588 such as *A Ballad of thankes gyvinge unto God, for his mercy toward hir majesty* (7 October) or *A new ballad of the glorious victory of Christ Jesus, as was late seene by th[e] overthrowe of the Spanyardes* (3 November)⁴⁰³ - it was now frequently accompanied by the smugness and thinly-veiled sense of self-satisfaction which induced the sermonist John Prime to proudly declaim that “not an Angell, but God himselfe had a favourable eye towarde us... when notwithstanding all their crakes and famous Dons, and doutie Adventere[r]s”

⁴⁰¹ Thomas Deloney, *A joyful new Ballad, declaring the happie obtaining of the great Galleazzo, wherein Don Pietro de Valdez was the chiefe* (London, 1588), a single-sheet broadside; henceforth referred to as *A joyful new Ballad*.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ See *Arber*, Vol. 2, pp. 234b, 236.

the Spaniards were “sent home a wrong way.”⁴⁰⁴ Or, as Thomas Rogers emphatically declared in *An Historical Dialogue Touching Antichrist and Poperie* (1589): “He that seeth not a speciall regard of God towards us... and an angrie countenance on th’other side... is verie blind.”⁴⁰⁵ God, to use the words of James Aske’s post-Armada poem *Elizabethan Triumphans*, may have been the causal fountainhead “that giveth power,/ And did of late your threatning foes confound”⁴⁰⁶ – yet clearly this did not stop Englishmen from taking pride in his espousal of their military cause.

To understand how these newly emerging attitudes impacted upon the way contemporary Englishmen conceptualised the military relationship between themselves and the Spanish, it is first necessary to consider what Jeffrey Knapp has recently described as the “topoi of... disproportionate potentiality” between England and Spain in pre-Armada texts.⁴⁰⁷ Untouched by the popularist triumphalism which followed the events of 1588 - aware, no doubt, of the unbridgeable difference that supposedly existed between the English and Spanish nations - there are endless references among the latter to the gargantuan military gulf that, in the words of Henry Roberts’s valedictory tribute to Drake’s voyage to the West Indies *A most friendly farewell, given by a welwiller*

⁴⁰⁴ John Prime, *The Consolations of David, breefly applied to Queene Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1588), sig. B7^r.

⁴⁰⁵ Thomas Rogers, *An Historical Dialogue Touching Antichrist and Poperie, Drawen and Published for the common benefit and comfort of our Church in these dangerous daies, & against the desperate attemptes of the vowed adversaries of Jesus Christ, his Gospell, and this flourishing State* (London, 1589), sig. G2^v.

⁴⁰⁶ *Elizabetha Triumphans*, sig. A4^v.

⁴⁰⁷ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994), p. 70.

(1585), separated England's "little David" from the feared Spanish "Goliath."⁴⁰⁸ This, in turn, was almost always accompanied by the belief that God would favour the morally superior English over the spiritually degenerate Spanish. "[If] we trust not in our own valiantnes or furniture to the battel but onely in the Lord...," Edmond Harris accordingly declared in *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* (1588), then the English would surely defeat the Spaniards just as "little David did set upon the great Giaunt Goliath and prevailed."⁴⁰⁹ This juxtaposition between Spanish military power and English moral supremacy, it is worth stressing, was not there simply for dramatic effect; it was actually something of a psychological necessity. Overwhelmed by the might of the Spanish military machine while at the same time, to use Barbara Fuchs's phrase, "painfully conscious of... [their]... own imperial belatedness with respect to Spain,"⁴¹⁰ English writers had no option but to embrace the conveniently unverifiable concept of England's moral superiority over Spain – an idea that had arguably been around since Richard Hakluyt used it to buttress English mercantile and colonialist aspirations against Spanish hegemony in these same areas in *A Discourse on Western Planting* (1584)⁴¹¹ - as the only guarantee of future military victories over the Spanish. Spiritual, not soldierly, strength was thus seen in all cases as the cast-iron warranty of English martial success.

⁴⁰⁸ Henry Roberts, *A most friendly farewell, given by a welwiller to the right worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake* (London, 1585), sig. A3^r.

⁴⁰⁹ *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall*, sig. C4^r.

⁴¹⁰ Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 7.

⁴¹¹ See Jennifer Bess, 'Hakluyt's Discourse of Western Planting,' *Explicator*, 55:1, 1996, p. 3.

The experience of the Armada both confirmed and refuted this. It confirmed it in the sense that it appeared to have justified the pre-Armada call for divine intervention against Spain. God's protection, it could now be seen, had indeed preserved England from "Civile bronds, and forrein Furies rife" as Maurice Kyffin had hoped for in the 1587 version of *The Blessednes of Brytaine*.⁴¹² On the other hand - possibly for the first time since the 1585 outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war - it made Englishmen strongly aware of their growing military potential in relation to the Spanish. English writers thus felt caught between two simultaneous, yet in some ways contradictory pulls - the need to give credit to God on the one side, and the urge to patriotically celebrate the nation's military achievements on the other. This state of permanent, virtually irreconcilable tension radically altered the way Armada writers engaged with the topos of 'disproportionate potentiality.' For example, while English propagandists still carried on highlighting the chasm that separated England from Spain in naval terms, their polarised representation of the two fleets was now often used, consciously or unconsciously, to monumentalize the magnitude of the English military victory. Thus, Deloney takes care to contrast the "great Galleazzo,/ which was so huge and hye" with the "litle Barkes" that the English sent to board her.⁴¹³ In a similar manner, Thomas Nashe stresses in *Pierce Penniless* that Philip's galleons "like a high wood over-shadowed the shrubbes of

⁴¹² Maurice Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine, or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday* (London, 1587), sig. B2^v. Kyffin also published a second, substantially expanded version of his poem in 1588 - complete with a supplement detailing "the late Accidents and Occurrents of this yeere 88" - to coincide with the Queen's Accession day on 17 November. See *The Blessednes of Brytaine... Newly set foorth... this yeere 88* (London, 1588), [title-page].

⁴¹³ See footnote 401 of this study.

our low ships” before relating how the Spaniards fled “from the breath of our Cannons, as vapors before the Sunne.”⁴¹⁴ Even in a text as renowned for its narratory sobriety and sense of impartiality as Petruccio Ubaldini’s *A Discourse concerninge the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588* (Maltby characteristically hails it as “a breath of fresh air in the midst of all this musky sensationalism”⁴¹⁵), the Italian anglophile and Protestant convert still highlights “the huge greatnesse and height of their [i.e. the Spaniards’] ships” before describing how the English navy outmanoeuvred and outgunned them.⁴¹⁶

The urge to monumentalize the scale of the English victory can be seen to even greater effect in the epic poetry of the day. Unencumbered, in most cases, by the need to inscribe their arguments within the rigid epistemological framework of more overtly polemical texts, working in a medium which already encouraged, if not thrived upon the use of structural opposites, many ‘Armada poets’ utilised a strict two-tier method in representing the battle – focusing initially on the dissimilarity between the opposing naval forces, then subsequently relating how the English went on to spectacularly overcome this state of military inferiority. One of the earliest, and possibly most dramatic, examples of this can be found in the pages of James Aske’s *Elizabetha Trumphans* (1588). Criticised by Elkin Calhoun Wilson in 1932, in my opinion a little

⁴¹⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse[,] His Supplication to the Divell* (London, 1592), sigs. C3^r-C3^v.

⁴¹⁵ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1971), p. 83.

⁴¹⁶ Petruccio Ubaldini, *A Discourse concerninge the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588* (London, 1590), sig. C2^v.

unfairly, as “[s]urely the crudest attempt to poetize the epic events of Elizabeth’s reign,”⁴¹⁷ it nonetheless presents us with a sustained and remarkably vigorous example of how the topos of ‘disproportionate potentiality’ was invoked to amplify the magnitude of the English achievement. Specifically, I am referring to the lines where Aske compares the minuscule size of the English “fisher-boats” with the enormousness of their Spanish counterparts:

Now do they see the Spanyards Shippes on heapes,
 In al things like a huge and pop’ler towne:
 Their bigge-made Barkes with huge and mightie Mastes,
 Like Churches are with steeples very high:
 Their lesser Shippes like stately Pallaces
 Which Princes build to keepe their brave-kept traine:
 Their Gallies small, like smaller houses stand,
 Inhabited by those which meaner are:
 In briefe, they all in nothing are unlike
 Unto the Trojans stately new-built towne,
 Which nought did feare the Greekes bewrong’d by them...

Having stressed the inequality between both parties in this manner, Aske wastes no time in transforming the poem into an unashamed celebration of English military valour. Predictably, there is little at this point by way of a causally-unfolding explanation as to why the Spanish defeat happened. Instead, in a move which highlights the underlying sequential discontinuity which accompanied the use of the ‘disproportionate potentiality’ topos, the narrator triumphantly relates how the “[l]ion-like” Lord Admiral “pur[s]ues his flying foes” and how the Earl of Cumberland similarly

Did shew himselfe, and shewing made them feele
 His power, not felt before of Spanyards.

⁴¹⁷ *England’s Eliza*, p. 321, footnote 1.

What shall I say, or what could that her Fleete
 Performe in better sorte then there was done.
 Their Spanish foes with all that conquered Fleete
 (Although they sayd that English-land was theirs:
 And therefore when they first received word
 That then but thirtie little English Boates
 Could be descri'd, cried oft *Victoria*)
 Are suncke, are drown'd, are burnt with Englands fire...⁴¹⁸

Although riddled with glaring historical inaccuracies, Aske's two-tiered representation of the Armada went on to become something of a cultural commonplace in the years following the Anglo-Spanish battle - finding different layers of expression, if not actually increasing in ideological potency, once passed through the prism of retrospective patriotic reflection. A striking example of this can be seen in the 1596 edition of William Warner's *Albions England*, where the narrator declares that "[l]ike Fleete, of eightscore Ships & od, the Ocean never bore,/ So huge, so strong, and so compleate, in every Strength and Store" before delivering a classically triumphalist account of how "[f]iftie Shippes of ours" managed to overcome the entire enemy fleet:

Dispersed thus, we spare not shot, and part of them we sinke,
 And part we boord, the rest did flye, not fast enough they thinke.
 Well guided little Axes so force tallest Oakes to fall,...
 About Eight thowsands perished by famine, sea, and fight.
 For Treasure, Shippes, and Carrages, lost Honor, Pris[o]ners tayne,
 The Spaniards, hardly scaping hence, scapt not rebukes in Spaine.⁴¹⁹

It stands to modern English historiography's credit that this 'David and Goliath' view of the Armada has not only been flatly debunked, but in some ways actually proven to have

⁴¹⁸ *Elizabetha Triumphans*, sigs. E3^r, E2^v, F1^r, F1^r.

⁴¹⁹ William Warner, *Albions England: A Continued Historie of the same Kingdome* (London, 1596), sigs. Q2^r, Q2^r-Q2^v.

been the reverse. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, for example, has come to the emphatic conclusion in *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* that both “in terms of capacity and dead weight alike, the English fighting ships were actually, on average, bigger than those of their adversaries.”⁴²⁰ Nor is this the only way that modern research exposes to what extent Warner, writing merely a few years after the event, bended or perhaps refashioned history in order to monumentalize the English military victory over the Spaniards. Although the dispersion of the Spanish ships and the subsequent English cannonade may be true enough, the allegation that many of Philip’s vessels were boarded or sunk is, as Fernández-Armesto’s detailed account of the battle makes clear, no more than a fictitious and blatantly self-aggrandising myth.⁴²¹ The same can also be said about the ratio of Spanish to English ships, which Warner gives at 160 to 50, but which, according to another work by Fernández-Armesto, must have been approximately equal.⁴²²

Monumentalism and barely-concealed triumphalism also feature strongly in what is arguably the most dramatic and aesthetically convincing representation of the Armada in the early modern poetic canon: Book Five of Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*. Richard Tresely, in a study focusing on millenarianism in Spenser and the Huguenot poet Theodore Agrippa D’Aubigne, has even suggested that Spenser may have revised *The*

⁴²⁰ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 155.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 159.

⁴²² Felipe Fernández-Armesto, ‘Armada Myths: The Formative Stage,’ in *God’s Obvious Design: Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988*, ed. P. Gallagher and D. W. Cruickshank (London: Tamesis Books, 1990), p. 37.

Faerie Queene towards the end of the 1580s specifically to celebrate the Spaniards' defeat.⁴²³ Be that as it may, what is clear is that, since Pauline Henley first proposed in 1928 that Britomart's victory over Marinell in Book Three represented the transition of sea-power from Spain to England,⁴²⁴ there have been repeated attempts to impose an Anglo-Spanish historical template onto different episodes across the poem. In most instances it is easy to see why (Arthur's battle against the giant Geryoneo and his simultaneous protection of Belge in Book Five, for example, surely has to be read as a straightforward allegory of the English participation in the Dutch anti-Spanish revolt⁴²⁵), whereas in certain others the proposed Anglo-Spanish context can only be sustained by a certain amount of conjectural empathy (is it possible, for instance, to see Redcrosse's struggles on his way to vanquishing the apocalyptic dragon in Book One as an allegorical re-enactment of the years leading up to the defeat of the Spaniards in 1588?). Although it is difficult to analyse every single one of these analytical templates within the limited parameters of a general study such as this, Spenser's persistently anti-Spanish attitude outside the *Faerie Queene* certainly appears to suggest that he may well have had an Anglo-Spanish subtext in mind when treating various episodes of oppositional

⁴²³ Richard Tresely, 'Renaissance Commentaries on *The Book of Revelation* and their Influence on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and D'Aubigne's *Les Tragiques*' (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Chicago, 1980), p. 19.

⁴²⁴ Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1928), pp. 137-138.

⁴²⁵ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton; text edited by Hiroshi Yamashita, Toshiyuki Suzuki (Harlow, New York: Longman, 2001), V.xi.1-18. All further citations will be based on this edition of the poem and will be included parenthetically in the main text. It should also be noted that I have followed Hamilton's practice of retaining Spenser's consciously archaic spellings.

conflict across the poem. Frank Ardolino has already shown, by means of a recent and thought-provoking article, how Spenser's *Complaints* (1591) are sustained by themes and ideas taken from the defeat of the Spanish Armada – inasmuch as the anthology “re-creates the English victory and fall of Spain in emblematic scenes involving large animals, monumental buildings, and powerful ships which are overthrown by smaller, less imposing, and seemingly less powerful forces.”⁴²⁶ In addition to this, there is the markedly hispanophobic tenor of a text such as *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Spenser's controversial treatise on Irish affairs which was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on 14 April, 1598, but did not emerge in print until James Ware brought out an edition in 1633. There, no less significantly, Spenser appears to question the strand of Elizabethan thought, possibly first articulated in Robert Payne's *A Briefe description of Ireland* (1589), which held that the Irish would never fully cooperate with the Spaniards because they knew about “their monstrous cruelties in the west Indiaes, where they most tiranously have murdered many millions mo[r]e of those simple creatures then now liveth in Ireland...”⁴²⁷ Instead, convinced that the Irish would go out of their way to embrace Spanish amity, Spenser attempts to discredit a possible Hispano-Irish alliance by purposefully highlighting the ethno-political differences which divide the Irish from

⁴²⁶ Perhaps the most notable instance of this idea can be found in the episode in which a bull (“a syncretistic association of apocalyptic, nationalistic, historical, and religious associations,” as well as a prosopopoeic reference to Sixtus V's infamous bull of excommunication) is stung and rendered powerless by a brize (on a literal level, a gadfly that pesters animals, but at the same time also a punning allusion “to the sea wind which scattered the Armada”). See Frank Ardolino, ‘The Effect of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada on Spenser's *Complaints*,’ *Spenser Studies*, 16, 2002, pp. 65, 68-69.

⁴²⁷ Robert Payne, *A Briefe description of Ireland: Made in this yeare, 1589* (London, 1589), sig. A4^r.

the Spanish. Thus, in a double-barrelled manoeuvre that reveals Spenser's inveterate anti-Catholicism as much as his antipathy towards both nations, the character of Irenius argues not only that "of all nations under heaven... the Spaniard is the most mingled, and most uncertaine," but that "most follishly doe the Irish thinke to enoble themselves by wresting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himselfe from any in certaine."⁴²⁸

With all this in mind, it is hard to disagree with Frank Ardolino's argument that Book Five of the *Faerie Queene* is centred on "an apocalyptic justice which uses divinely sanctioned revenge to defeat various avatars of Philip II."⁴²⁹ Not just Arthur's entanglement with the Souldan [V.viii.28-45], but also Artegall's slaying of the giant Pollente [V.ii.11-19], Arthur's own defeat of Geryoneo [V.xi.1-14] and even the humiliation of the foppish Braggadocchio [V.iii.20-37] all appear to have been contextualised against a more or less defined Anglo-Spanish template.⁴³⁰ Moreover, with the exception of the Braggadocchio story (which, as we shall see in the next chapter, invokes the theme of the post-Armada Spanish '*miles gloriosus*'), all these episodes utilise the topos of 'disproportionate potentiality' to magnify Arthur's/Artegall's military

⁴²⁸ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland: from the first printed edition (1633)*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 50.

⁴²⁹ See Frank Ardolino, 'The Influence of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* on Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*,' *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 7.3, 2002. <http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/07-3/ardofaer.htm> (28 May, 2004).

⁴³⁰ A similar idea has already been proposed by S. K. Heninger, who has convincingly argued that the Geryoneo, Grantorto and Orgoglio episodes in *The Faerie Queene* have to be seen as allegorical representations of "the victory of English Protestantism over Catholic intrigue." See S. K. Heninger, 'The Orgoglio episode in *The Faerie Queene*,' *English Literary History*, 26, 1959, p. 186.

victories over their enemies. Pollente, for example, is “so puissant and strong,/ That with his powre he all doth ouergo,/ And makes them subiect to his mighty wrong” – a description which indirectly serves to monumentalize Artegall’s subsequent victory over him [V.ii.7]. Geryoneo, similarly, has a “great aduantage” over his own vanquisher in that he has “three double hands thrise multiplyde,/ Besides the double strength, which in them was” [V.xi.6].

Much the same idea can be seen in Arthur and Artegall’s joint victory over the Souldan and his forces in Canto VIII. Provoked into action by the Souldan’s attempt to subvert Mercilla’s “Crowne and dignity” [V.viii.18] – Mercilla, naturally, being an allegorical representation of Elizabeth herself - Arthur first defeats the Souldan and then leaves Artegall to finish off the enemy’s remaining troops:

Then Artegall himselve discovering plaine,
Did issue forth gainst all that warlike rout
Of knights and armed men, which did maintaine
That Ladies part, and to the Souldan lout:
All which he did assault with courage stout,
All were they nigh an hundred knights of name,
And like wyld Goates them chaced all about,
Flying from place to place with cowheard shame,
So that with finall force them all he ouercame [V.viii.50].

Although Michael West has found the idea that Artegall should have single-handedly vanquished a hundred of the Souldan’s knights somewhat “preposterous,”⁴³¹ it becomes significantly less anomalous when one considers that Spenser was only following contemporary tradition in invoking the topos of ‘disproportionate potentiality’ in order to

⁴³¹ Michael West, ‘Spenser’s Art of War: Chivalric Allegory, Military Technology, and the Elizabethan Mock-Heroic Sensibility,’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41:4, 1988, p. 669.

monumentalize the English victory over the Spaniards. This can be determined from the way Spenser utilises many of the standard representational tropes seen in other Armada-related texts. West himself has recognised that the Souldan's "charret hye" [V.viii.28] is probably based on the descriptions of high-pooped galleons found in the writings of Nash and others,⁴³² while Rene Graziani has argued that the "powrefull light" [V.viii.37] issuing out of Arthur's unveiled shield (which scares the Souldan's horses and makes them drag their master to his violent death) needs to be seen as an allegorical allusion to the attack of the English fire-ships as much as a metaphorical emblem for the light of divine Protestant truth.⁴³³ If that is not sufficient evidence in itself, Spenser also renders the relationship between the Souldan and Artegall/Arthur in the strictly oppositional and polarised manner seen in most post-Armada texts from Deloney's ballads onwards. Whereas the Souldan, the allegorical incarnation of Philip II, seeks "onely slaughter and auengement," Arthur fights solely "for honour and for right,/ Gainst tortious powre and lawlesse regiment" [V.viii.30]. Visually, too, their appearance is heavily dichotomised: the Souldan is dressed in "a cote of plate,/ Burnisht with bloudie rust," while Arthur is decked in "glistening armes right goodly well bescene,/ That shone as bright, as doth the heauen sheene" [V.viii.29]. In fact, in some ways, the oppositional interplay between Spanish darkness and English light remains one of Spenser's key techniques in monumentalizing the defeat of the Armada. On the one hand, it works as a tool of pictorial contrast – in the sense, for example, that a contemporary painting such

⁴³² Ibid., p. 671.

⁴³³ Rene Graziani, 'Philip II's *Impresa* and Spenser's Souldan,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27, 1964, p. 324.

as Robert Stephenson's *An allegory of the defeat of the Spanish Armada as Saint George and the Dragon* contrasts the English and Spanish forces through a simple process of light-shadow manipulation.⁴³⁴ On the other, it imbues the Spaniards with a sense of racial 'otherness' similar to that encountered in Thomas Campion's Latin Armada poem *Ad Thamesin* (1595), where the Spaniards are described as having a "*nigro vultus signante corymbo*" ('a black garland marking their faces').⁴³⁵ An often overlooked example of the latter can be found in the name of Arthur's antagonist himself. According to Mark Heberle, the name 'Souldan' would have had associative lexical connections with the word 'sultan' and thus "identifies the greatest Catholic prince of Europe with his greatest Muslim enemy."⁴³⁶ Even on a linguistic/nomenclative level, it seems, Spenser could not resist the urge to monumentalize the stature of Artegall's/ Arthur's victory over the Paynim king.

Observed from a psychological plane, it is not difficult to see why. Although authors like Aske, Warner and Spenser nominally acknowledged God's part in the destruction of the Armada,⁴³⁷ it was perhaps only inevitable that the rehearsal of the idea that the English navy fought and vanquished a numerically and technically superior

⁴³⁴ See *Armada 1588-1988: An International Exhibition to Commemorate the Spanish Armada: The Official Catalogue*, p. 281.

⁴³⁵ *The Works of Thomas Campion*, ed. Walter R. Davis (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp. 364-365.

⁴³⁶ Mark Heberle, 'Pagans and Saracens in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*,' in *Comparative Literature East and West: Traditions and Trends*, ed. Cornelia N. Moore and Raymond A. Moody (Honolulu: College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawaii, 1989), p. 85.

⁴³⁷ See p. 182 of this study; *Albions England*, sig. Q3^r; *The Faerie Queene*, V. viii. 44.

enemy (in the case of Book Five of *The Faerie Queene* not just once, but through successive restatements of the original ‘core’ Armada allegory) should have carried with it traces of the gloating, and very much secular, sense of hispanophobia that existed in less inventive Armada-related texts. As Thomas Nun, the London preacher, put it when debating in 1596 whether the Armada should still be commemorated or not: “why should we deprive, either our God of his glorie, or our selves of such a comfort?”⁴³⁸ In fact, seen from this particular perspective, the ‘monumentalization’ of the Armada’s defeat would have helped to transform the events of 1588 into a reassuring paradigm of English martial and spiritual might; it would have, in effect, assisted in creating a psychological ‘morale-booster’ that could easily be invoked in future times of distress. That is why not only works of anonymous political polemic like *A Packe of Spanish Lyes, sent abroad in the world* (1588) or *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie* (1589),⁴³⁹ but also ballads like Deloney’s *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes* went to such extreme lengths in rebutting the writings of enemy publicists who were misrepresenting the outcome of the failed invasion:

What ringing and what Bonfires,
what Masses sung amaine.

What printed Bookes were sent about,
as filled their desire:

⁴³⁸ Thomas Nun, *A Comfort Against the Spaniard* (London, 1596), sig. A3^v.

⁴³⁹ See *A Packe of Spanish Lyes, sent abroad in the world* (London, 1588), sig. A2^r; *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie* (London, 1589), sig. E2^r.

How England was by Spanyards wonne,
 and London set on fire.
 Be these the men that are so milde,
 whom some so holie call:
 The Lord defend our noble Queene,
 and Countrie from them all.⁴⁴⁰

Outwardly, as Anthony Esler has remarked, credit for the Armada's destruction may have been going "largely to God"⁴⁴¹ – yet clearly this did not stop poets and pamphleteers alike from either expressing delight at the Spaniards' calamitous demise or, what is perhaps even more indicative of the national mood, taking exception at the calumnious, and no doubt emasculating, suggestion that their navy had not in fact prevailed over the repulsed Spanish fleet.

3. Allegories of power: Godly providentialism and the use of the '*Veritas Filia Temporis*' legend in the post-Armada years

In 'The Influence of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* on Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*,' Frank Ardolino argues that Thomas Kyd's play invokes the same apocalyptic motifs as those used by Spenser to depict the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in *The Faerie Queene*. In particular, he points to Kyd's use of imagery from *Daniel* and *Revelation* in portraying the apocalyptic nature of Hieronimo's struggle against the representatives of the Whore of Babylon – a major Protestant trope which, in the words of Ardolino, both Kyd and Spenser shared "to impart a sense of biblical inevitability to England's triumph"

⁴⁴⁰ See footnote 399 of this study.

⁴⁴¹ Anthony Esler, 'Robert Greene and the Spanish Armada,' *English Literary History*, 32, 1965, p. 326.

over Spain.⁴⁴² While Ardolino's views may appear a little stretched in places, one can only agree with him that many post-1588 writers *did* turn to the Armada, either consciously or unconsciously, as an illustrative paradigm of 'triumphant Protestantism,' a sort of divine seal of approval which, buttressed by the strong eschatological strain that had been present in English Protestant thought since Marian days, was used to legitimise anything from the idea that the pope was "a Liar and a murtherer" to the enormously self-righteous proposition that England was "the Realme... that generally above all other loveth, imbraceth, and nourisheth the gospel."⁴⁴³ True, the belief that the Armada had been sent by God "to draw us to repentance" and "drive us to flie to him"⁴⁴⁴ was never quite extirpated from the psyche of religious writers such as Oliver Pigg. Yet, at the same time, there was an increasingly more ebullient tone of optimism, almost of swaggering self-belief, mixed in with the traditional topos of 'disproportionate potentiality' that suggests to what extent the experience of the Armada had begun to make Englishmen aware of their nation's rising maritime power:

Some aledge that the spanish Navie is mighty, both in regard of hys long tyme of preparation, as of hys last eversion [sic]... To thys I aunswere, though hys Navie were innumerable, and he should arrogate this tyle, as he dyd last time, that it is an invincible Navie, yet for all his great power and pride, God can deale with him now as hee dyd then, not onelie to dispierce [sic] and scatter them in unknowne Coastes, but also make the Spanyard lyke Senacherib, returne with shame to hys owne Land...⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² See footnote 429 of this study.

⁴⁴³ *The Holy Bull, and Crusado of Rome*, sig. A4^v; G. B., *A Fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish Spirits* (London, 1592), sig. B3^r.

⁴⁴⁴ Oliver Pigg, *Meditations Concerning praiers to Almighty God, for the saftie of England, when the Spaniards were come into the narrow Seas* (London, 1589), sigs. A3^r, A3^v.

⁴⁴⁵ Charles Gibbon, *A Watch-ворde for Warre* (Cambridge, 1596), sigs. G3^r-G3^v.

So wrote Charles Gibbon in his lengthy and heavily moralistic pamphlet *A Watch-worde for Warre* (1596). Nor was Gibbon alone in viewing the Armada as a metonymy of English martial ‘unassailability’ almost a decade after the event. That same year also saw the publication of Roger Cotton’s *An Armor of Prooffe, brought from the Tower of David, to fight against Spannyardes, and all enimies of the trueth*, a curious hybrid between religious tract, biblically-inspired psalm and historical poem which, firmly anchored throughout against the memory of “eighty eight” and the way “our woes were turned then to joy,” showed to what degree certain writers came to gorge themselves on the heady amalgam of triumphalism, religious fervour and virulent hispanophobia which followed the 1588 repulse of the Armada:

For what if Spayne, and thousandes ten such more,
 should hem thee in, or cumpas thee about:
 yet will the Lord, as Captayne go before,
 and fight thy feelde, agaynst the proude and stoute.
 Since then he hath this promise past to thee,
 be not afrayde, yf Spannyardes thou do see.⁴⁴⁶

In a formula that brings to mind the epistemological manoeuvring of the Marian exiles, the Armada is invoked by Gibbon and Cotton both as a historical precedent and an eschatological guarantee of a stable, peaceful future; it becomes, in other words, the retrospective warranty of England’s spiritual and military unassailability in the face of the continuing Spanish threat.

⁴⁴⁶ Roger Cotton, *An Armor of Prooffe, brought from the Tower of David, to fight against Spannyardes, and all enimies of the trueth* (London, 1596), sigs. B1^r, D1^r.

With ideas like these circulating freely around them, one can understand why many English Protestant writers came to look upon the Armada as a real-life revindication of the old Catholic axiom '*Veritas Filia Temporis*,' or 'Truth is the daughter of time.' Previously employed by Mary I as a legitimising device to justify the re-imposition of the Catholic faith,⁴⁴⁷ time as the revealer of truth re-emerged after the Armada as one of the most influential and widely embraced dictums of the age. In part this was due to its sheer political usefulness; like most eschatological doctrines, it possessed a certain amount of idiomatic flexibility and this ensured that it could just as easily sacralize the past in order to explain the present as neutralise contemporary problems by guaranteeing their eventual future resolution. Moreover, because the legend already came shaped in the form of a personification, it could readily be blended into the figurative, prosopopoeic template of most allegorical narratives. Spenser, for example, not only paraphrases the legend in *The Faerie Queene* ("time," declares Arthur after remembering his period of tutelage under Merlin, "in her iust terme the truth to light should bring" [l.ix.v.]), but many of the poem's narratives can also be seen as allegorical re-enactments or reworkings of the sequential process of containment followed by disclosure upon which the Latin dictum rested. To this should be added the cluster of lesser known (though no less dramatic) adaptations of the legend that can be encountered in texts such as Peter Pett's 1599 allegorical poem *Times journey to seeke his Daughter Truth* (in which 'Truth' flees abroad after Mary's re-imposition of Catholicism "disgraced all her glory," but later returns home after 'Time' persuades her

⁴⁴⁷ See Soji Iwasaki, '*Veritas Filia Temporis* and Shakespeare,' *English Literary Renaissance*, 3:2, 1973, p. 251.

that England's crown is now "set on a virgins head,/... That no tongue her perfections can report"⁴⁴⁸) and Edward Hellwis's *A Marvell Deciphered* (1589), a slight work of religious polemic which includes a vivid, if somewhat chaotic attempt to conflate the defeat of the Armada with the events in the Twelfth Chapter of *Revelation*:

Time, revealer of hidden secrets, delivereth demonstration that God himselfe hath erected the woman mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation of Saint John, that nowe at this instant by Gods great favour, standeth clothed with... the most pure and holy lawe of Christ Jesus the Sonne of God... to yeelde assistance with all her force... in strange enterprises by Sea to bee atchieved and right happily finished...⁴⁴⁹

Despite being steeped in layers of preacherly obscurantism, Hellwis's extract still manages to illustrate for us the exegetical, and above all eschatological, angle from which the legend was almost always summoned. This is something that cannot be stressed enough: *'Veritas Filia Temporis,'* though in many ways an expression of post-1588 triumphalist smugness, simultaneously sanctioned the mechanics of biblical providentialism upon which most Protestant readings of history rested. A case in point can be seen in H. W.'s translation of the anonymous Dutch pamphlet *A Pageant of Spanish Humours. Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a Signior of Spaine* (1599). Although the original Dutch text deliberates on such readerly delights as why the signior of Spain is "a Hogge in his Chamber" and "a Woolfe at [the] Table," H. W. still assures us in the translator's preface that the pamphlet we are about to read will reveal how "[t]ruth... doth by her true recording trumpe, [and]

⁴⁴⁸ Peter Pett, *Times journey to seeke his Daughter Truth* (London, 1599), sigs. C3^v, C4^v.

⁴⁴⁹ Edward Hellwis, *A Marvell Deciphered* (London, 1589), sigs. B1^v-B2^f.

blazon the severall and sundry naturall humors of a Spanish Signior, as the limitation of time will permit her.”⁴⁵⁰ ‘*Veritas Filia Temporis*,’ this time clad in a suitably apocalyptic and millenarian trumpet-blowing guise, is once again used to reinforce a biblically-determined view of hispanicity.

Nevertheless, it was in the drama where the legend found its most energetic and consistent form of hispanophobic expression. Perhaps this was due to the existence of direct theatrical precedents such as Nicholas Udall’s pro-Catholic drama *Respublica* (1553) or the elaborate pageantry which accompanied Elizabeth’s own 1559 coronation, both of which had used the ‘*Veritas Filia Temporis*’ topos to justify the restitution of a new religious order.⁴⁵¹ On the other hand, it might have been because of the prescriptive exhortations encountered in writings such as Gabriel Harvey’s *Pierces Supererogation* (1593), where contemporary dramatists were urged to turn away from the “idle vanities... [and]... scribling paltryes” of the “Comedyes of Athens” and focus instead on events such as “the terrible Spanishe Armada... that came in glory, and went in dishonour.”⁴⁵² Alternatively – and following a different speculative tack altogether – one could argue that the intrinsic spatiality of the stage lent itself more naturally to the dynamic of containment and disclosure upon which the legend relied. At any rate, what

⁴⁵⁰ *A Pageant of Spanish Humours. Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a Signior of Spaine*, trans. H. W. (London, 1599), sigs. B1^r, A4^v, A3^r.

⁴⁵¹ See Michael A. Winkelman, ‘*Respublica*: England’s Trouble about Mary,’ *Comitatus*, 33, 2002, pp. 77-98; John N. King, ‘The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography,’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38:1, 1985, p. 67.

⁴⁵² Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation[,] or A New Prayse of the Old Asse* (London, 1593), in *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, Vol. 2, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London: printed for private circulation only, 1884), pp. 95-97.

is certain is that many plays with an anti-Spanish theme follow a transgression/retribution template not unlike that upon which the topos was dependant. A dramatic instance of this can be seen in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, where the irrepressibility of divine justice not only figures in four main plot threads,⁴⁵³ but is explicitly articulated when, having discovered Horatio's body, Isabella screams "The heavens are just, murder cannot be hid:/ Time is the author both of truth and right,/ And time will bring this treachery to light" [II. v. 57-59].

Isabella's words would have carried strong hispanophobic associations for most contemporary playgoers. Although there has been some dispute over the dating of *The Spanish Tragedy*⁴⁵⁴ and even about the primacy of its anti-Spanish theme,⁴⁵⁵ it is hard to disagree with either Frank Ardolino's decision to view it as a post-Armada text or Emma Smith's belief that the play would have probably represented "a particular delight for Hispanophobic audiences."⁴⁵⁶ In the first place, there is virtually nothing in pre-1588 English drama which corresponds to Kyd's darkly reductive vision of Spain. Rather, it is

⁴⁵³ See the introduction to J. R. Mulryne's edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* (London: A & C Black, 1989), p. xix. All references to the play have been taken from this edition and will be included parenthetically in the main text.

⁴⁵⁴ Conjectural dates for *The Spanish Tragedy* range between T. W. Baldwin's assertion that the play was written between 1583-1584 ('On the Chronology of Thomas Kyd's plays,' *Modern Language Notes*, 40, 1925, pp. 343-349) and Frank Ardolino's belief that it must have been composed after the Armada. See Ardolino's *Apocalypse and Armada in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Studies, 1995), p. 166.

⁴⁵⁵ Philip Edwards, for example, believes that the play bears little, if any relation to the contemporary Anglo-Spanish situation, arguing that Kyd's work has to be seen as an elaborate piece of ahistorical fantasy. See Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. Philip Edwards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁴⁵⁶ *Apocalypse and Armada in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy*, p. 166; Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie*, ed. Emma Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), p. xxi..

clear that his portrayal of the country – underpinned, as it is, by an assortment of public executions [III.vi.104], mass murders [IV.iv] and threats of torture [IV.iv.183] – bears more resemblance to the essentialist recreation of Hispanism found in post-Armada texts such as Deloney's *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes* or Burghley's own propaganda tracts. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, *The Spanish Tragedy* invokes the idea of godly providentialism in much the same manner as that seen in post-Armada Protestant apologetics. That is to say, it views God's justice as the prophetic guarantee of both Spain's demise and the restitution of a new moral order:

Now shall I see the fall of Babylon,
Wrought by the heavens in this confusion.
And if the world like not this tragedy,
Hard is the hap of old Hieronimo [IV.i.195-198].

According to S. F. Johnson, 'Babylon' would have been understood by Kyd's audience not just as the ancient Mesopotamian city whose destruction is detailed in *Isaiah* 13 and *Revelation* 18, but also as a metaphor for Roman Catholicism and, by extension, Spanish military power itself.⁴⁵⁷ If that is the case, then it is indeed possible to view the catalogue of containment and disclosure that runs across *The Spanish Tragedy* not only as a dramatic re-enactment of the '*Veritas Filia Temporis*' legend, but also as an allegorical revindication of Protestantism not dissimilar to that which the Armada must have symbolised in most Englishmen's eyes. To put it in simple terms, the play presents a vision of a morally and politically corrupt Spain – one that contemporary Englishmen

⁴⁵⁷ S. F. Johnson, '*The Spanish Tragedy, or Babylon Revisited*,' in *Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama in Honor of Hardin Craig*, ed. Richard Hosley (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1962), pp. 24-25.

were obviously familiar with - which is eventually castigated and brought to justice by the forces of God's providence.

An analogous set of ideas can be encountered in the anonymous play *Lust's Dominion*.⁴⁵⁸ Based on the fortunes of the Morisco prince Eleazar, a dissembling Machiavellian malcontent who first cuckolds the king of Spain and later, when the monarch dies, takes the crown for himself, the play bombards the audience with a calamitous sequence of murders and adulteries which only comes to an end when Eleazar is mortally wounded by the king's youngest son and the latter assumes the throne with Eleazar's dying imprecations ringing ominously in the background.⁴⁵⁹

And for you Philip, may your days be long,
But clouded with perpetuall misery [V.iii.159-160].

If Frank Ardolino is right in maintaining that Elizabethan audiences would have been keenly aware of any extra-diegetic associations embedded within characters' names,⁴⁶⁰ then it is very probable that these words have to be read as a coded reference to Philip of Habsburg's historical misery at not being able to invade England as much as a literal

⁴⁵⁸ The date and authorship of *Lust's Dominion* have traditionally posed scholars a number of problems. Charles Cathcart, for example, believes that the argument for Marston's hand in *Lust's Dominion* is "very strong," although there is enough "linguistic evidence" to suggest that the play may have been jointly-written by Marston, Dekker, Haughton and Day. Cathcart's theory is that Dekker, Haughton and Day completed a draft of the play some time around the beginning of 1600, the bulk of which had originally been written by Marston and which was probably subject to further minor revisions after 1600. See Charles Cathcart, 'Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen: Authorship, Date, and Revision,' *Review of English Studies*, 52: 207, 2001, pp. 360-375.

⁴⁵⁹ All references to the play will be included parenthetically within the main text and have been taken from the edition in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Vol. 4, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

⁴⁶⁰ *Apocalypse and Armada*, pp. 150-158.

expression of Eleazar's hatred for his young successor. To transpose Ardolino's words in *Apocalypse and Armada* from one context to another, it could be argued that the anonymous dramatist creates a temporal scheme in which the audience's experience of its own historical past (i.e. their 'foreknowledge' of the Armada's outcome) is used to reveal Philip's – and by extension Spain's – future beyond the play's own limited chronological framework.⁴⁶¹

The only real difference between Kyd and his unknown contemporary is that the latter is perhaps even more reliant on the corpus of negative stereotypes associated with Elizabethan anti-Hispanism. One need only look at the way that the anonymous playwright 'hispanicizes' his characters throughout the play. Undeterred by any possible loss of psychological verisimilitude, he transforms the Cardinal into a duplicitous, sexually-active priest of the type portrayed in John Bradford's *The cotype of a letter* - first by making him lust after the Queen Mother [IV.iii.26-28] and then by having him deny the genealogical rightfulness of Philip's cause [IV.iv.86-89]. Nor does the Queen Mother fare any better either: she declares her adulterous love for Eleazar at the opening of the play [I.i.39-60], uses her sexual charms to manipulate the Cardinal [IV.iii.1-16] and, perhaps most disturbingly of all, shows no visible emotion in agreeing with Eleazar that her own son has to be killed [II.ii.20]. Thus, within the scope of a single female character, the anonymous playwright manages to allude both to the unnatural, nymphomaniacal lust which John Bradford's *The cotype of the Letter* had associated with Spanish womanhood in general and to the legendary sense of Hispanic cruelty which

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 143-144.

was said to have led Philip II to murder his own son.⁴⁶² Finally, if that was not enough, the Queen's sexual insatiability and matricidal bent of mind can also be seen as a joint antonym of two of the most common and interrelated representational topoi associated with Elizabeth herself – i.e. the concept of the 'Virgin Queen' and that of the collective 'mother' to the nation.⁴⁶³

Remarkably, this process of 'hispanicization' was not just limited to characters in semi-historical imaginings such as *Lust's Dominion* or *The Spanish Tragedy*, but can also be encountered in a piece allegedly dealing with actual historical events such as George Peele's *Edward I* (1593).⁴⁶⁴ Although not one of Peele's most enduring or accomplished texts, it is still significant to note how the play adapts history in order to invoke the traditional providentialist template of Spanish transgression followed by God-sent retribution. Perhaps the best instance of this can be seen in Peele's heavily biased and distorted portrait of king Edward's Spanish consort, in which he turns the historically-popular Elinor into a typical figure of Spanish 'depravity.' Based on two obscure ballads (one of which was not even directed at Edward's Castilian consort, but at her namesake Eleanor of Aquitaine⁴⁶⁵), the thoroughly ahistorical nature of Peele's

⁴⁶² See pp. 66, 128 of this study.

⁴⁶³ See John N. King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:1, 1990, pp. 30-74.

⁴⁶⁴ All references to the play will be presented parenthetically within the main text as line numbers and have been taken from the edition of *Edward I* edited by Frank S. Hook in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961).

⁴⁶⁵ See M. G. Sanchez, 'Before and After the Armada: an examination of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in English Literature, 1558-1603' (Unpublished MA by Research thesis: University of Leeds, 1999), p. 38.

chosen sources, together with the fact that he studiously avoids the kind of positive treatment given to Elinor in contemporary plays such as Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* or Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*, makes it clear that the dramatist purposefully eschews mainstream historical evidence/ theatrical tradition in the interest of having a Spanish character subject to godly retributive justice. Hence, Elinor metamorphoses from the legendary paragon of virtue which Greene eulogised as "beauty's high-swelling pride,/ Rich nature's glory"⁴⁶⁶ into a lecherous and avaricious schemer, not dissimilar to the character of the Queen Mother in *Lust's Dominion*, who orders that all Englishwomen should mutilate their right breasts [lines 1645-1648] and who is described by the Mayoress of London as "[t]he proudest Queene that ever England knew" [line 766]. And, of course, her transgressions do not escape godly punishment either: she is struck down at Charing Cross for making a false vow [lines 2200-2207] and later dies with a conscience "loaden with misdeedes" [line 2410].

Elinor's characterisation is rendered even more problematic by the schizophrenic duality holding up her personality. Simply put, she appears to be split into two different characters - the cruel, haughty foreigner who takes a perverse delight in humiliating Englishmen and Englishwomen, and the faithful, loving wife who Edward worships and for whom he orders an elaborate funeral once she is dead. In seeking to explain this structural anomaly, most modern commentators follow Frank S. Hook in assuming that

⁴⁶⁶ Cited in A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1642* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1992), p. 34.

Peele must have interpolated the 'cruel Elinor' from the ballads once he had finished the original draft of the play.⁴⁶⁷ Even so, Peele's interpolative methods have raised a fair amount of critical conjecture. Tillyard, for example, argued that Elinor needs to have an honourable side because she "must not be allowed to let the English monarchy down."⁴⁶⁸

I am not entirely sure what is meant by this remark - except, quite possibly, that Peele endowed Elinor with a handful of positive character traits in order to stop her reflecting negatively on her royal English husband. More recently, A. J. Hoenselears swings between tacitly condoning Elinor's bifurcated personality on the grounds that "the unfavorable traits assigned to Queen Elinor" confirm "the mimetic validity attributed to them by the popular mind" and simultaneously admitting that "[t]he artistic inconsistencies in *Edward I* are rooted in a distorted representation of history such as only the patriotic mind can conceive..."⁴⁶⁹ This is in complete contrast to G. K. Dreher, whose critical repudiation of Peele's "attempt to enlarge his treatment of Elinor by means of the sensational material in the two ballads" has led him to construct a working model (or 'retroform') of what Peele's text must have looked like before interpolation!⁴⁷⁰

My own approach to this minor textual 'conundrum' is somewhat less fanciful and essentially rests on Hook's premise that the play's original date of production lies

⁴⁶⁷ *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

⁴⁶⁸ E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969), p. 104.

⁴⁶⁹ *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, pp. 20, 34.

⁴⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of King Edward the First... by George Peele: a retroform*, ed. G. K. Dreher (Midland, Texas: Iron Horse Free Press, 1999), p. xviii.

between 1590 and 1591.⁴⁷¹ If this is indeed the case – and Peele’s play must have been written shortly after the Armada - then it surely stands to reason that the author must have interpolated the ‘cruel Elinor’ material from the ballads in order to add a topical, last-minute anti-Spanish edge to his work (very much in the same manner that Robert Wilson did when inserting his haughty Spanish grandees into *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*⁴⁷²) and at the same time invoke the unilineal pattern of Spanish transgression and God-meted retribution upon which almost all post-Armada recreations of Hispanism rested.

The same thematic absorption of the Anglo-Spanish conflict can be found in Peele’s shorter and even lesser-known historical play, *The Battle of Alcazar*. Originally published in 1594 but probably written in 1588/1589,⁴⁷³ it recreates the events which in 1578 led the young Portuguese king, Sebastian, to launch an ill-fated attack against the Moorish prince Abd el-Malek (in Peele’s text known both as ‘Abdelmelec’ and ‘Muly Molocco’). John Yoklavich, drawing on the work of Warner G. Rice before him, has suggested that Peele’s main narrative source for the play was probably John Polemon’s 1587 translation of Frey Luis Nieto’s *Relación de las Guerras de Berberia*, a contemporary Spanish account of the battle which glorified Sebastian both as militant crusader and Christian martyr and which Polemon included in *The second part of the*

⁴⁷¹ *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 2, p. 1.

⁴⁷² See pp. 215-216 of this study.

⁴⁷³ See John Yoklavich’s discussion of the dating of the play in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 2, pp. 221-226. All further references to the play have been taken from Yoklavich’s edition in the same volume and will be cited parenthetically in the main text.

booke of battailes, fought in our age: taken out of the best authors and writers in sundrie languages. According to Yoklavich, “[t]he comparison of texts... clearly confirms Rice’s assertion that Peele followed... the English account in the *Second booke of Battailes*.” Only in one area, Yoklavich goes on to argue, is Peele’s text “quite contrary to the account of things in the *Second booke of Battailes*” – namely, the play’s attempt to chronicle “Sebastian’s efforts to enlist the aid of Philip II.”⁴⁷⁴ In this respect at least, Peele appears to have been less influenced by Nieto than by contemporary works of anti-Spanish propaganda such as the Prior of Cato’s *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tittle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Anthonie the first of that name, King of Portugall* (which, as we have already seen, accused Philip of premeditated negligence in his conduct towards the young Portuguese king⁴⁷⁵). This is clearly demonstrated by Sebastian’s dealings with Philip at the beginning of Act Three. Although the two men never meet and the Spanish king is never actually shown on stage, we learn that, having first promised to help Sebastian’s military campaign with “men, munition, and supply of warre” [III.i.772], Philip later “[p]retends a sodaine feare and care to keepe/ His owne from Amuraths fierce invasion” [III.iii.891-2]. Not only that, but Philip’s Machiavellian duplicity is simultaneously re-aligned by Peele into a post-Armada providentialist template:

If kings doo dally so with holy oaths,
The heavens will right the wrongs that they sustaine,
Philip if these forgeries be in thee,
Assure thee king, twill light on thee at last,

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 231, 233, 236.

⁴⁷⁵ See p. 140 of this study.

And when proud Spaine hopes soundly to prevaile,
The time may come that thou and thine shall faile [III.i.821-6].

One can well imagine how the audience must have reacted to the Duke of Averro's lines at the play's first performance some time between 1588 and 1589.⁴⁷⁶ In a similar manner to the author of *Lust's Dominion*, Peele creates a temporal scheme in which the audience's experience of its own historical past is used to buttress and ultimately guarantee Spain's eventual downfall - this time by helping the playgoers 'retrospectively' trace the Armada's defeat back to Philip's cynical mistreatment of Sebastian. Understood from this perspective, the Armada would have represented a kind of temporally and spatially displaced conclusion to the 'narrative' of Philip's transgressions, an alternative, extra-diegetic ending to the play which is partially hinted at in Sebastian's eulogistic description of English military impregnability, but which can only be decoded through the audience's own historical 'foreknowledge':

Were everie ship ten thousand on the seas,
Mand with the strength of all the Easterne kings,
Convaying all the monarchs of the world,
To invade the Iland where her highnes raignes,
Twere all in vaine, for heavens and destinies
Attend and wait upon her Majestie...
The wallowing Ocean hems her round about,
Whose raging flouds do swallow up her foes,
And on the rockes their ships in peeces split...
[II.iv.672-677, 686-688]

There are few passages in early modern drama as unashamedly propagandistic as this. Even though Sebastian has a very real reason for persuading Stukley not to invade

⁴⁷⁶ I have followed the abbreviated outline of the play composed in 1598-1599 – rather than the imperfect quarto edition of 1594 – in ascribing these lines to the Duke of Averro. See *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 2, p. 290.

Ireland (he wants the Irish soldier of fortune, after all, to assist him in his campaign against Muly Molocco), his accompanying eulogy of Elizabeth and her “[s]acred, imperiall, and holy” [II.iv.678] estate bears little sequential relation to the rest of the plot and has to be seen as a patriotic hiatus in a text that was written shortly after the Armada’s defeat. In a sense, its incongruousness renders it similar to that conspicuously parenthetical episode in the first act of *The Spanish Tragedy* in which the Knight Marshal, uncharacteristically and for no apparent reason, reels off a speech celebrating English military achievements [I.iv.140-146, 151-157, 162-167]. The only difference is that Peele is not just trying to add an implausibly anglocentric focus to his play, but is also teasing the playgoers with what Ardolino has described as “a version of their past presented as a future to be fulfilled.”⁴⁷⁷ In other words, even though the playwright may be stretching the audience’s credibility by placing such an anglophilic tribute in the mouth of a Portuguese king, Sebastian’s speech actually reinforces the play’s subtextual (or, perhaps more accurately, post-textual) assumptions about the actions of the absent Spanish king and the retributive qualities of divine justice.

Peele’s decision not to include Philip on stage finds its structural antithesis in John Lyly’s *Midas* (1592), possibly the most concerted and intentional attempt to inscribe the Spanish king himself into a providentialist template.⁴⁷⁸ Lyly, whose main patron was the

⁴⁷⁷ *Apocalypse and Armada*, pp. 143-144. See also Marjorie Garber, ‘ ‘What’s Past is Prologue’: Temporality and Prophecy in Shakespeare’s History Plays,’ in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara Lewalski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 301-331.

⁴⁷⁸ All subsequent references to the play have been taken from the edition in Anne Begor Lancashire’s *Gallathea and Midas* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970) and will be included parenthetically within the main text.

Armada veteran Earl of Oxford and who had already satirised Philip II in the character of Sir Tophas in *Endymion* (1591),⁴⁷⁹ certainly takes painstaking care to make sure that the audience is conscious of the many allegorical parallels between Midas and the Spanish monarch. Throughout the play there are highly suggestive references to Philip's pride [V.iii.58], his intrigues in England [III.i.58-59], his unsuccessful attempt to marry Elizabeth [II.i.95-96] and his claim to the throne of England [III.i.42-44] - all of which emphatically suggest that Lyly had the Spanish king in mind while shaping the character of Midas himself. If anything, this is reinforced by Midas's extraordinarily saturnine and self-pitying lament at the beginning of Act Three:

O my lords, when I call to mind my cruelties in Lycaonia, my usurping in Gaetulia, my oppression in Sola, then do I find neither mercies in my conquests nor color for my wars nor measure in my taxes. I have written my laws in blood, and made my gods of gold. I have caused the mothers' wombs to be their children's tombs, cradles to swim in blood like boats, and the temples of the gods, a stews for strumpets... To what kingdom have not I pretended claim, as though I had been by the gods created heir apparent to the world, making every trifle a title, and all the territories about me traitors to me? Why did I wish that all might be gold I touch'd, but that I thought all men's hearts would be touched with gold, that what policy could not compass, nor prowess, gold might have commanded and conquered? A bridge of gold did I mean to make in that island where all my navy could not make a breach. Those islands did I long to touch, that I might turn them to gold and myself to glory [III.i.26-33, 42-52].

Annaliese Connolly has suggested that Midas's tortured ambivalence towards gold in this passage reflects "a complex set of responses to Anglo-Hispanic relations... particularly to those legitimating discourses used to advance the ideology of empire."

She pivots this idea against Lyly's repeated attempts to undermine the desirability of

⁴⁷⁹ See John Lyly, *Endymion*, ed. David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 43.

material wealth, arguing that, taken as a whole, the play offers “a critique of gold and its corrupting influence.” I am inclined to agree with this side of Connolly’s thesis - although I do not think that she is right in subsequently stating that Lyly’s condemnation of Midas’s materialism interrogates “the basis for the festivities, namely England’s triumph over imperial Spain.”⁴⁸⁰ On the contrary, I think that the play utilises Midas’s rampant materialism as an ideological tool to set the allegorical incarnation of Philip II against the traditional framework of Spanish transgression and subsequent God-meted punishment, very much in the same way that Peele uses Philip’s duplicitous statesmanship to underscore *The Battle of Alcazar’s* own providentialist reading of Spanish militarism.

It is against this retributory context that we must see both Midas’s failure to invade the island of Lesbos and his humiliating punishment at the hands of Apollo in Act Four. The first clearly represents an allegorical restatement of the Armada’s defeat - with Lesbos corresponding to England, Phrygia to Spain, Midas’s navy to the advancing Spanish fleet and the “huge waves” surrounding Lesbos an undisputed reference to the providential weather that blew the Armada off course [III.i.60]. Any doubts that this is so are summarily dispelled by Midas himself: “Have not I made the sea to groan under the number of my ships, and have they not perished, that there was not two left to make a number?” [III.i.33-35]. The second episode, by contrast, is lifted directly from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and sees Apollo award Midas a pair of asinine ears after he indirectly

⁴⁸⁰ Annaliese Connolly, ‘ ‘O unquenchable thirst of gold’: Lyly’s *Midas* and the English quest for Empire,’ *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 8.2, 2002. <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/08-2/conngold.html> (28 May, 2004).

insults the God's musical skills. Although thematically as well as diegetically unrelated to each other, both episodes represent a punitive assault on Midas's power-hungry materialism and, as such, would have jointly perpetuated the dynamic of providentialist justice with which contemporaries qualified the defeat of the Spanish Armada. That is why the Delphic oracle consciously bends the play's chronological sequence in Act Five and traces a direct causal link between Midas's ears and his martial designs upon Lesbos: "Unless he shrink his stretching hand from Lesbos,/ His ears in length at length shall reach to Delphos" [V.iii.29-30]. Technically, Midas may have been awarded his auricular deformity due to lack of musical awareness - yet clearly this would not have stopped the audience (and, in this particular case, the Delphic oracle) from viewing his transfiguration as the fitting and fully-deserved outcome of his militaristic policy towards Lesbos/ England.

The last play that I would like to contextualise against the template of post-Armada transgression/retribution is Robert Wilson's late morality drama *The pleasant and Stately Morall, of the three Lordes and three Ladies of London*, otherwise known as *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590). Wilson wrote the play as a sequel to his earlier drama *The Three Ladies of London* (1584), a systematic, and indeed highly successful, attempt to tackle the problems of personal and social responsibility in mid-Tudor England. He retained many of the characters from *The Three Ladies of London* in his new work – although the stylistic and structural shortcomings of his sequel to my mind indicate that he simply rushed a new play, very much in the same manner that his contemporary Robert Greene appears to have rushed *The Spanish Masquerado*,

in order to capitalise on the spirit of post-Armada triumphalism circulating at the time.⁴⁸¹ Paul Yachnin has described it as “unashamedly topical”⁴⁸² – an accusation that seems partly justified in view of Wilson’s idiosyncratic handling of his Spanish characters. In positional terms they appear just after Pompe, Pleasure and Pollicie have been engaged to Love, Lucre and Conscience – that is to say, more than halfway through the play and directly after the resolution of the play’s ‘romantic subplot.’ In addition – and equally significantly – barely a few pages of dialogue separate Diligence’s announcement of a forthcoming Spanish attack from the Spaniards’ actual – and rather hurried – arrival on stage.

Why, then, would Lloyd Edward Kermode praise Wilson’s “combination of analytic depth and breadth of topical coverage” and H. S. D. Mitral similarly regard him as a writer “who stands like a sign post, as it were, on the crossroads of the times?”⁴⁸³ To begin with, unlike any other of the plays that we have been looking at, *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* does not shy away from the idea of physically representing the Armada on stage. This relatively simple (though, no doubt, technically challenging) fact ensures that Wilson is visually as well as thematically forced to recreate the unilineal, causally-unfolding pattern of transgression followed by God-meted retribution

⁴⁸¹ Greene’s topical anti-Spanish pastiche was entered in the *Stationers’ Register* to Thomas Cadman on 1 February, 1589. See *Arber*, Vol. 2, p. 241.

⁴⁸² Paul Yachnin, ‘The Powerless Theater,’ *English Literary Renaissance*, 21, 1991, p. 67.

⁴⁸³ Lloyd Edward Kermode, ‘The Playwright’s Prophecy: Robert Wilson’s *The Three Ladies of London* and the ‘Alienation’ of the English,’ *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 11, 1999, p. 71; Robert Wilson, *An Edition of Robert Wilson’s ‘The Three Ladies of London’ and ‘Three Lords and Three Ladies of London,’* ed. H. S. D. Mitral (New York and London: Garland, 1988), p. ii.

against which Englishmen's perceptions of the attempted Spanish invasion lay anchored. Small wonder, then, that, even at the outset of the play, the figure of London takes great care to present an essentially providentialist reading of England's national destiny:

Lo, Gentles, thus the Lord dooth London guard,
Not for my sake, but for his owne delight...
Guarded from heaven by Angels excellent.

This blessing is not my sole benefit,
All England is, and so preserv'd hath bene,
Not by mans strength, his pollicie and wit,
But by a power and providence unseene.⁴⁸⁴

Buoyed by the undertones of 'moral superiority' implicit within London's prefatory speech, it is only to be expected that Wilson should go on to offer us a strongly reductive view of the "[e]nvious, irefull, and ambitious" Spaniards [sig. F4^v]. Particularly interesting, in this respect, is the way Wilson merges the topos of 'disproportionate military potentiality' with a veiled reference to what was commonly perceived to be the invaders' latent sexual agenda. He achieves this through a structural arrangement similar to that employed by Deloney and other Armada writers,⁴⁸⁵ placing Spanish military designs in contraposition to the play's female personification of London and, above all, to the characters of Love, Lucre and Conscience:

Prepare ye to withstand a stratagem,
Such as this Land nor London ever knew.
The Spanish forces Lordings are prepar'd,
In braverie and boast, beyond all boundes

⁴⁸⁴ Robert Wilson, *The pleasant and Stately Morall, of the three Lordes and three Ladies of London* (London, 1590), sig. A2^v. Further citations will be included parenthetically within the main text.

⁴⁸⁵ See pp. 179-180 of this study.

T'invade, to win, to conquer all this land.
 They chieflie aime at Londons stately pompe,
 At Londons pleasure, wealth and pollicy.
 Intending to dispoile her of them all,
 And over all those lovelie Ladies three.
 Love, lucre, Conscience, peerlesse of the rarest price,
 to tyrannize and carie hardest hand.
 From Spain they come with Engine and intent
 to slay, subdue, to triumph and torment... [sig. F1^v].

Can anyone blame Pompe for subsequently declaiming that “[h]onor in England,/ not in Spaine doth grow”? [sig. F2^v]

A framework of similar oppositions underpins the military encounter between the three lords and the Spaniards at the end of the play. The structural mechanics behind this brief, yet very much pivotal scene are surprisingly unproblematic: Pride, Ambition and Tyranny advance on stage announcing their intention to conquer “this mool-hill Isle, that litle England hight” [sig. G3^r], find themselves confronted by Pollicie, Pompe and Pleasure, and then “sodenly slippe away and come no more” [sig. H1^r]. Although there is something rushed and almost anti-climactic about the whole episode, it must not be forgotten that its chronological abruptness would have proved mimetically faithful to the transitory nature of the historical Armada itself (just as much, of course, as it would have lessened the difficulties associated with re-enacting a full-scale naval invasion on a small wooden stage!). Moreover, by juxtaposing Spanish overconfidence with Spanish cowardice in this way, Wilson effectively validates Pompe’s earlier slur on Spain’s national honour (as Pompe himself appears to recognise when yelling that the Spaniards have “fled away with shame” [sig. H1^r]). Finally, though by no means any less importantly, there is an element of causal inexplicability about the way the Spaniards “durst not strike” against the English soldiers’ “patient shieldes” [sig. H1^r] which serves

to confirm London's prefatory prognostications about the city's otherworldly inviolability and, at the same time, enables Wilson to inscribe the Spaniards' defeat within the template of post-Armada providentialism:

Right wel: thanks unto him that gave the day to us,
 The pride of Spaine was cloak'd with Majestie,
 And Shame his page, (nicknamed) Modestie,
 Spanish Ambition, Honor would be cal'd,
 And Treacherie his page, term'd Action.
 Their Tyranny was cleped Government,
 Terror his page, was (falsly) nam'd Regard,
 But God above hath given them their reward [sig. H1^v].

It is surely no coincidence that Wilson sets his providentialist reading of the Spaniards' retreat alongside the type of gloating, thinly-disguised exultation that remained endemic among Protestant Englishmen for decades still to come. In compounding such antithetical reactions to the event, the playwright arguably betrays a measure of residual insecurity, almost as if he needed to persuade both himself and his audience that the Spanish military threat had been dismantled once and for good. While this does not exactly diminish *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London's* substantial structural and stylistic deficiencies, it certainly transforms it into a text emblematically representative of the post-Armada age. High art it may not be, yet the play's persistent hammering out of certain themes – the identification between God and Englishness, the tendency to overstate Spanish martial prowess in order to highlight English military greatness and, above all, the repeated, formularistic use of the transgression/retribution template – suggests that Wilson, like Peele, Kyd and Lyly, could not escape either the resurging tide of Protestant smugness that took shape during the post-Armada years or the less noticeable, though equally important, undercurrent of residually analogous fear

of Spain and the Spanish military machine which made it necessary to maintain such a triumphalist façade in the first place. This, in turn, explains why post-Armada dramatists returned again and again to the subject of Spain and Spanish militarism when they had virtually ignored the same in pre-1588 works of theatre. After all, the Armada did not simply engender a wave of triumphalist anti-Spanish rhetoric; it also proved, beyond all possible doubt, just what Philip II's intentions towards England were.

Chapter Five

Beyond the Armada: texts, residual ideologies and English ambivalence towards Spain in the final years of Elizabeth's reign

1. The Spanish '*miles gloriosus*': a post-Armada refashioning of the discourse of Spanish sexual and military predatoriness?

i) The origins of the '*miles gloriosus*'

It was once the fashion to see the post-Armada years as the glorious swansong of Elizabeth I's reign - a radiant, in many ways unrepeatable, period of military, literary and imperialistic consolidation whose causal origins lay in the climate of nationalist confidence and psychological security that followed the crushing defeat inflicted upon the Spanish Armada in 1588. J. A. Froude, the pioneering Victorian historian whose staunchly Protestant and anglocentric brand of historiography has contributed significantly to foster the concept of an English Renaissance, invoked precisely this kind of vision when he wrote that "[t]he years which followed the defeat of the Armada were rich in events of profound national importance. They were years of splendour and triumph."⁴⁸⁶ Although this unashamedly patriotic form of historiography has been largely eradicated from contemporary scholarship, there is still a residual tendency among some modern scholars to view the Armada as the historical watershed that separates 'little England' from what in their own minds represents Elizabeth's fin-de-siècle imperialist destiny. Garrett Mattingly, whose study on the Armada still remains one of the finest books on the subject, has argued, for example, that the Armada was

⁴⁸⁶ J. A. Froude, *The History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, Vol. 12 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), p. 475.

“decisive” inasmuch as it ensured that “religious unity was not to be reimposed by force on the heirs of medieval Christendom.”⁴⁸⁷ More recently, Colin Martin’s and Geoffrey Parker’s *The Spanish Armada* – which, along with Mattingly’s study and Felipe Fernández-Armesto’s *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588*, can be regarded as part of a consummate triumvirate of Armada-related monographs - has suggested that the debacle of the Armada not only “cleared away many illusions about the power of Spain,” but also served as the catalyst which “encourage[d] English and Dutch attacks on Iberian shipping and on Iberian possessions.”⁴⁸⁸

That there is a kernel of truth behind these sort of evaluations, of course, cannot be denied. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, English writers repeatedly contextualised the Armada against an essentially triumphalist template and it would be astoundingly naive to suggest that the events in 1588 did not bolster English self-confidence to some degree. Even Fernández-Armesto (who, more than most, has argued the relative non-importance of the Armada in strategic and military terms) is prepared to admit that “pride in [the] achievement” may have “contributed something to the development of national self-awareness and self-consciousness.”⁴⁸⁹ All the same, as Fernández-Armesto himself has recognised, it would be a serious mistake to view the post-Armada years as a period of unremitting, vociferous celebration.⁴⁹⁰ Though the

⁴⁸⁷ Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), p. 336.

⁴⁸⁸ Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised edition* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1999), p. 245.

⁴⁸⁹ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 271.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

defeat of the Armada did rob Spain of a fair amount of naval prestige – and though Englishmen carried on superimposing the 1588 triumphalist template on future Anglo-Spanish military encounters⁴⁹¹ - it is clear that (a) the Armada did not signal the end of Spanish might to the extent that Froude implied and (b) that Englishmen still continued fearing the Spanish military machine in a manner not entirely different to what they had been doing prior to 1588. R. B. Wernham, writing in *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595-1603*, has already demonstrated how the majority of the English population was caught in a near Damoclean state of anxiety during the last years of the Anglo-Spanish war - a period which saw separate Armadas launched against England in 1596, 1597 and 1599.⁴⁹² A similar revisionist position can also be glimpsed in Wallace T. MacCaffrey's *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603*:

The flight of the Armada and its ruinous voyage home left England with a breathing space. But, grievous as the damage was, the Spanish fleet was by no means destroyed; the English leaders had no doubt that the effort at invasion would be renewed...⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ A case in point is Henry Savile's unashamedly triumphalist *A Libell of Spanish Lies: found At the Sacke of Caies, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, twixt the English Navie... and a fleete of twenty saile of the king of Spaines* (London, 1596), a text which exultantly relates how "the commaunders and Captaines of the English Navie, were men of such resolution, that no Spanish braggés coulede dismaye them, for they have often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes" (sig. E3^v).

⁴⁹² R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 268-271.

⁴⁹³ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 35.

In other words, what I am proposing is that, even though the Armada precipitated a pronounced stream of proto-nationalistic celebration among contemporary writers, it did not entirely exorcise the underlying current of hispanophobia that had been circulating in one form or the other since the days of the Marian exiles. As a result of this, English attitudes to the Spanish were very much in a state of flux during the 1590s and early 1600s, repeatedly alternating between traditional post-Marian images of ‘Spanishness’ and those engendered by the recent climate of post-Armada triumphalism. Perhaps the best example of this representational dualism can be observed in those texts that employ comic stereotyping to depict Hispanism. Despite drawing much of their impetus from the tide of gloating post-1588 jingoism, there are enough latent references to cruelty and other stereotypically ‘Spanish’ attributes in most of them to suggest that fear of Spain still weighed heavy upon the English psyche. An early post-Armada instance of this can be seen in the anonymous broadside *A Skeltonicall Salutation, or condaigne gratulation and just vexation of the Spanish nation* (1589). Structured, to a large degree, around the cruelly sarcastic proposition that it is perfectly safe to eat fish that have fed on the corpses of drowned Spanish sailors, its broadly comedic angle of focus does not prevent the narrator either from denouncing Philip’s intention “to nip us,/ To rob us, and strip us,/ And then for to whip us” or from tangentially rehearsing an alarmist view of hispanicity itself:

So sincke us, and sacke us,
 So burne us, and wracke us,
 So cleave us, and cracke us,
 And rent us, and racke us,
 Or if you will remaine
 In Castile, or Spaine,
 And not venture againe,

Our force to restraine,
 If you so it please,
 You shall take your ease,
 To cure your disease,
 You have got by the seas.⁴⁹⁴

A similar concatenation of pre- and post-Armada foci can be encountered in the writings of Thomas Nashe. Aided, to some extent, by his famously digressive writing style, Nashe's attitude to the Spanish hovered between the type of alarmist xenophobia prevalent in the mid- to late 1580s and the dismissive, rabble-rousing triumphalism sparked off by the 1588 defeat of the Spaniards. For example, after scornfully recounting in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) how "[p]ride is the disease of the Spaniard" and how the average Spanish male is "born a Bragart in his mothers womb," Nashe subsequently presents Philip II in his darkest pre-Armada guise as "a wolvish[,] unnaturall usurper" who "doth nothing but thirst after humane bloud."⁴⁹⁵ If that is not enough, Nashe also syncretises pre- and post-Armada conceptualisations of Hispanism through the character of Esdras of Granada in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594). Esdras, whose name already hints at the familiar connection between 'Jewishness' and 'Spanishness' seen in Marian tracts such as John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* or John Bale's retrospectively-published *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles*,⁴⁹⁶ is both pre-Armada inquisitor and post-Armada braggart rolled into one: he steals, rapes, murders, kills his best friend, forces his sister to sell herself as a

⁴⁹⁴ *A Skeltonicall Salutation, or condigne gratulation, and just vexation of the Spanish Nation* (London, 1589), sigs. A3^r, A2^v.

⁴⁹⁵ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse[,] His Supplication to the Divell* (London, 1592), sigs. B4^r, C3^r.

⁴⁹⁶ See pp. 45-46, 59-60 of this study.

prostitute, slaughters his own mother when she refuses to follow the same fate, but then reveals himself as a coward who is willing to “renounce God and his laws, and utterly disclaime the whole title or interest he had in anie covenant of salvation” in the name of self-preservation.⁴⁹⁷ All this, needless to say, transforms Esdras into a prime textual example of the post-Armada ‘*miles gloriosus*,’ the emblematically boastful, lecherous and cowardly Spanish buffoon that came to feature in a large number of plays, prose narratives and poems during the 1590s and early 1600s.

To understand the complex interaction of crosscultural influences that lay at the heart of this ubiquitous figure, it is necessary to consider both the recent history of English anti-Spanish comic writing and the impact of the Italian ‘*miles gloriosus*’ tradition upon the English cultural establishment. Although there is very limited extant evidence of comic negative stereotyping of Spaniards in pre-1588 works,⁴⁹⁸ there nonetheless appears to have existed what David Bevington describes as a “complex dialogue of intertextual relationships” between the Italian and English literary traditions

⁴⁹⁷ Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller. Or, The life of Jacke Wilton* (London, 1594), sig. M3^r.

⁴⁹⁸ The short prose comedy *The life and pranks of long Meg of Westminster* was for a time believed to have been a pre-Armada work until the editors of the *STC* proved that the title and colophon of the ‘1582’ version were forged from Claudius Hollyband’s *The Frenche schoolemaister* (1582). The earliest extant version dates back to 1620, although the fact that it was entered in the *Stationers’ Register* on 18 August, 1590 indicates that it was probably composed just after the Armada. See *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 150; *Arber*, Vol. 2, p. 263. A more authentic example of anti-Spanish pre-Armada comedy can be encountered in George Whetstone’s *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1586). Pivoted, in many ways, against the ongoing Anglo-Spanish conflict in the Netherlands, it recalls how a “haughtie proude Spaniard” offended an Englishman by means of his boastful insolence. A duel was duly arranged to be fought between them the next morning, but, in the words of Whetstone himself, “by breake of the daye, the Spaniards brags vanished like bubbles, & he himselfe slipt away without giving any *Bon giorno*, so that t(h)e English Gentleman could have no further revenge...” George Whetstone, *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier. With a Morall Report of the Vertues, Offices and (by abuse) the disgrace of his Profession* (Leyden, 1586), sigs. C2^r-C2^v.

in the years preceding the Armada.⁴⁹⁹ Replying in 1582 to Thomas Lodge's defence of the theatrical establishment *Protogenes can know Apelles by his line though he se[e] him not* (1579), for example, the playwright-turned-puritan Stephen Gosson complained that Latin, French, Spanish and Italian plays were being "th[o]roughly ransackt, to furnish the Playe houses in London."⁵⁰⁰ Even more significantly for our purposes, Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) reveals how its author was very much aware of how Italian dramatists "in all their playes and comedies [sic] bringe in the Spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus*; notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride, and shamefull vaine glorie."⁵⁰¹

Such levels of crosscultural awareness are reflected in the way most Elizabethan writers came to engage with and shape the character of the '*miles gloriosus*' himself. In fact, the English braggart's repetitive, periphrastic and often nonsensical use of language is highly reminiscent not just of the original model of braggartism employed in the work of classical dramatists like Terence or Plautus, but also of the anti-Spanish stereotypes which, following Charles V's sacking of Rome in 1527 and other Spanish territorial depredations across Italy, began to litter the Italian *commedia dell'arte* and the

⁴⁹⁹ David Bevington, 'Cultural Exchange: Gascoigne and Ariosto at Gray's Inn in 1566,' in *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama: Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality*, ed. Michele Marrapodi (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), p. 25.

⁵⁰⁰ Stephen Gosson, *Playes confuted in five Actions* (London, 1582), sig. D5^v.

⁵⁰¹ Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting*, edited by Leonard Woods for the Maine Historical Society (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1877), p. 81.

commedia erudita.⁵⁰² More than that, it could be argued that the English ‘*miles gloriosus*’ is fashioned along the same heavily dualistic lines as the *commedia*’s Captain Spavento, the soldier/lover/braggart stocktype who alternates between a grandiloquent, in many ways intimidating, discourse of sexual and military predatoriness and a cowardly, humiliating and altogether unmanly avoidance of action. A classic post-Armada example of this can be seen in the character of Braggadocchio, the boastful and duplicitous knight who resurfaces at different intersections in *The Faerie Queene* and whom Spenser describes thus:⁵⁰³

One that to bountie neuer cast his mynd,
 Ne thought of honour euer did assay
 His baser brest, but in his kestrell kynd
 A pleasing vaine of glory he did fynd,
 To which his flowing tounge, and troublous spright
 Gaue him great ayd, and made him more inclynd...⁵⁰⁴

Outwardly, Braggadocchio may appear to be no more than a scheming, egotistical fop, a mischievous, double-dealing Spenserian villain whose penchant for self-glorification is avidly fanned “with fine flattery” by his squire and hardly co-operative sidekick, the wily and appropriately-named Trompart [II.iii.9]. If anything, this perception is

⁵⁰² See Daniel Boughner, *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy: A Study in Comparative Drama from Aristophanes to Shakespeare* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1954), p. 23.

⁵⁰³ Although Spenser started composing *The Faerie Queene* in the early 1580s, it did not materialise into print until the first three books were published in 1590 and a second, very much expanded, edition (containing all six) appeared in 1596. This, together with the fact that Braggadocchio’s textual presence in the poem extends to books 4 and 5 (which, in some parts, were clearly written after the Armada), has led me to classify him essentially as a post-Armada figure.

⁵⁰⁴ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton; text edited by Hiroshi Yamashita, Toshiyuki Suzuki (Harlow, New York: Longman, 2001), II.iii.4. All subsequent citations will be taken from this edition and will be included parenthetically in the main text.

reinforced by Braggadocchio's behaviour across the rest of the poem – he is boastful (he claims to have killed seven knights with a single swordstroke at II.iii.17), cowardly (he refuses to fight Blandamour over Florimell at IV.iv.10) and does not think twice in pretending that he and not Artegall has rescued Marinell [V.iii.16].

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Braggadocchio forces the defenceless Trompart into his service [II.iii.7], attempts to rape Belpheobe [II.iii.34-42] and kidnaps the false Florimell from the witch's son [III.viii.11-13]. To my mind, this dual shaping of Braggadocchio's character puts him firmly within the bracket of the post-Armada '*miles gloriosus*' tradition and should be seen as yet another facet within the extended, often unrecognised, anti-Spanish strain running across *The Faerie Queene*. For one thing, Braggadocchio's relationship with Trompart appears to be closely modelled on the commonly-invoked theatrical trope - encountered both in Italian anti-Spanish plays such as the anonymous *Gl' Ingannati* (1531)⁵⁰⁵ and Elizabethan works like *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598) or *Blurt Master Constable* (1602)⁵⁰⁶ - which saw a servant or other 'low-life' character provoke the Spanish braggart into an exaggerated recitation of past martial, amorous or social exploits. The same can be said about Braggadocchio's ritualistic insistence on Trompart kissing his stirrup [II.iii.8] – an act that could feasibly be interpreted as an intertextual echo of the *commedia's* recurring

⁵⁰⁵ *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy*, p. 27.

⁵⁰⁶ See my comparison between the Lazarillo/ Pilcher (*Blurt Master Constable*) and Armado/ Moth (*Love's Labour's Lost*) relationships in 'Before and After the Armada: an examination of Anti-Spanish sentiment in English Literature, 1558-1603' (Unpublished MA by Research thesis: University of Leeds, 1999), p. 62.

obsession with kissing Spaniards.⁵⁰⁷ Etymologically, too, it is clear that the name ‘Braggadocchio’ would have had strong associations for the English readership - for whom the very idea of bragging would not only have brought to mind the empty boasting which, according to texts such as *A Packe of Spanish Lyes, sent abroad in the world* (1588) or *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie* (1589), Spanish propagandists indulged in after the failed Armada project,⁵⁰⁸ but would also have been seen as a sly and underhand reference to what was increasingly being perceived as a generic Spanish national characteristic.

ii) Braggartism on the Elizabethan Stage

The interrelation between braggartism and Hispanism reaches its apex in the handful of attempts made to transpose the Italian ‘*miles gloriosus*’ onto the post-Armada stage. There is nothing really surprising about this – considering both the original theatrical incarnation in the *commedia dell’arte/commedia erudita* of the ‘*miles gloriosus*’ and the intrinsic dramatic potential that must have accompanied the idea of having a comic Spanish character on stage. Like the ‘*Veritas Filia Temporis*’ legend, the theme of the ‘*miles gloriosus*’ appears to have possessed a certain innate theatricality, as well as a fundamental unilinealism - the diegetic formula, after all, is always the same: a] the braggart transgresses and b] is ceremoniously humiliated in public - which made it easy to adapt to the spatial possibilities afforded by the Elizabethan playhouse. Nor did it

⁵⁰⁷ *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy*, p. 23.

⁵⁰⁸ See pp. 195-196 of this study.

prove particularly difficult to present the Italian stock-type in post-Armada Spanish garb. Since the '*miles gloriosus*' had already been hispanicised in most of its transalpine incarnations,⁵⁰⁹ there was little English dramatists had to do by way of transferring the character from one cultural context to another - other than perhaps nomenclaturally signposting the braggart's intrinsic hispanicity. Thus, George Peele's *The Old Wives Tale* (1593-1594) contains a braggart by the name of Huanebango (clearly an anglicised variant of the Spanish name 'Juan y Bango'), George Chapman's *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (1598) presents us with a "Spaniard a borne" called 'Bragadino,' and part one of John Marston's *The History of Antonio and Mellida* (1602) includes amongst its protagonists "a moderne Bragadoch" by the name of Matzagente whose Spanish accent is commented upon by another character in the play.⁵¹⁰

Not that the 'hispanicization' of the Elizabethan '*miles gloriosus*' was limited solely to awkward Spanish accents and vaguely-sounding Castilian names. Mirroring the braggart's own propensity for verbal pyrotechnics, dramatists also sought to underline the braggart's Hispanism through a range of inventive and, in one or two cases, rather surprising linguistic techniques. Thomas Dekker, for instance, renders the equation self-evident in *Blurt Master Constable* (1602) by naming his protagonist 'Lazarillo de Tormes in Castile'⁵¹¹ - a direct reference to the eponymous hero of the famous Spanish

⁵⁰⁹ *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy*, pp. 21-32.

⁵¹⁰ See Frank S. Hook's introduction to his edition of *The Old Wives Tale*, in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, Vol. 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 316; George Chapman, *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (London, 1598), sig. B3^v; John Marston, *The History of Antonio and Mellida. The first part* (London, 1602), sig. A4^v.

⁵¹¹ Thomas Dekker, *Blurt Master Constable, or the Spaniards Night-walke* (London, 1602), sig.

picaresque novel that David Rowland had translated a few years earlier.⁵¹² A similar, perhaps even more challenging example of nomenclatural artifice can be encountered in the character of Don Adriano de Armado, the bumbling and affected pedant who tries to woo Jacquenetta without much success in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598) and whom Glynne Wickham has described as "the Plautine *miles gloriosus* in Spanish post-Armada dress."⁵¹³ Critics have suggested that Don Adriano's name is enmeshed in a multiplicity of semantical and etymological associations that reveal to what extent braggartism and Hispanism fused together in Shakespeare's mind. Gustav Ungerer, for example, has argued that, rather than just a simple incidental reference to the Spanish Armada, the term 'armado' actually formed "the current Elizabethan rendering of the Spanish word 'armada', the final unstressed vowel of the suffix -ada being rounded to the more homely sound of an 'o.'"⁵¹⁴ Similarly, in an earlier work to this, I have drawn attention to how the word 'armado' in Spanish can mean either 'armed' (in its straightforward adjectival form) or 'made up/ composed' (in its past participle variant), thereby fusing two essential constituents within the braggart's psychological make-up (his military background and his highly evolved sense of verbal artifice) under the scope of a single name which also has the advantage of referring indirectly (or perhaps directly,

B3^r. All further references to the play will be cited parenthetically within the main text.

⁵¹² See footnote 147 of this study.

⁵¹³ Glynne Wickham, 'Love's Labor's Lost And The Four Foster Children of Desire, 1581,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36:1, 1985, p. 53.

⁵¹⁴ Gustav Ungerer, 'Two Items of Spanish Pronunciation in *Love's Labour's Lost*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 14:3, 1963, p. 245.

if we are to accept Ungerer's proposition!) to the Spanish Armada itself.⁵¹⁵

This sense of linguistic self-consciousness was not just limited to matters of nomenclature. Indeed, from Dekker's *Lazarillo* to Shakespeare's *Don Adriano* to Chapman's *Bragadino*, the Spanish '*miles gloriosus*' exhibits distinctive linguistic and dialogic features which suggest that the dramatists in question were very much aware of a conceptual model of 'braggartism' while drafting their work. Among the more salient idiomatic components holding together this type of discourse are (a) the tendency to platitudinize (b) the propensity to indulge in constant repetitions and (c) the descent into a blundering, and especially frustrating, form of periphrasis. Each and every one of these qualities, I believe, can be encountered in Don Adriano's love-letter to Jacquenetta in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

By heaven, that thou art fair is most infallible; true that thou art beauteous; truth itself that thou art lovely. More fairer than fair, beautiful than beauteous, truer than truth itself, have commiseration on thy heroical vassal. The magnanimous and most illustrious King Cophetua set eye upon the penurious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon, and he it was that might rightly say, "*Veni, vidi, vici*", which to annothanize in the vulgar - O base and obscure vulgar! - *videlicet*: he came, see, and overcame. He came, one; see, two; overcame, three. Who came? The King. Why did he come? To see. Why did he see? To overcome. To whom came he? To the beggar. What saw he? The beggar. Who overcame he? The beggar. The conclusion is victory. On whose side? The King's. The captive is enriched. On whose side? The beggar's. The catastrophe is a nuptial. On whose side? The King's. No, on both in one, or one in both. I am the King, for so stands the comparison; thou the beggar, for so witnesseth thy lowliness. Shall I command thy love? I may. Shall I enforce thy love? I could. Shall I entreat thy love? I will... Thus, expecting thy reply, I profane my lips on thy foot, my eyes on thy picture, and my heart on thy every part.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ 'Before and After the Armada: an examination of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in English Literature, 1558-1603,' pp. 59-60.

⁵¹⁶ William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), IV.1.60-80, 82-84

Armado's desire to kiss Jacquenetta's foot could trace its origins to the already mentioned tradition in Italian drama which mocked the Spaniard's excessive fondness for kissing and which subsequently came to be crossculturally expressed through the mocking, often nonsensical repetition of the Spanish phrase '*beso las manos*' ('I kiss your hands') in Jacobean and Caroline plays such as Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1609), John Ford's *The Ladies Triall* (1639) or *Loves Cure, or the Martiall Maide* (1647) by John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont.⁵¹⁷ Likewise, the Spaniard's use of Julius Caesar's phrase '*Veni, Vidi, Vici*' is a particularly significant example of how the Spanish '*miles gloriosus*' adapts itself to the exigencies of the post-Armada stage - since it not only mocks the Spaniards' far from victorious role in the naval battle, but even echoes some of the Latin epigrams ('*Venit, Ivit, Fuit,*' or '*Veni, Vide, Vive*'⁵¹⁸) which Protestants all over Europe used to deride the Armada's failure.

On the other hand, it is important to note how Don Adriano still remains very much trapped between the conflicting ideological polarities that underpinned English post-Armada attitudes to Spain. The implication that he could subjugate Jacquenetta against her will, for instance, adds a dark and somewhat ominous undertone to his letter and almost resurrects the pre-Armada discourse of sexual violation that had been associated with Spaniards virtually since the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish conflict.

⁵¹⁷ See Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. Sydney Musgrove (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968), p. 93; John Ford, *The Ladies Triall* (London, 1639), sig. C4^v; *Loves Cure, or the Martiall Maide*, in *Comedies and Tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher... never printed before* (London, 1647), sig. R11113^v.

⁵¹⁸ See footnote 393 of this study.

This, in turn, is complemented by the studiously provocative and salacious ending to the letter - in which Armado promises to profane his "heart on thy every part". Although the Elizabethan audience would no doubt have taken great pleasure from the enunciation of such amusing ribaldry, it is still interesting to observe how Shakespeare inscribes a streak of sexual menace into the character of a post-Armada Spaniard, almost as if the dramatist could not entirely divorce the bumbling Don Adriano de Armado from the military, political and, above all, sexual threat that his fellow countrymen still represented in Englishmen's minds.

A similarly dual angle of focus can be encountered in Thomas Dekker's *Blurt Master Constable, or The Spaniards Night-walke* (1602).⁵¹⁹ Employing, like *Love's Labour's Lost*, many of the representational techniques and behavioural leitmotifs associated with the Italian 'miles gloriosus,' Dekker's pejorative presentation of the Spaniard Lazarillo ranks among the most virulent ethno-cultural denunciations of Hispanism seen on the early modern English stage. To achieve this unique distinction, Dekker appropriates the eponymous main character from the contemporaneous Spanish novel *El Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and transforms him from a prankish, warm-hearted, essentially loveable rogue into an impulsive, swaggering Hispanic braggart who ends up having a chamber pot emptied onto his head and whose ridiculously periphrastic manner of speaking only serves to accentuate his fundamentally biologicistic view of the world:

For as your tame Monkey is your onely be[a]st, & most onely beast to your Spanish Lady: or, as your Tobacco is your onely smoker away of rewme,

⁵¹⁹ I have followed Samuel Schoenbaum in attributing the play to Dekker. See 'Blurt, Master Constable': A Possible Authorship Clue,' *Renaissance News*, 12, 1960, pp. 7-9.

and all other rewmeticke diseases: or, as your Irish lowse does bite most naturally foureteene weekes, after the change of your Saffron seamed shirt... so it pleaseth the destinies, that I should thirst to drinke out of a most sweet Italian vessell, being a Spaniard [sig. B1^r].

I believe that Lazarillo's attempt to justify his libidinousness in terms of his nationality not only perpetuates the interrelation between hispanicity and unrestrained sexuality found in late-Elizabethan pamphlets such as Lawrence Kemys's *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* (1596) or Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596),⁵²⁰ but once again typifies the forked and increasingly ambivalent view of Hispanism that took possession of the English psyche in the post-Armada years. A comparable argument can be made about George Chapman's *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (1598) - an unfairly neglected play which features a Spanish mercenary who indulges in all manner of stereotypical braggartism from foppish kissing to running away from the prospect of physical combat.⁵²¹ Encountering the Lady Elimine for the first time, Bragadino, like his fellow countryman Lazarillo in *Blurt Master Constable*, simply cannot stop himself from justifying his concupiscence in terms of his Iberian nationality: "Surely the sodayne glaunce of this lady Nymph hath suppl[i]ed my spanish disposition with love that never before drempt of a womans concavitie."⁵²²

Nor was this the only way by which early modern playwrights sought to emphasise the connection between braggartism and sexual profligacy. In a move which both

⁵²⁰ See pp. 272-273 of this study.

⁵²¹ The possibility that *The blinde begger* may have been a crosscultural "redaction of an actual commedia dell'arte" has already been raised by Helen Andrews Kaufman in ' 'The Blind Beggar of Alexandria': A Reappraisal,' *Philological Quarterly*, 38, 1959, p. 106.

⁵²² George Chapman, *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (London, 1598), sig. B3^r. Further references to the play will be cited parenthetically within the main text.

rehearses long-established theories about Spanish sexual libertinage and simultaneously realigns them against a gloatingly triumphalist context, dramatists like Dekker or Chapman also took great care to blend or conflate the vocabularies of sexual and military action within the braggart's speech. We have already seen traces of this idea in Don Adriano's letter to Jacquenetta - where the Spaniard meditates at length upon Julius Caesar's martial epigram and later persuades himself that his romantic tribulations will end in "victory" and that Jacquenetta will become his "captive". A similarly militaristic angle, for that matter, infuses Bragadino's words to the Lady Elimine in *The blinde begger of Alexandria*:

Sweet nimph I love few wordes you know my intent my humor is in
sophistical & plaine I am spaniard a borne, my byrth speakes for my nature,
my nature for your grace, and should you see a whole Battaile ranged by my
skil you would commit your whole selfe to my affection, and so sweet
nimph I kisse your hand [sig. B3^v].

and also those of Lazarillo to Imperia in *Blurt Master Constable*:

Most sweet face you neede not hang out your silken tongue as a Flag of
truce: for I will drop at your feete, ere I draw bloud in your Chamber; yet I
shall hardly drinke up this wrong, for your sake I will wipe it out for this
time [sig. D3^r].

While the braggart's militarisation of amatory language often served as a structural device to increase the dramatic possibilities of his ensuing stage humiliation, there is still an undercurrent of representational essentialism in both these extracts which indicates to what extent pre- and post-Armada polarities co-existed in the minds of almost all late-Elizabethan dramatists writing about Spain. An additional, perhaps even more accentuated, example of this can be seen in the infamous anonymous play *A Larum for London* (1602). Although technically not cast in the same comic mould as the other plays

I have been looking at, there are more than enough pointers across the work to suggest that this crude and very much distorted dramatisation of George Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*⁵²³ lies suspended between the deeply pessimistic alarmism encountered in early seventeenth-century religious tracts such as T. D.'s *Canaans calamitie[,] Jerusalems Misery*⁵²⁴ and the ancillary, in many ways contrapuntal, desire to mock or poke fun at Hispanism found in contemporary anti-Spanish comedies. Echoes of the post-Armada 'miles gloriosus' are certainly plentiful across the play (in which the one-legged Belgian soldier Stumpe repeatedly challenges and scares off a selection of cowardly Spanish *tercios*⁵²⁵) – even if these are perpetually held in check by the undisguised sense of sexual menace with which the anonymous dramatist underscores his portrait of Spanish militarism in general. Particularly conspicuous instances of the latter can be found in the speech and actions of the ironically-named Sancto Danila ('santo,' of course, being Spanish for 'saint'). Instead of militarising the Spaniard's amatory outpourings in the manner of Shakespeare or Chapman, the anonymous playwright does precisely the reverse – he sexualises the language of territorial/military

⁵²³ For an informed discussion on how *A Larum's* anonymous dramatist adapts and reshapes his source material, see Ann L. Mackenzie, 'A study in dramatic contrasts: The siege of Antwerp in *A Larum for London* and *El sacco de Amberes*,' *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 59, 1982, pp. 283-285.

⁵²⁴ *A Larum's* dependence on the Elizabethan politics of alarm is amply discussed in Roslyn L. Knutson's 'Filling Fare: The Appetite for Current Issues and Traditional Forms in the Repertory of the Chamberlain's Men,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 15, 2002, pp. 63-72.

⁵²⁵ See, for example, the episode in which Stumpe prevents two soldiers from sexually assaulting the governor of Antwerp's wife and also that in which he chases off two Spaniards who are trying to extort money out of a native burgher. *A Larum for London, or The Siedge of Antwerpe* (London, 1602), sigs. C4^v-D1^r, F3^r-F3^v. Further references to the play will be cited parenthetically within the main text.

conquest by having Danila conceptualise the city of Antwerp as a defenceless woman on the point of sexual violation. Thus, Antwerp is variously represented as an object of male desire (“Oh she is amorous as the wanton ayre,/ And must be Courted” [sig. A3^r]), a maiden stripped against her will (“she shall be forc’t,/ To strip her of her pouches, and on the backes/ Of Spanish Soldiers, hang her costliest roabes” [sig. A2^r]) and finally, and perhaps most disturbingly of all, as the victim of a savage assault (“Downe some backe way, and ever as we need,/ Be this our meeting place, till Antwerpe bleed” [sig. A4^r]).

In amalgamating such polarised views of Hispanism within the scope of a single text, the anonymous author of *A Larum for London* clearly rehearses the essential duality that lay at the heart of English anti-Spanish comic writing. More precisely, he manages to enmesh the lascivious, emblematically cowardly figure of the Spanish ‘*miles gloriosus*’ with the virulently anti-patriarchal discourse of sex and violence that had been associated with hispanicity since before the Armada and which had traditionally posited Hispanism as the diametric opposite of ‘Protestant Englishness.’ That is why most post-Armada attempts to ridicule the Spaniard are invariably anchored against what could be described as a pre-Armada epistemic mindset. “I thought the devill could not understand Spanish,” Lazarillo, for example, admits while listening to a Spanish pavane in *Blurt Master Constable*, “but since thou art my countriman, o thou tawnie Satin, I will daunce after thy pipe” [sig. F3^r]. Comic though this interjection may be, it nonetheless shows to what extent Spaniards were still being feared and demonised towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign – with Dekker establishing a part-racial, part-national link between hispanicity and Satan himself. That this strongly xenophobic equation played heavily upon Dekker’s mind, moreover, can be seen from the manner that Imperia describes

Lazarillo as “this man of Ginger-bread” [sig. D3^r] and Hipolito later denounces him as a “roring-tawny-fac’d rascall” [sig. D2^v].

All the same, while it is important to recognise Lazarillo as a model of Hispanic transgression, it must be emphasised that the Spanish ‘*miles gloriosus*’ was essentially spawned out of the climate of gloating triumphalism that arose following the defeat of the Spanish Armada. If there is one common denominator, after all, linking Nashe’s Esdras of Granada, Dekker’s Lazarillo, Shakespeare’s Don Adriano, Chapman’s Bragadino or even Spenser’s Braggadocchio, it is not so much that they are militaristic, sexually-obsessed reprobates, but that they are all cowards at heart, ready to run, to put it in plain terms, at the first sight of danger. In fact, there is a certain ritualistic, proto-celebratory element in the way that the Spanish braggart receives his comeuppance in most of the texts I have been looking at which clearly evokes the pattern of transgression followed by well-deserved punishment/retribution that Englishmen saw behind the 1588 Armada. Perhaps one of the finest examples of this can be encountered halfway through Chapman’s *The blinde begger of Alexandria*. Ignoring Bragadino’s desperate last-minute pleas for mercy, his arch-enemy Ireus not only forces him to keep the promise he made earlier to bite his thumb in the event that Elimine should have rejected his romantic propositions, but ends up whisking away the object of the Spaniard’s affections amid a flurry of boasts and jibes whose mocking, aggressively sardonic tone could, in my opinion, only have arisen out of the mood of boisterous triumphalism that followed the spectacular debacle of Philip’s ‘*Gran Empresa*’:

Why so oh that we had a noyse of musitions to play to this anticke as we goe, come on sweete lady give me your handes weele to Church and be married straight, beare with my hast now, Ile be slow enough another tyme

I warrant you, come spaniola questo, questo, spaniola questo [sig. B4^v].

2. Tracking down the enemy within: Jesuits, Appellants and ‘Hispaniolated’ Englishmen in the final years of Elizabeth’s reign

i) The background to the Appellant controversy

In November, 1602 the Elizabethan government published a proclamation ‘[b]anishing all Jesuit and Secular Priests’ from England. A two and a half thousand word onslaught against the evils of clandestine Catholic complotting, the document in question not only reinforced the accusatory stance of the earlier 1591 proclamation ‘against Seminary Priests and Jesuits’ – which had denounced both groups for having abandoned “their natural allegiance to us... and... yield[ed] their obedience with all their powers to this King of Spain” - but also brought the Appellant controversy to an effective end by claiming that both Jesuitical and non-Jesuitical clergy agreed “in apparent disobedience and disloyalty against us” and had even joined forces in promoting the ill-fated 1601 Spanish invasion of Ireland:

It is apparent to the world with how great malice of late our kingdom of Ireland hath been invaded by the King of Spain, and how Don Juan, his chief commander, published a warrant from the See of Rome to deprive us of our crown and to proclaim his master lord of the same; the Spaniards themselves having... declared... that the secular priests and Jesuits had both of them invited the King their master to that unfortunate enterprise... ⁵²⁶

That both the 1591 and 1602 proclamations came to link Catholic, and in particular Jesuitical, sacerdotalism with Spanish territorial ambitions once again suggests to what extent fear of Spanish military encroachment still existed in post-Armada England. Although Rome persistently maintained that the Jesuitical missions were divorced from

⁵²⁶ *TRP*, Vol. 2, pp. 88, 252, 251.

all secular objectives – and although, with hindsight, it is obvious that Jesuitical influence over the English population was markedly less significant than the Elizabethan government supposed - it would take anyone but the most entrenched of Catholic historians to believe that political/governmental ambitions were not high on the Jesuits' agenda. A letter from John Blackfan to his fellow Jesuit John Floyd on September 7, 1599, for example, had advised in no uncertain terms that “[n]ow is the tyme for the Spaniards to strike, if ever they will do any thinge.”⁵²⁷ In like manner, Robert Parsons's literary output is littered with letters, plans and other statements of political belief which suggest that he lived in perpetual hope of an imminent Spanish invasion.⁵²⁸

Parsons's role within the 'hispanicization' of the Jesuit movement cannot be emphasised enough. If Cardinal William Allen had emblematised the figure of the 'hispaniolated' Englishmen during the years before and just after the Armada, then Parsons, the notorious arch-traitor of the Elizabethan popular imagination, represented his spiritual and ideological successor. Textually his pro-Spanish reputation rests on two key works, *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland* (1595) and *The Jesuit's Memorial, for the Intended Reformation of England*.⁵²⁹ The first of these was a

⁵²⁷ Quoted in Thomas Graves Law's *A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: David Nutt, 1889), p. 149.

⁵²⁸ See Francis Edwards, S.J., *Robert Parsons: the Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610* (St. Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995), pp. 55-135, 189-197.

⁵²⁹ While the title-page of *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland* (Antwerp, 1595) attributed the pamphlet to R. Doleman, it was from the very beginning recognised to have been written by Parsons. *The Jesuit's Memorial, for the Intended Reformation of England*, by contrast, was not published until the anti-Catholic activist Edward Gee brought out an edition in 1690 – although copies of Parsons's manuscript were in circulation since its 1596 composition. See Michael L. Carrafiello, *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1998), p. 75.

lengthy and highly systematic attempt to analyse the moral, legal, and genealogical positions surrounding each of the main candidates to Elizabeth's throne. It took its main intellectual thrust from William Reynolds's Latin treatise on the French succession *De Justa Reipub. Christianae... Auctoritate* (1590), the main points of which had already been summarised in an anonymous pamphlet, probably co-written by Parsons himself, entitled *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593).⁵³⁰ While Michael L. Carrafiello has recently demonstrated that Parsons believed that the Infanta "was no more than the most attractive of several leading Catholic candidates,"⁵³¹ his controversial arguments cannot but have offended the sensibilities of the Elizabethan Protestant majority. Particularly galling, in this respect, were his contingency plans in case the Infanta could not or would not be able to ascend the English throne. Should this ever happen, Parsons wrote in a tactless display of non-genealogical reasoning, "then may her said father and she... cast their fore saide interests and titles... upon some other Prince of their owne house and blood, as for example... the families of Parma or Bragansa... or of the house of Austria, seeing theit [sic] wanteth not many able & worthy Princes... for whom there would be the same reasons and considerations, to persuade their admission by the English, that have bin alleaged before for the Infanta."⁵³² Even a Habsburg peer without any kind of hereditary claim, it appears, was preferable in Parsons's eyes to a native English Protestant.

⁵³⁰ Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scholar Press, 1977), p. 114. See, also, Victor Houlston, 'The hare and the drum: Robert Parsons's writings on the English Succession, 1593-6,' *Renaissance Studies*, 14:2, 2000, pp. 235-250.

⁵³¹ *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610*, p. 51.

⁵³² Robert Parsons, *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland* (Antwerp,

Parsons's second major work, *The Jesuit's Memorial, for the Intended Reformation of England*, was perhaps even more pro-Hispanic in orientation. Written, or so Parsons was to later claim, solely for the benefit of his close friends and co-religionists, it caused such a stir among its first readers that clandestine copies of the manuscript were soon circulating among Catholic and Protestant readers alike. In its pages Parsons abandoned any last vestiges of political moderateness and proposed instead a blueprint for the social, political and ecclesiastical development of England after the forcible re-establishment of the Catholic religion. That Parsons proved to be shrewd, methodical and even highly revolutionary in arguing his case cannot be denied – although, like Pole's and Allen's earlier attempts to reform the English Church from afar, his proposals tended to suffer from the myopic misguidedness associated with the long-term exile when writing about his or her native country. In any case, as Michael L. Carrafiello has noted in his book on Parsons, "the manuscript also served to confirm his detractors' image of him as the archetypal Jesuit: arrogant, subversive, and, worst of all, Hispanophilic."⁵³³ This last accusation was prompted mainly by Parsons's undisguised admiration for Spanish methods of clerical government and by his attendant tendency to illustrate his arguments with Castilian models of theocratic practice. For example, in order to combat the spread of heresy in England, he called for the immediate institution of a brotherhood of religious knights "much like to that called the Holy *Hermandad* in Spain," who would not only "fight against Hereticks," but also "keep our Seas of England from Pirats, and our Land

1595), sig. Kk1^v; henceforth referred to as *A Conference*.

⁵³³ Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610, p. 56.

from publick Theft.” Likewise, when discussing the advantages of clerical over secular government, he advocated the establishment of an inquisitional body “as in Spain is used” which would procure “sharp execution of Justice upon the obstinate and remediless.”⁵³⁴

The backlash against Parsons’s work did not take long in coming – although most of it, ironically enough, came from English Catholic writers themselves. True, Protestant polemicists such as Peter Wentworth, Mathew Sutcliffe and Francis Hastings reacted furiously against the pro-Spanish tenor of Parsons’s writings - and in particular that found in *A Conference* - through the publication of counter-pamphlets which variously served to condemn Parsons as “a Spanish harted papist,” “a rinegued English, and Hispaniolized fugitive” and the leader of all “Popish Espaniolized Traytours.”⁵³⁵ Yet, rather uniquely for the time, their efforts paled in comparison with the body of anti-Parsons and anti-Jesuitical invective produced by the English Catholic Appellants. The latter were a group of Catholic secular clergy who resented the growing influence of the Jesuits within English Catholicism and who, following the patriotic lead already laid down by Robert Southwell in *An Humble Supplication to her Majestie*, were also opposed to the pro-

⁵³⁴ Robert Parsons, *The Jesuit’s Memorial, for the Intended Reformation of England* (London, 1690), sigs. F8^r, H2^r.

⁵³⁵ Peter Wentworth, *A pithie exhortation to her majestie for establishing her successor to the crowne* (Edinburgh, 1598), sig. K1^v; Mathew Sutcliffe, *A briefe replie to a certaine odious and slanderous libel, lately published by a seditious Jesuite* (London, 1600), sig. a3^v; Francis Hastings, *An Apologie or Defence of the Watch-word, against the Virulent and Seditious Ward-word published by an English-Spaniard, lurking under the title of N. D.* (London, 1600), sig. Ee3^r.

Spanish line adopted by Parsons and his advocates.⁵³⁶ Tensions between the Appellants and the Jesuits came to a head when Cardinal Allen died in October, 1594 and the English Catholic clergy were left without a nominal leader. An internecine struggle for power followed that only appeared to be settled when Pope Clement VIII decided to take matters into his own hands and appoint George Blackwell as Archbishop of England. This, however, was not a welcome development for the anti-Jesuitical Catholic lobby. Although not a Jesuit himself, Blackwell was nonetheless a great admirer of Parsons and his ideas, and the Appellants were naturally quite reluctant to accept the leadership of a man they perceived as little more than Parsons's pawn. Directly at odds, therefore, with both the Papacy and the national leadership of their own church, many Appellants began to seek vicarious reassurance from the anti-Spanish and anti-Jesuitical Henry IV, the newly-crowned king of France whose recent conversion to Catholicism, together with his lifelong enmity towards the ultra-Catholic, pro-papal Holy League, conjoined him ideologically to the Secular Catholics in England.⁵³⁷

Certainly most Appellants found Henry's moderate, de-centralised form of Catholicism infinitely preferable to Blackwell's brand of kowtowing Jesuitical papalism. Time and time again Appellant thinkers underscored their arguments by adopting

⁵³⁶ Originally written in 1591 as a response to the government's first anti-Jesuitical proclamation but not published until 1600 (despite the date of 1595 given on the title-page – see *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 348), Southwell's text assured Elizabeth that the majority of English Catholics were "unfainedlie betrothed to your Majesties defence" and hoped that God would "prosper and preserve you to his glorie, your subjects comfort, and your own, both temporall and, eternall happinesse." Robert Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to her Majestie* (n.p., 1600), sig. F4^v.

⁵³⁷ See John Bossy, 'Henry IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits,' *Recusant History*, 8, 1965, pp. 80-122.

Henry's so-called 'Gallican' ideas (which essentially stood for a more self-governing and nationalised form of Catholicism as opposed to one that was directly or indirectly controlled by the Papacy) - either by means of straightforward translations of French anti-League propaganda such as that undertaken by men like William Watson, or through original, Gallican-inspired works of their own such as John Mush's *A dialogue betwixt a secular priest, and a lay gentleman* (1601) or Thomas Bluet's and William Watson's *Important Considerations... which ought to move all true and sound Catholikes... to acknowledge... that the proceedings of her Majesty... with them... have bene both mild and mercifull* (1601). Secondly, if that was not enough, Appellant works such as Anthony Copley's *An Answere to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman, by his Cosin, Maister A. C.* (1601) or Christopher Bagshaw's and William Watson's *A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits, and of Fa. Parsons* (1601) repeatedly invoked the anti-Jesuitical template found in French works of anti-League propaganda, almost all of which blamed their country's internal troubles on clandestine pro-Spanish Jesuitical politicking.

Of course, the irony behind all this was that by embracing the ideology of the French anti-League movement Appellant writers such as Anthony Copley or Christopher Bagshaw moved closer to the political values of the English Protestant establishment than that of their inimical Catholic compatriots. After all, not only had Elizabeth I been actively supporting the anti-League campaign since Essex led an expedition into Brittany to assist Henry IV's forces in 1591, but, what is more, the English government had for some years now been publishing translated works of French anti-League propaganda of its own. Aided by the tireless efforts of Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in

France⁵³⁸ - and helped, no doubt, by the wide pan-European network of connections of the Queen's printer, John Wolfe⁵³⁹ - Elizabeth's secret service had conscientiously been tracking down French pamphlets that served to reinforce the ongoing propaganda campaign against the Spanish. It did not matter whether these were written by Huguenots such as Francois De la Noue, or whether they came from the self-styled 'politique' camp – the group of moderate Catholics who supported Henry IV's claim to the throne and at the same time resented what they saw as the Catholic League's increasingly pro-Spanish and pro-Jesuit orientation. All that counted, as far as the English government was concerned, was that the pamphlets decried Spanish values and objectives and revealed how “under shew and pretext of religion, [the League] went about to overthrowe all good lawes, and to give an entrance to the Spanish King, and to set open the doore to all Atheisme.”⁵⁴⁰ That is why so many anti-Spanish and anti-Jesuitical works of French polemic came to be translated and subsequently printed from English presses during the early to mid-1590s, including Michel Hurault's *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, made at Paris* (1590), L. T. A.'s *The masque of the league and the Spanyard discovered* (1592) and Pierre Le Roy's *A pleasant satyre or poesie: wherin is discovered the Catholicon of Spayne, and the chiefe leaders of the League* (1594) among others.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996), pp. 37-39.

⁵³⁹ See Dennis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁴⁰ *The true discourse of the wonderfull victorie, obtained by Henrie the fourth... in a battell against those of the League* (London, 1590), sig. E2^v.

⁵⁴¹ An additional attraction, from the English government's point of view, was that many of these

ii) The role of Spain within the Seculars vs. Jesuits debate

Ironically, then, the writings of the Appellants were closely interrelated with the same brand of French anti-League propaganda that Elizabeth and her ministers had been disseminating in England for almost a decade. The only real difference between both groups was that the Appellants did not simply limit themselves to translating French texts that more or less corroborated their own political beliefs (as the Elizabethan government, to a large extent, did), but actively sought to incorporate anti-League arguments into their own works of polemic. In part this can be explained by the chasmic difference that existed between the English Protestant government and the Appellants in terms of resources and infrastructure - the former already had a dynamic and long-established tradition in the appropriation and dissemination of anti-Spanish propaganda and hardly needed to rewrite texts that were already being translated by their own publicists; the latter, by contrast, found themselves in an increasingly more desperate and problematic position and could ill afford to waste any propagandistic opportunities open to them. Apart from this, one must not forget the intrinsic usefulness which Gallican anti-Jesuitical ideas had for the Appellants' own political arguments. After all, by

anti-League texts applauded, or at least approved of, Elizabeth's military stance against the Spanish. A case in point is Michel Hurault's *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, made at Paris by a Frenchman* (1590), an inflammatory and highly influential anti-Spanish treatise that was printed at least twice in translation during the early 1590s. Despite its author's manifestly Catholic outlook, Hurault's pamphlet praised the English military for having "pearsed... the very life-vaines of his [i.e. Philip's] golden vent, & in a maner clean shut him out of the sea." Passing attention was also given to the 1589 English attack on Lisbon and, in particular, to the way Philip had "durst not once assaile the English infantry" led by Sir John Norris. See Michel Hurault, *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, made at Paris by a Frenchman*, trans. Anthony Munday (London, 1590), sig. F1^v.

emphasising the differences between the “Papist that is the Jesuite” and the “true French Catholike”⁵⁴² or recounting how the French Jesuits had no objective other than to “protect and defend Philip the Catholique King in al safety and happinesse,”⁵⁴³ anti-League pamphleteers such as Étienne Pasquier or Antoine Arnauld not only furnished the Appellants with circumstantial evidence to buttress their own anti-Jesuitism; they also, in the words of Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, “provided the seculars with a model for making similar arguments against the Society of Jesus in England.”⁵⁴⁴

The influence of Gallican anti-Jesuitism can be seen in Christopher Bagshaw’s and William Watson’s jointly-written *A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits, and of Fa. Parsons* (1601).⁵⁴⁵ Acknowledging, from the start, its debt to “Maister Anthony Arnold,” it combines an incendiary personal attack on “Father Parsons and his associates” with the determined assurance, no doubt derived from mainstream Gallican political thought, that the Jesuits had “laboured in France (even the French Jesuites themselves) to have lifted the Spaniard into the throane of that kingdome, with the consequent overthrow of their owne native country...” If this is not enough, Watson and Bagshaw embark on a full-scale condemnation of Jesuitical practice in England, shrewdly conjoining the

⁵⁴² Étienne Pasquier, *The Jesuite displayed*, trans. Edward Aggas (London, 1594), sig. F1^r.

⁵⁴³ Antoine Arnauld, *The Arrainment of the whole society of Jesuits in France* (London, 1594), sig. B1^v.

⁵⁴⁴ *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England*, p. 154.

⁵⁴⁵ Watson wrote the preface, while Bagshaw appears to have composed the main body of the pamphlet. Interestingly, Watson also appears to have written prefaces for both Thomas Bluet and John Mush. See *STC*, Vol. 2, p. 442.

Jesuits' ideological objectives with the secular and political motives governing Philip II's foreign policy in a manner not dissimilar to that encountered in Arnauld's original writings:

For this cause none but Span[iards]. and Jesuites are secretly nominated to rule the roast in England, upon the pretended Span[ish]. invasion for restoring of religion... For this cause it is, that they (the Jesuits) have bin plotting about this monarchie, how to bring both states ecclesiasticall and temporall under them above these 20. yeeres space.⁵⁴⁶

Although not all Appellant texts were as categorical about their anti-Jesuitical denunciations as *A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits*, most of them still followed the formulaic model first employed by their French predecessors in seeing the Jesuitical movement as a duplicitous, pseudo-religious arm of the Spanish government. Bagshaw himself, writing in *A True relation of the faction begun at Wisbich, by Fa. Edmonds, alias Weston, a Jesuite* (1601), assures his readers that both William Holt in the Netherlands and Robert Parsons in Spain have actively “procured themselves” to become the king of Spain's servants and that the Jesuits “by right or wrong seeke simply and absolutely the Monarchie of all England.”⁵⁴⁷ A closely analogous point is made by William Watson in his preface to Thomas Bluet's *Important Considerations... which ought to move all true and sound Catholikes... to acknowledge... that the proceedings of her Majesty... with them... have bene both mild and mercifull*, where the future

⁵⁴⁶ Christopher Bagshaw and William Watson, *A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits, and of Fa. Parsons* (London, 1601), sigs. B3^r, a1^r, B4^v, a4^r. I will henceforth refer to this text as *A Sparing Discoverie*.

⁵⁴⁷ Christopher Bagshaw, *A True relation of the faction begun at Wisbich, by Fa. Edmonds, alias Weston, a Jesuite* (London, 1601), sigs. L2^r, L1^v; henceforth referred to as *A True relation*.

Gunpowder plot activist strives by all means to demonstrate how the Jesuits had been involved in most Spanish conspiracies against England and its government:

For here you shall find first that the old King of Spaine (by the Jesuiticall suggestions and plots cast for that purpose) aimed at the Crowne of England, with the death of her Majesty, and subversion of the State, together with the utter ruine, desolation, and destruction of this whole Ile, and the ancient inhabitants thereof: and never once shewed any care or respect, he or his had to the restoring of the Catholike Romish faith amongst the English.

Contrary to what Bluet's lengthy and rhetorically overblown title may have claimed, the central objective of Watson's preface was not so much to absolve Elizabeth from any wrongdoing in the anti-Jesuitical and anti-Catholic persecutions of the 1590s, but rather to distance the Appellants and other loyalist Catholic groups from the charge of treason levelled at their co-religionists. It is principally for this reason that Watson superimposes his attack on the Jesuits against a distinctly nationalist and pro-monarchical framework, loudly and vehemently proclaiming how his aim in writing the pamphlet is

nothing else but to lay open unto you the traiterous practises of the Jesuits against her Majesty, her kingdom, and our countrey, undertaken by them of purpose to have brought them all under the tyrannical yoke of the bloody Spaniards, by pretence of advancing the Catholike Romane faith.⁵⁴⁸

Yet, in spite of Watson's and other Catholic writers' protestations of loyalty, the Appellants still found their claims to patriotic fidelity contested by one of the very factors

⁵⁴⁸ Thomas Bluet and William Watson, *Important Considerations, which ought to move all true and sound Catholikes... to acknowledge... that the proceedings of her Majesty... with them... have bene both mild and mercifull* (London, 1601), sigs. **2^v-**3^r, A3^v; henceforth referred to as *Important Considerations*. For Watson's outside role in the 1605 plot, see Mark Nicholls's *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 129-130.

which (in English Protestant eyes at least) had made the Jesuits such a feared political force to begin with: the Papacy's alleged hold over all European Catholics. Thomas Diggs's anti-Catholic pamphlet *Humble Motives for Association to Maintaine Religion Established* (1601), for example, made no distinction between Jesuits and Seculars, seeing them both as "fine & subtle Brokers of Babilon" who had been sent by the Pope to spread "disloialtie, &... actuall rebellion."⁵⁴⁹ So, too, did the anonymous *Antiquodlibet, or An Advertisement to Beware of Secular Priests* (1602) warn that "the contention betwixt the Jesuit and Secular Priest, being of such nature, and in such degree as is pretended, is a colour and pretext onely" which had no objective but to restore "that purple pontificall Antichrist of Rome, with the fall of her Majesty and the Gospell."⁵⁵⁰

In order to counter this sort of accusations, the Appellants once again turned to the work of the French propagandists, this time fastening onto the common Gallican proposition which held that the power of the papacy was strictly limited to spiritual or doctrinal matters and should not, in the words of Antoine Arnauld's *The Arrainment of the whole society of Jesuits in France*, prevent "Primates, Archbishops & Bishops" from giving "their othe of fidelitie to the King."⁵⁵¹ William Watson, writing in the preface to

⁵⁴⁹ Thomas Diggs, *Humble Motives for Association to Maintaine Religion Established*. Published as an antidote against the pestilent treatises of Secular Priests (London, 1601), sig. B1^r. The author of this pamphlet should not be confused with the Thomas Digges who wrote *A Briefe Report of the Militarie Service done in the Low Countries, by the Erle of Leicester* (1587) and who died in 1595.

⁵⁵⁰ *An Antiquodlibet, or An Advertisement to Beware of Secular Priests* (London, 1602), sigs. A1^v, G2^v-G3^r. The *STC* attributes this pamphlet to Dudley Fenner, but this, as Peter Milward has convincingly argued, is plainly impossible since the writer in question died in 1587. See *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, p. 125.

⁵⁵¹ *The Arrainment of the whole society of Jesuits in France*, sig. B3^r.

John Mush's *A dialogue betwixt a secular priest, and a lay gentleman* (1601), rehearsed precisely this Gallican conviction when he diplomatically stated that the seculars "would not admit of any such authoritie as might impeach us of any disloyaltie by act, word, or thought, in things wherein our dutifull obeysance was requisite, or whereby wee might be justly said to have stained our religion with treason, or entangled our priestly function with princes affaires."⁵⁵²

Diplomatic considerations are less evident in the writings of the ex-Jesuit and secular priest Thomas Wright. His Latin tract *An Licitum sit Catholicis in Anglia arma sumere*,⁵⁵³ in particular, sternly denies the pontiff's infallibility outside matters of doctrine by asserting that "the Pope may err in all those Decrees, which do not belong to Faith, and the Measures of the universal Church." This, Wright goes on to argue, is exactly what the pope did in tacitly condoning the Armada, since "the sending of the Spaniards into England doth not belong to [the] Measures, nor to the Faith of the universal Church." Significantly, Wright follows this up with an impassioned denunciation of Spanish malpractices in Antwerp against Catholics and non-Catholics alike, the aim of which is to dismantle the supposed religious motivation behind Philip's invasion plans in much the same way that William Watson had desacralized the Jesuitical ideological agenda in the preface to Bluet's *Important Considerations*:

⁵⁵² John Mush and William Watson, *A dialogue betwixt a secular priest, and a lay gentleman* (London, 1601), sig. *4^v.

⁵⁵³ Thomas Wright, *An licitum sit Catholicis in Anglia arma sumere, et aliis modis, Reginam et Regnum defendere contra Hispanos* (London, 1601). All references to this text have been taken from the English version included in the appendix of Strype's *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion in the Church of England*, Vol. 3 (London, 1728), pp. 251-258.

I have heard myself from very many Dutch Catholics, that after the City was taken, all Men were punished, who appeared for three Days in the City of Antwerp; no Account at all being had of Catholics... The Confirmation of this is, that I have understood from a certain Person worthy of Credit, who himself heard the Duke of Medina Sidonia, General of the whole Spanish Fleet in Anno 88, say, that he thought no English Man a Catholic, but esteemed them all for Lutherans: and so he would indifferently handle all.⁵⁵⁴

Here Wright reinforces the traditional model of Anglo-Spanish opposition by hinting at the existence of an analogous, yet equally divisive rift between Spanish and English Catholics pivoted on the former's inability or unwillingness to acknowledge the religious identity of the latter. A corresponding idea, this time invoked with the objective of distancing English Catholics from the 1588 Armada, can be encountered in Bluet's and Watson's *Important Considerations* when the narrator holds that "that most bloodie attempt" was aimed "not onley against her Majestie... but [also] against our selves, all Catholikes."⁵⁵⁵

By setting themselves and their objectives in diametric opposition to the Spaniards, the Appellants not only destabilised the common bond between English and Spanish forms of Catholicism that the Allen-Parsons party had been trying to foster in texts such as *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* or *The Jesuit's Memorial*, but also showed how desperate they were to disassociate themselves from the taint of hispanicity that surrounded their Jesuitical co-religionists. Much more than their English Protestant counterparts (whose Protestantism already acted as a kind of latent, inbuilt guarantee of a fervently anti-Spanish disposition), English Appellant writers felt

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 254, 255.

⁵⁵⁵ *Important Considerations*, sig. E1^r.

obliged to embrace a particularly reductive and essentialist view of the Spanish, thereby hoping to convince their non-Catholic countrymen of the genuineness of their patriotic commitment. This led to yet another of those bizarre political paradoxes that characterised the decade of the 1590s: the anti-Spanish writings of the Appellants, while outwardly conceived with the intention of gaining greater religious freedom, were often more dogmatic and aggressive in orientation than anything produced by their Protestant compatriots when writing about Spain. Wright himself, for example, went on to chronicle his own extreme biases against the Spanish in his pseudo-scientific tract *The Passions of the Minde* (1601), where he not only argued that English art and trade were “farre superior to the Spaniardes,” but in addition stated that there existed “a naturall inclination to vertue and honesty, much more palpable and easie to be perceived in these colder Countries, than in those hoter climates” and that the “verie blushing also of our people, sheweth a better ground, whereuppon vertue may build, than certaine brazen faces, who never chaunge themselves, although they committe, yea and be deprehended in enormous crimes.”⁵⁵⁶

Nor was Wright alone among Appellant theorists in fostering such a starkly essentialist view of England’s spiritual and military adversaries. Christopher Bagshaw’s and William Watson’s *A Sparing Discoverie*, for instance, not only explained the Jesuits’ pro-Spanish tendencies by the simple fact that “the Inventor of their order... [was]... a Spaniard and a souldier,” but also added that these circumstantial factors ensured that “of what[ever] country... any of his disciples are by their birth, in their harts and practices

⁵⁵⁶ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde* (London, 1601), sigs. A3^r, A3^v.

they are altogether Spanish, breathing little but cruelties, garboyles, and troubles.”⁵⁵⁷ An even more radical angle of approach can be found in the writings of Anthony Copley, the son of the well-known Catholic exile and letter-writer Sir Thomas Copley, who between 1601 and 1602 added two short pamphlets to the Seculars/Jesuits debate – *An Answere to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman, by his Cosin, Maister A. C. Concerning the Appeale, State, Jesuits* (1601) and *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602). The first of these addressed the issue of Elizabeth’s succession and vigorously tried to undermine the idea of having a Spaniard on the English throne. Arnold Pritchard has described it as “hardly a model of logical reasoning or of factual accuracy” – though he does admit that its “combination of martial and religious pride may have been more calculated to appeal... than drier arguments.”⁵⁵⁸ Copley begins by attacking Parsons’s arguments in *A Conference*, holding that Philip III and his sister are “meere straungers, and of another nation” and therefore claiming that “their title is voide and of no effect.” He then goes on to compare England and Spain from the same moral/ethical perspective as that found in the writings of the Marian exiles, deliberately placing Spanish “insolence... & proude misgovernance” in direct contraposition to an idealised vision of England as the nation that “performed more service for God and his church... then any other.”⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ *A Sparing Discoverie*, sig. B4^r.

⁵⁵⁸ Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), p. 163.

⁵⁵⁹ Anthony Copley, *An Answere to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman, by his Cosin, Maister A. C. Concerning the Appeale, State, Jesuits* (London, 1601), sigs. F3^r, G2^r, F4^v.

Copley's second pamphlet, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602), is perhaps even more extreme in its tone of anti-Spanish fanaticism. According to Peter Milward, it was written in reply to Parsons's *A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England calling themselves secular priestes* (1602)⁵⁶⁰ - an anti-Appellant pamphlet aimed primarily against Bagshaw's *A True relation* and Bluet's and Watson's *Important Considerations*, but which also happened to undermine Copley and other lesser Appellant writers. Provoked by Parsons in this manner, the quick-tempered Copley responded by launching into a full-scale tirade against the Jesuits and any of their followers who had been "depraved by their so Morisco doctrine, as favouring so much of Spaine, and the bastard Sowbucke, Spaines so leud Apostle." He duly accused the Jesuits of corrupting "Catholicke children of either sexe, and those... in their ripest sence... who since their becomming Jesuited, have very scandalously not onley neglected their filiall dutie and reverence to their parents, but which worse is, cleane set them at naught." Were the Jesuits ever to succeed in bringing the Spaniard to England, he warned his readers several lines later, all that Englishmen could look forward to was

the home to your forehead, or the rape of your daughter, or the buggerie of your sonne, or the Sodomizing of your sow, with thousands such like insolencies and shames, as are all naturall to that torrid nation, and you had better be dead then endure.⁵⁶¹

In the end, of course, the irony was that neither Copley's fanatically anti-Spanish

⁵⁶⁰ *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, p. 123.

⁵⁶¹ Anthony Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (London, 1602), sig. B4^r.

ideology nor his protestations of patriotic loyalty could have ever won the English Protestants over to the Seculars' cause. Even if, in retrospect, it is clear that many Appellant pamphleteers relied heavily on the same binary methods of representation as those employed by the Marian hispanophobes, at the time anti-Catholic feeling was too strong and too endemic for Protestant Englishmen to make any concessions to their hated Papist adversaries. Messianism and religious dogmatism, as Leonard J. Trinterud has argued, were simply too entrenched in the national self-consciousness for Protestant Englishmen to condone "any person, idea or movement which would seem any challenge to English values..."⁵⁶² Granted, certain Protestant commentators were confident that "when they [i.e. the Catholics] see the Spanyard, they wil joyne with us against him," and, at one point, it even seemed as if Bancroft was about to grant the Appellants greater freedom of worship as a reward for their committed anti-Jesuitical stance.⁵⁶³ However, when it came to viewing and evaluating the movement itself, popular Protestant reactions remained almost entirely fixed between the type of gloating exultation expressed in texts like Thomas Bell's 1603 *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (where the author admits to feeling a "rare conceived joy" in the schism between the Seculars and Jesuits and even goes as far as listing the principal books in the Appellant controversy as a source of edification for the Protestant reader⁵⁶⁴) and the nervous, deeply distrustful

⁵⁶² *Elizabethan Puritanism*, ed. Leonard J. Trinterud (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 386.

⁵⁶³ Charles Gibbon, *A Watch-woorde for Warre* (Cambridge, 1596), sig. G4^r. Bancroft's relations with the Appellant movement are discussed in Carrafiello's *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610*, pp. 91-92.

⁵⁶⁴ Thomas Bell, *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (London, 1603), sigs. ¶2^v, B4^r.

anti-Catholic attitude seen in works like *An Antiquodlibet, or An Advertisement to Beware of Secular Priests* (where every single course of Appellant action was analysed and interpreted as a form of political chicanery⁵⁶⁵).

All this bad faith is echoed in the 1602 proclamation against Jesuitical and Secular clergy. In a cynical, obviously premeditated disavowal of Bancroft's earlier show of governmental goodwill, its authors not only stated how "the secular priests and Jesuits had... invited the King their master" to invade Ireland, but also went on to articulate how both groups "agree together in... disobedience and disloyalty against us, masking themselves under the visor of pretended conscience."⁵⁶⁶ That the Seculars must have felt deeply betrayed by this apparent volte-face in governmental policy there can be little, if any doubt. Yet, at the same time, it could be argued that they themselves were partly to blame for such a last-minute legislative backlash. Driven, as they were, by the desire to discredit the Jesuits' religious practices and simultaneously thrust the taint of hispanicity upon them, the Appellants' repeated attempts to expose Jesuitical plots against Elizabeth and her government would have clearly served to confirm the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic persuasions of most Protestant Englishmen and, as such, would have temporarily taken English hispanophobia to a pinnacle of feeling not seen since the days of the Spanish Armada. "If their journey [in] 1588. had succeeded," the anti-Catholic and anti-Appellant writer Mathew Sutcliffe was thus able to write retrospectively about the Armada in 1600, "either they had killed our people, or made slaves of them to worke

⁵⁶⁵ See p. 253 of this study.

⁵⁶⁶ *TRP*, Vol. 2, pp. 251, 252.

in their Indian mines, or to rowe in their gallies, or else to do other base and servile worke.”⁵⁶⁷ The Appellants may not have gained much ground by way of their religio-political arguments – but they certainly played a pivotal role in the preservation, and continued dissemination, of late-Elizabethan anti-Spanish sentiment.

3. A model to be emulated or an antagonist to be hated?: the appropriation and usage of Spanish imperialistic practices in the closing years of Elizabeth’s reign

In *A briefe replie to a certaine odious and slanderous libel, lately published by a seditious Jesuite*, Mathew Sutcliffe briefly quotes the Spanish propagandist Ribadeneira’s claims that “no nation in Europe hath more cause to glory and give God thanks for his giftes abundantly powred on them... then the Spanish” and that the Spaniards are a people of “famous martyrs, Christian kinges, famous souldiers, that have conquered great countries by the sword...” Although Sutcliffe subsequently goes on to affirm that Ribadeneira is indulging in “vaine reportes and lyes” and that it is simply a “matter of meere impudency, to compare the battels and conquestes of Spaniardes in the Indiaes... to the actions of the Romaines,”⁵⁶⁸ his text inadvertently lends weight to the Spaniard’s premise by the inordinate amount of time that it spends trying to demonstrate how Englishmen are not inferior to the Spaniards in martial, navigational, spiritual and even intellectual matters.⁵⁶⁹ This was one of those complex, self-perpetuating ironies that characterised the rise of English military and imperialistic self-awareness: however

⁵⁶⁷ Mathew Sutcliffe, *A briefe replie to a certaine odious and slanderous libel, lately published by a seditious Jesuite* (London, 1600), sig. N8^r.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, sigs. O6^v, O6^v-O7^r.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, sigs. O2^r, O2^r, O4^v, O4^r.

much it tried to displace Spain through a process of ideological reductionism, it could not help recognising Spain's imperial achievement as the most salient model to follow.

Mary C. Fuller has described this shackling duality within the political literature of the time as a "more or less prominent subtext... between Spanish precedents and English attempts at imitation."⁵⁷⁰ Its presence in the 1590s was not exactly a novel phenomenon – after all, writers such as Stephen Gosson⁵⁷¹ or Richard Hakluyt⁵⁷² had been consciously urging their countrymen to follow the Spaniards' example as early as the 1570s - although it is hard to deny that the experience of the Armada, together with the attendant realisation that Spain could be comprehensively beaten in military terms, inscribed the duality even further into the English consciousness. That is why so many texts of the period appear to hover between encomiastic recitations of English military prowess and the kind of latent, almost involuntary recognition of Spanish martial might that was so indispensable to underscore the English military achievement in the first

⁵⁷⁰ Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in print: English travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 15.

⁵⁷¹ See, for example, Stephen Gosson's prefatory verses to Francisco López de Gómara's *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne*, trans. Thomas Nicholas (London, 1578):

Loe here the traveller, whose paynefull quill,
So lyvely payntes the Spanish Indies out,
That English Gentlemen may v[i]ew at will,
The manly prowesse of that gallant route.
And when the Spaniarde vaunteth of his golde,
Their own renowne in him they may beholde (sig. B2^r).

⁵⁷² Richard Hakluyt's unpublished MS. 'Notes on the Planting of North America' (1578) – later published as *Divers voyages touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) - expresses dismay at how "after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portugales there... wee of Englande could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places." Cited in Lesley B. Cormack's 'The Fashioning of an Empire: Geography and the State in Elizabethan England,' in *Geography and Empire*, eds. Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), p. 26.

place. One of the earliest and most dramatic examples of this can be seen in Roger Williams's *A Briefe discourse of Warre... With his opinion concerning some parts of the Martiall Discipline* (1590) – where the narrator assures the reader that the Spanish are among “the basest and [most] cowardlie sort of people” and that “ten thousand of our Nation, would beate thirtie [thousand] of theirs” at the same time that he grudgingly admits that “good order” is what makes “the Spaniards discipline... so famous.”⁵⁷³

Even so, the strongest expression of England's ‘schizophrenic’ attitude to Spain can be observed in those texts that dealt directly with the theory and practice of overseas expansionism. There, perhaps more than in any other genre associated with Elizabethan anti-Spanish writing, we find the clearest indications of the remarkably fluid and Protean position that Spain occupied within the nascent English imperialist imagination. An early and striking instance of this can be encountered in Sir Walter Raleigh's *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores* (1591), that vigorous and stylish attempt to cover up what was in actual fact a disastrous English expedition to the Azores.⁵⁷⁴ Although Raleigh's pamphlet deliberately strives to highlight “the manie overthrowes and dishonours they [i.e. the Spaniards] have received at our handes,” he is still forced to recognise England's martial inferiority in relation to the Spanish – he writes, for example, how just before the Spanish captured the *Revenge* “the one halfe part of the men of everie [English] shippe [were] sicke, and utterly unserviceable” and later, in what can feasibly be perceived as an unconscious acclamation of Castilian power, expresses

⁵⁷³ Roger Williams, *A Briefe discourse of Warre. Written by Sir Roger Williams; With his opinion concerning some parts of the Martiall Discipline* (London, 1590), sig. B3^v.

⁵⁷⁴ See Anna R. Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 3-4.

amazement at how even “with so great a Navie they were not able to take her [i.e. *The Revenge*], having had fiteene houres time, fiteene thousand men, and fiftie & three saile of men of warre to performe it withall.”⁵⁷⁵ This sense of perspectival ambiguity extends to the way Raleigh transforms the *Revenge*’s capture from a humiliating defeat at sea to a metonymy of English spiritual worthiness. Invoking the pre-Armada belief that England’s moral superiority over Spain would always ensure God’s predisposition to fight on the side of the English (which, as we have already seen, almost always masked Englishmen’s feelings of military inferiority in relation to the Spanish⁵⁷⁶), he quickly sanitises the whole ruinous episode by relating how, only a few days after the *Revenge*’s capture, there “arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival...” This is followed by an extraordinarily muscular and self-satisfied anti-Spanish tirade, astutely propped up by the testimony of “a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholome de las Casa,” which reinforces the moral superiority of the English and in this way clinches the ‘victory’ over the Spaniards that Grenville himself was never quite able to achieve: “Thus it hath pleased God to fight for us, & to defend the justice of our cause, against the ambitious & bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to devour all nations, are themselves devoured.”⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Sir Walter Raleigh, *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last Sommer. Betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine* (London, 1591), sigs. D1^v, B1^r, B4^r; henceforth known as *A Report*.

⁵⁷⁶ See pp. 155-156 of this study.

⁵⁷⁷ *A Report*, sigs. C2^v, D1^v, C3^r.

Raleigh's extensive use of Las Casas is also symptomatic of another growing trend among England's post-Armada ideologues: their willingness to attack Spanish imperialistic policies while at the same time justify/encourage any English attempts to replicate Spain's imperial successes. While Raleigh's *Report*, it is true, does not articulate the second half of this last formulation to the extent seen in some of his later works, it is clear both from Grenville's physical presence in the Azores (what were Howard and his second-in-command doing in the mid-Atlantic if not looking out for Spanish treasure ships to ransack?) and the narrator's persistent 'Las Casian' relation of Spanish crimes against "a poore and harmelesse people created of God"⁵⁷⁸ that his text is already hinting at the kind of opportunistically binary view of the Spanish found in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596).⁵⁷⁹

Certainly, what is beyond any doubt, is that Raleigh himself would have been intensely aware of the oppressive, and to a large extent unavoidable, discourse of 'mimesis' and 'assimilation' that followed the first English explorers as they sought to emulate Spanish achievements in the New World. He had already commissioned the writing of Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western planting* (1584) - a text that encouraged Englishmen to copy the Spaniards' empire-building ethos as much as it demonised Spanish historical precedents in the same field - and had even been the direct recipient of one of the most passionate and uncompromising exhortations for Englishmen to go and replicate the colonising success of the "blessed and thrice happy... men of Spain":

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., sig. D1^r.

⁵⁷⁹ See pp. 269-272 of this study.

Go on, I say, follow the path on which you have already set foot, seize Fortune's lucky jowl, spurn not the immortal fame which is here offered you, but let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortes, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New Spain... resound ever in your ears and let them make your nights not less sleepless than did those of Themistocles the glorious triumphs of Miltiades.⁵⁸⁰

The problem that Raleigh faced in the mid-1590s was that it was no longer possible to focus upon Spanish imperialistic practices using the barely disguised tone of admiration that Hakluyt had employed in the dedicatory preface of his 1587 Latin edition of d'Anghiera's *Decades*. Any last remaining traces of Anglo-Spanish understanding had been rudely shattered by the experience of the Armada and, rather than emulating the "doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortes" as Hakluyt had earlier prescribed, men like Drake or Frobisher were now actually involved in the illicit appropriation of treasure ships destined for Spain. As Richard Hawkins candidly elaborated in a private letter written in 1598: "[T]hat the war with Spain hath been profitable no man with reason can gainsay... [H]ow many millions we have taken from the Spaniard is a thing notorious."⁵⁸¹

It was one thing, however, to manifest sentiments like these in private and another to articulate them in public. In an age where moral concerns, theoretically at least, formed the cornerstone of good government, the opportunistic, semi-piratical activities of the English privateers clearly needed to be buttressed by some form of pseudo-moral or pseudo-political legitimacy. This led to a spate of elaborate apologies on the appropriation of new world gold, almost all of which desperately strove to differentiate

⁵⁸⁰ See the translation of Hakluyt's dedication in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, Vol. 2, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1935), pp. 364, 368-369.

⁵⁸¹ Quoted in Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 226.

between Spanish and English forms of imperialism in an attempt to exonerate England's burgeoning efforts at wealth-building. According to Thomas H. Cain, this is just the type of ideological subtext that underprops the Guyon and Mammon episode in Book Three of *The Faerie Queene*. More precisely, Cain believes that Spenser's readership would have mentally traced an etymological link between 'Guyon' and 'Guiana' - a country associated in the early modern English imagination with Raleigh and the very idea of an emerging English empire. As a result, Guyon's blend of simultaneous attraction and repulsion towards Mammon (whose greed for gold is, not surprisingly, equated with the Spaniards' alleged penchant for the metal) needs to be read as an allegorical recreation of the clash between Spanish and English forms of imperialism – one which functions as much as an indictment on Spanish materialism as an exhortation to Englishmen to follow an alternative, morally-superior path in their own dealings in Virginia.⁵⁸²

Not all Elizabethan texts, of course, were as subtle or as inventive in validating the geographical pathways of English imperialism as *The Faerie Queene*. Henry Roberts's *The Trumpet of Fame* (1595), for example, hovers between an idealised concept of national honour ("Tis Englands honor that you have in hand,/ Then thinke thereof, if you do love our land") and the far less honorific idea of accruing great personal wealth ("The gaine is yours, if millions home you bring") in exhorting "all Saile and Souldiers... to go in this worthie enterprise" – although, then again, Roberts's wish that English explorers may come back with "so much store of wealth/ That Phillips Regions may not be more stord" seems to indicate that he ultimately justifies English privateering as a kind of

⁵⁸² Thomas H. Cain, *Praise in 'The Faerie Queene'* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 96-97.

fiscal branch of the Anglo-Spanish war.⁵⁸³ A comparable, perhaps slightly less muddled, interrelation between moral and economic concerns can be encountered in William Covell's *Polimanteia, or, The meanes lawfull and unlawfull, to judge of the fall of a Common-wealth* (1596). Dedicated to the vigorously anti-Spanish Earl of Essex, and partly structured as a letter from England to her three daughters (i.e. Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court), Covell's text alternates between the type of moralistic emotionalism found in most English invocations of Las Casas:

Did poore America, who powred foorth her bowels to content them, purchase her quiet, with the imbracing of their religion? nay, together with the intrals of her earth, did she not shed the purest of her bloud to satisfie those Spanish bloud-hounds? This, trueth hath tolde us, out of the untrue mouth of their owne Bishops.

and the blunter, somewhat less hypocritical, view which held that English attacks on Spanish treasure ships were an indispensable panacea against future Castilian expansionism:

Did not Crates gaine more glorie by casting his riches into the sea, then King Nabuchadonozor for taking the treasure out of the temple? Is it not more honor for the rich Indians to contemne their golde, then for the greedie Spanyards so to covet it? which if it were not used to the prejudice of forraine princes, all countries could wish him to bee glutted with it, and that the Iberian sands were like unto golden Tagus, and their little rivers, like unto Pactolus streames; but since hee makes it the sinew of his warre, and his warre nothing but an intended triumph over the greatest Emphyres; it behooveth Princes to crosse his Argoses, that goods lewdlie gotten, may not be worse spent.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸³ Henry Roberts, *The Trumpet of Fame* (London, 1595), sigs. B3', B3', [title-page], B3'.

⁵⁸⁴ William Covell, *Polimanteia, or, The meanes lawfull and unlawfull, to judge of the fall of a Common-wealth...Whereunto is added, A Letter from England to her three Daughters* (London, 1595), sigs. X1^v-X2^r, Ff2^r-Ff2^v; henceforth referred to as *Polimanteia*.

Covell's part-moral, part-political defence of English maritime adventurism is, of course, echoed in Sir Walter Raleigh's last-ditch attempt to secure funds for a third Guianan voyage, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596).⁵⁸⁵ In its pages Raleigh traces Philip II's legendary wealth directly back to his new world colonies and, if that is not enough incentive for Englishmen to start emulating Spanish achievements, goes on to highlight the very real threat which Castilian imperialism, if left unchecked, represents to the rest of Europe:

[I]f we now consider of the actions... of Charls the fift[h]... together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased... how many kingdoms he hath indaungered, how many armies, garrisons, & navies, he hath & doth maintaine... we shall finde that these abilities rise not from the trades of sackes, and Civil Orenge nor from ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound loyaltie at liberty in the greatest Monarchies of Europ[e]. If the Spanish king can keep us from forraine enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades... he hath then brought the worke of our perill in greate forwardnes.

It is not too difficult to detect a measure of pecuniary envy in Raleigh's alarmist denunciation of Spain's increasing militaristic capabilities. Together with its traditional role as England's foremost martial adversary, I would argue, Spain now began to be equated with a series of key imperialistic values and accomplishments, a kind of loosely-collected corpus of essential empire-building practices that had to be emulated at all costs if the English were not to fall even further behind in the mercantile and military stakes. This is readily evoked by the rhetoric of materialist possession that Raleigh uses

⁵⁸⁵ See William N. West, 'Gold on credit: Martin Frobisher's and Walter Raleigh's economics of evidence,' *Criticism*, 39, 1997, pp. 315-336.

across the length of *The Discoverie*. Although he begins by praising the native Guianans (“in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I never beholde a more goodlie or better favoured people”) and attacking the Spaniards’ cruelty towards Indians in general (he claims, at one point, that they “have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them”), it soon becomes clear that, just as Covell did when gendering America as a powerless and brutally tortured female, Raleigh is only indulging in topical, pseudo-moral posturing and that *The Discoverie* is nothing more than a highly sensationalised attempt to secure funds for a military invasion aimed at replicating Spanish colonising successes in their new world territories.⁵⁸⁶ Louis Montrose has already shown how Spanish geographical information is persistently interpolated by Raleigh into his pamphlet, leading him to make the crucial observation that “the very Spaniards whom Raleigh’s text repeatedly represents as the cruel and deceitful foes of Englishmen and Indians alike are also the authorities upon whose knowledge and experience Raleigh has pursued his own discovery.”⁵⁸⁷ A similar argument can also be made about Raleigh’s persistent need to present Guiana as the territorial counterweight to Spain’s new world possessions: although he cannot stop himself from condemning Spanish imperialistic practice, he is still ready to inform his principal patron that Guiana would be “a better Indies for her majestie then the King of Spain hath any” and that the

⁵⁸⁶ Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (London, 1596), sigs. ¶3^v, G2^r, I2^r; henceforth referred to as *The Discoverie*.

⁵⁸⁷ Louis Montrose, ‘The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,’ *Representations*, 33, 1991, p. 16.

“shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all these so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation.”⁵⁸⁸

Trapped, as he was, between the straightforward condemnation of Spanish imperialistic practice on the one hand and the latent, though no less important, admission of its value as a historical precedent on the other, it is evident that Raleigh needed some form of moral-legal ballast that would justify his proposed future voyages to Guinea (as well as eradicate any vestiges of remaining ‘authoritativeness’ from any Spanish precedents in the same field). For an adventurer following in the footsteps of the conquistadors, however, this was not an easy mission. His sense of frustration with the task at hand, as it were, can be gauged not only from the way that *The Discoverie* selectively focuses on past Spanish expansionist failures (for example, their inability to victual certain parts of Guiana⁵⁸⁹) and then tries to present them as didactic signposts for future English successes, but also from the clumsy and almost infantile manner that it resorts to justifying the English presence in Guiana by means of some ancient (and conveniently unverifiable) Indian prophecy:

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in Peru (at such time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empyre, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, & delivered from the servitude of the said Conquerors.

⁵⁸⁸ *The Discoverie*, sigs. ¶1^r, N3^v.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. O1^r.

That a writer as piously nationalistic as Raleigh should end up attaching even the slightest measure of credibility to the prophecies of a Guianan tribe may at first sight seem rather remarkable, but it only serves to confirm how desperate Raleigh and other English explorers were to justify the legitimacy of their colonising actions. A less awkward, and altogether more persuasive, form of self-justification occurs in *The Discoverie* when the narrator appropriates one of the axiomatic topoi of Marian anti-Hispanism – that of the unnatural ferocity of the Spanish libido – and reconfigures it into the main emblem of difference between the Castilians and the English in their dealings with the new world Indians:

[B]ut when the poore men & women had seen us, and that wee gave them meate, and to everie one some thing or other; which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters dailie, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleeve, that anie of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, & excellently favoured which came among us without deceit, starke naked.⁵⁹⁰

Nor was Raleigh alone in condemning Spanish sexual malpractice in this way. Lawrence Kemys, Raleigh's assistant commander in the 1595 expedition to Guinea and the principal leader of the second voyage of 1596, included in his *Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* (1596) the testimony of an elderly native who claimed that the Spaniards had "taken from him and his people, manie of their wives" and that his countrymen were being forced "to leave their women, if a Spaniard chaunce but to set

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., sigs. O2^v, H2^r-H2^v.

his eie on anie of them”— even though Kemys’s pamphlet goes on to end, in typically ambivalent manner, with a list of all “those worthie Spaniardes that have sought to discover and conquere Guiana”!⁵⁹¹

To understand how these and other accusations of sexual misconduct would have facilitated the spread of English colonialism, it is necessary to grasp how early modern neo-Platonic thought differentiated between the purificatory value of sexual abstinence and the contaminative nature of sexual self-indulgence. In his seminal *The Book called the Governour* (1531), Sir Thomas Elyot had already written how “refraining or forbearing the act of carnal pleasure, whereunto a man is fervently moved... is... not only difficult, but also wonderful in a man noble or of great authority.”⁵⁹² Although Elyot was not exactly thinking of English expansionist theory when he penned these lines, it is not difficult to see how the moral-heroic undertones behind semi-Calvinistic proclamations such as these would have encouraged, if not precipitated Raleigh to use “the untouched bodies of Native American women to mark national boundaries and signal the civility and superiority of English colonizers – in contrast to the sexually violent Spaniards.”⁵⁹³ Joan Wallach Scott has already shown in a recent work how the discourse of gender becomes “implicated in the conception and construction of power” without necessarily

⁵⁹¹ Lawrence Kemys, *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana. Perfourmed and written in the yeare 1596* (London, 1596), sigs. D2^v, D3^r, G2^v.

⁵⁹² See ‘The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,’ p. 21.

⁵⁹³ Jennifer L. Morgan, ‘ ‘Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder’: Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770,’ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54, 1997, p. 175.

having much to do with gender itself;⁵⁹⁴ in other words, it acts as a kind of cross-referential classifying system that helps to assimilate and categorise models of oppositional interaction found in different forms of social life. For Raleigh, in particular, the use of gender as a vehicle of political discourse had simultaneous layers of attraction: it served to obfuscate what Louis Montrose defines as the “fundamental identity of English and Spanish interests in Guiana”⁵⁹⁵ while at the same time it became the primary lynchpin behind what Christopher Hodgkins has described as “one of the great sustaining legends of the British Empire, the legend that pious restraint merits possession.”⁵⁹⁶ Thus, it could be said that Raleigh yoked the ‘Black Legend’ of Spanish cruelty to the myth of Protestant humility in order to forge the type of cast-iron justification of colonial expansionism that England’s would-be imperialists were looking for.

Of course, as Montrose accurately points out, the irony is that Raleigh’s objectives did not essentially differ from those of the Spanish conquistadors. That is why, in the final analysis, *The Discoverie* repeatedly undermines many of the structural oppositions that serve to hold up the discourse of gender as a signifier of religio-cultural difference between Englishmen and Spaniards. For example, at the outset of the narrative Raleigh appears to condemn Charles V for having “had the Madenheade of Peru” – a description

⁵⁹⁴ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 45. Quoted in ‘The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,’ p. 1.

⁵⁹⁵ ‘The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,’ p. 24.

⁵⁹⁶ Christopher Hodgkins, ‘Stooping to Conquer: Heathen Idolatry and Protestant Humility in the Imperial Legend of Sir Francis Drake,’ *Studies in Philology*, 94, 1997, p. 429.

which once again pits Catholic sexual savagery against Protestant sexual self-restraint. However, this position is totally subverted a short while later when he assures the English reader of the treasures waiting to be had in Guiana (“the graves,” he claims with grim relish, “have not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples”) and even goes as far as adopting the same barbaric attitude he previously tried to condemn when, in the course of extolling the benefits of a third Guianan voyage, he purposefully genders Guiana as “a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought.”⁵⁹⁷ In fact, it could even be argued that Raleigh’s personification of Guiana as a untouched female virgin acts as a ‘go-ahead’ signal for the island’s invasion and subsequent colonisation – in allegorical terms, no more and no less than its mass-scale rape - which subverts the artificial, hastily-erected ideological barriers between ‘Spanishness’ and ‘Englishness’ which *The Discoverie* constructs as a pretext for jumping onto the imperialistic bandwagon.

That is not to say that Raleigh’s attitude is any less anti-Spanish because of this. While he does not, admittedly, exhibit the highly vitriolic kind of hispanophobia seen in *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores* – or even the defiant tone of anti-Spanish militarism encountered in unpublished manuscript texts from the mid-1590s such as the ‘Relation of the Action in Cadiz’ (1596)⁵⁹⁸ or the ‘Opinions on the Alarm of

⁵⁹⁷ *The Discoverie*, sigs. ¶3^v, N4^v, N4^v.

⁵⁹⁸ The ‘Relation of the Action at Cadiz’ is printed in its entirety in *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selections from his Historie of the World, his letters, etc.*, ed. G. E. Hadow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917), pp. 167-177.

an Invasion from Spain' (1596)⁵⁹⁹ - it could still be contended that *The Discoverie's* primary objective (the colonisation of Guiana) makes it substantially more anti-Spanish than any of the latter, since it actively seeks the erosion of Spanish military and territorial hegemony through the adoption of an alternative, though essentially parallel programme of English colonisation. This is true of almost all early modern English texts that engaged with the theory and practice of geographical expansionism: they may have repeatedly illustrated their arguments by turning to Spanish cartographic, mercantile and governmental precedents, yet they were only doing so in order that Englishmen could compete with the Spaniards and ultimately oust them from their position of imperialistic pre-eminence. A similar argument is made by James P. Helfers when analysing Richard Hakluyt's editorial choices in compiling the second version of *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600):

Since during the interval between the publication of the first and second editions of the *Principal Navigations* England had developed a maritime power equal in might to Spain, Hakluyt was in the second edition more concerned to give information helpful to the main work of his life - furthering English colonial expansion. In fact, Hakluyt explains that he has included foreign information about areas of the world "where our owne mens experience is defective." Hakluyt intends at least the second edition of his compilation to provide as much information as possible (whether foreign or domestic) for English explorers and colonists to use.⁶⁰⁰

Although obviously more of an anthological than an authorial achievement, Hakluyt's second compendium of narratives (many of whose inclusions we have examined in the

⁵⁹⁹ Anna R. Beer touches tangentially on both texts in *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People*, pp. 25, 66.

⁶⁰⁰ James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods Of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas,' *Studies in Philology*, 94, 1997, p. 170.

course of this chapter⁶⁰¹) mirrors Raleigh's *Discoverie* in the sense that it relied heavily on foreign geographical and cartographic information, but only in order to persuade Englishmen into thinking that Spanish imperialistic precedents could be imitated, challenged and, in certain instances, even surpassed.⁶⁰²

It is principally for this reason that Raleigh's 1596 account of the first Guianan voyage occupies such a position of centrality within Hakluyt's editorial plan. Unlike other contemporary 'patriotic' texts such as Mathew Sutcliffe's *A briefe replie to a certaine odious and slanderous libel, lately published by a seditious Jesuite* or Roger Williams's *A Briefe discourse of Warre*, it did not gloss over or underplay the topic of overseas expansionism, but instead made it categorically clear that the English had no option but to start copying the Spaniards' approach towards empire-building; in other words, it pointed specifically and unambiguously to the geographical pathways of military and mercantile adventurism as the only routes available for future English material prosperity. While this, of course, may not have been enough to convince the Queen of the tactical necessity of a third Guianan voyage, it is still more than sufficient, in my opinion, to transform *The Discoverie* into one of the first and most dynamic advocates of the theory of English colonial expansionism. Assertive to the point of being doctrinarian, underscored at all times by a dogged, almost obsessive belief in the value of England's imperial mission, it not only reflected the spirit of patriotic

⁶⁰¹ These include, to name but a few, Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* itself, Raleigh's *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores* and his *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana*, and Henry Savile's *A Libell of Spanish Lies: found At the Sacke of Caies*.

⁶⁰² See 'The Fashioning of an Empire: Geography and the State in Elizabethan England,' p. 21.

self-consciousness which, in the words of John N. King, was “voiced with increased stridency following the destruction of the Spanish Armada,”⁶⁰³ but also captured the defiantly mimetic attitude to Castilian imperialism which George Chapman went on to monumentalize in his famous short poem, *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum*:

So let they soveraigne Empire be encreast,
And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose Trident he the triple worlde would make.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰³ John N. King, ‘Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen,’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:1, 1990, p. 59.

⁶⁰⁴ Chapman’s poem, fittingly enough, is prefixed to Lawrence Kemys’s *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596), sig. A2^r - another text included by Hakluyt in the 1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*.

Conclusion

In August 18, 1604 James I signed a peace accord with Spain that effectively brought the Anglo-Spanish hostilities to an end. In part a genuine attempt to rescue England from a profitless and thoroughly stalemated war, in part a premeditated manoeuvre to strengthen the new king's image as a committed international peacemaker, it agreed that Spain and England should initiate an immediate ceasefire and that English merchants should be granted the liberty to pursue their business in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands provided that they "gave not occasion of public scandal."⁶⁰⁵ A day later a royal proclamation was issued from Whitehall detailing how "[a] league of peace and amity" had been concluded "betweene us... and the highe and mightie Prince Phillippe the third... of Spaine" and ordering Englishmen, in no uncertain terms, "henceforth to accompt all Subjects of the said Kinge of Spaine... to bee our friends and allyes...."⁶⁰⁶ Thus, within the space of two days, James I appeared to have achieved what less than two years before would have been tantamount to an Utopian impossibility: he had managed to terminate one of Tudor England's longest-running military conflicts and at the same time proscribe one of its most significant outlets of popular xenophobic feeling.

But is this what actually happened? Could England's new king really have achieved so much in such a limited period of time? Maltby, for example, suggests that most of the population greeted the Anglo-Spanish peace "with an ominous silence,"

⁶⁰⁵ Quoted in Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603-1642* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 153.

⁶⁰⁶ *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 1: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, eds. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 91.

while, according to Louis B. Wright, England's Protestant preachers were united in their determination to "undermine the negotiations."⁶⁰⁷ Textually, too, attitudes to the Spanish were not as accepting or as open-minded as James or the Constable of Castile (the second signatory of the Treaty of London) would have hoped for. Although there seems to have been an initial lull in the production and dissemination of anti-Spanish propaganda - and although one or two works such as Thomas Heywood's play *If you know not me, you know no bodie* (1605) appeared to embrace the new *status quo* in their positive depictions of hispanicity⁶⁰⁸ - it was not long before texts such as Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1609) or Francis Beaumont's and John Fletcher's *Philaster* (1610) returned once again to the negative stereotyping of Spaniards that had been such a prominent feature of Elizabeth's reign.⁶⁰⁹ True, it could be argued that censorial constraints made the articulation of anti-Hispanism more difficult during the early part of James's reign than it had been in Elizabethan days. However, as I have already shown in a previous work to this, such restrictions did not exactly impede early Jacobean writers from rehearsing fundamentally anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic ideas.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁷ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1971), p. 100; Louis B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 6, 1942-1943, p. 149.

⁶⁰⁸ Heywood not only portrayed Philip II as a just and ethical renaissance prince in a manner similar to that encountered in Marian Catholic tracts such as John Elder's *The Copie of a letter sent into Scotland* (1555), but also consciously celebrated how "Spaine and England two populous Kingdomes,/ That have a long time been oppos'd/ In Hostile-emulation, shalbe at one." *If you know not me, you know no bodie: Or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1605), sig. B3^r.

⁶⁰⁹ See John Loftis, *Renaissance Drama in England and Spain: Topical Allusion and History Plays* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 109.

⁶¹⁰ M. G. Sanchez, 'Before and After the Armada: an examination of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in

Why were Englishmen's anti-Spanish prejudices so hard to eradicate? To answer this question it is necessary to look at the way that hispanophobic feeling dug itself into the national consciousness during the Marian and Elizabethan eras. Maltby, for instance, suggests that anti-Hispanism's political strength lay in its ability to feed on the mixture of xenophobia and guarded hostility engendered by successive military encounters with Spain, citing as an argument how translations of *Las Casas* were published mainly during times of conflict with the Spaniards.⁶¹¹ I think that this view is partly correct – although it fails to take into account the strong influence that religio-political considerations had on the formation and subsequent development of English anti-Spanish feeling. As I hope to have demonstrated in the first chapter of this study, English hispanophobia was from the beginning sustained by the Protestant propensity to define contemporary history according to the structural oppositions found in *Revelation* and other prophetic books of the bible. This powerful, in many ways extremely subjective, sense of binary focus was not something that Protestant polemicists such as John Knox or Christopher Goodman actively chose or discarded at will; it was, more accurately, something of a last-gasp remedy at a time of utter political and theological desperation. Overwhelmed by the sudden demise of English Protestantism, profoundly aggrieved by the fact that Roman Catholicism was once again in the ascendancy, the Protestant exiles could only make sense of what was happening in England by placing contemporary events against the pattern of human transgression followed by divinely-

English Literature, 1558-1603,' pp. 92-93.

⁶¹¹ *The Black Legend in England*, p. 13.

ordered punishment upon which the reformist, and especially Calvinistic, understanding of history rested. It is out of this very specific set of religio-political circumstances, I would like to argue, that the myth of the Spaniard as a 'Godly scourge' was forged. Though hard to correlate against any actual instances of Spanish misgovernment in England, the myth not only displaced the blame for the Marian disaster away from the exiled Protestants and onto their 'irreligious' Edwardian predecessors, but also strengthened the ideology of anti-Catholic resistance upon which the Protestant propaganda campaign against Mary's rule ultimately depended. In other words, Marian anti-Hispanism should be regarded as a sublimated religio-political discourse which buttressed, and in many ways validated, the existence of the exiled English Protestant movement.

This synergistic alliance between Protestantism and anti-Hispanism did not diminish during the years Elizabeth was in power. Urged on by the voluminous amount of hispanophobic propaganda flooding into England from the Protestant Low Countries during the late 1560s and 1570s, at the same time encouraged by the English government's increasingly more confrontational stance against the Spanish, it was not long before most ideologues abandoned their position of short-lived neutrality towards Spain at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and once again focused on the Castilians in a fundamentally reductive manner. For our purposes, in particular, it is important to note how many of these first Elizabethan anti-Spanish texts resurrected the Marian idea of portraying Spain as the inveterate enemy of English Protestantism itself. To a large extent, this was due to the Leicester-led 'Progressives' and their ongoing campaign for war against Spain. Drawing heavily on the ideas and principles of their Marian

Protestant predecessors, they sought to turn anti-Hispanism from the ideology of a small but vociferous minority into something close to a dominant national dogma. That they were largely successful in doing so, moreover, can be determined by the way the government's own *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* (1585) invoked Marian, and in particular exilic, ideas of English religious superiority over Spain to justify England's entry into the Dutch battlefield.

Having been governmentally endorsed in this manner, it was perhaps only natural that the equation between Protestantism and anti-Hispanism should have wedged itself even further into the English national self-consciousness. Directly at war with Europe's foremost military power, involved in what they saw as a moral crusade to aid their Dutch co-religionists, Englishmen now found themselves in a position where it was patriotically as well as psychologically imperative for them to fashion hispanicity and its attendant figurations into the very antithesis of everything 'Protestant' and 'English.' That is why chroniclers such as William Camden were able to look back upon the origins of the Anglo-Spanish conflict and mercilessly insult all those Englishmen who in 1585 had opposed the war.⁶¹² In the past anti-Hispanism may have been the almost exclusive domain of Protestant extremists such as Christopher Goodman or John Knox; after the signing of the Treaty of Nonsuch, however, simply refraining from articulating an anti-Spanish position could be interpreted as proof of an anti-English and anti-Protestant outlook.

⁶¹² See p. 146 of this study.

Ironically enough, most of these ideas came to be strengthened by the activities of the dissident English Catholics themselves. Despite being more of a perceived than an actual threat, the persistent, pro-Spanish politicking of men such as William Allen or Robert Parsons, together with their undisguised enthusiasm for a Spanish military invasion of England, in many ways appeared to confirm the radical Protestant biases that sustained Elizabethan anti-Hispanism. Two particularly significant recusant texts in this respect were Allen's *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* (1588) and his *A Declaration of the Sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Quene of Englande* (1588). Although written specifically with the intention of wooing English Catholics into supporting the idea of a future Spanish invasion, Allen's unashamedly hispanophilic agenda in both works nonetheless managed to achieve what few pre-Armada Protestant tracts themselves realised with complete success: it strengthened English national unity at a time of impending crisis and simultaneously reinforced the traditional post-Marian perception that Spain was English Protestantism's congenital enemy.

A similar, though perhaps slightly more deliberate, articulation of binary ideas underprops what could be described as the discourse of English new world expansionism. For men such as Raleigh or Kemys, after all, the recitation of Spanish imperialistic transgressions represented less of a spontaneous discharge of xenophobic feeling (although xenophobic traces, no doubt, can still be encountered in their work) than a calculated, politically-motivated attempt to set Spanish Catholic imperialism next to an idealised Protestant English variant in order to encourage Englishmen to start replicating the Spaniards' expansionist achievements. As such, it is not surprising that

texts like *The Discoverie* or the *Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* place great reliance on the premeditated discourse of socio-sexual difference first employed by Marian writers such as John Bradford or John Ponet. If the connection between hispanicity and sexual libertinage had previously been used to legitimise the Spaniards' status as members of the 'Church malignant,' then it could just as easily be invoked now to bolster the sense of moral certainty upon which England's would-be colonists built their nascent imperialistic hopes.

In the light of these arguments it should not prove too difficult to understand why anti-Hispanism was so hard to extirpate from the English popular imagination during the course of the seventeenth century. Although it may have started in 1554 as a response to a very specific set of religio-political problems, and although in some ways it revolved around a cluster of crude historiographic fictions, it is evident that English anti-Hispanism outgrew its localised, virtually sectarian Marian context to become one of the most invoked and enduring components within the interrelated framework of ideas that accompanied the first stirrings of the English nationalist imagination. As I have endeavoured to explain within this short conclusion, this was mainly because anti-Hispanism managed to articulate notional concepts of Protestant national identity that had little, if anything to do with Spain itself. Underpinned from the very beginning by Bale's binary system of religio-political classification, anti-Spanish writers like Spenser or Raleigh succeeded in generating not just a prejudiced representation of a powerful military and mercantile rival, but also a conceptual inversion of Protestant Englishness that reinforced and gave definition to Englishmen's self-constituted ideas about themselves and their role within the early modern *zeitgeist*. Over and above

everything else, I would like to argue, that is why anti-Hispanism continued exerting a potent influence upon the English nationalist imagination even after Spain had stopped being the dominant world power. Force-fed by successive generations of Protestant Englishmen into the popular cultural memory, Spain remained the ideological cornerstone *par excellence*, the Souldan to England's Artegall, against which to construct a self-sustaining vision of English godliness. As Oliver Cromwell would famously go on to say almost sixty years after the end of Elizabeth's reign, "Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout, - by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God."⁶¹³

⁶¹³ *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches: with Elucidations*, Vol. 2, ed. Thomas Carlyle (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845), p. 419.

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