A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM IN REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE DRAMA

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INTRODUCTION

The Elizabethan Age of English literature was remarkable for its great achievements in nationalism and literature. The whole nation was alive with a sense of finer national life, a loftier ideal of patriotism, and an ever clearer conviction that the Anglo-Saxon was the race of destiny.[1] Literature in general reflected the fullness of life and the consciousness of national greatness. The rising patriotic enthusiasm gave impetus to literary works of national significance in every field of letters. We find English history paraded in prose in such work as: John Stow's Summarie of English Chronicles, Raphael Holinshed's The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande. Poets presented England's past greatness, historic or legendary, in The Mirror for Magistrates, William Warner's Albion's England and Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene. Drayton wrote his compendious and loving work, Polyolbion, on English geography.

An earnest attempt was made to dignify English language and letters and to develop them to the high level attained by Latin and Greek literature. Defense of English literature and language was expressed in the following works:

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[1]Beverly E. Warner, English History in Shakespeare's Plays (New York, 1894), p. 4.

Ascham's The Schoolmaster, Spenser's Correspondence with Gabriel Harvey, Sidney's Defense of Poesy, and Daniel's Defense of Rhyme.

At the same time there was a condemnation of foreign customs as typified by criticism of the Italianate Englishman and Frenchified Englishman. The true Briton had nothing but distaste for the affectations of travellers who returned home with foreign vices, with a smattering of learning, and a pretence of worldly wisdom.[2] Italian customs, literature, and morality were censured in A Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth by Harrison, The Schoolmaster by Ascham, The School of Abuse by Gosson, The Sublety of the Italians by F. G. B. A., A Hundred Sundry Flowers by Gascoigne, and the Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey. Literary men such as John Marston and Robert Greene were loud in their denunciations of Italy.[3]

In addition to the obvious effect of nationalism on literature in general it appears to be commonly accepted and often repeated among historians of literature that patriotism vitally affected drama of the English Renaissance. They have contented themselves with vague statements and allusions to the famous passage in Richard II:

> ..... this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

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[2]Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York, 1902), p. 164.
[3]Ibid., p. 166.

> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress, built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in a silver sea....[4]

No one has apparently made a particular study of the matter or investigated the precise nature of the influence. From that situation came the problem of this study, the purpose of which was to investigate, first the extent, and second the nature of the influence of nationalism.

The scope of this study included the English drama of the period from 1558 to 1642, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I.

The term nationalism was used as implying the price and patriotic devotion with which the people regarded themselves, their history, sovereigns, customs, and every part of England.

The material selected for study included three types of works. For the historical background the History of the English People, Vols. ii and iii, by John Richard Greene, A Short History of England by Edward P. Cheyney, and The Age of Elizabeth by Mandell Creighton were used. The second source of material were histories of English literature for discussions of the drama in general.

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[4]Booklovers Edition (New York, 1901), p. 42. This edition was used for all of Shakespeare's plays; hereafter only the play and page will be cited.

Approximately 140 available plays were consulted. These dramas were distributed over the entire period and among noteworthy dramatists.

Since the historical background of the period pertained directly to the problem, the first chapter is devoted to a brief summary of outstanding events. The quotations from the plays and secondary material which included discussions from the histories of English literature were divided into three chronological periods. In Chapter II were included the plays between the coronation of Elizabeth in 1558 and the threat of the Spanish Armada in 1587, as well as a short discussion of earlier dramatic efforts. The next sixteen years, the climax of Elizabeth's reign, contained so many dramas that it was necessary to sub-divide the material. Chapter III was devoted to material taken from historical dramas between 1587 and 1603 which relates chiefly to the past. Chapter IV considered the material from the same period which referred to contemporary matters including those parts of the chronicle histories which made use of history to interpret the present. The last period, ending with the closing of the theaters in 1642, concerned the Stuart drama of James I and Charles I. Within the chronological development the writer has grouped quotations and comments according to the various phases of nationalism which they

represent, such as expressions of loyalty to Elizabeth, admiration for England as a nation, praise of the language, and love of the land.

Incidentally the study may be expected to give further information on the subject of a relationship of current history and literature since the dramas were in general a reflection of contemporary affairs.

It may also be of interest to observe the relationship between literary value of the material and its effectiveness as an aid to patriotic enthusiasm.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When Elizabeth became queen in 1558, the fortunes of England had sunk to an exceedingly low ebb; and the reponsibilities of the young ruler were enormous. The country was in serious danger of foreign invasion and of civil war; it was divided and unsettled in regard to religion and dependent on other nations in foreign policy.[1] Spain was her only ally against the combined forces of Scotland and France. Since the country was practically helpless against such enemies, without army or fleet and with an exhausted treasury, Elizabeth soon made peace with France while attempting to retain the goodwill of Spain. At the same time the dangers within were even more formidable--rebellion against the misgovernment of Mary's reign, social discontent, and, worst of all, religious strife that seemed beyond reconciliation.[2]

> In that critical period England pursued a policy of national independence and isolation. English interests were looked after at home and abroad without making any sacrifice for the sake of other nations .....[3]

Elizabeth set out to overcome obstacles in a manner which

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[1] Edward P. Cheyney, A Short History of England (Boston, 1919), p. 380.
[2] John Richard Greene, History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), Vol. ii, p. 284.
[3] Edward P. Cheyney, op. cit., p. 336.

was effective but was ruthless in its ambition for England. She determined that she should act independently of other nations, choose her own line of action and follow it, have faith in her people, and identify her own reform measures with the best interests of the people. In order to settle the religious controversy the Church of England was established as compromise between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. By clever and sometimes unscrupulous diplomacy she managed to pit France and Spain against each other in such a way that for a period of years she avoided war with either nation. There was also an attempt to better social conditions; the condition of the money, debased in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, was improved, and the problem of pauperism was partially solved.[4] The court was busy with many affairs, directing the great industrial and commercial growth. A desire for exploration and settlement found expression in Martin Frobisher's and Francis Drake's voyages. Engaged in those many activities, the Queen, aided by "her council and her parliament sought to bring independence, order, and tranquillity to the country...."[5] That very struggle for national existence aroused a feeling of interdependence and loyalty which tended to erase the religious and

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[4]Ibid., p. 337.
[5]Ibid., p. 339.

class distinctions.

The ambitious character of the young queen was in itself an inspiration to patriotism. She loved England, and "she was obliged by the isolation in which she found herself to throw herself entirely upon her people."[6] One of her virtues was that "she did not hinder, she allowed much to be done and said", and her subjects went about their business, sang their songs, wrote their plays, undertook voyages of discovery and piracy.[7] She never went beyond what the people would allow but skillfully made concessions and secured peace that the nation might live and grow. She was endowed with keen intelligence, personal courage, physical endurance, and the intrepid will of the Tudors; education and experience strengthened those natural gifts and prepared her defence for dangerous times.[8] Establishing herself at the head of a national church, she calmed religious strife; she secured a degree of internal peace which saved England from much of the restlessness of Europe. She was a diplomat, and although vain and artificial, she was the symbol of a united England. The poets who sang to her those praises which she enjoyed hearing were in reality singing the praises of

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[6]Mandell Creighton, The Age of Elizabeth (New York, 1893), p. 47.

[7]J. J. Jusserand, Literary History of the English People (New York, 1906), p. 243.

[8]Ibid., p. 228.

Albion.[9]

During the period of quiet preparation, England became less friendly with Spain. Philip was dissatisfied with the piracy of Drake and Hawkins; he resented England's aid in Netherland's rebellion and the forcible intrusion of English merchants into the West Indies colonies; as a representative of Roman Catholicism he opposed the new national church. These matters were brought to a climax with Mary's death in 1587 when he received the claim to the English throne, and war soon broke out.[10]

In the meantime England had become a more united and adventurous nation. A bold and eager national spirit had been growing up among the people. When the time arrived for the struggle with Spain, England was no longer uncertain of its position but was prepared for the crisis.[11]

Thus the development of national feeling came to a climax at the time of the Armada, and the same spirit glorified the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign. The deep excitement and triumphant exhilaration of the Armada year brought into a definite stream the eddying currents of national and cosmopolitan feeling,[12] bound the people together, and demanded that they face the world united.

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[9] Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama (New York, 1925), p. 103.
[10] Edward P. Cheyney, op. cit., pp. 362-3.
[11] Mandell Creighton, op. cit., pp. 126-7.
[12] Charles F. T. Brooke, Tudor Drama--A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare (Boston, 1911), p. 299.

The courage of Grenville

> was the spirit which opposition to Spain awoke in England, the spirit which beat back Philip and filled England with a strong and vigorous national life.[13]

When Philip dispatched his great fleet in 1588, he counted on aid from a Catholic rising within England itself. At that crisis, however, patriotism proved stronger than religious fanaticism in the hearts of the English Catholics. The news of the invasion ran like fire along the British coasts. The whole nation answered the Queen's appeal. The royal fleet was soon lost among the vessels of volunteers. London, when Elizabeth asked for fifteen ships and five hundred men, offered thirty ships and ten thousand men. Every seaport showed the same temper. Coasters were put out from every little harbor. Squires and merchants pushed off in their own little barks for a brush with the Spaniards. In the presence of the stronger all religious strife was forgotten. Not one of the nobles and squires proved traitor. The lords who were expected to aid Philip brought their vessels up longside of Drake and Lord Howard as soon as Philip's fleet appeared in the Channel. The Catholic gentry who had been painted as longing for the coming of Philip led their tenantry to the muster at Tilbury. Forty thousand Spaniards were no match

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[13]Mandell Creighton, op. cit., p. 193.

for four million Englishmen, banded together by a common resolve to hold England against the foreigner.[14]

> The victory over the Armada, the deliverance from Spain, the rolling away of the Catholic terror which had hung like a cloud over the hopes of the new people, was like passing from death into life.[15]

It marked the period in Elizabeth's reign when the national spirit rose to its highest point. France and Scotland were no longer formidable, and instead of yielding to Spain, England had faced and defeated her.

> Englishmen felt, as they had never done before, their community of interests, their real national unity. Hatred of Spain became a deep feeling in the English mind, and when combined with religious zeal and the desire for adventure produced that spirit of restless and reckless daring,[16]

with which England now faced the world, subservient to none, with a new and lasting greatness on the sea. The people allowed no other preference to stand in the way of their interests and feelings as Englishmen.[17]

However, after the crisis and the glory following it had passed, a change came over England. While Elizabeth lived,

> something of the sense of power and unity which had uplifted the nation after the repulse of the Armada was still in the air. Yet in the life of a nation, as in the life of man, these exultations

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[14]John Richard Green, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
[15]Ibid., p. 426.
[16]Mandell Creighton, op. cit., p. 199.
[17]Edward P. Cheyney, op. cit., p. 367.

> are momentary things ..... No sooner was the foreign danger out of men's minds, than civil differences, taking courage, began to prepare their age-long drama. The people of England, when they are not under the pressure of immediate danger to the national life, always quarrel among themselves.[18]

Even in the last days of Elizabeth the romantic chivalrous attachment to Glorianna at court and the wholehearted support of her leadership was fading to toleration of a somewhat querulous woman because of her brilliant past; the English had lost the high spirit which accompanies sacrifices and adversities borne in common.[19]

Elizabeth's reign "had been a long struggle for national existence";[20] but when James discontinued foreign wars a new age opened in which the lofty patriotism, dauntless energy, the overpowering sense of effort and triumph which rose to their full grandeur during the war with Philip, turned from the strife with Spain to seek a new sphere of activity at home.[21] The England of James was divided by internal problems of religion, Puritanism, divine right of kings, power of Parliament, and taxation.

The physical personality of King James was not prepossessing. He was not naturally dignified or impressive, as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had been; but his physical

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[18] Sir Walter Raleigh, "The Age of Elizabeth", Shakespeare's England (Oxford, 1916), Vol. i, p. 42.

[19] William Witherle Lawrence, Shakespeare's Problem Comedies (New York, 1931), pp. 216-217.

[20] John Richard Green, History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), Vol. iii, p. 15.

[21] Ibid., p. 10.

deficiencies were insignificant in comparison with his mental characteristics. He had none of the instinctive capacity to know and conform to what the great mass of his subjects wanted which had been the most valuable trait of the Tudor sovereigns. James' abilities were poorly adapted to solving the pressing political and religious problems.[22]

Thus "the glad confident morning temper of the later sixteenth century passed away"[23] in the disorganization of James' reign and the failure of the government of Charles. Few periods in history could equal its high degree of patriotism, confidence, and desire for both intellectual and physical adventure.

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[22]Edward P. Cheyney, op. cit., p. 385.
[23]Sir Walter Raleigh, op. cit., p. 43.

CHAPTER II

THE DRAMA BEFORE 1587

The roots of Elizabethan drama were buried deeply in the English characteristics of the old morality, religious, and folk drama. The sacred plays often contained Biblical material whose setting, costume, and speech were translated frankly and ingenuously into the terms of the immediate present. St. Paul, before he was converted. stalked forth in the armor of an adventurous knight; and he appeared again clothed as an English Bishop in full canonicles.[1] The miracle plays had largely disappeared at the time of the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, becoming half religious, and half historical; the last religious play recorded in England was acted near the close of the reign of James I.[2]

The folk dramas built around legends of St. George and Robin Hood were definitely nationalistic. They came directly from the popular ballads emphasizing the deeds of English heroes, a tendency which took later form in The Famous Victories of Henry V.

Rather closely related to the folk drama were the interludes and comedies of English life and customs, beginning with such as A Merie Play between Johan the Husbande,

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[1]Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1908), Vol. i, pp. 24-25.

[2]Ibid., p. 27.

Tyb his Wife, and Syr Johan the Priest and The Four P's and developing later into the first real hilarious English comedy, Gammer Gurton's Needle.

Satire on contemporary life and politics was found early in the morality plays. One of these, Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis (1540) by Sir David Lyndsay, gave the abuses of the Scottish court, church, and commons. Another political morality, Kynge Johan, published in 1548 but probably acted about ten years earlier, was

> the first play to seek the ancient chronicles of England for a source and the earliest to display a gleam of that interest in English history which was later to prove so fruitful dramatically.[3]

This play defied the Pope and the system which he represented and upheld the English king. It likened

> King John to Moses leading his people through the wilderness, and in the figure of Imperial Majesty recalled the age of controversy in which it was produced by strongly suggesting the person of Henry VIII.[4]

Bale again reflected the feeling against the Catholic church when he said that sedition was not the child of England but of religion and monkish sects.[5] England as a widow asked John for protection against the Pope, "the wyld bore of Rome",[6] and John later showed his independence

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[3]Ibid., p. 69-71.
[4]Benjamin Griffith Brawley, A Short History of the English Drama (New York, 1931), p. 32.
[5]John Matthews Manly, Specimens of Pre-Shakespearian Drama (Boston, 1897), Vol. i, pp. 531-532.
[6]Ibid., p. 528.

and patriotism when he said "I take part with Englandes ryghtfull herytage .... her matters shall not perish".[7] The character of John was twisted "into a Protestant hero, deeply to be commiserated as the noble victim of papal chicanery".[8] It was love for England and interest in her struggles that caused the author to endow John, a notoriously weak king, with heroic attributes.

Even the plays modeled closely after the Latin dramas of Plautus, Terence, and Seneca were colored with English spirit. The characters were often definitely British, and the prologue to Terens in English contained in an interesting passage on the claims of the English language to recognition as well as "the greke tong and laten".[9]

It is thus evident that by the time Elizabeth became queen the germ of English nationalism was already present in the drama. In the strenuous first part of her reign from 1558 to 1587, the struggle for national existence steadily increased the patriotism of her people, as was shown in the plays of the period. Some of the phases of nationalism which were exhibited included interest in history and heroes, praise for the English nation and censure for its enemies, and tributes to the queen.

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[7]Ibid., p. 531.
[8]Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 71.
[9]Ibid., p. 82.

Gorboduc (1561), the first English tragedy, was based on what was considered to be the early history of Britain as found in the legendary pseudo-history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a work which was also the source of Locrine and The Misfortunes of Arthur, written immediately before the war with Spain. In Gorboduc the fate of Britain was of great concern. When the country was torn with civil war, Eubulus, the secretary to the king, lamented the "utter ruine of this noble realme";[10] he said again that the "Brittaine realme is left an open pray"[11] to conquest. Referring to Brute, a legendary hero, one of the consellors grieved that

> ....civil hate shall end the noble line
> Of famous Brute and of his royall seede.[12]

Eubulus told of how "the mightie Brute"[13] divided his kingdom among his three sons with dire results and

> .... how much British bloud hath since bene spilt,
> To ioyne againe the sondred untie.[14]

He said division was a poor policy, the

> .... worste of all for this our native lande.
> Within one land one single rule is best:
> Divided reignes do make divided hartes,
> But peace preserves the countrey and the prince.[15]

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[10] John Matthews Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama (Boston, 1897), Vol. ii, p. 269.
[11] Loc. cit.
[12] Ibid., p. 235.
[13] Ibid., p. 225.
[14] Ibid., p. 226.
[15] Ibid., p. 225.

In these lines and those following the author pointed out essential qualities of nationalism--a beloved ruler, peace, and resistance to foreigners.

> . . . . . in no wise admitte
> The heavie yoke of forreine governounce.
> Let forreine titles yeld to publike wealth.
> And with that hart wherewith ye now prepare
> Thus to withstand the proude invading foe,
> With that same hart, my lordes, keepe out also
> Unnaturall thraldome of strangers reigne,
> Ne suffer you against the rules of kinde
> Your mother land to serue a forreine prince.[16]

Again and again were found references to love for England[17] in such manner as

> .... the common mother of vs,
> Our native land, our country that conteines
> Our wives, children, kindred, our-selves, and all
> That ever is or may be dear to man .....[18]

Among the English heroes praised in the plays before 1586 are Robert, the Earl of Gloucester, Edmund the Earl of Kent, John of Gaunt, Guy of Warwick, King John, and greatest of all, Henry V. In Kyd's play, The Spanish Tragedy (1586), Hieronimo told how Spain "by little England hath been yok'd[19] when

> . . . . . English Robert, Earl of Gloucester
> Who, when King Stephen bore sway in Albion,
> Arrived with five and twenty thousand men
> In Portingale, and by success of war

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[16]Ibid., p. 268.
[17]Ibid., p. 268
p. 260
p. 241
p. 219

[18]Ibid., p. 267.
[19]Hazelton Spencer, Elizabethan Plays (Boston, 1933), p. 19.

Enforc'd the king, then but a saracen,
To bear the yoke of the monarchy.
. . . . . .
The second knight . . . . . .
..... was Edmund, Earl of Kent in Albion,
When English Richard wore the diadem.
He came likewise, and razed Lisbon walls,
And took the King of Portingale in fight;
. . . . . .
The third and last, not least, in our account,
Was, as the rest, a valiant Englishman,
Brave John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster,
As by his scutcheon plainly may appear
He with puissant army came to Spain
And took our King of Castile prisoner.
. . . . . .
English warriors likewise conquered Spain
And made them bow their knees to Albion.[20]

King John was praised in the early play, Kynge Johan,[21] discussed above, and the "great Guy of Warwick" was mentioned in Ralph Roister Doister.[22]

Henry V was glorified in the very popular play, The Famous Victories of Henry V by Richard Tarleton, written about 1586 when "the threatenings of the Spanish Armada were goading English patriotism to a fever heat".[23] The young king fulfilled all the expectations of his father, Henry IV, who hoped his son would prove as warlike, valiant, and victorious a king as ever reigned in England.[24] He was spoken of as "a hautic and high-minded prince .... as fierce as a lyon",[25] and in another passage he was

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[20] Ibid., p. 218-219.
[21] John Matthews Manly, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 601.
[22] Ibid., Vol. ii, p. 12.
[23] Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 257.
[24] Joseph Quincey Adams, Chief Pre-Shakespearian Drama (Bsoton, 1924), p. 677.
[25] Ibid., p. 682.

compared to a god.[26] Kate, the French princess, had only praise for the conqueror--"I may thinke myself the happiest in the world that is beloved of the mightie King of England!"[27] The most spectacular event of his reign was his victory in France. France had long been considered as English property; naturally the Englishmen rejoiced when

> he sent his embassage into France to tell the French king that Harry of England hath sent for the crowne, and Harry of England will have it.[28]

In France Henry was given a chance to ransom himself before the battle of Agincourt; he refused in a characteristic fashion, "Rather shall my bodie be dead in the field then ever England shall pay one penny ransome for my bodie".[29] He made stirring appeals to his soldiers before battle to fight for their country:

> for all England praieth for us ..... with one voice and like true English hearts, with me throw up your caps, and for England cry, "Saint George! And God and Saint George helpe us!"[30]

With dashing courage he returned balls of iron for the tennis balls sent to him by the Dauphin.[31] The results of the battle of Agincourt were amazing; more than 12600

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[26] Ibid., p. 678.
[27] Ibid., p. 688.
[28] Ibid., p. 678.
[29] Ibid., p. 285.
[30] Ibid., p. 285.
[31] Ibid., p. 680, p. 683.

Frenchmen were slain and all the nobility captured, and of the English only twenty-six common soldiers and the Duke of York. This comparison showed the Englishman's contempt for the French, as did the words of Dericke:

> Why, John, come away! Doest thinke that we are so base-minded to die among Frenchmen? Sownes, we know not whether they will laie us in their church or no.[32]

He also said,

> If it be thy fortune to be hanged, be hanged in thy owne language, whatsoever thou doest![33]

The great personality of the age was that of Queen Elizabeth; and since she represented the glories of England, it was natural that she should receive much attention in the drama. It was customary to address the queen with a complimentary epilogue or prologue, especially if the play were given at court. Gammer Gurton's Needle had only the words, "God save the Queene!" after the list of characters, but Ralph Roister Doister, Damon and Pithias, Endymion, and Cambises had elaborate forewords or epilogues. The prologues usually addressed the queen and asked her favor for the play such as the lines from Lyly's Campaspe, "our hope is your Highnesse will at this time lend an eare to an idle pastime";[34] the epilogues were often fervent prayers for the queen,[35] similar to these closing lines

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[32] Ibid., p. 681.
[33] Ibid., p. 688.
[34] John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 276.
[35] Ralph Roister Doister, Ibid., p. 608.
Damon and Pithias, Joseph Quincy Adams, op. cit., p. 608.
Ibid., p. 608.

from Cambises[36]:

> As duty binds us, for our noble Queene let us pray,
> And for her Honorable chancel, the truth they may use,
> To practice iustice and defend her Grace eche day;
> To maintain God's woord they may not refuse,
> To correct all those that would her Grace and graces laws abuse;
> Beseeching God over us she may raigne long,
> To be guided by truth and defended from wrong.

Lyly wrote especially for the court, and his Endymion, 1585, was an allegorical eulogy of Elizabeth, in which she was represented by the matchless goddess of the moon, Cynthia. She was considered miraculous,[37] the "Cynthia, whose mercy and goodness filleth the Heavens with joys and the world with marvels",[38] "Cynthia, whose virtues being all divine must needs bring things to pass that be miraculous",[39] "Cynthia, too, too fair Cynthia, the miracle of nature, of time, of fortune"[40] whose

> majesty all the world knoweth and wondereth at, but not one in the world can imitate it or comprehend it.[41]

Endymion said:

> of Cynthia we are allowed not to talk but to wonder, because her virtues are not within the reach of our capacities;[42]

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[36]John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 210.
[37]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 147.
[38]Ibid., p. 155.
[39]Ibid., p. 160.
[40]Ibid., p. 149.
[41]Ibid., p. 153.
[42]Ibid., p. 151.

it was she whom he would honor

> in all humility, whom none ought or dare adventure to love, whose affections are immortal and virtues infinite.[43]

As the goddess of the moon Elizabeth was said to possess perfect and undying beauty as well as virtue.[44]

Brawley[45] said of Lyly's plays that

> being panegyrics on the virtue and glory of the Queen, they are more or less allegorical. They also have a political touch .....

Hence the other characters have been identified with nobles of the court.

The court of Queen Elizabeth was a wonderful assembly; Gyptes, the Egyptian sooth sayer, said in Endymion;

> They are thrice fortunate that live in your palace, where truth is not in colors but life, virtues not in imagination but execution.[46]

Later he maintained that he would rather live in sight of Cynthia than possess all of Egypt, and even the Greek philosopher, Pythagorus, preferred to spend one hour there than ten years in Greece.[47]

Elizabeth demanded loyalty of her subjects, and they gave her unstinted devotion; moreover, they considered her all-powerful and were highly appreciative of her favors,

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[43] Ibid., p. 151.
[44] Ibid., p. 160.
Ibid., p. 146.
[45] Benjamin Griffith Brawley, op. cit., p. 43.
[46] Hazelton Spencer, op, cit., p. 164.
[47] Ibid., p. 173.

for according to Floscula in Endymion.

> .... know you not, fair lady, that Cynthia governeth all things, your grapes would be but dry husks, your corn but chaff, and all your virtues vain, were it not Cynthia preserveth the one in the bud and nourisheth the other in the blade, and by her influence both comforteth all things and by her authority commandeth all things.[48]

The epilogues of Campaspe and Endymion[49] reflected not only the authority of the queen but also her subjects' love and joy in yielding to her kind desires:

> .... as nothing is to be called white vnless it hath been named white by the first creature, so can there be nothing thought good in the opinion of others vnlesse it be christened good by the iudgement of yourself. For ourselves, againe, we are like to these torches of waxe, of which, being in your Highnesse hands, you may make doves or vultures, roses or nettles, laurel for a garland, or calder for disgrace.[50]

In the first twenty-eight years of her reign Elizabeth had passed through trying times and had won a great victory in keeping the nation strong. The old play, Kynge Johan, as it was rewritten in her time praised her numerous good deeds.

> England hath a queene-thanks to the Lorde above!--
> Whych maye be a lyghte to other princes all
> For the godly wayes whome she doth dayly move
> To her liege people, through Gods words specyall,
> She is that Angell, as Saint Johan doth hym call,
> That with the hordes seale doth mark out his true servauntes
> Pryntying in their hartes his holy worrdes and covenauntes.

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[48] Ibid., p. 147.
[49] Ibid., p. 174.
[50] John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 325.

> In Danyels sprete she hath subdued the Papistes,
> With all the offspringe of Antichristes generacyon:
> And now of late dayes the sect of Anabaptistes
> She seketh to suppresse for their pestiferous facyon.
> She vanquysheth also the great Abhomynacyon
> Of superaticyons, witchecraftes and hydolatrye,
> Restorynge God's honours to hys first force and bewtye.[51]

Those victories Elizabeth won by patience and moderation, by rejecting the fanaticism of the Puritan and the reaction of the Papist, by her sympathy with the mass of the people, by her steady and unflinching preference of national unity to any temporal considerations of safety or advantage. In the midst of religious passions at home and abroad she had reigned not for one faction alone but for the whole of England; and it was to all England, Catholic and Protestant alike, that she could appeal at the time of the crisis.[52]

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[51]John Matthews Manly, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 618.
[52]John Richard Green, History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), p. 424.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONICLE HISTORY: 1587-1603

The patriotic sentiment of a unified England reached a climax in the years immediately following the repulse of the Armada. The strength of Spain had been broken; Elizabeth had made herself the head of an established church.[1] The national imagination had been fired by an era of unprecedented discovery, and there was a healthy spirit of the enjoyment of life. In such different ways the spirit of nationality was cultivated. The common man lost himself in the general ideal and in the glory of the sovereign; an interest in the heroes of the past developed; literatured was forced to respond to the bravado and daring of the day--to emphasize action. These influences combined to call into being the Elizabethan drama.[2]

Since entire dramatic production of the period from 1587 to 1603 was enormous, it will be necessary, for the purpose of study, to distinguish between patriotic interest in the past alone and that of contemporary significance. The historical drama thus possessed two aspects--one more intimately connected with the past and the other with the present. The former will be discussed in this chapter, and the second will be left for the next, to be discussed

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[1]Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama (New York, 1925), p. 205.
[2]Benjamin Griffith Brawley, A Short History of the English Drama (New York, 1931), p. 21.

in this chapter, and the second will be left for the next, to be discussed.

The chronicle history play was distinctively national. Its very existence indicated an enthusiasm for the great deeds of Englishmen of the past, an enthusiasm engendered by patriotic pride in the greatness of England. Green, in his History of the English People, said, "national pride took its highest poetic form in the historical drama"[3] relating to the new sense of national freedom and power which gave its grandeur to the age of Elizabeth.

The growth of the chronicle history play was indigenous as well as nationalistic. It was guided not by the scholar or courtier but by the Englishman and responded to patriotism as he had responded, irrespective of tradition and religion, to the actual call of Elizabeth to repulse Spain. For that reason the plays as a class showed more independence in nature and growth than any other branch of contemporary drama.[4]

The historical drama was characteristic of the period under consideration. During those sixteen years practically all of the chronicle plays, numbering no less than 150, were produced.[5] They represented the bulk of dramatic

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[3]John Richard Greene, History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), p. 455.
[4]Felix E. Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, (New York, 1902), p. 2.
[5]Loc. cit.

productions and in addition contained the most fervent appeals to patriotism. Their power to stir men through the influence of the past was almost incalcuable.

The origins of the chronicle play lay in the old plays of Saint George, the non-religious pageantry of the Middle Ages, and the popular folk lore of the old English ballads, all of which may be traced ultimately to an innate sense of feudal faith and loyalty to one's community.[6] The germ of the national drama may be recognized in early dialogues and pageants; one of those, a pageant of St. George of Cappadocia was acted in 1416 before Henry V and Emperor Sigismund when the latter visited Windsor Castle. Closely related to the St. George plays were those of Robin Hood whose heroic figure became the yeoman's ideal of free England[7] and which preserved the popular love of action. The Hock Tuesday Play had a place in the evolution of the chronicle because it represented a historical event in a secular manner. The Tragedy of the King of Scots, 1567, was the first play concerning modern British history.[8]

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[6]Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[7]Ibid., pp. 7-10.
[8]Charles Brooke, Tudor Drama--A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare. (Boston, 1911), p. 302, says that Tamburlaine, because of its war-like spirit, was the first chronicle play.

Three plays ushered in the brilliant chronicle history period which continued until the death of Elizabeth. They were The Famous Victories of Henry V (1585), discussed in the previous chapter, The Life and Death of Jack Straw (1587), and The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England (1588).

The last of these plays was important as one of the sources of Shakespeare's later dramas, possessed a strong Protestant spirit of hatred for the Pope, and in the character of Fawconbridge gave the earliest vital representation of an historical personage on the English stage.[9]

Less than half of the chronicle plays have survived, but those which were preserved showed interest in a wide range of events. There are, for example: the mythical arrival of Brute to Britain; the other early British kings, Lear and Gorboduc; Caractus and Boadica as historical opponents of Rome; Saxon heroes from Hengist to Earl Godwin; the coming of William the Conqueror; the fame of Richard Lion Heart, the Black Prince, Lord Cromwell, and John of Gaunt; lesser heroes such as Talbot, Hereford, and Owen Tudor; struggles with the barons; and English efforts against French, Scotch, or Welsh.

The kings themselves were especially important as characters. John figured in six plays, Edward III, Henry V, and Richard III in seven each, Henry VI in ten, and

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[9]Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 49.

Henry VIII in four.[10] Every reign from that of Edward the Confessor Elizabeth was used as in the scene for plays.

The Elizabethan age with its emphasis on nationality glorified the hero, and either an heroic or evil individual might succeed on the stage if he possessed a strong personality.[11] Henry V embodied the animated spirit of the chronicle play. Schelling[12] said that Henry V might be regarded as the height to which the national historical drama attained. In war as in counsel, Henry's straightforwardness created no illusions. He was always cognizant of the weight of duties and the responsibilities of kingship. His enthusiasm for militarism and love of country changed mere conquest into a national war and made him a glorious victor rather than a feudal war lord.

Henry possessed the qualities of an ideal king according to Canterbury in Henry V; he could "reason with divinity .... debate of commonwealth affairs .... discourse of war", and speak in "sweet and honey'd sentences",[13] He was called "that ever living man of memory"[14] whose soul would make a far more glorious star than Julius Caesar.[15]

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[10] Ibid., p. 52.
[11] Benjamin Griffith Brawley, op. cit., p. 65.
[12] Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1908), Vol. i, p. 277.
[13] William Shakespeare, pp. 25-26.
[14] William Shakespeare, 1 Henry VI, p. 88,
[15] Ibid., p. 23.

He was warlike,[16] defiant to the Dauphin,[17] and "made all France to quake"[18] since the French knew that the strain of blood in Henry was the same

> That haunted us in our familiar paths,
> Witness our too much memorable shame,
> When Cressy battle fatally was struck.[19]
> . . . . . This is a stem
> Of that victorious stock; and let us fear
> The native mightiness and fate of him.

France might well be afraid for Henry himself said:

> France being ours, we'll bend it to our awe,
> Or break it all to pieces . . . .
> . . . . . .
> Either our history shall with full mouth
> Speak freely of our acts: or our grave
> Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth
> Not worshipped with a waxen epitaph.[20]

He thus spoke as a proud ambitious monarch who was well aware of the historical fame associated with national heroes. In Henry VI Joan said his

> .... glory was like a circle in the water,
> Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
> Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.[21]

Henry realized that he possessed his subjects' deepest love when he remarked, on departing for France, that he would

> .... leave not one behind that doth not wish
> Success and conquest to attend on us.[22]

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[16] William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 23.
[17] Ibid., pp. 36-38.
[18] William Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI, p. 108.
[19] Ibid., p. 623.
[20] Ibid., p. 615.
[21] Ibid., pp. 31-32.
[22] William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 45.

Among the other heroes, Prince Edward was praised highly in Greenes' The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay as the "brave Prince of Wales, honored for royal deeds",[23] "lovely Prince, the Prince of Albion's wealth",[24] "the chief of our gregis, and filius regis: .... Henry's white son",[25] and other complimentary titles.[26]

Some of the salutations were of the more customary sort, such as the elder Spencer offered Edward II in Marlowe's play named for that king:

> Long live my sovereign, noble Edward,
> In peace triumphant, fortunate in wars![27]

King John was glorified far beyond his actual merit when he was called "our great King John"[28] and when Faulconbridge described him to the French king as warlike and courageous, a foe to be greatly feared.

> Indeed, your drums, being beaten, will cry out;
> And so shall you, being beaten: do but start
> An echo with the clamour of thy drum,
> And even at hand a drum is ready braced
> That shall reverberate all as loud as thine;
> Sound but another, and another shall
> As loud as thine rattle the welkin's ear
> And mock the deep-mouth'd thunder: for at hand,
> Not trusting to this halting legate here,
> Whome he hath used rather for sport than need,
> Is warlike John; and in his forehead sits
> A bare-ribb'd death, whose office is this day
> To feast upon whole thousands of the French.[29]

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[23]Hazelton Spencer, Elizabethan Plays (Boston, 1933), p. 191.
[24]Ibid., p. 151.
[25]Ibid., p. 189.
[26]Ibid., p. 185, p. 183.
[27]Ibid., p. 122.
[28]William Shakespeare, King John, p. 107.
[29]Ibid., p. 104.

In reality John was ready to submit and make peace, and the patriotic Faulconbridge was the real hero of the play.

In 1 Henry VI young Talbot, a lad apparently without fear, bravely met his death with his father in France. Talbot the elder was known as

> .... the scourge of France .... so much fear'd abroad that with his name the mothers still their babes.[30]

He and his son represented the dauntless courage and pride which were attributed to historical heroes, and both preferred to die rather than to flee from the field of a battle which was already lost.

Other historical characters whose adventures were dramatized included William Rufus,[31] Lady Jane Grey,[32] Buckingham,[33] Wolsey,[34] Martin Swarte,[35] William Longbeard,[36] Pierce of Winchester,[37] Sir Thomas More,[38] Athelston,[39] James IV of Scotland,[40] and Hardicanute.[41]

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[30] Ibid., p. 49.
[31] Belin Dun, The True Tragedy of King Rufus.
[32] Sir Thomas Wyatt (1602).
[33] Buckingham (1594).
[34] The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey (1601).
[35] Martin Swarte (1597).
[36] Longbeard (1598).
[37] Pierce (1598)
Pierce of Exton (1598).
[38] Sir Thomas More (1590).
[39] Old Fortunatus (1600).
[40] The Scottish History of James IV (1590).
[41] Hardicanute (1597).

Not all of the characters were presented in as favorable a light as was King John. Richard III was pictured as a most diabolical schemer who lost not only his reputation but also his life; Richard II and Edward II were weak and ineffectual. However, in each of these plays there was at least one character who upheld the glory of England and native heroism: in Richard III, Henry, Earl of Richmond, who was afterwards Henry VII; in Edward II, the king's son, Edward III; and in Richard II that staunch old patriot, John of Gaunt, whose spirit permeated the whole play.

In Richard II, Richard III, the Henry VI plays, and other dramas were presented the many political upheavals of the Wars of the Roses. The subject was of vital interest to the Elizabethans because it displayed the latest events of English prowess and heroism in fully glory and because out of the turmoil had developed the great national prosperity.[42]

Shakespeare's plays alone covered nearly the whole of English history from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, forming a great national epic. Beginning with King John, his plays give the history of the reigns of the kings Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Richard III, and Henry VIII. Among these plays which were wholly

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[42]Felix E. Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, p. 75.

or in part based upon English history and legend which have not been mentioned before were: The Merry Devill of Edmonton by Drayton and others, The Mayor of Queenborough by Thomas Middleton, Old Fortunatus by Thomas Dekker, George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield by Robert Greene, and The Misfortunes of Arthur by Thomas Hughes and others.

George a Greene merited special attention because George, the undersheriff of Wakefield, exemplified the yeoman spirit of patriotism which has been mentioned as beginning with Robin Hood. It would be almost impossible to place greater emphasis upon patriotism, service to one's country, and courage than did George a Greene. He was democratic, saying that a poor man that was true was better than an earle, if the earl were false. According to Schelling, he conducted himself with the openness of spirit,

> .... love of fair play and ready capability of thought and action which Englishmen delight to believe the basis of English national character.[43]

George refused knighthood, saying that he preferred to remain a yeoman:

> For 'tis more credit to men of base degree
> To do great things than men of dignity.[44]

The fact which thrilled the English audience was that

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[43] Elizabethan Drama, Vol. i, p. 260.
[44] Joseph Quincy Adams, Chief Pre-Shakespearian Dramas (Boston, 1925), p. 712.

he risked everything for his country and justice.

The history plays were brought into existence by the spirit of nationalism which created an intense interest in the past; they were most numerous at the period when patriotic enthusiasm was at its height, that is, during the last sixteen years of Elizabeth's reign. Moreover, they helped to intensify the spirit of the people who thronged to the theaters. They were particularly characteristic of the years in which they were produced; other types of drama continued to flourish in later years, but the chronicle play disappeared with the spirit which created it.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF THE DRAMA: 1587-1603

The preceding chapter concerned the aspects of the plays of the period 1587 to 1603 which related to the past, the chronicle histories in particular. The phases of nationalism which were of contemporary nature, including those in the histories, will be discussed in this chapter. In the drama of the period under consideration there was a sustained and sometimes strained note of eulogy upon all things English and an insular contempt for all things un-English.[1] The English were proud of what they were; and they were not hesitant in expressing their great satisfaction in Queen Elizabeth, the nation, the language, and the customs as the material of this chapter will indicate.

The central figure of the government of England was the Queen. As Green[2] says, she was the safeguard of national life. Many of the citizens had grown up under her reign and had known no other ruler than the one who had seemingly cast a spell over them. Their thoughts were absorbed in the struggle for national existence which centered around the Queen.

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[1]Mandell Creighton, The Age of Elizabeth (New York, 1893), pp. 6-7.

[2]History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), Vol. ii, p.458.

There were repeated praises in dramatic form of her beauty and virtues as in Cynthia's Revels by Ben Jonson. Three characters of that play wished they were dead if they might be changed to Cynthia.[3] Arete said of her:

> How Cynthianly, that is, how worthily
> And like herself, the matchless Cynthia speaks!
> Infinite jealousies, infinite regards,
> Do watch about the true virginity:
> But Phoebe lives from all, not only fault,
> But as from thought, suspicion free,
> Thy presence broad-seals our delights for pure,
> What's done in Cynthia's sight is done secure.[4]

In his Life of William Shakespeare[5] Sidney Lee referred to the following lines from A Midsummer Night's Dream[6] as an elaborate compliment to the queen in acknowledgement of past favors and invitation for their extension in the future. Oberon told of how he was watching once when Cupid took aim with his arrow

> .... at a fair vestal throned by the west,
> And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
> As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
> But might I see young Cupid's fiery shaft
> Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
> And the imperial votaress passed on,
> In maiden meditation, fancy free.

The rough Pistol in Merry Wives of Windsor[7] stoutly maintained,

> Our radiant queen hates sluts and sluttery;

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[3]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., The Best Plays of Ben Jonson, Mermaid Series (New York, 1894), Vol. ii, p. 248.
[4]Ibid., p. 288.
[5](New York, 1916), p. 166.
[6]p. 42.
[7]William Shakespeare, p. 117.

and near the close of Old Fortunatus[8] Elizabeth was identified with the Goddess of Virtue. The play ended with a song to Virtue:

> Virtue smiles: cry holiday,
> Dimples on her cheeks do dwell,
> Virtue frowns, cry welladay,
> Her love is Heaven, her hate is hell.
> Since Heaven and hell obey her power,
> Tremble when her eyes do lower.
> Since Heaven and hell her power obey
> Where she smiles, cry holiday .....

Concerning the bravery of the Queen, Green[9] stated that

> .... she seemed the embodiment of dauntless resolution. Brave as they were, the men who swept the Spanish Main or glided between the icebergs of Baffin's Bay never doubted that the palm of bravery lay with their Queen.

As in Endymion of the previous period so in Cynthia's Revels[10] Elizabeth was associated with the goddess of the moon. The Cynthia on the state called attention to the Queen in the audience with words:

> Arete, behold
> Another Cynthia, and another queen,
> Whose glory, like a lasting plenilune,
> Seems ignorant of what it is to wane
> Nor under heaven an object could be found
> more fit to please.

Again, in Crites' words she was addressed as

> Heaven's purest light, whose orb may be eclipsed,
> But not thy praise; divinest Cynthia!

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[8]Ernest Rhys, ed., The Best Plays of Thomas Dekker, Mermaid Series (New York, 1894), pp. 383-384.
[9]Op. cit., p. 309.
[10]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 292.

How much too narrow for so high a grace,
Thine (save therein) the most unworthy Crites
Doth find himself! for ever shine thy fame;
Thine honours ever, as thy beauties do.[11]

Monsieur, the brother of King Henry of France voiced foreigners' respect when in Bussy D'ambois[12] he judged her to be without question "the fairest queen in Europe". In that passage the admiration was extended to ridicule which included not only Elizabeth but all the persons of her brilliant court as well. King Henry III of France spoke of that notable assembly as

.... the English court
Whose ladies are not match'd in Christendom
For graceful and confirm'd behaviors,
More than the court where they are bred is equall'd.[13]

When the Guise objected to the English court fashions on the ground that they made demigods

Of their great nobles, and of their old queen,
An ever young and most immortal Goddess,[14]

Henry replied:

Assure you, cousin Guise, so great a courtier,
So full of majesty and royal parts,
No queen in Christendom may vaunt herself.
Her court approves it, that's a court indeed,
But, as courts should be, th' abstracts of their kingdoms,
In all the beauty, state and worth they hold;
So is hers, amply, and by her inform'd.
The world is not contracted in a man
With more proportion and expression,
Than in her court, her kingdom. Our French court
Is a mere mirror of confusion to it.[15]

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[11] Ibid., p. 293.
[12] Hazelton Spencer, Elizabethan Plays (Boston, 1933), p. 523.
[13] Loc. cit.
[14] Loc. cit.
[15] Loc. cit.

A masque in Cynthia's Revels which was given in honor of the Queen addressed her as "clear pearl of heaven .... Cynthia!" and presented

> .... four fair virgins from their queen Perfection (a word which makes no sufficient difference betwixt hers and thine) to visit thy imperial court.[16]

The maidens were to endow Elizabeth's court with

> .... first .... natural affection .... to quicken minds in the persuit of honour .... second .... delectable and pleasant conversation .... third .... a well conceited wittiness .... inferring that the praise and glory of wit doth ever increase as doth thy growing moon .... fourth .... simplicity .... alluding to thy spotless self who art as far from impurity as from mortality.[17]

A second masque in the same play celebrated the four cardinal virtues of Elizabeth's court--neatness and elegance, wealth, audacity and courage, and her "greatness, which in heaven, earth, and hell is formidable".[18]

Concerning the relationship of the court and the drama, Felix E. Schelling[19] said that the personal character of the monarch increasingly affected society and the literature and art which mirrored it. Elizabeth's inheritance of a love of form and pageantry which had flourished at her father's court resulted in an encouragement of drama.

Regarding her inspiration to the court he also stated:

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[16]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 290.
[17]Loc. cit.
[18]Loc. cit.
[19]English Literature During the Life of Shakespeare (New York, 1927), pp. 66-67.

> Queen Elizabeth must have been a remarkable woman as well as a magnificent and august sovereign to have inspired in the men of gravity and wisdom as well as those of more elastic temper, those emotions of mingled loyalty and gallantry which glow in nearly all who knew her personally and which may be regarded as one of the most admirable testimonies to her fortunate reign.[20]

A passage from Cynthia's Revels[21] addressed to the court showed influence of the court in establishing the nation's character:

> .... as a bountiful and brave spring .... waterest all the noble plants of this Island. In thee the whole kingdom dresseth itself, and is ambitious to use thee as her glass. Beware then thou render men's figures truly and teach them no less to hate their deformities, than to love their forms; and no man can call that lovely which is not also venerable. It is not powdering, perfuming and everyday smelling of the tailor, that convereth to a beautiful object: but a mixed shining through any suit, which needs no false light, either of riches or honours, to help it.

Elizabeth was honored not only by the splendor of her court but by the peace and prosperity of her entire kingdom. One of the many passages combining past and contemporaneous material was Friar Bacon's prophecy for the future which in reality described the glory of Elizabeth and her land.

> Where Brute did build his Troynovant,
> From forth the royal garden of a king
> Shall flourish out so rich and fair a bud
> Whose brightness shall deface proud Phoebus' flower,
> And overshadow Albion with her leaves.

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[20] Loc. cit.
[21] Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 161.

Till then Mars shall be master of the field;
But then the stormy threats of wars shall cease,
The horse shall stamp as careless of the pike,
Drums shall be turned to timbres of delight;
With wealthy favors plenty shall enrich
The strand that gladded wand'ring Brute to see,
And peace from Heaven shall harbor in these leaves
That gorgeous beautifies this matchless flower.
Apollo's heliotropian then shall stoop,
And Venus' hyacinth shall vail her top;
And Pallas' boy shall 'bash her brightest green;
Ceres' carnation, in consort with those,
Shall stoop and wonder at Diana's rose.[22]

Besides putting to shame the gods and goddesses, Elizabeth was supposed to "brighten what the world made dim"[23] and to rescue her humble entertainers from the disgrace of not being appreciated. Old Fortunatus was ostensibly a gift to Elizabeth from an old man in the prologue who offered it to her as a "humble sacrifice".[24] Much more servile in tone was the Prologue of The Shoemakers' Holiday in which the players compared themselves to wretches in a storm, praying for deliverance, and who must perish if Elizabeth's

. . . . . saint-like ears
Locking the temple where all mercy sits
Refuse the tribute of our begging tongues;
Oh, grant bright mirror of true chastity,
From those life-breathing stars, your sun-like eyes,
One gracious smile; for your celestial breath
Must send us life, or sentence us to death.[25]

Since the early secular drama was largely dependent

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[22]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 205.
[23]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 289.
[24]Ernest Rhys, ed., op. cit., p. 290.
[25]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 633.

upon court patronage for its encouragement, there developed the custom of offering a prayer for the ruler at the close of the play. Elizabeth discouraged the prayers, the last of which was probably one associated with the court performance of Every Man Out of His Humor. However, the court epilogue, stopping short of actual prayer, lasted until the end of the Caroline period.[26]

In spite of the fact that some of the compliments to the queen tended to become customary and trite, there were at least a few which seemed to express sincere adoration resembling an old feudal loyalty.[27] Of this nature were the prologue and epilogue of Old Fortunatus when it was presented at court.

> First Old Man. Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?
> 2nd Old Man. Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling. Some call her Pandora; some Gloriana, some Cynthia; some Delphoebe, some Astraea: all by several names to express several loves: yet all those names make but one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.
> 1st O. Man. I am one of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza.
> 2nd. Blessed name, happy country: your Eliza makes your land Elysium: but what do you offer?
> 1st O. M. That which all true subjects should: when I was young, an armed hand: now I am crooked, an upright heart: but what offer you?
> 2nd. That which all strangers do: two eyes struck

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[26] W. J. Lawrence, "Prayers after Plays: A Curious Old Custom", FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, Vol. cxxxii n.s. 126, pp. 648-655, (November, 1929).

[27] Raymond MacDonald Alden, Shakespeare, Master Spirits of Literature (New York, 1922), p. 24.

blind with admiration: two lips proud to sound her glory: two hands held up full of prayers and praises; what not, may express love? what not, that may make her beloved?

1st. How long is't since you last beheld her?

2nd. A just year: yet that year hath seemed to me more than twice seven years, because so long have I been absent from her.[28]

Epilogue:

1st O. Man. .... O dear Goddess
Breathe life in our numbed spirits with one smile
And from this cold earth, we with lively souls,
Shall rise like men new-born, and make Heaven sound
With hymns to thy name, and prayers that we
May once a year so oft enjoy this sight,
Till these young boys change their curled locks to white,
And when gray wing'd age sits on their heads,
So their children may supply their steads,
And that Heaven's great arithmetician,
Who in the scales of number weighs the world,
May still to forty-two add one year more,
And still add one to one, that went before,
And multiply four tens by many a ten:
To this I cry, Amen.[29]

Of equal importance with the references to the Queen were the many expressions of admiration and love for the nation, in regard to both its natural advantages and the patriotic spirit of its people. It appears from the dramas of the period that England was a naturally fertile and beautiful country whose people possessed inherent virtues and to whom her welfare was of the greatest concern.

"Fair" and "fertile" England[30], "the isles where

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[28]Ernest Rhys, ed., op. cit., pp. 289-290.
[29]Ibid., pp. 385-386.
[30]William Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI, p. 25.

Neptune planted hath his treasury"[31] as a "matchless realm"[32] of

> Bordering island seated here in ken,
> Whose shores are sprinkled with rich orient pearl,
> More bright of here than were the margarites
> That Caesar found in wealthy Albion;
> The sands of Tague all of burnished gold
> Made Thetis never prowder on the clifts
> That overpeer the bright and golden shore,
> Than do the rubbish of my country seas:[33]

The "chalky cliffs of Albion",[34] that promontory which "shows Albion is another little world",[35] were evidently considered by both native and visitor to be a mark of distinction in even that "matchless realm".[36] They symbolized England's independence from Europe; the Duke of Austria in King John spoke of England as

> .... that pale, that white-faced shore,
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
> And coops from other lands her islanders,
> .... England hedged in with the main,
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes .....[37]

In the Biblical morality, A Looking Glass for London and England, Greene tempered his admonitions with compliments as in the following exhortation:

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[31]Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., The Best Plays of Robert Greene (New York, n.d.), p. 174. Orlando Furioso.
[32]Hazelton Spencer op. cit., p. 205.
[33]Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., op. cit., pp. 171-172.
[34]Ashley H. Thorndike, ed., Minor Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1908), Vol. i, p. 125.
[35]Loc. cit.
[36]Ibid., p. 205.
[37]William Shakespeare, p. 35.

> You islanders, on whom the milder air
> Doth sweetly breathe the balm of kind increase,
> Whose lands are fattened with the dew of heaven
> And made more fruitful than Actaean plains,
> You whom delicious pleasures dandle soft,
> Whose eyes are blinded with security,
> Unmask yourselves, cast error clean aside.[38]

Englishmen loved their native land as a mother; in times of trouble in the plays at least they placed her above themselves. In Edward II Kent forsook the king, his half-brother because of love to his native land;[39] Hastings in Richard III exclaimed:

> "Woe, woe for England! not a whit for me."[40]

Andelocia in Old Fortunatus visited his native land to boast of his achievements; and when he had carried away Agripyne, she wished devoutly to be in England again. Banishment was one of the worst punishments which could be given a true Briton. Bolingbroke, going into exile, lamented his fate:

> Then, England's ground, farewell; sweet soil, adieu;
> My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet!
> Where 'er I wander, boast of this I can,
> Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.[41]

The inherent love of country flamed into warlike patriotism whenever England was confronted with foreign troubles. During the war with Spain the battle spirit was

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[38]Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., op. cit., pp. 171-172.
[39]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 118.
[40]William Shakespeare, p. 92.
[41]William Shakespeare, Richard II, p. 38.

at its height and was often the motive for retelling the brave deeds of previous wars with France. The honor of England in such times demanded that she conquer whatever she could.[42] The feverish excitement of the times was expressed in the Prologue to Henry V:

> Now all the youth of England are on fire,
> And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;
> Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought
> Reigns solely in the breast of every man .....[43]

War was one of the noblest duties of the state;[44] it was highly respected by the people and a favorite theme of dramas.[45] The battle cries rang with bravery and confidence:

> Now trumpets sound a dreadfull charge!
> Fight for your princisse, brave English-men![46]

> Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeoman!
> Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!
> Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood;
> Amaze the welkin with your broken staves![47]

Among the urgent appeals[48] for bravery were expressions which came to mean little, such as the frequent calls upon

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[42]William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 39.
[43]Ibid., p. 38.
[44]Ibid., pp. 100-101.
[45]John Addington Symonds, ed., The Best Plays of Webster and Tourneur, Mermaid Series (New York, 1893), p. 247. The Atheist's Tragedy.
[46]John Matthews Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama (Boston, 1897), Vol. ii, p. 412, The Scottish History of James IV.
[47]William Shakespeare, Richard III, p. 151.
[48]William Shakespeare, Henry V, pp. 58-59.

St. George,[49] the patron saint of England. The people believed that fierce England[50] could subdue and conquer everyone.[51] They disturbed the whole world and aroused much animosity among other nations, but they gloried that the English name had become formidable. They had fairly complacent ideas of themselves and scorn for all others.[52] They asked only:

> Let us be back'd with God and with the seas
> Which he hath given for fence impregnable,
> And with their helps only defend ourselves;
> In them and in ourselves our safety lies.[53]

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the history plays had a special significance as they treated history in the light of contemporary situations. The wars of the Roses possessed the interest of recent history and touched, in adventures and episodes of heroism, the warlike spirit of the time. Everyone remembered that from that domestic chaos had evolved the Tudor reign of peace and honor.[54] Objection to papal interference and wars with France likewise had contemporary counterparts. Shakespeare showed

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49Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., pp. 261-262, Every Man in His Humor.
50William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 53.
51John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 397.
52J. J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People (New York, 1906), p. 320.
53William Shakespeare, 3 Henry VI, p. 79.
54Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1908), Vol. i, p. 263.

his patriotic bias in the anti-papal spirit of King John, the partisan unfairness of Henry V, and the misconception of the character of Joan of Arc in Henry VI.[55] The character of John of Gaunt praising the glory of England is typical of the dramatist's appeal to the patriotism of the people of his time.[56] The first part of Henry VI, if we judge from a specific tribute in Pierce Penniless and the immediate flood of imitative dramas, shows how the plays evoked loftiest patriotism and still more interest in history.[57]

Fluellen, Mac Morris, and Jamy in Henry V were said to represent the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch as they were later combined to make a unified state.[58]

Shakespeare's King John exalted England's place among the nations. Warner adds further that it was wholly accurate concerning the spirit of the events; and in presenting an outburst of patriotism for which the age just after the Armada was ready, it was in reality the reproduction of the times themselves.[59] King John's fervid

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55 Beverly E. Warner, English History in Shakespeare's Plays (New York, 1898), pp. 13-14.
56 Benjamin Griffith Brawley, A Short History of the English Drama (New York, 1931), p. 66.
57 Charles F. T. Brooke, Tudor Drama--A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare (Boston, 1911), p. 315.
58 Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 154.
59 Ibid., p. 35.

nationalism was quite appropriate because the problems of Queen Elizabeth and those of the king were similar--papal intervention, foreign threats, and religious discord. King John was a trumpet call to rally round Elizabeth in her fight for England.[60]

The character of Faulconbridge seemed to represent the sturdiness of English manhood which finally conquered all. Although he was an imaginary character, he was not an imaginary force in Elizabethan England.[61] He urged King John to be more decisive, not to allow the world to

> . . . . . see fear and sad distrust
> Govern the motion of a kingly eye;
> Be stirring as the time; be fire with fire;
> Threaten the threatener, and outface the brow
> Of bragging horror: . . . . . .
> . . . . . put on
> The dauntless spirit of resolution.
> Away, and glister like the god of war,
> When he intendeth to become the field:
> Show boldness and aspiring confidence.[62]

Again, when John wished to make peace with the Pope, Faulconbridge taunted him:

> . . . . . O inglorious league!
> Send fair-play orders and make compromise,
> Insinuation, parley and base truce
> To arms invasive? Shall a beardless boy,
> A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields,
> And flesh his spirit in a warlike soil,
> Mocking the air with colours idly spread,
> And find no check? Let us, my liege, to arms
> Perchance the cardinal cannot make your peace;

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60 John Richard Greene, History of the English People (Chicago, 1885), vol. ii, p. 459.
61 Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 51.
62 King John, p. 97.

Or if he do, let at least be said
They saw we had a purpose of defence.[63]

On the other hand, Faulconbridge boasted of John's bravery to Lewis of France and the Pope's legate, Pandulph, when they plotted against England, saying John was prepared for war:

This apish and unmannerly approach,
This harness'd masque and unadvised revel,
This unhair'd sauciness and boyish troops,
The king doth smile at; and is well prepared
To whip this dwarfish war, ...
The hand which had the strength, even at your door,
To cudgel you and make you take the hatch
. . . . . to thrill and shake
Even at the crying of your nation's crow,
Thinking his voice an armed Englishman;
Shall that victorious hand be feebled here,
That in your chambers gave chastisement?
No: know the gallant monarch is in arms
And like an eagle o'er his aery towers,
To souse annoyance that comes near his nest.[64]

The wars with France in Henry V served as another goad to English enthusiasm and egotism. When Henry V was struggling with his army in France, he spoke of the enduring spirit of his soldiers:

Our gayness and our gilt are all besmirch'd
With rainy marching in the painful field;
. . . . . .
And time hath worn us into slovenry:
But, by the mass, our hearts are in the trim;
And my poor soldiers tell me, yet ere night
They'll be in fresher robes, or they will pluck
The gay new coats oer the French soldiers' heads
And turn them out of service.[65]

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[63] Ibid., p. 98.
[64] Ibid., pp. 103-104.
[65] pp. 102-103.

He also boasted of English valor:

> Mark then the abounding valour in our English
> That, being dead, like to the bullet's grazing,
> Break out into a second course of mischief,
> Killing in relapse of mortality.[66]
>
> The French advised by good intelligence
> Of this most dreadful preparation,
> Shake in their fear and with pale policy
> Seek to divert the English purposes.[67]

This rather egotistical statement of France's fear was a result of the unconquerable spirit of the English soldiers, aided perhaps by the dramatist's desire to please his audience.

Henry V was the type of the prevailing English idea of glory even more than if he had won Scotland and England. In showing the overwhelming defeat of the cocksure Frenchmen the dramatist was only following his cue which was to besmirch and belittle both France and Spain.[68]

When Henry VI was later contemplating marriage with Margaret of Anjon, Gloucester voiced the protest against the alliance:

> Shall Henry's conquest, Bedford's vigilance,
> Your deeds of war and all our counsel die?
> O peers of England, shameful is this league![69]

The Joan of Arc in Henry VI was not the Joan of history nor of poetry but a traditional prejudice above which the dramatist did not rise either because he did not know the facts or

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[66] Loc. cit.
[67] Ibid., p. 38.
[68] Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 158, p. 164.
[69] William Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI, p. 20.

on account of his audience.[70] The English people enjoyed such satirization of the French and went wild with enthusiasm over Agincourt. Henry V's triumphant return from France fired English nationalism. Shakespeare pictured how

> . . . . . the English beach
> Pales in the flood with men, with wives and boys,
> Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deepmouth'd sea,
> Which like a mighty whiffler 'fore the king
> Seems to prepare his way![71]

The poet's exclamation,

> How London doth pour out her citizens![72]

might as well have been applied to the efforts against the Spanish Armada of his own time.

Throughout the history plays the object was to glorify England by means of the past, to

> .... make her chronicle as rich with praise
> As is the coze and bottom of the sea
> With sunken wreck and sumlesstreasuries,[73]

and to trace indelibly the earnest belief of Englishmen that

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them, nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.[74]

As a natural reaction to the intense nationalism of the time and the devotion to Elizabeth there developed a hatred

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[70] Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 178.
[71] Henry V, p. 120.
[72] Loc. cit.
[73] Loc. cit.
[74] William Shakespeare, King John, p. 114.

for traitors and those who showed lack of patriotism. In Richard III the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, made use of the opportunity after the death of Richard to plead for a united England and cessation of treacherous warfare among kindred. With apparently great sincerity he prayed:

> Abate the edge of traitors, Gracious Lord,
> That would reduce these bloody days again,
> And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
> Let them not live to taste this land's increase
> That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!
> Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again:
> That she may long live here, God say amen![75]

In 2 Henry VI the same feeling against traitors was expressed in a much less dignified although probably equally sincere manner. Jack Cade, the egotistical and uneducated leader of a rebellion in Kent attacked the policies of Lord Say, asking him:

> What canst thou answer to my majesty for giving up of Normandy unto Mounsieur Basimecu, the dauphin of France? Be it known ..... that I am be the besom that must sweep the court clean of such filth as thou art.[76]

Even less delicate but effective were the denunciations of the Captain to Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.

> Pool! Sir Pool! lord!
> Ay, kennel, puddle, sink; whose filth and dirt
> Troubles the silver spring where England drinks
> Nor will I dam up this thy yawning mouth
> For swallowing the treasure of the realm:
> . . . . . .

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[75] p. 154.
[76] William Shakespeare, p. 104.

By thee Anjon and Maine were sold to France,
The false revolting Normans through thee
Disdain to call us lord, and Picardy
Hath slain their governors, surprised our forts,
And sent the ragged soldiers wounded home.
The princely Warwick, and the Nevils all,
Whose dreadful swords were never drawn in vain,
As hating thee, are rising up in arms:
And now the house of York, thrust from the crown
By shameful murder of a guiltless king,
And lofty proud encroaching tyranny,
Burns with revengeful fire . . . . .
The commons here in Kent are up in arms:
And, to conclude, reproach and beggary
Is crept into the palace of our king,
And all by thee. Away! Convey him hence![77]

Another reaction to the patriotic loyalty of the English was reciprocal loyalty on the part of Elizabeth. In the closing lines of Cynthia's Revels she said:

Mortals can challenge not a ray, but right,
Yet do expect the whole of Cynthia's light.
But if that deities withdrew their gifts
For human follies, what could men deserve
But death and darkness? It behoves the high
For their own sakes, to do things worthily.[78]

Elizabeth undoubtedly realized that an essential factor of strong nationalism was her subjects' love and that in order to secure their support she must work for their best interests.

In the remainder of this chapter attention will be given to Englishmen's adventuresome spirit and hatred of foreign domination and foreign customs as well as love for their own language and customs.

Since the dominant note of Elizabethan England was

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[77] Ibid., p. 89.
[78] Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 287.

nationalism[79] and the essence of that patriotism was independence, no Englishman could endure subserviency to another country. In their religious beliefs the people had been slowly but definitely crystalizing their faith in opposition to the Pope. In reaction to Catholic fanaticism in other nations, the Protestant religion developed the more rapidly in England. Then, "as Rome became more and more the center of hostility to England, patriotism itself stirred men to a hatred of Rome".[80] This long struggle against the Pope was another source of material for which the dramatist found ready acceptance among the people. He made use of the hatred against Rome in several plays, notably The Troublesome Raigne of King John (1588) and The Life and Death of King John (1591-92) by Shakespeare. King John's struggle with the Pope was in many respects similar to that of Elizabeth; hence these plays, the scene of which was laid in a time long past, in reality represented accurately the contemporary age.[81] In Shakespeare's play John replied in a spirited manner to the demands of Pandulph, the Pope's legate,

> What earthly name to interrogatories
> Can task the free breath of a sacred king?
> Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name
> So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
> To charge me to an answer, as the Pope.
> Tell him this tale, and from the mouth of England

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[79] Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 286.
[80] John Richard Green, op. cit., p. 409.
[81] Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 50.

> Add thus much more; that no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;
> But, as we under heaven are supreme head,
> So under him that great supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold
> Without assistance of a mortal hand;
> So tell the Pope; all reverence set apart
> To him and his usurp'd authority.[82]

King Edward II in Marlowe's play, considered in most respects as a weak king, was made to issue an even more bloody challenge to Catholics than did King John. Edward demanded:

> Why should a king be subject to a priest,
> Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperial grooms,
> For these thy superstitious taper-lights,
> Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze,
> I'll fire thy crazed buildings and enforce
> The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground,
> With slaughtered priests (make) Tibur's channel swell
> And banks raised higher with their sepulchres!
> As for the peers, that back the clergy thus,
> If I be king, not one of them shall live.[83]

Since hatred of Rome had become intense, the playwrights used every advantage to place the Catholic religion in an unfavorable situation. The Merry Devill of Edmonton (1600)[84] was possibly intended to belittle the Roman Catholics by showing how the monasteries and nunneries were used for much besides religious worship and how the Catholics themselves had little respect for their rites.

Not only against Papal authority but against foreign domination of any kind the nationalistic feeling ran high. Dorothea, an English girl in the hands of the Scotch in The

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[82]P. 59.
[83]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 109.
[84]Charles M. Gayley, ed., Representative English Comedies (New York, 1913), Vol. II, pp. 503-575.

Scottish History of James IV, helpless though she was, still had courage to defy those who wished to kill her--"never .... an English mayde of threats of forraine force will be afraid".[85] Friar Bacon's magic powers were used largely to glorify England; one of his chief ambitions was to so strengthen England by his skill.

> If ten Caesars liv'd and reign'd in Rome,
> With all the legions Europe doth contain,
> They should not touch a grass of English ground.
> The work that Ninus rear'd at Babylon,
> The brazen walls framed by Semiramis,
> Carved out like to the portal of the sun,
> Shall not be such as rings the English strand
> From Dover to the marketplace of Rye.[86]

Defiance to all England's enemies--Pope, Spain, France, and Scotland was in the closing lines of King John:

> This England never did nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself,
> Now these her princes are come home again
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true,[87]

Such sentiments were enthusiastically received by the patriotic audience of those who had themselves helped to turn away the attack of Spain.

While England had been establishing herself as a world power, her strength had been extended by exploration and

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[85] John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 390.
[86] Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 180, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.
[87] William Shakespeare, p. 114.

adventure to include mastery of the sea and settlement in America. The restlessness and curiosity which characterized that stirring age in the fields of both intellect and adventure left its mark on the literature. The sphere of human interest was widened in both the soul of man and his surroundings.[88] In Doctor Faustus, according to Mandell Creighton,

> Marlowe has dealt with the effects of the overpowering desire for knowledge, the thirst for power, the craving to overstep the limits of life, to enjoy a few years' intoxication of success at the expense of all the future ..... The desires and interest of an Englishman of that age are set forth in Faustus' exclamation of delight when first he knows that he has power to command spirits:[89]
>
> I'll have them fly to India for gold,
> Ransack the ocean for orient pearl
> And search all corners of the new-found world
> For pleasant fruits and princely delicates.
> I'll have them read me strange philosophy
> And tell the secrets of all foreign kings;
> I'll have them wall all Germany with brass.[90]

Concerning Friar Bacon, the other ambitious magician of Elizabethan drama, Schelling said that he was

> the typical English magician whose converse with the supernatural is prompted largely by his patriotic desire to wall all England with brass, and that an English prince and royal court figure in this play in a scene wholly English.[91]

The romantic daring of Francis Drake's voyage as well as other adventurers such as Frobisher, Hawkins, and Raleigh

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[88] John Richard Green, op. cit., p. 438.
[89] The Age of Elizabeth, p. 221.
[90] Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 43.
[91] Op. cit., p. 259.

aroused a general enthusiasm in England which was reflected in the dramas. There were allusions to Drake's ship that went around the world in Jonson's Every Man in His Humor[92] and Eastward Ho, to Candish's golden voyage in Westward Ho, and to Virginia,[93] where Raleigh went in 1595 to conquer and create a mighty empire for her majesty. The effect of many adventurous voyages was shown in the mention of products of other lands:

> Barbary hens' eggs, ... Ethiopian dates, ...
> Indian eryngoes, ... powder of pearl of
> America, amber of Cataia ....[94]

Doctor Faustus boasted of how the adventurers should drag from Venice

> . . . . . huge Argosies
> And from America the golden fleece
> That yearly stuffs old Philip's treasury.[95]

Thus far the discussion in this chapter has concerned English nationalism of the years 1587 to 1603 as it was expressed in loyalty to the Queen and to the nation as a whole, i.e., in war, national independence, and adventure.

Attention will now be given to the more local and personal aspects of nationalism, involving the use of local places, the English language, and English customs as opposed to those of other nations. The demand for local color developed

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[92]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 260, p. 498.
[93]Loc. cit.
[94]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 574. The Malcontent.
[95]Ibid., p. 43.

naturally from an intensified interest in everything English. No matter how remote in time or place the theme discussed, the playgoer liked it decked out in homely English guise and with a rich flavor of contemporaneity.[96] An increasingly large number of plays took place in London or referred to that city. The Looking Glass for London and England called upon London in particular to look about her and correct her faults. The city was addressed as

O London, maiden of the mistress-isle.[97]

London was regarded as a Mecca for Englishmen; they wished to visit that wonderful city, the source of much of their national spirit. In 2 Henry IV a wish was voiced, "I hope to see London once ere I die".[98]

Sometimes the desire for local atmosphere led the playwright into error, as in Alphonsus, King of Arragon, in which Fabius was taken to Marshalsea to prison, although the play took place in Italy.

"The plain English plays demanded plain English places; in Fleay's list of plays prior to 1584 there is not one local English title to be found" such as we find later, i.e., The Pinner of Wakefield (1588), and The Merry Devill of Edmonton (1600).[99] Many titles designated London as the scene of the

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[96]W. J. Lawrence, "Shakespeare's Workshop", FORNIGHTLY REVIEW, Vol. 119, pp. 587-599, (April, 1923).
[97]Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., op. cit., p. 164.
[98]William Shakespeare, p. 126.
[99]Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 498-499.

play, including The Siege of London (1594), The Cripple of Fenchurch Street (1602), The Black Dog of Newgate (1603), and The London Prodigal (1603). In such plays as these contemporaneous city life was identified with a larger sense of nationalism.

As is characteristic of a people attempting to assert its national strength the English language and literature were consciously developed. Jusserand considered the study and extolling of the national language and literature of greater significance than praise for the native isle, ancestors, or advanture. Influenced by the Rennaissance, the language and literature of Elizabethan England were receiving unprecedented attention. He continued:

> During the first part of the century attempts to polish the language had, it is true, been made, but with less ardour; after Elizabeth the task will be pursued, but with less passion.[100]

In several plays characters who could not speak good English were ridiculed or criticized. Lord Say in 2 Henry IV was fond of using Latin, a habit which cost him his life since Latin was "the tongue of an enemy".[101]

Again, in Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor Sir Hugh Evans could not speak good English, and Falstaff voiced his reactions in a characteristic fashion:

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[100] Op. cit., p. 349.
[101] P. 98.

'Seese and putter', Have I lived to stand at
the taunt of one that makes fritters of English?[102]

However, a serious eulogy of English was expressed in Richard II by Mowbray when he was to be banished from the country:

A dearer merit, not so deep a maim
As to be cast forth in the common air,
Have I deserved at your Highness' hands.
The language I have learn'd these forty years,
And now my tongue's use is to me no more
Than an unstringed viol or a harp,
Or like a cunning instrument cased up.
Or, being open, put into his hands
That knows no touch to tune the harmony:
Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,
Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips;
And dull unfeeling barren ignorance,
Is made my gaoler to attend on me
I am too old to fawn upon a nurse,
Too far in years to be a pupil now:
What is thy sentence then but speechless death
Which robs my tongue from breathing native breath?[103]

This love of the language, for words and their arrangement, together with imaginative spirit of the people's new powers and freedom formed the basis of a magnificent outburst of poetry.

The Englishman of Elizabeth's time possessed a strong insularity which made him suspicious of foreign manners and tongues.[104] The dramas reflected that attitude and in addition contained ridicule and criticism of foreign customs. William Lyon Phelps stated that "the ordinary motive in

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[102]P. 120.
[103]P. 33.
[104]Raymond MacDonald Alden, op. cit., p. 183.

arranging foreign matter for the delectation of the pit is clear enough; it was to inflame patriotic feeling ...."[105] Such scornful attacks on nearly every group of people with whom England had contact--French, Spanish, Jews, Italian, etc., were greatly enjoyed by the audience--probably by the galleries as well as the pit.

The French and Spanish seemed to be the favorite subjects of ridicule; more jibes are directed at them than any other group of people. In general the French were branded as a sly but fickle and cowardly nation. Gaveston was hated by the English nobles in Edward II as a "sly, inveigling Frenchman",[106] and the Scotch in The Scottish History of King James called Iaques "the French-born woolfe".[107] Henry VI spoke of France as a "fickle wavering nation",[108] and even Joan of Arc said that when Burgundy deserted the English and joined the French, it was "done like a Frenchman; turn, and turn again!"[109] King John promised Arthur, "I'll give thee more than e'er the coward hand of France can win."[110] The French soldiers were considered almost worthless in comparison with English regiments. King Henry V, when his army was almost exhausted by the many hardships in France, said:

105"George Chapman," The Best Plays of George Chapman, Mermaid Series (New York, 1895), p. 14.
106Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 103.
107John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 378.
108William Shakespeare. I Henry VI, p. 82
109Ibid., p. 76.
110William Shakespeare, King John, p. 40.

My people are with sickness much enfeebled,
My numbers lessen'd, and those few I have
Almost no better than so many French;
Who when they were in health, I tell thee, herald,
I thought upon one pair of English legs,
Did march three Frenchmen.[111]

Other derogatory remarks concerned French fashions for men and French dancing,[112] a conversation filled with profanity, was said to have a French dressing,[113] and a Frenchified fool was spoken of as the only fool.[114]

Braggart[115] and knave[116] were epithets applied to Spaniards; one man bemoaned the fact that his mother, otherwise a good woman, alas! was a Spaniard.[117] In order to please popular prejudice everything Spanish had to be blackened; the badly garbled character of Elinor of Castile in Peele's play, Edward I was one result of the audience's demand. In Sir Thomas Wyatt after Queen Mary has supposedly just received an offer of marriage from Philip, Wyatt as an ardent English egotist exaggerated Philip's unworthiness and Mary's virtue in order to make the proposed match seem doubly preposterous.

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[111]William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 77.
[112]John Addington Symonds, ed., op. cit., p. 282.
[113]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 279, Every Man in His Humor.
[114]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 278,
[115]William Shakespeare, 2 Henry IV, p. 128.
[116]Ashley Thorndike, ed., op. cit., p. 141. Old Wives' Tale.
[117]John Matthews Manly, op. cit., p. 386, The Scottish History of King James.

Oh God! is shee a beggar, a forsaken maide,
That she hath neede of grace from forraine princes?
By Gods dear mother, O, God pardon swear I
Me thinkes she is a faire and lovely Prince,
Her onely beautie (were she of mean birth)
Able to make the greatest Potentate,
I the great Emperor of the mightie Cham,
That hath more nations under his command,
Then Spanish Philips like to inherit townes,
To come and lay his Scepter at her feet,
And to entreate her to vouchsafe the grace
To take him and his Kingdome to her mercy.[118]

The English audiences likewise enjoyed allusions to their victory over the Armada[119] and their subsequent power in the world.

Although the Jews were not from another country, they received at least their share of abuse in the drama. The two classic examples of the Jew, hated, maligned, and treacherous, were Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice and Marlowe's Jew of Malta. In both of these plays the Jew almost succeeded in his diabolical schemes and then failed, probably to the great satisfaction of the audience.

Concerning the other nationalities, the Scots were sly as weasels,[120] the Turks were too sad,[121] the Dutch drank too much,[122] the Italians paid too much attention to fashions and manners, and the Welshmen were too proud of their ancestors.[123]

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[118] Felix E. Schelling, The English Chronicle Play (New York, 1902), p. 230.
[119] John Addington Symonds, ed., op. cit., p. 331. Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., op. cit., p. 172, Orlando Furioso.
[120] William Shakespeare, Henry V, p. 33.
[121] William Shakespeare, 2 Henry IV, p. 121.
[122] Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 262.
[123] Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 578, The Malcontent.

One of the fashions of the day was to become Italianate or Francomaniac by travelling abroad and absorbing superficial culture. When such persons came home to London, they were quite conspicuous and had to bear the merciless censure of the Laudatores patriae and furnished much material for the playwright. One dramatist said:

> From Spanish shrugs, French faces, ...
> Good Mercury protect us.[124]

In general the "affectation of outlandish scum"[125] was not approved by the patriotic Englishmen. They preferred their own customs; Cromwell considered himself patriotic but modest when he maintained that no court might be compared to England:

> Neither for State nor civil government:
> Lust dwells in France, in Italy, and Spain;
> From the poor pesant, to the Princes train,
> In Germany, and Holland, Riot serves,
> And he that most can drink, most he deserves:
> England I praise not: for I here was born,
> But that she laugheth the others into scorn.[126]

The English considered themselves braver, stronger, more sincere, honest, and modest than all other people;[127] and they did not hesitate to make their good qualities known. The play Englishmen for my Money developed a plot in which English girls with the aid of their English lovers outwitted

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[124]Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford, ed., op. cit., p. 304.
[125]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 523, Bussy D'Ambois.
[126]Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 218.
[127]J. J. Jusserand, op. cit., p. 320.

their father, a Portuguese money lender living in London, and defeated his plan to marry them respectively to a Dutchman, an Italian, and a Frenchman. The appeal of such a play to patriotic prejudices is obvious.[128] Schelling goes on to say that a play which enjoyed almost unexampled popularity for its noise, bustle, and glorification of the London citizen was Heywood's Four Prentices of London, in which the virtues of London tradesmen were extolled through travel and a romantic knightly adventure.[129] Even the superlative excellence of English ale was maintained against all foreigners in the drama The Weakest Goeth to the Wall.[130]

England was self-confident; the people had obtained so much favor of the gods that they agreed heartily with the sentiment of the patriotic Faulconbridge:

> Let England live but true within itself,
> And all the world can never wrong her state.
> . . . . . .
> If England's Peers and people join in one
> Nor Pope, nor France, nor Spain can do them wrong.[131]

At no time, without any exception, says Jusserand,[132] had the English been more proud of being English. They gloried in their virtues and their defects. The praises of the nation had been sung before but never by such multitudinous choruses as then extolled the inspiring character of Queen Elizabeth, the well-nigh marvelous achievements

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[128]Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, Vol. i, pp. 500-501.
[129]Ibid., p. 205.
[130]Ibid., p. 412.
[131]Beverly E. Warner, op. cit., p. 53.
[132]Op. cit., pp. 319-320.

of the nation, the brave deeds of historical heroes, and the excellent quality of English customs. As we read the dramas from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to her death in 1603, the increasing spirit of nationalism was evident, with the period following the defeat of the Armada as the most startling even in that brilliant reign of forty years. At that time everything English seemed admirable, and everything that happened to England, worthy of pride; the drama, amazing even in the mass of excellent literature, reflected clearly and minutely that admiration and that pride.

CHAPTER V

THE STUART DRAMA: 1603-1642.

In this last chapter of the discussion of English Renaissance drama will be considered the nationalism reflected in plays of the reigns of James I and Charles I, from the death of Elizabeth in 1603 to the closing of the theaters in 1642. In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to study the dramatic interpretation of the accumulating spirit of nationalism which had its beginning in native folk lore, its encouragement in the court of Elizabeth, and its climax in the patriotism of the Armada years. As was shown in the historical background of the period, Chapter II, there was in general a lessening of nationalistic unity after the death of Elizabeth, caused partially by the uninspiring character of the king and partially by the disappearance of foreign threats combined with rising evidences of internal cleavage.

The material of this chapter was vitally affected by the development of the type of drama dealing with contemporary manners and vices.

> The sudden overwhelming popularity after 1603 of the comedy of class types and distinctively local application .... is eloquent of conditions both on the stage and in the life of London. It indicates, on one hand, the disappearance of catholic largeness of

> view which generally universalizes and idealizes Elizabethan plays and it bears witness to the breaking up of the national unity of the earlier simpler age into strongly marked social and factional groups of Stuart England.[1]

At the same time it should be remembered that there was no sharp division in the drama at the time of the change of sovereigns. In fact the death of Elizabeth was the occasion for renewed patriotic activity in recognition of her former glory. The influence of the Elizabethan period extended into the succeeding years and inspired no small amount of nationalism although the feeling was definitely secondary to that of preceding years.

The literature which followed the death of the queen in 1603 went back for a time in praise of the days when

> England had lowered the pride of Spain and Elizabeth had stood for English prosperity and the triumph of the Protestant faith.[2]

Logically then, the first matter for consideration should be the plays concerning Elizabeth. In this class belonged _If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody_(1604) by Heywood, a biographical chronicle of the historic glories of the dead sovereign, and _The Whore of Babylon_ (1604) by Dekker, an elaborate allegory constructed of popular notions concerning Elizabeth's struggles in diplomacy and war. It expressed

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[1]Charles F. T. Brooke, _Tudor Drama--A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare_ (Boston, 1911), p. 390.

[2]Felix E. Schelling, _The English Chronicle Play_ (New York, 1902), p. 234.

violent political and religious partisanship and represented the popular contemporary conception of the lower classes as well as their opinions of Spain and Rome.[3] A third play, Shakespeare's The Famous History of the Life of King Henry VIII (1604 or 1612), was based on the history of Henry VIII's reign but had for its outstanding feature the baptism of Queen Elizabeth and Cranmer's prophecy for the future greatness of England. Although then a royal infant in her cradle, Elizabeth had promised, prophesized Cranmer, to bring upon her land

> .... a thousand thousand blessings
> Which time shall bring to ripeness.[4]

Cranmer continued with a somewhat lengthy glorification of events which had actually happened in Elizabeth's time, but which he represented as events of the future.

> This royal infant-heaven still more about her!--
> Though in her cradle, yet ....
> . . . . . shall be--
> But few now living can behold that goodness--
> A pattern to all princes living with her,
> And all that shall succeed: Saba was never
> More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
> Than this pure soul shall be: all princely graces,
> That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
> With all the virtues that attend the good,
> Shall still be doubled on her; truth shall nurse her,
> Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:
> She shall be loved and fear'd: her own shall bless her:
> Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
> And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her;
> In her days every man shall eat in safety,

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[3] Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1908), Vol. i, p. 289.

[4] P. 139.

> Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing
> The merry songs of peace to all his neighbors,
> God shall be truly known; and those about her
> From her shall read the perfect ways of honour!
> And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.[5]

Cranmer was fancied to be able to foretell the length of Elizabeth's reign, how she should be

> .... to the happiness of England,
> An aged princess: many days shall see her,
> And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
> Would I had known no more! but she must die;
> She must; the saints must have her; yet a virgin,
> A most unspotted lily shall she pass
> To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.[6]

The poet rather cleverly ended his drama with the baptism of Elizabeth in prophecy of how in her reign she should conquer the miseries of civil war which England had endured for many years.

The Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byron (1608) by George Chapman was based upon recent French history, but its chief interest for this discussion was the extended praise for the beauty and virtue of Elizabeth as well as the blessings which she had brought to England. The entire fourth act was devoted to a conversation between Byron and Elizabeth in which he complimented her and England, possibly because he wanted help against Henry IV of France. Henry IV had sent Byron to England as Lord Ambassador

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[5]Loc. cit.
[6]Ibid., p. 140.

. . . . . to that matchless Queen.
You never had a voyage of such pleasure,
Honour, and worthy objects; there's a Queen
Where nature keeps her state, and state her Court,
Wisdom her study, continence her fort,
Where magnanimity, humanity,
Firmness in counsel and integrity;
Grace to her poorest subjects; majesty
To awe the greatest, have respects divine,
And in her each part, all the virtues shine.[7]

Byron carried Henry's flattering messages to the Queen, that since heaven had throned such a royalty, he considered no king absolutely crowned

Whose temples have not stood beneath this sky,
And whose height is not harden'd with these stars,
Whose influences for this altitude,
Distill'd, and wrought in with temperate air
And this division of the element,
Have with your reign brought forth more worthy spirits
For counsel, valor, height of wit, and art,
Than any other region of the earth,
Or were brought forth to all your ancestors.[8]
. . . . . .
Your empire is so amply absolute
That even your theatres show more comely rule,
True noblesse, royalty, and happiness
Than others' courts: you make all state before
Utterly obsolete:[9]

In the same play Elizabeth was made to express her dependence upon her people:

.... all our worth is made
The common stock and bank; from whence are served
All men's occasione. . . . . [10]

If I hold any merit
Or any part of that your courtship gives me,
My subjects have bestow'd it; some in counsel,
In action some, and in obedience all;
For none knows with such proof as you, my lord,

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[7]William Lyon Phelps, ed., The Best Plays of George Chapman, Mermaid Series (New York, 1895), p. 367.
[8]Ibid., p. 375.
[9]Ibid., p. 376.
[10]Ibid., p. 374-375.

How much a subject may renown his prince,
And how much princes of their subjects hold.[11]

The popularity of James I was not in any way comparable to that of Elizabeth in the preceding years. His personality was not magnetic, and there was no great outside danger to concentrate the attention of the citizens around him. Nevertheless there were a few very worthy tributes paid to the king. Ben Jonson addressed the Prologue and Epilogue of Bartholomew Fair to James for his enjoyment that he might receive in the "fairing true delight".[12]

There was an old belief that kings could do miraculous healing, a quality which was attributed to James in Shakespeare's Macbeth. It was reputed that he cured the sick and unfortunate by

Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy,
And sundry blessings hang about his throne,
That speak him full of grace.[13]

However, the greatest praise for James I was found in Cranmer's vision in Henry VIII where he foretold that the glories of Elizabeth's reign should extend to the next, that when

The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
Her ashes new create another heir

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[11]Ibid., p. 377.
[12]Hazelton Spencer, Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1933), p. 413.
[13]P. 96-97.

As great in admiration as herself,
So shall she leave her blessedness to one--
When heaven shall call her from this cloud of
darkness
Who from the sacred ashes of her honour
Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
And so stand fix'd. Peace, plenty, love, truth,
terror,
That were the servants to this chosen infant,
Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him:
His honour and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations: he shall flourish,
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
To all the plains about him. Our children's children
Shall see this, and bless heaven.[14]

Elaborate as this passage was, it must be remembered that it was a single instance of such praise in contrast to the compliments to Queen Elizabeth on every hand.

The old English spirit of 1588 broke out occasionally in plays such as Dick of Devonshire (1625), the subtitle of which informed the reader that it was an English-Spanish combat performed by a western gentleman of Tavistock in Devonshire with an English quarter-staff against three Spaniards with rapiers and poniards.[15] It brought back the days when

That glory of his country and Spaynes terror
That wonder of the land and the Seas minyon
Drake of eternall memory, harrowed th' Indies.
. . . . . .

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[14]P. 140.
[15]Felix E. Schelling, op. cit., p. 393.

.... The very name of Drake
Was a Bugbear to fright Children: Nurses still'd
Their little Spanish Nynnyes when they cryde
"Hush! the Drake comes".[16]

In Cymbeline and Bonduca there was likewise a remnant of the patriotic independence of former days. When King Cymbeline was asked for tribute to Rome, A British noble replied:

.... Britain is
A world by itself; and we will nothing pay
For wearing our own noses,

and the Queen recalled how England had withstood Caesar's attacks, how his famous boast of "came", "saw", and "overcame" did not refer to England.[17] Later in the play an old man and two boys rallied the fleeing Britons and won the battle, crying

"Our Britain's harts die flying, not our men:
To darkness fleet souls that fly backwards, Stand:
Or are we Romans and will give you that
Like beasts which you shun beastly, and may save
But to look back in frown: stand, stand."[18]

Bonduca voiced the same spirit when, standing on the battlements of her city, she taunted the attacking Romans:

We'll make our monuments in spite of fortune;
In spite of all your eagle's wing, we'll work
A pitch above you; and from our height we'll stoop
As fearless of your bloody seres (talons), and fortunate,
As if we preyed on heartless doves.[19]

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[16]Felix E. Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, pp. 227-228.
[17]William Shakespeare, Cymbeline, p. 69.
[18]Ibid., p. 122.
[19]J. St. Loe Strachey, ed., The Best Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Mermaid Series (London, 1893), Vol. ii, p. 185.

Shortly afterward as she was dying she counselled the Romans, if they would keep their "laws and empire whole", to place in "Roman flesh a Briton soul".[20]

In The Knight of the Burning Pestle, Ralph, a belated Don Quixote, declared he was "an Englishman, as true as steel, a hearty Englishman," to which Lady Pompona admitted that she had often heard of his brave countrymen, fertile soil, and store of wholesome food.[21]

Scattered through the plays of the Jacobean and Caroline period are occasional and sometimes prefunctory references to the glory of "gracious England";[22] in Hyde Park by Shirley, an Englishman betting against an Irishman's chance of winning a race maintained that he loved "to cherish our own countrymen".[23]

In the matter of refusing to bow to any foreign dominance, more spirit was shown, especially in Bonduca's defiance of the Romans.

> If Rome be earthly, why should any knee
> With bending adoration worship her?
> She's vicious; and, your .... selves confess,
> Aspires the height of all impiety;
> Therefore 'tis fitter I should reverence
> The thatch'd houses where the Britains dwell
> In careless mirth: where the best household goods

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[21]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 786.
[22]William Shakespeare, Macbeth, p. 93.
[23]Edmund Gosse, ed., The Best Plays of James Shirley, Mermaid Series (New York, n. d.), p. 213.

> See nought but chaste and simple purity.
> 'Tis not high power that makes a place divine,
> Nor that the men from gods derive their lines;
> But sacred thoughts, in holy bosoms stored
> Make people noble, and the place adored.[24]

In regard to adventure and colonization the Virginia colonies[25] were mentioned several times as well as Francis Drake's ship.[26]

Since the comedy of manners was increasing in popularity, London,[27] as the grandest city of the nation, was more frequently the scene of plays and received higher praises than in the preceding period.

> "O, London," exclaims Dekker, "thou art great in glory, and envied for thy greatness; thy towers, thy temples, thy pinnacles stand upon thy head like borders of fine gold; thy waters like fringes of silver hang at the hemmes of thy garments. Thou art the goodliest of thy neighbors, but the prowdest; the welthiest, but the most wanton."[28]

In The Knight of the Burning Pestle Ralph presented the "merry month of May"[29] to that "noble city";[30] and time was reckoned in another play by "as long as water runs under London bridge, or watermen ply at Westminister stairs".[31]

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[24]J. St. Loe Strachey, ed., op. cit., p. 183.
[25]Havelock Ellis, ed., The Best Plays of Thomas Middleton, Mermaid Series (London, Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 497, p. 503, Eastward Ho.
[26]Ibid., p. 498.
[27]Charles M. Gayley, Representative English Comedies (New York, 1914), Vol. iii, p. 469, The Antipodes.
[28]J. J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People (New York, 1906), Vol. ii, p. 304.
[29]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 790.
[30]Ibid., p. 759.
[31]Havelock Ellis, ed., op. cit., p. 335, A Fair Quarrel.

The Prologue to The Alchemist boldy stated:

> Our scene is London, 'cause we would make known
> No country's mirth is better than our own.[32]

The same eagerness to use local material which made London popular in plays also demanded the use of "plain English"[33] language. England still had no use for the "affected strains"[34] of other countries. At the time when Queen Katharine was divorced from Henry VIII, she asked of him:

> O good my lord, no Latin;
> I am not such a truant since my coming,
> As not to know the language I have lived in:
> A strange tongue makes my cause more suspicious;
> Pray speak in English.[35]

In the heyday of the comedy of manners the English gallant, characterized by Ben Jonson as "gentlemen of good phrase, perfect language, passingly behav'd .... that wear socks and fine linen"[36] was not neglected. The nobleman of the time was also supposed to dress in fashion[37] and have skill with dogs and horses.[38]

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[32]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 355.
[33]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 452.
[34]Edmund Gosse, ed., The Best Plays of James Shirley, Mermaid Series (New York, n.d.), p. 211, Hyde Park.
[35]William Shakespeare, Henry VIII, p. 83.
[36]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 478.
[37]William Lyon Phelps, ed., op. cit., p. 275, The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.
[38]Edmund Gosse, ed., op. cit., p. 56, The Witty Fair One.

Criticism of the customs of other countries and other national traits was in no way diminished. Jews were still objects of disdain[39] whose bodies should be made into dogs' meat, dice, and parchment.[40]

There was still same animosity between England and France which found expression in uncomplimentary allusions to the subtle Frenchman[41] who could swear expertly[42] and his unmanly fashions which the English insisted on imitating.[43] The French were passing courtly, ripe of wit, kind, but extreme dissemblers[44] who could not equal the fair abundance, manhood, and beauty of England."[45] The Frenchified fop, Osric, in Hamlet received the ridicule usually accorded to affected manners and speech.[46]

Spain was regarded as a nation with a climate

> Too hot to nourish arts: the nation proud,
> And in their unsociable; the court
> More pliable to glorify itself
> Than do a stranger grace:[47]

Ben Jonson scored heavily the "scurvy-yellow Madrid face"[48] of the Spaniard in The Alchemist. The Puritan's

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[39]Havelock Ellis, ed., The Best Plays of John Ford, Mermaid Series (New York, n.d.), p. 293. Love's Sacrifice.
[40]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 488. Eastward Ho.
[41]Arthur Symonds, ed., The Best Plays of Philip Massinger, Mermaid Series (New York, n.d.), p. 102, The Fatal Dowry.
[42]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 477.
[43]William Shakespeare, Henry VIII, p. 47.
[44]Havelock Ellis, ed., op. cit., p. 289.
[45]Ibid., p. 290.
[46]William Shakespeare, pp. 166-169.
[47]Havelock Ellis, op. cit., pp. 288-289.
[48]Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 391.

opinion of the Spaniard was that he was superstitious, idolatrous, and in his ruff looked like Antichrist.[49] After a satire on the Spanish bow, bear, ruff, dances, perfume, etc., Dame Pliant aptly summarized the English opinion of Spaniards when she said:

> "Truly I shall never brook a Spaniard .....
> Never sin' eighty-eight could I abide 'em."[50]

Italy and Poland were regarded as sources of undesirable fashions,[51] the Moors as barbarious;[52] the Scotch were considered inferior to the English in bravery,[53] a cold phegmatic nation, not stirring enough for men of spirit.[54] All the chimney sweepers in England were Irish,[55] and the Dutch dull drunkards.[56]

A study of the Jacobean and Caroline drama has thus[57] revealed the facts that in general the nationalistic qualities had decreased in regard to patriotic sentiment for the sovereign and for the nation although the disapproval of other nations remained approximately the same. With the increasing popularity of the drama of manners and romance there came the disappearance of the history plays. The

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49 Ibid., p. 398.
50 Ibid., p. 393.
51 Ibid., p. 1005, p. 884.
52 Ibid., p. 670.
53 Havelock Ellis, ed., op. cit., p. 447, Perkin Warbeck.
54 Ibid., p. 440.
55 Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 716, The Honest Whore.
56 Arthur Symonds, ed., op. cit., p. 145.
57 Edmund Gosse, ed., op. cit., p. 23.

passing of those dramas was of the greatest significance to this discussion since they arose because of nationalism and were the very embodiment of that spirit. They were the most popular of all English drama of the sixteenth century but disappeared with the subsidence of the national spirit which had created them. The English chronicle plays began with the invasion of Spain. They lost their national character with the succession of James, an un-English prince, to the throne of Elizabeth.[57]

During the reign of James I a movement of a romantic character came over the drama, eliminating local and historical facts and stressing the unusual and picturesque. Most plays of this type were set in a foreign scene; Avirogus and Philicia, Bonduca, and Cymbeline were of the few which were based upon semblance of English legends. These dramas displayed English character to some extent, but such was not their primary purpose. Passages have previously been quoted from Bonduca and Cymbeline which showed the stalwart courage of the early Britons; Avirogus and Philicia was a heroic romance involving Saxons and Danes but not in the least historical.[58] In Macbeth his vision of the twofold balls and treble scepters was possibly a complimentary

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[57]Felix E. Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, pp. 1-3.
[58]Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, Vol. i, p. 303.

allusion to the three kingdoms united under the Scottish sovereign.[59]

The English audience had not drifted entirely away from native themes, as was shown in the experiences of Leatherhead, the puppet showman in Bartholomew Fair, whose patrons enjoyed "home-born projects"[60] and in the praise of the Briton here, Caratach,[61] a Roman hater, " a scourge sent from heaven"[62] to whip the invaders from England.

However, the real chronicle history was practically gone; the two important plays of that class after 1603 were The Life of Henry VIII, which has already been discussed, and Perkin Warbeck. The prologue of the latter play explained that

> Studies have of this nature been of late
> So out of fashion, so unfollowed, that
> It is become more justice to revise
> The antic follies of the times than strive
> To countenance wise industry.

Nevertheless the play was to be of

> A history of noble mention, known
> Famous and true; most noble, cause our own,
> Not forged from Italy, from France, from Spain
> But chronicled at home; as rich in strain
> Of brave attempts as ever fertile rage
> In action could beget to grace the stage
> We cannot limit scenes for the whole land
> Itself appeared too narrow to withstand
> Competitors for kingdoms; nor is here

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59 Sidney Lee, Life of William Shakespeare (New York, 1916), p. 247.
60 Hazelton Spencer, op. cit., p. 460, pp. 463-464.
61 J. St. Loe Strachey, op. cit., p. 128, p. 141, p. 207, p. 208.
62 Ibid., p. 172.

Unnecessary mirth forced to endear
A multitude; on these two rests the fate
Of worthy expectation,--truth and state.[63]

Perkin Warbeck laid claim to the throne on the ground that he was the Duke of York presumably murdered in the Tower by Richard III, and the plot involved his unsuccessful attempt to become king. He loved England; and when King James of Scotland ordered Warbeck to plunder England as he fought, Warbeck demured:

My land depopulated, and my people
Afflicted with a kingdom's devastation;
Show more remorse, great king, or I shall never
Endure to see such havoc with dry eyes;
Spare, spare my dear, dear England![64]

With mention of The Valiant Scot (1637) the subject of which was the life of a Sir William Wallace, the discussion of the chronicle history may be brought to a close. The small number of such plays was characteristic of the lack of healthy spirit, sane and comprehensive grasp of life in the declining Stuart drama.[65]

The spirit of English nationalism in the drama after it had begun in the early dramatic attempts, may be said to have developed, reached its climax, and declined in the eighty-four years from 1558 to 1642. From the time Elizabeth ascended the throne until the Armada years was a period of growth and preparation for both nation and drama. Then

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63Havelock Ellis, ed., op. cit., p. 381.
64Ibid., p. 433.
65Charles Brooke, op. cit., (Boston, 1911), p. 390.

in the brilliant years following the defeat of Spain, there arose a national pride and a passion for England which caused her citizens to describe, admire, and reverence everything English--present events and past history, sovereigns, soil, climate, language, and manners. It was natural that the popular feeling should be reflected in a nationalistic drama and that the climaxes of the two should approximately coincide. During those years the national historical drama and patriotic enthusiasm of all other types reached the highest wave of popularity.

After the death of Elizabeth the drama gradually lost much of its freshness and its connection with genuine English life and sentiment. The Elizabethan strength and solidarity were gone; the playwrights deserted the substantial ground of national history[66] and turned to manners and romance.

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[66] Ibid., p. 443.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study was begun, as has been stated in the introduction, for the purpose of determining whether or not the general assumption that nationalism influenced English Renaissance Drama was justifiable, and if so, to investigate the extent and nature of that influence.

Since a limited number of plays was available, the investigation does not offer complete results. Nevertheless, in this tentative treatment of approximately 140 representative plays such a wealth of material was found that there can be no doubt that nationalism exerted a vital influence on the drama. In fact, one entire branch of the drama, the chronicle history, can be accounted for only as an outgrowth of nationalism. The results of the investigation show that during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, from 1558 to 1586, there was a gradual development of elements of nationalism which had existed even earlier. The plays of that period contained approximately forty patriotic expressions, averaging less than four to each play. The next period from the threat of the Armada in 1587 to the death of Elizabeth in 1603 was by far the most nationalistic in regard to both the large number of almost purely patriotic history plays and the general intensity of feeling represented. The plays consulted for that period contained more than 175 references which averaged more than

five for each play. However, the vibrant patriotism of Elizabeth's time lasted for only a short time after her death. When the patriotic reactions to Elizabeth's death had passed away, the personality of James and the internal conditions of England were such that a new type of drama arose in which nationalism was almost entirely absent. The available dramas of the years from 1604 to 1642 contained approximately 100 references which averaged about one and one-half per play, but which were concentrated almost entirely in the first ten years.

In direct contrast to the preceding period the chronicle history plays were almost entirely lacking, and comedies of manner and romances took possession of the stage. We may thus conclude that the drama which has been considered reflected a growth and decline of English patriotism and that the time of greatest dramatic achievement coincided with the greatest nationalistic spirit.

This study also shows the high degree of relationship between current history and literature. Not only were the outstanding persons and events embodied in many dramas of which only a part remain, but the very existence of those plays was dependent upon current interest in literature and national affairs.

The literary value of most of the quotations used in this study was not of the first order. Since the plays were written for immediate production with the intention of arousing

enthusiasm, more attention was given to the sentiment than to the form in which it was expressed. There were a few exceptions, notably Jonson's and Lyly's tributes to Queen Elizabeth, John of Gaunt's dying speech in Richard II, and the patriotic passages in Henry V, but many of the lines were crude and bombastic.

However crude it might be, the patriotism was undoubtedly sincere and was effective in arousing still more enthusiasm. Since the drama was intimately associated with the people, it was inevitable that their emotions and their love for England should find dramatic expression in proud admiration for England and her possessions.

The final conclusion of this study is that, in view of the material disclosed by investigation, historians of literature have been entirely justified in their statements that English Renaissance drama was vitally influenced by nationalism.

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