MILITARY CULTURE OF SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND

by

DONG HA SEO

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College of Arts and Law
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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of military culture in, and its effects on, early modern English society. Militarism during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods was not reinforced by military institutions directly interfering with the private lives of individuals, or by controlling the thoughts and actions of the whole nation. It was, however, strongly influenced by the culture of a military elite, represented by leading noblemen such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, who paid considerable attention to the theatrical aspects of formal and ceremonial occasions and how their military role was portrayed in art and literature.

Unlike the usual traditional portrayal of these prominent figures as incompetent military leaders who rushed blindly forwards in pursuit of military glory, we will see that through their aristocratic patronage of various art forms they promoted their image as competent Protestant warriors, and helped the public to be receptive to a variety of military ideas.

The principal motivation of this study is to consider a multiplicity of perspectives on how a military culture was constructed, through a variety of genres, and how particular views on military matters were integrated into popular culture. Literary critics and historians have previously examined certain aspects of militarism in this period but this study aims to take a holistic view of how the military culture developed and affected the public sphere.

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Table of Contents

Introduction		1
Chapter 1	The late Elizabethan and early Stuart military circles	22
Chapter 2	Patronage of theatre, art, and music	71
Chapter 3	Representations of the military and military issues on stage	137
Chapter 4	Cheap print	207
Chapter 5	Religion	254
Conclusion		299
Bibliography		305

List of Illustrations

1. William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (1591) Appendix 3 and Sir Clement Edmonds, *Observations, Upon the Five Bookes of Caesars Commentaries* (1600) 30

2. *Elizabeth I* by George Gower (1588), Marquess of Tavistock & the Trustees of the Bedford Estates 95

3. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* by Nicholas Hilliard (*c*.1571-4), Private Collection 101

4. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* (*c*.1585-1587) by Christoffel van Sichem, National Portrait Gallery and *Philip II of Spain* by Antonio Mor (*c*. 1557) 101

5. *Maurice of Nassau, Son of William of Orange* and *Sir Philip Sidney* by Cornelis Ketel, The Marquess of Bath 102

6. Engraving of "Maurice of Nassau and Sir Philip Sidney before Axel" (1616) 103

7. *Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester* (*c*.1564) attributed to Steven van der Muelen, Private Collection 104

8. *Robert Dudley* by Federigo Zuccaro, British Museum 104

9. *The Earl of Leicester* by an unknown artist, The Parham Collection 106

10. Frontispiece of *Teorica y Practica de Fortification* by Captain Cristóbal de Rojas (Seville, 1598) 107

11. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* by Hendrik Goltzius 108

12. *The Earl of Essex* by Nicholas Hilliard (*c*. 1591-5) and Hendrick Goltzius, "Marcus Curtius" from the series *The Roman Heroes* (1586) 109

13. "The Earl of Essex" by Robert Boissard and "The Earl of Essex" by Thomas Cockson 110

14. *Henry, Prince of Wales* by Robert Peake (*c*. 1604-10) 112

15. "Titus Manlius," *The Roman Heroes* by Goltzius (*c*. 1586) 113

16. "Prince Henry" with the pike by Simon de Passe and "Prince Henry" by William Hole 114

17. Gervase Markham, *A Schoole for young souldiers in briefe the whole discipline of warre* (1615) 116

18. *Militias* in Clifton Hall, Nottinghamshire 117

19. William Byrd, "The souldiers sommons" and "The buriing of the dead" in 131

My Ladye Nevell's Bookes, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1926)

20. "Funeral Procession of Sir Philip Sidney" by Thomas Lant 132

21. Leicester's Triumphal Entry in The Hague (1586) 143

22. Robert Dudley, portrait in *The Bishops' Bible* (1568) 144

23. A stage battle from Leicester's Triumphal Entry in The Hague (1586) 146

24. William Garrard, "Practises of training, appertaining to the charge of two hundreth Men" in *The Arte of Warre* (1591) 153

25. "Queen Elizabeth on horseback" by Thomas Cecil (1625) 220

26. "Sir Philip Sidney" by Robert Vaughan from *Nine Modern Worthies* (1622) 220

27. Thomas Deloney, *A New Ballet of the Straunge and Most Cruell Whippes Which the Spanyards Had Prepared to Whippe and Torment English Men and Women* (1588) 222

28. Title page from the *Troubles of Geneva* (1591) 232

29. Title page from the *A Discourse More at Large the Late Ouerthrowe Giuen to the King of Spaines at Turnehaut* (1597) 233

Introduction

"War is always an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms."[1]

This thesis examines the development of military culture in, and its effects on, early modern English society. Its purpose is to argue that militarism during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods was reinforced, not by military institutions interfering with the private life of every individual or controlling the thoughts and actions of a whole nation, but by the culture of the military elite. This elite paid considerable attention to formal and ceremonial occasions and to their own image as leaders of fashion, in the arts as well as in military matters. Leading noblemen of the time took the lead in developing a military culture.

There is always a cultural level to war and John Keegan's statement gives us a context in which to examine the ways in which war in early modern England was shaped by, and shaped, the culture of its participants. To do this we need to examine our understanding of culture. There is a multiplicity of definitions of culture but it usually means the way of life of a people, learned and transmitted from one generation to the next. In the narrow sense, culture is the entry into the way of life, activities, beliefs, and customs of a group of people with shared traditions. The culture of soldiers thus provides its members with a sense of identity and reinforces the values held in the military. In this context, it is difficult to see how military culture could be established as a determining agent in England in a period when there was no army and most military activity centred around bands of fighting men in noblemen's houses or hastily summoned defence forces. Keegan's understanding of war as "an expression of culture," however, is a very useful concept in this setting because it helps us explain how military values became enacted, embodied, and practiced through a variety of cultural forms.

In the four decades between 1585 and 1624, the threat and actuality of war overshadowed the lives of Englishmen. During this period, many English war-oriented plays were performed

[1] John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Pimlico, 1994) 12.

and the great majority of early modern English military writings was printed. While literary scholars have done much to demonstrate the influence of military theories posited in the military literature in Shakespeare's plays, much of the historical criticism has been sceptical about the value of military books. Although each discipline has used concepts derived from the other to present its own arguments, I would maintain that they have led us to misunderstand the nature of early modern militarism as the attempt of contemporary aristocrats and gentlemen officers to monopolise the crown's favour to the neglect of common soldiers. This thesis, therefore, will undertake a fresh analysis of interactions between the Elizabethan and early Stuart aristocrats and the scholars, chaplains, artists, and musicians they patronised and will demonstrate how military culture, which was developed by a system of patronage, became an integral part of early modern English society and values.

The basic premise of this study is that a body of knowledge of military strategy and tactics was fostered in certain aristocratic households where military and foreign policies were debated, and that this was soon promoted across the wider society. One crucial argument that I shall explore in this thesis is that the patronage of scholars, soldiers, publishers and artists by aristocrats, such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, operated as a vehicle to promote the ideal of a Protestant warrior. This aristocratic and princely patronage had meaning and significance in relation to the social and cultural context in which militarism appeared and was disseminated. Without their patronage, the concerns and language of war, which were very much part of the privileged world of the military elite, could not have existed alongside a popular culture at a time when England did not have a standing army.

It is worth mentioning at the outset that despite the fact that these leading nobles were the key military leaders, it is inappropriate to read or interpret their activities only within a military context, without first considering the wider aristocratic life of the age. Indeed, the life of a soldier alone would not have given them enough scope, since they all led an active court life and between them patronised nearly all the outstanding literary figures, artists, and

musicians of the age. The art and literature of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods would have been very different without their patronage. However, as I shall emphasise throughout this thesis, the driving force behind each of them was a determination to pursue a military role. In order to demonstrate that military concerns were a fundamental motive of their other cultural and political activities, their military interests need to be reassessed in the context of an evolving military culture which incorporated a diverse range of private and public factors.

The concept of the courtier presented by Baldassare Castiglione, as a fully rational, perfectly virtuous, and autonomous individual who sought after the highest level of human activities, such as rhetoric, music, painting and athletics, constituted what we might call the social norm for the English courtiers, just as it did in other European courts.[2] Humanist education also offered the aristocracy rationales of cultural patronage, placing an increasing emphasis on civility, proper behaviour, good manners, refinement, and public service.[3] Therefore, to downplay other cultural, social, and economic activities in order to emphasise their military activity would be doing an injustice to the breadth of their interests. Nevertheless, we need to note what strong emphasis Leicester (who was educated by Roger Ascham and John Dee), Sidney (who consulted with John Dee and Hubert Languet, and studied with Gabriel Harvey), Essex (who, like Sidney, studied key texts such as Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus with university scholars such as Henry Cuffe and Henry Savile), and Prince Henry (who learned "the first elements to be Privie Counseller, a Generall of an Armie, to rule in peace, & to command in war" with James Cleland) placed on the role of the humanist-trained courtier as statesman and soldier.[4]

Sidney complained: "For to what purpose should our thoughts be directed to various kinds of knowledge, unless room be afforded for putting it into practice, so that public advantage

[2] See Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
[3] R. M. Smuts, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) 35; 95.
[4] Quoted in Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: the Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1981) 69.

may be the result." [5] This conception of serving to "public advantage" is crucial to understanding the cultural, political, and military activities of these men, because it is far more than a simple idealization based on Castiglione's model. While Sidney was alive, he was depicted prominently as a soldier, for example, in Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586).[6] Sidney also viewed his own primary role as a soldier, which he celebrated in the opening of *An Apology for Poetry* (1595): "soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind." [7] And when he died, he was commemorated as a "souldier good prefarde [preferred]."[8] Similarly, Essex proudly adhered to his own vocation as a soldier by stating "they that loue paines, daunger, and fame, shewe they loue publique profite more then themselues. I loue them for my countries sake, for they are Englands best armour of defence, and weapons of offence."[9] In *The Barriers*, a visual manifesto of his prowess in the arts of war, Prince Henry acted the part of a soldier who sustained thirty pushes of the pike and three hundred and sixty strokes of the sword so that "the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy."[10] As a contemporary noted, his court was a meeting place for "so much of Souldiers & men of warre."[11] He was always seen as a Protestant warrior who gives "the Whore of Babylon that foil, & fall, from which she shall never rise, even that deadly blow whereof she shall never recover."[12] They were all concerned to promote the image of the Protestant warrior and to mobilise popular support for their military agenda both in theory and in practice.

Military aristocratic patronage provoked intense discussion of military issues through a variety of genres. In identifying recurring military subjects and themes in various literary and

[5] James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1972) 536.
[6] Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586) 109-10. Sidney was compared to the great soldiers of the ancient world such as Alexander, Caesar, and Scipio.
[7] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Nelson, 1965) 95.
[8] George Whetstone, *Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life, His Valiant Death, and True Vertues* (1587) B2^{v}.
[9] Earl of Essex, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600) B3^{r}.
[10] Sir Charles Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of Our Late Most Incomparable and Heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales* (1641) 12.
[11] W. H. *The True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry* (1634) 31. I will discuss this subject in more detail in Chapter 2.
[12] William Crashaw, *Sermon Preached at the Cross* (1608) ¶ 2^{v}.

art forms, and contextualising these trends through an interdisciplinary investigation of their shared motives, this thesis will also challenge three basic approaches prevalent in current academic discussions on the subject of military culture in early modern England: firstly, the assumption that the leading aristocratic military figures such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry were glory-motivated chivalric knights; secondly that early modern military manuals were central to the spread of militarism; and thirdly the often held views of critics that, for example, the battles scenes in the dramatic texts should be read against the military manuals and were intended, through use of the public theatres, to throw doubts on the values of militarism.

I employ the term "military culture" in my thesis title to convey not only topical concerns about military conflicts but also the particular cultural forms encompassing literary, visual, and aural elements, shaped and shared by members of the military circles.

The study of military culture, especially that of the relationship between warfare and society is "eclectic and multidisciplinary" and can be informed by many different disciplines, including military, cultural, social, and political criticism.[13] As defined in this thesis, military culture is the set of assumptions and values that influences everything a military man does. It extends beyond the world of the serving soldiers by "carrying military mentality and modes of acting and decision into the civilian sphere."[14] As one dictionary definition of "militarism" indicates, it advocates the attitude that a society will be best served when it is governed or guided by military values embodied in the culture, governmental policy, or people of the military organisation.[15] However, it is a mistake to consider that early modern military culture imposed military values on the whole society in the same way that modern militarism does, because during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods there was not the strict segregation between the military sphere and the civilian sphere there is today.[16] Those who

[13] Martin Edmonds, *Armed Services and Society* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1988) 12.
[14] Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1959) 13.
[15] "Militarism (n. 1)," *The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. (1989).
[16] For example, Machiavelli asserted that only a citizen could be a good soldier, and only a soldier could be a

were higher in the hierarchy made no distinction between civil and military roles and pursued both simultaneously.[17] The militarism in the period is a factor that must be taken into account when we remember that there were no military institutions in the modern sense. To appreciate fully the extent to which diverse cultural anxieties about military subjects emerged, and how the militarism they represented was carried into society, we must first have a chronological overview of the impact of war on England at the time.

1. Historical Background

During the years of Elizabeth's reign, England was intermittently at war with Spain and dealing with armed rebellion in Ireland. Simultaneously a maritime expeditionary fleet was dispatched to the West Indies.[18] Yet the concern of Elizabethan England over military affairs and its effort to arm the country to more modern standards, because of the presence of a large Spanish force in the Netherlands, can be traced back as far as the 1570s. The 1570s, marked by the horrors of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572 and Alva's sack of Antwerp in 1574, urged the English to prepare themselves for war to avoid the Spanish yoke—as seen from examples drawn from works such as Thomas Churchyard's *A Lamentable, and pitifull Description of the wofull warres in Flanders* (1573) and Barnaby Rich's *Allarme to England* (1578). Although many of her subjects such as Sir Roger Williams and Sir Humphrey Gilbert had already volunteered for service in the army of the States General, Elizabeth had not yet committed her army to the Netherlands. It was not until the encirclement of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma's army in the summer of 1585 that England was left with no choice but to

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good citizen. See the first book of Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre*, ed. Peter Whitethorne (1562).

[17] As Alexander in Lyly's *Campaspe* says, they, believing the famous Platonic ideals—"commonwealth [is] fortunate whose captain is a philosopher and whose philosopher is a captain,"—took "as great care to govern in peace as conquer in war." John Lyly, *Campaspe: Sappho and Phao*, eds. G. K. Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991) 58.

[18] In 1579-83 there had been a protracted rebellion by one of the leading Irish lords in the southern part of the country. In 1580 the Spanish had sent a small expedition to Kerry. In 1596 Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, began a major revolt against England, assisted by Spanish supplies. England's chief offensive action in 1585 was to launch a substantial fleet against the West Indies, giving the war against Spain a transatlantic character from the outset. Major expeditions were launched again in 1587, 1589-91, 1596-7 and 1602. See Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's War: War, Government, and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 255.

send its troops to the Low Countries in support of the Dutch Revolt. It was in August 1585, upon the signing of the Treaty of Nonsuch, that the English entered the war in the Low Countries to turn back the Spanish threat before it reached English soil. This decision to send an English expeditionary force of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse and appoint Leicester as the expeditionary force's commander had far-reaching implications for shaping English military culture.

As we will see, the participation in the Dutch conflict provided the military elite with an opportunity to form their own military circles to increase England's military efficiency and also bring continental military culture back with them into English society. It was the defining experience for Elizabethan military patrons like Leicester, Sidney, and Essex. After his military experience in the Low Countries, Leicester served as Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Queen's Armies and Companies until he died in 1588. Sidney became an icon of the Protestant heroic ideal after his death at Zutphen. Essex, whose first experience of war was campaigning in the Low Countries with Leicester and Sidney, distinguished himself as a military man in the 1589 Portugal expedition and in 1596 at Cadiz. Later, in 1597, he gained the Mastership of Ordnance and in 1599, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he led the English expeditionary force to Ireland.

When James I came to the throne in 1603, English foreign policy ceased to be aggressive and took a more peaceful track. The disintegration of the late Elizabethan military circles, which had begun with the execution of Essex in 1601, accelerated with the Treaty of London signed by the English and Spanish in 1604. In Ireland, relations between the English and the Irish underwent a marked improvement following the conclusion of the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), and remained mainly peaceful until early in the Caroline period.

While James I was reluctant to intervene in European campaigns, English volunteers continued to make their way to the Low Countries and English units remained in Dutch service until the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the States General in

1609. Despite the peace policy of James I, early Stuart England saw the rise of a new generation of military patrons, notably Prince Henry. Once Henry became the Prince of Wales in 1610, he began to bring the Low Countries veterans, such as Francis and Horace Veres, Edward Cecil, and Edward Conway, into his circle in an effort to create a military circle to rival his contemporaries, Maurice of Nassau and Henri IV of France.[19]

When the crisis of Cleves-Jülich unfolded in 1610, Cecil, who led 4,000 English troops to support the States-General of the Dutch Republic, was the Prince's principal adviser about military operations.[20] Although the sudden death of Prince Henry in 1612 saw the dispersal of his military circle, the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) raised new fears about the military threat posed by Spain and France. The English public was swayed by news pamphlets describing Frederick V's (James I's son-in-law) disastrous defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and the plight of Germany's Protestants at the hands of the Spanish forces.[21] Under these circumstances, the Council of War—including many of the prominent Elizabethan and Jacobean veterans, such as Edward Conway, Horace Vere, and Edward Cecil—was created.

The loss of the Palatinate and the failure of Vere's expedition of 1622 into Germany prompted members of the Council to attempt to institute military reforms and reinvigorate military training through printing the English government's first military manual, *The Instructions For Musters and Armes, and the use of thereof* (1623).[22] In 1624, Thomas Scott published a pamphlet *Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost Sent from Elizium* and this reawakened

[19] David Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 74.

[20] Duke John William of Cleves, Jülich, March and Berg died in 1609, leaving no clear successor to his territories, which lay along the borders of the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands and occupied a strategic position between the Rhine and the Meuse. Two brothers-in-law claimed the succession: the Duke of Brandenburg and the Count of Neuberg. The Emperor Rudolf II intervened in the dispute, sequestering the territories and entrusting their government to imperial representatives. Henri IV of France saw in this situation an opportunity to challenge the Habsburgs, and sought England's support. I will return to this issue in Chapter 1.

[21] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 88.

[22] As we will see later, this 1623 manual was the first attempt by the government to codify and standardize practice across a range of fields. Before this book, the process of modernisation of military tasks largely rested in the hands of those in the military circles. See Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 167-77.

Essex's influence and renewed the call for a patriotic protestant crusade. James I decided to renew war with Spain and Count Mansfeld's expedition into Germany was conducted in 1624.

The feeling of the time was summed up by George Marcelline. In his *Vox Militis* (1625), a reprinting of Barnaby Rich's *Allarme to England* (1578), Marcelline warned that the English lived "without regard of Militarie discipline," and were being forced to "stand and behold their Neighbours and Friends in apparent daunger, & almost destroyed by their enemies unjust persecution," and yet by this expedition he wished the English soldier "a happy success" which "shall crowne all Marshallists earnest indeauours."[23] Marcelline had previously placed his hope for military glory in Prince Henry, telling him "you shall finde me readier to lay hand on my sword for you, then on my pen, and would rather spend my blood then mine Inke, for your honour and seruice, in al, and by all, My young CAESAR, and great ALEXANDER," and his hope was dashed once again as Mansfeld's expedition failed.[24] The death of James I and the succession of Charles I in 1625 did little to change England's foreign policy. Charles and his chief councillor, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, were eager to lead the country in a war against Spain after the embarrassing collapse of the Spanish match in 1623. When a list of late Elizabethan and early Stuart military activities is drawn up, the failures outweigh the successes.

Before discussing a contextualised location for English military culture in early modern England, it is useful to reconsider this view of England's military incompetence, as recently there has been a more realistic awareness of the contribution of late Elizabethan and early Stuart soldiers in the histories of the period. It is on this point that, in this thesis, I aim to bring the military leadership of prominent aristocratic soldiers back to the centre of the picture by demonstrating the extent to which their patronage contributed to the development of a new English military culture.

[23] George Marcellin, *Vox Militis* (1625) 1; 56.
[24] Marcelline, *The Triumphs of the King James the First* (1610) A2^{r}.

I have chosen to limit the scope of this study to English society between 1585 and 1624 for two reasons. Firstly, I wish to examine the historical parallels between the two periods—the most obvious being war with Spain. The public identification of Essex with the conduct of an aggressive war against Spain was revived in Jacobean England. It is not my intention to repeat the existing scholarship in this field. One such example is Roy Strong's *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (1986), which describes Henry as the heir to a tradition of militant Protestantism and culturally innovative internationalism handed down from Leicester to Sidney to Essex, and lost upon Henry's death.[25] The aim has been to situate the historical parallels within a broader cultural context in which a variety of genres were commissioned or encouraged by leading members of the aristocratic circles to operate as a means of moulding public opinion. We must not see their image-making efforts as separate from their programme to improve military capability with modern strategy and tactics.

Secondly, before the Council of War, which advised the King on military affairs became a more permanent body in 1624, it was the military patronage of aristocrats like Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry that played a crucial role in shaping military policy and improving the standards of military practice. To define the Elizabethan military elite, the term "war party"—which is still indiscriminately used—was introduced by a group of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians like Martin Hume and Conyers Read who associated them with the prolonged divisions over foreign policy in the Elizabethan Privy Council, especially regarding England's military intervention to liberate the Low Countries from Spanish power in the 1580s.[26] This impression constructed by the early historians was buttressed more by how they were seen than by what they were and what they actually did. An impression of these key figures originated in this modern conception of a war party as

[25] Roy Strong, Henry, *Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986) 223-4.

[26] See Conyers Read, *The Tudors: Personalities and Practical Politics in Sixteenth-century England* (London: Oxford UP, 1936) 198; Martin A. S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley: A Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London: J. Nisbet, 1898). Read, for example, regarded Leicester and Walsingham as the leaders of the "war party" who were inspired by the international Protestant cause and Burghley as the spokesman of the "peace party," which was more concerned with financial prudence and sought diplomatic solutions.

those who supported an oppressive and belligerent political structure, but this did not take account of the nature of military culture created during the latter half of Elizabeth's reign.[27]

In these military circles, patron-client relations were forged between aristocratic patrons and various groups. In a time when there was no permanent and professionalised military, the households of the aristocratic and princely circles became places devoted to the study of military history, current affairs and the development of contemporary approaches to tactics and warfare.

2. Grounds for debate

Many aspects of military culture in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, such as religious belief, economics, social structure, military organisation, and politics (and the interplay of these factors), have been extensively studied to show how early modern England conducted war. For much of the twentieth century, social, political, and religious historians have recognised the significant impact of the war on Elizabethan and Stuart society, but the military side of the war (except the technical and administrative aspects of military operations, notably the Armada campaign in 1588) remains little understood.[28] Even military historians portrayed this period as a most uninteresting period in the military history of England.[29] J. W. Fortescue in his *History of the British Army* (1910), which covers the period from the Battle of Hastings (1066) to the end of the Seven Year's War (1713), dealt with military events in the late Elizabethan-early Stuart period in relatively few pages and encouraged his military students to read the works of Shakespeare, asserting that Shakespeare was "truly the painter of the English army in his own day."[30] Prior to the 1980s, Fortescue's opinion was held by

[27] "War party (n. 1)," *OED* 2nd (1989).
[28] For a general overview of the subject, see Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965); C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966); Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638* (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1967); and I. A. A. Thompson, "The Impact of War," *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*, ed. Peter Clark (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985) 261-83.
[29] Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1937) 368.
[30] J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan, 1910) 140.

historians who portrayed early modern English soldiers as incompetent amateurs. The term "amateur" was commonly used to describe aristocratic soldiers like Essex—C. G. Cruickshank calling him "a brilliant and temperamental amateur."[31] Early historians saw one of the chief sources of motivation amongst aristocrats and gentlemen officers who fought in the war with Spain as being an attempt to gain Elizabeth's favour at the expense of common soldiers.[32] It is hardly surprising, then, that Shakespeare scholars—such as R. B. Sharpe, Lily B. Campbell, Geoffrey Langsam, and Paul Jorgensen, who largely accepted early historians' advice to study knowledge of war from Shakespeare's texts—developed generally unfavourable opinions about the leading aristocratic military figures, such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, dismissing their participation in contemporary military campaigns as means of displaying personal heroism.[33] This view is still endorsed by literary scholars. For example, Richard McCoy, uncritically accepting Sir Robert Naunton's division of the leading Elizabethan noblemen into two categories—*togati* and *de militia*, understands the rites of knighthood fostered by Elizabeth to be an outlet for the conflict between the aristocrats and the monarch.[34] McCoy's description of Essex as a man who went beyond the warlike spectacle of the tiltyard and destroyed what he calls the "chivalric compromise" derives from Naunton's account.[35] Similarly, Nina Taunton's description of Essex is based on the outdated historical assumption that his public action was motivated by "rivalry and self-aggrandisement in politics and at court."[36] Naunton's sketches of the Elizabethan noblemen is

[31] Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* 43.
[32] Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955); Richard Lanham, "Sidney: The Ornament of his Age," *Southern Review* 2 (1967): 319-40; G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (London: Cassell, 1937).
[33] Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories* (St Marino: The Huntington Library, 1947); G. Geoffrey Langsam, *Martial Books and Tudor Verse* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1951); and Paul A. Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).
[34] Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia or Observation on Queen Elizabeth, Her Times & Favourites*, ed. John S. Cerovski (Washington D. C.; London: The Folger Shakespeare Library; Associated UP, 1985) 48.
[35] Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989) 101. According to Naunton, Essex was a "son of Bellona" who "hurried and transported with an over desire and thirstiness after fame, and that deceitful fame of popularity." Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* 77.
[36] Nina Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman and Shakespeare's* Henry V (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 10.

questionable, given that his view of Elizabeth as an absolute monarch was coloured by his observation of the state of politics in the 1620s.[37]

It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that the old view of Elizabethan and Stuart England's military incompetence and amateurish soldiership was tested by the study of early modern English military history which was carried out by historians like John Hale, David Eltis, Simon Adams, John Nolan, and Paul Hammer.[38] Thanks to their ground-breaking work, which focuses increasingly on the practical issue of military affairs in the development of the state, society, and culture, there is now a growing consensus that late Elizabethan and early Stuart England was in fact highly militarised, with elites actively participating in the country's military campaigns and the general population quite knowledgeable about military affairs. More recent scholarship has supported this view of England's active participation in the wars of the period. Amongst them are David Trim's *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (2003), Roger Manning's *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (2003) and *The Apprenticeship of Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (2006), and Rory Rapple's *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (2009). Although their emphasis varies in motivation (for example, while Trim sees religion as the primary reason, Manning sees honour and personal glory and Rapple sees political reward as central to the motivation to

[37] See Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002) 56-7. Naunton had difficulty distinguishing swordsmen (*de militia*) and gownsmen (*togati*), although he knew that each category represented distinct values. For example, he classified Leicester as a man who "had more of Mercury than of Mars." Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* 52. Nevertheless, one point of Naunton's commentary should be considered more seriously—his observation of the emerging cultural and career pattern amongst the leading noblemen constructed by the cultivation of martial honour and learning: a soldier as a man of "Mars and Mercury." Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* 59.

[38] See John Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hamledon, 1983) and *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1985); David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995); Simon Adams, "The English Military Clientale 1542-1618," *Patronages Et Clientelismes, 1550-1750 (France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie)*, eds. C. Giry-Deloison and R. Mettam (Lille: Charles de Gaulle University Press, 1995) 217-27; John S. Nolan, "The Militarization of the Elizabethan State," *The Journal of Military History* 38: 3 (1994) 391-420 and *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997); and Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999).

serve abroad), they agree that the aristocrats played an active part in military affairs in this period.

Even before this consensus was reached, the idea that late Elizabethan and early Stuart England saw an increase in the publication of military books was generally accepted. Academic discussions on this subject have been heavily dependent upon Captain Maurice J. D. Cockle's *Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642* (1900), which provides details of military books published in England.[39] Historians, in the first half of the twentieth century, like Thomas Spaulding, who surveyed the military theories published in England from a strictly military perspective, recognising that many of them were borrowed from continental sources, generally regarded England as lagging behind all of Europe in military efficiency, and took it for granted that English military writings were insignificant compared to the output of military books produced on the Continent.[40] Henry J. Webb provided us with a full account of military books on theory and practice of the period. Yet his relatively narrow choice of authors failed to recognise important developments within the literature. Subsequently, English military books did not receive any significant attention in relation to their relevance to military development from historians, until David Lawrence's *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (2009) assessed the impact of printed books and drill manuals on military training in pre-Civil War England. Until the 1980s, military books had at best been used in historical studies to demonstrate the problems of the contemporary military system and practice, especially controversy over the advantages of the long bow versus fire-arms or over administrative issues.[41]

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[39] Maurice J. D. Cockle, *Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1900).

40 Sir J. W. Fortescue, "the Soldier," *Shakespeare's England*, ed. Sir Sidney Lee, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932) 119; Thomas M Spaulding, "Elizabethan Military Books," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, eds. James G. MacManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948) 495-507.

[41] C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638* (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1967).

Unfortunately, serious interest in early modern military books has been promoted by literary scholars rather than historians, because the historians' emphasis has been mainly on whether or not England was isolated from the transformation of European warfare that is now described as the "military revolution."[42] Literary scholars focused attention on the impact of military narratives on society, notably highlighting the close relationship between military texts and dramatic texts. For example, early twentieth-century literary scholars like Jorgensen and Langsam suggested that Shakespeare's military knowledge was derived from military books, rather from soldiers returning from the war whom he would have met in the streets of London.[43] Although Langsam began with Fortescue's above-mentioned statement in his chapter on Shakespeare and drama, he disagreed with the conclusion reached by Fortescue that Shakespeare was not familiar with some of the military literature, accepting Cockle's assertion of the popularity of military books. Despite their common starting point—Cockle's compilation of early modern military books—the study of early modern military literature has developed along separate lines of approach developed by historians and literary scholars. For example, while recent research carried out by Taunton, Nick de Somogyi, Simon Barker, and Patricia Cahill has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the impact of English military books on people's attitude towards war, military books have not been all that relevant to historical scholarship until quite recently.[44]

Crucial to literary critics' understanding is the assumption that a variety of continental and English military books as listed in Cockle's monograph were available to readers. However, their uncritical acceptance of the popularity of military books is questionable without first considering the extent to which such books really were popular and the question of how far

[42] Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 3. See also Chapter 1.
[43] Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* 140. Oddly enough, in contrast to his early claim of an "astonishing profusion" of English military literature during the period, Fortescue suggested that Shakespeare's military knowledge was derived from returned soldiers whom he might meet in the streets of London.
[44] For more recent scholarship on this subject, see Nick de Somogyi, *Shakespeare's Theatre of War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007); and Patricia Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008).

English readers were knowledgeable about military theory, because they are by their very nature specialised tactical books.

Military culture was popularised elsewhere. I have argued in my paper "Print and Elizabethan Military Culture," that, in contrast with the definition adopted by earlier historians, our conception of military books should be expanded by including books that deal with military matters within the context of religion, politics, history, science, chivalric romance, and topical news as well as books devoted specifically to aspects of the skills of the soldiers, since the nature of the military culture of the period can be defined as the fusion of classical, Christian, scientific, and popular culture.[45]

Further examination of the military culture of the period, therefore, should encompass a variety of printed material, dealing with theoretical, theological, and practical aspects of warfare and should also take into account other forms of art such as drama, painting, and music.

An important contribution to our understanding of the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to the subject comes via John Hale's article "Shakespeare and Warfare" (1985), which explores the relationship between literature and the history of military subjects and provides an occasion for scholars in the next generation to re-evaluate how important Renaissance military writing is for understanding both military matters and fictional representations of warfare in the early modern period.[46] Nevertheless, Hale left other important areas, such as ballads, painting, and music, untouched. Hammer raises an important point that I will return to throughout this thesis—namely that early modern military culture was constructed through a variety of genres.

In his reappraisal of Essex's political and military leadership, Hammer suggests that "new insights into political culture have been revealed by exploration of the portraiture of Essex

[45] See Dong-ha Seo, "Print and Elizabethan Military Culture," *"Divining Thoughts": Future Directions in Shakespeare Studies*, eds. Peter Orford with Michael P Jones, Lizz Ketterer, Joshua McEvilia (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Print, 2007) 40-52.
[46] Hale, "Shakespeare and Warfare," *William Shakespeare: His World, His Work, His Influence*, ed. John F. Andrews, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985) 85-98.

and his association with music."[47] He builds on his extensive knowledge of Essex's political and military movement to demonstrate the extent to which England's long war with Spain had its most divisive effects on Essex's career and in what ways he—as a general, a patron of soldiers, and a military administrator—advanced his view of war policy.

Recent historical research carried out by Adams and Natalie Mears has made a valuable contribution to this subject, noting "the centrality of social connections and clienteles to the process of governance."[48] With this conception of social dynamics, historians further argue that military leaders contributed more to the centralisation and modernisation of military organisation than was previously thought. More recently, Lawrence has examined the same issue over the military role of English aristocrats, such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, making extensive use of military books from a number of different countries, and has suggested that their patronage of military writers and soldiers helped England keep pace with military changes on the continent.[49]

All these recent developments encourage me to look at the ways in which military ideals and practices and the wider society of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England were interconnected. Nevertheless, whereas the early modern military is now being viewed in a more positive light by historians, the view of literary scholars still remains based on the earlier historical approach. In his depiction of English Protestant militancy, for instance, Stephen Orgel dismisses the military activities of the aristocrats, calling Sidney's political and military career "fantasy"; Leicester's expedition into the Netherlands a "momentary triumph"; Essex's Spanish campaign "minuscule" and Prince Henry's Protestant army of European liberation a "fantasm."[50] Historians remind us that early modern warfare was largely dominated and conducted by a privileged military class, and was affected by their social

[47] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 7.
[48] See Adams, *Leicester and the Court* (2002) and Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) 3. See also Patrick Collinson, *Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007) 55.
[49] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 371.
[50] Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2002) 225,

dynamics, and yet, by not paying sufficient attention to the relationship with the social, political, and cultural context, they fail to provide a full picture of the way that military culture influenced its society. Similarly, literary critics show how military literature played an important role in the production and reception of military subjects in drama and poetry, but their argument is of little value if they do not explore the relationships between the contemporary military elite and scholars, churchmen, and other practitioners sponsored by them, because a variety of subjects—kingship, war, love, language, ethics, science, and so forth—were expressed by means of military discourse through the printing press, public sermons, and theatrical and musical performances.

This thesis bridges the gap between historical and literary approaches to early modern military culture and its impact on society. Thus, in exploring military culture in early modern England, I want to take Hammer's observation on Essex's patronage of art a step further, applying it to literary criticism. What distinguishes my approach from previous scholarship is that it attempts to integrate distinct scholarly approaches to military affairs in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, by placing what appears trivial or irrelevant in one area into other areas in order to show how significant it can be when such a transfer is made. I will demonstrate, in the following chapters, how these genres were exploited by the military elite, who were at some pains to ensure that their military discourse was disseminated amongst a variety of audiences, from their noble peers to those with little or no formal education.

In terms of organisation, this thesis begins with a survey of the constitution and expansion of a system of patronage which supported soldiers and scholars within aristocratic circles. It shows the importance of the interactions between Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry and the scholars they patronized, as demonstrated by the works that were produced and circulated by them and the books the elite aimed to acquire in their libraries. As Chapter 1 will show, the reading of books on military subjects, from ancient military authorities to mathematical and scientific books, became a crucial part of their preparation for war. In this

environment, the aristocrats actively participated in shaping English military culture, which operated alongside an emerging and evolving professionalism, and proved that they were adaptable to the changes brought about by contact with modern warfare.

The second chapter explores the promulgation of military ideas and imagery through a variety of media, such as theatre, art, and music, sponsored by aristocratic patronage, and demonstrates how this encouraged the development of a visual imagery which embodied heroic deeds and represented military actions and ideas. The idealisation of a "Renaissance warrior" was central to this and aristocratic culture embraced a new enthusiasm for military values and musical activities, together with other academic and artistic elements. The aristocratic patronage of playwrights like George Chapman, artists like Marcus Gheeraerts, and musicians like William Byrd had far-reaching implications for English military culture, indicating the existence of a particular connection between the military leaders, who fought in the wars of religion, and artists, who served as propagandists with their artistic skills. An investigation of the conception and experience of warfare illustrates how various art forms were embedded in aristocratic military culture.

Building on the previous two chapters, Chapter 3 concentrates on the representation of soldiers and military issues on the stage. I begin with a brief look at the political and religious implications of Leicester's triumph, suggesting that furthering English national interests and international Protestantism, and endeavouring to block the power of Catholic Spain, were central to Leicester's theatrical programme and that those who served in the Low Countries contributed to the importation of military ideas into the area of military and theatrical performance. In the following sections, this chapter shows how London theatre benefited from war and how staging combat was a theatrically satisfying experience for a contemporary audience, especially through readings of Shakespeare's *Henry V* and Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*. Theatres functioned as places for digesting a diversity of military ideas regarding the art of war, including classical, modern, social, cultural, and religious views. The chapter as a

whole engages in contextualising the theatrical representation of military subjects within broader social, political, and religious contexts.

Chapter 4 explores the extent to which military subjects in cheap print appealed to the emotions and expectations of a popular readership in times of war. It shows that military narratives in contemporary ballads and cheap pamphlets not only functioned as propagandistic tools, but also acted as an early form of newspaper, helping to foster a certain sort of public sphere that provided an arena for discussion of political and military issues. It was through London printers like John Wolfe and Richard Field and their relations with members of the military circles that the reception of military values and language was facilitated amongst contemporary audiences, offering insight into how to translate military achievement into political goals.

Chapter 5 expands this cultural perspective by exploring militaristic sermons, especially those preached at Paul's Cross, because such narratives, when combined with popular genres like ballads, pamphlets, and drama, clearly created expectations in a wartime audience. This chapter also addresses the questions of how the patronage of preachers became an important factor within military circles and the extent to which early modern 'just war' theory contributed to shaping the characteristics of a military culture. Examination of religious works on military subjects, especially those dedicated to, or associated with, Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry will help us to recognise the importance of religion in moulding their reputation as Protestant warriors and how this engendered patriotic responses from soldiers and the public.

The principal motivations of this study are: to consider, within a range of genre, the military matters integrated within their various perspectives; to demonstrate how written, verbal, visual, and aural representations of military subject-matter were strategically constructed within an aristocratic military culture; and to show how these constructed images worked to redefine courtiers, as "Protestant warriors," and how they helped the public to be

receptive to a diversity of military ideas. I hope that, by the end of this thesis, my investigation will not only have contributed to current critical debate about military culture in early modern England, but also will have enhanced our general understanding of military personnel, warfare, and society.

Chapter 1
The late Elizabethan and early Stuart military circles

1. Introduction

Critical discussion about aristocratic soldiers, such as the Earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Philip Sidney, and Prince Henry, has traditionally been largely restricted to the cult of chivalry and this has served as a prism through which they are viewed merely as amateurs who were part of a decaying and declining military tradition isolated from the transformations of early modern warfare taking place on continental Europe. We must acknowledge, however, that the culture of aristocratic society in this period was not solely chivalric and that a new aristocratic military ethos had initiated the advance of technical knowledge and professional standards in the military profession, before bourgeois and state-centred professionalism replaced the older aristocratic-military model in the eighteenth century.[1]

While early twentieth-century criticism was sceptical of England's participation in the so-called early modern military revolution, recent scholarly reflection on the topic argues that instead of decay and decline, England is now considered to have been actively engaged in the transformation of European warfare from the late sixteenth century. This change originates from the critical reassessment of early modern English military books, which concludes that the publication of such books was an integral part of English military culture. As most of these books were dedicated to leading military leaders, we need to reconsider their contributions to English military culture.

Studies of leading members of the aristocracy in Elizabethan and early Stuart England have long recognised their roles in patronising scholars and artists and in establishing political networks.[2] Although it was Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry and their adherents

[1] For an account of the complex relationship between chivalry and the rise of military professionalism, see David J. B. Trim, ed. "Introduction," *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003) 1-38.

[2] See Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955); John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London: MacMillan, 1954); Gordon R. Batho, "The Library of the

who were primarily responsible for promoting the renaissance in the arts and sciences in England, the military dimension of their concerns has not been studied in detail. In her study of late sixteenth century printed books, Betty Chandler Hunt classifies books on military subjects as belonging to a minor genre, along with various miscellaneous books on science, travel, and medicine.[3] As for the seventeenth century, H. S. Bennett asserts that the century was "a reading age," but consensus over the place of military books in this period has remained elusive.[4] Such books published in the 1580s and 1590s marked the growing English interest in the Dutch revolt and in the war against Spain. However, as we will see below, the term "military books" covers more than military manuals or drill instructions. They may either manifest various kinds of military knowledge and militaristic discourse, or be a mixture of religion, politics, history, science, and topical news.[5] More importantly, as John Hale demonstrated, the origin of such military books lay in the study of the ancient histories which dealt with Grecian and Roman military tactics and strategies.[6] The emphasis on reading histories of Caesar, Livy, Polybius, Xenophon, Thucydides, Vegetius, and Tacitus as military history was closely related to the early modern classical revival and resulted in translations of them into vernacular languages. As M. A. Gandino, the Italian translator of Frontinus, put it in *Stratagemi Militari* (1574): "Latin is not widely understood today, especially by the majority of those who make a career of arms."[7] Those connected to the military circles, like Gabriel Harvey who read his own copy of Frontinus in the Leicester's household, believed that the reading of military, historical, and political works enhanced the arts of political discourse and

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'Wizard' Earl: Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)," *The Library* 15.4 (1960): 246-61; Paul E. J. Hammer, "The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, *c*.1585-1601," *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 26-52; Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

[3] See Betty Chandler Hunt, "Books and Readers 1588-1590," PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1964.

[4] H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970) 2.

[5] See Dong-ha Seo, "Print and Elizabethan Military Culture," *"Divining Thoughts": Future Directions in Shakespeare Studies*, eds. Peter Orford with Michael P. Jones, Lizz Ketterer, Joshua McEvilla (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Print, 2007) 40-52. See also Henry J. Webb, "Military Newsbooks during the Age of Elizabeth," *English Studies* 33 (1952): 241-51 and *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

[6] See J. R. Hale, "The Military Education of the Officer Class in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 225-46.

[7] Quoted in Hale, "The Military Education of the Officer Class" 232.

warfare.[8]

I intend to address the question of who actually read these books and what relationships were established and fostered amongst such military circles. This is important because the debate over the value of classical and foreign military models and their applicability to contemporary warfare was a growing issue in early modern England. Apart from the example of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland (whose theoretical and practical interest in military matters is well known to us), other noblemen's interests in the intellectual pursuit of military matters have been relatively overlooked. Yet, evidence for the ownership and readership of books on military subjects will make it clear that Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry were also influential in shaping the military culture of the age. This thesis will demonstrate that pro-military discourses were produced and circulated within an English military culture which was founded on military patronage networks and other cliental links.

It will be necessary to first review what has until recently been the traditional understanding of the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign. Elizabethan England was to a large extent isolated from the political and religious affairs of Europe and was relatively untouched by what Michael Roberts calls the European "military revolution."[9] This view encouraged earlier historians to view the "sudden deluge" of English military book publications during this period as military writers' attempts to either add lustre to their name through association with men of power or to seek financial rewards or the promise of an office for their efforts.[10]

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[8] Harvey's library included copies of Frontinus, Caesar, Machiavelli, and other classical works. For a catalogue of the books and manuscripts in Harvey's library, see Virginia F. Stern, "The Bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey," *Renaissance Quarterly* 25.1 (1972):1-62.

[9] Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1937) 368. The concept of the military revolution was first examined in an inaugural lecture delivered by Michael Roberts at the Queen's University of Belfast in 1955. See also Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 3. Roberts placed his military revolution around 1560–1660 as the period in which the firepower of European armies declined in the course of the sixteenth century as a result of the replacement of the longbow by firearms. A tactical revolution based on the use of linear formations of drilled musketeers led to a massive increase in the size of armies such as those of Maurice of Nassau and Gustavus Adolphus, which in turn dramatically heightened the impact of war on society. While Parker extended the period of the military revolution from 1500 to 1800, he also placed an emphasis on the development of siege warfare: the rapid development of fortifications against field artillery, and the subsequent growth of army sizes.

[10] J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan, 1910) 130. Other reason for the seeking of literary patronage was the patron's protection of the author from censorship prior to printing and from criticism

Although modes of dedication persisted to a greater or lesser degree through this period, it is significant that the writers were aware of the general climate of opinion developed within the military circles. There is evidence that the patronage of military writers stimulated discussion of military and political affairs. Late twentieth-century scholarship has established that late Elizabethan and early Stuart England was in fact highly militarised. These elites actively participated in the country's military culture and ordinary Englishmen were clearly knowledgeable about military affairs.

Maurice Cockle's bibliography of English military books published before the Civil War provides a valuable starting point for a reassessment of early modern military books. It shows an increase in the publication of English books on military subjects between 1585 and 1603: out of 166 titles produced between the years 1489 and 1642, 45 books (27.1%) were printed in this 18-year period.[11] Historians contemporary with Cockle and later Thomas Spaulding and C. G. Cruickshank, concentrating on a relatively narrow selection of military books, failed to recognise the importance of this development within the literature.[12] Their narrow definitions of military books mainly as military science and classical texts were unhelpful, because by identifying them merely with translations and reworkings of European military theories, they failed to explore the Elizabethans' own military experience and especially the role of such figures as Leicester, Sidney, and Essex. Although David Eltis, providing a broader picture of Elizabethan military books, establishes that military books printed in the late sixteenth century marked the arrival of the military revolution in England, in his analysis of contemporary military theory the importance of those aristocrats' patronage of military theorists is not recognised.[13]

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or persecution afterwards. But most of military books did not belong to this case.

[11] M. J. D. Cockle, *Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* (London: The Holland Press, 1957) 27-62. For the next four decades, people's interest in military affairs was also reflected in a consistent growth in the publication of military books. From the 1610s to the beginning of the Civil War, 86 books (51.8%) were printed.

[12] C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); Thomas M Spaulding, "Elizabethan Military Books," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, eds. James G. MacManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948) 495-507.

[13] See David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in the Sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995).

Barbara Donagan's article, "Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education Before 1642," addresses the significance of books written during the early seventeenth century, but she does not explore in detail the role of aristocratic patronage of both literary men and soldiers.[14] In spite of England's supposed lack of military experience, one must look more closely at military writing in its cultural context because this powerful group of patrons, in Nina Taunton's words, regarded learning as a "war against error and ignorance" in the same way that they justified "taking up arms against the enemies of Christendom." [15] Furthermore, since early modern military theory was constructed by intellectuals who believed that Roman and Greek military knowledge had direct contemporary pertinence, looking at early modern warfare also involves the Renaissance interest in classical antiquity. With this in mind it is likely that during the series of early modern military campaigns, military leaders fought not only on the battlefields, but also in their private libraries or studies; and their places of learning became the foci of the interplay between the theory and the practice of the art of war. The interest of great men in military affairs was thus more than a form of literary patronage or the revival of traditional chivalric discipline by the gentlemen volunteers and military officers who fought in the armies and navies of Europe.[16]

English interest in the military probably derived from the need to prepare for war against Spain in the middle of the 1570s. Captain Barnaby Rich had warned of a shortage of experienced soldiers.[17] As the threat from Spain increased, it was hoped that new recruits would learn quickly either from more experienced soldiers or from reading books on military subjects. This led the Elizabethans to seek out contemporary fashions in the theory of soldiership and both soldiers and theorists introduced their countrymen to the latest methods in use on the continent. As Francis Johnson has shown, during the war against Spain there was

[14] Barbara Donagan, "Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642," *Past and Present* 147 (1995) 65-100.
[15] Nina Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman and Shakespeare's* Henry V (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)13.
[16] See Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986) 66.
[17] Barnaby Rich, *Allarme to England* (1578) $E4^{r}$ -$F1^{r}$.

a collaborative effort between Elizabeth's Privy Council, London merchants, and the city authorities to raise the funds to create the first public lectureship in mathematical science in London for the effective defence of the city.[18] Robert Barret, who had served as a soldier in the French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish armies observed that "men of sundrie humours, sundrie qualities, and sundrie professions" such as "Politicians, Geometricians, and Mathematicians, which neuer saw any warres" claimed their commitment to developing contemporary soldiership.[19] Despite such competition between theorists and experienced soldiers in early modern writing about soldiership, there were attempts to bring the two different disciplines together. As both a soldier and a military theorist, Barret asserted that only those who understood the "Methode & meaning" of theory and had "experience & practice" of war could be "perfect souldier[s]."[20] This idea was further fostered by leading members of the aristocracy who were committed to an ideal of virtue in their pursuit of classical learning and practical information. Michael Fissel emphasises that "the English approached warfare with eclecticism and adaptability" throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[21]

The connection between military books and the military elite who commissioned, received, and read them in this context is significant, because it helped to create the culture that contributed to the development of theoretical, organisational, technological, and leadership tactics before a state-led military development was initiated from 1623, when the Privy Council printed the first official drill manual, *Instructions for Musters and Armes*, for the trained bands.[22] Simon Adams has demonstrated that the military circles played a significant role in shaping military culture in Elizabethan and early Stuart England until the sovereign

[18] Francis R. Johnson, "Thomas Hood's Inaugural Address as Mathematical Lecturer of the City of London, 1588," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3.1 (1942): 96-7.
[19] Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598) A3^{r}.
[20] Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* A3^{r}.
[21] Michael C. Fissel, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001) xii.
[22] For a discussion of the importance of the *Instruction for Musters and Armes*, see David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009) 167-77.

took over these leadership and patronage roles.[23]

Recent studies by Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton, William Sherman, Paul Hammer, and David Lawrence have shown that there were purposeful connections between scholars and prominent members of government and the court circles.[24] These historians see the relationships between scholars and their patrons as a highly specific form of service—what Jardine and Sherman call "knowledge transactions"—which considerably influenced contemporary political actions.[25] They have established that John Dee was of service to Leicester; Henry Wotton to Lord Zouche; Gabriel Harvey to Edward Dyer, Philip Sidney, and the younger Thomas Smith; Henry Savile and Henry Cuffe to the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Southampton; and Sir Thomas Chaloner to Prince Henry. Jardine and Sherman also argue that those who offered intellectual service of this kind either expected public office and influence as a reward or cultivated an intellectual reputation through their connections with powerful aristocrats.[26]

It is significant that almost all the scholars involved in these "knowledge transaction[s]," regardless of their chosen fields, dealt with military issues as a central subject. When Wotton was in Vienna in 1591, he wrote to his patron Lord Zouche, "We have here in his Majesty's [Imperial] library notable discourses of military matters, and in that sort a book of especial estimation, written in Italian, having many experiences of fortification and the like."[27] As Jardine and Grafton demonstrate, Harvey read Livy with Sidney as a practical guide to war

[23] See Simon Adams, "The English Military Clientale 1542-1618," *Patronages Et Clientelismes, 1550-1750 (France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie)*, eds. C. Giry-Deloison and R. Mettam (Lille: Charles de Gaulle University Press, 1995) 217-27.
[24] See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studies for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30-78; Jardine and William Sherman, "Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Service in Late Elizabethan England," *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, eds. A Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 102-24; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Hammer, "The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, *c*.1585-1601." *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 26-52; Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).
[25] Jardine and Sherman, "Pragmatic Readers" 102.
[26] Jardine and Sherman, "Pragmatic Readers" 111-2.
[27] Henry Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. L. P. Smith, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907) 256.

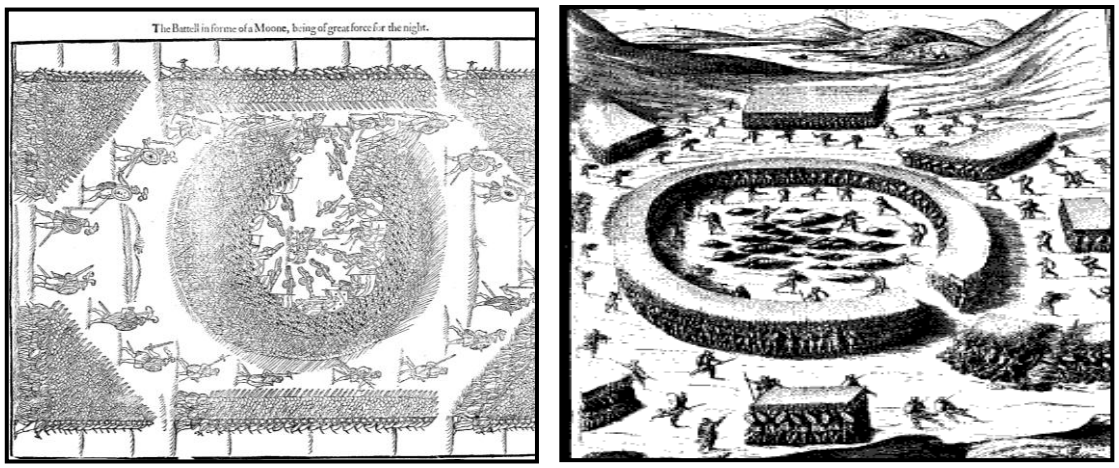
and politics before going abroad.[28] Savile emphasised the relevance of history to the training of military commanders in a Latin oration to the Queen at Oxford in 1592. Malcolm Smuts suggests that, considering his use of Roman tactics in Ireland, Essex might have read the appendix on the Roman army in Savile's *The End of Nero* (1591).[29]

These examples indicate how important classical texts were for acquiring military knowledge within Elizabethan aristocracy. This is succinctly portrayed by the images of 'Arts and Mars' in the emblem book of Geoffrey Whitney, in which the values of literary and military skills are represented by Cicero and Caesar. [30] The same goal of a Renaissance man is expressed by Philip Sidney's words, "triumphers both in camps and courts." [31] Cuffe witnessed that "learning and valour [had] the pre-eminence" in Essex and his inner circle and George Chapman continued to celebrate Southampton and Prince Henry as prototypes of the union of "valour" and "learning."[32] Sir Charles Cornwallis, who acted as Prince Henry's treasurer and went on to write a biography of him, described how the Prince spent his days in study, reading up on "government Civill and Military," as well as being tutored in the "matter and forme of fortification."[33] Indeed, the double ideal of the intellectual and the warrior can be found in a variety of literary genres, including poems, histories, military and political treatises, courtesy books, and emblem books. The aristocratic patronage of various art forms, in turn, gave way to the idea that serious study and practice helped to produce a perfect soldier.

This ideal of a Renaissance man, responsible for awakening both literary and martial aspirations amongst contemporary noblemen, was not new, but it is significant that although interest in Caesar as a military figure was far older than this, his success in combining a brilliant military career with literary activity began to be emphasised in the sixteenth

[28] See Jardine and Grafton, "'Studies for Action" 30-78.
[29] John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, vol. 3 (London, 1823) 161-7; Malcolm Smuts, "Court-centred Politics and the Use of Roman Historians," *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994) 27.
[30] Geoffrey Whitney, *Choices of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586) 47.
[31] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Nelson, 1965) 95.
[32] Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 437.
[33] Charles Cornwallis, *A Discurse of the most Illustrious Prince Henry, Late Prince of Wales* (London, 1641) 16.

century.[34] As James Supple notes, during this period the nobility committed themselves to the study of the classical origins of military art as well as a need to encompass within it mathematics, physics, moral philosophy, and history more than ever before.[35] This fashion led the military elite to a dynamic engagement with contemporary intellectual life. For example, early modern military theorists, instead of abandoning the classical past, reintroduced their readers to classical texts, especially the works of Caesar, and refined them with visual aids (See Illustration 1).



[Illustration 1. William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (1591) Appendix 3 and
Sir Clement Edmonds, *Observations, Upon the Five Bookes of Caesars Commentaries* (1600) A2iii.]

William Garrard's illustration of a "Moone" formation for use at night points to the fact that Elizabethan interest in the training of ancient armies, in the size of their units, and in their fighting procedures had been adapted from Caesar. Indeed, the comment that an "Orbe" formation is "the best manner of imbattling for a defensiue strength" during the night in Sir Clement Edmonds's *Observations* (1600) suggests that Caesar's book might have served as the source for Garrard.[36]

What is of interest in the similarities between the books of Edmonds and Garrard is that, first, a particular manual on warfare extracted information for contemporary soldiers about tactical formations, their size, composition, and spatial relations from a classical text. Secondly, it appears that an authoritative classical text was designed to influence modern

[34] Robert J. Knecht, "Military Autobiographies in Sixteenth-Century France," *War, Literature and the Arts in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (London: MacMillan, 1989) 3-4.
[35] See James Supple, *Arms versus Letters: The Military and Literary Ideals in the* Essais *of Montaigne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 63-75.
[36] Sir Clement Edmonds, *Observations, Upon the Five Bookes of Caesars Commentaries* (1600) A2ii^{v}.

practices. This is indicative of an ongoing conversation between classical and modern military texts.[37] This kind of connection between classical examples and modern military practices was mainly undertaken by scholars and soldiers within the households of Leicester, Essex, and Prince Henry. In fact, history, as many military writers of the age claimed, had shown that the most famous captains, Scipio, Caesar, and others, had spent "much time in reading of ancient deeds of Armes" and Harvey had tried to draw lessons from the ancient authorities and apply them to the contemporary military situation, closely reading books of Caesar and Vegetius together with those of Matthew Sutcliffe, Roger Williams, and the Digges.[38] Unsurprisingly, Sutcliffe recommended that Essex should follow their noble example. From their positions in Leicester's and Essex's households, scholars like Harvey and Sutcliffe had the opportunity to advise their patrons on military and political affairs, bringing these issues to the attention of others in their circles and beyond.[39]

Contemporary criticism of Elizabethan military experience is centred on two monographs: C. G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's Army* (1966) and Lindsay Boynton's *The Elizabethan Militia* (1967). These are both preoccupied with the limited fiscal resources, underdeveloped recruiting and logistical support systems, and the dishonesty of English captains.[40] The influence of these books has created the perception perpetuated by Wallace MacCaffrey that Leicester, Sidney, and Essex were inefficient military commanders and dabblers at best.[41] However, there is other evidence that behind the practical and political necessities of preparation for war there was an attempt by some high-minded noblemen to foster idealistic military values. What contemporaries remembered about Leicester, Sidney, and Essex was

[37] See Hale, "Andrea Palladio, Polybius and Julius Caesar," *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 471-486.
[38] Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593) The Epistle Dedicatorie.
[39] The impact of Caesar's works on military circles in England will be addressed in more detail in the following section.
[40] See C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1967).
[41] See Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981) 359-61; *Elizabeth I: War and Politics 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992) 522.

often linked to their crucial role in the war effort.

In 1580, Hubert Languet wrote a letter to Sidney urging him to "improve your acquaintance with La Noue. For as you are thoroughly well read in history you will learn the military system of our day far more quickly than those who are ill acquainted with it."[42] It is worth remembering that François de la Noue had proposed establishing four military academies in France. Such a project was not new to the English military elite as in 1572 Sir Humphrey Gilbert had presented Elizabeth with a proposal for a military academy in London.[43] Since both Gilbert's and la Noue's proposals stressed general education and moral instruction, the academy was conceived as a junior military college rather than a modern military academy. Nevertheless, the education of the nobility was designed with the military profession in mind together with martial arts, classical languages, poetry, mathematics, geography, and music which were taught as useful adjuncts to military discipline.[44] This proposal provides evidence that Englishmen were embracing the intellectual aspect of warfare and advocating the study of literature, military history, mathematics, and music for training young noblemen for war.[45]

This kind of intellectual continuity by members of the military circles is noteworthy, because they wanted a national institution that would lay the groundwork for a codified education through humanist and military training programmes which continued into the Caroline age. The failure of Gilbert's earlier project had little effect on the military elite's interest in such a military academy. Many military books of the 1590s, such as G. Clayton's *Approved Order of Martiall Discipline* (1590), Garrard's *Arte of Warre* (1591), and Sutcliffe's *Practice* (1593)—all of which were dedicated to Essex, which urged military reforms, reflected this tradition. The military writers put their hope in Essex and his circle

[42] S. A. Pears, trans. *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London: W. Pickering, 1845)169-70.
[43] François de la Noue, *The Politicke and Militarie Discourses*, trans. E. A. (1588) G2^{r}; Sir Humphrey Gilbert, *Queene Elizabethes Academy*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, 1869).
[44] See Gilbert, *Queene Elizabethes Academy*; Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, *Advice to His Son*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London: Ernest Benn, 1930).
[45] I have made a suggestion that part of the patronage of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge was motivated by the same purpose. See Chapter 5.

which was replete with soldiers and scholars. For example, Sutcliffe praised ongoing discussions and debates on military issues by members of Essex's circle, claiming:

> [B]eginning of all good success is good counsel and direction: the accomplishment is expedition, in counsel nothing avayleth more then to follow good examples of expert and wise men. If then we would eyther reforme the disorders of our proceedings in warre, or settle the discipline of armes among our souldiers which is slenderly knowen, or practiced by them; what course is better then to viewe, consider, and followe the doings of most warriours both of former, and late times?[46]

It was not until 1617 that the Elizabethan idea of a military academy was revived when Edmund Bolton suggested an academy on the lines of the one proposed by Gilbert in 1576. Although the details of the proposed academy were settled in 1624, the death of James I was fatal to the completion of the undertaking. The attempt to standardize across a range of fields failed. But the attempt to establish the modern concept of a national military academy by members of the military circles was influential. If it had succeeded, it could have effectively established the connection between the realities of war and the lessons that could be learned from military books. Therefore, before the formal military academy was founded, it was the aristocratic patronage of university men that provided substantial parts of the military, historical, political, and technical examples that both soldiers and those who were interested in soldiering could consult for advice on military affairs. In this way, Leicester, Essex and Prince Henry directly encouraged learning, extended their literary, military, and religious patronages, and furthered the cause of militant Protestantism.

Brian O'Farrell has recently observed that William Herbert, the Third Earl of Pembroke, considered the Chancellorship of Oxford as a political tool to exercise his power by influence over or control of many university appointments.[47] By appointing John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford—who boasted that the university audience would scarcely "make a doubt, whether the Pope be Antichrist or no, seeing hornes and markes are so apparently discovered"—as his vice-chancellor, Pembroke could gain support for the

[46] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* A2^{r}.
[47] Brian O'Farrell, *Shakespeare's Patron: William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke 1580-1630* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011) 94; 171.

Protestant cause and the war against Spain.[48] Mervyn James points out that such an "alliance of 'arms and letters'…had been one of the ideals of the [Sidney-Essex] House intellectuals."[49] Even Conyers Read argued that the desire of the aristocracy to "serve [their] country" and "to serve the commonwealth," armed with learning and theoretical knowledge, fostered a new military ethos and increased military professionalization that contributed to the experience of early modern war.[50] Such emphasis on the combination of practical military experience and education as "vertuous action" conferred great benefit not only on those who sought them, but also on the other members of new professions and had a direct impact on the development of military culture in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.[51] Therefore, it is hardly surprising that military circles formed at the end of Elizabeth's reign saw scholars as being natural companions who continued to contribute to discussions about military arts well into the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

As we will see, the culture of the leading military elites was frequently associated with their own literary efforts to establish their reputations as perfect warriors. Although Alexander the Great was facetiously described in one of Lyly's plays as a general of "letters and lances," in reality, as Fulke Greville observed of Sidney, noblemen and gentlemen who had intellectual qualities and physical strength also encouraged "learning and honour in the schools" and brought "the affection and true use thereof into the Court and Camp."[52] Therefore it can be argued that early modern military culture was shaped by society's prevalent cultural values and was led by key figures of the time. Military culture thus exercised a greater influence on early modern society than it does today. Greville had limited experience as a soldier, yet held that "peace is quiet nurse of Idleness and Idleness the field

[48] John Prideaux, *Ephesus Backsliding* (Oxford, 1614) E2^{r}.
[49] James, *Society, Politics and Culture* 463.
[50] Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925) 18-9.
[51] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 104. For Sidney's notion of virtue as military-oriented action, see Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1996) 30.
[52] Fulke Greville, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907) 34.

where wit and power change all seeds to worse."[53] Barnaby Rich, a professional soldier, saw war was an "oyle in the stomacke that hath disgested poison, as a medicine to a body that is choacked up with corrupt humours, as a Fyre to the mettall that wants refining, as exercise to the body growne pursie with ydleneese."[54] And the Digges father and son regarded battles as "sovereigne medicines to purge and clense…the sickness of state."[55] In his retrospective history of Elizabeth's reign, Robert Naunton, who was a university scholar, not a soldier, reminded his readers that "warres were the Queens seminaries and nurseries of many brave soldiers."[56]

Earlier critics like Jorgensen regarded the quotations selected above as the complaints of unemployed or unfortunate soldiers against government policy or the pacific mood in a society.[57] Those quotations were often referred to the contemporary soldiers' case against those who asked the questions of what soldiers would do in times of peace, including whether they could be reconciled with the manners of a civil society. A shift away from this attitude can be seen in the work of critic Simon Barker, who views those examples as an indication of the persistence of militarism in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England rather than discontents amongst contemporary soldiers unhappy with the neglect of the military.[58] Barker acknowledges that English military discourses of the time were expressed in a range of cultural forms. However, his focus is on contemporary military books like those of Rich and Digges and this interpretation is based on Cockle's bibliography. Given the fact that this has been an under-researched aspect of military culture, the thesis will expand on Barker's work and consider the ways in which these militaristic narratives were produced, circulated, and popularised as well as how they were applied to contemporary military practice. They will

[53] Greville, "Caelica," *The Works of in Verse and Prose Complete of the Right Honourable Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. A. B. Grosart, vol. 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1966) 140.
[54] Barnaby Rich, *A Souldier's Wishes to Britons Welfare* (1604) 4.
[55] Thomas Digges and Dudley Digges, *Foure Paradoxes, or Politique Discourses* (1604) 105.
[56] Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia or Observation on Queen Elizabeth, Her Times & Favourites*, ed. John S. Cerovski (Washington D. C.; London: The Folger Shakespeare Library; Associated UP, 1985) 57.
[57] Paul A, Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956) 185-6.
[58] Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007) 72.

allow us observe the shift of militarism from the margin to the mainstream of society.

My interest does not simply lie in the political and diplomatic circumstances faced by late Elizabethan and early Stuart England in times of war and peace, but rather in the particular culture in which those militaristic narratives were produced and disseminated. In other words, the reading material of the military noblemen and their circles was the essential background for contemporary military thought and this established a military tradition that influenced the following generations.

2. Reading history in the context of military culture

The curricula from the Elizabethan grammar schools and universities acquainted students with most of the important ancient authors, such as Ovid, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and Plutarch.[59] The classics were a reservoir of authoritative knowledge in every sphere in this educational environment, and could also be consulted for military theory and practice.[60] When encountering issues of national security in the late Elizabethan years, these texts became a vehicle for acquiring knowledge of military tactics and strategies in antiquity. Therefore, when considering the history of the reading of these classical texts, it will be useful to start by looking at some aspects of the educational system within a humanistic context.

From the private tutor to the public school and universities, education at this time varied greatly. So it is not possible to infer that education consistently provided students with military information and ideals. Looking at these ancient texts not simply as basic textbooks but as military texts will help to show that what students read contributed to the internalising of military values that informed their future lives. This practice, in turn, produced and united many students interested in advocating military ideals.

In analyzing the Elizabethan educational system one may be tempted to focus on its

[59] See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, vol. 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944) 562-77.
[60] For a discussion of the increased production of military books in the late sixteenth century and its relation to the broader educational revolution, see Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 39-40.

negative aspect. As Eugene Kintgen notes, for Elizabethan students, intensive memorising was emphasised, and rote learning justified as appropriate.[61] This characterisation of the Elizabethan educational experience is described by T. W. Baldwin: it was "simple but inhumanly thorough," wherein both teacher and boy had to endure an intensive and tight routine.[62] Moreover, as the sixteenth-century educational theorist Roger Ascham observed, beatings in the classroom were so common that they "[drove] away the best natures from learning."[63] One might consider Ascham's description of corporal punishment as similar to the method of disciplining unruly soldiers in military camp. In considering this side of the contemporary educational environment, Keith Thomas asserts that the endurance of pain was a basic feature of boys' education, for floggings and learning at grammar school were inseparable.[64] When social unrest and economic uncertainty marked the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, modes of educating children could be modelled on this form of excessive military training and punishment. Assuming this was so and reading the following passage from Thomas Smith's military theory, Simon Barker argues that military training might be applied in the field of social discipline:

> He may well be called a soldier and at once a true citizen that knows by the sound of drum and trumpet, without any voice, when to march, fight, retire, etc….Such a one may be termed an expert soldier and a useful fellow in every-day life whether he hath earlier been at the plough or the smithy or a soft trade—or even rogue or vagabond.[65]

It should be noted that the edition Barker quotes is the revised 1660 edition of Smith. The original 1600 edition does not contain any such implication that military training could be used to discipline "rogue or vagabond."[66] Rather, the original places its emphasis upon a soldier's capability when he is armed with "Mathematical" and "Geometricall" knowledge.[67]

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[61] Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor Education* (London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) 19.
[62] Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* 1:163.
[63] Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (1570) 6.
[64] See Keith Thomas, *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England* (Reading: University of Reading, 1976) 9-12.
[65] Thomas Smith, *The Art of Gunnery* (1660) A2^{r-v}.
[66] Barker, "Dressing up for War: Militarism in Early Modern Culture," *Dressing up for War*, eds. A. Usandizaga and A. Monnickendam (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001) 151.
[67] Smith, *The Art of Gunnery* (1600) A2^{v}.

Barker's claim that military discourses had a bearing on the control of early modern society is not wrong as military books were an integral part of English military culture. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century military theories dealt with the meticulous organisation of space, movement, sequence, and the position of soldiers (like those which were analyzed by Michel Foucault as measures to elaborate complex hierarchies of command, spatial arrangement, and surveillance in eighteenth-century French society). Such military discipline and the mechanisms of the modern army—what Foucault calls, "military dreams of society," must have been very influential in maintaining civil peace in the early modern period, if they had been applied for the formation of the early modern individual who readily complied with discipline and the closely structured environment that the military would provide.[68] But, Smith's original intention was to introduce to contemporary soldiers the science of ballistics, claiming that it made one an expert soldier. Moreover, given that England had no standing army and that during this period soldiering was regarded as "a science no longer in request" and soldiers in peace were likened to "chimnies in summer," we should be cautious of treating early modern military theories as part of a wider machinery of social discipline.[69] Instead, our concern should be primarily with how military books were disseminated and received by soldiers and the public. In this regard, an analysis of "what thinges they be, wherein children are to be trained"—to use Richard Mulcaster's phrase—will demonstrate the process of informing the mind with military values, rather than merely disciplining the body, even though the latter was one of the most compelling features of the early modern soldier's life.[70] However, I am not claiming that contemporary pedagogy emphasised military values directly in the curriculum. Instead, we should note what contents were taught and how contemporary teachers and students made use of them, particularly after their school years. This will

[68] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) 168.
[69] L. B. Wright, *Advice to a son: Precepts of Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell UP, 1962) 11. Before the idea of unified military training was introduced in the 1620s, contemporary soldiers relied on military books which reflected their own experiences and devices.
[70] Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, ed. William Barker (London: University of Toronto Press, 1994) 36.

demonstrate the importance of reading not only history, but also religion, natural philosophy, law, politics, music, the arts, and most importantly mathematics, in the process of inculcating military culture.

Barker points out that Mulcaster's *Positions* and the work of his contemporaries Thomas Elyot, Roger Ascham, and Baldassare Castiglione, present a largely aristocratic ideal of education in which a young man of good birth is trained by tutors in physical and intellectual skills.[71] The influence of humanist learning may have turned Englishmen into pacifists as Burghley suggested to his son. Many young noblemen, however, studied arts and sciences in order to inculcate the virtue of valour with the goal of making themselves ready for a life of service to the crown as soldier-administrators.

Ascham, for example, in his *Toxophilus* (1545), emphasised a balance between eloquence and martial practice. In this book, two literary characters, Toxophilus and Philologus, compare mastering the art of shooting with the ways in which rhetoricians taught the art of rhetoric. It was a classical commonplace that words are weapons, but it is very interesting that shooting for its own sake appealed to a scholar like Ascham:

> I tell you plainlye, scholer or vnscholer…I wolde thinke it were my dutie, bothe with exhortinge men to shote, and also with shoting my selfe to helpe to set forwarde that thing which the king's wisdom, and his counsel, so greatlye laboureth to go forwarde: whiche thinge surelye they do, because they knowe it to be in warre, the defence and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exercise most holsome for the body, a pastime most honest for the mynde, and as I am able to proue my selfe, of al other most fit and agreeable with learninge and learned men.[72]

Ascham may have used the analogy between shooting and eloquence because being a perfect shooter had analogies with the art of a perfect orator. Conversely, since the nobility still believed that education consisted largely of physical skills, such as military training, hunting, riding, dancing, and similar disciplines, Ascham may have wished to emphasise the dual goals of military discipline and a good general education. Whatever the case, it is almost certain that Ascham's treatise, rather than being the mere literary emulation of ancient authors, would

[71] See Barker, *War and Nation* xxviii-xxix.
[72] Ascham, *Toxophilus: the Schole of Shootinge* (1545) 8.

have contributed to the transformation of classical knowledge as a source of military training by emphasising the active virtues of the nobility. Given that Ascham was Leicester's tutor, it was no coincidence that the Earl's creation of a large personal library, or the patronage of scholars over the course of his life, also evidences his love of books related to military subjects.[73]

Similarly, James Cleland, as tutor to Prince Henry, encouraged him to constitute a specific group to learn about the arts of governing and war. Henry Peacham, who once sought Prince Henry's patronage, also described in *The Compleat Gentleman* how Prince Maurice contributed to the development of the kinds of books that gentlemen soldiers were encouraged to read. His list includes the "Elements of Geometry, written in Latin by *P. Ramus*, and translated by M. Doctor Hood, sometimes Mathematicall Lecturer in London" and other books on mathematics.[74] It is evident, therefore, that some members of the aristocratic circles supported educational reform by encouraging utilitarian writings with a military application as essential preparation for the royal service.

A passage from Sir Henry Wotton's own hand vividly reveals how important the reading of ancient history for military instruction was to the Elizabethans:

> In reading a history, a soldier should draw the platform of battles he meets with, plant the squadrons and order the whole frame as he finds in written, so he shall print it firmly in his mind and apt his mind for actions.[75]

Another Elizabethan soldier, Sir John Smythe, following exactly Wotton's advice, studied histories by classical writers such as Thucydides, Alexander the Great, Livy, Caesar, Tacitus:

> I even from my very tender years have delighted to hear histories read that did treat of actions and deeds of arms, and since I came to years of some discretion…I did always delight and procure my tutors as much as I could to read unto me the commentaries of Julius Caesar and Sallust and other such books. And after that I came from school and went to the university...I gave my selfe to the reading of many other histories and books treating of matter of war and sciences tending to the same.[76]

[73] H. M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (London: Macmillan, 1998) 58.
[74] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) 77.
[75] L. P. Smith, ed. *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1907) 494.
[76] *Lansdowne MSS.* 77, November 15. Quoted in the letter Sir John Smythe sent to Lord Burghley in 1587. See also Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses Military*, ed. J. R. Hale (Ithaca: New York, 1964) Introduction, xv; 36-

This quotation shows that ancient history gave Smythe not only delight but also practical skills. Since there were ancient compilations of examples of great soldiership, and authors with military experience like Caesar and Sallust wrote books on military matters, we can understand how Renaissance men found these classical texts useful in developing military tactics. Richard Lateware, who was educated at the Merchant Taylors' school and St. John's College, Oxford, and took part in Lord Mountjoy's venture in Ireland, had a similar attitude to the reading of ancient history. He wrote, in a concluding note on the last page of his copy of Tacitus, "*Ordo militaris provt quisque magistratus alter alteri subiicitur* [The military order comprises of each magistrate being subordinate to the other]," showing that he was reading less as a scholar than as a soldier.[77] Although most late Elizabethan military writers disagreed with Smythe's preference for bowmen and fighting on horseback, there was a general agreement amongst them about the didactic value of ancient histories recognised by Smythe.

Essex, who received secretarial service from Wotton, also had a special interest in Tacitus, and familiarity with Tacitus became a trademark of his circle.[78] Essex himself was popularly supposed to have written a preface to Henry Savile's translations of Tacitus. Thus, we can assume that Essex's reading of Tacitus (and presumably the histories of Livy, Caesar, and Plutarch) was shared by Wotton and by Savile, who acted in the same capacity for Essex as Dee, Digges, and Harvey had for Leicester. This network of men such as Savile and Arthur Atey, the former secretary of Leicester, played a crucial part throughout their readings and writings of history in forging links between Leicester and Sidney and between Sidney and Essex by encouraging them to believe that ancient knowledge had enduring usefulness in modern military life.[79]

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8. Smythe recommended several books mainly ancient histories to future soldier-students for learning the basics of military art.

[77] Quoted in Sherman, *John Dee* 73.

[78] See David Womersley, "Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts," *The Review of English Studies* 42.67 (1991): 316.

[79] Hammer, "The Use of Scholarship" 44-5. As Hammer points out, Savile published the first translation of Tacitus into English in 1591, and he wrote some notes on the arrangement of pay for Roman soldiers. See *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts…from…[the Library] of the Late Lord Somers*, ed. W. Scott, 2nd

Essex was undoubtedly celebrated as a heroic figure in the public imagination. Regarded as the heir to Sidney, with whom he had served at Zutphen, he received his best sword as a bequest, and married Sidney's widow. But it was his "bookishness from [his] very childhood" that united his martial prowess with an interest in letters and subsequently enabled him to associate his name with the virtues of martial heroism.[80] Of Essex's education, Gervase Markham also remarked that he was "trained up both Armes and Letters."[81] It is note-worthy that, at the end of his translation of Tacitus, Savile reminded his readers of what his Roman history was about by adding extensive annotations, titled "A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITAR[Y] matters, for better understanding of the ancient Roman stories."[82] Evidently, what interested both Savile and his readers in Tacitus was the subject of war.

Essex likened himself to Julius Caesar and compared the English conquest of Ireland with the Roman conquest of Gaul or Britain.[83] At other times, he was likened to Scipio, and Scipio's conquests in Africa were compared to his expedition to Ireland: "Now Scipio sails, to Affrick far from hoem / The Lord of hoests, and battels be his gied, / Now when green trees, begins to bud and bloem, / On Irish seas, Elizas ships shall ried, / A warlike band…with shining sword in han[d]."[84] This kind of comparison must have impressed itself upon the minds of contemporaries like Bacon, Shakespeare, and Elizabethan audiences in general, given the striking parallels between Essex and two figures who were heroic warriors and conquerors.[85] In constructing this popular image of Essex it is significant that his reading of history as a military account makes the essential connection between himself and the Romans. Such reading practice became a common feature that defined those who read history in this way as military men during the Renaissance.

The classical histories of Xenophon, Thucydides, Caesar, and Tacitus are still read today,

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edition, vol. 1 (London, 1809-15) 555-7. See also added extensive notes about Roman military practices at the end of his *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba* (1591) Ee1^{r}-Gg3^{r}.

[80] Robert Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1598) A2^{v}.

[81] Gervase Markham, *Honour in his perfection* (1624) 27.

[82] Cornelius Tacitus, *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba*, trans. Henry Savile (1591) 49.

[83] Edward A. Abbott, *Bacon and Essex* (London, 1877) 114.

[84] Thomas Churchyard, *The Fortunate Farewel to the Most Forward and Noble Earle of Essex* (1599) A2.

[85] Wayne A. Rebhorn, "The Crisis of the Aristocracy in *Julius Caesar*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43.1 (1990): 103.

whether for pleasure or literary ambition or knowledge of the past. Although readers may read the same book from different perspectives as circumstances require, the examples of Chapman and Smythe suggest that during the Renaissance English readers—whether they were from humble or aristocratic origins, educated at the petty school or the university, godly or profane, Protestant or Catholic, rivals from different political factions—read the classical histories as "martial history" or "to renew, reform, and teach [them] the art military."[86]

Amongst contemporary military books, Peter Whitehorne's English translation of Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* (1562), heavily drawn from works of Polybius, Caesar and Vegetius, is one of the most interesting examples because it explains how ancient and foreign doctrines made their way into English military thought. Whitehorne commended Machiavelli's military discourse to Elizabeth saying, "of many strangers, which from forrein countries, have here tofore in this your majesties realme arrived, there is none in comparison to bee preferred, before this worthie Florentine."[87] As for the dissemination of foreign military doctrine, one contemporary English captain, Robert Hitchcock, who corrected the 1591 issue of Garrard's *Arte of Warre*, in his English translation of Italian Francisco Sansovino's *The Quintesence of Wit* stressed the relevance of the Italian book to current military needs: "a wise Prince doth vse in time of peace the orders of warfare and militarie discipline."[88] As Machiavelli's book contains many contradictory statements, it would have been difficult for contemporary readers to gauge the soundness of his insight and judgement in military matters. Nonetheless, it is clear that the writings of Machiavelli and Sansovino provided the vocabularies and conceptual frameworks that foregrounded ancient military culture, especially that of the ancient Roman infantry. For example, while Machiavelli scorned contemporary Italian military prowess due to its corrupt condition in peace, he commended

[86] George Chapman, "Caesar and Pompey," *The Plays of George Chapman*, ed. Thomas M. Parrott, vol. 2 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961) 341; Smythe, *Certain Discourses Military* 4. The example of Chapman will be discussed in chapter 3.
[87] Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre* (1562) A4^{r}.
[88] Robert Hitchcock, *The Quintessence of Wit* (1590) 51. Renaissance Italy, as F. L. Taylor shows, saw that the art of war achieved its "truly scientific spirit" with its specialized illumination of gunnery and fortification. See F. L. Taylor, *Art of War in Italy, 1494-1529* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1921) 157.

Caesar and the army of the Roman republic. It was in their practices that he sought the solutions to the military problems of his day. Despite the fact that some contemporary military leaders were sceptical of being reformed according to the model of antiquity, there was fundamental belief in the relevance of ancient military experience to current military affairs. It is not difficult to establish that Machiavellian forms of political reflection were familiar to Elizabethans, as were Machiavellian ideas about warfare. According to G. A. Raikes in his history of the Honourable Artillery Company of London, the early modern trained bands, encouraged by attitudes assimilated from Machiavellian ideas of civic militia, began to emerge during the reign of Elizabeth.[89] As Francesco Baldelli, the Italian translator of Caesar's *Commentaries* summarised, that emblem of a Machiavellian warrior Caesar, was a "mirror for our lives as far as military affairs are concerned, in which we [can] see images of how we should conduct ourselves both publicly and privately."[90]

While there were few similarities between ancient and medieval warfare, early modern military theorists looked to ancient military theory to critique the warfare of their times; and it was during this period that massive bodies of infantry and cavalry dominated the battlefield. Such circumstances would have reminded contemporaries of the warfare practised in ancient Macedonia and Greece.[91] Although the introduction of firearms and artillery caused changes in tactics, fortification, and armament, English firearms enthusiasts like Humfrey Barwick still complained of contemporaries' reluctance to use gunpowder: "shall we refuse the cannon and fall to the ram again?"[92] However, classically-inspired military reformers, whom we might fairly call a school of military thought, sought to understand the ways in which the Greeks and Romans fought in order to improve current experience. Even Leonard and Thomas Digges tried to "modify ancient customs to suit modern needs," saying that although

[89] G. A. Raikes, *The History of Honourable Artillery Company* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1878) 33.
[90] Quoted in Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* 476.
[91] For contemporary debates on effects of use of firearms and pike, Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland offers a useful example. See *Leconfield MSS*. 137/1. Especially matters on "arming of men at arms (98)" and "the use of the pyke (105)."
[92] Humfrey Barwick, *A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the Force and Effect of All Manual Weapons of Fire* (1594) A4.

modern techniques were well advanced, "the superiority of the ancients [was] so marked that their practices [could] not possibly be emulated by corrupt contemporaries."[93]

Whereas war was taken for granted by ancient people as one of the most persistent features of their history, it was not the same for sixteenth-century Englishmen. However, for Elizabethans at the peak of hostilities with Spain in the late 1580s and 1590s, war became a focal point of historical concern. Under these circumstances, despite England's long prejudice against Spain, even Spanish military theory became a major source of instruction for Elizabethan soldiers, alongside Machiavelli's work.[94] Amongst contemporary English translations of Spanish military doctrines, we find Sancho de Londono's *The Office of Sergeant–Major* (1589) and Francisco de Valdes's *Sergeant Major* (1590). Martin Hume suggests that in such translations of Spanish military books there is little of literary importance. They are, however, important from a military point of view because they inspired Englishmen to receive "valuable histories of exploration and warfare."[95] But no matter what these writers claimed as the superior military discipline, they all based their claims on the same ground: the examples of antiquity.

In this regard, Hitchcock's translation of Sansovino is useful, as it advertised itself as a collection of essays "out of the most famous writers in Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues."[96] This book includes Aristotle, Plato, Caesar, Tacitus, Plutarch, Cicero, Thucydides, and Xenophon. It substantiates Jorgensen's argument that it is "in the military aspect of the English Renaissance" that "almost all classics dealing with war were translated" during the

[93] Leonard and Thomas Digges, *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos* (1579) 177. This book was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, who was the patron of the Digges. For the military nature of the Digges' writings, see Henry J. Webb, "Thomas Digges, An Elizabethan Combat Historian," *Military Affairs* 14.2 (1950): 53-6 and *Elizabethan Military Science* (1965) 17-27.

[94] See Jorgensen, "Alien Military Doctrine in Renaissance England," *Modern Language Quarterly* 17 (1956): 43-9.

[95] Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1995) 212. In Elizabethan and early Stuart England English military narratives adopted a detached attitude towards Spanish military culture. Ironically, the emphasis of a Protestant warrior shared a common perspective of grandee commanders with a Catholic rival beyond the traditional political and religious dichotomy between friend and enemy. For a discussion of how this common culture of etiquette, pose, and grand gesture permeated the visual arts, see chapter 2.

[96] Hitchcock, *The Quintessence of Wit* (1590) $B1^{v}$-$B2^{r}$.

sixteenth century.[97] Edmonds, for example, begins his book on Caesar by saying, "[r]eading and discourse are requisite to make a souldier perfect in the Arte militarie" and then he stresses that military knowledge could only "be learned in the registers of antiquitie and in histories, recording the motions of former ages."[98] Such classically-inspired military reform was one important aspect of what John Lynn calls a "Military Renaissance."[99]

From the lists of reading material in the libraries of prominent noblemen and their circles, it can be seen that they uniformly possessed Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*. This was no coincidence because late Elizabethans like Francis Bacon saw Caesar as a "brave soldier, a man of the greatest honour, and one that had the most real and effectual eloquence that ever man had."[100] We must consider how they read and what they learned from their reading of Caesar's writings, since it certainly shaped their own military thinking.[101]

3. The importance of Julius Caesar

Praised by contemporary schoolmasters like Roger Ascham and William Kempe for their "simplicitie" and "plainesse" of style, Caesar's texts were amongst the essential learning materials in Elizabethan classrooms.[102] Possibly responding to such educational demands, four editions of Caesar's *Commentaries* were published in English translation during the sixteenth century.[103] Given its size, John Tiptoft's early folio edition of *Caesar* (1530) would have been read only by a small number of readers. Editions in octavo and quarto soon appeared, however, indicating the book was becoming more widely read.

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[97] Jorgensen, "Alien Military Doctrine in Renaissance England " 45.
[98] Edmonds, *Observations* 3.
[99] John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (Oxford: Westview, 2003) 17.
[100] Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996) 27.
[101] For references to Julius Caesar in a number of early modern texts, especially his monumental stature in the military achievements, see Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Lisa Hopkins, *The Cultural Uses of the Caesars on the English Renaissance Stage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[102] Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* 2: 565; Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (1570) 31; William Kempe, *The Education of Children* (1588) D1^{r}.
[103] The earliest of these came out in 1530, translated by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; the second book, translated by John Brende (?); the third book, translated by Arthur Golding (1565), and the last one, translated by Sir Clement Edmonds (1600). For the importance of Caesar's *Commentaries* in England, see Webb, "English Translations of Caesar's *Commentaries* in the Sixteenth Century," *Philological Quarterly* 28 (1949): 490-95.

However, what has been unduly neglected in our understanding of English translations of Caesar's *Commentaries* by Arthur Golding, or by Sir Clement Edmonds, is that the translators looked upon the editions not primarily as a history or text for rhetorical practice, but as an exposition upon the art of war. Edmonds began his book by saying, "[r]eading and discourse are requisite to make a souldier perfect in the Arte militarie, how great soever his knowledge may be which long experience and much practise in Armes hath gained."[104] Since its title indicates that this book is "for the better direction of moderne warres" and it was dedicated to Sir Francis Vere, Edmonds's intention is self-evident.[105] Edmonds was a scholar rather than a soldier, and yet he joined Vere and Maurice of Nassau at the Battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600 as they prepared to fight against the Spanish. During the meeting, Vere was said to have offered up advice based on the lessons he had learned from reading Caesar's *Commentaries*. The victory over the Spanish the next day on the beach near Nieuwpoort reinforced Edmond's belief that classical history had value in modern military affairs, and this experience prompted him to undertake his own analysis of Caesar's campaigns.[106]

Caesar's work had already been noticed by earlier writers like Flavius Vegetius, to whom most early modern soldiers owed their military knowledge and who recommended Caesar to contemporary students in his books on "Perfect Knowledge of Martiall Policye":

> Julius Caesar, howe greatly he was geeuen to this kind of [military] studye, it doth most euidently appeare by such notable bookes as he hath written and intitled Commentaryes. And surelye in mine opinion, it semeth a farre better and shorter way to attaine to the name of a worthy and perfect Captaine to ioyne experience vnto knowledge, then to get knowledge by experience.[107]

Similarly, in 1578 Caesar was described as a general who "excelled other, for trayninge, and makinge valiaunt & noble minded souldiours by notable examples, politike instructions, and practises."[108] Montaigne praises those who cultivated military and literary skills, and admires

[104] Edmonds, *Observations* 1.
[105] Edmonds, *Observations* *1; *2.
[106] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 100.
[107] Flavius Vegetius, *The Four Bookes of Flauius Vegetius* (1572) A1^{r}.
[108] T. P., *Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres* (1578) 39.

Caesar for unifying the military and literary ideals; and in his essay entitled "Observations of Julius Caesar's methods of making war," he advises his readers to read Caesar in the same way as leaders in war such as "the great Alexander [read] Homer; Scipio Africanus, Xenophon; Marcus Brutus; Polybius; Charles V, Philippe de Commines," and "[some] in our days, Machiavelli." [109] So it can be argued that contemporary readers of Caesar's *Commentaries* saw it as a practical military book—and, as Henry Webb suggests, one that Shakespeare's Welsh captain Fluellen might have read.[110] What should be noted is that from the sixteenth century onwards Caesar's work became central in military educational practice and English military theorists like Garrard adapted ancient military practice to modern usage. Modern historians like Hale and John Keegan have also argued that Caesar's writing was read "to encourage the imitation of [his] achievements" in the context of specifically military history from the sixteenth century.[111]

That interest in Caesar's military campaign was not limited to the Elizabethans can be seen in the fact that her successor James VI was also fascinated by Caesar. In *Basilikon Doron* (1599), a manual of kingship dedicated to Prince Henry, James advises his heir to immerse himself in classical history, because by "reading of authenticke histories and Chronicles, yee shall learne experience by Theoricke, applying the bypast things to the present estate."[112] Significantly, Caesar's *Commentaries* headed the reading list the king had devised for his son:

> Among al prophane histories I must not omit most specially to recommend unto you, the Commentaries of Caesar…for I have ever beene of that opinion…he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his precepts in martiall affairs.[113]

James's advice accords entirely with contemporary opinions of Caesar. Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland had his own multiple volumes of Caesar's *I Commentari* and carried

[109] Michel de Montaigne, "Of the most outstanding men," *Complete Works*, trans. D. M. Frame (London: H. Hamilton, 1958) 572; Montaigne, *Complete Works* 556. See also Supple, *Arms versus Letters* 62-3.
[110] Webb, "English Translations of Caesar's *Commentaries* in the Sixteenth Century." *PQ* 28 (1949): 493.
[111] Hale, "Andrea Palladio, Polybius and Julius Caesar," *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 473; John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) 62.
[112] James I, "Basilikon Doron or His Maiesties Instruction to His Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince (1599)," *The Political Works of James I*, ed., Charles Howard Mcllwain (Cambridge: Mass., 1918) 40.
[113] James I, *Basilikon Doron* 40.

them with him to the Tower. During his imprisonment, Percy employed an Italian reader to help him with his Italian texts. It is the Italian edition by Palladio that was used as a source for Edmonds's *Observations* which contains a number of illustrations of historic battles.

Two of the most important military reformers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Maurice of Nassau and Gustavus Adolphus, were influenced in the conduct of their armies by what they had learnt about the Roman armies from Caesar's *Commentaries* or Justus Lipsius's *De Militia Romana* (1595).[114] While the victory at Nieuwpoort, which was witnessed by Edmonds, inspired him to publish his commentaries on the works of Caesar, it was the success of the Maurician infantry reforms that led English readers to Caesar's art of war. As David Lawrence notes, Edmonds's *Observations* had the greatest influence on the art of war in the first decades of James's reign because it was the first work printed in English that addressed the Maurician innovations and became a model for subsequent drill instructions printed in England over the next two decades.[115]

The influence of Caesar extended beyond the domain of the soldier to other fields of study, most notably literature. Montaigne, for example, admires Caesar's writing because it is "a simple, natural speech, the same on paper as in the mouth; a speech succulent and sinewy...each bit making a body in itself; not pedantic, not monkish, not lawyer-like, but rather soldierly."[116] Montaigne insisted on a plain style to compensate for the distortions inherent in the verbal medium and he associated Caesar's plain style with being a soldier, characterising it as a "sinewy" speech. As Patricia Parker demonstrates, sinew, a vernacular derivate of the Latin word *nervus* appears throughout the writing of sixteenth-century rhetoricians and testifies to an anxiety regarding the possible effeminacy of the pursuit of letters.[117] This anxiety was enhanced when the field of letters turned to the mere elaboration of style. Criticising this, Barnaby Rich claimed that "vice [was] advanced where virtue [was]

[114] Keegan, *The Face of Battle* 62-3.
[115] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 145.
[116] Montaigne, *Complete Works* 1: 26, 127.
[117] See Patricia Parker, "Virile Style," *Premodern Sexualities*, eds. Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (New York and London: Routledge, 1996) 201-22.

little or not at all regarded…flattery [was] welcomed for a guest of great account where plain Tom-tell-troth [was] thrust out of doors."[118] A masculine ideal of language, an idea of writing as a manly action, elaborated by Montaigne, was clearly motivated by the ideal of the Roman hero.

The same ideal was also important for Ben Jonson. In his poem addressed to Edmonds's translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* Jonson celebrated Caesar as a man who not only acted greatly, but "engrav'd these acts, with his owne stile, / And that so strong and deepe, as 't might be thought. / He wrote, with the same spirit that he fought" (*Epig*. cx. 6-8).[119] Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that soldiers emphasised their simplicity or plainness in style by association with that of Caesar, as a mark of their profession—as Rich says, "Souldiours are but blunte, but sure they looue plainness."[120] This can also be observed in literary culture as Shakespeare highlighted the contemporary soldier's preoccupation with a plain style in *Henry V,* when the victorious king woos Katherine of France, introducing himself to her as a "plain soldier" who "cannot look greenly, nor gasp out [his] eloquences, nor…[has] no cunning in protestation" (5.2.142-3).

In this period Caesar's style was being invoked to defend those who followed a military calling at the same time that soldiering was being established as a profession alongside religious or civilian professions like the clergy, lawyers, and physicians.[121] To a certain extent, as Jorgensen argues, Shakespeare may have used the examples of contemporary soldier-writers in creating characters such as Alcibiades, Othello, and Coriolanus to explore the issue of soldiers and the civilian world, particularly at a time when a soldier's place had been

[118] Rich, *His Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1594) A3^{v}.
[119] Ben Jonson, "Epigrammes," *Ben Jonson Works*, eds. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vol.8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947) 71.
[120] Rich, *A Path-Way to Military Practice* (London: 1587) A5^{v}.
[121] The history of the word 'profession' should help to understand the emergence of the military profession in early modern society. In its earliest use, the word 'profession' means "the declaration, promise, or vow made by one entering a religious order" (*OED* 1.1.a). However, from the middle of the sixteenth century the word also began to mean "the occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow" (*OED* III.6). Interestingly, the dictionary notes that the word 'profession' was applied not only to the three learned professions such as divinity, law and medicines, but also to the military profession.

pushed to the fringes of respectable society.[122] I would suggest that rather than playwrights who made a very skimpy use of military texts, particular attention should be paid to the military elite who pursued the ideal of the complete warrior, epitomised by Caesar. It was their belief that Caesar's military and literary arts could transform an ineffective military system and thus help create successful soldiers. Therefore, it was the military circles' responsibility for establishing a military tradition which emphasised Caesar's arts of war as well as establishing literary and rhetorical activity as a field of masculine endeavour comparable to arms. This resulted in the creation of a considerable market for Caesar's works in the early seventeenth century, and it can be concluded that this tradition fostered by leading members of the aristocracy must have been formative in the development of early modern English military culture.

4. Aristocratic libraries

Other important resources for assessing the significance in the development of late Elizabethan and early Stuart military culture are the personal collections of aristocrats. The works of the ancient historians—particularly Julius Caesar—were present in educational environments and were key elements of aristocratic libraries.[123] We can begin by considering the private library of Leicester.

Leicester was said to have possessed most of the best works available at the time. Books of Renaissance learning and works related to religious subjects dominated his collection. This was typical of most private libraries and mirrored publishing trends, book-buying habits, and reading tastes of the time.[124] Importantly, however, his library also contained key military texts. Apart from the religious works specifically connected with his anti-Roman Catholic

[122] For the relationship between soldiers and society, see Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 208-314.
[123] In his recent publication, Lawrence has demonstrated that an examination of some of the aristocratic soldiers connected to the Leicester's circle can give us a sense of how the study of military theory was used to enhance its practice. See Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 51-71.
[124] See E. S. Leedham-Green and R. J. Fehrenbach, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-lists* (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).

bias, we see that he had particular interests in history, mathematics, and geometry: his collection included works of Thucydides, Tacitus, Livy, Plutarch, Machiavelli as well as those of the Digges and John Dee.[125] (I will return, in the following section, to Leicester's furthering of his interest in military subjects, especially fortification and siege-craft, through his reading books from Digges and Dee.) Harvey's secretarial service also gave him access to English and continental military books as well as other classical works on warfare like Caesar's *Commentaries* and Frontinus's *Stratagemi Militari* (Venice, 1574).

Sidney, Essex, Northumberland, and Prince Henry are the most prominent members of the aristocracy whose possession of military books informed their identity as military leaders. When faced with problems of national security, such men turned to their libraries for information and advice. Their attitude was reflected in John Harington's letter to Thomas Combe, his confidential servant, from Ireland in 1599: "the knowledge I have gotten here [is] worth more than half the three hundred pounds this jorney hath cost me; and as to warr, joyning the practise to the theory, and reading the book you so prays'd, and other books of Sir Griffin Markham's, with his conferences and instructions, I hope at my coming home to talk of counterscarpes, and cazamats, with any of our captains."[126]

Unfortunately, we cannot say what specific books Philip Sidney read and bought for his library, but by examining the case of his brother, Robert, who inherited both his brother's spirit and the estates of Penshurst, we can infer the books Sidney might have used.[127] Joseph Black, who has studied the Sidney family, gives us an impression that the Sidneys' reading habits were partly directed towards mastering soldiership: "as soldiers needed to know about military strategy, the art of fortifications, and horsemanship."[128] Sidney, who began his studies of the art of war while on his grand tour of Europe in the early 1570s, was a great

[125] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 51-2.
[126] N. E. McClure, ed, *Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1930) 74. John Harington served as a commander of horse in the army which came to Ireland with Essex and was knighted by Essex for distinguished service..
[127] Given that Robert Sidney inherited the estates of the Sidney family in 1586, it is probable that he also inherited some of Philip Sidney's books.
[128] Joseph L. Black, "Review of Peter Burke, The Fortunes of the Courtier (1995): The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano" *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 14.2 (1996-7): 63-4.

lover of books. Throughout his trip, Sidney was in contact with his tutor Hubert Lanquet who placed a high value on book learning as an important aspect of military training. Sidney arranged for the purchase of old and new editions dedicated to a variety of subjects, including those related to military affairs and passed on that advice to his brother Robert and his friends. Philip Sidney in a 1580 letter advised Robert not only to read "Tacitus," "Livy," and "Plutarch" as "either military, or especially defensive military, or more particularly defensive by fortification" but also to study "Arithmetic and geometry" and exercise weapons.[129] It is evident from their correspondence that in such classical books, Sidney pursued "some stratagem," "good counsel," and "active judgement" for military matters.[130] Just as Leicester attended Lipisus's Tacitus lecture held in 1586 during his expedition, Sidney advised his brother to read his military lessons and Robert himself heavily annotated his edition of Tacitus with reference to military contents. Robert later served in the Netherlands as the governor of Flushing where he worked in close association with Maurice of Nassau and earned a reputation as a man who was knowledgeable in military affairs. For this reason, he was called upon by James I to serve on the Council of War when confronted with the crisis over the situation in Bohemia and the Palatinate. Under these circumstances, it would have been natural to his son Robert—who had become the colonel of an English regiment in the Netherlands in 1616—to inherit the volume, using it for similar purposes.[131]

Edward Denny asked Sidney to suggest some reading to be undertaken during his service in Ireland and was advised to spend at least an hour of his studies reading books on the art of soldiering in addition to histories of war, "as the firste shows what should be done, the other what hath bene done."[132] He went on to recommend Machiavelli and many other authors

> Whereof I will not take vpon me to judge, but this I thinke if you will study

[129] Albert Feuillerat, ed. "Correspondence to Robert Sidney (XLII)," *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1923) 132-3.
[130] "Correspondence to Robert Sidney (XLII)" 132.
[131] Germaine Warkentin, "The World and the Book at Penshurst: The Second Earl of Leicester (1597-1677) and His Library," *The Library* 20.4 (1998): 341 and "The Library of the Sidney Family," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 15.1 (1997): 3-13. See also "Correspondence to Robert Sidney (XLII)" 131.
[132] "Sidney's letter to Edward Denny" quoted in J. M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1972) 539.

> them, it shall be necessary for you to exercise your hande in setting downe what you reed, as in descriptions of battalions, camps, and marches [and] drawing of a plotte & practices of Arthmetike, which would be used in the arte of siegecraft.[133]

As classical and early modern scientific texts were often read for military purposes, it is likely that the aristocratic soldiers immersed themselves in reading to prepare themselves for their military roles.

Examining the content and uses of the Essex family library indicates that they had a similar tradition to the Sidneys.[134] With the deaths of Sidney in 1586 and Leicester in 1588, the role of the leading Protestant warrior and military patron of the age was taken up by Essex. We know that Essex scrutinised ancient historians, such as Thucydides, Tacitus, and Livy, for insight into war and politics, and that he explored a variety of subjects with experts, just as Sidney had done.[135] The seizure and sale of Essex's library after his arrest in 1599 has made it difficult to determine the extent of his military education. However, we have indications about the types of books that interested him. For example, one of the requirements for the Master of Ordnance, a senior military position held by Essex from 1597, was mathematical knowledge. According to Garrard,

> [The Master of Ordnance] must likewise have exquisite knowledge in the Mathematicals, considering thereby he shall be able, certainly to shoote, at all randons, to conuey Mynes vnder earth, to any Curtine, Bulwarke, or other place, that hee determines by violence of powder to rent in pieces…To sette out in due proportion every particular fortification…where Ordenaunce is to be vsed, which cannot possibly without knowledge in these Sciences by sufficiently discharged.[136]

Although Garrard's dedication of his book to Essex does not prove that Essex read it, it reinforces the connections between Essex and military science through his patronage. Likewise, his patronage of Roger Williams is indicative of his interest in modern military practices as Williams dedicated *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* to Essex in 1590. Essex's

[133] Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* 539.
[134] Vernon F. Snow, who examined the third Earl's library, stated that the Earl's lifetime concern was military matters. See Vernon F. Snow, "An Inventory of Lord General's Library, 1646," *The Library* 21.2 (1966): 117-8.
[135] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabeth Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 309.
[136] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 281.

patronage of George Carew—who had been in charge of the ordnance during the Cadiz expedition and was appointed Master of Ordnance in 1608—is similarly indicative of Essex's vested interest in mathematics and military engineering. In addition, given his father's political and military career, it is not surprising that the library of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, and military commander of the Parliament's army during the Civil War, included historical classics written by Caesar, Plutarch, and Tacitus. If Robert were whole-heartedly observant of his father's recommendation that—"Aboue all other bookes, bee conuersant in Histories, for they will best instruct you in matters Morall, Politike, and Military,"—he would have exercised his sound judgement by reading classical books.[137] Along with ancient history, in the lists of books belonging to the Essex family, we find works on honour and knight-errantry, including the romance, *Amadis of Gaul*, and others demonstrating practical military practices.[138] This focus on books devoted to ancient and modern warfare undoubtedly reflects the Essex family's interest in a range of military matters.

The ninth Earl of Northumberland's library and writings provide what is perhaps the most valuable example illustrating the relationship between Elizabethan noblemen's circles and contemporary military culture. Northumberland is chiefly remembered for his patronage of scholars and scientists including Thomas Harriot, Walter Warner and Robert Hues, the Earl's so-called "three magi."[139] His library, however, reveals that the Earl and his circle's pursuit of military knowledge were equal to his interest in science and philosophy. More importantly, his role in fostering military culture distinguished him from his contemporaries as a military man, in addition to being the "Wizard Earl."[140]

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[137] Devereux, late second Earl of Essex, *Profitable Instructions Describing What Speciall Obseruations Are to Be Taken by Trauellers in All Nations* (1633) 60. For the use of Plutarch in the military context, it is worth remembering that when the 2nd Earl of Essex wrote a letter to Elizabeth about his expedition of Cadiz in 1596, he explained his reason to join the voyage, saying "Plutarch taught me long since to make profit of my enemies." G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (London: Cassell and Company, 1937) 137.
[138] Amongst the latter are *Profitable Instructions* (1633), *The Siege of Balduke in ffrench* (not identified), *The Battle of Newpt*., *Laws & Ordinances of Warr* (1640), *Richard Boursher vpon the War with Scotland* (1640). See Snow's list of the Lord General's library 119-223.
[139] De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy from the Conquest to the Opening of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (London, 1887) 331-2.
[140] J. W. Shirley, "The Scientific Experiments of Sir Walter Ralegh, The Wizard Earl, and The Three Magi in the

It has been estimated that Northumberland collected between 1,500 and 2,000 volumes in his library. From the surviving records in the Percy archives, approximately 827 printed books can be proven to have been part of his library, of which 553 have been located and 537 inspected.[141] As expected from what is known of the Earl's interests, amongst his books can be found many volumes on history, the classics, religion, geography, philosophy, architecture, and—crucially—the art of war. In the latter category, we find that Northumberland possessed books on the subject not only in English, but also in French and Italian.[142] Of the English titles, he wrote copious notes to John Smythe's *Certain Discourses* (1594) and annotated Robert Barret's *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598). Of military books in French, his library contained *Traicté de la guerre de Malte* of Nicholas Durant (Paris, 1553) and Girolamo Cataneo's *Le Capitaine* (Lyons, 1593); and in Italian, Andrea Palladio's *Caesar's Commentaries* (Venice, 1598) and Francesco Patrizzi's *La Militia Romana* (Ferrara, 1597).[143]

Importantly, Northumberland's annotations on his own copies of Caesar's *Commentaries* are indicative of his interest in military knowledge.[144] If we compare various illustrations of military formations in the Earl's treatises with those of Caesar's, we can find marks of the influence of Caesar's *Commentaries*, including meticulous illustrations of Roman army formations.[145] Furthermore, given that apart from his *Advice to his Son* (1594: 1609), the Earl's only major literary composition was a book on the art of war, it is clear that throughout his close reading of the classical texts and modern books, he had military matters very much

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Tower," *Ambix* (Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry) 4 (1949): 52-66.

[141] Batho, "The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl" 251-2.

[142] See Appendix I. "Books Annotated by the Ninth Earl of Northumberland" in Batho's "The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl" 259-60. Out of 60 titles, about half of the books are seen as books on military subjects.

[143] Batho, "Library of the 'Wizard' Earl" 259-60.

[144] The Earl of Northumberland's heavy annotations on Caesar's *I Commentari*, 4vols (1598), which now belongs to Petworth House. Given that Palladio's Italian edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* was embellished with drawings of various battle scenes and that Percy interleaved works of Francesco Patrizzi's *Paralleli Militari* (Rome, 1594) and *La Militia Romana* (Ferrara, 1583), Buonaiuto Lorini's *Delle Fortificationi* (Venice, 1597), and Claudio Corte's *Il Cavallerizzo* (Lyons, 1573), it is likely that he read the works of Caesar to gain military knowledge. See also J. R. Hale's "Andrea Palladio, Polybius and Julius Caesar," *Renaissance War Studies* (1983) 471-86.

[145] See *Alnwick MSS*. 511. "Note on Military Subjects" and *Alnwick MSS*. 512. See also Manuscript book of *Memorials of Things Belonging to War* and 4 volumes of Caesar's *l Commentari* (1598) kept in Petworth house archive.

in his mind.[146] Paul Ive's dedication of his translation of Simon Steven's *The Building of Fortes* in 1600 best illustrates the Earl's particular interest:

> To the high Honorable Lord, Henry Percy… I differently obseruing your Honors continuall trauels, in your early, and late studies, tourringe ouer ye books of warre, fortification, & Artillierie, extant in Englishe, Frenche, Italian, and Latin: & your honourable applienge of ye same unto good purpose…I thought my selfe in dewtie bound (hauing receaued many honorable favours at your hands) to fordre your Honorable studie, & traeull with ye translatinge of this (Mathematicien in ye seruice of Greate Maurice, and ye States) out of Dutch into Englishe.[147]

Such a passage suggests that Northumberland's military patronage was almost as significant as his support for alchemists and astrologers. This inclusive intellectual climate would have contributed to his pursuit of the best military knowledge of the time.

We gain valuable knowledge from Northumberland's own writings about the formats in which such men stored and developed their military knowledge for their contemporaries. His treatise, *Books of Memorials of Things Belonging to the War*, explains that the virtues of the soldier combine the moral and scientific mind with the body of natural gifts and skills. More specifically, the table in this treatise subdivides various disciplines, requisite for achieving military virtue, including qualities of "Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude," which can be learned from the examples of antiquity; knowledge of "Arithmeticks, Geometrics, Cosmographie, Mechanicks;" abilities of "strength, healthness, agilities, activeness;" and skills of "swimming, riding and weapons."[148] This table is important because it is exactly what Philip Sidney commended his brother to do in studying military matters:

> I wish herein...that when yow reade any such thing, yow straite bring it to [your] heade, not only of what art, but by your logicall subdivisions, to the next number and parcell of the art. And so as in a table be it wittie words of which Tacitus is full, sentences, of which Livy, or similitudes wherof Plutarch, straite to layit upp in the right place of his storehouse, as either militarie, or more spetiallie defensive militarie, or more perticulerie, defensive by fortification and so lay it

[146] Given the similarity between Barret's *Theorike and Practike of Moderrne Warre* and Percy's military treatises in manuscript forms, Percy's annotations on Barret's book and probably his notes in his common place book were made in preparation for the writing of his military treatise.
[147] *Leconfield MSS*. 138/2-3. The relationship between Paul Ive and the Earl is interesting, because Paul Ive's possible relationship with Christopher Marlowe within the Earl's circle can be examined further. It has been suggested that Marlowe, by personally knowing Paul Ive, could quote some lines from Paul Ive's manuscript of *The Practice of Fortification*.
[148] *Alnwick MSS*. 512/3.

upp.[149]

This passage clearly demonstrates how men in these military circles developed their professional thought and character through study, and through the Earl's advice to his son, we see how military scholarship traversed various fields.[150] He commended his son Algernon to use his travels primarily to learn new languages, and then to make:

> Deeper contemplations, as Arithmetic, Geometry, Logic, Grammar Universal, Metaphysics, the Doctrine of Motion of the Optics, Astronomy, the Doctrine of Generation and Corruption, Cosmography, the Doctrine de *Anima*, Moral, Politics, Economics, the Art Nautical and Military.[151]

Significantly, his list of disciplines, together with various foreign languages, is almost identical to the scheme which was proposed by Humphrey Gilbert in his *Queene Elizabethes Academy* (1572). Given that the Earl's advice was based on the belief that each of these disciplines could be used "either for defence of themselves, or the service of their country," the art of warfare and military subjects was incontroversially the central factor.[152]

It is reasonable to infer that the books and papers on military subjects in his father's library were important enough to influence the tenth Earl of Northumberland's thinking from an early age. Reading ancient and modern books on military matters and also playing *art militarie*—an early form of the game *kriegspiel*—with his father would have developed the tenth Earl's early instincts as a soldier and helped him later to become a Knight of the Garter and Lord High Admiral and to contribute to the organization of the New Model Army.[153]

Like Sidney, Essex, and Northumberland, Prince Henry became a patron to soldiers and scholars alike. Prior to his death in 1612, Henry was beginning construction on a library at St. James's Palace to house his large collection of books, which included books on theology, history, medicine, philosophy, and the liberal arts. Importantly, it also contained classical and

[149] "Correspondence to Robert Sidney (XLII)" 131-2.
[150] Hamlet's reference to "the table of my memory" (*Ham*. 1.5.98) reflects contemporary soldier-scholar's intellectual practice. William Shakespeare, "Hamlet," *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, eds. Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005) 690. All quotations from Shakespeare's plays will refer to the second edition of *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*.
[151] Percy, *Advice to His Son* 67.
[152] Percy, *Advice to His Son* 63.
[153] Batho, "The Education of a Stuart Noblemen," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 5.2 (1957): 133.

modern military books such as Aelian's *Tactics* (1552), Niccolo Tartaglia's *Questii, e Inventione diverse* (1554), Petrino Belli's *De re military et bello* (1563), and Frontinus's *Astuti military di tutti li formosi capitani, Romani, Greci, Barbari et hesterni, Italice* (1541), all of which were printed in Venice.

Purchased by James I for his son, the Lumley collection, also contained Caxton's edition of Christine de Pisan's *Boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyvalye* (1489), Rich's *Allarme to England* (1578), and Smythe's *Instructions, observations and orders militarie* (1595). Prior to the purchase of the Lumley library, Henry already possessed Digges' *Stratioticos* (1590), Ferretti's *De re et disciplina militari* (1575), Claude Flamand's *Le guide des fortifications et conduitte militarie* (1597), and Heinrich Rantzau's *Commentarius Bellicus* (1595).[154] In addition to those specific military treatises, the 1604 edition of Edmonds's *Observaions* and Rich's *A Souldier's Wished to Britons Welfare* (1604) were dedicated to the Prince. These lists of titles contain the most important military books.

As the next chapter will show, the Prince actually took military lessons from his reading of those military books including Jacob de Gheyn's English edition, *The Exercise of Armes* (1608), which was dedicated to him. Although England was disconnected from continental warfare and enjoyed a lengthy period of peace in the first decade of James I's reign, substantial numbers of English soldiers remained in Dutch service and the European military court of Maurice of Nassau still influenced the education of the Prince. There is no reason why we should not take at face value the endlessly repeated assertion that Prince Henry's court emerged as the English military court in this period.

As I have shown, the most important military books across Europe could be found in the libraries of the English military elite. It is logical to conclude that these late Elizabethan and early Stuart aristocrats helped foster the circulation of ideas about military issues amongst their circles and beyond.

[154] For a discussion of Prince Henry's library, see Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 114-5.

5. The military importance of mathematics and engineering

During the sixteenth century mathematics was taking its place beside the intellectual pursuit of history and classical literature, as the examples of Gilbert and Percy demonstrate.[155] Having shown that late Elizabethans and early Jacobeans were studying ancient military history so that they could test ancient strategies in current warfare, we now need to examine how they pulled mathematics and history together, as a way of shaping the Renaissance military man because mathematical knowledge was deemed to be almost as significant as historical knowledge in the military context. This section will assess how far mathematical and scientific knowledge contributed to the formation of the military mind in the early modern period. I would suggest that the answer can be found by looking at the extent to which the Elizabethan and early Stuart military elite, and their circles, were adaptable to the tactical and technological advances in early modern warfare.

Leicester may be taken as a typical example of someone who maintained a general interest in military matters within his household.[156] William Camden described Dudley as "a most accomplished Courtier, spruce and neat" and a man who was free and bountiful not only to "students" but also to "Souldiers."[157] Leicester's patronage during his tenure as Chancellor of Oxford was not confined to poets and professional writers, but also included a number of military men who served him as either writers in their chosen fields of warfare or soldiers on active service. Amongst the latter group was Thomas Digges, a mathematician and muster-master-general of the English forces led by Leicester in the Netherlands. Digges was proficient in mathematical and military matters, having spent many years "reducing the sciences mathematical from demonstrative contemplations to experimental actions." [158] Digges' dedication in *Stratioticos* (1579) is indicative of Leicester's interest in military affairs

[155] See Gilbert's *Queene Elizabethes Academy* and Percy's *Advice to His Son*.
[156] See Rosenberg's *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (1955) and Edwin Haviland Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1959) 108-9.
[157] William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, ed. W. T. MacCaffrey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970) 330.
[158] Digges, *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos* (1579) A2^{r}.

and his lifelong encouragement of people whose special knowledge was valuable to the commonwealth.[159]

Of particular interest here is Digges' intimacy with John Dee. As a court intellectual, Dee had enjoyed the patronage of many important members of the Elizabethan court, including Leicester, Christopher Hatton, Francis Walsingham and Edward Dyer.[160] Commonly called the "Elizabethan Magus," he was an important figure who "digested his textual acquisitions actively and thoroughly, creating a map to a huge body of valuable materials that could meet his future needs" and those of the commonwealth.[161] Leicester's patronage of Dee is evidence of a relationship between a leading nobleman and a scholar that went beyond an occasional intellectual consultation. While critics have recognised noblemen's endorsement—like that of Leicester—of scholarly work and employment of professional readers, there has not been a concerted effort to explain how these scientific and intellectual men, unlike classical scholars, distinguished themselves as members of the aristocratic military circle.

It is evident that Elizabethan scholars like Dee read scientific and historical books with members of the Leicester circle. Together they gathered lessons from their active reading, and then applied them to practical endeavours—academic, political, domestic, and, most importantly, military in the household of Leicester, just as Harvey read *Livy* with Sidney.[162] According to Dee's diary, on "1577. Jan. 16th, the Erle of Lecester, Mr. Phillip Sydney, Mr. Dyer, &c., came to my howse."[163] Additionally the diary records that a week later, the Earl of Bedford, Francis Drake's godfather, also came to see Dee.[164] We know too that Adrian Gilbert, a brother of Humphrey Gilbert and half brother of Walter Raleigh, learned navigation

[159] In his dedicatory epistle, Digges tells us that this book was altered from the original and presented to Leicester for assisting a campaign to be conducted by Leicester. Digges, *Stratioticos* (1579) A2^{v}.
[160] Sherman, *John Dee* 7.
[161] Sherman, *John Dee* 60. See also Peter French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: RKP, 1972).
[162] Sherman, *John Dee* 62-3. See also Jardine and Grafton's "Studied for Action" 35-40.
[163] *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London, 1842) 2. Philip Sidney and Edward Dyer were at this time constantly together, and Dyer showed his affection for Dee by becoming godfather to his eldest son, Arthur, on 13 July 1579.
[164] *Diary of John Dee* 3.

from Dee.[165] Peter French has underlined Dee's role in the teaching of mathematics and astronomy, astrology, alchemy, as well as the so-called Hermetic philosophy, to the Sidney circle.[166] As Nicholas Clulee admits, an attempt to pin down Dee's role in sixteenth-century intellectual and scientific history is difficult.[167] However, it is certain that Dee was deeply committed to applying his scholarship to the political and practical needs of the commonwealth, particularly military need in times of war. The importance of Dee's military commitment can perhaps best be illustrated by Dee's account of John Dudley, first Earl of Warwick, with whom he served for many years:

> This John by one of his acts…did disclose his hearty love to virtuous sciences and his noble intent to excel in martial prowess, when he with humble request and instant soliciting got the best rules (either in the time past by Greek or Roman or in our time used, and new stratagems therein devised) for ordering if all companies, sums and numbers of men (many or few) with one kind of weapon or more appointed; with artillery or without; on horseback or on foot; to give or take onset; to seem many, being few, to seem few, being many; to match in battle or journey—with many such feats to fought field, skirmish or ambush appertaining. And of all these, lively designments most curiously to be vellum parchment described, with notes and peculiar marks as the art requireth. And all these rules and descriptions arithmetical inclosed in a rich case of gold he used to wear about his neck, as his jewel most precious and counselor most trusty. Thus arithmetic of him was shrined in gold.[168]

Hale considers that this picture, presenting John as a mathematical warrior rather than a medieval knight, significantly reflects the new emphasis on the usefulness of mathematics in war.[169] Given the fact that Dee was a tutor to John's children, including Robert Dudley, it is not difficult to imagine what service Dee could provide for Robert, the future Earl of Leicester. In his preface to the first English translation of Euclid, Dee coined the very term "Stratarithmetrie" to describe the technique of ordering an army on mathematical principles.[170] Moreover, Dee, who at one time described maps as a useful way "to beautifie

[165] John Dee was said by E. G. R. Taylor to be the teacher of the most important Elizabethan navigators. See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485-1853* (London: Methuen, 1930) 125-39.
[166] See Peter French's "John Dee and the Sidney Circle," in *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (1972) 126-59.
[167] Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee and Renaissance Intellectual History* (London: Routledge, 1988) 1-18; Sherman 14-5.
[168] The "Mathematical preface" to H. Billingsley's translation of Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* (1570) A1^{r}.
[169] Hale, "Military Title Pages of the Renaissance," *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 212.
[170] Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* A3^{v}.

their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galeries, Studies, or Libraries...for thinges past, as battels fought," must have fully recognised the military utility of maps, because the rapid development of survey methods owed much to contemporary military requirements.[171] Contemporary military books were enhanced by maps, together with tables, charts, and calculations as Robert Beale notes in a tract:

> A Secretarie must…have the booke of Ortelius' Mapps, a booke of the Mappes of England, w[i]th a particular note of the divisions of the shires into Hundreds, Lathes, Wappentaes, and what Noblemen, Gent[lemen] and others be residing in every one of them; and if anie other plotts or maps come to his handes, let them be kept safelie.[172]

The fact that Leicester possessed a variety of maps in his private collections can be viewed as indicative of his acquaintance with the work of Ortelius and Christopher Saxton.[173]

This close alliance between mathematicians and soldiers is also reflected elsewhere. In the introduction to a mathematical book designed for the use of gunners and military engineers, Thomas Digges referred to men who did not appreciate the importance of mathematics as "two footed moles and toads, whom destiny and nature hath ordained to crawl within the earth and suck upon the muck."[174] Significantly, Richard Jones, a printer who would have known what would sell in times of war, asked:

> [Who] without learning can conceive the ordering and disposing of men in marching, encamping, or fighting without arithmetic? Or who can comprehend the ingenious fortifications of instruments apt for offence or defence of towns, or passing of waters, unless he hath knowledge of geometry?[175]

These examples indicate that throughout their writings and consultations with their clients scientific scholars like Dee and Digges contributed to forming the intellectual foundation of

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[171] Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* A4^{r}. Taylor, *Tudor Geography* 26. Given that Dee's influence on the circumnavigation of Francis Drake and English exploration of Humphrey Gilbert is certain, there was no wonder that contemporary military officers regarded maps as an important instrument for military purposes. See Helen Wallis and Sarah Tyacke, eds. *My Head is a Map* (London: Francis Edwards and Carta Press, 1973) 107-13.
[172] Quoted in Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* 428-429
[173] Sir Roger Williams, *The Works of Sir Roger Williams*, ed. John X Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) lxxviii-lxxxii; Simon Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (Cambridge: Cambridge Up, 1995) 256; 370. See also Anthony Wells-Cole, "The Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestry Maps," *The Burlington Magazine* 132.1047 (1990): 392-401. For Sidney's acquaintance with the work of Ortelius, Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* 537; 540.
[174] Digges, *A Geometrical practise, named Pantometria* (1557) Aiv^{r}.
[175] Richard Jones, *The Book of Honour and Armes* (1590) 66-7.

the Leicester circle. It is thus no coincidence that the demands of war stimulated the arrival in London of a number of self-appointed professors of mathematics.[176] Groups like the Honourable Artillery Company presumably played a part in widening mathematical military knowledge and experience amongst Elizabethan citizens in London.[177]

The links between Dee and contemporary military circles can be further illustrated by Sir Thomas Smith's career which in many ways parallels Dee's. Not only was Smith the most prominent Elizabethan "intellectual in office," but his interests and activities were also shared within contemporary military circles.[178] Dee had an intimate friendship with Humphrey Gilbert, and so did Sir Thomas Smith and his son. Furthermore, Gilbert and the younger Smith were actively engaged in the conquest and settlement of Ireland.[179] Sherman cites Gilbert's visit to Dee's house at Mortlake in 1577 as evidence of the intimate relationship between the two families, and also the similarity between their writings on the security and wealth of England. He also cites the similar opinions voiced by Dee, Captain Hitchcock and Gilbert in their discussion of expeditions.[180] Like Dee, Smith had an active interest in mathematics, chemistry, and alchemy.

Friendship with men like Dee or Smith was important because contemporary soldiers saw mastery of scientific knowledge as essential. In his *The Art of Gunnery* (1600), the soldier Thomas Smith (a different man from Sir Thomas) wrote that an "expert souldier" was a man who could:

> performe, execute, and obey the lawes and orders of the field, that hath some sight in the Mathematicals, and in Geometricall instruments, for the coueying of Mines vnder the ground, to plant and manage great Ordinance, to batter or beat down the wals of any Town or Castle, that can measure Altitudes, Latitudes, and Longitudes, &c.[181]

[176] Thomas Hood gave his lecture on military maths to London citizens during the late 1580s. See Johnson, "Thomas Hood's Inaugural Address as Mathematical Lecturer of the City of London (1588)," *Journal of the Historical Ideas* 3 (1942): 94-106.
[177] Raikes, *Artillery Company* 33.
[178] Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London: Athlone Press, 1964). Sherman, *John Dee* 75.
[179] Jardine and Grafton's "Studied for Action" 41.
[180] See Sherman, *John Dee* 162-6.
[181] Thomas Smith, *The Art of Gunnery* (1600) A2^{v}.

It can be deduced, therefore, that Dee and Smith were a source of relevant knowledge for contemporaries who sought to master "the Art militarie."[182] It is not difficult to imagine what role the friendship between Smith and Harvey played within the Leicester circle. Indeed, this friendship worked to guide members towards a strong interest in military aspects, and Harvey's marginal note illustrates this point:

> I ran over this decade on Hannibal in a week, no less speedily than eagerly and sharply, with Thomas Smith, son of Thomas Smith the royal secretary,...a young man as prudent as spirited and vigorous. We were freer and sometimes sharper critics of the Carthaginians and the Romans than was fitting for men of our fortune, virtue or even learning and at least we learnt not to trust any of the ancients or the moderns sycophantically, and to examine the deeds of others, if not with solid judgement, as least with our whole attention. We put much trust in Aristotle's and Xenophon's politics, in Vegetius's book *Of Military Affairs* and Frontius's *Stratagems*. And we chose not always to agree with either Hannibal, or Marcellus, or Fabius Maximus; nor not even with Scipio himself.[183]

Though neither Dee nor Smith wrote any specific military book, it is evident that they were of the same mind as patriotic and militaristic Elizabethans who regarded security, wealth, and sea power as their top priority.[184] It is also evident that books in Dee's and Smith's libraries, which included many scientific and historical subjects, helped meet the political and military needs of those who wanted to be expert soldiers.

The question of how the use of private libraries contributed to the building-up of the military circles, or what book owners hoped to gain from borrowing and lending books, can be answered by Smith's note on his Tacitus: "*Tacitus imperator Cor. Taciti uiri consularis historiam de Romanis imperatoribus, non modo in omnibus bibilothecis issit collocari, sed etiam edicto cauit, ut decies quot annis ad usum publicumtranscriberetur*. [The Emperor Tacitus not only ordered that the consul Tacitus's history of the Roman emperors should be kept in all libraries, but also decreed that it should be copied ten times each year for public

[182] As a soldier, Thomas Smith claimed to have been "brought up from childhood under a valiant captain in military profession, in which [he has] had a desire to practise and learn some secrets touching the orders of the field and training of soldiers." Smith, *The Art of Gunnery* A3^{r}.
[183] Harvey writes this passage at the bottom of page 518. Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for Action" 41.
[184] See Sherman, *John Dee* 162-6.

use.]"[185] This annotation implies that Smith's Tacitus, along with his other volumes, were also intended to be used for public purposes. Presumably this would have held true for other library owners.

Dee's library was probably intended for use by the wider public because, as Roberts and Watson note, it had a "striking peculiarity" that set it apart from other contemporary libraries: its great number of duplications.[186] His library sometimes contained two—and up to four—copies probably intended for use by his pupils, like John Woodall and Richard Bostock, or to be lent to other frequent visitors, such as Sidney, Digges, and Percy.[187] Although we cannot know which particular books were borrowed by these men, we can speculate that, as Dee's library held various copies of Tacitus, Thucydides, Caesar, Vegetius, Lipsius, and Machiavelli, together with various books on scientific subjects, they would have been used for the circulation of military knowledge. Dee operated in several overlapping "knowledge-power grids" of the age, and for those who were concerned with military matters, his library was probably one of the best places in early modern England to learn about the basics of the military arts.[188]

Dee's dissemination of knowledge was not an isolated case and Prince Henry's contemporary biographers as well as foreign ambassadors to Court made note of his knowledge of modern military science. Prince Henry was, according to Cornwallis, "delighting to conferre both with his owne and with strangers, and great Captaines…of ambuscades, approaches, scaling, fortifications, [and] incamping."[189] Henry often received reports and descriptions of French and Dutch fortifications from Edward Conway and Edward Cecil.[190] When the Venetian ambassador Mark Antonio Correr visited Henry's court, the

[185] Sherman, *John Dee* 78.
[186] Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990) 42.
[187] See Roberts and Watson 42-4. It is interesting to note that John Woodall appeared as a military surgeon in 1589.
[188] Sherman 208, note no 1.
[189] Cornwallis, *Discourse of the most Illustrious Prince Henry* 20-21.
[190] After Prince Henry's court dispersed, Conway and Cecil remained influential in shaping military policy and went to on to advocate the introduction of the Jacobean government's drill manual, the *Instructions for Musters*

Prince plied him for information about the types of defences used in Italy. The visit in November 1610 took place at the same time that tensions were growing in Cleves-Jülich and Henry pulled out maps of the defences at Jülich, which had been sent to him by Cecil, to educate the ambassador on the situation.[191] The following year, Antonio Foscarini, Correr's successor, praised Henry for his knowledge of the Venetian defences at Palma. The ambassador also noted that Henry was not reticent about questioning him on the size of Palma's garrison. Henry needed no further information on its strength, as Forscarini claimed that Henry already possessed a plan of its walls.[192] These examples suggest that Prince Henry was keen to gain military and political knowledge in consultation with experienced soldiers and diplomats and indicate that Henry's court was a place where statesmen and soldiers came to learn about the arts of government and war.

6. Conclusion

Military circles in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England helped to promote intellectual exchanges of knowledge of military history and military science amongst their members by the publication of various books on military subjects, discussions and debates. In this way, in the absence of a standing army, they could lead the war effort of the nation and have the greatest influence on the art of war in England.

It was only after the Council of War was created in the 1620s to institute military reforms in England that Englishmen recognised an opportune moment to correct the problems that had plagued the English military since the days of Elizabeth. And it was out of this meeting of the War Council that the idea of the "exact" or "perfect" militia took shape.[193] Members of the War Council like Conway and Cecil believed that the introduction of a printed drill manual could prompt this transformation. The *Instructions for Musters and Use of Armes thereof,*

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and Armes, And the use thereof, in 1623. See Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 15.
[191] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 121.
[192] Quoted in Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 121.
[193] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 76.

printed and widely distributed in 1623 by Privy Council order, represents the culmination of their efforts. Given the book was the first government-issued military manual intended to codify and control military actions, Foucault's approach to French manuals may be applied to this book.[194] After *Instructions* was published and sent to each county, the Privy Council issued further instruction on how the newly issued manual was to be incorporated into training. "Captaines, Lieutenants, Ensignes, and other officers and leaders of files of euerie company" were expected to carry out the instructions "going from one company to another" to make sure that the training was being properly carried out.[195]

However, we must remember that before the publication of the *Instructions*, each of the men discussed above continued to contribute to this gradual evolution in thought which led to the foundation of the Council of War. Leicester brought into his orbit many of the leading scholarly and professional military men of the day; Sidney sought military knowledge by reading ancient writers, and devoted himself to battles in quest of military honour; Essex vigorously attended a "Schoole of warre" of his time: the siege warfare in the Low Countries, amphibious raiding operations against the Spanish naval bases, and guerrilla-type warfare in Ireland, emulating what the name of Sidney meant to English audiences; and Northumberland learned military knowledge both from the classics and from the new sciences and applied it to daily actions and executions in the theatre of war.[196] All these military traditions were rooted in the revival of the classical writers and simultaneously the rise of mathematics and scientific knowledge.

Looking at late Elizabethan wars in their cultural context suggests that the degree of classical and scientific military knowledge found amongst leading military figures, and their circles, formed an intellectual framework wherein all sorts of military discourses could be

[194] For the importance of the *Instructions for Musters and Armes*, see Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 167-77. According to Lawrence, with the publication of this drill manual, the Privy Council made a clear declaration that "drill was no longer a private affair and that captains and muster masters must now train their men according to a set of rules established by the state." Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 171.

[195] A letter to the lord lieutenants in Herefordshire on 13 August, 1625. Quoted in Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 173.

[196] Devereux, late second Earl of Essex, *Certaine Choise and Remarkable Observations Selected out of a Discourse Written Long since by the Late and Ever Famous Earle of Essex* (1642) B2^{r}.

contested. Moreover, such a tradition continued to develop under Prince Henry, in whom the late Elizabethan war party vested their hope.[197] As Hammer points out, there were direct links between Essex's circle and Prince Henry's, including men such as Lionel Sharpe, William Barlowe, Edward Wight and Sir Thomas Chaloner.[198] Not only did Prince Henry massively expand his library as Elizabethan noblemen had done, he also received advice from scholars and military men within his circle, similar to the Elizabethan noblemen. As one contemporary witnessed, by participating in this network of scholarship Prince Henry, "who tooke such delight in [Essex]," could learn "no smale advantage in his military way."[199]

Powerful men like Leicester, Sidney, Essex, Northumberland, and later Prince Henry were far from unique in using their scholarly patronage for public and private purposes in early modern society. Importantly, however, these same noblemen and their circles established the way in which military knowledge was acquired, circulated and used and were instrumental in the evolution of English military culture.

Due to their efforts, the reading of books on military subjects from ancient military authorities to mathematical and scientific books became a crucial experience for many of those who prepared for and experienced times of war. This is exemplified in the library of one Elizabethan captain, Henry Sibthorpe, who had performed his military duty in the Low Countries. Unsurprisingly, given his military career, we find a variety of books on military subjects in his inventory and significantly titles relating to the art of warfare and military subjects clearly reflect the inclusive intellectual taste of early modern military men.[200] The books on military subjects fall into several categories, and ancient and modern histories including Suetonius's *The Historie of Twelve Caesars* (1606) and Edward Grimestone's translation of *Generall History of the Netherlands* (1608); popular fiction, and poetry, such as Sir John Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591) and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie*

[197] Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales* 71-85.
[198] Hammer, "The Use of Scholarship" 50.
[199] Essex, *Certaine choise* (1642) B2^{r}.
[200] See Jean Carmel Cavanaugh, "The Library of Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe," *Studies of Bibliography* 20 (1967) 243-54.

Queene (1609);[201] military treatises like Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* (1562), La Noue's *The Politicke & Militarie Discourses* (1587), and Barret's *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598); political writings like Hitchcock's *A Pollitique Platt for the Honour of the Prince* (1580) and *The Funeralls of Henry Prince of Wales* (1613).[202]

These titles not only suggest that early modern English military culture was significantly shaped by the printing press but also that military books became a conspicuous feature of the contemporary cultural terrain. The presence of military print culture also provides insight into how far military values were circulated and communicated beyond the members of the military circle through a variety of media. These mixed titles also suggest that the military elite, and their fellow-soldiers, recognised that warfare was constantly in a state of flux.

It can be concluded that the patron-clients relationships within military circles that were forged between soldiers and scholars fostered the composition and publication of a range of military treatises. As the following chapters will show, classical histories and military volumes were not the sole method of creating a military culture in England: we shall see, in the next chapter, that there was a concerted effort in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England through the aristocratic patronage of various art forms to create a military culture.

[201] For the inclusive nature of military books which embraces history, prose-fiction, newsletters, ballads, books on modern science, and military manuals, see Seo, "Print and Elizabethan Military Culture" 40-52. Stories of battles and chivalric romances in general contributed to the idealisation of romantic courtesy and military valour. However, from the end of the sixteenth century, when translations of Homer's *Iliad* and Ariosto's *Orland Furioso* reached England, a "historicall fiction" or heroic poetry was written and read as a means to instruct its reader in both the priute vertues, ("Ethice") and the public political virtues ("Politice"). With his emphasis on "fashion[ing] a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline," Spenser—like Sidney who believed that poetry could delight, teach, and move men to virtuous action—also claimed that his narrative, throughout the epic, was a means by which his allegory can act upon the reader and so influence his sense of personal identity. Under humanist influence and with growing elaboration of political and military experience, literary efforts to mediate between the military profession and civic republican discourse within the context of chivalric romances became defining characteristics of the military circles. See Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1981) 15-8. For an identification of Artegall with Essex and the whole of Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, which endorses a distinctively Protestant view of recent history and is intended as a spur to Essex, see David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) 124-39 and see also Chapter 4.

[202] Cavanaugh, "The Library of Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe" 247-54.

Chapter 2
Patronage of theatre, art, and music

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and later Prince Henry, when debating military and foreign policy, shared their knowledge of military strategy with both fellow soldiers and scholars within their circles and became patrons of military writers and soldiers alike. This chapter's examination of the patronage of theatre, music, and art by individual aristocrats is intended to provide an entry into this study's wider discussion of the promulgation of military ideas and imagery through a variety of media.

With their own interest in military affairs, these men supported literary works on military issues and became patrons of theatrical, musical, and pictorial representations of military actions and ideas. There has been little critical discussion of the military dimension of their patronage of theatre, music, and art, although some attention has been given to plays alluding to leading military commanders, songs relating to the Armada campaign and wars in the Low Countries, or portraits of them in military dress.[1] In the following sections, I will explore the ways in which aristocratic patronage enabled the promotion of military and political ambitions.

2. Patronage of dramatic companies: Leicester, Essex, and Prince Henry

The link between politics and theatre is made more significant during actual military conflict by the representation of war in artistic form. The Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle, and later that of Prince Henry, were regarded as enthusiastic patrons of drama which means that the

[1] For dramatic, musical, and pictorial representations of the Spanish Armada, see Felipe Fernandez-Artnesto, *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* (New York: Oxford UP, 1988); M. J. Rodriquez-Salgado, *Armada, 1558-1988: An International Exhibition to Commemorate the Spanish Armada* (London: Penguin, 1988); Elizabeth Goldring, "'In the cause of his God and true religion': Sir Philip Sidney, the Sequitur celebritas and the Cult of the Protestant Martyr," *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, eds. Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007) 227-42; and Pia F. Cuneo, *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 137-8.

possibility that they exploited the public theatres as a means of moulding public opinion cannot be discounted. In this section, I will analyse various aspects of theatrical business, focusing on the connection between propaganda and entertainment.

During the second half of the sixteenth century Leicester's Men and other companies, including Sussex's Men, Warwick's, Essex's, and Oxford's, toured each summer and gave performances in London whenever they could. While various patrons gave their protection to different acting companies, Andrew Gurr has pointed out that the great aristocrats like Leicester were "using their playing companies in the Christmas festivities at court as emblems of their own power."[2] This was not only because profit and reputation were the principal motives for the acting companies but also because of Puritan attacks on the stage which made the name of the players' patron crucial to their business. The playing companies' settlement in London was especially significant for their success because playing in the largest city in the nation, with the court nearby at Westminster, meant "living in one place instead of travelling, and, more important, enjoying a steady income."[3] These circumstances also helped to forge a bond between powerful aristocrats and their players in terms of profit and, importantly, political influence.

Gurr notes that in 1583 Elizabeth gave an order to form a company under her own name to check the rivalry amongst the great nobles and at the same time gave powerful backing to the continued presence of the players in London.[4] Despite this, other adult companies, including the Admiral's Men, Lord Strange's Men, and Pembroke's Men, gave performances at court and in the country before the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men emerged as the dominant companies in 1594. In that year the Queen's Men and the Admiral's-Strange's combination had broken apart, and subsequently Edward Alleyn's new Admiral's players stayed on with his father-in-law, Philip Henslowe, at the Rose and Richard Burbage's new Chamberlain's players joined his father, James Burbage, at the Theatre. We do not know what

[2] Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2004) 28.
[3] Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* 28.
[4] Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* 28.

caused these developments, but they were probably the result of financial circumstances within the theatre industry, along with other factors like the plague, the concentration of capital, and the growth of population in London.[5]

Significantly, the Queen's Men were instigated by Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State and, as Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean have suggested, early Elizabethan companies mobilised by Leicester and Walsingham served to promote the Queen's political and religious agendas.[6] Walsingham consulted the Master of the Revels, Edmond Tilney, about the actors to be chosen and wrote on behalf of the Queen's Men to the city authorities to explain that they should be permitted to give regular weekday performances in London. McMillin and MacLean have argued that Walsingham was involved in the formation of the Queen's Men, "not because he cared for theatre or did errands for the Queen, but because he cared for the demands and opportunities of his office."[7] Linking the concerns of Walsingham and Leicester regarding pro-Catholic plots before the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, and the attack of the Armada in 1588, with frequent tours by the Queen's Men to the north, McMillin and MacLean have suggested that touring was used as a form of "royal outreach to an area notoriously resistant to intervention from the south, especially in matters of religion."[8] Their reading of certain plays of the Queen's Men, such as Robert Wilson's *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* and the anonymous play called *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, sees the theatre as a propaganda tool for mobilizing public opinion as part of the war effort in the 1580s. Their argument is based upon the traditional assumption that Leicester recognized the political usefulness of patronizing the arts. Eleanor Rosenberg describes Leicester as a man who regarded patronage as:

> an instrument for the formation and direction of public opinion. Writers and scholars were to be encouraged to serve the state by espousing and advertising the policies of the Crown and by engaging in literary activities

[5] Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* 41.
[6] See Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 18-36.
[7] McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men* 25.
[8] McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men* 57.

which would profit the Commonwealth.[9]

Since Leicester encouraged various scholars and military men to further the aims and ideals of militant Protestantism through their writings and actions, his patronage of playwrights like Wilson and players like Will Kemp may be taken as further evidence of this policy.

Conyers Read argues that Leicester exercised "one of the characteristic attitudes of Tudor government…its increasing interest in public relations…between the Crown and its neighbours and the Crown and its subjects, through public channels of communication."[10] Read identifies the drama and the popular ballads as two means of influencing the common people.[11] Paul Whitfield White also indicates that early Elizabethan leaders in the church and in the civil government had accepted "playgoing as suitable recreation and recognis[ed] once again its power as a medium of shaping public opinion."[12] Leicester's use of theatrical display in private and public entertainments for the same purposes was not unique.

Gurr suggests that Leicester acted as the crucial figure in supporting players for political purposes in the 1580s and defines Leicester as a patron of theatre whose "particular policy of attitudes to plays" made him "the most positive supporter of his own playing company, and the man whose actions are in the main most readily identifiable" and whose motives "appear to have been dominated by his political need."[13] Both Read and White cite the 1562 masque, *Desire and Lady Beauty*, and the 1562 tragedy, *Gorboduc* as examples of attempts to shape public opinion. *Gorboduc* was initially designed to celebrate the accession and reign of Robert Dudley as the lawyers' Christmas Prince at the Inner Temple in the previous year and is thought to have been prepared for performance at Court in order to give an allegorical statement of the desirability of Dudley as a royal consort. Simultaneously *Gorboduc* tapped into a militaristic mood with sounds of drum and flute and armed men on stage, which

[9] Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955) 3.
[10] Conyers Read, "William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations," *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (London: Athlone Press, 1961) 27.
[11] For the popular ballads, see Chapter 3 on cheap print.
[12] Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 173.
[13] Andrew Gurr, "Privy Councilors as theatre patrons," *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, eds. Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 228.

"signified tumults, rebellions, Armes and civill warres."[14] Other examples include Gascoigne's abortive masque designed to urge Elizabeth's marriage to Leicester in the Queen's entertainments at Kenilworth in 1575 and the triumphal progresses presented to celebrate the Earl throughout the Netherlands in 1585-6.[15]

Although there are obvious topical allusions to the Spanish Armada and moral lessons in plays like Wilson's *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, there is no external evidence that any particular play was commissioned by Leicester as propaganda. However, other evidence reveals that Leicester encouraged playing companies to promote an aggressive foreign policy through their repertory.

One contemporary, Richard Verstegan, asserts that some plays on the public stage, to the displeasure of Cecil, were employed to excite public hostility against Spain:

> But this cours of proceeding liked not him [Cecil], that had designed his plots vnto other purposes, and that rather sought to work some speciall damage to the king of Spaine, then to haue potencie of the Turck diminished. And therefore for an introduction thereunto, to make him odious vnto the people, certaine players were permitted to scof and iest at him, vpon their common stages.[16]

Since Verstegan was a pro-Catholic pamphlet writer and his comment on the English anti-Spanish plays was published as an answer to the 1591 proclamation against Jesuits and seminary priests, his account may be partial. Nevertheless, his point about the players' attempts to provoke anti-Spanish sentiment on the public stage makes his opinion clear that someone, who commissioned "certain players," was responsible for attempting to influence public opinion.[17]

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[14] Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *Gorboduc* (1565) D3^{r}.

[15] See Marie Axton, "Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels," *The Historical Journal* 13.3 (1970): 365-378; Paul Whitfield White, "*Gorboduc* and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance," *English Literary Renaissance* 26.1 (1996): 1-13; *Gorboduc* (1565) D3. See also George Gascoigne, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle* (1576), which reveals that artful persuasion from marriage was the theme of several of the entertainments.

[16] Richard Verstegan, *A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles, Presupposed to be Intended against the Realme of England* (1592) B2^{v}.

[17] According to T. S. Graves, Elizabethan audiences were familiar with Philip II of Spain's appearance on the English stage from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. See T. S. Graves, "Some Allusions to Religious and Political Plays," *Modern Philology* 9.4 (1912): 545-54. At the height of the conflict between the two countries, plays like Lyly's *Midas* depicted the Spanish King as stupid, greedy, conceited and bent on relentless conquest,

A contemporary Spanish document identified Leicester as one of the leading figures behind the creation of anti-Spanish sentiments through drama. This document recorded an incident on 9th January, 1588, when the Queen heard an anti-Spanish comedy and flew into a passion with Leicester, declaring that it behoved her at any cost to be friendly with the King of Spain, "because," she said, "I see that he has great preparation made on all sides. My ships have left to put to sea, and if any evil fortune should befall them, all would be lost, for I shall have lost the walls of my realm."[18]

We do not know what kind of a comedy it was, or whether it was commissioned by Leicester, but we can draw on circumstantial evidence from Thomas Churchyard, who in his account of his work in *Churchyards Challenge* (1593) revealed that he took a considerable part in writing Elizabethan pageantry which contained various types of martial display. Churchyard, for example, says that he wrote "the deuise of warre and a play at Awsterley. Her Highness being at Sir Thomas Greshams [and] the Commedy before her Maiestie at Norwich."[19] Amongst them was a "book of sumptuous shew in Shrovetide…in which whole book was the whole seruice of my L. of Lester mentioned that he and his traine did in Flaunders."[20] E. K. Chambers attributes the date of the "shew" to Shrovetide 1587/8, referring to Churchyard's *Challenge* which says "Feb. 10 or 20. [1588] Show in honour of Leicester."[21] If Chambers' suggestion is correct, the accuracy of Verstegan's report is doubtful and in fact, there is other evidence that contradicts it. Between Christmas and Shrovetide 1587/8, seven plays were performed at court and although none of the titles of the

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in stark contrast to Elizabeth who "dazzleth the clearest eyes with majesty, daunteth the valiantest hearts with courage, and for virtue filleth all the world with wonder" (*Midas* 4.2.42-44). See John Lyly, "Midas," *The Plays of John Lyly*, ed. Carter A. Daniel (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1988). Modern editors of the play argue that it was performed in late 1589 and early January of 1590, considering "the play's political allegory…between the hapless King Midas and Philip II of Spain, in the wake of failure of his Spanish Armada in August of 1588." John Lyly, *Galatea: Midas*, eds. G. K. Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000) 114.

[18] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish 1587-1603*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899) 191. For the development of a series of Spanish plays about the war effort on behalf of Roman Catholicism and the protection of its endangered power, see A. J. Hoenselaars, "Shakespeare and the early modern historical play," *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 25-40.

[19] Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyards Challenge* (1593) **.

[20] Churchyard, *Churchyards Challenge* (1593) **.

[21] E. K. Chambers, "Court Calendar," *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951) 103.

plays are specified, the Revels Accounts inform us that there were "feattes of Activitie" and the queen "rewarde[d] for giving their attendaunce in recitinge and playing certain playes and enterludes before her."[22] Elizabeth also saw a reviewing parade and reception organized by Leicester in August, 1588.[23]

Clearly we cannot see the Spanish report as evidence of whether or not the Queen disapproved of the patriotic and anti-Spanish plays, but it is significant that this report hints at the identity of the instigator of militaristic plays at Elizabeth's court. This supports McMillin and MacLean's speculation that when Leicester appeared as a lieutenant-general of Elizabeth's army in the Low Countries and subsequently at home, he either commissioned or encouraged his players to promote his political and religious views through their plays.[24]

It seems likely that, during their travelling, Leicester's players and other companies could have met the messengers sent to various counties to levy military bands, or those who came to London and Tilbury. For example, when they reached York in July, Leicester's Men would have seen the whole of Yorkshire busy with levying foot soldiers to watch Scotland and the northeast coast.[25] Similarly, while en route to Norwich, Leicester's players may have encountered the forces from Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk travelling to London and Tilbury in early August and returning in late August. In particular, as Leicester's Men appeared at Norwich around 28th September, with the last recorded tour date at Ipswich on 14th September, they could have joined Norwich's celebration of the defeat of the Armada held on 22nd September.[26] Given that in July 1588 an order had been sent from the Privy Council to the Lords Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk to "see watches kept in every thoroughfare town to stay and apprehend all vagabonds and rogues" and to treat them by

[22] Chambers, "Court Payment," *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951) 161-2.
[23] Chambers, "Court Calendar" 103.
[24] Andrew Gurr notes that at Bristol in April 1587, the city—Leicester had the high stewardship of Bristol since 1570—gave an official welcome to Leicester and his brother Warwick as their country's general in the Spanish war, and paid Leicester's Men to perform for the occasion. Andrew Gurr, *Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 187. See also Simon Adams, ed. *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 10 and *REED, Bristol* 129.
[25] See *Acts of Privy Council of England*, ed. John Roche Dasent, vol. 16 (London, 1897) 129-30.
[26] See *APC* 16: 137; 195; 255. Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638* (London: Routeldge & Kegan Paul, 1967) 164.

"martial law," travelling players could have been taken for vagabonds and liable to arrest.[27] Instead, the provincial records reveal that the local government paid players, drummers, and trumpeters for their services in the following months. The record, having a note of "Tryvmph" on its left margin, reads "Item to the wages for their Servyce then...xx s. / Item in Reward given to her Maiestes Players at Mr Maiors commaundement which then was Mr Bowd at ij seueral tymes viz the xth of December 1588 & the thred of Iune 1589 [x] iiil li."[28] Another example is the "Item to the drommer for his pains xij d / Item to a bagg pipe plaier for goeing about the freedom xij d."[29] Immediately above these latter entries, we find records of payment made by the city of Plymouth for the Lord Admiral's visit, which was connected with preparation for the expected arrival of the Spanish Armada. The expenses paid to musicians for "goeing about the freedom" may have referred to the city's Freedom Day (which fell on St. Matthew's Day, 21st September). As later this special occasion was used to commemorate the deliverance of the city from foreign attack, it may well have been a part of the Armada victory celebration. Sir John Hawkins's account of his voyage from Plymouth to the South Sea (1593) gives us an idea of how the scene of celebration of the Armada victory at Plymouth may have been:

> [F]irst with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my ways, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly, with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the Waytes of the Towne, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voices.[30]

Hawkins's account shows how the sounds of trumpets, drums, and soldiers' shouts excited the audience. His reference to the presence of his own musicians on his ship is very significant because, as we will see in detail in the next chapter, military musicians were rewarded for their contributions to the war effort. Drums and trumpets had long been associated with war. Yet those military sounds of actual battles, of military exercises, and marches frequently created the excitement of war for audiences, when there was no elaborate setting and when

[27] See *APC* 16: 117
[28] *REED, Norwich* 92-3 (f 308*-f308 v).
[29] *REED, Devon* 1588-9 252 (f 80v).
[30] *REED, Devon* 1592-3 255.

only a small number of soldiers marched or fought on the stage or when the noise of battles was created off-stage.

In the light of this, Leicester's company, more than any other players, would have fully understood what was expected of them during their tours of the provinces, when their lord was a prominent war leader in the Privy Council. Hence Leicester was able to act as patron and support his own company when they were supporting the war effort, without it appearing that they were benefitting from obvious financial gain for propaganda. This understanding fills a number of gaps in the vast jigsaw puzzle of the English travelling players in the provinces in times of war. When we examine other touring companies, like the Earl of Essex's Men in the 1590s, it is clear that travelling players could be used as a means of circulating pro-military propaganda and integrating geographically distant provinces.[31]

According to Paul Hammer, Essex, like Leicester, relentlessly sought "public endorsement for his actions."[32] Essex displayed himself to the world in a variety of ways which, as Hammer puts it, "showcased his various qualities for a range of different audiences."[33] Sir Walter Raleigh, deadly rival of Essex, parallels Essex's deliberate efforts to display himself as a man of *virtù*, which was commonly associated with military qualities. During the attack on the Spanish fleet at Cadiz in 1596, both Essex and Raleigh, disobeying an order to stay in the middle, took their ships and sailed out under intense cannon fire, to public acclaim. Many commentators have used this and other incidents during the battle to exemplify the obsession of Elizabethan soldiers with personal honour and pride. It is easy to detect a "strong feeling of theatricality and deliberate performance" in these incidents.[34] This is clearly demonstrated by what Raleigh said of the victory at Cadiz: "What I have wrote is to

[31] There are a few records which can be interpreted in this respect. For example, the Queen's players visited Bristol in August, 1588. *REED, Bristol* 133. The Earl of Essex's drummers and trumpeters visited Coventry in 1588 and 1599, *REED, Coventry* 320; 353. Lord Howard's players visited Bristol in 1599. *REED, Bristol* 154.

[32] Paul E. J. Hammer, "The smiling crocodile: the earl of Essex and late Elizabethan 'popularity,'" *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007) 95.

[33] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile" 101.

[34] Hammer, "Myth-making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596," *The Historical Journal* 40.3 (1997) 623.

yourself. What others shall deliver of me, I know not. The best wilbe that ther was 16,000 eye witness."[35] The same was probably true of Essex, whose "conspicuous wearing of a great plumed hat and insistence on fighting on the foremost rank in any battle made him the focus of attention for the armies which he commanded."[36]

This public theatricality in personal myth-building took many forms and included the actions of the monarch herself. Elizabeth's visit to the camp at Tilbury in 1588 was a theatrical event which "strengthened the hearts of [the] captaines and souldiers," and was a public display designed to build support amongst the people.[37] It was Leicester who arranged the Queen's visit to the camp, and Leicester himself had earlier manifested his strong leadership in the Netherlands through grand display.[38] In a similar public display, while lying wounded Sidney gave his water-bottle to another wounded soldier, saying, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine."[39] His moral attitude and conscious theatricality presented an image of himself as an actor to the world and staged the historical event in a theatrical manner. This became the most famous story about him, recounted by those who returned from the great battle at Zutphen, illustrating his noble character. The Sidney myth helps to explain how far theatrical display was embedded at the heart of his public activities. It is not surprising that Essex, successor to Leicester and Sidney, was aware of "the Theatre where on Nobilitie was borne to shew himself" and must have recognised the impact of patriotic and warlike plays.[40]

One contemporary performance reference to Essex gives a glimpse of the well established connections between the aristocratic patrons and playwrights. In the dedicatory letter to the Earl of Essex (from Oxford, 1st January 1593) in his Latin tragedy of *Meleager*, William Gager referred to Leicester and Sidney who had attended its 1585 production at Christ Church, Oxford, claiming Leicester's patronage and taking the opportunity to ask for Essex's

[35] Hammer, "Myth-making" 623.
[36] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile" 101.
[37] William Camden, *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth* (1630), ed. W. T. MacCaffrey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970) 142.
[38] R. Leicester and Miller Christy, "Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury in 1588," *The English Historical Review* 34.133 (1919): 46-7.
[39] Fulke Greville, *Prose Work of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 77.
[40] Barnaby Rich, *Alarm to England* (1578) Bi[r].

patronage. The patron's association with university men like Gager can be viewed as an old-style notion of grand aristocratic hospitality rather than politically motivated conduct. However, it is worth noting that Gager's appeal to Essex's heart includes the notion of military honour, praising the Earl's "illustrious pedigree, humanity, magnificence, wit, learning, magnanimity, military science, and every form of heroic virtue" as well as expressing grief for the death of Walter Devereux (Essex's younger brother) at the siege of Rouen, which Gager called "even more lamentable than that of Sidney."[41] This clearly indicates the military ethos which flourished around Essex; and Gager made use of it in order to seek his patronage.

Another contemporary reference to Essex clearly demonstrates that for him warfare was its own kind of theatre. A ballad, called *A new baalde of the tryumphes kept on Ireland vppon Saint Georg's day last, by the noble Earle of Essex and his followers, with their resolution againe there* (1599), depicts how Essex arranged a ceremonial military parade on 23rd April—the festival of St. George, the militant patron-saint of England. Interestingly, the unknown writer of the ballad, who set to verse the account of the grand military performance by Essex's troops, devoted many lines to elaborating on the theatricality of the military parade. "[His] Captaines and leiftenantes bolde, / Attired braue in cloth of golde," "Seargeats there that day were seen in purple veluet, red, and greeene," "Pikemen…[i]n glistering corslets stoutlye stood, / Protestinge for to spend their bloode," "insigne-bearers…[d]id waue their colours in the skyes," and "drummes and fyfts, with joyfull sound, / Did make much musice on that ground, / Whereby no feare[ful] heart was found / amongst our soudiers of *Englande*."[42] In this lengthy description of his troops, Essex is presented as the type of the true general, who will conquer "all the rebels every one."[43] This is clearly an instance of

[41] For the English translation of the play, see William Gager, *Meleager*, 10 September 2010 < http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/gager/plays/meleager/act1eng.html>.
[42] See "A new baalde of the tryumphes kept on Ireland vppon Saint Georg's day last, by the noble Earle of Essex and his followers, with their resolution againe there (1599)" in *The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1907) 321-6.
[43] *The Shirburn Ballads* 326.

Essex's self-fashioning, and of the role of theatrical display in feeding the military ethos and in creating a more favourable public attitude towards him. The powerful impression of Essex's theatricality was marked by an unmistakeable reference to Essex's Irish expedition in Shakespeare's *Henry V*.[44]

In contrast to the established facts that Essex made most obvious endeavours as a military and academic patron and that he was a patron of theatrical displays amongst the military, it is not easy to see precisely how Essex influenced contemporary public theatre. By the late 1590s the players were subject to the demands and tastes of popular audiences who financed their career and it was no longer possible for Elizabethan aristocrats to maintain their own playing companies to play in the public theatres as Leicester's Men had done. As a result, scholarly interest has been focused on other aspects of his career, such as factional divisions. For example, with regard to Essex's hostile relationship with the Lord Admiral in their military campaigns, White suggests that when Essex returned home in disgrace, the Admiral's Men might have performed *Sir John Oldcastle* (at the behest of their patron and his political ally, Henry Brooke) in order to honour a valiant warrior and Godly Christian who was the ancestor of Essex's hated enemy at court.[45] For this single event a bonus of ten shillings was given to the playwrights.[46] White speculates that this money came either from Howard or from Cobham "as a gift" in the same way that the followers of Essex including Sir Gilly Meyrick, steward to Essex, paid thirty shillings for staging *Richard II* in 1601.[47] Earlier, in 1598, Meyrick had arranged an entertainment at Essex House for Essex and his friends—"2 plaies, which kept them up till 1 a clocke after midnight."[48] Jonathan Bate in his recent Shakespeare biography suggests that one of the two could have been the Chamberlain's

[44] In the play, the chorus that precedes the fifth act makes obvious reference to the expected victorious return of Essex from Ireland. For a discussion of Shakespeare's reference to Essex's popularity with Londoners, see chapter 3.

[45] Paul Whitfield White, "Shakespeare and the Cobhams, and the dynamics of theatrical patronage," *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, eds. Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 87.

[46] Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, eds. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1961) 125.

[47] White, "Shakespeare and the Cobhams" 87.

[48] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* 1: 220.

Men's *Richard II*, given that a fortnight before, the Earl of Southampton, who was a patron of Shakespeare, had a play performed at a private banquet in honour of Robert Cecil.[49] Furthermore, Bate proposes that Cecil might well have seen "Essex loudly applauding a performance of *Richard II*."[50] It is possible, then, that performances of plays like *Richard II* and *Sir John Oldcastle* could have been organized by rival factions in private houses to satirize each other.

Meyrick's documented commission of staging *Richard II* in the public theatre needs more explanation, as it caused him to be hanged on a charge of treason. Academic interest has been chiefly driven by unsettled connections between John Hayward's *History of Henry IV* and Shakespeare's *Richard II*.[51] The link between *Richard II* and Essex still generates academic debate.[52] Bate, for example, dismisses Leeds Barroll's speculation that Shakespeare's *Richard II* was thought by Edward Coke (the Crown prosecutor) to be a dramatization of John Hayward's book and therefore the chief political contest took place not over the play but over the history.[53] He proposes that Hayward's description of Bolingbroke's deliberate ploy to gain support from the commoners (Bolingbroke was "not negligent to vncover the head, to bowe the body, to stretch forth the hand to euery mean person, and to vus all other complements of popular behauiour"[54]) as well as contemporary criticism of Essex as a man who was eager to win the admiration of "the vulgar sorte" and "would veile his bonnet to an oyster wife," actually echoed a similar description of Bolingbroke in Shakespeare's *Richard*

[49] Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 2008) 265.
[50] Bate, *Soul of the Age* 265.
[51] See Evelyn May Albright, "Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy," *PMLA* 42 (1927): 686–720; Ray Heffner, "Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex," *PMLA* 45 (1930): 754–80; Albright, "Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Hayward's *History of Henry IV*, and the Essex Conspiracy," *PMLA* 46 (1931): 694–719; and Heffner, "Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex Again," *PMLA* 47 (1932): 898–99. The central issue in this debate was Albright's attempt to show that Shakespeare's play was based upon John Hayward's 1599 history of Richard II and Henry IV.
[52] In contrast with Bate, Hammer argues that the play presented on the eve of Essex's uprising was Shakespeare's *Richard II*. See Hammer, "Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.1 (2008): 1-35.
[53] Bate, *Soul of the Age* 275.
[54] John Hayward, *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie IV* (1599) 71.

II, when Richard bitterly reflects on Bolingbroke: [55]

> Observe his courtship to the common people,
> How he did seem to dive into their hearts
> With humble and familiar courtesy,
> What reverence he did throw away on slaves,
> Wooing poor craftsmen with craft of smiles
> And patient underbearing of his fortune,
> As 'were to banish their affects with him.
> Off goes his bonnet to an oysterwench. (*R2* 1.3.23-30)

Referring to Everard Guilpin's satirization of Essex in the character of "great Foelix," who "passing through the street, / Vayleth his cap to each one he doth meet," Bate suggests that Essex's courtesy to social inferiors can be interpreted as a sign of his purposeful association of himself with Bolingbroke. Referring to Guilpin's satire, Hammer also argues that since Essex's effort to project himself as a "public person" echoed a similar description of Bolingbroke's behaviour in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the identification between Essex and Bolingbroke was already well established before Hayward chose to dedicate his book to Essex. We do not know for certain whether the "tragedy [of Richard II]…played 40tie times in open streets and houses" under Essex's patronage was in fact Shakespeare's *Richard II*, nor the relationship between this tragedy and Essex's rebellion. Nevertheless, these examples imply that Essex and his associates regarded the theatre as a means of mobilizing public support.[56] Hammer argues that Essex's purpose was to challenge "both the conventions of late Elizabethan government and the political standing of his personal rivals who actually ran the government on the Queen's behalf."[57] In another article, he emphasises that in 1595 Essex, assisted by his scholars and artists, presented a deliberately constructed image of himself as a Protestant warrior, and "upstaged" the Queen at her own Accession Day celebrations.[58] However, we must be cautious in assessing the influence of Essex on the contemporary public theatre, because his fall, rather than his military achievements, was

[55] Bate, *Soul of the Age* 277.
[56] William Shakespeare, "Introduction," *King Richard II*, ed. Peter Ure (London: Routledge, 1989) lix.
[57] Hammer, "The Smiling Crocodile" 106
[58] See Hammer, "Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day Celebrations of 1595," *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 41-66.

represented on stage as "the most serious example" that "may have influenced dramatic attitude towards the unfortunate warrior."[59] For this reason, despite the fact that Samuel Daniel was a member of the Essex circle, Paul Jorgensen is doubtful about attributing Daniel's *Philotas* (1605) to the influence of the Essex affair, arguing that there were "age-old prototypes in real life and recent parallels and models in literature," recalling Daniel's own words which expressed his innocence of any intentional parallels with Essex's troubles.[60]

Nevertheless, in order to understand the extent to which theatrical patronage conforms to a broad pattern of cultural activities undertaken by the Essex circle, it is worth noting that the presentation of the play in the Blackfriars theatre resulted in Daniel's summoning before the Privy Council. This is important, as Florby Gunilla asserts, because it reveals that "there were those who were unhappy about public reminders of the various roles they had played in this painful business."[61] In fact, members of the Essex circle even after the Earl's death continued to patronize poets, playwrights, and artists to solidify Essex's reputation as a Protestant warrior. Indeed, Essex's personal popularity and the unexpectedness of his fall enlisted general sympathy and kept the spirit of Essex alive—in the writings of George Chapman, the madrigals of Richard Carlton, popular ditties from the ballad-mongers and the paintings of Marc Cheeraerts.

The influence of the theatrical patronage undertaken by the Essex circle impacted the actions of Prince Henry with regard to the theatre. The execution of Essex marked the disintegration of the late Elizabethan military circles and the rise of a new English patron. Protestant leadership passed from the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle to Prince Henry's circle, and consequently many descendants of Leicester's and Essex's followers gathered around the Prince's court. Most of what we know of the Prince's early patronage, however, was of a

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[59] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 221.
[60] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 272.
[61] Florby Gunilla, *Echoing Texts: George Chapman's* Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron (Lund: Lund University, 2004) 131; see also John Pitcher "Samuel Daniel and the Authorities," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 10 (1998): 113-35 and Hugh Gazzard, "'Those graue presentments of Antiquity': Samuel Daniel's *Philotas* and the Earl of Essex," *Review of English Studies* 51 (2000): 423-50.

literary and dramatic nature. Around Christmas 1603, for instance, Prince Henry took charge of the group of players that became known as the Prince's players. Based at the Fortune, their principal playwrights were Chapman, Dekker, Chettle, and Drayton. Chapman pursued the special patronage of the Prince, dedicating his *Twelue Bookes of the Iliad* (1609) and the complete *Iliad* (1611) to the prince, calling him "my most deare and Heroicall Patrone."[62]

Chapman may have initially attracted Prince Henry's interest through his play *Bussy d'Ambois* as the Prince was interested in French affairs. We cannot be sure if Chapman obtained his place—"sewer in ordinary"—within the household of Prince Henry because of the play. *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608), however, was a well-calculated venture to appeal to the Prince's heart. Not until 1610 was Prince Henry given his own household and his own palaces but his symbolic role was already firmly established by 1608. Chapman's choice of patron capitalised on the Prince's image as a spiritual heir of Essex, celebrating military glory, as evidenced in both Essex's and Prince Henry's partiality to chivalric display. Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliad* was previously dedicated to Essex, whom he called "the Most Honoured now living Instance of the Achilleian vertues eternized by divine Homere."[63] Like Essex, Prince Henry was marked by his military orientation, in contrast to his father's favoured self-appointed role as peacemaker. Kevin Sharpe describes the Prince's court as being "so radically different in style from that at Whitehall that some even viewed it as a centre of opposition to the King."[64] Similarly Curtis Perry asserts that the court was "the site of an ambitious Elizabethan revival which fostered support for a number of positions opposed to James's policies."[65] These modern descriptions of Henry's court are well supported by a contemporary: Henry "made so much of Souldiers & men of warre, that he made diverse Captaines Gentlemen of his privy Chamber, and tooke

[62] George Chapman, *An Epicede* (1612) A2^{r}.
[63] Chapman, *Achilles Shield* (1598) A2^{r}.
[64] Kevin Sharpe, "Stuart Monarchy and Political Culture," *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. John Morrill (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996) 247.
[65] Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 166.

great pleasure in theyr company, discoursing with them often touching military discipline."[66] His Scots tutor James Cleland called Henry's court "the Academie of our Noble Prince," and it was a place where Prince Henry learned "the first elements to be a Privie Counsellor, a Generall of an Armie, to rule in peace, & to commande in warre."[67] Those, who were associated with this court, vied to obtain the Prince's favour, "as Hylas wonne the loue of Hercules: Patroclus of Achilles, and Ephestion of Alexander the Great."[68]

Cleland's association of Henry's court with ancient heroes is interesting because Chapman in his portrait of Byron compared him to Hercules, Achilles, and Alexander the Great whom he had previously associated with Essex. In addition, Chapman made several direct and indirect references to the fall of Essex in the course of the play. The striking resemblance between Byron's rebellion against Henri IV and Essex's against Elizabeth I a year earlier has been well noted by the commentators on the play. A scene from Act 4 makes this explicit:

> Byron. All these together are indeed ostentful,
> Which by another like I can confirm:
> The matchless Earl of Essex, who some make,
> In their most sure divining of my death,
> A parallel with me in life and fortune,
> Had one horse likewise that the very hour
> He suffered death, being well the night before,
> Died in his pasture. (*Tragedy* 4.1.131-8)

Most critics use these parallels to highlight both Essex and Byron as agents of their own fall. Taunton, for example, argues that "[Byron's] recklessness, his pride, his lack of wisdom to accompany valour, his search for glory—all find their parallels in Essex."[69] There are only passing references to Essex, without the kind of moralising which can be read alongside Daniel's *Philotas*—except when the Earl is referred to as "matchless Essex" or, indirectly, in Act 2 of *Conspiracy*: "As great a captain as the world affords, / One fit to lead and fight for

[66] W. H. *The True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry* (1634) 31.
[67] Quoted in Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: the Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1981) 69.
[68] Chapman, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron*, ed. Stephen Orgel, vol. 2 (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1979) 105.
[69] Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism* 83.

Christendom; / Of more experience, and of stronger brain" (*Conspiracy* 2.2. 217-9). These lines are used to celebrate Sir John Norris who commanded an expedition to Brittany in May 1591 to aide Henri IV against the Catholic Leaguers and their Spanish allies. There is sufficient similarity, however, to prompt audiences to remember Essex's description of Henri IV in his *Apologies* (1603): "a King, who, for his admirable valure, and often fighting with his owne hands, was not onely the most famous, but the most renowed Captaine of Christendom."[70] Knowing Daniel was questioned about his motives for writing *Philotas*, Chapman, as Gunilla points out, had to sacrifice an explicit connection with Essex for "safety."[71]

Although Chapman was preoccupied with antique heroes and represented them in dramatic characters like Bussy and Byron, we cannot simply conclude that he used these characters to represent the complete man of the Renaissance who was "[a]s great a captain as the world affords, / One fit to lead and fight for Christendom; / Of more experience, and of stronger brain." For example, Byron at the beginning of his career is as heroic as Bussy in his assertion of the rights of the natural man, but at its close Byron is even more defamed by his conspiracy than Bussy by his rebellion against Henri IV. It also true that Henri IV appears not as the ideal king but as a deceitful man ready to use any available means to achieve a political goal. Chapman's characters, therefore, give us a complex, contradictory picture. As Margot Heinemann suggests, it was a period when historical/political plays did not simply present "coherent embodiments of dominant attitudes in the society, or alternatively of subversive ones," but highlighted "contradiction within outlooks and codes, which fascinated dramatists and audiences the more because they were problematic, newsworthy, and not easily resolved."[72]

My contention is that such outlooks and codes in the atmosphere surrounding Prince

[70] Quoted in Chapman, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron*, ed. John Margeson (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988) 110.
[71] Gunilla, *Echoing Texts* 99.
[72] Margot Heinemann, "Political drama," *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, eds. A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 165.

Henry as a Renaissance prince in whom learning and arms were harmoniously combined also allowed drama to engage with contemporary military and political issues. This atmosphere, in which the Prince learned the art of the courtier and the martial sports of tilting, jousting, and sword-play, which were notably lacking at James's court, was well reflected in Ben Jonson's masque, *Prince Henry's Barriers*. In it English monarchs, from "warlike EDWARD" (187) to "great ELIZA…fear of all the nations nigh" (208; 210), arrive with all the pageantry of pavilions, plumed helmets, heraldic devices, swords, pikes, and lances, instructing the Prince that "ciuil arts the martiall must precede" (212).[73] At the climax the Prince appears as "MELIADVS" who holds pike, sword, and shield.[74] Meliadus was a figure from Arthurian romance, the lover of the Lady of the Lake. But Henry's choice of the name is important, because it was an anagram of Miles a Deo, or soldier for God. As Graham Parry points out, the name emphasised the Prince's Christian zeal to use his arms in the service of God, and indicated a kinship with the Red Cross Knight of *The Faerie Queene*.[75] As we will see in later sections on music and art, the Prince tried to appear as the reincarnation of Sidney and Essex. Henry died before his patronage could become decisive in its effect on drama and other arts. However, his taste and influence survived as a living memory amongst the members of his circle.

Margot Heinemann and Martin Butler propose that certain Jacobean and Caroline plays, such as the second part of Heywood's *If You Not Know Me, You Know Nobody*, Philip Massinger's *The Maid of Honour* and *The Bondman*, and Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, were used as propaganda by Prince Charles and Buckingham in the next generation in support of their new war policy.[76] These plays have an explicit bearing on what were

[73] Ben Jonson, "The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers," *Ben Jonson Works*, eds. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) 329.
[74] Jonson, *Works* 7: 326.
[75] Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd* 71.
[76] See Margot Heinemann's "Drama and opinion in the 1620," *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 237-265. In order to understand the influence of the 1620s drama on politics, as Heinemann points out, it is necessary to note that the drama in this period "had analogies with that of churches and preachers, at least in London where the theatres were most active." Heinemann "Drama and opinion in the 1620" 239.

becoming the main interests of the Earl of Southampton's and Prince Henry's circle, which included men who had served Essex. Robert Sidney, for instance, kept his military role as Governor of Flushing and became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Anne in James' reign and Southampton, who remained committed to the old Essexian anti-Spanish foreign policy and support for Protestant forces in Europe, was appointed her Master of the Game. The evidence regarding war-oriented plays and their relation to topical issues is based on the assumption of Essex's closeness to Leicester and Southampton and the fact that the plays of Wilson, Heywood, and Middleton fit well as political allegories of contemporary politics. In particular, Heinemann's argument that the 1620s drama promoted by Southampton was used to manipulate public opinion by opening mysteries of state to the "giddy multitude" can be paralleled by Hammer's point that one of the chief accusations against Essex by his enemies was that his populist appeal exposed "'mysteries of state' to the light of public scrutiny, violating its own basic principle about the secrecy which should accompany royal government," especially in relation to foreign policy.[77]

Despite the lack of concrete evidence showing a direct relationship between patrons and the theatre in the context of contemporary politics, the possibility that the patronage of Robert Sidney and Southampton influenced the repertory of Queen Anne's Men cannot be overlooked. In fact, the Queen's patronage of Daniel is significant. When the Queen wanted to celebrate her son Henry's installation as Prince of Wales in 1610, she chose a masque, *Tethys' Festival*, written by Daniel who had had only one previous experience of writing for a masque, although he was a groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber. The matter of Astraea's word offered by Tethys is the most evocative and symbolic action in the masque because Astraea's sword was the icon with which Elizabeth had frequently been associated. Therefore presenting the sword to the new Prince of Wales is constructed as a symbolic act, indicative of an aspiration that Henry would revive the hopes of the Elizabethan military circles. Given the fact that Daniel was one of the most important writers to receive substantial patronage

[77] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile" 95.

from the Sidneys, this kind of performance would certainly not have displeased patrons who were interested in anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish policies.

Interestingly we find sympathetic representations of Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry as perfect warriors, ideal councillors or princes, and generous patrons not only in various printed material and drama but also in the visual arts and music. Southampton, the third Earl of Essex, and Willoughby were all represented as models of a Protestant warrior by artists, poets, and musicians based on the same kind of language and imagery. These links illustrate the ways in which, like literature and theatre, music and the visual arts could disseminate the military aims and ideals developed within aristocratic circles into everyday life. The patronage of musical and pictorial artists by the same group of noblemen must also be taken into account in an investigation into the military dimension of their cultural influence.

3. Portraits and engravings

Examination of portrait paintings of Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry alongside relevant engravings of them will demonstrate that political motives played a significant part in their creating images of themselves as ideal Protestant warriors within both public and private spheres. All were active patrons and collectors of European fine art. However, patronage and collection of art are not synonymous because while patrons may be collectors, the reverse is not true. Discussion will concentrate, therefore, on the extent to which they influenced both the forms and content of the artwork, not as collectors, but as patrons.

Military subjects portrayed in the visual arts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were popular in Italy and Northern Europe and the influence of Italian models on the visual arts was well marked in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England. Examining the style and content of pictorial representations of military subjects in early modern England will illustrate the importance of military values in the wider cultural context. I will also demonstrate the extent to which the leading artists of the period incorporated a continental

style into works that embodied their own political and religious views.

First, it is necessary to establish a context for the display of military subjects in the visual arts in the early seventeenth century, because a break with medieval art in favour of the contemporary artistic style of the Low Countries has been better established for Stuart England than Elizabethan England, and there are implications for the representations of military values. J. S. A. Adamson, for example, from his interpretation of Robert Peake's portrait of Prince Henry (*c*. 1610) and Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I (*c*. 1638), argues that the martial qualities and prowess of their subjects were stressed through the visual arts at a time when there was political debate about English military intervention against the Catholic forces of Europe, despite differences between mid-Jacobean and mid-Caroline court culture.[78] Adamson demonstrates that in "various guises—in the masques, in literature, in portraiture, and on the popular stage—the language and imagery of chivalry had continued to occupy a central place in the intellectual world of the Caroline court."[79] His work confirms that early modern chivalry had not declined, but continued to evolve as an "eclectic tradition which offered a variety of role-models and a plurality of values."[80] This tradition was responsible for the shaping of English military culture. It not only encompassed soldiers, philosophers, historians, scientists, preachers, players, artists, and musicians, from a variety of social, cultural, political and religious backgrounds, but also assimilated these various influences. The eclectic nature of this stylised chivalry described by Adamson is consistent with what Mervyn James calls early modern "honour culture," in which "a synthesis of honour, humanism and religion was achieved."[81] It would also seem that, as Theodor Meron argues, chivalry as a set of norms permeated the minds of early modern people, including Shakespeare, despite the fact that chivalric values originated with medieval knights and, in

[78] J. S. A. Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994) 161.
[79] Adamson "Chivalry and Political Culture" 196.
[80] Adamson "Chivalry and Political Culture" 182.
[81] Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 384; 388.

practice, were often violated.[82] Although the chivalric code was confined to the culture of the elite, chivalric tales were composed in the sphere of popular literature and thus formed an important part of wider cultural taste.[83] In fact, chivalric forms used in artistic representations of members of the aristocratic military elite were not confined to the aesthetic products of the ruling class.

While Adamson's argument is based on the belief that the legacy of the golden age of Elizabethan chivalry was revived in early Stuart England and was adapted to express a concern for the political situation in the 1630s, he does not say much about exactly what Elizabethan or early Stuart values were. Besides, while he recognises that Caroline chivalry helped to shape the imagination of people active in the arena of politics, he regards Elizabethan and early Stuart chivalric culture merely as fictive conceit and didactic allegory.[84] Similarly, James's argument that remodelled Protestant and humanistic chivalry emerges as an essential part of the Elizabethan military ideal still needs to be considered not merely in terms of "the Leicester-Walsingham Protestant activism" but also in terms of the wider culture, because it was a new aristocratic military ethos that was transmitted to the cultural and mental world of the semi-literate and the middling sort.[85]

In contrast with the treatment of extraordinary events like the Spanish Armada in contemporary popular literature and drama, pictorial representations of military subject matter have been relatively neglected by scholars and critics. The scarcity of paintings or engravings of military subjects at the time reflects the underdeveloped state of the visual arts in England, compared to other European states. As John Hale has demonstrated, apart from architecture and tomb adornment, the visual arts in Elizabethan England were "artistic backwaters relying for nourishment on important Netherlandish and Italian talent, even though they were

[82] See Theodor Meron, *Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998).
[83] See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).
[84] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture" 195.
[85] James, *Society, Politics and Culture* 391.

immersed over long periods in wars at home or abroad."[86] This conclusion is also supported by Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, who contrasts the kingdoms of Spain and England at the time of the Armada in his introduction to Elizabethan painting. Whereas Philip ruled "the richest, most educated, most sophisticated, most technically advanced monarchy in Europe," England "was regarded at the time as a backwater, a realm of lightly gilded savagery."[87] These views create imbalance in the level of extant evidence in different forms, resulting in a distortion of our knowledge of the evidence and therefore warping any analysis of wider issues. In fact, despite the alleged underdevelopment of the decorative arts, painting on panel in oils and sculpture in stone, the so-called 'high arts,' flourished in England at this time. In my analysis of the relationship between print culture and the military circles in the previous chapter, I challenged the notion that England remained isolated from modern trends in military theories and practices. Examination of visual arts from the end of the sixteenth century to the first two decades of the seventeenth century will show that the pictorial world of early modern England did not differ considerably from the dynamic artistic developments in the rest of Europe. The constant presence of English noblemen in continental wars helped to shape and develop English military culture at home, through the patronage of artists, infusing visual culture with new trends from abroad.

There are few distinctive and influential examples of military paintings in sixteenth-century England, in comparison with the Netherlands and Italy.[88] Despite the fact that England had no Titian (who had, for example, painted Philip II of Spain with an allegory of the battle of Lepanto in 1571), England had its own highlights. George Gower's famous 'Armada' painting of Elizabeth features the scene of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the background in the same way that Titian's portrait of Philip has the scene of the battle of Lepanto in the background. On the Queen's right, the Spanish fleet advances from the south

[86] John Hale, *Artist and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1990) 263.
[87] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, "Armada Gallery," 19 September 2008
< http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/armada_gallery_01.shtml>.
[88] See Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000).

toward the English ships, threatening the dominant figure of Elizabeth in the centre; on her left, the remains of Philip II's *Armada Invencible* are tempest-tossed and wrecked upon the rocky coast of Ireland (See Illustration 2).



[Illustration 2. *Elizabeth I* by George Gower (1588),
Marquess of Tavistock & the Trustees of the Bedford Estates][89]

To its viewers, the portrait gives an impression that it is the Queen, depicted holding the orb (a pose symbolising her absolute sovereignty), who repelled the Spanish Armada. Although this portrait lacks a geometrical perspective, its fine illustration of the use of thematic and symbolic detail tactfully commemorates the great victory over the Spanish invasion fleet in 1588. Such a painting style would have been unthinkable in the contemporary courtly circles of Italy, France, or the Netherlands, where post-Renaissance aesthetics would have prevailed. This example—and others—of an outdated style of painting has helped to foster the belief that early modern England remained largely isolated from modern trends.[90] I would argue, however, that campaigns in the Low Countries provided the opportunity for members of the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle to extend patronage to Continental artists, supporting them at home in order to introduce new trends in the visual arts into the expression of their religious ideology and the promotion of English Protestant goals.

[89] Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy*, vol. 2 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995) Plate 11.
[90] As we can see from *Sir Henry Unton's Panel*, in which his entire life is delineated from birth to grave in a single visual panorama, such old-fashioned eclectic painting, which shows the fluidity of action, place, and time, was still acceptable amongst viewers accustomed to this kind of narrative representation by the late medieval culture in which their imaginations were formed.

Given that the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle, and later that of Prince Henry, identified themselves as heroic Protestants patronizing poets, academic writers, soldiers, preachers, and players, they were also likely to extend their patronage to visual artists. Printed images of members of the military elite helped to create a codified and standardised image of the Protestant warrior and extend its influence beyond the domain of the aristocracy or the army. Patronage of Elizabethan artists was crucial for this and without them it would have been impossible for images of highly stylised chivalry and Elizabethan values to be revived during the early Stuart period and, subsequently, the Caroline period. It was the late Elizabethan and early Stuart visual arts, especially portraiture and engravings, that served as a vehicle for the spread of images of the Protestant-warrior.

In relation to the visual culture of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England, the leading military figures were committed to the creation of themselves as exemplars of Protestant heroism by resorting to the language and imagery of warfare. They saw "the representation of [their] status and power in portrait" as "a necessity."[91] During this period the use of portraits was seen as "a perfect illustration not simply of the interconnectedness of art and power, but of the complex exchange between authority and subjects in the production and dissemination of a 'successful' image."[92] The extraordinary portraits of the Queen, for example, were thought to take on the "form of collections of abstract patterns and symbols disposed in an unnaturalistic manner for the viewer to unravel, and by doing so enter into an inner vision of the idea of monarchy."[93] Lucy Gent notes that "meaning [in early modern English painting] was all-important, aesthetic considerations negligible."[94] The same belief that the role of images was to communicate deep philosophical truths meant that the visual arts were "verbalised" and turned into "a form of book, a 'text' which called for reading by the

[91] John Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994) 209.
[92] Sharpe, "Representations and Negotiations: Texts, Images, and Authority in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 42.3 (1999): 871.
[93] Strong, *The Arts in Britain* 164.
[94] Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981) 29.

onlooker" and would have been absorbed by members of the military elite who also played a role as literary patrons.[95]

As far as visual art as a text is concerned, it helps to note that some details in political paintings were deleted or altered according to changes in the political context, just as political treatises or literature were edited in order to meet seasonal or topical needs. For example, over a dozen copies of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's "The Massacre of Innocents" were copied and adapted by his son during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, intending to present visual denunciation of Spanish tyranny by its association with an Alva-like image and sympathy for the victimized peasants. In his analysis of the painting, David Kunzle suggests that Breughel the Younger's copy (in Hampton Court) is one of "the most politically sensitive compositions which were the most extensively copied at the turn of the century and constitute the kernel of the 'Breughel revival.'"[96] In a similar way, Peake's Prince Henry, depicting the martial virtue of the prince by means of a repertory of allusion to the chivalric tournament, was later over-painted, obliterating all reference to the trappings of the tournament and substituting a landscape background in deference to Flemish-influenced artistic taste in the Caroline court. In this regard, studying Holbein without relating him to the royal propaganda of the English Reformation and Van Dyck without placing him in the context of English court politics during the 1630s is now seen as absurd.

We must conclude that paintings, especially portraiture, were not used for expressing general ideas about religious or political concerns during the latter years of Elizabeth and the early years of James's reign.[97] The power of the visual arts became a political reality in early modern England when the nation was disturbed by political upheavals, and threatened internally by religious dissension and externally by the threat of Catholic power—just as great turbulence in the Low Countries impelled many contemporary Dutch and Flemish artists to

[95] Strong, *The Arts in Britain* 164.
[96] David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002) 108.
[97] Strong, *Tudor and Stuart Monarchy* 2: 162.

react to current conflicts. Many painters from the Low Countries came to England in this period and their reputation has survived alongside the works of art which deal with military or political subjects.

The visual arts, especially portraiture, as Roy Strong asserts, are central to the understanding of the culture of late Elizabethan and early Stuart politics since they present "a series of signs or symbols through which the viewer was meant to pass to an understanding of the idea behind the work."[98] While portraits of Elizabeth have been studied for their complicated allusions, military signs or symbols, however, the pictorial representations of the Elizabethan military elite and Prince Henry's circle have not been examined with the same interest and rigour. Unlike such paintings as the *Ditchley* portrait of Elizabeth, which contain diverse elements of symbolism, ranging from representations of *Pax Elizabethae* to conventional emblems of the Queen's virtues of wisdom and prudence associated with the "springtime *renovatio* of the golden age," portraits of the Elizabethan military elite and Prince Henry are relatively easy to read.[99] Nevertheless, I argue that there is an underlying set of meanings discernible in contemporary portraits or other images of the period which were associated with the leading early modern English military figures in the wider scene of European politics. In contrast with the royal portraits which epitomized the generalized concepts of princely magnificence, those of the military elite emulated particular military contemporaries such as William of Orange, Maurice of Nassau, Henri IV of France, even Philip II of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Alva in the campaigns of the propaganda war.

By the late sixteenth-century, political or military deeds constituted necessary ingredients in male portraits and military portraits tended to be represented in a highly traditional manner with conventional and formulaic compositions. While the display of portraits of monarchs in houses was widespread, the number of Englishmen in the Elizabethan period who commissioned portraits of themselves was still very small. Out of these, many were painted

[98] Strong, *The Arts in Britain* (London: Pimlico, 2004) 164.
[99] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987) 160.

by European artists, especially the Protestant Dutch or Flemish who had suffered recent religious and political persecution. In this regard, it is significant to emphasise that Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and soldiers serving under their command came to know and appreciate Flemish ways and as a result adopted many Flemish customs, military and cultural, which they brought back to England.[100] The largest purchases in their collections were Dutch and Flemish. There is no doubt that this market was closer and the agents the most familiar. There was much information circulating in Elizabethan England regarding the best artists in which to invest and the military elite would have commissioned artists in the light of the image of themselves they wished to project. As Anthony Wells-Cole points out, there was no counterpart for English artists and craftsmen of the *Wanderjahre*, the continental practice whereby a journeyman travelled around Europe, working as a journeyman in one or more different European towns, making contacts and collecting prints, before establishing a workshop himself with apprentices and journeymen. In England, technical skills and knowledge of source material were harder for a novice to acquire and most skilled artists working in England during the sixteenth century were almost invariably foreigners, or the sons of foreigners.[101] The use of militaristic paintings and prints as sources of inspiration in England began with the use of work by Flemish or Netherlandish artists but although the number of these militaristic paintings and prints in England has been noted, the influence of the patronage of Leicester, Sidney, and Essex, who had a wide acquaintance with paintings of quality in the Low Countries has not been sufficiently acknowledged.

Since warfare has always been a catalyst of cultural and social change, what these aristocratic soldiers brought from the Low Countries would have been immeasurably influential. Their pursuit of a military career in foreign campaigns may have had a variety of motives, but many of the nobles and gentry that served in the Low Countries learned the

[100] See John J. Murray, "The Cultural Impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," *The American Historical Review* 62.4 (1957): 837-54.
[101] Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (London: Yale UP, 1997) 95.

languages and acquired knowledge and experience of modern warfare.[102] An obvious example is the contact between Sidney and Lipsius. Both Sidney and Maurice of Nassau had been tutored by the highly respected humanist scholar and Leiden University Professor Justus Lipsius in the early 1580s. Sir Roger Williams, who acted as one of Essex's military advisers, received a commission from him and wrote *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* based on his service in the Low Countries.[103] This book, one of the most important books on warfare in the sixteenth century, was relied upon by Essex to shape his military policies. Gervase Markham, one of Essex's circle and an English veteran of the Low Countries wars, also stated that the Dutch Republic had developed a system of training that turned any man into a well-disciplined and effective soldier.[104] It comes as no surprise, therefore, to discover that a number of Englishmen in the Elizabethan and Stuart period who served in the Low Countries commissioned prominent Dutch or Flemish artists, including Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and the Younger, John De Critz, Isaac Oliver (the son-in-law of Gheeraerts the Elder), Hans Eworth, and Anthony van Dyck to paint their portraits. These examples indicate the existence of a particular connection between the military leaders, who fought in the Low Countries, and artists, who served as propagandists with their artistic skills. When Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry became the focus for warlike ambitions for European pan-Protestantism, the ardent assertion of military values became popular themes of portraits by Dutch and Flemish painters. This connection is strong enough to suggest that the prominent late Elizabethan and early Stuart military leaders emulated their foreign rivals by seeking a very high standard of contemporary artistic taste and by adopting the same artistic conventions including pose and styling. In these circumstances, it is understandable that modern viewers wrongly identified a miniature of the Earl of Leicester by Hilliard (*c*. 1571-74) as Alexander Farnese, Duke of

[102] See Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) 75-7.
[103] In his dedication of the work to Essex, Williams claims that he had intended to present him with a larger book on "the great actions" over the last twenty years in the Netherlands. Sir Roger Williams, *The Works of Sir Roger Williams*, ed. J. X. Evans (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 3.
[104] Manning, *Swordsmen* 126.

Parma. This may have resulted from contemporaries' enthusiasm to imitate the most advanced art form (See Illustration 3).[105]



[Illustration 3. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* by Nicholas Hilliard (*c*.1571-4), Private Collection][106]

To understand the importance of artistic convention in contemporary military portraits, it is worth considering that the pose in an engraved image of Leicester, displaying his martial qualities, is remarkably similar to that in a painting of Philip II of Spain (See Illustration 4).



[Illustration 4. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* (*c*.1585-1587) by Christoffel van Sichem, National Portrait Gallery and *Philip II of Spain* by Antonio Mor (*c*. 1557)][107]

[105] Strong, "The Leicester House Miniatures," *The Burlington Magazine* 127. 991 (1985): 698.

[106] Strong notes that there was an incorrect identification on the reverse in an eighteenth-century hand naming the sitter as Alexander Farnese. Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy*, vol. 2: Plate 136.

[107] NPG D20904, 23 September 2008 <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/portrait.asp?LinkID=mp02686&rNo=5&role=sit>; P. G. Matthews, "Portraits of Philip II of Spain as King of England," *The Burlington Magazine* 142.1162 (2000): 17.

During this period, the image of Philip as a stern and assiduous defender of his political inheritance and of the Catholic faith was tempered and enriched by his reputation as a patron and collector of art. Similarly, despite the war against Spain, Leicester's interest in the arts led him to engage in the patronage of artists in order to compete with his mighty rival. As in the portraits of Leicester and Philip II, a similarity in pose and posture exists between portraits of Maurice of Nassau and Sir Philip Sidney, who worked closely together in the Low Countries against the Spanish forces (See Illustration 5).



[Illustration 5. *Maurice of Nassau, Son of William of Orange* and *Sir Philip Sidney* by Cornelis Ketel, The Marquess of Bath][108]

The long nose and sharp face of Maurice as a boy (left) is remarkably similar to the features of a young Sidney. Considering the similarity between the two images, it is tempting to suggest that the commissioning of painted portraits by the Elizabethan military leaders was a central part of the process of emulating their European rivals both in military and in political actions. Given the close relationship between the two, this can be seen as one possible interpretation of the paintings. I do not mean to suggest that all the works considered in this study were deliberately copied from each other, although it was certainly the case that several of them were often interpreted in such a way. Instead, I am suggesting that the link between the image and its significance is not a direct one-to-one relationship but serves as contextual evidence to reveal that the leading Elizabethan aristocrats had an interest in self-

[108] Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Warburg Institute, 1959) Plate 33 c.; Strong, *The Tudor & Stuart Monarchy*, vol. 2: Plate 30.

representation which was shared by rulers and generals throughout Europe. They commissioned military images for display within public and private spheres in order to affect the ways in which people thought about and responded to contemporary war. Indeed, as a later engraving which depicts Sidney and Maurice working together as soldiers in the taking of Axel shows, such works helped to formulate a patriotic opinion about war with Spain (See Illustration 6).



[Illustration 6. Engraving of "Maurice of Nassau and Sir Philip Sidney before Axel" (1616)][109]

The Elizabethan military leaders clearly recognized the value of their names being associated with the patronage of the visual arts, as political and religious representatives serving the cause of militant Protestantism, and this was undertaken with the same degree of seriousness as their literary patronage during the 1580s and 1590s. Leicester's inventories show, for instance, that he owned at his death about two hundred and twenty pictures, including approximately one hundred and thirty portraits, maps and views of plans.[110] Although the paintings that he owned cannot be identified completely, one can discern aspects of his taste from surviving examples. An early portrait of Dudley, for example, provides its viewers with clear information about his status and achievements by adding the coats of arms ringed by the different orders granted to him (See Illustration 7).

[109] J. A. van Dorsen, *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden: Leiden UP, 1986) 32.
[110] For the inventories of the Earl of Leicester at Leicester House in London, Wanstead and Kenilworth see Susan Foister, "Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories," *The Burlington Magazine* 123.938 (1981): 274.



[Illustration 7. *Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester* (*c*.1564) by attributed to Steven van der Muelen, Private Collection][111]

The inscription to the left recording his generalship of Queen Elizabeth's army in the Netherlands in the 1580s, presents a useful example of the self-fashioning of a prominent military figure.[112]

When the famous Italian painter Federigo Zuccaro came to England to paint the Queen in 1575, he also executed a full length portrait of Leicester wearing full armour (See Illustration 8).



[Illustration 8. *Robert Dudley* (1575) by Federigo Zuccaro, British Museum][113]

[111] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, vol. 2 (London: HMS, 1969) Plate 379.
[112] Maurice Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London: Tate Gallery, 1995) 37-8.
[113] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, vol. 2: Plate. 382.

As Taunton notes, the symbolic and literal function of armour is "to protect, contain and endorse the manly potency of the soldier encased within it."[114] In addition to this practical value, armour has a defining role in the constitution of the aristocrat and the honour of gentlemen. Thus, Zuccaro's preparatory drawing for a full-length portrait of Leicester, depicting him as a soldier, can be read as a means to articulate the Earl's admiration of the golden age of chivalry. As we know, Zuccaro's drawing was later over-painted and this later painting on panel, like the preparatory drawing, depicts an armour-clad Leicester with his left hand on his hip and his right hand resting on a table. The suit of armour worn by him in the painting is, however, not the one seen in Zuccaro's sketch. In the latter, Leicester wears a suit of russet steel with gilt engraving designed for field, tilt, and tourney course and known to have been executed for him early in Elizabeth's reign. The armour worn by Leicester in the painting is believed to have been commissioned for his skirmish with Sir Bruce Sans Pity.[115] In the cancelled skirmish, Leicester was to have played the politically charged role of the Captain, who is not only the opponent of Sir Bruce and the defender of the Lady of the Lake, but also the Lady's advocate before Elizabeth. In other words, this painting depicted the Earl's intended role that was censored by Elizabeth at the 1575 festivities (scripted by Gascoigne), the role of a Protestant warrior.[116]

There was something more at stake in the commissioning of his portrait. Since Zuccaro, who once served under the commission of the King of Spain, had been brought over to England by Leicester, it can be argued that Leicester was taking part in European culture by inviting foreign artists to court just as the aristocrats did in Spain.[117] Given that such a self-fashioning practice greatly enhanced his own image as a Maecenas of the arts as well as a Protestant warrior, Leicester's commission of the most famous and successful painter on the

[114] Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism* 137.
[115] Elizabeth Goldring, "Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progress Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575," *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007) 180.
[116] For a discussion of Leicester's painting based on Zuccaro's drawing as an expression of militant Protestantism, see Goldring, "Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progress Robert Dudley" 180-2.
[117] See Strong, "Federigo Zuccaro's Visit to England in 1575," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959): 359-60.

continent is thus itself charged with political significance.

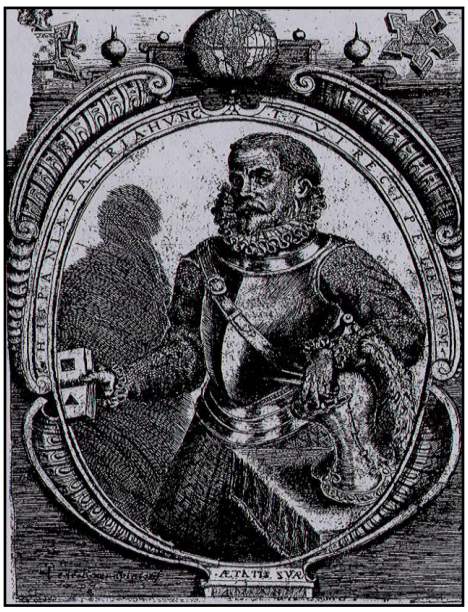
Another example of this is the full length portrait of Leicester in The Parham Park Collection, thought to be painted when he was in the Low Countries as Governor-General. It supports an assumption that he was intent upon personifying the military virtues of his age (See Illustration 9).



[Illustration 9. *The Earl of Leicester* by an unknown artist, The Parham Collection][118]

The artist conventionally foregrounds the character as a dominantly militaristic figure by picturing military activities in the background. Although his pose is a stereotypical one, Leicester—standing inside his tent, decorated with classical painting and at the same time carrying a musket and touching a helmet—promotes the ideal of a warrior-courtier, who comprises classical learning, scientific knowledge, and military experience, in contrast to the earlier portrait by Zuccaro which praises only his chivalric quality. Contemporary Spanish examples proliferated of an ideal of the Renaissance warrior built on experience, merit, and technical knowledge. Captain Cristóbal de Rojas, for instance, appears in a didactic stance similar to Leicester's, dressed in armour, one hand resting on his helmet while holding a compass, and the other on a geometry book (See Illustration 10).

[118] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, vol. 2: Plate 384.



[Illustration 10. Frontispiece of *Teorica y Practica de la Fortification* by Captain Cristóbal de Rojas, published in Seville in 1598][119]

Little is known about Captain Rojas's background, other than his experience in the French Wars of Religion and the Low Countries and the fact that he studied along with prominent Spanish military leaders, including the Duke of Alva and Bernadino de Mendoza, at the military academy founded by Philip II in 1582. Yet his book, *Teorica et practica de fortification* (1589), was kept in Raleigh's library and he may well have it on the Cadiz expedition in 1596. Raleigh used many books on military history and geography, including Rojas's, in the writing of his famous *History of the World* (1604), which he was preparing for Prince Henry. It is, then, reasonable to conclude that for Leicester, who promoted a union of theory and practice in the art of war; for Sir Humphrey Gilbert who proposed a military academy in London during the same period; or for others of their circle like Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, it was important to construct this kind of visual image of the ideal warrior as experienced soldier, military scientist, and cultured man of letters.[120]

Leicester obviously had greater opportunities for collecting paintings from the Low

[119] Fernando Gonzalez de Leon, "'Doctors of the Military Discipline': Technical Expertise and the Paradigm of the Spanish Soldiers in the Early Modern Period," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27.1 (1996): 78.

[120] de Leon, "'Doctors of the Military Discipline'" 76-7; Sir Gilbert, Humphrey, "Queene Elizabeth's Academy*," Early English Treatises and Poems on Education, Precedence and Manners in Olden Time*, eds. F. J. Furnivall, W. M. Rossetti, and E. Oswald (E.E.T.S., 1869). For such combinations of classical and technological warfare, see Michael West, "Spenser's Art of War: Chivalric Allegory, Military Technology, and the Elizabethan Mock-Heroic Sensibility," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41.4 (1988): 654-704.

Countries than any of his contemporaries. However, still more important is the awareness he developed of European culture that encouraged his focus on his attention to European artists who had important skills in expressing contemporary political and military experience. This is exemplified by an engraving of his head by Hendrik Goltzius whose patriotic works included *Roman Heroes* (1586) and who developed a new style of military portraiture (See Illustration 11).



[Illustration 11. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* by Hendrik Goltzius][121]

Leicester's commissioning of Goltzius significant because it facilitated the transmission of the militaristic styles employed by the artist to the members of Leicester's circle. Goltzius, one of the chief influences on the military portraits of the Elizabethan aristocracy, once worked for William of Orange and Leicester when he was the state appointee as governor.[122] It was during Leicester's time in the Low Countries that Goltzius's series of *Roman Heroes* was produced to bolster military morale. His exaggerated martial poses, such as *Great Hercules*, immediately became models for political and military allegorical portraits, including Leicester's, who was then presented as the "new Hercules" who delivered the Netherlands from Spanish oppression.[123] It is no coincidence that Goltzius's engravings of the procession of William Orange's funeral (1584) are comparable to Theodore de Bry's engravings of the funeral procession of Philip Sidney. De Bry obviously borrowed directly from Goltzius in his

[121] Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1955) Plate 169.
[122] In 1586, Simon van de Passe who was inspired by Goltzius drew a portrait of Leicester which was intended to be used as a medallion. See Hind, *Engraving*, vol. 2 275-6. Simon de Passe engraved "Prince Henry with Pike" in 1612, the same subject as William Hole, except without landscape, buildings and military exercises in the background. See Hind, *Engraving*, vol. 2: 321-2.
[123] Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier* 198.

engravings. After William of Orange, Sidney, and Leicester became topoi of the deliverance of the Netherlands from Spanish oppression, it was then the turn of Essex, whose military virtue and leadership made him akin to the classical hero. Similar important connections can be found in the productions of images of Essex and Prince Henry, such as the full length miniature of Essex at the Accession Day Tilt of 1595 by Nicholas Hilliard who depicts him wearing what must be the Queen's glove tied to his right arm (See illustration 12).



[Illustration 12. *The Earl of Essex* by Nicholas Hilliard (*c*. 1591-5) and Hendrick Goltzius, "Marcus Curtius" from the series *The Roman Heroes* (1586)][124]

Essex's *impresa* of diamonds within a circle with the motto, which reads "*DUM FORMAS MINUIS*" (In fashioning, you diminish) draws the viewer's attention. Essex apparently used the device of the diamond to express that he could not be made to act against his own nature without being destroyed. It is noteworthy that it was during the second half of 1595 that he argued with Elizabeth and Burghley over war policy, and his *impresa* strikes a remarkably defiant political stance.[125] Less obvious than his *impresa*, yet significant for its European sources, his large cavorting horse in the background was derived—in reverse—from

[124] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, vol. 2: Plate 229; Walter L. Strauss, *Netherlandish Artists: Hendrik Goltzius* (New York: Abaris, 1980) Plate 99.
[125] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 203.

Goltzius's "Marcus Curtius (1586)" (See again Illustration 12).[126]

Given that large-scale equestrian images formed part of the English aristocratic portrait tradition, Roy Strong's point about a direct relationship between Hilliard's painting and the Goltzius print cannot be fully supported. We can be more confident that Essex's commission of his miniature was designed to advertise his martial schemes when we see other engraved portraits of Essex (See Illustration 13).



[Illustration 13. "The Earl of Essex (*c*. 1599-1600)" by Thomas Cockson and "The Earl of Essex (1600)" by Robert Boissard][127]

Two engravings of Essex, riding on horseback in plumed hat and armour and holding a baton, represent his military authority and career.[128] As Arthur Hind points out, both Cockson and Boissard were inspired by Leonard Gaultier's portraits of *Henri IV*.[129] Although such styles were conventional and sufficiently common to any engravers, it is significant that it was Goltzius's militaristic style of the 1580s that Gaultier and his contemporaries admired and emulated. It can be argued that both engravings of Essex by Cockson and Boissard in equestrian pose were influenced by Goltzius. Hilliard and others were image-makers for Leicester and Essex, and visual images of them duplicated and imitated in engravings

[126] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1983) 137.
[127] Hind, *Engraving*, vol. 1: Plate 109; 126.
[128] Hind, *Engraving* 1: 245.
[129] Hind, *Engraving* 2: 192; 239.

reinforced their public images as Protestant warriors. Indeed, one of Boissard's chief subjects in his prints was that of English military figures such as Thomas Cavendish, Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert, and John Hawkins.[130] Similarly, Cockson included in his prints the Earls of Cumberland and Nottingham, along with Essex.[131] It was also Cockson who received a commission from Essex to engrave a map of the battle at Cadiz which served as the background of his engraving.

As seen from comparisons between the portraits of Leicester and Philip II of Spain or between Maurice of Nassau and Sidney, there was a certain repertory of images that interested contemporary military figures and their artists. Alongside emblems or *impresa*, the use of highly stylised images to bring out military qualities is important because it helps to account for the growth of a formula for successful portraits, involving specific types of poses, the prescription of certain symbolic attributes and features of costume—even a repertory of facial expressions and positions of the hand. As the examples of Plutarch show, antiquity, especially Platonic philosophy, places great emphasis on the facial expression of the captain or soldiers. Plutarch begins his biography of Alexander the Great by commenting on the importance of facial expression:

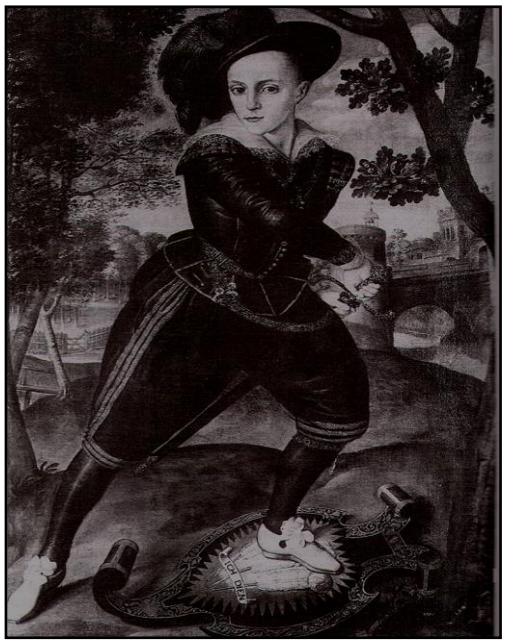
> For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no accompt of other partes of the bodie, do take resemblaunces of the face and fauor of the countenauce, in the which consisteth the iudgement of their maners & disposition: euen so they must geue vs leaue to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby shewe the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great thinges they did.[132]

Given that the leading Elizabethan military leaders were taught by the principles of Platonic philosophy, it would be logical that they used their facial expression, not only as a comfort to their men, but also as a paradigm of the ideal warrior's confidence. The same must be true of their paintings. Hammer also notes that Essex adopted a fixed facial image, which served as a

[130] Hind, *Engraving* 1: 187.
[131] Hind, *Engraving* 2: 239.
[132] Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Sir Thomas North (1579) 722.

constant reminder of Cadiz in the second half of the 1590s.[133] This style was immortalized by Hilliard and served as the basis for a large number of copies and variations including Cockson's. These examples reveal that Essex had a highly developed sense of the value of visual propaganda. As we will see below, such an image came to represent the very essence of the military elite and continued to do so right through the early seventeenth century.

Prince Henry was another ideal example as the influence of the Elizabethan military elite's devotion to art was transmitted to him. Consider Robert Peake's portrait of *Prince Henry* (*c*. 1604-10), which illustrates Henry as a Protestant hero standing in a distinctive posture of defiance (See Illustration 14).



[Illustration 14. *Henry, Prince of Wales* by Robert Peake (*c*. 1604-10)][134]

About to draw his sword against the enemies of his country and religion under the oak tree—symbolic of fortitude—he stands with one foot planted on a decorated shield bearing the Prince of Wales's badge and with the motto "*Ich dien*" (I serve).[135] When we compare this painting with the Armada Portrait of only a few years before, we see from the examples of Essex and Prince Henry, which have a linear perspective, that early modern England was entirely aware of Continental development in art. What is more important than such a

[133] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 211.
[134] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture" 214.
[135] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture" 213.

perspective is that instead of the political implication of multiple perspectives preferred earlier by Tudor Englishmen, the political implication was now expressed through a distinct statement with a pose which was directly imitated from a classical engraving by Goltzius (See Illustration 15).[136]



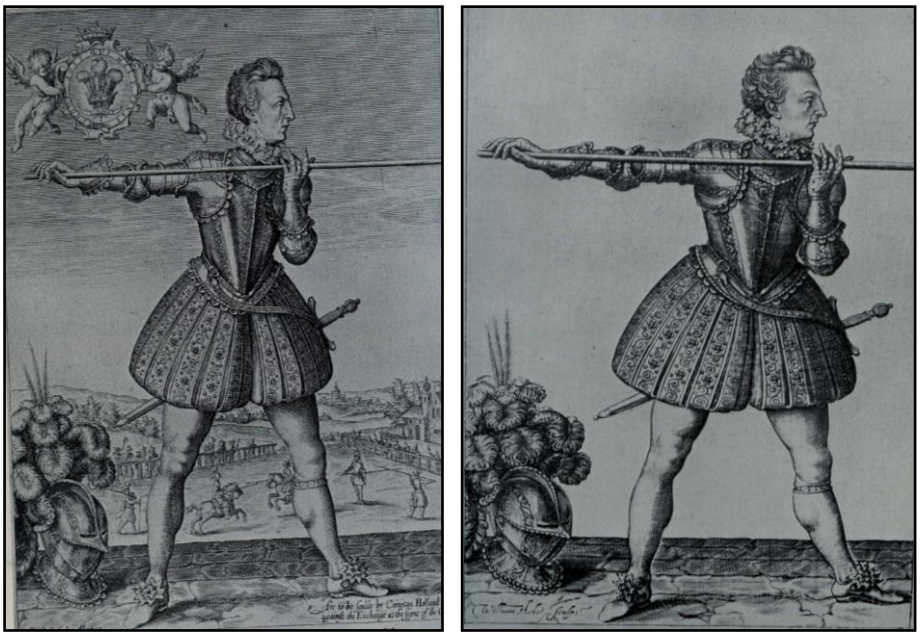
[Illustration 15. "Titus Manlius," *The Roman Heroes* by Goltzius (*c*. 1586)][137]

It is possible that this association served to identify Prince Henry as one of the great 'Heroes.' As previously noted, the Prince's association with classical military heroes was reflected not only in Chapman's dedication but also in masques such as *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610). Since such paintings were designed to reveal the subject's militaristic taste and personality, it is evident that a painter like Peake, desiring Henry's favour, could do no better than portray his patron by copying from Goltzius a popular image of a classical hero. Goltzius's influence upon the English military image becomes more evident when looking at his influence on Jacob de Gheyn.

In his later teenage years Henry clearly appeared as the leader of Protestant England against the Catholic power. Attempts were made to mould him into a new Protestant leader on the model of Leicester, Sidney, and Essex: Daniel Price, chaplain to Prince Henry, depicted

[136] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture" 213.
[137] Strauss, *Netherlandish Artists* Plate 100.

him as "the eies, the harts, and hopes of all the Protestant world," and one elegist called the late Prince "*a chosen instrument to be the Standard-bearer of his Quarrell in these miserable Times, to work the Restoration of his church and the Destruction of the Romish Idolatry.*"[138] To comprehend this image as a Protestant warrior, consider a picture of Prince Henry practising with the pike by Simon de Passe, and a nearly identical image of the prince by William Hole appearing on the frontispiece to Michael Drayton's long poem about England's history and topography, *Poly-Olbion* (1613), that disseminated his image as a military leader amongst more 'ordinary' people (See Illustration 16).[139]



[Illustration 16. "Prince Henry" with the pike by Simon de Passe and "Prince Henry" by William Hole][140]

It seems impossible to discern whether de Passe's engraving was derived from Hole's or vice versa. What is certain is that as one of the two prints continued to be copied by the following generations, their contemporaries became receptive to militaristic images of the subject.[141] Because of the plumed helmet and the jousting knights in the background, the traditional interpretation of de Passe's engraving, like J. W. Williamson's, has regarded it as "an

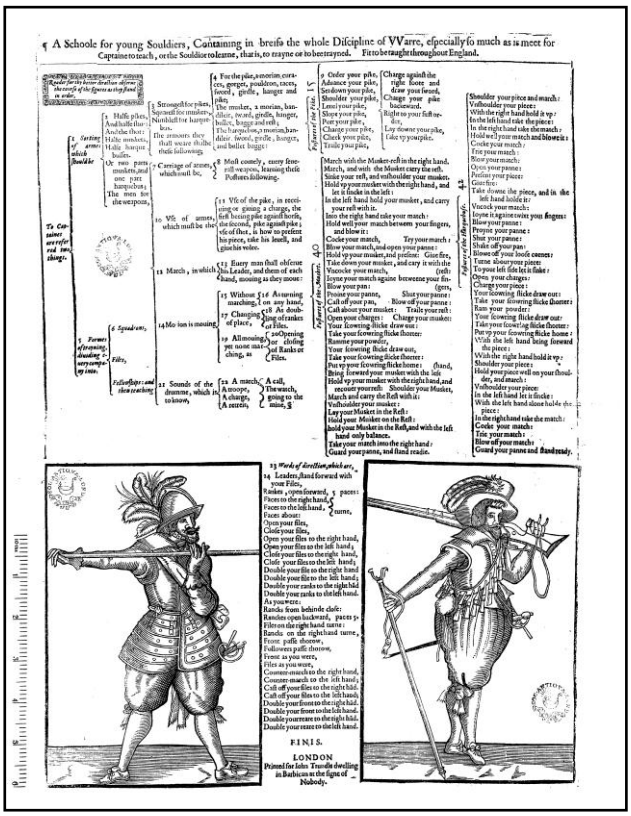
[138] Daniel Price, *The defence of truth against a booke falsely called the triumph of truth* (1610) *2^{v}; Quoted in Strong, *Henry Princes of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986) 225.
[139] Stephen Orgel, "Idols of the Gallery: Becoming a Connoisseur in Renaissance England," *Early Modern Visual Culture*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clarke Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) 271.
[140] Hind 2: Plate 152; 199.
[141] Hind 2: 322.

embodiment of a past vitality."[142] What drew Williamson's attention, however, was not the Prince's posture but his face, showing that "the mighty Roman nose, the strong chin, and the serious eye all combined to render Prince Henry out of time and beyond it."[143] Figures seen in profile employed an artistic convention that traditionally transcended time, due to lack of eye contact with the viewer which might localise the subject and identify him as being the present. Williamson further argues that de Passes's Prince was a timeless, universal image admired by those gazed on this engraving; "here was prince thrusting his lance of reenergized chivalry into the future where he would ever be the master, not the subject, of mutability."[144]

However, of far more significance than this implicit argument is that Henry's pike movement came from the designs of de Gheyn who studied under Goltzius and had engraved a series of prints in the 1580s that depicted soldiers in the Dutch army. De Gheyn dedicated *The Exercise of Arms* (1608) to Prince Henry, hoping that his drill book would be welcomed by the Prince. Henry's posture (influenced, through de Gheyn, by the figures of soldiers that Goltzius had engraved earlier in his career) underscores his openness to the methods of military training used by the Dutch army. Since the 1608 volume was a heavy folio edition, the work remained fairly inaccessible to the common soldiers until the quarto edition was printed in 1619. Seeing de Passo's and Hole's engravings of Henry in the 1610s, it is evident that Henry seriously took to heart both de Gheyn's book as a drill instruction and his tutor's advice to ready himself for war through the handling of arms. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that veterans of the Low Countries not only brought the advanced drill instructions illustrated by Goltzius and de Gheyn to England, but also inspired their contemporary artists with a taste for military subjects. The first writer to capitalise on de Gheyn's engravings was Gervase Markham, who published a broadside titled, *A Schoole for young souldiers in briefe the whole discipline of warre* in 1615 (See Illustration 17).

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[142] J. W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror, Prince Henry Stuart, a Study in 17th Century Personation* (New York: AMS Press, 1978) 66.
[143] Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror* 66.
[144] Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror* 66.



[Illustration 17. Gervase Markham's *A Schoole for young souldiers in briefe the whole discipline of warre*, printed in 1615]

Since Markham—once a member of Essex's circle and a soldier who fought in Ireland as well as in the Low Countries—provided a link between the military patrons of one age and those of the next, it is not surprising that he was the first to recognise the value of de Gheyn's instructions for training the English militia. It can be suggested that this kind of artistic patronage eventually enabled military practice from the Netherlands to become a model for English soldiers over the next two decades. A wonderful example of this can be found on the walls of the Painted Room in Clifton Hall which are covered with small paintings of soldiers from the early seventeenth century (See Illustration 18).



[Illustration 18. *Militias* in Clifton Hall, Nottinghamshire][145]

Each painting shows a musketeer or pike man standing against a dark background readying a weapon. These paintings are undoubtedly copied from drawings in de Gheyn's *The Exercise of Armes*. According to Richard Cust, they were commissioned by Sir Gervase Clifton when he was deputy lieutenant for Nottinghamshire in the 1620s.[146] One reason for the wide availability of de Gheyn's engravings lies in the publications of the latest continental military techniques such as *The Souldier Pleading his owne Cause* (1619) by a member of the Artillery Company, Thomas Trussell, and a broadsheet that depicted all of the de Gheyn's engravings by another company member, a Lieutenant Clarke.[147] They not only made de Gheyn's postures affordable and more accessible for training than the large bound volume of 1608 but also contributed to the standardization of the Jacobean drill manuals across the country, as the paintings in Clifton Hall indicate. It is reasonable to conjecture that had Prince Henry lived beyond his eighteenth year, the influence of militaristic Flemish or Netherlandish arts may have achieved a widespread appeal well before the 1620s.

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[145] Personal photography by Dr Richard Cust. For Gervase Clifton, see Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* 264.
[146] Cust, personal interview, 29 January 2007.
[147] See David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009) 161-6.

These various pictorial representations of members of the aristocracy in military poses demonstrate that Elizabethans and early Jacobeans were in touch with the latest developments of the visual arts on the continent. However, what is more significant than the artistic quality of the paintings and engravings is that patronage of Flemish or Netherlandish artists and their style enabled the creation of an image of the Protestant warrior and became a powerful vehicle symbolising patriotism and support for the nation's war efforts.

4. Musical patronage

One of the important aspects of early modern music history was developed as part of a great intellectual and social movement. When the Renaissance humanists began to rediscover the forgotten cultural treasures of antiquity, they were fascinated by the power of the music of ancient Greece and Rome. Thus, it was totally natural that anyone who was interested in the utility of music turned their attention to the ancient texts. Under the influence of humanist educational ideals and courtly aspiration, any child of a noble person was expected to acquire some musical proficiency. The notion that music was a courtly accomplishment stretches back to antiquity and finds its model in classical war heroes like Achilles, Alexander the Great, or David, King of Israel. One contemporary theorist notes the usefulness of music, asserting that it "stirreth up souldiers to warre, and allureth citizens to peace."[148] Before I begin to address the issue of the patronage of music by members of the military circles, it will be helpful to look at some of the ways in which music was associated with early modern military culture.

The military aspects of music in early modern educational theory can be seen in *The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione (1528, translated into English and published by Thomas Hoby in 1561), which was popular and influential in European courts. Joan Simon writes that *The Courtier* "became in time almost a second bible for English gentlemen."[149] However, as

[148] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Mind in Generall* (1604) 163.
[149] Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967) 340.

Mary Partridge notes, Hoby's translation began with the third book of *The Courtier*, entitled "A Gentlewoman of the Court," at the request of Elizabeth Brooke, wife of William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, and his translation of the complete work could not be published until after Queen Elizabeth's accession because of its religious complexion.[150] The first Spanish translation of *The Courtier* had been published in Spain in 1534, and a French translation appeared in twenty-three editions between 1537 and 1590.[151] As an English translation was also planned in the 1550s by Hoby and this translation was reprinted twice in the late sixteenth century (in 1577 and 1588) and again in 1603, there is no doubt about the interest of contemporary English readers.[152] However, it is misleading to read *The Courtier* merely as one of the courtesy books which became fashionable in many parts of Europe. As Frank Whigham points out, even though this book belongs to the genre of courtesy books, it governs not only the art of conduct but also "the formation or transformation of an individual or social construct (such as the state or family)."[153] In this respect, *The Courtier* was especially influential on early modern English military culture and the creation of a Renaissance warrior identity because from the beginning Castiglione's interlocutor, Count Lodovico, explicitly announces that his discourse seeks to lay the foundations of a definition of the male courtier in military terms: "But to come to specific details, I judge that the first and true profession of a courtier must be that of arms."[154] The Count then expands his discourse by focusing on great military commanders who were accompanied by "the glory of learning."[155] His account of Alexander, Alcibiades, Caesar, and Scipio as examples of

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[150] Mary Partridge, "Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's Book of *The Courtier*," *The Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 769-86. Partridge suggests that William Thomas was already translating Castiglione's *The Courtier* into English before Hoby began to work on his own translation. Considering Thomas's execution for treason during Mary's reign, Partridge considers the delay of Hoby's translation until after Elizabeth's accession natural.

[151] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of* the Courtier*: the European Reception of Castiglione's* Cortegiano (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 62–4.

[152] Partridge, "Thomas Hoby's English Translation" 770.

[153] Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley; Los Angles: University of California Press, 1984) 15.

[154] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1561), trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967) 57.

[155] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 89.

warriors with intellectual skills was a topic which found a place in the whole range of Renaissance literary genres—poems, novels, histories, emblem books, educational treatises, and military books. Renaissance authors (including Castiglione, Machiavelli, Montaigne, and Elyot), whom English aristocrats were advised to read, singled out the military dimension as one of the most important factors which they must learn. *The Courtier* was therefore especially influential on members of the military circles, who were concerned with their identity as Renaissance warriors equipped with both intellectual and martial qualities.[156]

With the same zeal, music was included by Castiglione as a necessary accomplishment. This part of the book is worth examining in some detail as it provides easy access to the topic of music and soldiering. In the beginning of a discussion of music in military contexts, Lodovico, martial apologist, boldly asserts that music is an essential aspect of the complete courtier:

> Gentlemen, I must tell you that I am not satisfied with our courtier unless he is also a musician and unless as well as understanding and being able to read music he can play several instruments.[157]

However, since independent and intelligent women dominate the court, such a notion is challenged by anxiety about effeminisation by Signor Gaspare, who raises a question about music's softening influence over men:

> I think that music, like so many other vanities, is most certainly very suited to women, and perhaps also to some of those who have the appearance of men, but not to real men who should not indulge in pleasures which render their minds effeminate and so cause them to fear death.[158]

In reply, Lodovico reminds his audience of how music had been praised from ancient times, outlining its history:

> The wisest of philosophers held the opinion that the universe was made up of music, that the heavens make harmony as they move, and that as our own

[156] Robert W. Witt argues that Shakespeare's portraying Hal as the ideal man and king accords well with an ideal courtier described in Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Indeed, in many ways, Prince Henry's personal qualities match Castiglione's ideal courtier such as skilfulness in weaponry, horsemanship, knowledgeable, well-rounded, articulate, witty, and charming. See Robert W. Witt, "Prince Hal and Castiglione," *Ball State University Forum* 24.4 (1983): 73-9.

[157] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 94.

[158] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 94.

> souls are formed on the same principle they are awakened and have their facilities, as it were, brought to life through music. And because of this it is recorded that Alexander was sometime so stirred by music that almost against his will under its influence he was constrained to rise form the banquet table and rush to arms; then musician would play something different, and growing calmer he would return from arms to the banquet…Moreover, I remember having heard that Plato and Aristotle insist that a well-educated man should also be a musician.[159]

He also reminds them how soldiers have thought of music in military terms.

> And we read that in battle the bellicose Spartans and Cretans used citharas and other sweet-sounding instruments; and that many outstanding commanders of the ancient world, such as Epaminondas, practised music, and those who were ignorant of music, such as Themistocles, were far less respected.[160]

He does not forget to mention Achilles who was a warrior and a musician, asking "What kind of warrior, then, would be ashamed to follow the example of Achilles?" [161] Instead of following Plato's and Aristotle's divided view on music, Lodovico, following the notion of Renaissance completeness, emphasises personal perfection of one's own style in music. In other words, as music "not only soothes the souls of men but often tames wild beasts," what matters is not the nature of music but the nature of the hearer.[162] During the Renaissance, as a border between different modes or styles was crossed, the counter argument that music very simply plays on what was inherent in the person—so that in a naturally effeminate man it would encourage womanish behaviour, but in a strong and virtuous man it would heighten these manly qualities—was preferred. However different their approach to music may have been, when a Renaissance man pursued the ideal of a warrior-courtier, music formed a vital part of his military qualities. In what follows, I will further explore the extent to which the practice of music was regarded as significant within the culture of the military elite.

Richard Wistreich demonstrates in his study of one particular Italian warrior-courtier, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, that there were a few warriors who could sing in the lowest and

[159] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 95.
[160] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 95.
[161] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 82.
[162] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 95.

highest bass registers.[163] The first Earl of Essex was said to sing his own songs, "sometimes to the lute and sometimes the virginals."[164] As is well known in the history of music in this period, the Earl on his deathbed in the military camp in Dublin in 1576 called William Hewes, who was his musician, to play upon the virginal and to sing. The song he sang, "O heavenly God, O Father dear, cast down thy tender eye," is still preserved.[165] Leicester was also said to play well upon the lute and virginals, and he maintained musicians amongst the liveried artists of his household. Although Sidney confessed that he lacked the ability to sing and play on a musical instrument, he advised his brother Robert to study music, saying he should "take a delight to keep and increase his music."[166] Moreover, as is seen in *Arcadia*, Sidney's knowledge of music was good enough to include a madrigal of his own writing and he also wrote lyrics to Italian, Spanish, and Flemish tunes.[167] Sidney's aptitude for music is well illustrated by an anecdote about him in 1586 when he was mortally wounded and called for music, "especially that song which himself had entitled *La cuisse rompue*."[168] It is hardly surprising then that Essex, who was widely known as the heir of Sidney, had a special interest in the patronage of music and had explicit and implicit connections with Thomas Morley and William Byrd with whom Sidney was also associated.

Musical and political historians alike, however, tend to see a connection between Byrd and Essex based on the Catholic musician's effort to establish a "religious sanctuarie," using the patronage of the Elizabethan court just as the Queen maintained her famous middle way between extremist religious factions. In this context, it has been argued that Byrd invested his hope not only in the leading Elizabethan Catholic families but also by offering musical support to Essex whose circle was thought to lack "a strong unifying religious

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[163] Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Brancaccio's quality as a singer was observed in a poem by Torquato Tasso which was addressed to Brancaccio. Wistreich, *Warrior* 198.
[164] John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (London: Macmillan, 1963) 184.
[165] Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* 184.
[166] Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* 185.
[167] According to Buxton, one of Sidney's lyrics, *Basciami mia vita*, was included in *Il Secundo Libro delle Villotte alla Naoletana* which had been published in Venice in 1571. Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* 185.
[168] Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* 184.

commitment."[169] Since the Essex circle's eclectic nature encompassed not only many moderate Protestants, but also some Puritans and Catholics, it is unsurprising to find a Catholic component in Essex's musical entourage.[170]

John Munday, taking as his model Byrd's dedication of his *Psalmes* (1588) to Christopher Hatton, dedicated his own *Songs and Psalmes* (1594) to Essex, expressing his hope for religious tolerance at the hands of the Earl.[171] Nevertheless, one might be curious about what motivated Catholic musicians like Byrd, who already had the Queen's support and a substantial monopoly of musical print, to access Essex's circle and in turn why Essex, with his public image as a Protestant champion, cared about the leading Catholic musicians who were often dangerously close to an alleged Jesuit conspiracy. Neither Mervyn James's description of the "undogmatic" religious nature of Essex's circle nor what Richard McCoy calls "chivalric compromise" explains such a situation, which provided a means for others to advance their religious and political causes within the multifaceted military circle.[172]

Although I largely agree with James and McCoy, my own view is a little different. As they both observe, Essex's centrality rather than the intentions of Catholic musicians like Byrd are of more importance, because it was Essex's military life that provided the fundamental unifying factor for members of his circle. James regards the Essex's non-partisan approach to religious matters as a necessary means to gain national support for his cause because he lacked a landed connection, and his lack of land diminished his power base. McCoy sees the use of fictions, spectacles, and songs as a "chivalric compromise," in which the members of an aristocratic family, who were struggling to establish a balance between the Queen and themselves, asserted their hereditary rights.[173] We need to take a wider view of the process, however, because their aspirations were not merely confined to the area of social

[169] Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics," *Past and Present* 44 (1969): 16-7; James, *Society, Politics and Culture* 437.
[170] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 176-7.
[171] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 16.
[172] See Richard McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).
[173] See James, *Society, Politics and Culture* 436-8.

control or rites of knighthood. Poets, scholars, artists, players, preachers, and soldiers who emerged within the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle were more than feudal servants. They joined forces to construct an ideal of a Renaissance patron from their own respective visions. It could be a Renaissance warrior, a Protestant champion, an ideal courtier, or a princely patron of art that they had in their minds for their prospective patrons. More striking still is that those who served Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and later Prince Henry were caught up in a culture where almost everything had to be expressed in military terms. Therefore we must consider their contribution to their patrons within the context of early modern military culture.

It is not surprising then that the goal of projecting a warrior-courtier image, so deeply rooted in Essex's mind, gave to music an added dignity and usefulness. As Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson persuasively demonstrate, there were various links between Leicester, Sidney, and Essex and distinguished contemporary composers such as William Byrd, Thomas Morley, and John Dowland, and some of their music books were carefully published with "Essex sympathies."[174] The connections of prominent musicians with the Essex circle are supported by David Price's study of music patronage in this period. According to Price, the most significant figures in either the Anglican Church or Roman Catholic music appeared amongst the greatest Elizabethan aristocratic families such as the Rutland, Talbot, Cavendish, Pierrepoint, Petre, and Paston families, and those who had direct and indirect links with the Essex circle.[175] Furthermore, Jeremy Smith argues that Thomas Morley's 1601 collection of madrigals, *The Triumphes of Oriana*, which has been long thought to celebrate Elizabeth, was originally designed to celebrate the replacement of Elizabeth with James VI of Scotland and his wife, Anna of Denmark, with whom Essex had audaciously initiated diplomatic contact in 1589.[176]

To what extend then were aristocrats motivated to support musical business? The music-

[174] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 23; Jeremy L. Smith, "Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58.3 (2005): 536.
[175] David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981).
[176] Smith, "Music and Politics" 507-58.

publishing trade during the last decade of the sixteenth century was dominated by musicians like Byrd, Morley, and Dowland. It is highly likely that leading figures amongst the military elite regarded their interest in music simply as a way of emphasising their personal qualities. However, if circulating military books or manuscripts or visual representations with military images can be seen as an attempt to construct a popular image of the Protestant hero, there is every reason to think that the patronage of musicians was part of the same endeavour. Ruff and Wilson associate the number of musical publications of the time with the profile of Essex's and Prince Henry's political careers.[177] Unfortunately, they do not provide direct evidence of an association between the leading composers and members of the military circles, except that Byrd's chief patrons—the Earl of Worcester, Lord Howard, and Lord Lumley—were all pro-Essex until his last year.[178] Nevertheless, fragmentary evidence suggests how such an association may have been created. Andrew Taylor's study of "My Golden Locks Time Hath to Siluer Turnd"—sung during Sir Henry Lee's final tilt before Elizabeth in 1590—argues that Lee himself may have written it, and we can infer from this example that there was a similar connection between Morley and Essex during the 1595 Accession Day festivities.[179] In fact, during this event Essex presented his "Device" on the tiltyard and Morley took the part of his "Secretary."[180] We must remember that the 1595 Accession Day entertainment was "first and foremost a drama about Essex himself" elaborated by his circle under his personal direction.[181] If the 1595 Accession Day had been "Essex's self-advertisement" designed through literary representations like Peele's *Anglorum Feriae* (1595) or visual representations like Hilliard's painting to encourage both himself and his associates,

[177] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 5-9. More specifically, annual numbers of published madrigals between 1588 and 1630 clearly show how political events boosted the publication of music books.
[178] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 14.
[179] Andrew Taylor, "The Sounds of Chivalry: Lute Song and Harp Song for Sir Henry Lee," *Lute Society Journal* 25 (1992): 1-23.
[180] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 16.
[181] Hammer, "Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession day celebration of 1595," *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 53.

Morley's role would have been part of a carefully organised cooperative effort.[182]

Even if Dowland had no direct connection with Essex, he already had some acquaintance with the Sidney family. Robert Sidney was a patron of Dowland, and godfather to Dowland's son Robert, who in 1610 dedicated *A Musical Banquet* to him.[183] However, as Ruff and Wilson argue, the vogue of publishing lute songs "sprang as much from musical circles of pro-Essex political sympathies as did the madrigal," responding to the topicality of current political conditions.[184] Dowland changed the title of a song commonly known as "Can She Excuse my Wrongs" to "The Earl of Essex's Galliard" in his *Lachrimae* (1604) as if he wished to give recognition to the fact that the tune had originally been inspired by the ill-fated Earl.[185] Whether the song was originally written by Essex is open to question. However, evidence of a possible connection between musical circles and Essex is further strengthened by Dowland's subsequent dedication of *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600) to the Countess of Bedford, given that she and her husband, the Earl of Bedford, were known to be strong supporters of Essex.[186] This brief sketch of possible links between the military circles and leading musicians of the day may not be enough to prove that the patronage of music was used as a way of projecting the ideal of a Protestant hero. If, however, we can demonstrate that others also sought patronage from Essex by using their musical skills and knowledge, this claim will be strengthened.

In his dedication of *A Musicall Consort of Heauenly Harmonie* (1595) to Essex, Thomas Churchyard, a poet and a veteran of the Low Countries war, indicated that the Earl is "a soldier like noble sonne of his [father]…and follow[s] the steps of so stately [his] father."[187] And Churchyard continued to report in musical terms how soldiers were suffering from not receiving proper reward for their sacrifice. In his eyes, loss of "concord musicke" which

[182] Hammer, "Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex" 51.
[183] Robert Dowland, *A Musical Banquet* (1610) 1.
[184] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 26.
[185] Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982) 228.
[186] Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song" 34-5.
[187] Thomas Churchyard, *A Musical Consort of Heauenly Harmonie* (1595) 2.

"makes Most harmonie" means that "the soldier sits, and sighes to shake off greefe / whose wounds in war, of right claimes great reward / Waits hard at heele."[188] He consistently issued his own warning cry to the English people, looking back on the bygone age as a time when soldiers were esteemed and cherished, and denounced recent peaceful condition, which detracted from the honour of a military profession. It is interesting that Churchyard dedicated his book to Essex, playing on their shared concept of music as cosmic harmony. This comparison between the orderly heavens and a hierarchical society, dressed up in musical rhetoric, brings us to an important issue: why was music's effect on soldiership accepted and understood so easily amongst contemporary soldiers?

Jorgensen points out that Renaissance military theorists made a connection between war and musical harmony.[189] Thucydides describes the Spartans advancing to battle "slowly, to the music of many pipers, as is their established custom, not for religious reasons but so that their approach should be even and rhythmical and their line not broken, as tends to happen with large forces as they come forward."[190] Plutarch develops further the picture of military music as beneficial to warriors' morale:

> When their battle-line was ready drawn up, with the enemy looking on, the king would slaughter the nanny-goat, giving the word for everyone to put on wreaths and telling the pipers to pipe the Castor tune, while he gave the lead in the marching paean. It was a solemn and terrifying sight to see them, stepping in time to the pipe, with no split in their line and no disturbance in their spirits, calmly and cheerfully following the music into mortal danger.[191]

Machiavelli, who expresses the highest respect for Roman military practices, does not omit to mention that depending on the rhythm, the Roman soldier moves as if he "danseth, proceadeth with the time of the Musick, and going with the same doeth not erre, even so an armie obeying, and moving itself to the same sounde, doeth not disorder."[192] Sir John David

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188 Churchyard, *A Musical Consort* (1595) 5; 10.
189 Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 4.
190 Martin Litchfield West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 29.
191 Quoted in West, *Ancient Greek Music* 29-30.
192 Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, trans. Peter Whitehorne (1562) 38.

describes "well-ordered War" as armies dancing to the drum.[193]

The analogy between music and heavenly harmony, or between musical rhythm and warfare, is not merely rhetorical convention but, in effect, a serious issue for the contemporary soldier. Music was considered as a branch of mathematics, for it contained number symbols, numerical ratios and formulae, which represented the mathematical ordering of the universe. The same principles of mathematical harmony also had vital significance for contemporary military science. Digges's *A Geometrical Practise, named Pantometria* (1571) and *An Arithmeticall Military Treatise, named Stratioticos* (1579) emphasise the importance of mathematical knowledge in military practice, and Dee's translation of Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* (1570), which claims its usefulness for military purposes, asserts "Musike is a Mathematical Science."[194] It is extremely likely, then, that Leicester, Sidney, and Essex, who received lessons from both Dee and Digges, and Prince Henry who was tutored by Thomas Chaloner (a friend of Dee and a former tutor of Leicester), would not have regarded music simply as a private pastime or entertainment.[195] Rather, knowing that mathematics and geometry were akin to soldierly qualities, they would have believed that musical knowledge had a bearing on military purposes or at least on the understanding of elementary principles of war.

Whether in neoclassical humanism or in the development of music's role in contemporary warfare, it is certain that the subject of music during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century was thoroughly explored in military contexts. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that music's association with mathematics in the military context became a cultural language which developed its own meaning and that this association was further codified and

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[193] Sir John Davies, *Orchestra or A Poeme of Dauncing* (1596) Stanza 87.

[194] Henry J. Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: the Books and the Practice* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965) 18-9; Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie*, trans. John Dee (1570) Bii^{v}.

[195] The personal relationship between Dee and Digges can be found in their mutual scholarly exchanges. Digges supplied a preface to Dee's work, *Parallaticae commentationis praxeosque nucleus quidam*, and while Dee referred to Digges as "my most worthy mathematical heir', Digges called Dee a "revered second mathematical father." John Dee, *Parallaticae commentationis praxeosque nucleus quidam* (1573) A2^{v}; Thomas Digges, *Alae seu scalae mathematicae* (1573) A2^{r}; "Chaloner, Sir Thomas, the younger," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

exploited by the military circles to serve their own ends. As a result, this process contributed to forming an audience sympathetic to military ideals. Nonetheless, given that our emphasis on English military culture has insisted on the receptiveness of an audience as vital for drawing a full picture, it is frustrating that we know little about precisely what music was performed in the field, in the street, and on stage. When we consider some extant music in particular historical circumstances, however, it becomes clear that English musicians discovered how to make their music speak to an audience who were well aware of military matters.

In 1591 Byrd compiled virginal lesson songs for distinguished patrons in a volume called *My Lady Nevell's Booke*. In this volume we see various pieces of music created for the teaching and practice of virginal technique. Amongst these, there are some songs with military titles. According to Lizz Ketterer, the melodies of these songs contain certain traces of the militarism of the day because their march rhythms and the clustering of chords give an indication of how the drums and trumpets may have sounded to the early modern listener.[196] One critic regards this collection as a pure transmission of military signals.[197] In considering the nature of this book (which is the record of very ephemeral moments of aural performance in written form), one must keep in mind that these pieces are the musical interpretations of signals by a master craftsman, designed to provide a framework of composition for his successors or pupils rather than to preserve actual military sounds intact. Furthermore, as these pieces were included in a book which was allegedly created for a female reader, we also need to be careful about interpreting their military qualities.[198]

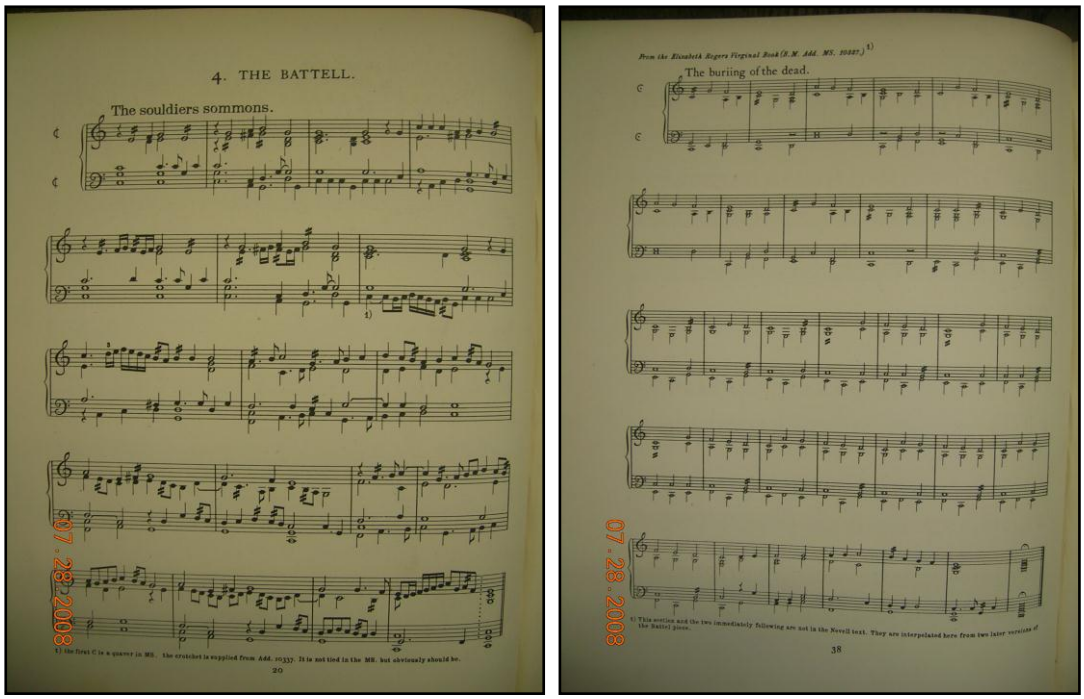
My Lady Nevell's Booke was indeed composed for the virginal—a keyboard instrument—whose plucked strings would have produced a much higher cleaner tone than the modern piano and which was associated with female players. Besides, as the book was obviously

[196] I give special thanks to Lizz Ketterer who helped me to interpret Byrd's book with personal suggestions and playing his music. This interview took place at the Hall in the Shakespeare Institute on 26th, June 2008.
[197] John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971) 4-5.
[198] See Boynton's observation on Byrd's books as a military book. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* 118.

dedicated to "Ladye Nevell," it is almost certain that the songs in this book were designed to be performed in the domestic sphere. However, despite such obvious characteristics, this type of collection may have been intended not only for young ladies but also for young gentlemen who also had private music tuition. The advice offered by many contemporary books on conduct was for young noblemen in particular to confine their playing to the private space and not to embarrass their families with over-enthusiasm or public performance. Nonetheless, given that a contemporary aristocrat might well find himself "in the company of dear and familiar friends" including ladies, there is no reason to think this volume was never used by a male student.[199]

Out of forty-two songs in the volume, three are explicitly military in subject: "The Marche before the Battell (No. 3)," "The Battell (No. 4)," and "The Galliarde for the Victorie (No. 5)."[200] As the example of John Strut's collection of tunes shows, the "battle" was a fairly common title for a song. However, since Strut's collection draws heavily on *My Lady Nevell's Booke* and "the Battle" that appears in the volume has a similar rhythmic pattern to Byrd's battle music, No. 4 is of particular interest.[201] It contains a range of military ceremonial music and signals such as "The Soldiers sommons," "The Marche of footmen," "The March of horsemen," "The Trumpetts," The Marche to the fighte," "The retreat," "The Buriing of the dead," and "Ye souldiers dance" (See Illustration 19).[202] Their inclusion is noteworthy because they are "indicative of the types of rhythmic, melodically simplistic alarums thought to be played in the field," and also because of their "performative nature."[203]

[199] Castiglione, *The Courtier* 121.
[200] William Byrd, *My Ladye Nevell's Bookes*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1926) xi.
[201] *BL MS* Add. 38539 ff.12^{r}-13^{v}. See also Peter Holman, *Dowland:* Lachrimae (1604) (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 72.
[202] Byrd, *My Ladye Nevell's Bookes* 20-39.
[203] Ketterer, personal interview, 26 June 2008.



[Illustration 19. William Byrd, "The souldiers sommons" and "The buriing of the dead"][204]

If we examine Byrd's songs in terms of their practical characteristics as military signal music, it seems likely that they were similar in sound to those performed during combats or military ceremonies on- and off-stage. According to Ketterer, as most of them were written in cut time—which indicated "a fairly lively pace"—and were based upon simple tonic chords—which could be "turned into arpeggios"—they could be easily reproduced by the instruments associated with military use like trumpet and drum.[205] Even if ornamentation were added to the simpler melodies of military music to encourage the virginal student to aspire to virtuoso playing, we can assume that military musicians, a very distinct group of skilled musicians with a different set of duties, would have been able to play the songs. We may also assume that if were simplified from the original, player-musicians may have adopted them for theatrical usage.

Byrd's book was never printed during his lifetime and was circulated only in manuscript form. The fact that the extant copy is a transcript suggests that there were other copies that might well have circulated amongst fashionable aristocratic circles, and to which theatre

[204] Byrd, *My Ladye Nevell's Bookes* 20; 38.
[205] Ketterer, personal interview, 26 June 2008.

personnel may have had access.[206] Of course, there is no direct evidence that Byrd's "Battell" was ever encountered by theatre personnel like Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn. However, Katherine Edgar, identifying Lady Nevell with the wife of Sir Henry Nevill of Billingbear and considering the couple's relatively regular and frequent attendance in theatres, suggests that Byrd's "Battell" might have been considered a "concert version" of military music, equivalent to that heard in Shakespeare's history plays.[207] Edgar's assumption that both Sir Henry and Lady Nevill, with their refined and delicate musical taste, might have enjoyed compositions by Byrd instead of "the noyse of the drummes and trumpets" seems reasonable.[208] Without evidence to show what kind of military music was performed on stage, we cannot say how different the works by Byrd were from the military music of the theatres but we can assume that these pieces substantially represent authentic military music. It is a reasonable inference that if the composer was familiar enough with that body of music to use it in his artistic work, then theatre personnel could create their own version for use in their performances.

Given that Byrd wrote a funeral song for Sidney in 1588, he may have returned to the mood of Sidney's funeral procession in his "The buriing of the dead" (See Illustration 20).[209]



[Illustration 20. Thomas Lant, "Funeral Procession of Sir Philip Sidney"][210]

[206] See H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 103-9.
[207] Katherine Edgar, "Mr. Byrd's Battell," *The Musical Times* 70.1031 (1929): 46-53.
[208] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 247. Edgar, "Mr. Byrd's Battell" 48.
[209] *My Ladye Nevell's Bookes* 38.
[210] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991) 323; 336.

St. Paul's Cathedral was the venue for Sidney's funeral in February 1587. Since Thomas Lant's series of illustrations vividly capture the memorable moments of the funeral procession of Sidney, this kind of music would have much popular appeal. It is not an unreasonable assumption, then, that a song of this sort, whose style "would suit that mimetic function very well," may have been similar to the soldier's music in *Hamlet* or the dead march in *Coriolanus*, which were often associated with Sidney's military funeral.[211] Lant's illustrations show what a spectacular ceremony the military funeral was. The entire performance was wrought with symbolism and designed to honour the deceased military person's contribution to his country. Members of the military circle sought to extract the maximum propaganda value from their comrade's funeral. Essex orchestrated a "solemn show" (*Ant*. 5.2.358) which deliberately echoed a great funeral at St. Paul's almost nine years earlier.[212] If so, it can be argued that military music performed on stage was not merely employed for dramatic effect. But, rather, this sort of music—as the Elizabethan equivalent of music in a film today—derived from outside the fictional world of the play and would have reached beyond the dramatic narrative. The leading military leaders continued to utilise this music to create meaning within their circles and to project qualities of their military service. When Prince Henry died his funeral procession exactly mirrored that of Sidney and Byrd was motivated to write elegies for the Prince. As Byrd's songs appeared in print, they may have been written for commercial gain, nevertheless, the patronage of musicians like Byrd by members of the military elite influenced opinions about the military, either by associating music with mathematics or by inspiring and raising the morale of the fellow soldiers.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how aristocratic patronage in theatre, art, and music

[211] Charles Edelman points out the possibility that a military funeral and funeral music in Shakespeare's plays might evoke the funeral of the Elizabethan hero, Philip Sidney. Charles Edelman, *Shakespeare's Military Language* (London: Athlone, 2000) 287.

[212] For the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, Rowland Whyte reported to Sir Robert Sidney, "I hear that Sir Roger Williams shalbe buried at Sir Ph. Sidney's feete." Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 148.

in Elizabethan and early Stuart England encouraged the development of a typical pattern which represented military actions and ideas. Although this pattern emerged from varying generic forms, its effect was generally similar: idealisation of the Renaissance warrior.

The military context, of course, was only one element in the functioning of the early modern theatre. As the conditions of theatrical performance became secularised and commercialised, playing companies had to meet the varied appetites of their audience. Nevertheless, one must remember that until more playing companies moved in around 1600, the London stage of the later 1590s was dominated by the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men, whose lesser rivals imitated the subjects with which these two companies were competing for the audience.[213]

Even without the active patronage of leading aristocrats (like Leicester in an earlier age), such conditions helped to maintain a militaristic sentiment in their repertoires through the 1590s. If for the most part, as Gurr notes, playmaking was "tightly bound to the immediate necessities of writing for a fixed purpose, like the literature of patronage," an outburst of war-oriented plays reflects the members of the playing companies' connection with English military circles.[214] As seen from the examples of Wilson's service to Leicester and Chapman's connection with Essex and Prince Henry, the reality of war impinged on the fictional world of the stage and earlier patrons' own interest in military matters also influenced the theatre. Their dramatic rhetoric, reaching a wider audience beyond the readership of military theory, contributed to the dissemination of military issues to the popular consciousness.

Contemporary military books were instrumental in popularising military language and imagery on stage, because the patronage of the aristocratic elite had first made military literature available within their circles. This circulation and exchange of knowledge and ideas, on the military, made military matters available to a wider public, including through private

[213] See Gurr, "Intertextuality at Windsor," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38.2 (1987): 189-200.
[214] Gurr "Intertextuality at Windsor" 189.

and public theatres. Traditional understanding of the culture of patronage tells us that the patron, as representative of the prevailing social structure, influenced his client through the terms and expectations of a specific commission to create a work which reflected his own ideas and interpretation of the subject commissioned. However, since the playwrights did not have such a patron-client relationship, the military significance of a play might be the result of a later intervention, as in the Essex circle's commissioning of a performance *Richard II*. Patronage in the later theatre had a military dimension when the patron added personal meanings and alterations to the given performance. Nevertheless, we can suggest that the aims of men like Leicester and Essex in patronising theatre were virtually identical with those in politics, just as the population were exposed to militaristic rhetoric in art and music which were closely related to the military circle's public activities.

The recurrence of military themes and motifs within Prince Henry's artistic patronage indicates that the model of artistic patronage practised by Leicester, Sidney, and Essex was transmitted into early Stuart England and constituted a large and increasingly powerful portion of its visual culture. Such patronage served to bring the mainstream of contemporary continental art into England, and enabled members of the military elite to define in paintings and engravings their view of the true meaning of a Protestant warrior. As people's familiarity with the military ideal was enhanced by the stylised military portraits which performed important real and symbolic functions, they were instrumental in promoting and disseminating military values essential to the prosecution of the war effort not only at the time of the Armada, but also in the peaceful years of early Stuart England.

Like theatre and art, music was a vital part of the cultural life of early modern England, whether in popular music, theatrical performance, church practices or in compositions that gave a high degree of artistic satisfaction. When aristocratic culture embraced a new enthusiasm for military values, musical activities, together with other academic and artistic elements, played their part in the process of idealising the Renaissance warrior. Therefore, if

military music is located within the particular historical context of a country at war—in other words, if a musical link is sought in the form of patron-client relationships between the leading military figures and the leading musicians—this specific type of music can be seen as far from insignificant. This enables us to appreciate military music within a much wider cultural conception of music itself, rather than confine it to the military profession or a functional role, because military music forged an image of a nation with a natural aptitude for war. In this context, music also reminds us of the central place of aristocratic military culture in any investigation of the conception and experience of warfare in early modern England.

Chapter 3
Representations of the military and military issues on stage

1. Introduction

As we have seen, the patronage networks of late Elizabethan and early Stuart aristocrats were an integral part of aristocratic culture and influential in facilitating the establishment of a military culture in early modern England. This chapter will examine military issues presented on stage at the time to demonstrate how drama reflected the variety of emergent discourses on military subjects.

Soldiers and military issues often took centre stage in plays written or performed in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign and the reign of James I. Literary scholarship has attempted to link late Elizabethan and early Stuart military books and culture with the drama and politics of the time. Most prior studies of warfare and soldiership in drama, however, have focused primarily on establishing connections between warfare and the military actions of contemporary aristocrats, or on military discourses and constructions of gender and body politics. Contemporary playwrights were deeply involved in staging current military and political affairs and aristocrats commissioned portraits and engravings depicting scenes from their military exploits. All this, together with the aristocratic patronage of writers influenced the public's interpretations of their war experience: hence reappraisal of whether theatrical business was influenced by this context is now needed.

Many literary critics have concluded that the flowering of war plays in this period was due to the impact of the actual military enterprises of the time and have concentrated on the assumption that the proliferation of military books which accompanied the conflicts was seen as the most effective means of promoting military discourse. Geoffrey Langsam notes that they "distinguished between just and unjust wars; they defended the profession and the honor of the soldier…they defined military ethics; they presented the ideal soldier and his officers,

and criticized adversely those who had shamed their profession."[1] Literary critics have sought to explore the connections between what was presented on the stage and what was printed on the page. As Nina Taunton observes, however, there exists "an imbalance between the concentrations of literary scholars and cultural historians of the Renaissance upon the drama of this decade, and the scant attention paid to the particular needs and concerns of war expressed by this same body of dramatic work."[2]

It is interesting to trace the impact of the wars in the Low Countries where the English army gained valuable experience of active warfare and were influenced by European artistic culture. On the English stage war plays were not fully developed until around the time of the Armada (1588) but actors who had acted in shows and pageants in the Low Countries (1585-6) had already gained experience of presenting battle scenes. There is no obvious evidence to show cause and effect, but when we look at the bigger picture we can see how the pageants in the Netherlands had an impact on the English stage. It is therefore useful to examine the engravings of the pageants for Leicester in the Low Countries as no illustration of such an English occasion has survived.

2. The political and religious implications of Leicester's triumph and its effect on English theatre

Given the historical and political significance of the troublesome situation in the Low Countries, we need to examine Leicester's concentration on creating a magnificent impression, and the political and religious implications of his reception in the Netherlands, in order to facilitate a wider discussion of military subjects on stage.

Leicester's military reputation suffered from the account of his character by the contemporary historian John Clapham:

> Leicester was no great soldier, his nature being more inclinable to ease and delights of the court than to service in the field: though now and then for

[1] G. Geoffrey Langsam, *Martial Books and Tudor Verse* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1951) 1.
[2] Nina Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman and Shakespeare's* Henry V (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 2.

> ambition or hope of gain he would undertake great attempts, as may appear by his wars in the Low Countries, where he spent a great part of the time of his abode in shows of triumph and feasting.[3]

Clapham's opinion anticipated Robert Naunton's uncomplimentary description of Leicester and other members of the military circle in his *Fragmenta Regalia*.[4] Their opinions are still held by Elizabethan historians like Wallace MacCaffrey, who describes Leicester thus: "No other Elizabethan politician made such a conspicuously public display of his ambitions nor aimed at such extensive goals."[5] Similarly, literary critics like Richard McCoy regard Leicester's triumph as a vehicle to display his power and act out a symbolic rebellion against the Queen.[6] These views of Leicester's character are still common and other studies of Leicester's actions in the Low Countries generally accept either MacCaffrey's or McCoy's view. These studies have aimed primarily to identify the activities of players like Will Kempe and Robert Wilson or to describe Leicester's downfall in terms of his incompetence, lack of money and bad company.

When Leicester launched his expedition to aid the States-General in August 1585, he was greeted with several costly and elaborate pageants in his honour. He, in turn, hosted entertainments with "dancing, vaulting, and tumbling" by his players, which, as Stow records in his *Annales*, "gave great delight to the strangers, for they had not seen it before."[7] Roy Strong and J. A. van Dorsten point out the involvement of the entire population when Leicester entered a city. Due to the importance attached to his expedition as a Protestant crusade—in Patrick Collinson's terms, "a crusade for the Gospel"—Leicester was accompanied by a large number of attendants whom the Earl called "my servants, and sundry

[3] John Clapham, *Elizabeth of England* (1603), ed. Evelyn Plummer Read and Conyers Read (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951) 91.
[4] According to Simon Adams, Clapham as a former servant of Burghley was encouraged to take the extreme position of playing down the roles of the Cecils' enemies in his writing on the Elizabethan period. See Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002) 51.
[5] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992) 441.
[6] See Richard McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 28-54.
[7] John Stow, *The Annales of England* (1592) 1214-5.

my friends."[8] Indeed, between 1585 and 1586, Leicester's entourage consisted of about seventy-five people, including his secretary, treasurer, gentlemen of the horse, comptroller, two gentlemen ushers, four gentlemen of the chamber, two divines, a physician, an apothecary, a surgeon, and some noblemen and gentlemen including the Earl of Essex and Lord North. MacCaffrey notes that "[Leicester] assembled around him an entourage which was more like the great household of a medieval baron than the headquarters staff of a Renaissance captain."[9] Leicester himself claimed he found "all sort of men…that must go hazard their lives" in the service.[10] Leicester's entourage was, indeed, large but a Renaissance captain was not only required to master liberal arts, geometry, theology, philosophy, law, physics, and medical and military arts but also to be accompanied by practitioners of these arts and disciplines for military purposes. It was vital for him to make the best use of his subordinates because the English forces sent to the Low Countries were raised through the largesse of Leicester. As Roger Manning has noted, patron-client relationships were used in place of a hierarchical command structure, sometimes to the detriment of operations.[11]

Those accompanying and serving Leicester in one capacity or another played a significant role in developing the military arts in England. As was noted in Chapter 1, they became advocates of military reforms due to the value of their experiences in the Low Countries. In this context, the concept of a Renaissance captain who was a refined and cultured military leader explains why Leicester's entourage consisted of people from so many fields.

In a letter to the Caernarvonshire gentleman John Wynn of Gwydir in September 1585, Leicester claimed he had sent over two hundred letters to "[his] servants and sundry [his] friends," requesting them to attend him for service in the Low Countries.[12] Given the

[8] Roy Strong and J. A. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* (London; Leiden: Oxford UP, 1964) 33; Simon Adams, "A Puritan crusade? The composition of the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-86," *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002) 176.
[9] MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992) 352.
[10] MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy* 351.
[11] Roger Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006) 35.
[12] Adams, "A Puritan crusade?" 176-7; J. Bruce, ed. *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester* (Camden society, 1844) 5.

ubiquitous use of the description "servant," we cannot describe the recipients of Leicester's letters as his feudal retinue. However, as Simon Adams points out, it is significant that lists of the recipients enable us to identify who Leicester's clients were at this key point in his career.[13] Leicester's entourage included: Essex, the future military commander of the late Leicester-Sidney circle; Sir William Pelham, an experienced soldier; William Clowes, a military surgeon; Thomas Digges, a mathematician and "an Elizabethan Combat Historian"; and George Gifford, a chaplain to the English troops.[14] This diversity characterises the military circles of the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign.

Sir John Norris's description of Digges as a "paper soldier" has been used to support the traditional view of Leicester's staff as amateurish at best and downright incompetent at worst.[15] Some see in them the clashes between the amateur and the professional but this fails to take into account that Norris himself, like many other professionals, had previously been a client of Leicester. Hence, despite the fact that Digges had no field experience, the objectivity of Norris's portrayal of Digges is questionable. A hostile relationship ensued when Leicester appointed Digges as the army's Muster-Master, rather than Norris. This controversy over an important appointment occurred a few years before *Othello*, when Iago derides Cassio as "a great arithmetician" who "never set a squadron in the field" (*Oth*. 1.1.18; 21), and has often been referred to because of Shakespeare's probable intimacy with Digges.[16] Despite this probability, we should not take literary or theatrical constructions of Digges at face value, because the former is a mere standing joke and the latter is a theatrically constructed stereotype of a bookish soldier accused of inadequate experience. Rather, it should be remembered that Digges was a member of Leicester's circle who took an interest in military affairs and consequently encouraged others to turn to military books to learn more about the

[13] Adams, "A Puritan crusade?" 177.
[14] See Henry J. Webb, "Thomas Digges, an Elizabethan Combat Historian," *Military Affairs* 14.2 (1950): 53-6.
[15] Quoted in John S. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997) 91.
[16] Digges was a neighbour of John Heminges in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London who in 1590 had the second edition of *Stratioticos* printed by Richard Field of Stratford, the same printer who four years later produced *The Rape of Lucrece.*

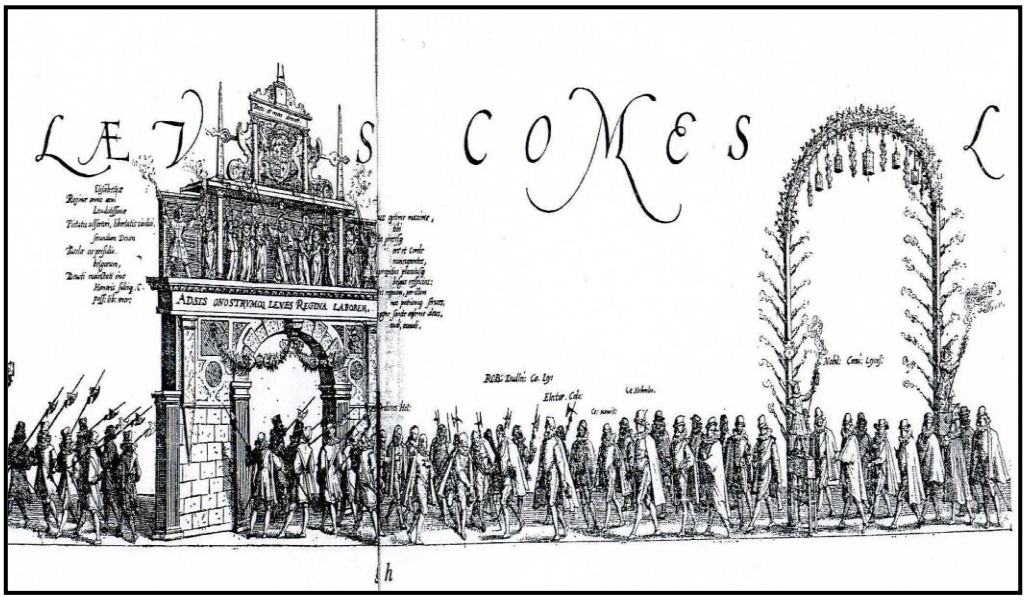
art of war. Given his influence on actual practice, literary scholars have sought in the works of Digges for the elements of narrative that were theatrically reconstructed.[17] Similarly, historians take Digges's works as evidence of the extent to which early modern England participated in the military revolution.[18] Hence, we should consider this purposely-recruited entourage as much more than MacCaffrey's reading of it as a feudal retinue and, instead, regard Leicester as an exemplary Renaissance captain. In this context, it is relevant to speculate about the role of players amongst his military entourage.

Elaborate entertainments by Leicester's Men, like *The Forces of Hercules* (1586), were given at the various towns through which he passed. The traditional view is that Leicester's grand display proved he was an incompetent commander who behaved foolishly in allowing the Dutch to represent him as Hercules or Arthur—which enraged Elizabeth.[19] However, Hercules was, for the late sixteenth century, a universally understood symbol of justice and virtue triumphing over tyranny and vice.[20] Unfortunately no details of the entertainment have survived but we know Leicester was hailed as a new Hercules by the Dutch audience, and that Protestants later often identified Essex and Prince Henry with Hercules in a complimentary way. Was Leicester's show merely an act of self-aggrandisement or could the identification with Hercules be interpreted as a Protestant hero waging a just war against Catholicism?

According to Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, Leicester had an "enlightened awareness of the power of theatre to affect an audience and to spread cultural and political influence," and his grand display in the Low Countries was a diplomatic performance designed to "revive the lagging spirits of the beleaguered provinces."[21] The Protestant Dutch

[17] For example, the thesis that "warre sometimes is lesse hurtfull, and more to be wisht in a well gouerned State than peace" in Thomas and Dudley Digges (his son)'s *Foure Paradoxes* (1604) has often been compared to the dialogue on the advantage of war in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. Detailed reference to Digges can be found in Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956) 185.
[18] A comprehensive overview of Digges's works can be found in David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).
[19] David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in the Netherlandish Art at 1550-1672* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002) 198.
[20] J. W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror, Prince Henry Stuart, a Study in 17th Century Personation* (New York: AMS Press, 1978) 2.
[21] Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,

greeted Leicester and his army's arrival with triumphal arches, banquets, and a variety of pageantry. Extant records show that the pageant performed before thousands at The Hague in 1586 represents an image of Leicester as a Protestant warrior. Strong and van Dorsten assert that "the author of the pageant was aware of the significance of political propaganda."[22] Leicester's entry was welcomed by the civic dignitaries before the triumphal arch representing Elizabeth as Minerva, surrounded by seven maidens representing the provinces (See Illustration 21).



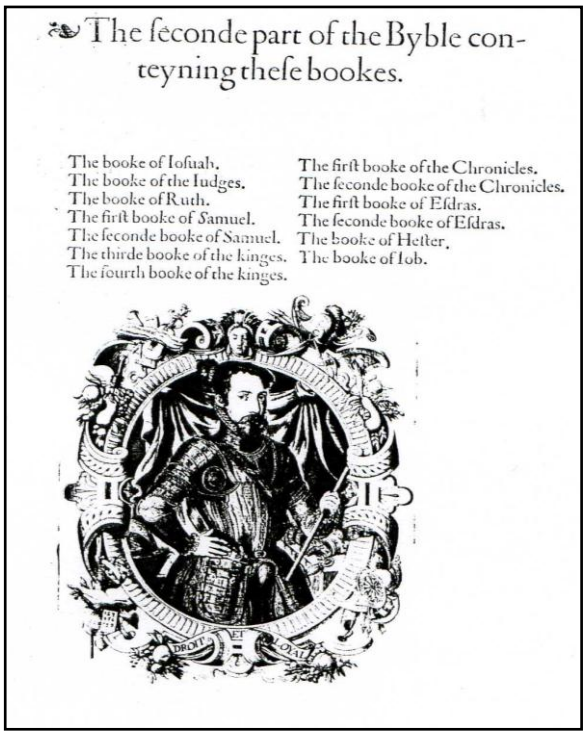
[Illustration 21. Leicester's Triumphal Entry in The Hague (1586)][23]

This entry took place at night to benefit from the enchanting atmosphere of torchlight. There were also arches made like the ragged staff of Leicester hung with lanterns and torches in his honour.[24] Leicester's entry was clearly designed to downplay the horrors and hardships of war and illustrate instead the nobility and heroism of the allied troops. There was, for example, an old man on the stage kneeling in prayer and holding up his hands towards heaven, with other persons supporting his hands. According to Holinshed's account, this portion of the pageant "signified that Joshua and the Israelits prevailed, and overthrew the Philistines, so long as Moses did praie for them…; and so now through the praier of good men, God had at length

1998) 350.
[22] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 46.
[23] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 45.
[24] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 46.

sent them succor and releefe."[25] Given that the images of a Protestant warrior, blended with the new military themes and changes in artistic practice, were highly esteemed in the context of Protestant culture, it is not surprising that there were a number of religious or Biblical scenes scattered throughout the several entertainments.

The dramatisation of a well-known story of the Book of Exodus and its implication for Leicester's military leadership makes sense only if we see the way in which Leicester was modelled as a Protestant warrior. Consider the title page of the second section of the 1568 *Bishop's Bible* (See Illustration 22).


The ſeconde part of the Byble conteyning theſe bookes.

The booke of Ioſuah.
The booke of the Iudges.
The booke of Ruth.
The firſt booke of Samuel.
The ſeconde booke of Samuel.
The thirde booke of the kinges.
The fourth booke of the kinges.
The firſt booke of the Chronicles.
The ſeconde booke of the Chronicles.
The firſt booke of Eſdras.
The ſeconde booke of Eſdras.
The booke of Heſter.
The booke of Iob.

[Illustration 22. Robert Dudley, portrait in *The Bishops' Bible* (1568)][26]

While Elizabeth's portrait appeared on the title page, Leicester's preceded Joshua, and Burghley's appeared alongside the first Psalm.[27] Since Elizabeth was the only supreme head of both church and state, it was not surprising that an engraved portrait of the Queen appeared on the title page. The presence of the portraits of the two notable patrons suggests that they also played a significant role in sponsoring the publication of this Bible. Moreover, given that

[25] Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, vol. 4 (London; for J. Johnson et al., 1808) 652

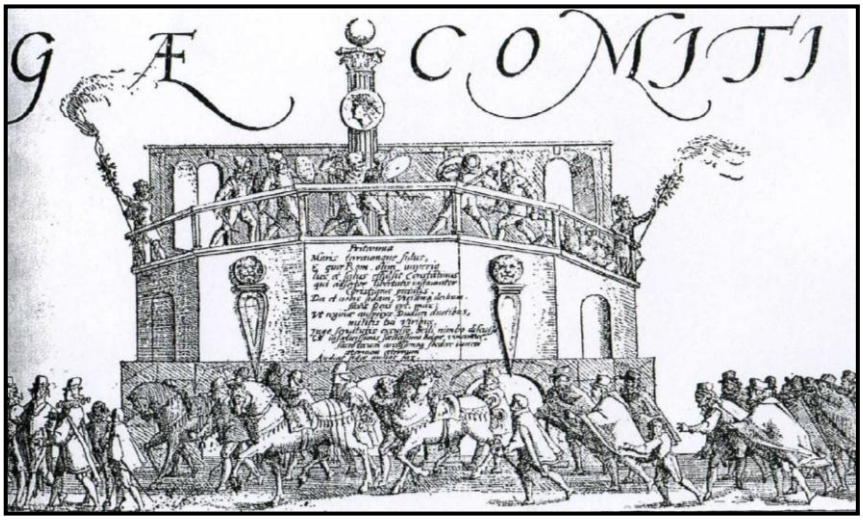
[26] Craig R. Thompson, *The Bible in English 1525-1611* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958) 27.

[27] Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999) 30. A portrait of Lord Burghley, on the other hand, depicts him holding a capital B. It probably stands for "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly," as his portrait was placed before the Psalms.

the *Bishop's Bible* was designed for public reading, a portrait of Leicester, in an oval frame which bears his motto "*Droyt et Loyal*" (Just and loyal), placed immediately before Joshua, brings to mind contemporary praise of him as a militant Protestant.[28] This inclusion of his portrait is closely related to his contemporaries' militaristic reading of the Bible, especially the Old Testament stories of Moses, Joshua, and David. Although the *Bishops' Bible* had little chance of rivalling the *Geneva Bible* in popular readership, its official status as the Bible read in divine service made it familiar to everybody. As the Earl's portrait's explicit argument was to promote recognition of him as an ideal of Protestant heroic prototype, theatrical representation of him before an English-Dutch audience at The Hague was also political propaganda of the most obvious sort, implying that he came as "Moses" to relieve the people of the Low Countries.[29]

The stage battle of Leicester's triumphant entry into The Hague (See Illustration 23 below) demonstrates that there was more to these pageants than purely propagandistic performances in self-fashioning. A battle "fought between the English soldiers and the Spaniards, the English still prevailing" not only suggests that a stage performance could effectively represent the war of liberation from Spanish domination, but also gives us the unique chance to grasp the effect of battle scenes that Elizabethan audiences may have seen later in the London playhouses.[30] During ceremonial pageants and progresses, for example, galleries with battlements displaying military weapons and musical instruments like drums and fifes were common scenic devices.

[28] Leicester was the primary patron of Rowland Hall, printer of the Geneva Bible. It was no accident that Arthur Golding dedicated to Leicester his translations of Calvin and Mornay. See Arthur F. Kinney, "Sir Philip Sidney and the Uses of History," *The Historical Renaissance*, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) 302.
[29] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 37.
[30] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 46.



[Illustration 23. A stage battle from Leicester's Triumphal Entry in The Hague (1586)][31]

This engraving shows a high platform backed by a wall with two stage doors, and the movement of six players across the stage. Although it is difficult to be sure of the extent to which this kind of performance can be related to the battle scenes performed in the public theatres in London, it seems plausible to suggest that this kind of staging could be easily replicated in such plays as *A Larum for London*—which presents the fall of Antwerp of 1576 and atrocities by the Spanish as a warning to London audiences to maintain a proper defence against the Spanish threat—with its stage direction "*Alarum*, *enter* Stumpe *and* Captaine, *the Spaniards fly*" and others which are full of alarums, excursions, and hand-to-hand combat.[32]

There are a number of parallels between the theatricality of Leicester's pageants in the Low Countries and the theatrical application of stage battles in the London playhouses. E. K. Chambers notes that Lord Strange's Men—the company that presented *Henry VI* at the Rose in 1592—already had a history of "tumbling and feats of activity" in 1586.[33] Given that we find amongst Lord Strange's Men performers such as Thomas Pope, George Bryan, and, later on, William Kempe, all former members of Leicester's company before 1589, it is likely that as the company had delighted the Dutch public with mime, dance, acrobatics, and swordplay, and went on to present similar spectacles, including battles, before an English audience in an

[31] Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* 47.
[32] *A Larum for London* (1602) F3^{v}. It staged the 1576 sack of Antwerp by Spanish soldiers and warned that Londoners might suffer a similar fate, unless they prepared for defence of their country. It was first printed in 1602 and probably first staged in 1599.
[33] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 119.

effort to appeal to the aesthetic taste and cultural aspiration of their military aristocratic patrons.[34] Nashe's famous account serves to confirm that theatre was a powerful imaginative force in shaping England's ideas about national history and patriotism, describing the specific effect of enacting military successes in early modern theatrical spaces:

> For the subject of [English history plays], for the most part it is borrowed out of our English chronicles, wherein our forefathers' valiant acts, that have lien long buried in rusty brass and wormeaten books, are revived, and they themselves raised from the grave of oblivion and brought to plead their aged honours in open presence.[35]

The presentation of chivalric pageantry or medieval warfare on stage can be perceived as militarily anachronistic, however, the pageantry of military parades and stage battles were crucial in engendering a general feeling of patriotism, and increasing the cultural significance of military spectacles. As we shall see below, spectacles that incorporated the pageantry of military parades and stage battles were soon adapted to suit the dramatists' requirements on the English stage.

3. Reappraisal of the representation of stage battles and the use of military music

According to Charles Edelman, the staging of battle scenes in plays such as the *Henry VI* trilogy would have been a limited affair in which a few actors in single combat would have represented the larger conflict.[36] The theatrical representation of war became increasingly difficult because a phenomenon of sixteenth and seventeenth-century warfare was an increase in the numbers of men taking up arms. Ben Jonson, for example, mocked the stage battles in the *Henry VI* plays "with three rusty sword, / And help of some few foot-and half-foot words, / Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars" (Prologue 10-12).[37] In fact, the military manuals'

[34] For Dutch painting's influence over English painting at the time of war, see Chapter 2. Mime, dance, acrobatics, and swordplay, which we now call choreographic skills, were essential skills for early modern actors. Edelman notes that fencing masters often doubled as dancing masters, which demonstrates the proximity of the two arts, and that mime was used as an alternative style of symbolic swordplay. See Edelman, *Brawl Ridiculous* 9; 176

[35] Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penniless," *Selected Works*, ed. Stanley Wells (London: Edward Arnold, 1964) 64.

[36] See Charles Edelman, *Brawl Ridiculous: Swordfighting in Shakespeare's Plays* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992).

[37] Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Robert S. Miola (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000) 224.

emphasis on discipline and battle formation was expressed in a language of spaces, lines, diagrams, and symbols. Literary scholars like Nina Taunton and Patricia Cahill read the rhetorical representation of massive armies on stage, or references to the number of soldiers in theatrical speeches, as a manifestation of contemporary anxiety that a man is "no longer knowable apart from abstraction" and may be "no different from an indeterminate number of others."[38] Contemporary military theories required officers to set their army in battle array rapidly.

We can see the influence of military theorists like William Garrard who used detailed diagrams illustrating formations in which the place of every single individual was clearly marked by letters denoting their ranks or type of weapons. A capital "C", for example denoted a Captain, "L" a Lieutenant, "S" a Sergeant, a small "a" an archer, "s" a harquebusier, "p" a pike, and so forth.[39] Linking the popularity of Garrard's manual to the frequent representation of numbers of soldiers on stage, Cahill suggests that "the space of the London stage proved to be a congenial place for audiences to witness new ways of conceiving the social order."[40]

When it came to stage battles, however, the size of the stage and the theatre company were the limiting factors on the scope and spectacle of a battle or skirmish. It was difficult to represent the new phenomenon in early modern warfare of the clash between huge groups of soldiers rather than the traditional hand to hand duels of the medieval knights. In *Henry V*, for example, Shakespeare asked the audience to use their imagination rather than watching the actual battle on the stage. He also reminded them of well-presented stage combats in the *Henry VI* plays, "Which oft our stage hath shown" (*H5* Epilogue, 13). The audience, as Catherine Alexander notes, could have used their "imaginary forces" (*H5* Prologue, 18),

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However, Jonson's mockery in the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* can misrepresent the emotional appeal of stage combat. Jonson did not wish to appeal to the imagination of the audience, but he preferred to attack through the intellect. Moreover, since his prologue was probably written by the time he published his work in the Folio of 1616, his mockery should be considered evidence of his aristocratic social bias in aesthetic judgement as much as genuine concern about the lack of realism in the history plays.

[38] Patricia Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) 68. See also Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism* 125-31.

[39] William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (1591) 81.

[40] Cahill, *Unto the Breach* 68.

knowing from previous experience what might have been happening on the stage.[41] There is good reason to believe that early modern audiences did not find the appearance of a small number of soldiers from opposing sides too limited and recognised that individual warriors were more important than the size of the army, however large.

A well-trained small body of soldiers in a rank can represent the whole effectiveness of the army. The same may be said of small numbers of very good soldiers on the stage. Garrard's advised that companies should be divided into smaller groups to assist in the carriage and use of arms, marching and carrying out the motions of war, and gaining an understanding of all the forms of arms and commands, because a company of 100 soldiers—a subdivision of an infantry regiment—was the largest unit that could be effectively controlled by the voices and signals of the company commander, a captain.[42] To take up any formation, soldiers were instructed to form a rank in which the number of soldiers varies from 3 to 7. They then formed a "quadrant" (a body of troops drawn up in a square formation), merely by augmenting or combining ranks.[43] It is necessary therefore to train one rank perfectly with a series of simple drills before it goes on to train as part of larger formations or manoeuvres. Hence a rank on stage can be representative of a larger body of soldiers.

Another way to understand the nature of the theatrical representation of stage battles is to investigate audio-visual representations of war on the stage and this highlights the connection between music and the military.

Paul Jorgensen was the first critic to recognise the Elizabethan taste for military subjects, established by a combination of hyperbolic rhetoric influenced by the *Aeneid* and the growing importance of military music in contemporary fighting.[44] Part of Jorgensen's argument has been developed in P. M. F. Sheppard's doctoral thesis, "Tongues of War: Studies in the

[41] Catherine Alexander, *The Cambridge Shakespeare Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 228.
[42] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 87.
[43] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 90-111.
[44] Paul Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956) 4.

Military Rhetoric of Shakespeare's English History Plays" (1996).[45] Both Jorgensen and Sheppard take for granted that Shakespeare understood the role of military signals as described in contemporary military treatises. They argue that Shakespeare's use of these signals, in conjunction with their rhetorical counterparts, should be considered for "its informative and its emotional functions," because he "enlarged his military theatre through an appeal to the ear—either through actual sound or through a stylized, connotative rendering of it in dialogue."[46] Despite scanty stage directions and occasional dialogue about military sounds, such as "*Alarum. Retreat.* / *Flourish*" (*1H6* 1.7.39.1-2) and "The trumpet sounds retreat; the day is ours," (*1H4* 5.4.156) these examples, insofar as they were the accepted theatrical convention depicting a variety of military actions, are sufficient to support the assertion that battle sounds and music are important aspects of the warlike plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. It is not possible to go into detail here about what the ubiquity of military sounds meant to the playwright and his audience, but it will be helpful to note that Shakespeare's use of them contributed to making military sounds meaningful in everyday life.

Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson cite approximately 400 examples of the use of alarums, 360 calls for drums, and 200 instances of marches as well as other military signals, such as charges, parleys, and retreats on the public stage.[47] Jorgensen and others have acknowledged that these stage directions in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries might be taken as indications that a range of uses of drums or trumpets for battles and marches, with the sounds of weapons like swords clashing on shields, were an integral part of contemporary theatrical experience. The 1596 petition made by nobles, gentlemen inhabitants, and Puritan residents of the Blackfriars Precinct reinforces the fact that "the noyse of the drummes and

[45] P. M. F. Sheppard, "Tongues of War: Studies in the Military Rhetoric of Shakespeare's English History Plays," D.Phil. thesis (The University of Oxford, 1996).
[46] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 3; 18.
[47] Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 3; 79; 140.

trumpets" were common sounds emanating from the theatres of this period.[48]

As we saw in the previous chapter, drums were frequently and casually played in conjunction with trumpets at state occasions, royal progresses, and military parades. An audience was probably aware that "kings and ranking military officers had their specially identifying trumpet [or drum] music" and could recognise the meaning of different sounds, just as Captain Fluellen in *Henry V* instantly recognises the significance of the sound of a drum: "Hark you, the King is coming" (*H5* 3.6.88) and Iago recognises Othello's arrival in Cyprus by a trumpet sound: "The Moor—I know his trumpet" (*Oth*. 2.1.181).[49] Playwrights could therefore use various military sound effects to "create the illusion of marching armies [on] and off stage, of camp life when there is no elaborate setting, and of proper ordering of movements."[50] Along with the various alarums and other martial sounds, the potential impact of introducing military musicians on stage is also worth considering.

Noting that many battle sounds were generated off-stage, literary critics such as Frances Ann Shirley have regarded this as another indication of the contemporary theatre's inability to represent war convincingly on stage.[51] I would argue, however, that military musicians on stage performed a central function because their music could represent a substantial part of a battle scene in the same way as a small number of actors could represent an army.

Alongside their belief that "audible rather than visible imitations of battle and march are most easily believed," the critics' neglect of the physical performance of military musicians is perhaps connected to a failure to distinguish between them and civilian musicians.[52] Fifes, trumpets and drums were not the sole preserve of military music and were used in a range of circumstances, both ceremonial and military. However, we need to distinguish military and civilian musicians because theatre musicians and professional composers like William Byrd

[48] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* 4: 247.
[49] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 34.
[50] Frances Ann Shirley, *Shakespeare's Use of Off-Stage Sounds* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1963) 54-71; 54.
[51] Shirley, *Shakespeare's Use of Off-Stage Sounds* 71.
[52] Shirley, *Shakespeare's Use of Off-Stage Sounds* 71.

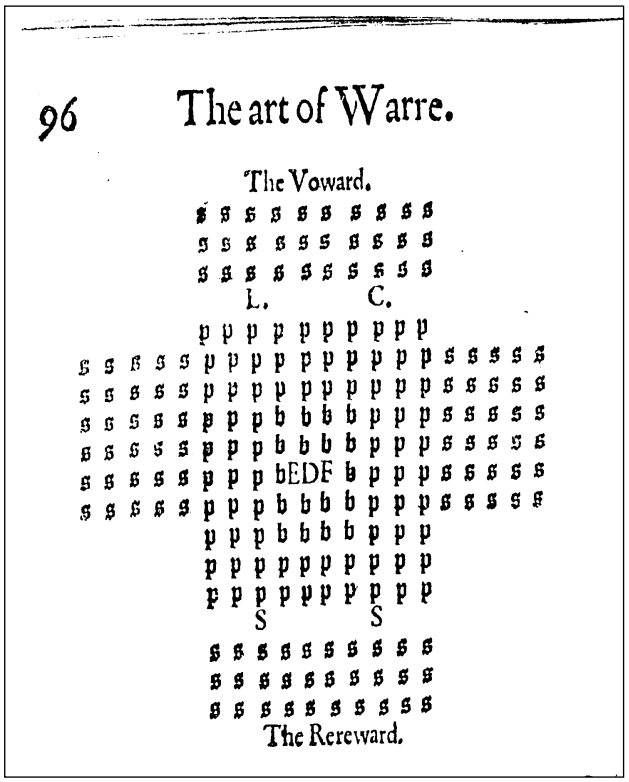
used war as one of their themes, adapting the sounds of war from contemporary training fields or military camps. The same could not happen in reverse.

As for the function of military musicians, David Lindley reminds us that in the real world of warfare the meanings conveyed by trumpeters and drummers were much more specific than theatrical representations, citing Gervase Markham's *The Souldiers Accidence* (1625) which is the recognised authority for this purpose.[53] Markham wrote that soldiers should "know the sounds or Beatings of the Drumme" in order to understand whether it was "a *Call*, a *March*, a *Troope*, a *Battalia*, a *Charge*, a *Retrait*, a *Batterie*, a *Reliefe*, and so forth," or whether it was a call to "march slower or faster, to charge with greater violence, or to come off with greater speede."[54] Similarly, he advised cavalry to understand "the Notes and Language of the Trumpet" in order to "perform all those duties and Commands."[55] Military musicians must have been trained to give commands and were deemed to have professional skills. Markham also emphasised the significance of keeping order in manoeuvre by drum beats and trumpet sounds but did not explain in what manner the instruments conveyed the commands. We must remember that military musicians were significant not only for military communication in general but also because they delivered messages in hazardous situations. Garrard recognises their vital role:

> Drums and fifes must oft sound and exercise their instrumentes, warning as the mouth of man, to all pointes of seruice: so must souldiers diligently learne and obserue the meaning of the same, that none plead ignorance, and neglecting their dueties to seruice appertaining. Also sometimes they shall receiue from the higher officers or captaines, secret commandementes by word of mouth, the which must withall diligence be obserued and truely executed vpon the losse of their liues.[56]

Since military musicians were required to be located at the centre of a battle formation—the most visible place—during battles they were more likely to be prime targets of enemy fire than other soldiers (See Illustration 24).

[53] David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Thomas Learning, 2006) 113.
[54] Gervase Markham, *The Soldiers Accidence* (1625) 16.
[55] Markham, *The Soldiers Accidence* 60.
[56] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 45-6.



[Illustration 24. William Garrard, "Practises of training, appertaining to the charge of two hundreth Men," *The Arte of Warre* (1591) 96]

As illustrated above, at the centre of a battle formation we see a drummer (denoted as "D") is accompanied by an ensigne ("E") and a fifer ("F"). Garrard's depiction was not an isolated example. Such diagrams were common in contemporary military manuals. If the audience was well versed in military theories, then when military musicians appeared on the stage in *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar*, and many other plays, the audience would have imagined them at the very centre of battle formations which consisted of a commander ("C"), his key staff personnel, an ensign, a drummer, and a fifer (if I might use a modern equivalent, a commander's radio operator). If military musicians using their musical instruments in actual field training were familiar to contemporary eyes, the effect would have been similar. Thus, there is a good argument that the physical placing of military musicians on stage, accompanied by sound effects, contributes significant meaning and has more value than its conventional function as a signal of the entrance of royalty or background sound effects.

Lindley demonstrates that military music alone can represent convincingly the progress of the battle as in Act 5 Scene 2 in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. When Edgar leaves his father to

ascertain the battle's outcome, it is the invisible but sounded military actions—"*Alarum and retreat*" (*Kr*. 5.2.5.1)—from off-stage that announce the progress of the battle to the blind Gloucester.[57] Another example can be found in Act 5 in *Cymbeline*: "*The battle continues.* ⌜*Alarums, Excursions. The trumpets sound a retreat*⌝ (*Cym*. 5.2.10.1-2). From these examples, we can deduce that Shakespeare's audience would have recognised this sequence of musical cues even if the exact sounds were not specified in the texts. These stage directions also indicate that Shakespeare differentiated sounds made on a trumpet and/or drum into a call to arms, a cue for soldiers entering, and a call to retire or withdraw, well enough for theatrical demands. Markham calls this the "note" or "language" of military musical instruments.[58] Although we do not know precisely what alarum and retreat sound like in those plays, Lindley's suggestion that Shakespeare could create an atmosphere of tension with musical cues because his audience could distinguish alarum from retreat is plausible. We can assume that Shakespeare's audience would know many of the patterns of drum beats and could distinguish between the French and British armies in *Lear*, just as they might have distinguished between "*English march*" and "*French march*" in *1 Henry VI*, or "*Danish March*" in *Hamlet*.[59] Unless both the playwright and the audience understood the function of rhythmic marching, such a use of drum beats signifying any particular march, in stage directions, would have been pointless.

Military musicians' physical engagement on stage was as central to the audience's imagination of warfare as the sound effects they generated. Consider *King Lear*, where the preparation for the battle between the French and the British army is represented by audio-visual effects: "*Enter with a drummer and colours, Queen Cordelia, Gentlemen, and soldiers*" (*Kr*. 4.2.6.1-2) and "*Enter with a drummer and colours, Edmund, Regan, Gentlemen, and*

[57] See Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* 111-40.
[58] Markham, *The Soldiers Accidence* 60.
[59] In this consideration, Byrd's song book is significant, because one of his songs, "The Irish marche," proves the extent to which contemporary audiences distinguished certain types of military music. William Byrd, *My Ladye Nevell's Bookes*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1926) 26-7.

soldiers" (*Kr*. 4.6.77.1-2).[60] Similarly in *Julius Caesar*, Brutus' and Cassius' troops meet on stage before the battle of Philippi with the sound of a drum: "⌜*Drum. Antony and Octavius march with their army.*⌝ *Drum within. Enter, marching, Brutus, Cassius, and their army…Octavius's and Antony's army makes a stand*" (*JC* 5.1.20.1-6). If many of the audience were either well versed in military theories or familiar with the real world of warfare, the placing of military musicians on stage would have been immediately meaningful—a vital role in representing the battle discipline of troops. Military musicians could introduce a moment of anticipation and suspense with off-stage sound effects, powerfully reinforcing the image of themselves as a key component in martial formation. Similarly in Scene 3 of *Edward III*, the king's lines that the sound of drum beats offstage troubles him—when his heartbeat was quickened for love of the Countess of Salisbury—might have convinced the audience as they had already seen a drummer enter the stage with Lord Audley, a Muster-Master General.[61]

There are numerous examples of writers and poets commemorating the heroism and suffering of military musicians. A ballad written at the time of Essex's expedition to Ireland contains an eye-witness description of a drummer as one who played "much musice on that ground, / Whereby no feare[ful] heart was found / amongst our soudiers of *Englande*."[62] John Taylor's account of a naval battle fought between an English ship and five Turkish vessels in 1616 gives a graphic description of the death of an English trumpeter:

> *William Sweat* Trumpetter, as hee sounded in the sight had one arme shot off, yet hee sounded till another great shot stroke off his other arme, with his Trumpet and all, then after hee was kild with a shot thorow the body.[63]

[60] The 1623 Folio text reads "*Enter with Drum and Colors*." According to Dessen and Thompson, 'drum' is used to denote the instrument or the drummer or both. Given that the stage directions in *Lear* require the musician to bring his instrument on stage and the scene is linked to the battle scene, the Oxford editors' choice of "*a drummer*" instead of "*drum*" fits a military scene. Dessen and Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama* 79.

[61] The Scene 3 opens with Lord Audley's entrance with a drummer, who played a vital role in raising the spirits during muster.

[62] See "A new baalde of the tryumphes kept on Ireland vppon Saint Georg's day last, by the noble Earle of Essex and his followers, with their resolution againe there (1599)" in *The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1907) 325.

[63] John Taylor, "The Dolphins Danger and the Deliverance," *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630) 33.

Due to their professional skill at sounding and interpreting commands under dangerous circumstances, military musicians had both prestige and high salaries.[64] Musicians on stage were not real soldiers, of course, but they must have had the skill to convey the sounds of war as it was understood at the time. For example, in *Richard II*, when Bolingbroke orders the Earl of Northumberland to sound a parley before Flint Castle, the sound of trumpets follows according to a stage direction: "*The trumpets sound a parley without, and an answer within*" (*R2* 3.3.60.4-5). This musical signal (parley) for a conference under a truce is frequently used by Shakespeare in contexts of siege, summoning, for example, the inhabitants of Angers to the walls in *King John* and the Senators of Athens to face Alcibiades in *Timon of Athens*.[65] The military term "parley" was derived from the French "parler" (to speak) and began to be used in England around 1581 (*OED* 2) so Shakespeare's frequent and comprehensive use of this new musical signal demonstrates the extent to which he and his audience were familiar with this newly introduced military sound.[66]

Military music was valuable for its dramatic effect and functioned for the audience not only as an effective audio-visual accompaniment to the action but also, as Lindley notes, as a "recognizable semiotic code to differentiate the actor on stage."[67] When Iago is trying to awaken in Cassio lustful feelings for Desdemona, he uses military metaphors to appeal to the soldier Cassio, saying "What an eye she has! Methinks it sounds a parley to provocation…And when she speaks, is it an alarum to love" (*Oth*. 2.3.21-2; 24). Elsewhere, in the opening soliloquy of *Richard III* Shakespeare articulated the familiar gendered perception of feminine softness and the masculine world of military action in the context of early modern cultural anxieties about music, sexuality, and theatricality:

> Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,
> Our bruised arms hung up for monuments,
> Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
> Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.

[64] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 20.
[65] Charles Edelman, *Shakespeare's Military Language* (London: The Athlone Press, 2000) 245-7.
[66] "Parley," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989).
[67] Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* 114.

> Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front,
> And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds
> To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
> He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
> To the lascivious pleasing of a lute. (*R3* 1.1.5-13)

This sentiment that some kinds of music are feminine and have potential for effeminising men is echoed in various places in this period. Lodowick Lloyd, who wrote a military book called *Stratagems of Jerusalem* (1602) based on military campaigns in the Bible, recognises that the distinction between masculine strength and feminine weakness lay at the centre of contemporary debates about music's usefulness:

> Mars claymeth Musike in the fields, and Venus occupieth Musicke in chambers. That kind of gentle and soft Musick, the Egyptians forbade the youth to be taught therein, least from men, they would become againe women.[68]

The same idea is expressed in *Much Ado About Nothing* where Benedick describes Claudio's change of behaviour in terms of music: "I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife, and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe" (*Ado* 2.3.12-14). Here Shakespeare uses music as a rhetoric implying the notion of harmony orchestrating musical sounds and actions. Given that his use of military-musical terms echoes contemporary military books' depictions of music and war, we can argue that early modern England was so militarised that almost everything can be described as war by other means. Likewise, playwrights and military commentators were engaged in an elaborate semiotic that reflected, reinforced, and gave substance to the power of militarism. Analogies between music and heavenly harmony or musical rhythm and warfare are not merely rhetorical convention to exploit ambiguity for dramatic and thematic effect. Soldiers and contemporary military theorists believed that music not only aided soldiers' morale but also helped to explain the principles of war that were built on elements of mathematics and geometry. It seems clear, then, that the visual and aural representation of military music on stage constituted particular ways of heightening an audience's response, because military experience in different

[68] Lodowick Lloyd, *The Pilgrimage of Princes* (1607) 98.

contexts—whether participation in actual training or reading military manuals—shaped the nature of the audiences' ways of seeing and listening. This adaptation of military music to dramatic demands, at different levels, was prompted by the dissemination of a variety of narratives constructed around an alliance between music and the military by soldiers like Garrard, and military commentators like Lloyd and Markham, who all belonged to contemporary military circles.

4. The patriotic appeal of wartime theatre

A brief survey of both the titles and content of war-oriented plays produced during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods indicate that the main interests for playwrights and their audiences centred around hostility to Spain and Catholicism, warnings against civil war, and praise of individual heroes. In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, English war-oriented plays included Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*; Shakespeare's English histories and *Julius Caesar*; Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*; Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War*; Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*; and anonymous plays like *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *The Famous Historye of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, and *A Larum for London*.

David Bevington explains that the series of patriotic, anti-Spanish, and martial plays which appeared in the late 1580s and the 1590s was the result of "war fever" caused by the Armada crisis.[80] James Shapiro points to the impact of invasion fears in 1599 in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, calling it a "belated Armada play," and argues that Shakespeare echoes Marlowe's "conqueror drama."[81] Shapiro believes that the Elizabethan theatre's preoccupation with political and military affairs pre-dated the Armada and anachronistically calls Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* an earlier "Armada play."[82] Frank Ardolino also pinpoints this

[80] David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968) 187.
[81] See James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005) and "Revisiting *Tamburlaine*: *Henry V* as Shakespeare's Belated Armada Play," *Criticism* 31.4 (1989): 351-66.
[82] Shapiro, "Revisiting *Tamburlaine*" 351. Because of its date of composition before 1588, Shapiro's classification is problematic. Nevertheless, *Tamburlaine* reflected the political atmosphere of a country which was about to face a threat from Spain.

contemporary preoccupation in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, arguing that Hieronimo's line "In Paris? Mass, and Well Remembered!" references the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) thus "creating a revenge playlet in which [Hieronimo] destroy[s] the line of accession to the Iberian thrones."[83] Elsewhere, he argues that this is an "apocalyptic revenge play" in which Kyd depicted for his countrymen the destined triumph of England over its Catholic enemy.[84] The observations of Bevington, Shapiro, and Ardolino on the phenomenological experience of warfare suggests that Elizabethans were receptive to militarism, and that the apocalyptic tone in Kyd's play might have appealed to contemporary audiences by reinforcing the decidedly apocalyptic message delivered from church pulpits.[85]

The kind of dramatic fare deemed appropriate by the theatrical companies in wartime must be taken into account when considering the function and roles of theatre. Although it is difficult to ascertain whether theatre companies were constrained by the political and military atmosphere of the 1590s, the circumstances can be illustrated by the soldier's question in John Marston's *Histriomastix*, performed either at the Inns of Court in the winter of 1598-9 or at St. Paul's in 1599: "What Playes in times of Warre?" (5.1.64).[86] As Joel Altman points out, "the uncertain status of actors and the vulnerability of their audiences when troops were being levied for war" is a more significant issue than the exact date and occasion of the play, although this adds relevance to our understanding of what the players offered to their wartime audience.[87] The business of acting out war scenes in a time of national emergency was evidently controversial for Elizabethans. John Chamberlain declared "(though I were never professed soldier,) to offer my self in defence of my country…is the best service I can do

[83] Frank Ardolino "In Paris? Mass, and Well Remembered!": Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and the English Reaction to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21.3 (1990): 409.
[84] Ardolino, "*The Spanish Tragedy* as Armada Play," *Apocalypse & Armada in Kyd's* Spanish Tragedy (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1995) xiv. See also Andrew Gurr, "The Condition of Theatre in England in 1599," *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, eds. By Joseph W. Donohue, Jane Milling and Peter Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 264-81.
[85] I will return to this issue in Chapter 5 on religion.
[86] John Marston, "Histriomastix," *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. Harvey Wood, vol. 3 (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1939) 285. All quotations from Marston's *Histriomastix* refer to this edition.
[87] Joel E. Altman, "'Vile Participation': The Amplification of Violence in the Theatre of *Henry V*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.2 (1991): 14.

yt."[88] After casting a horoscope to learn whether the Spanish would attack, Simon Forman went overboard, purchasing "much harness and weapons for war, swords, daggers, muskets, corslets, and furniture, staves, halberds, gauntlets, mails, &c."[89] When hostile voices were raised against the players in Marston's play, they protested, saying:

> Alasse sir, we Players are priviledg'd,
> Tis our Audience must fight in the field for us,
> And we upon the stage for them. (5.1.93-5)

The audience was probably not convinced by the player's opinion as a few lines later the news of Spanish troops' entry into the city was announced and alarm to arms was sounded. The players then appeared on stage pressed for military service, in contrast to their claimed privilege, and were mocked for their inability to act like real soldiers:

> Slid how do you march?
> Sirha is this you would rend and teare the Cat
> Upon a Stage, and now march like a drown'd rat?
> Looke up and play the *Tamburlain*e: you rogue you. (5.1.66-70)

This could have been a reflection of the whole question regarding who should be pressed for military service or, as this was performed by amateurs or boy actors, this scene may have reflected the tension between them and certain privileged professional players who made a profit during times of high public anxiety. There was also a question regarding the appropriateness of acting out warlike scenes. Sir Roger Williams's remarks in *A Briefe discourse of Warre* (1590) have often been referred to as an example of the scepticism of contemporary soldiers about the value of representing the military on stage: "Diuers play Alexander on the stages, but fewe or none in the field."[90] However, we need to read a bit more of Williams's comment, lest we should misinterpret it: "Our pleasant Tarleton would counterfeit many artes, but he was no bodie out of his mirths."[91] Given that Williams was a regular playgoer during his occasional visits to London in the 1580s and 1590s and that his

[88] Norman E. McClure, ed. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939) 80-1.
[89] Cited in A. L. Rowse, *Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974) 296.
[90] Roger Williams, *Works*, ed. Evans 6.
[91] Roger Williams, *Works*, ed. Evans 6.

comment on a popular stage clown of the time was intended to point out Tarlton's inappropriate combination of martial and comedic skills, Williams was expressing his resentment at wanton comedies, not at drama as a whole.[92] Boy actors were not mature enough to perform warlike characters like Tamburlaine convincingly and a poorly staged battle invited ridicule. It is natural, then, that instead of apologising for their inability to authentically present popular subjects on stage, such as recruitment and a call to arms, or reporting Spanish atrocities, the boy actors felt it necessary to go before the audience and criticise the present situation in satiric terms, "Strumpet Warre" (*Histriomastix* 5.1.84). The satirical tone in this play indicates that its audience would have expected the players to offer them warlike performances that chimed with the current mood.[93]

Extant contemporary records of performances during the invasion years suggest that London audiences and those in the provinces went to theatres and civil halls to escape the stresses of war, seeking entertainment, solace, or patriotism. Shapiro argues that, since there is no indication that playgoing was banned at this time, and thousands of volunteers were milling about in town with nothing to do but drill and wait for the Spanish invaders to land, the government regarded the theatre as a "helpful distraction, keeping the armed and idle force preoccupied" rather than as a place for mobilization.[94] If Elizabeth had been "pleased to have some special form of prayers to be used in this time of expected troubles the same which were used in the year 1588," as the Archbishop of Canterbury reminded Cecil in the summer of 1599, some special forms of plays such as *A Larum for London* and *Turnholt* would also have been "fit for this present occasion."[95]

It would seem that the value of theatre was recognised by the authorities and the impressment of players and audiences was not the norm. After 1588 and throughout the 1590s,

[92] Roger Williams, *Works*, ed. Evans 162.
[93] As for the political and military atmosphere of the autumn of 1599, see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* 4: 18; John Stow, *The Annales of England* (1601) 1304 and McClure, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* 1: 78.
[94] Shapiro, *1599* 203.
[95] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House*, vol. 9 (London, 1902) 262.

on the grounds that the peril of invasion was imminent, martial law was extended to civilians and soldiers equally because vagrant soldiers were often indistinguishable from a burgeoning population of civilian vagrants.[96] This extreme circumstance was recorded in an undated letter of Philip Gawdy (assigned by its modern editor to 1602):

> Ther hath bene great pressing of late, and straunge, as ever was knowen in England, only in London and my L. Mayor and the rest of the Londiners have done so contrary to their instructions from the Lords of the councell…All the playe howses wer beset in one daye and very many pressed from thence, so that in all ther ar pressed ffowre thowsand besydes fyve hundred voluntaryes, and all for flaunders.[97]

Gawdy (who is well known for his account of the accident at a performance by the Admiral's Men in 1587 and who fought in the Azores in 1591) does not mention whether or not the players were actually pressed for military service, as in Marston's play. His account suggests that theatres were still open in times of national emergency and it seems reasonable to give credence to his claim that the 1602 impressment in the public theatre was very unusual and was done "contrary to their instructions from the Lords of the councell."[98]

We also need to consider how London playhouses materially benefitted from the war atmosphere. Roslyn Knutson suggests that the increasing popularity of war plays, from a commercial viewpoint, was partly due to the condition of the theatres themselves around 1599. In the context of financial hardship, caused by wartime disruption and the invasion fears of 1599, she argues that despite its lack of poetic excellence, *A Larum for London* was chosen by the Chamberlain's Men because this kind of play followed a tried and tested formula during the Armada years and would fill the gap in short-term financing between the old Theatre and the new Globe, without risking their venture.[99] There is now reason to believe that financial considerations contributed to Henslowe's commissioning the first part of "syvell wares of france" on 11 October, 1598 and the second part of the play on 3 November, 1598, a few

[96] S. J. Stearns, "Military Disorder and Martial Law in Early Stuart England," *Law and Authority in Early Modern England*, eds. Thomas Garden Barnes, Buchanan Sharp, and Mark Charles Fissel (Newark: University of Delaware, 2007) 124.
[97] *The Letters of Philip Gawdy*, ed. I. H. Jeayes, (London: J. B. Nichols, 1906) 120-21.
[98] Gawdy, *Letters* 120.
[99] Roslyn Lander Knutson, "Filling Fare: the appetite for Current Issues and Traditional Forms in the Repertory of the Chamberlain's Men," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 15 (2003): 59.

months after the wars ended.[100] As Rowland Whyte's letter of 26th October 1599 to Sir Robert Sidney indicates, war encouraged the enactment of topical military events on the public stage:

> Two daies agoe, the overthrow of *Turnholt* was acted upon a Stage, and all your name [Robert Sidney] used that were at yt; especially *Sir Far. Veres*...You was also introduced, killing, slaying, and overthrowing the *Spaniards*, and honorable Mention made of your Service.[101]

Seeing that there is no record of the play in Henslowe's diary, Gurr suggests that it may have been put on at the Globe.[102] He also suggests that *Henry V* may have been staged by the Chamberlain's Men at the Globe at least a few weeks before 16th October 1599.[103] There was certainly a notice of an entertainment called *England's Joy* (1602)—which was previously regarded as the only surviving example of an Elizabethan playbill—because it promised an extraordinary spectacle including the victory of Elizabethan England against Spain.[104] Tiffany Stern argues that this was not in fact a playbill but a "printed plot" as a "gift" designed for the theatre audience: "something like a modern 'program.'"[105] Whatever the case, it contributes to the evidence of public theatres being used to reinforce patriotic sentiments by celebrating the brave actions of English soldiers.

This argument is strengthened by consideration of the Admiral's Men. Gurr claims that the political position of Henslowe and Alleyn can be found in the repertoires of the Lord Admiral's Men. Throughout the 1580s and 1590s the company continued to offer drama about the military or military heroics such as the plays of Marlowe, Peele, Heywood, and possibly lost plays like *The Famous Wars of Henry I and the Prince of Wales, Arthur, King of England* and *The Siege of London*. It is unsurprising therefore that Henslowe's inventories include a variety of weaponry, mostly for battles. Besides wooden and leather axes, the lists

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[100] Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1961) 99-100.
[101] *Sydney Papers*, ed. R. W. Blencowe, vol. 2 (London, 1825) 136. The play of *Turnholt* represented the siege of Turnhout which was taken from the Spaniards by Maurice of Nassau—the late Philip Sidney's comrade—with the help of an English army on 24th January, 1598.
[102] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* 157.
[103] William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) 1.
[104] See Richard Vennar, *England's Joy* (1602).
[105] Tiffany Stern, "'On each Wall and Corner Poast': Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London," *ELR* 36.1 (2006): 89.

include eight lances, a gilt spear, seventeen foils [meaning either broadswords or rapiers], one buckler, four wooden targets, nine targets of iron and one of copper, a shield with three lions on it, and one helmet.[106] Payment of twenty shillings to the "armourer" for an unspecified number of new targets was made on 30 September 1602.[107] Taken together, it can be argued that despite the unstable condition of a decade marked by war, famine, pestilence and death, the patriotic or heroic tastes of Elizabethan audiences helped London playing companies to survive during the 1590s.

In the early Jacobean era, the theatre continued to feature soldiers and military matters in such works as Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Coriolanus*; Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*; Chapman's Byron plays, and John Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant.*[108] After James I took the throne, and pursued a policy of peace, contemporary playwrights deemed it appropriate to undertake interrogations of soldiers' inability to survive in a civilian society no longer at war—such as Shakespeare's Coriolanus, who fails to maintain the delicate balance between fortitude and compromise and is unable to move from "[f]rom th' casque to th' cushion" (*Cor*. 4.7.43). Despite James's resistance to committing troops to war against the Habsburgs throughout the first decade of his reign, however, England "remained embroiled with continental conflicts, which accelerated with the crisis of 1618 that ignited the Thirty Years War."[109] Throughout this period members of the military elite like Raleigh, Pembroke, and Southampton continued to argue that intervening in European campaigns would "remove the seat of bloud from our own doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in armes and better dispositions, whose military skil may after serve to defend the state."[110] At a time when news about English soldiers serving abroad made "exciting reading for the

[106] *Henslowe's Diary* 98-103; 139-20.
[107] *Henslowe's Diary* 217.
[108] For a discussion of the early Jacobean military- oriented plays, including Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant*, See Vimala Cleamona, "Playing Soldiers: Martial Subjects in Early Modern English Drama, 1590-1660," Ph.D. thesis (The University of Texas at Austin, 2005).
[109] Fissel, *English Warfare* 256.
[110] Walter Raleigh, *An Answer made by Command of Prince Henry to Certain Proposition of Warre and Peace* (1655) 2. But it was written in 1608 with the aid of Southampton and Pembroke, when Raleigh took on the rule of tutor and advisor to Prince Henry. See Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 111.

contemporary English public" and "war fever infected much of southern England," Chapman's protagonist, Byron, denounced "sensual Peace," which "confound[ed] Valour and cowardice, fame and infamy" (*Tragedy of Byron* 1.2.15-6), as if he were criticising the Jacobean peace.[111]

A similar phenomenon, designed to appeal to the patriotism of London apprentices, was a later revival on stage of the text of Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London* printed in 1615.[112] This play was published at the time when the Honourable Artillery Company was reputed to be the country's finest training ground for English soldiers since James I granted its members the right to exercise arms in 1610. In the letter to the readers of the play, Heywood specifies "this Time" was 1615 when Prince Charles attended the muster and review of the London trained bands. During the event he received cheers and good wishes from the band members and the crowds who hoped that the Prince would inherit his deceased brother's martial spirit.[113] At the same time the Company members and those connected with the martial activities published their own military treatises to standardise drill. The same year saw the entry in the Stationers' Register of *A Table of the Art Military by Captayne Panton*, a ballad called *The Mustering of Soulgiers in Finsbe[ry]*, and Dekker's poem *The Artillery Garden*.[114] As with his *Apology for Actors* (1612), Heywood's discourse on the representation of soldiership on stage reveals his understanding of the market for warlike plays and military books and his readiness to exploit the pervasive militarism of the period.[115]

This apparent enthusiasm for patriotic plays represents a real paradox. On the one hand, there was the unalloyed patriotism of *A Larum for London*. On the other hand, there were tales in which the lives of lower class characters like Dekker's Ralph in *The Shoemaker's*

[111] Fissel, *English Warfare* 255-6. I will discuss this in more detail in the next chapter.
[112] The title page of the first quarto (1615) states that the play "hath bebe diuerse times Acted, at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Majesties Seruants [Queen Anne's Men]." According to Alexander Leggatt, there is an outside chance that Queen Anne's Men performed it at the Curtain, which they still used occasionally after their move to the Red Bull. But Leggatt's point, important this discussion is that the play was performed in a popular playhouse. See Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992) 207.
[113] Heywood, *Four Prentices of London* A2^{r}.
[114] *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers 1554-1640*, ed. E. Arber. vol. 3 (London, 1875-94) 562.
[115] I will return to this issue later in Chapter 4.

Holiday were blighted by war, while aristocratic characters like Lacy were allowed to escape their military obligation in the interests of love.

We have yet to consider how the imagery of soldiers' wounds and blood in plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare fuelled the Elizabethan atmosphere of war: "Blood is the god of war's rich livery. / Now look I like a soldier, and this wound / As great a grace and majesty to me" (3.2.116-118), says Tamburlaine.[116] Similarly, Henry V declares, "He that shall see this day and live t'old age" will "strip his sleeve and show his scars…Old man forget; yet all shall be forgot, / But he'll remember, with advantages, / What feats he did that day…For he today that sheds his blood with me / Shall be my brother" (*H5* 4.3.47; 49-51; 61-2). While these visceral images may have conjured up an audience's warlike spirit, they constitute only one aspect of the plays. The same images elsewhere are devoted not to glorifying heroic soldiers, but rather to showing the cost of war for innocent victims. The people of Harfleur are threatened with the spectacle of their daughters defiled by Henry's "blind and bloody soldiers" (*H5* 3.3.117) and their naked infants spitted upon pikes by Henry's "bloody-hunting slaughtermen" (*H5* 3.3.124).

A more ambivalent case is that of Calyphas, the weakest son of Tamburlaine, who protests against the glorification of violence: "I know, sir, what it is to kill a man. / It works remorse of conscience in me. / I take no pleasure to be murderous, / Nor care for blood when wine will quench my thirst" (4.1.27-30). While his death at the hands of his father serves to demonstrate Tamburlaine's ruthlessness and brutality, Calyphas himself is presented as a weak and insignificant character. Therefore, as Alan Shepard has noted, Elizabethan playwrights offered their audience "a far more complex experience of that war fever" than earlier critics like Bevington, Shapiro, and Ardolino assumed.[117] Such an ambivalent interpretation of the dramatic representation of war is supported by more recent readings of *The Shoemakers'*

[116] Christopher Marlowe, "Tamburlaine the Great, Part Two," *The Complete Plays*, eds. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003) 193. All quotations from Marlowe's plays refer to this edition.
[117] Alan Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 218.

Holiday and *Henry V* by Simon Barker and Ros King.[118]

To compare *The Shoemakers' Holiday* with *Henry V* is interesting, not only because both have war as a main theme but also because they were written around the same time. As R. L. Smallwood and Stanley Wells suggest, Dekker's play is framed by talk of war and its intrusion into the lives of the poor.[119] Most notably Ralph, one of Simon Eyre's journeymen, finds it impossible to avoid conscription due to his poverty and returns lamed from France. By deliberately juxtaposing the lives of a poor man injured by war and a rich man who can avoid it, Dekker introduces the theme of war in a provocative manner. The play reminded the Elizabethan audience of the painful facts of war existing in the real world outside the playhouse. A contemporary letter captures the kind of experience Dekker was dramatizing, showing how war affected ordinary domestic life in late Elizabethan England. Writing to Bassingbourn Gawdy on 8th July 1591, Anthony Thwaytes says that:

> The bearer Richard Briante, one of the trained soldiers, is warned for these present services into France. He is to be married at Banham on Sunday to Thwaytes's wife's maid. His poor friends have laid out for the occasion all they can make shift for, and are likely to be undone if he is not excused serving.[120]

In the light of such evidence, it is reasonable to ask, as Barker puts it, "how happy the ending of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is."[121] Although the initial representation of the misfortune of ordinary people like Ralph would move audiences to think about important public issues, such as the misery of war victims, Dekker nevertheless worked towards a happy ending. The meeting between the King and Eyre at the end is obviously intended to be "a patriotic and celebratory climax" and the two love-stories are "subsumed into the general atmosphere of feasting and celebration."[122] Indeed, seeing the company of shoemakers, the King speaks of

[118] See Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2007) 157-80; and Ros King and Paul Franssen, eds. *Shakespeare and War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)1-11.
[119] Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, eds. R. L. Smallwood and Stanley Wells (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999) 26. All quotations from Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* refer to this edition.
[120] Walter Rye, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Family of Gawdy, Formerly of Norfolk* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1885) 35.
[121]Barker, *War and Nation* 175.
[122] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 27.

continuing the campaign in France, saying: "With the old troop which there we keep in pay / We will incorporate a new supply" (Scene 21. 139-40). Eyre affirms the shoemakers' reputation as patriotic citizens of London and consolidates the social status of their craft saying that they are all "gentlemen of the Gentle / Craft, true Trojans, courageous cordwainers" (Scene 21. 147-8).

Smallwood and Wells suggest that "the war background of *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, with characters leaving to fight in France, may owe something to Shakespeare's *Henry V*, completed, probably, a few months, or weeks, earlier."[123] Based on their dating of the play, they suggest that "the sense of comradeship and cheerful harmony that Dekker established around Eyre in the final scene is slightly reminiscent of the mood that Shakespeare suggests in the Agincourt episodes of his play."[124] Considering the concluding harmony and festival, which comprise monarch, citizens, and apprentices, they conclude that "the play depicts the victory of…good fellowship and love over divisiveness and war."[125] Many assume that although the King whom Eyre served was historically Henry IV, Dekker's audience may well have identified the King as Henry V because of loose allusions to Shakespeare's *Henry V*, such as the monarch's mixing with his humbler subjects, the successful wars against France, and the joking about the tennis balls.[126]

The validity of this assumption depends on how the character of the king in Shakespeare's *Henry V* was presented on stage to Elizabethan audiences.[127] In contrast to the anonymous *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (1598), in which the "chief shaping attitude" is "patriotism," Shakespeare's *Henry V* has been thought to "deftly [register] every nuance of royal hypocrisy, ruthlessness, and bad faith, but does so in the context of a celebration."[128]

[123] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 16.
[124] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 16.
[125] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 31. Although there is no evidence of any performance between 1600 and the closing of the theatres, the five reprints of the play up to 1657 may reflect the continuing success of this patriotic play on the stage.
[126] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 24.
[127] Laurie Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 252.
[128] Larry S. Champion, *The Noise of Threatening Drum: Dramatic Strategy and Political Ideology in Shakespeare and the English Chronicle Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) 18.

William Hazlitt was able to despise the historical Henry V and yet like him in the play:

> There he is very amiable monster, a very splendid pageant. As we like to gaze at a panther or a young lion in their cages…so we take a very romantic, heroic, patriotic and poetical delight in the boasts and feats of our young Harry.[129]

Following Hazlitt's comments, criticism, performances and film versions of *Henry V* have reflected a range of interpretive preferences by emphasising a particular strain in the play text. Gary Taylor simplifies the whole tradition by stating that "critics almost all divide into two camps: partisans of Henry and partisans of pacificism."[130] The play has been frequently rewritten or revived either on stage or on screen in times of national crisis. Frank Benson played Henry V at the Shaftesbury Theatre on Boxing Day in 1914 as a part of a recruiting effort.[131] Laurence Olivier's film of *Henry V* was made as a national epic celebrating heroism in the context of World War II. While these versions emphasise heroic and patriotic sentiments, partisans of pacifism underline the brutalities of war, such as in Kenneth Branagh's 1989 film of *Henry V*, which was influenced by the Falklands campaign.

In recent years, the division between the two camps has been marked by the increasing interest in the textual difference between the first quarto of *Henry V* (1600) and the Folio edition of 1623.[132] Traditionally dismissed by editors as 'bad,' the quarto is much shorter and consistently removes negative aspects of Henry's character.[133] In contrast, the Folio text presents a much more complex figure of the king.[134] While earlier traditions of literary scholarship read Shakespeare's plays as stable texts and sought a single Elizabethan view of war—either militarism or pacifism—recent scholarship through comparative readings of Shakespeare's plays in different quarto versions has provided us with multiple possibilities for

[129] William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, introd. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (London: Oxford UP, 1916) 170.
[130] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984) 1.
[131] L. J. Collins, *Theatre at War, 1914-18* (London: Macmillan, 1998) 178.
[132] See R. Scott Fraser, "*Henry V* and the Performance of War," *Shakespeare and War*, eds. Ros King and Paul Franssen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 71-83.
[133] The first quarto of Henry V lacks Henry's rejection of Falstaff, his speeches before Harfleur and the Chorus.
[134] Fraser, "*Henry V* and the Performance of War" 71.

interpretation.[135]

Jorgensen, representing one earlier view, assumed a pervasive militarism in the 1590s and regarded the opinions of John Bates and Michael Williams simply as common soldiers' complaints "as soldiers [would] do" and highlights Henry as a model general who was "exemplary in sustaining the spirits" of his troops by emphatically "setting the soldiers' minds straight on the subject of their complaints."[136] In contrast, considering textual variants and emphasising the Folio text as an indisputable authority for the dramatist's vision of warfare, King regards "Williams's sense of dissatisfaction" as "Shakespeare's critique of Henry's rhetoric."[137] We also see from the Folio, however, that this scene highlights a commander's responsibility to ensure high morale amongst his troops despite the privations and irritations they had to suffer.

This shift of emphasis, prompted by recent changes of attitude in textual studies, renders the whole question of Shakespeare's own view of warfare problematic. Shakespeare's audience, however, would not necessarily have responded to his play as modern critics and audiences do. Gurr argues that the quarto of *Henry V* is "probably closer to the version of the play that Shakespeare's company first put on the stage in 1599 than any form of the play that modern audiences have seen."[138] If we accept his view that the manuscript behind the quarto text was based on the authorial manuscript supplied to Shakespeare's playing company, which had been radically revised by the company for performance at the Globe, for whatever reason, then audiences' reaction to the play in 1599 would be different from modern interpretations based on the Folio text.[139] However, there is no external evidence to support Gurr's assertion and it is highly unlikely that the Folio text is much nearer the play as

[135] For an earlier scholarship, see Jorgensen, "Theoretical Views of War in Elizabethan England," *Journal of the Historical Ideas* 15 (1952): 469-81. See also Annabel Patterson, "Back by Popular Demand: The Two Versions of *Henry V*," *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 71-92.
[136] Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* 96-8.
[137] King, "'The Disciplines of War': Elizabethan War Manuals and Shakespeare's Tragic Vision," *Shakespeare and War* 23. I will return to this topic in more detail in Chapter 5.
[138] Shakespeare, *The First Quarto of King Henry V*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 2. All quotations from Shakespeare's *The First Quarto of King Henry V* refer to this edition.
[139] Gurr, ed. Shakespeare's *The First Quarto of King Henry V* 9.

performed than the quarto. Thus, without any incontrovertible evidence regarding the text of *Henry V* that was staged in 1599, precisely what Elizabethan audiences saw remains a matter of debate.

We do not know the real extent of the popularity of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Only two contemporary references to performances of the play survive, which merely tell us that it "hath bene sundry times playd" by the Lord Chamberlain's Men and that in 1605 the play was revived at Court. Since most published plays advertised their theatrical auspices, especially emphasising play companies' names, we cannot use this as evidence of the play's popularity. As three quarto editions were published (1600, 1602, and 1619, falsely dated 1608) before the Folio text however, late Elizabethan and early Jacobean readers must have been familiar with an unambiguously patriotic and heroic version of *Henry V*.

Thomas Creede, the printer of the 1600 and 1602 quartos, also printed another play on Henry V, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* played by the Queen's Men. The nature of the printed text of this anonymous play has been disputed. Laurie Maguire argues that it was reconstructed from memory by the players, while McMillin and MacLean propose that it was transcribed from dictation, which was "one way the company put together a new book when they divided into smaller units."[140]

Whatever its origins, contemporary readers who purchased *The Famous Victories* would have encountered a heroic Henry V who exhorts his outnumbered soldiers before the battle of Agincourt, saying "Plucke vp your hearts, for this day we shall either haue / A valiant victoire, or a honourable death," just as the title page of the play advertises.[141] The same ought to be true for the quarto of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The quarto advertises itself as a story of "[Henry V's] battle fought at Agincourt."[142] The equivalent speech in the quarto is: "We few, we happy few, we bond of brothers / For he today that sheds his blood by mine / Shall be my brother" (Scene 12.38-40) becomes the best example of a stirring summons to arms in all of

[140] *The Famous Victories of Henry Fifth*, ed. Chiaki Hanabusa (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007) xix.
[141] *The Famous Victories of Henry Fifth* E4^{r}.
[142] Gurr, ed. Shakespeare's *The First Quarto of King Henry V* 35.

literature.[143]

By advertising "Ancient Pistol" on the title page, however, the 1600 quarto distinguishes itself from the play of the Queen's Men. Gurr speculates that the highlighting of Ancient Pistol was "a tacit compensation for the disappearance" of Falstaff.[144] Whereas the death of Falstaff might have made the play simply the heroic story of Henry's victory, the retention of Pistol serves to complicate it. An Ancient—Pistol's designation in the play—is the standard-bearer of a company commanded by a captain. Honesty, comradeship, and practical leadership were his most important attributes. Garrard's description of this military rank supports contemporary expectations: he must "not onely procure the love of his confederates, and friends, but of all the entire companie."[145] And he must be a "man skillfull, hardy, and courageous, of able courage to aduance and beare up the Ensigne in all extremities…able often to comfort, animate and encourage the company to take in hand, and maintaine such extremities."[146] Pistol, who caught a French nobleman for ransom, is emphatically not the ideal soldier that Garrard describes: he must "neuer craue licence to go to anie enteprise whatsoeuer, for anie desire he hath to make himselfe known, or to win fame, but ought to remaine stedfast and firme, when his turne of seruice comes, in respect of the great charge he doth carie in the manage of the ensigne."[147] In scene 15, Pistol becomes a dutiful subject who has to cut the throats of the French prisoners, at Henry's command, and Taylor describes the quarto reading of Pistol's throat-cutting as a "moment at once endearing, pathetic, and terrible, when an audience chokes on its own laughter."[148]

Garrard informs us that the Ancient's (or ensign's) location during a battle should be in

[143] The Folio reads "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers. / For he today that sheds his blood with me / Shall be my brother" (*H5* 4.3.60-2). In fact, given that an Armed Service Editions of the play (edited based on the Folio text) was distributed to U.S. troops serving in the Afghanistan campaign, and that Henry's stirring St. Crispin's Day Speech has been widely quoted and re-quoted frequently amongst today's soldiers, the play, whether seen or read, might be felt to be capable of producing patriotic effects. The point that matters for this discussion is that given Henry's patriotic speech has often been recited out of context, the emotions that the speech inspires are easily transferable to any military conflict: which text it was matters less.
[144] Gurr, ed. Shakespeare's *The First Quarto of King Henry V* 26.
[145] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 62.
[146] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 62-3; 68.
[147] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 66.
[148] Taylor, ed. Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry the Fifth* 66.

the middle of a battle formation, which is not only subject to "more open and manifest peril than the rest be," but also attracts other soldiers' attention.[149] In fact, Fluellen equates Pistol's valour to Mark Antony's, based on his personal observations of Pistol's good service during the battle at the bridge. These points suggest that Pistol's military rank would make the scene, as Taylor puts it, "crudely funny" and "powerful and even, in [his] absurd way, moving."[150] Whereas Shakespeare may have invested in staging the gap between ideals and realities, the publisher would have invited his potential readers—who may have seen the play that Shakespeare's company first put on at the Globe—to pay attention to Pistol's role during the battle of Agincourt, emphasising the importance of his rank and role.

The highlighting of Pistol on the title page as a particular selling point became a dramatic precedent in Shakespeare's Falstaff, whose "humours" were advertised on the title page of *The Second Part of Henry IV* alongside "swaggering Pistoll."[151] The latter reference to Pistol indicates an element of farce intended for readers' amusement. In contrast, the first quarto of *Henry V* has an advertisement on the title page, recommending "Ancient" Pistol as its chief attraction, which suggests that audiences watching the play in 1599 were impressed by the English ensign's performance. The publisher chose to mention only his military rank as an ancient (ensign), possibly to emphasise Pistol's military dimension and the patriotism and a natural loyalty to Henry as the representation of the nation's heroic past. Naturally, Pistol's performances of scenes like the brawl with Fluellen, or his exit from the stage declaring his intention to become an unruly and ungovernable soldier, who exploited the rudimentary system of veterans' welfare, would have characterised him as a braggart but the title page does not emphasise this aspect.[152]

Given the way Elizabethan audiences perceived Henry as a patriotic soldier, we can make

[149] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 65.
[150] Taylor, ed. Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry the Fifth* 65.
[151] The Stationer's Register records that *Henry V*'s copyright was transferred to Thomas Pavier on 14 August 1600 and that *2 Henry IV* was published on 23 August 1600 by Andrew Wise and William Aspley.
[152] For a discussion of counterfeiters and the treatment of disabled veterans, see A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (New York: Methuen, 1985).

an assured judgment about Nashe's description of an earlier play: "what a glorious thing it is to have Henry Fifth represented on stage."[153] Nashe wrote this in 1592 to defend the Elizabethan stage from Puritan attacks, but his view of the patriotic role of theatre was surprisingly echoed by Stephen Gosson in a pro-war sermon preached at Paul's Cross. Linking Elizabeth's presence before her troops with the "notable shew" on stage, Gosson attests that the public theatres were used to encourage their audiences to join "honourable wars" and that the "notable shew" gave "wings to [their] harts, & hands, and feet, to flie about [military] action."[154]

Behind Nashe's and Gosson's justification of the presentation of early English history plays on the stage as "a rare exercise of virtue" providing a sharp reproof "to these degenerate effeminate days of ours," according to John Dover Wilson, there was the need to provide "an outlet for the growing sense of exasperation, anger, and even despair which was felt in London at the impending failure of the invasion of France launched in the autumn of 1591."[155] It has often been noticed that Shakespeare's treatment of the Siege of Rouen in the first part of *Henry VI* glances at Essex's expedition to that city to help Henry of Navarre.

I would contend that Elizabethan audiences, who witnessed *The Shoemaker's Holiday* or any of the plays about Henry V, were familiar with patriotic and militaristic rhetoric, and it is therefore important to examine the extent to which theatrical representations of the military paralleled the sermons and military polemics of the period.

5. Militant Protestantism on the early modern English stage

Military language and imagery imbibed from the pulpit were recycled and adapted to dramatic narrative as we see from the religious and military language of Marlowe's plays. Navarre in *Massacre at Paris*, for example, espouses the Protestant cause, declaring:

> How many noble men have lost their lives

[153] Nashe, *Pierce Penniless* 64.
[154] Stephen Gosson, *The Trumpet of Warre* (1598) C8^{v}.
[155] Shakespeare, *The First Part of King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1952) xvi.

> In prosecution of these cruel arms,
> Is ruth and almost death to call to mind.
> But God, we know, with always put them down
> That life themselves against the perfect truth,
> Which I'll maintain so long as life doth last,
> And with the Queen of England join my force
> To bent the papal monarch from our lands,
> And keep those relics from our countries' coasts. (Scene 18.9-17)

Although the play openly denounces the cruelty of the Catholic Guises and of Catherine de' Medici, Marlowe was presumably interested in exposing the irrationality and absurdity of wars of religion. Thus, we must be cautious, as Julia Briggs points out, in reading the play as a "piece of crude Protestant propaganda."[257] Nevertheless, since Marlowe's play was inspired by broadsides and ballads rather than by an actual event, it raises a more important question about the ways in which contemporary sermons and plays were linked.[258] In 1591, for example, a sermon preached at Paul's Cross cited lines from the first book of Samuel to compare Philip II to Naash, King of Ammon, and made Saul's calling up of the men of Israel a patriotic summons to Englishmen to defend country and religion:

> What shall become of this our nation, when he [Philip II] shall againe come, not with a navie from Spaine as hee did before, but from the nigher havens of France and Flaunders: nor with his owne power onely as before, but backed and strengthened with the gentrie of France: Doubtless if Rome had occasion to weepe, when Saguntum was taken, because the walles of Rome was shaken, when Saguntum battered.[259]

Citing Livy's Roman history of the war against Hannibal of Carthage, another preacher reminded his congregation of what was happening to Paris and its citizens. It was not until August 1590 that news reached London that there was grievous distress in the city of Paris caused by the Spanish Army. Besieged by the Duke of Parma, the city lacked victuals. A contemporary printed newsbook reported:

> They are in wofull case for want of foode. They are enforced to eate horses, Asses, Dogges, Cattes, Rattes, Mice, and other filthe and vnaccustomed things for their sustenance, yea that which is more odious in respect of their necessitie, it is said that they are enforced to feede one vpon another: and that through feeblenesse and want of victuals they fall downe dead in the

[257] Julia Briggs, "Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*: A Reconsideration." *Review of English Studies* 34 (1983): 258.
[258] For a discussion in detail, see Chapter 4.
[259] Roger Hacket, *A Sermon Needfull for These Times* (1591) A6^{r}.

streets and in their houses.[260]

Contemporary preachers drew comparisons with biblical stories. One preacher, citing Jeremiah, warned his audience that unless they prepared for war, they would weep for their loss just like Jeremiah, who had "wished that his head were a wel of water & his eis a fountain of tears, that he might weep day & night for the slain of the daughter of his people."[261] Some years later, while English soldiers were still fighting on French soil under the command of Norris, Elizabethan theatre audiences would have been reminded of what they had heard in church by a contemporary dramatic narrative: "Repent O London, least for thine offence / Thy shepheard faile…That she may bide the pillar of his Church / Against the stormes of Romish Antichrist."[262]

In *A Larum for London*, audiences were presumably upset, hearing about the fall of Antwerp, "your proud eyes shall see / The punishement of Citty cruelty: / And if your hearts be not of Adamant, / Reforme the mischief of degenerated mindes, / And make you weepe in pure relenting kinde."[263] Theatre-audiences and church congregations overlapped, so they would have taken seriously a repeatedly received message about the "malice of [Catholics'] envious heart / That seeks to murder all the protestants" (Scene 1.29-30). Many would have initially responded from a Christian viewpoint but, as time went on, such messages must have begun to awaken a martial response which led many to seriously consider the call to arms when war seemed imminent:

> Prepare ye to withstand a stratagem,
> Such as this land nor London euer knew
> This Spanish forces Lordings are prepar'd,
> In brauerie and boast, beyond all boundes
> T'inuade, to win, to conquer all this land.
> They chieflie aime at Londons stately pompe,
> At Londons pleasure, wealth and policy.
> Intending to dispoile her of them all.[264]

[260] *The Miserable estate of the Citie of Paris at this Present* (24 August, 1590) A2^{v}.
[261] Hacket, *A Sermon* A5^{r}.
[262] Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (1594) I4^{v}.
[263] *A Larum for London* Prologue. W. W. Greg suggests that this play was based on the *Spoil of Antwerp*, which appeared in 1576, and presumably produced between the autumn of 1594 and the spring of 1600. See Malone Society Reprint edition (1913) v.
[264] Robert Wilson, *The Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London* (1590) F1^{v}.

It is not difficult to find other evidence of militaristic or anti-Catholic polemic voices circulated in both plays and sermons throughout the period. Spain and all the popish powers were described as having "never-dying flames / Which cannot be extinguished but by blood" (Scene 2. 35-6) and their quenchless fire as causing "Young infants [to swim] in their parents' blood, / Headless carcasses pilèd up in heaps, / Virgins half-dead, dragged by their golden hair / And with main force flung on ring of pikes" (2.1.193-6). Spain, "most bloody enemy," would "set up the abomination of desolation in our temples again" and "bring Ridly & Hooper Bishops and pastors, men though now varying. Again to be fired and burned at a stake."[265] The Spaniards "would picke a quarrel for occasion, / To sacke your Cittie, and to sucke your bloud, / To satisfie [their] pride and luxurie" and "spolye your towne, your wealth, your wiues."[266] Edward Harris wrote that God who promised to save "this his lande, and us his people" would destroy Spanish forces by "causing the arrows of us Englishmen to drink the blood, and our sword to deuoure the flesh of these persons who have powred foorth the blood of his Saints without co*m*passion as water upo*n* the ground in great aboundance."[267]

What is remarkable in these examples is the well established imagery of blood and wounds, alluding to the blood of Christ and reinforced in their collective memory of recent bloodshed, whether that of Protestant martyrs or of Catholic heretics, that recurred throughout the period. Therefore, it is the collective memory shaped by both the stage and pulpit that revelled in speeches of torture and violence, regardless of what they specifically represented, and the ineradicable reality of "Blood and destruction" that was a "dreadful object so familiar / That mothers shall but smile when they behold / Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war" (*JC* 3.1.268; 269-71). Such descriptions of physical and symbolic atrocity would have reinforced people's resistance against their enemy and strengthened the conviction that courage was a virtue to be most admired.

[265] Hacket, *A Sermon* A1^{v}.
[266] *A Larum for London* B4^{v}.
[267] Harris, *A Sermon* A6^{v}.

As Shapiro has shown, there is internal and external evidence to suggest this intertextual traffic between sermons and playwrights' scripts. It is interesting to compare Lancelot Andrewes's Lenten sermon, preached before the Queen at Richmond on Ash Wednesday 1599, on a text from Deuteronomy chapter 23, verse 9—where Moses goes off to war: "When the army goes out against your enemies, then keep yourself from every wicked thing"—with King Henry's Saint Crispin speech in Shakespeare's *Henry V* where the soldiers are exhorted to purify their consciences. Shapiro suggests that Andrewes's war sermon has some elements which "inspired (or uncannily paralleled) the play" that Shakespeare was writing.[268] Similarly, when Andrewes preached that the act of going to war demands a collective renunciation of sin—"This time of war…What a thing this is, how great, gross and foul an incongruity it is, to pour ourselves into sin at the very time when we go forth to correct sin"—London audiences would have heard the same argument that those who went off to war needed to purge themselves of sin from Henry V's incitement in Scene 11: "I would have every soldier examine himself, and wash every mote out of his conscience, that in doing so he may be the readier for death" (Scene 11.65-7).[269] London congregations were urged to "awake [their] sleeping sword of war" in the church service and would also have heard in the public theatre "[if they]…Cannot defend [their] door from the dog, / Let [them] be beaten, and henceforth lose / The name of policy and hardiness" (Scene 1.15; 148-50). A few months after Andrewes's sermon, when the anxiety about another Spanish Armada was mounting to its height, the audiences' emotion would easily have been incited by hearing, "Cry 'havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war" (*JC* 3.1.276).

Lectures on the Old Testament dealt with conventional social matters like magistracy, trade, and marriage, and of fundamental moral issues like temptation, sin, and revenge. War however is a dominant and ubiquitous theme throughout the Old Testament: a scourge for

[268] Shapiro, *1599* 93.
[269] Deuteronomy 23:9 was often referred to by contemporary preachers in order to warn soldiers to guard their spiritual purity before and during military service. For the application of Deuteronomy' emphasis on cleanliness to a military context, see Shapiro, *1599* 95.

those who rebel against the Lord's laws or a necessary evil to correct an unjust situation. War against Spain enabled preachers like Andrewes to generate great anxiety in Protestant Englishmen.

There were also appeals to noble traditions, chivalry, and patriotism. Consider the appeal to heroism in a prayer dedicated to English soldiers who joined Drake's 1585 military expedition:

> Be valiant then you noble harts, & when you meet your foes
> Apply your manhood all you may, for to increase their woes.
> And in your fighting euermore, thinke you are Englishmen,
> Then Euery one of you I hope, will slay of Spaniards ten.[270]

Equally, preachers like Harris constantly cited Moses or Joshua to the Elizabethans: "The Lorde himselfe fighteth for you my brethren…therefore fear not but ye shall have the victorie over them."[271] Their images as military commanders were codified by military figures like Leicester so they could be understood as Protestant warriors, while militant Protestantism was translated into visual spectacle by Leicester's pageants. We find that the above passages from religious texts are echoed in a familiar voice from *The Famous Victories of Henry V*:

> My Lords and louing Country men,
> Though we be fewe and they many,
> Feare not, your quarrel is good and God wil defend you:
> Plucke vp your hearts, for this day we shall either haue
> A valiant victorie, or a honourable death.[272]

We find a similar, albeit more refined, voice from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, where the King prays before the battle of Agincourt:

> O God of battles, steel my soldiers' hearts!
> Take from them now the sense of reckoning,
> That opposed multitudes which stand before them
> May not appal their courage. (Scene 11.90-3)

Such examples suggest that Elizabethan audiences were receptive to voices advocating war and increased military preparation in times of crisis, perhaps especially through

[270] Henry Roberts, "Robarts his Farewell to the Saylers and Souldiours Appointed for This Exploite," *A Most Friendly Farewell* (1585) B3^{v}.
[271] Harris, *A Sermon* A4^{v}.
[272] *The Famous Victories of Henry V* E4^{r}.

communication from the pulpit. Like Shapiro, Steven Marx has noted that the account of the Agincourt story in Shakespeare's play resembles the story of the Red Sea battle in the Bible. Marx argues that Henry V is elevated to national hero status like Moses, demonstrating that Shakespeare portrays Henry as "the mirror of all Christian kings" (*H5* 2.0.6) who attributes his success to God's intervention: "O God, thy arm was here, / And not to us, but to thy arm alone / Ascribe we all…Take it God. / For it is none but thine" (*H5* 4.8.106-12) and, alluding to the Yahweh of the Old Testament, Henry is also portrayed as a warlike king whose approach to France is depicted as "fierce tempest," "thunder," and "earthquake" (*H5* 2.4.99; 100).[273] Hence we could regard Henry's speech before Harfleur in the Folio text not as a breach of chivalric or humanitarian codes but as a prophetic word, just like Isaiah's prophecy against Babylon:

> I will shake the Heauen, and the earth shall remooue out of her place in the wrath of the Lord of hoastes, and in the day of his fierce anger…Their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes; their houses shalbe spoiled; and their wiues rauished (Isaiah 13: 13; 16).[274]

David Perry raises the issue of the 'just in war' by asking "whether it is ethical for Henry V to threaten something that would be immoral to do, even if the threat was intended to achieve a legitimate military goal," an issue that remains still unsettled even in modern times.[275] 'Just war'—another important issue, addressed by Shakespeare in the scene in which Henry questions the Bishop about the legitimacy of his going to war against France: "May we with right and conscience make this claim?" (Scene 1.62)—is still part of the debate today over how a war may be waged justly, both morally and legally. The argument implicit in his question seems to be that Henry is less interested in suggesting ways to abstain from making war than seeking means to make righteous war. Shakespeare apparently recognised that, for his contemporaries, the issue of how wars should be declared and fought was more important than which causes of war were just and which were not. Shakespeare may have been aware

[273] Steven Marx, *Shakespeare and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 44-5.
[274] "Isaiah," *The Geneva Bible* (1599) 46.
[275] David L. Perry, "Using Shakespeare's *Henry V* to Teach Just-War Principles," 14th May 09. <http://www.ethicsineducation.com/HenryV.pdf.>.

that religious figures like Gosson and Andrewes, engaged in formulating moral or theological dimensions of war, were responsible for manipulating public opinion regarding which causes of war were justified. Shakespeare was not attempting to formulate an explicit justification of war by adding portraits of common soldiers like Williams to the patriotic play. Instead of seeing Henry as a war criminal, therefore, his audience may have interpreted the threats in his speech to the governor of Harfleur as a bluff—a necessary deception to achieve a particular purpose at a time when they were in desperate danger of being overwhelmed by the French.

Literary critics consider stratagem to be one of the most important military practices on the early modern battlefield, hence we need to consider Henry's performance in his role in the theatre of war. Interestingly, once the goal was achieved, his language and actions changed: "Go you [to Exeter] and enter Harfleur. There remain, / And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French. / Use mercy to them all" (*H5* 3.3.135-7). From this point of view, Shakespeare's representation of Henry at Harfleur seemed go beyond the theological and moral dimensions, establishing a practical code of conduct, which had to be further developed in the changing contexts of early modern warfare where the just war tradition was to be ignored in the practice of warfare.[276] In fact, around the time when Shakespeare was writing *Henry V*, Gosson goes beyond the tenets of Augustinian orthodoxy, claiming that "al the means are lawful that are requisite to the attaining of the victory, sleights, shifts, strategems, burning, wasting, spoiling, undermining, battery, blows and bloud."[277]

There are many anecdotes and instances supporting Shapiro and Marx's view that Henry was a model for the religious and warlike hero at the time of war against Catholic Spain. Sermons at Paul's Cross frequently dealt with Moses in Exodus and Deuteronomy in order to explain "the action of warre being…found to be good & lawfull in reason, in religion, and in

[276] Paola Pugliatti, *Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010) 37. Medieval accounts of the chivalric rules regarding battlefield behaviour waned due to the development of military professionalism. Under these circumstances, the just war tradition, relying not only chivalric and Christian but also legal language further developed amongst men in military circles. For this issue, see Chapter 5.
[277] Gosson, *The Trumpet of Warre* C5^{r}.

the practice of the Church."[278] While waging war against Catholic Spain was fully justified by the cause of defending true religion, Essex's expedition to Ireland, when the object was conquest was also justified by using Moses's offensive act of war. Using the pervasive image of Moses, some theorists and preachers dismissed the restriction of Augustinian doctrine and advocated waging aggressive war. In 1599, in a work dedicated to Essex, John Gibson called him "another Moses" and regarded his military action as just, for it was "agreeable vnto [God's] law, and thereby [was] an action wherein God [was] obeyed and serued."[279] Although there was no direct quotation from these preachers or their works, Shakespeare was probably aware that the voice of the pulpit was extremely powerful, in inspiring and encouraging the nation's war effort, as many and varied representations of that voice were disseminated throughout his works. When Shakespeare's *Henry V* was being performed at the Curtain in the summer of 1599 (while the Irish war was still ongoing) it was reported that the Spanish were fitting out another Armada to sail against England. On Sunday morning, August 12th 1599, when the rumour that Spaniards "were at our doors" reached London, "the Lord Admiral and the other great officers of the field came in great bravery to Paul's Cross."[280] In this context, the military men and the crowd who were present might have recalled the prayer that Shakespeare's Henry V had prayed—"O God of battles, steel my soldiers' hearts!"—or been reminded of a prayer which was dedicated to English soldiers who departed for Ireland a few months before:

> Let their armies marche vnder the shelter of thy wings, make strong their armes to the battell, and teach their fingers to fight. Frame their hearts to feare thee, and not to faint at their enemies power, giue them thy light to follow thée, and let them euer be preserued by thée, let nothing necessarie be wanting vnto them, but blesse them in all things.[281]

Topical allusions to Essex—such as Gower's mention of "a beard of the General's cut" (*H5* 3.6.77-8) and the Chorus's anticipation of his triumphant return from Ireland—are cut in the

[278] Gosson, *The Trumpet of Warre* B3^{r}.
[279] John Gibson, *The Sacred Shield* (1599) A3^{r}; D3^{v}-D4^{r}.
[280] G. B. Harrison, *The Elizabethan Journals 1591-1603* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955) 34.
[281] John Norden, *A Prayer for the Prosperous Proceedings and Good Successe of the Earle of Essex and His Companies* (1599) B1^{v}.

quarto but, despite this, interpretations of Henry V as a good Christian king or a Moses would have served to reinforce the popular image of Essex in London in 1599, as a champion of Protestant godliness.

The idea that certain plays reverberated with military language and imagery, which occurred in contemporary sermons, gives us another important perspective on the particular religious-military relations of the time. Gifford described the war with Spain as representing the "final battles" prophesied in the Book of Revelation and urged Essex to "put on that fine white linen and pure, ride upon that white horse among this blessed company, and follow this high captaine."[282] This allusion was designed to confirm that war with Spain was a holy war divinely approved; and the image of Christ riding on a white horse was commonly invoked to represent a godly soldier in the military context. In his military manual dedicated to Essex, Garrard describes the camp of Christ as a place where soldiers ride "white horses, [are] clothed in white and pure silke, [and] crowned with bright triumphant garlands."[283] In this context, the early reference to warlike Tamburlaine's riding on a white horse like Christ in the Book of Revelation (chapter 19) is not surprising. Richard Hardin points out that the year of 1587, the probable year of *Tamburlaine*'s first performance, saw the printing of Foxe's *Eicasmi seu meditationes in sacram apocalypsin*, a massive commentary on Revelation, following in the vein of William Fulke's *Praeelections upon the Sacred and Holy Revelation of St. John* (1573), Heinrich Bullinger's *A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalypse* (1573), and two sermons on the topic published separately in 1580: Bartholomew Traheron's *An Exposition of the Fourth Chapter of St. Johns Revelation* (1577), and Sir William Herbert's commentary, *A Letter Written by a True Christian Catholike* (1586).[284] He suggests that apocalyptic thinking was deeply rooted in the minds of Elizabethans, but he apparently does not recognize that Marlowe's portrayal of Tamburlaine, with a biblical image from Revelation,

[282] George Gifford, *Sermons upon the whole booke of the Revelation* (1596) A5^{v}.
[283] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 53.
[284] Richard Hardin, "Apocalypse Then: *Tamburlaine* and the Pleasures of Religious Fear," *Baylor Journal of Theatre and Performance* (2006): 33.

was partly derived from militant Protestantism and the anti-Spanish sentiments of Elizabethans.

Recognising that the Bible was read for military as well as religious purposes will help us to understand how Elizabethans, and Jacobeans, might have listened to militant sermons and what their reactions to divine and prophetic messages might have been. In fact, Machiavelli read the Bible as history in the same way that he read Livy and Tacitus, looking for information about the development of the Israelite state, with reference to military strategy. Likewise, Lodowick Lloyd, claiming "the whole bible is a book of battles of the Lord, and the whole life of a man a militarie marching to these battles," recognised that the military vocabulary and imagery of Scripture were as valuable as those of the classical military treatises of Frontinus, Vegetius, and Caesar.[285]

The most significant fact, however, is not that scriptural and military knowledge coalesced, but that the religious-military relationship was strengthened by the religious patronage of the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle and later Prince Henry. For Gifford, who once joined the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries as a chaplain to the English troops, and was summoned to Sidney's deathbed, Essex was a man who succeeded to the title of Protestant champion, a title to which Leicester and Sidney aspired, and was a man whom "God hath prepared…as a right worthy instrument."[286] As Hammer points out, it was Essex who impressed Alexander Hume, by his financial support for Dr Rainoldes's anti-Catholic lectures at Oxford, and William Hubbocke, by supporting godly preaching amongst the "captured enemies" in the Tower.[287] Since the Leicester-Sidney-Essex tradition played an important role in the formation of Prince Henry's militant Protestantism, military evangelism became a keynote of the preaching of Henry's chaplains at court. At a time when Prince Henry's chapel resounded with the denunciation of the ills of Jacobean society, by preachers like Daniel Price, London audiences

[285] Lloyd, *The Stratagems of Jerusalem* B1^{r}.
[286] "George Gifford," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); Gifford, *A Treatise of True Fortitude* A2^{v}.
[287] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 212-3. See also Alexander Hume, *A rejoinder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into hell* (1594) A3^{r} and William Hubbocke, *An apologie of infants in a sermon* (1595) A4^{r}.

in public theatres heard that "peace is nothing but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers" (*Cor*. 4.5.224-5) or "[let] me have war…It exceeds peace as far as day does night…Peace is a very apoplexy, / lethargy; mulled, deaf, sleepy, insensible; a getter of / more bastard children than war's destroyer of men" (*Cor*. 4.5.226-30). Nick de Somogyi highlights the verbal similarity between passages spoken by the Volscian servants in *Coriolanus* and those in Barnaby Rich's *A Souldiers Wishes to Britons Welfare* (1604) or Thomas and Dudley Digges's *Four Paradoxes* (1604). Given that Leonard Digges was probably Shakespeare's friend or acquaintance, he suggests that Shakespeare's concepts of war and peace were influenced by contemporary military literature like *Four Paradoxes.*[288] Although it is impossible to ascertain whether or not Shakespeare endorsed the Digges's view on war over peace, it is probable that both Shakespeare, and socially heterogeneous theatre audiences, were more familiar with aggressive militaristic language and imagery used in the pulpit than with sermons that opposed war.[289] In 1608, for instance, Daniel Price preached on Revelation (chapter 2, verse 26) before James I and Prince Henry at Whitehall—"He that overcometh, & keepeth my works to the ende, to him will I giue power of nations"—and applied the verse to his audience, saying "what subiect more fit for Heroicall spirits then an encitment to chiualrie."[290] Although Price begged the King's pardon, saying that "I haue beeene so bould in a time of such gratious and glorious peace to moue this assembly to fight," he did not hide his intention, declaring that "God hath chosen and appointed and anointed your Majestie to fight his battles." [291] Price's "vse of the doctrine to encite al the serua[n]ts of the Lord to be Martialists to be souldiers in this wicked world" could have meant spiritual warfare.[292] However, for Prince Henry—who was remembered by contemporaries as "another Charlemaine" or "the ioy of the souldiers," and whose "whole talk was of arms and war,"

[288] Nick de Somogyi, *Shakespeare's Theatre of War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 21.
[289] For pacific messages in sermons, see Ben Lowe, "Religious Wars and 'the Common Peace': Anglican Anti-War Sentiment in Elizabethan England," *Albion* 28 (1996): 415-35.
[290] Daniel Price, *Praelium & Praemium. The Christians Warre and Rewarde* (1608) 3.
[291] Price, *Praelium & Praemium* 30.
[292] Price, *Praelium & Praemium* 11.

according to the Venetian ambassador in London—his chaplain's commendation would have been none other than approval of actual military virtues.[293] Furthermore, in 1611, Robert Abbot, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed the hope that Prince Henry would enact "the glorious revenge of the cause of Almighty God" by smiting that "antichristian and wicked state" ruled by the Pope.[294] For them, peace was a thoroughly undesirable state of spiritual and political affairs and one which generated the most monstrous vices.

Marx argues that Shakespeare's representation of war made the transition from support for militarism in the early 1590s, through a balanced position that mirrored scholasticism and legalism in *Henry V* in 1599, toward pacifism from 1602-3 onwards, reflected in plays like *Troilus and Cressida*.[295] However, a reading of Shakespeare's plays does not necessarily suggest that the general Elizabethan attitude, toward war and politics, changed from militarism to pacifism simultaneously with official foreign policy. Rather, the above examples suggest that there were degrees of appreciation of war. In other words, the attitude toward war and politics was modified, expanded, supplemented or replaced from time to time as different perspectives upon warfare, reflected in a variety of cultural representations, influenced one another: between chivalric and pragmatic ideas of soldiership or between Stoic, Christian, and humanistic ideals. It is not new to note that Shakespeare offers a variety of perspectives in his depictions of soldier-characters. There are debates about the excess and the distortion of military spirit between Hotspur and Falstaff; the need for a balance between chivalric and pragmatic soldiership in the rivalry between Hotspur and Prince Harry; between bookish and experienced soldiers in the contention between Cassio and Iago; and a balance between honour and policy in the relationship between Coriolanus and Aufidius or Hector and Achilles. In short, the multiplicity of complex issues Shakespeare staged is impressive, and his interest in the variety of perspectives of war emanating from contemporary military culture is obvious.

[293] McCullough, *Sermons at Court* 194; *Calendar of State Paper, Venetian, 1610-1613*, ed. H. F. S. Brown (London, 1905) 13.
[294] Robert Abbot, *The True Ancient Roman Catholike* (1611) 18.
[295] See Marx, "Shakespeare's Pacifism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 49-95.

In this context, Shakespeare's problematic portraits of military figures can be seen as evolving within one individual's imagination rather than dealt with as distinguishing features of two opposing groups, because these competing images of model warriors, who were capable of containing every aspect of martial virtue, were commissioned by individual patrons like Essex and supported by his clients in the hope of emphasizing the military needs of the country. Notions of soldiers' virtues were developed in intellectual debates by members of the military circles on the Renaissance art of war and whereas Sidney argued "the loftie image" of the epic heroes "inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy," military theorists like Gyles Clayton wrote that imaginative writings misled soldiers into believing "in peace" and encouraged them to apply themselves "in trifling matters."[296]

Unlike classical history, poetry did not contain practical advice about military tactics, but it was believed to be a uniquely effective stimulus to choleric bravery. However, neo-Stoic thought viewed excessive or uncontrolled anger as shameful. Therefore, for Sidney and his associates, balancing the capacity to feel virtuous anger and acting upon it became one of the central elements in making a perfect soldier. Sidney's circle, being aware of incompatibilities between ancient Stoicism and Christianity, would have struggled to reconcile two different doctrines. One of their efforts has been observed by Michael West in the project of "creating an exemplar of Christian heroism."[297] According to West, Sidney and Spenser fulfilled diverse ideals, "unifying personally an age's aspirations in the realms of action, contemplation, and sentiment, and so endowing the Christian gentleman with heroic stature."[298] Sidney's writing of *The Arcadia* as an attempt to measure heroic ideals against those of pastoral romance, together with his pursuit of military excellence, resulted in his being regarded as the "Scipio, Cicero, and Petrarch of [his] time" and the Christian hero.[299] Similarly, Spenser in his

[296] Katherine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2007) 52; Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* (1595) G1^{r}; Gyles Clayton, *Approved Order of Martiall Discipline* (1591) A3^{v}.
[297] Michael West, "Spenser and the Renaissance Ideal of Christian Heroism," *PMLA* 88.5 (1973): 1013.
[298] West, "Spenser and the Renaissance Ideal of Christian Heroism" 1013.
[299] West, "Spenser and the Renaissance Ideal of Christian Heroism" 1013.

Faerie Queene, especially in Book V, sought a balance between "the dangerously seductive ideologies of Stoicism and the militaristic ethos that [accomplished] that philosophy in late Elizabethan England."[300] According to Jessica Wolfe, Talus, the iron man—who helps Arthegall dispense justice in Book V—"engages in the increasingly common siege-style warfare of Spenser's day and performs the military duties not of a living soldier but rather of a war machine"—like Shakespeare's Coriolanus.[301] It is possible, Wolfe argues, to regard Talus as an ideal Stoic soldier as well as a mocking Stoic fantasy. However, despite this ambiguity—given Spenser's admiration of Sidney and his association with the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle and his allusion to Essex in his depiction of Artegall in Book V—we could conclude that the association between Achilles and Artegall, and Artegall and Talus, was his effort to accommodate incompatible qualities demanded by the Stoic and Christian ethos of late Elizabethan military culture, just as later Shakespeare and Chapman attempted to do. Spenser, as Wolfe notes, exposed "the difficulties involved in the project of fashioning a virtuous man who [was] also a model soldier," and made an effort to conflate Stoic and Christian militaristic ethos because the classical heroes were well established as familiar icons in Christian Humanism and the demands of contemporaries for classical heroics never faded away.

These competing views were also reflected in Shakespeare's representation of warlike passion. Whereas Hotspur's furious passion is regarded as a "Defect of manner, want of government, / Pride, haughtiness, opinion, and disdain" (*1H4* 3.1.180-1), this same passion awakens Henry V's martial spirit when he hears that French soldiers killed the boys. This kind of ambiguous embodiment of passion was a dilemma for soldiers when controlling the conduct of hostilities in war. On the one hand there was a lust for domination and on the other hand warlike acts inspired by a sense of compassion and justice were considered to be acting according to the will of God. The latter attitude helped to place the military ethos within a

[300] Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 204.
[301] Wolfe, *Humanism* 205.

Christian framework. King elaborates on the discourse of just war and describes the process as a "terrible irony of all attempts to control war, to codify it and make it 'just,'" by "putting a civilised or righteous gloss on pre-civilised behaviour."[302]

Early Christian thinkers like Augustine of Hippo gave currency to the idea that there are certain forms of violence which can be considered just, in terms of Christian ethics, and the omnipresence of war in the early modern period prompted scholarly and religious groups to devote themselves to debates over a just war theory. Indeed, the debate is still on-going today, for current wars, in terms of shared juridical principles as well as moral behaviour. It was members of the military circles who considered and discussed the just war doctrine, as we will discuss in detail in Chapter 5. They imposed a moral and practical guide on their conduct of war, especially by publishing martial laws. Hence, the principles of the just war tradition were developed and executed by the military circles' initiatives—which authorised war and made it morally acceptable—by establishing a compromise between Christian morals and political realism, according to changing circumstances and contexts.

In Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (performed in the peaceful reign of James I) there are lower class characters who are strongly in favour of war, while a pacifist voice is present amongst the common soldiers in the midst of war. According to Robin Headlam Wells, *Coriolanus* was written when Prince Henry had become a symbolic focus for militant Protestant aspiration, when James commissioned Sir Robert Cotton to write a warning of the dangers of the new cult of chivalric honour associated with the prince.[303] Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* is commonly regarded as a study of "the soldier at war and the soldier at civil life."[304] Conversely, however, *Coriolanus* may also be read in terms of mastering emotion—questioning what kind of warlike passion was acceptable and what was not. Naturally, the play's ambivalent representation of his military values leaves the evaluation of Coriolanus to

[302] King, "'The Disciplines of War'" 28.
[303] Robin Headlam Wells, "'Manhood and Chevalrie' *Coriolanus*, Prince Henry, and the Chivalric Revival," *The Review of English Studies* 51.203 (2000): 395-422.
[304] Jorgensen "Shakespeare's Coriolanus: Elizabethan Soldier," *PMLA* 64.1 (1949): 221.

the audience. However, I would argue that, despite his inflexibility and impatience, it is the martial spirit of Coriolanus that "[makes] the best of [his story]" (*Cor*. 5.6.147) and encourages the aspirations of Prince Henry's court.

To contemporary eyes, Coriolanus was an ancient hero like Hannibal, Alexander, or Caesar from whom "Princes looke for good successe in their warres."[305] Preachers like Sutcliffe called him a "skilful captaine," who "ouercame the Volscian, when the same man exiled vpon displeasure against his Countrey, tooke on him to lead the Volscians, they diuers times prevauiled against the Romans."[306] Given that their lives were often transformed into Christian models, it was no wonder that Coriolanus, who typified courage which was "honoured in Rome above all other virtues," became an attractive figure at a time when the heroic ideal was a highly politicised topic, and contemporary audiences may well have sympathised with him. Shakespeare makes his Coriolanus the embodiment of a noble Stoic soldier, when he prays for his son:

> The god of soldiers,
> With the consent of Supreme Jove, inform
> Thy thoughts with nobleness, that thou mayst prove
> To shame unvulnerable and stick i'th' wars
> Like a great sea-mark, standing every flaw
> And saving those that eye thee! (*Cor*. 5.3.70-5)

The phrase "To shame unvulnerable" (meaning both incapable of dishonour and of being dishonoured) expresses the ideal of masculine fortitude and courage in the Stoic manner: the essential qualities of a Stoic warrior. Coriolanus standing firm in battle while others flee is the embodiment of this ideal. It is unknown whether Prince Henry took Cotton's advice to heart but he was evidently fond of what Coriolanus represented, as he "made so much of Souldiers & men of warre, that he made diverse Captained Gentlemen of his privy Chamber, and tooke great pleasure in theyr company, discoursing with them often touching military discipline."[307] Even if Coriolanus was seen as a flawed character by the end of the play, the spirit of the

[305] Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* 37.
[306] Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* 36.
[307] W. H. *The True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry* (Leiden, 1643) 31

military values he represented were transcendent.[308]

After the death of Essex, his political rivals portrayed him as a proud and unbending aristocratic warrior and compared him to Coriolanus. Four days after Essex's execution, William Barlow, Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East and later Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross drawing on Plutarch in which he described Coriolanus as "a gallant young, but a discontented Roman, who might make a fit parallel for the late Earle, if you read his life."[309] Due to contemporary awareness of the similarity between Essex and Coriolanus, a few modern critics speculate that Shakespeare had Essex in mind when he wrote the play and that the play's date of composition was possibly earlier than 1608-9 (conjecturally 1602-3).[310] Throughout the early Stuart period Essex was perceived as an exemplar of a Protestant warrior in popular imagination. As Kenneth Muir observes, a number of the early Jacobeans were interested in the political nature of military conflicts rather than Coriolanus's moral failings.[311] Thomas and Dudley Digges in *Foure Paradoxes* (1604) for example, perceived war as being sometimes beneficial for the common good, and Jean Bodin in *Six Bookes of a Commonweale* (1606) condemned the ingratitude of the plebeians who unjustly banished Coriolanus saying "How dangerous a matter it is in euerie commonwealthe to banish a great man."[312] This suggests that Shakespeare's audience may have approved the enduring potency of the aristocratic ideal in its Protestant warrior form—which embraced Plutarch's admiration for Roman warrior qualities and Stoic values—rather than condemning Coriolanus as a rebel who marched against his own country.

Shakespeare's contemporary, the writer William Fulbecke, wrote that Coriolanus was "by nature a Stoike" and the almost inhuman insensibility of Shakespeare's Coriolanus's to

[308] Coriolanus was given a grand military funeral, which might have reminded the audience of that of Philip Sidney or Hamlet. This last scene has remained one of the most resonant scenes in *Coriolanus*. See John Ripley, *Coriolanus on Stage in England and America 1609-1994* (Madison; London: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1998).
[309] William Barlow, *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse* (1601) C3^{v}.
[310] Buchanan Sharp, "Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and the Crisis of the 1590s," *Law and Authority in Early Modern England*, eds. Buchanan Sharp and Mark C. Fissel (Newark : University of Delaware Press, 2007) 55.
[311] See Kenneth Muir, "The Background of *Coriolanus*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 10 (1959) 137-45.
[312] Muir, "The Background of Coriolanus" 140. See also Thomas and Dudley Digges, *Foure paradoxes, or Politique Discourses* (1604) 104 and Jean Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, trans. Richard Knolles (1606) 431.

wounds and pain appears to be closely modelled on the stoic soldier.[313] It is significant that Julius Caesar, another of Shakespeare's Roman characters, says, "Cowards die many times before their deaths; / The valiant never taste of death but once" (*JC*. 2.2.32-3). In spite of negative descriptions of Caesar in the play, his death may have provoked sympathy for him when his mantle with marks of stabbing was displayed. Coriolanus fails as a model of an ideal soldier, because he cannot accept the implications of the fact that "honour and policy, like unsever'd friends, / I'th war do grow together" (*Cor*. 3.2.43-4). Coriolanus's failure of self-control in allowing an unbridled outburst of anger may well have been interpreted by the audience as disastrous, not only to the country but particularly to the soldiers, which would have been a negation of his courage as a warrior.

Earlier in 1578 Hubert Languet, who was concerned about Sidney's rashness, advised him to remember Cato's advice to his son to exercise caution before resorting to the sword, lamenting the impetuosity of most noblemen destined for a career at arms who were "possessed with this madness, that they long after a reputation founded on bloodshed."[314] The same advice was repeatedly expressed by contemporary preachers, who used classical examples in order to kindle a noble emotion in the spirits of their audience; and Bishop Joseph Hall, who was called "our spiritual Seneca" by Henry Wotton, wrote verses about a perfect warrior in 1607 in order to adapt Stoic ideas to Christian use:[315]

> Bold without Rashness, without Fury, Warm:
> He long Consults, but do's with speed perform.
> He seeks not Dangers: when on Him they press,
> He bears 'em down with Courage and Success.
> Arm'd Death Enthron'd on Slaughter He can spy,
> March on, and with a scornful smile pass by.
> Forecasts the worst Events, and in his Thought,
> Before one stroke Exchang'd, the Battle's fought…
> His high Spirit still o'erlooks Mischance,
> Springs not from Senselesness nor Ignorance;
> But th' utmost Pow'r of Fate computing first,
> He knows her strength, and bids her do her worst.

[313] William Fulbecke, *A Direction or Preparatiue to the Study of the Lawe* (1600) 16.
[314] Languet's letter to Sidney dated 2 May 1578 in *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, ed. S. A. Pears (London: Pickering, 1845) 147.
[315] See Audrey Chew, "Joseph Hall and Neo-Stoicism," *PMLA* 65.6 (1950): 1130.

In Purpose Cool, in Resolution Fir'd,
In Enterprizes, Daring and Untir'd;
Glorious, though not successful in Design,
And when o'ercome, His Heart does last Resign.[316]

When Chapman moved from Essex's circle to Prince Henry's, he was still exploring in theatrical work the ideal of suppressing or mastering the passions. In his reading of Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Robert Lordi compares Bussy, the "man of blood," to Clermont, the "exemplar of true nobility and honour" and "a synthesis of Achilles and Ulysses."[317] Since Chapman's attachment to Essex was transferred to Prince Henry, his effort to achieve a blend of Homeric and Stoic virtues would have been discussed in Essex's and later Prince Henry's circle. Chapman's political allegiance was manifested by his dedication of *Homer* to Essex and later Prince Henry and his poem "Of great men," clearly shows what he expected from model warriors:

When Homer made Achilles passionate,
Wrathfull, reuengefull, and insatiate
In his affections; what man will denie
He did compose all that of industrie?
To let men see, that men of most renowne,
Strong'st, noblest, fairest, if they set not downe
Decrees within them, for disposing these,
Of judgement, resolution, vprightnesse,
And virtuous knowledge of their vse and ends,
Mishaps and miserie, no lesse extends
To their destruction, with all that they prisde,
Then to the poorest, and the most despisde.[318]

If we agree with Ros King that Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, performed in 1609-10, refers to Prince Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, we can deduce that the topical significance of the play is not "the harmony of [a] peace" (*Cym*. 5.6.468) but the battle in which Belarius and his boys, aided by the disguised Posthumus, wins victory over the invading Roman.[319] The play's battle scenes may have temporarily encouraged the audiences' hopes for England's

[316] Joseph Hall, *Characters of Vertue and Vice* (1691) 4; 6.
[317] Chapman, *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. Robert J. Lordi (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1977) 20; 24.
[318] Chapman, "Of great men (1612),"*The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. P. B. Bartlett (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962) 249-50.
[319] King, *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) 42.

military preparation and intervention in continental military affairs.

In his later Jacobean plays, Shakespeare's soldier-characters provide a new perspective on how he was attempting to unify Christian, classical, and romantic concepts of the ideal warrior, rather than setting one concept against another, as he did in *Part One of Henry IV*. It is not surprising, therefore, to find military virtue being presented in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* through Palamon and Arcite in the guise of a romantic tale. Like many war stories on the English stage, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was a dramatic retelling of the battles waged by the heroes of antiquity, as popularized by Chaucer. An examination of the play and its source in the context of political and military conflicts, in seventeenth century England, allows us to situate the composition and performance of the play within the period of the wedding of Elizabeth and the Protestant Elector Palatine. Understanding the play in this context helps to establish the extent to which Shakespeare and Fletcher's depiction of chivalric soldiers presupposes audiences' enthusiasm for and anxieties over contemporary political and military conflicts.

Although chivalry was thought to have declined in Elizabethan England, Sidney's death and Essex's revolt were remembered by their contemporaries, and following generations, in terms of chivalry. By 1612, continental powers were embroiled in a bitter dynastic war over the succession of key provinces in the lower Rhine—a pre-cursor to the conflicts that would eventually be deemed the Thirty Years' War. Englishmen's concern over armed conflict—between Catholic Hapsburg rulers and the allied forces of the United Provinces and Protestant forces—escalated after the death, without heir, in 1609 of John William, Duke of Cleves and Jülich. While Shakespeare and Fletcher were writing the play, their fictional depiction of the widows of three kings killed in the war against Thebes, begging Theseus to take arms against the tyrant Creon, may have resonated with audiences as a parallel for the Cleves-Jülich crisis. The very general similarities between the war of the seven against Thebes, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the war breaking out in the Netherlands, may well have been perceived as a

commentary on English intervention in the territorial conflicts amongst neighbouring states in the Low Countries.[320]

During this period, many considered that Sidney's death "fixed his identity as a chivalric martyr" and Essex's downfall cemented his reputation as "Sweet England's Pride" and "the valiant Knight of Chivalry."[321] By locating contemporary conflicts safely in classical precedents, the playwrights could address dramatic expression of their political feelings. Peter Herman argues that Shakespeare and Fletcher demystify the ideals of chivalry, in which case one wonders why Shakespeare was still grappling with the old ideals of chivalry, in one of his last dramatic works, a few months after the death of Prince Henry.[322] A possible answer is that Shakespeare's attitude to war did not keep radically changing—from militarist to pacifist standpoints. Instead, having a more complicated spiral-shaped model, it developed chronologically and touched almost every perspective of war.

Critics have demonstrated that Seneca had a fondness for the metaphor of philosopher as soldier. Justus Lipsius owed his political and moral philosophy to Seneca and Tacitus, and their works were known to Elizabethans mainly through members of Sidney and Essex's circles.[323] A similar military language and imagery must have infiltrated the Elizabethans' imagination—as they were reflected in popular dramatic texts—and the patronage of the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle and later Prince Henry's contributed to this process.

6. Influence of military treatises and Chapman's debt to military writings

By considering possible interpretations of plays by Shakespeare in historical, social, and religious contexts, I have provided one potential answer to the question of the extent to which

[320] I find a similar observation on Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant* has been made by Pasupathi's "Playing Soldiers: Martial Subjects in Early Modern English Drama, 1590-1660," Ph.D. thesis (The University of Texas at Austin, 2005) 130.
[321] McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* 2; 27.
[322] Peter C. Herman, "'Is This Winning?': Prince Henry's Death and the Problem of Chivalry in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," *South Atlantic Review* 62.1 (1997): 1-31.
[323] See Gerard B. Lavery, "Metaphors of war and ravel in Seneca's Prose Works," *Greece and Rome* 27 (1980): 147-57; J. H. M. Salmon, "Stoicism and Roman Example: Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England," *Journal of the Historical Ideas* 50.2 (1989): 199-225; David Womersley, "Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts," *Review of English Studies* (1991): 313-42.

performances of plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries helped promote militaristic and nationalistic ideas. We need next to consider claims made by literary critics regarding military culture and its connection to the theatre because in many cases their interpretation of military writers of the time has been misleadingly applied to readings of drama.

Literary critics place considerable importance on the close reading of play texts alongside military texts to understand how early modern drama supported or resisted the militarism presented in military manuals and to examine the various ways in which the texts communicate meaning by exploiting military rhetoric. This kind of analysis is built on the assumption that play texts supported or resisted militarism, despite the fact that early military writings consistently regarded the military itself as a mirror of society. We may be misled into a false judgement of the mechanism by which early modern militarism emerged and affected its society, if we do not first consider the nature of military manuals and their relation to aristocratic patronage.

Taunton challenges Foucault's assumption that the architecture of the military camp reproduced and reclassified knowledge and power through hierarchy and regimentation. She argues that early modern military manuals—notably Raimond de Fourquevaux's *Instructions for the Warres*, translated into English in 1589—already constituted a "contextualized reapplication of Foucauldian precepts of panopticism, surveillance and constructions of knowledge in certain key areas of militarism in the 1590s," and that this specialist form of knowledge about space, discussed in military manuals, is transplanted into plays like *Caesar and Pompey* and *Henry V*.[324] Similarly, Cahill reads from Elizabethan war plays an unsettling picture of a new social order.[325] Applying Foucault's theory of the "docile body"—that is, the internalising of the mechanisms of surveillance and control exercised by the various institutions of confinement, created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably military camps—to the relation between Shakespeare's plays and military knowledge found in

[324] Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism* 21; 159-201.
[325] See Patricia A. Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) 24-70.

Fourquevaux's treatise, leads her to conclude that the emergence of the rationales and practices of modernity can be traced back to the early modern period.[326] *Instructions for the Warres* was said to be used by Marlowe in his writing of *Tamburlaine*, but it may have served to disseminate information concerning orders. Fourquevaux's book was introduced to English readers (mostly soldiers) by Paul Ive (a member of Northumberland's circle) who translated it. However, based on references in early modern military literature, such as those of Matthew Sutcliffe, Roger Williams, and James Cleland, Fourquevaux's book was much less influential than other continental works like Francis de La Noue's *The Politicke and Militarie Discourses* (1587). This was translated by Edward Aggas (a London publisher), whose translations of works on the affairs of French Protestants were mainly done by himself or with John Wolfe.[327] Moreover, although La Noue's book was said to have been a favourite of Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, the popularity of Fourquevaux's book is more difficult to determine. In this regard, Taunton's and Cahill's conclusions are tendentious.

Although not all literary critics have worked with Foucault's theory, almost all modern editors of *Henry V*, including Taylor and Gurr, give their readers the impression that Shakespeare's representation of war has something to do with military writings. Gurr, for instance, says that "more books about military tactics and the rightful conduct of war appeared in this decade than ever before or after."[328] In the application of theory to practice, however, we must consider the use of military books within the context of military culture—and the roles of the circles of Leicester-Sidney-Essex and Prince Henry—because a variety of books on military subjects, such as classical texts and military science, were circulated beyond the circles by the social networks of the great aristocrats, rather than by a military apparatus. It was not until 1623 that the English government's first printed military manual appeared. It is, then, hardly surprising that as diverse military theory including classical and modern practices attracted controversy in the military sphere, war in drama also attracted

[326] Cahill, *Unto the Breach* 31.
[327] I will return to this issue later in Chapter 4.
[328] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 1995) 2.

controversy on the public stage. In the following reading of Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*, we will examine how the theatre was conceived as a channel to project the characteristic ideals of the military circles, as powerful a channel of influence as the military manuals themselves.

Chapman is a good subject for this investigation, because of his own war experience in the Low Countries and also because his literary career, which spanned approximately the same years as that of Shakespeare, attests to his desire to associate himself with members of the military elite. Chapman is also interesting as one of the many potential sources for Shakespeare's play about Agincourt. Considering the verbal parallel between Agamemnon who goes the rounds amongst his army with "troubled heart" and Henry who [walks] from watch to watch" on the "weary and all-watchèd night," Taylor speculates that Shakespeare read Chapman's *Iliades* (1598) before or while composing *Henry V*. Such speculation seems plausible when we recall that soon after the English camp scene, we witness the conversation between Captain Fluellen and Gower on the subject of Alexander the Great. From Plutarch, Shakespeare knew that Alexander kept a copy of Homer under his pillow during his military campaigns. From George Whetstone, he also knew that Alexander mingled with common soldiers, "usually cal'de[d] the meanest Souldiers, Companions, fellowes and always greeted them by such like familiar salutations."[329] If we accept Taylor's speculation, it is not the English chronicle but Chapman's translation of Homer that gave Shakespeare "action" and "language" to "fill the dramatic interval between nightfall and sunrise."[330] Chapman's translation of Homer merely served Shakespeare as one of his literary sources, whereas his use of military literature for playwriting underscores that, for him, theatre was another art form for epitomising military ideals and transmitting them to commoners in a form of popular entertainment. *Henry V* and *Caesar and Pompey* (based on stories of the battles of Agincourt and Pharsalus) are both concerned with how a small army defeated a large one, rather than

[329] George Whetstone, *The Honourable Reputation of A Souldier* (1585) B1^{r}.
[330] Taylor, ed. Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry the Fifth* 53.

how to construct camps. Chapman differs from Shakespeare, however, in his use of his source. The highlight of Shakespeare's battle of Agincourt is Henry's rousing speech which was created by the dramatist and is not recorded in the chronicles. In contrast, Chapman adhered faithfully to how the battle itself was fought, making use of Plutarch or Lucan to invent Caesar's speech before the battle instead of having recourse to poetic language. Chapman's play begins by making the point that Pompey could have won the war had he pursued Caesar when he had the advantage but instead he allowed Caesar time to recover and defeat him. Caesar's triumph is tainted by Cato's suicide, which Caesar arrived too late to prevent and he could only decide to erect a tomb in his honour. When we read this play of "martial history" from the military perspective, however, we soon find out where Chapman's real interest lies.

Like *Henry V*, the description of the battle begins in Act 4 and Pompey's camp is subject to "panic terrors." His admiral's narration has parallels in King Henry's resolution before the battle:

> I cannot, sir, abide men's open mouths,
> Nor will be ill spoken of; nor have my counsels
> And circumspections turn'd on me for fears
> With mocks and scandals that would make a man
> Of lead a lightning in the desperat'st onset
> That ever trampled under death his life. (4.1.45-50)[331]

The actual battle seems to be presented as a limited affair: "*Alarm, excursions of all: the five* Kings *driven over the stage,* Crassinius [Caesar's officer] *chiefly pursuing. At the door enter again the five* Kings*. The battle continued within*."[332] And two main actors fight a single combat: "*enter* Crassinius, *a sword as thrust through his face; he falls. To him* Pompey *and* Caesar *fighting:* Pompey *gives way, Caesar follows*."[333] It is important to remember that although a good knowledge of large-scale formations and manoeuvres, illustrated in the military treatises, was largely left to the imagination of the readers, a well-trained small body of soldiers on the stage could represent the effectiveness of the whole army. This also applies

[331] George Chapman, "Caesar and Pompey," *The Plays of George Chapman*, ed. Thomas M. Parrott, vol. 2 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961) 377. All quotations from Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* refer to this edition.
[332] Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey* 377.
[333] Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey* 378.

to *Caesar and Pompey*, when Pompey orders Brutus to lead "six thousand of [his] young Patricians" to "environ Caesar" (4.1.61; 62), or when Caesar boasts that he killed "twice fifteen hundred thousand" soldiers (1.2.110). Rather than concentrating on numbers which were difficult to grasp, the audience would have been fascinated by the battle scene which followed where Crassinius, one of Pompey's captains, enters the stage with "*a sword as thrust through his face*" chased by Caesar's soldiers, and Caesar and Pompey confront each other in a duel. Audiences could appreciate a small battle on stage because of their familiarity with military drills and exercises from their own experience at the muster of the trained bands of London. It is unlikely that any of the audience possessed, if I may use a truly modern term, an operational art.[334]

Even more striking than his construction of this battle scene on stage is the hint that Chapman might have read his source material, such as Plutarch and Lucan, as military history. In order to understand how the play differs from other plays about war in classical antiquity, we need to consider such parallels in conjunction with Pompey's battle command which precisely describes the battle formation and tactics his army adopted:

> Away, to battle! Good my Lord, lead you
> The whole six thousand of our young Patricians,
> Plac'd in the left wing to environ Caesar.
> My father Scipio shall lead the battle;
> Domitius the left wing; I the right
> Against Mark Antony. (4.1.60-5)

Against Pompey's army, Caesar deploys his forces "in three full squadrons" (3.2.102) and he specifies:

> …let me pray
> Yourself would take on you [Mark Antony] the left wing's charge;
> Myself will lead the right wing, and my place
> Of fight elect in my tenth legion;
> My battle by Domitus Calvinus
> Shall take direction. (3.2.102-7)

These lines are derived accurately from the description of the battle in Plutarch and Lucan.

[334] Operational art is one of three components of the military art which falls somewhere between strategy and tactics. The term used in this chapter generally refers to the practice of generals for achieving operational success.

Caesar's choice of his favourite tenth legion as a tactical unit, his placing of his cavalry with him, and his special selection of a fourth battle line from the main battle lines, are all decisive points in the battle. This kind of sharp observation is certainly derived from the way contemporary military men read classical history for its military strategy. Such accuracy is not observed by Shakespeare, when he presents the battles of Actium in *Antony and Cleopatra* and Philippi in *Julius Caesar*.

Chapman's debt to military history is also reflected in the unusual stage device at the end of the battle. Caesar attributes the honour of the victory to Crassinius's death and praises his "matchless valour" by composing an epitaph for him: "*Crassinius fought for fame and died for Rome, Whose public weal springs from this private tomb*."[335] Sir Charles Edmonds in his *Observations* (1600) made the same point:

> in regard that the great victorie, which [Caesar's] valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundreth men. The resolution of such as returned to the campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant leader had had the managing thereof…there had beene great hope of better fortune in the successe.[336]

There are also other elements which formulate, in Taunton's terms, "the varying (and often contradictory) conditions of leadership."[337] Edmonds observes that a commander, "hauing place and authoritie in the councel, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the leaders."[338] He continues, "his timerousnesse flieth always to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, and base in case of peril," which are "enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischieuing fortune."[339]

Plays on Caesar and Pompey were common and representations of the character of the historical figures were ambiguous. Neither Caesar nor Pompey on stage can be regarded as a clear-cut model for imitation. The same is true for Chapman's work. In his play, he demonstrates his understanding of military tactics, notably that of attrition, when Pompey,

[335] Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey* 378.
[336] Sir Charles Edmonds, *Observations, Upon the Five Bookes of Caesars Commentaries* (1600) 191.
[337] Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism* 90.
[338] Edmonds, *Observations* 191.
[339] Edmonds, *Observations* 191.

following Cato's advice, forces Caesar's army to stay "in motion, and remotion, here and there" (2.4.29) to spend "much in those steel toils" (2.4.34) and prevents him following up his success. Pompey is pushed to fight against Caesar by Brutus who doubts Caesar's offer of peace as "a sleight / Of some hid stratagem" (3.1.97-8) and he is again urged to fight at Pharsalus against his instinct, which tells him "the gods [are] deterring / [his] judgement from enforcing fight" (4.1.10-1). Chapman's Caesar is also described by Pompey as an ambitious man who "has a spirit too great / For all his body's passage to serve it" (1.2.247-8) and Cato declares that although Caesar is victorious, his "Tongue, shew, falsehood" which results in vainglory "when death / Is tenfold due to his most tyrannous selfe" (4.5.39; 34-5). Nevertheless, as we read the play, we sense that Chapman sought to downplay Caesar's image as a tyrant by emphasising his military achievement.

It may be relevant to note that in the early seventeenth century Ben Jonson reproached his contemporaries—"How few have read [Caesar's book]! How fewer understood!"—and celebrated Edmonds's book on Caesar's *Commentaries* because it restored not only Caesar's "every counsell, stratagem, design, / Action, or engine," but also "His life" so that "he can dye no more."[340] Jonson in his verse epistle to Henry Savile, with reference to Savile's translation of Tacitus, declared that "Although to write be lesser then to doo, / It is the next deed, and a great one too."[341] He also praised Chapman's translation of Homer, saying "Who hadst before wrought in rich Homers Mine? / What treasure hast thou brought us!"[342] Considering its subject and its suggested date of composition around 1600, it is reasonable to suggest that Chapman's play might have reflected the current tradition of using history or literature for understanding the theoretical and practical aspects of war, as practised by members of the military circles.

Chapman's motivation for writing the play was not to give practical lessons of war to his

[340] Ben Jonson, "To Clemet Edmonds. On His Caesars Commentaries Observed, and Translated," *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. W. B. Hunter (New York: New York UP, 1963) 54.
[341] Jonson, "To Sir Henry Savile," *The Complete Poetry* 43.
[342] Jonson, "To My Worthy and Honourable Friend, Master George Chapman," *The Complete Poetry* 369.

readers/audiences. However, there is reason to suppose that he wrote it as a dramatic form of martial history. We do not know exactly when his play was written and why it was left unpublished and unperformed until the reign of Charles I. Rolf Soellner suggests that Chapman wrote it sometime before 1605 for Prince Henry "because the Prince was from various sides [including his father] urged to study Caesar's military accomplishments and even encouraged to think of himself as a future Caesar."[343] In support of this suggestion, Soellner follows Frederick Fleay and E. E. Stoll's arguments that the character of Bellamont in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho* (1605/6) is a parody of Chapman.[344] If we accept Soellner's speculation, my assumption that Chapman's play imparts military lessons can be supported. If we accept the later date of composition at around 1612, preferred by Thomas Parrott, the first modern editor of Chapman's plays, Chapman's intention of writing can be understood as a purposeful use of history, intended to express his personal political philosophy, because the play explicitly manifests Cato's Stoic political doctrine that civil war was worse than tyrannical government. The later date was accepted by Parrott, who sees in the drama the climax of Chapman's growth towards Stoicism.[345] Whatever the case, the play confirms Chapman's commitment to both the Elizabethan and Stuart military circles' code, as it illustrates the eclectic way in which the members of the military circles read classical history for military and political purposes and also their patronage of the theatre in pursuit of their political agenda.

There is, however, a difficulty in interpreting Chapman's dedication of the 1631 quarto to the Earl of Middlesex, who earlier opposed the war against Spain, and, having incurred the hostility of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham, was tried in 1624 on the charge of corruption in office. Parrott and Soellner agree that Chapman might have appealed to the Earl because he "entertained his friends bountifully, neighbours hospitably, poor charitably,

[343] Rolf Soellner, "Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* and the Fortunes of Prince Henry," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 2 (1985): 135-51; 137.
[344] Soellner, "Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* and the Fortunes of Prince Henry" 136.
[345] Parrott, ed. *The Plays of George Chapman* 2: 655.

after his retirement to his country house in Essex."[346] Since the play insists on justice in political action, Chapman probably hoped that his advice that "Amends fits euer / Aboue repentance, what's done, wish not vndone; / But prepared patience…with hardest fortunes" would appeal to Middlesex.[347] If the 1631 quarto was revised to emphasise such an intention, the change may have affected Cato's part as his last words "just men are only free, the rest are slaues" (5.2.177) was quoted on the title page, to attract the attention of its readers. Despite unsettled issues regarding the dating of the play and its relation to the potential patron, the factors which remain unchanged are the playwright's habit of using history for practical examples (a characteristic established in military circles) and his motive of pleasing his patron with drama.

7. Conclusion

The wars which developed during late Elizabethan and early Stuart England were apparent in the forms of discourses as well as in the reality of the battlefield. Military training and the impressment of soldiers actualised the reality, and the flowering of military books emanated from the impact of war. Contemporary plays outlined the general atmosphere of the period with audio-visual representations of war on stage. Importantly, these also engaged in a dissemination of military imagery and language to the population through their close association with other genres like military books and sermons.

Military imagery, and specifically military language taken from the Bible, was a common feature in sermons, and the stories of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, and David were endlessly repeated by a large number of contemporary military writers—in the same way as Achilles, Alexander, and Caesar were recycled and revitalised. It is not difficult to imagine that audiences that heard passages from Scripture in sermons on Sundays, also heard the very same phrases in their visits to the public theatre. It was there that the militaristic voice of the

[346] Parrott, ed. *The Plays of George Chapman* 2: 663.
[347] Soellner, "Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* and the Fortunes of Prince Henry" 139.

pulpit—Stoic and Christian—was reinforced. A contemporary preacher recommended courage in very military terms: "If an honourable death were set before a virtuous minde, it would choose rather to die heroically, then live opprobriously."[348] Similarly a Roman general in Shakespeare's play appeals to his fellow soldiers, saying "If any think brave death outweighs bad life, / And that his country's dearer than himself, / Let him alone, or so many so minded" (*Cor*. 1.7.71-73). The Roman's mother in the same play says, "I had rather had eleven [sons] die nobly for their country / Than one voluptuously surfeit out of action" (*Cor*. 1.3. 24-5). As military metaphors permeated not only dramatic narrative but also popular sermons, it can be concluded that Protestant militarism was part of mainstream religious attitudes, even though government foreign policy stressed peace.

It is natural for playwrights to rely on conflicts for their plots or to use military imagery and language in dramatic speeches in wartime. In their dramatisation of military subjects, Shakespeare and his contemporary playwrights might have resisted the imperative of contemporary military books and public sermons which describe "the ideological [and theological] practice of warfare in terms of its justification, ethics and purpose."[349] The ambiguous or anti-war voices heard in theatrical works, however, do not necessarily mean that one genre was opposed to another, because statements of militarism in books and sermons were not always unequivocal. Nevertheless, different ideas were reduced to guiding principles for tactics, war-fighting, military history and ethics, and were put into practice in military circles. Hence, Stoic virtues, such as prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude were appropriated by both playwrights and preachers in the context of militant Protestantism.

The driving force behind this process (which prompted two different ethical doctrines to be accommodated) was generated by military members of late Elizabethan and early Stuart circles. The primary purpose of writing drama was not to elevate soldiering to the high level of other recognised professions in the eyes of English aristocrats and patronage of the theatre

[348] Robert Gray, *Good speed to Virginia* (1609) B4^{r}.
[349] Barker, *War and Nation* 38.

did not necessarily work to facilitate the acquisition of the cultural prestige sought by the great aristocrats—in the same way as patronage of soldiers, artists, poets, and musicians. Representations of military ideas initially practised and prescribed by the militaria on early modern English stages, serve not only to underscore the way military ideas fed a lively public appetite for plays about war, but also the way that drama could be a useful propaganda device.

Chapter 4
Cheap print

1. Introduction

Print culture in England in the early part of the sixteenth century was dominated by the publication of religious texts. In 1588, however, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, England saw a proliferation of both religious and secular print prompted by that event. Until recently, this explosion of contemporary war-oriented ballads and news pamphlets has been largely overlooked. Alongside the increasing interest in contemporary military manuals, late Elizabethan and early Stuart ballads, or pamphlets on warfare, especially those on warfare in France and the Low Countries, are beginning to attract the attention of literary critics, although they are generally treated as materials to highlight either the heroic actions of English soldiers or the horrors of war. In this chapter, I will argue that if topical war ballads and news pamphlets are investigated in the context of a developing military culture, they can be seen not only as voicing a genuine war experience of early modern Englishmen and women but also as a vehicle for moulding public opinion. Political and military ideas were disseminated to a diverse and complex social audience through these cheap printed materials.

We have seen that theatre played a significant role in the development of popular consciousness regarding political and military issues so that people became more susceptible to emotional pressures, fears, and anxieties. In order to explore this implication further in the discussion of political and military discourses in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England, it will be helpful to survey contemporary ballads and pamphlets on the Armada as they were intended to transmit political and religious propaganda as well as exhortatory uplift as essential corollary opinion.[1] A substantial part of the rest of the chapter will concern the extent to which public discourse, which animated a national audience, grew within cheap print. By so doing, I will propose that the growing collective awareness of political and military

[1] Natasha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 147.

matters contributed to the development of the public sphere and that behind this process were close dealings between members of the aristocratic circle and certain printers and publishers, notably John Wolfe in the 1580s and 1590s and Nathaniel Butter in the 1620s.

2. Armada Ballads

The Spanish Armada furnished ballad writers and pamphleteers with topical material of a particularly dramatic nature. Robert Greene, whose works have been called, in G. B. Harrison's words, "a barometer of public taste" during the later 1580s and early 1590s, ventured into writing war propaganda with *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589).[2] This work was devised to influence public opinion, as Greene himself admitted, by saying to its audience "let vs note and reioice, how our nobles of England, and worthy Knightes behaued themselues, how God insert[ed] courage in their mindes, fought for vs, and the trueth, and how [He] strik a terrour and cowardize into the Lordes of Spaine."[3] J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in his essay *Shakespeare and the Armada* claimed that Shakespeare must also have written some poems or ballads on the Spanish Armada.[4] Henry Chettle's *Englandes Mourning Garment* (1603), lamenting the death of Elizabeth, contained a set of verses reproaching the major writers of the age for their silence on the occasion, with Shakespeare referred to as "smooth tongued Melicert," Chapman as "Coryne," and Jonson as "Horace."[5] He speculated that if Chapman, Jonson, and others wrote promoting the English war effort, Shakespeare must have done the same.[6] In support of this kind of speculation, Miguel de Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, a work which itself reflects the emptiness and futility of chivalric life, collected taxes and

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[2] G. B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1591-4," *The Library* 8 (1927): 295. For the relation between Greene and the Spanish Armada, see Anthony Esler, "Robert Greene and The Spanish Armada," *ELH* 32.3 (1965): 314-32.

[3] Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589) D2^{r}.

[4] See J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Shakespeare and the Armada: A discovery that Shakespeare wrote one or more ballads or poems on the Spanish Armada* (1866).

[5] Henry Chettle, *Englandes Mourning Garment* (1603) D2^{v}-D3^{r}.

[6] Although there were no specific Armada-oriented poems, Chapman, paralleling Achilles with the Elizabethan military hero Essex in 1589, and Jonson, writing a poem called "An Epistle to A Friend, To Perswade Him to the Warres" in 1620 (?), contributed to moulding patriotic sentiments. See George Chapman, *Seven Books of Iliades* (1598) and Ben Jonson, *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. W. B. Hunter (New York: New York UP, 1963) 147.

raised money for the Spanish Armada, and, more importantly, wrote a poem which expected the victory of the Armada and urged Philip II of Spain to renew the attack on England.[7] It is then reasonable to consider, following Halliwell-Phillipps, how English writers reacted to the immediate reality of war and, relying largely upon his conjecture, some literary critics have further tried to identify who the "warlike Poet Philesides and good Meloebee" in Chettle's work were.[8] While Richard Simpson suggested that the two pastoral names referred to a joint work of Shakespeare and Marston (Melibee), assisted by Barnaby Rich or George Gascoigne (Philesides) in a play called *A Larum for London*, C. E. Browne proposed that Philesides was Sidney and Melibee was Walsingham.[9] Since there are undoubtedly some references to the Spanish Armada in Shakespeare's plays—such as Dromio of Syracuse's "whole armadas of carracks" in *The Comedy of Errors* (3.2.140), the braggart Spaniard Don Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost* of 1588, and "[the] proud armada of King Edward's ship" in *Edward III* (Scene 4. 64), the imaginative descriptions of an invading navy and a sea-fight with its anachronistic use of artillery, together with the half-moon formation of the French army—the question arises as to whether there was anything more than topical opportunism in Shakespeare's reference to the Armada of 1588. Without firm evidence, this remains a matter of speculation.

At the end of his essay, Halliwell-Phillipps added twenty-seven titles of ballads, which directly, or indirectly, dealt with military preparations or celebrated England's achievement against the Spaniards and these may be of greater significance than a possible allusion to Shakespeare in Chettle's work. According to John McAleer, the twenty-seven Armada ballads listed in the Stationers' Registers between 29 June and 27 November 1588 amount to 40 per cent of the sixty-seven ballads entered in the Registers during the same period.[10] Such a statistic is significant because it provides clear evidence of the popularity of Armada ballads.

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[7] See Richard L. Predmore, *Cervantes* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973) 133-4.
[8] Chettle, *Englandes Mourning Garment* (1603) D2^{v}.
[9] Richard Simpson, ed. *A Larum for London* (1872) 2-3; C. E. Browne, "On Shakespeare's Pastoral Name," *Notes and Queries* (1873): 510.
[10] John J. McAleer, "Ballads on the Spanish Armada," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 4.4 (1962): 602.

G. K. Hunter, however, points out that as "Most Elizabethan ballads have not survived," our statistical study "is obligated to rely on the entries in the Stationers' Registers."[11] Similarly, W. W. Greg asserts that the Stationers' Register is "67.5 per cent accurate" whereas Adam Fox calculates that "only 65 per cent of the sixteenth-century ballads which have come down to us appear in the Stationers' Registers."[12] Despite this partial coverage, the Spanish Armada was almost certainly responsible for a sudden rise of interest in the villainy of the Spaniards and encouragement of Englishmen to fight against a foe reputed to have loaded a ship with strange whips and instruments of torture.

Tessa Watt demonstrates that the years between 1569 and 1570 saw a steep increase in the numbers of ballads recorded in the Stationers' Registers, because of the reaction to two big events: the Catholic uprising in the north and the execution of John Felton, who posted the papal bull of excommunication against the Queen.[13] Unsurprisingly we note the higher peak in the mid-1580s, when the assassination of the Prince of Orange, shortly before Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth, the siege of Antwerp and Babington's conspiracy, served to inflame the English public against the Catholics. Most of the registered ballads, however, a total of 237 by Watt's calculation, had already been printed long before 1586-7. They must have been (re)entered after the introduction of a more rigid control of the licensing procedure.[14] Therefore, following the decrease in numbers of registered ballads after 1587, a surge in the registration of new ballads on the topical themes of the Spanish Armada in 1588-9 implies a combination of patriotism and propaganda. The importance of this kind of cheap print should be taken into account as an element in the development of a military culture. The connection between the marketing of Armada ballads and news pamphlets, which coincided with a wide acceptance of militarism amongst late Elizabethans, may indicate the influence of

[11] G. K. Hunter, "Sources and Meanings in Titus Andronicus," *Mirror up to Shakespeare*, ed. J. C. Gray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) 173.
[12] W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) 7; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 3.
[13] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 44.
[14] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* 45. See also Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 66-76.

certain members of the aristocratic circle who made an effort to promote military values to a wider audience.

Since printings and sales of ballads were undertaken by most printers and booksellers, the fact that about 40 per cent of extant Armada ballads were printed by one printer, John Wolfe, suggests that he was a key figure in arousing patriotic feelings. Of course, there is difficulty in distinguishing ballads from other printed works because the clerks of the Stationers' Company were erratic in labelling their entries. Despite this, when we identify ballads printed by Wolfe, out of the sum total of all copies entitled 'ballads' entered in 1588, we find that out of forty ballads he had printed twenty.[15] Of these, fifteen ballads dealt with the Spanish Armada and of those, thirteen were printed by Wolfe and two by Thomas Orwin. According to Clifford Huffman, Wolfe produced surreptitious prints and was alleged to use "Machevillian devices" to achieve his financial aims.[16] Indeed, Wolfe is notable for his conflict with the Stationers' Company due to his overthrow of the system of privileged printing. (Ironically, in later years Wolfe took the position of beadle in the Stationers' Company—the beadle being the company official who defended privileges and hunted down those who encroached upon them.)[17] Given the attacks of Wolfe's contemporaries on his personality—"alias Machivill"—it is likely that Wolfe's Armada ballad-making was prompted partially by profit.[18] There may have been another reason for Wolfe's interest in Armada ballads as he was known to have engaged in propaganda activities with Lord Burghley. Conyers Read revealed that Burghley was heavily involved in utilising the printing press to disseminate propaganda for foreign policy purposes, which suggests that Wolfe played an important role as a link between translators, government officials, and spies.[19]

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[15] See *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers 1554-1640*, ed. E. Arber, vol. 2 (London, 1875-94) 482-512.

[16] Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impression: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988) 3.

[17] R. B. Mckerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1910) 297.

[18] Martin Marprelate, *Oh Read over D. John Bridges, for it is a Worthy Worke* (1588) D1^{r}.

[19] For Burghley's acquaintance with Wolfe, see Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973) 24-33. See also Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil*

With Wolfe's help, Burghley and Walsingham had political propaganda pamphlets published with false imprints in foreign languages, in an attempt to mislead the Spanish enemy as it prepared for war.[20] At the beginning of July 1588, an anonymous pamphlet printed by Wolfe claimed to counter Dr. Allen's "cun*n*ing order, methode, & meanes" and to defeat his "seditious persuasio*n*s."[21] It was even recommended to deputies, justices of the peace, mayors, and officers of corporate towns by the Privy Council, who stipulated "we find this treatise very convenient for the use of the Common subject, who is easiest to be abused by the cunning and lewd allurement of the adversary, and most necessary for the present time and occasions."[22] The pamphlet ends by noting:

> [I]f wee defend our country, we shall remaine free and safe; if wee ouerthrow our Enemies, we shall abide victorious; if we die in this quarrel, we shall live eternally. To which assurance of freedom, safety, victorie, & life, what comfort can be comparable?[23]

This pamphlet was clearly intended to convince the English reading public of the malicious activities of the Spanish, and to prepare for England's defence against Spain as the threat of the Armada drew closer. Since Wolfe was its printer, it seems likely that Burghley and Walsingham were behind it.[24] In fact, while *A Briefe Discouerie* was in the press, Wolfe entered in the Stationers' Registers *A Ballad of Encouragement to English Soldiers Valiantly to Behave Themselves in Defence of the True Religion and Their Country* (9 July, 1588). Furthermore, ballads entitled *A Joyfull Sonnet of the Rediness of the Shires and Nobilitie of England to do her Majesties Service* (3 August, 1588), *A Ballad of the Obtayning of the Galeazzo Wherein Don Pedro Devalez Was Chief* (10 August, 1588), *A Joyfull Songe of the*

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and Queen Elizabeth, vol. 2 (London: Cape, 1955) 426-7.

[20] Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing* 8-9; 26. The government had long ago realised the value of the printing press in spreading news and information, especially as a tool of disseminating propaganda. For example, when Henry VIII needed to convince a reluctant Pope Clement VII to grant an annulment of his marriage, he sought and ordered learned treatises to be published that explained and justified his actions. Pamphlets after pamphlet rolled off the presses stating his case. Chris R. Kyle and Jason Peacey, *Breaking News: Renaissance Journalism and the Birth of the Newspaper* (Wasington D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2008) 12.

[21] *A Briefe Discouerie of Doctor Allens Seditious Drifts* (1588) A2^{v}.

[22] Quoted in Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the year of the Armada* (Stroud: Sutton, 1994) 86.

[23] *A Briefe Discouerie of Doctor Allens Seditious Drifts* (1588) R4^{v}.

[24] For the ties formed by Wolfe with Burghley and Walsingham in disseminating propaganda for foreign policy purposes, see Lisa Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce*: *French anti-league Propaganda in late Elizabethan England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996) 32-3.

Roiall Receavinge of the Qnenes Majestie in Her Campe at Tilbery (10 August, 1588), *The English Preparation of the Spaniardes Navigation* (18 August 1588), *An Excellent Songe of the Breaking of the Campe* (23 August, 1588), and *A Proper New Ballad Briefly Shewing the Honourable Companies of Horsemen and Footmen* (28 August, 1588) were all subsequently printed by Wolfe.[25] The result of this survey suggests that a high portion of these publications concerned successful military actions and calls for further precautions and appealed to the appetite for news of war. Given their overwhelmingly patriotic and optimistic tone, they would have been covert propaganda. In line with his efforts regarding the publication of the patriotic ballads, Wolfe did his best to impress his patrons. However, given his eagerness to capitalise on commercial opportunities, and recognising a ready market for such publications, he had a real opportunity to make a serious profit while contributing significantly to moulding patriotic public opinion.

Before discussing this issue further, it will be helpful to define the phrase, "public opinion." In broad terms, it refers to "judgement or belief on the part of a number, or majority" (*OED* 1.1.b). However, we must be cautious in using the phrase in the context of the Habermasian public sphere as the *OED*'s first instance of "public opinion" dated from 1735 (*OED* 1.3.a) and Jürgen Habermas does not recognise a public sphere—especially the literary public sphere—in England prior to the 1660s. I am not arguing that Habermas's phenomenon of a bourgeois public sphere was already functioning in late sixteenth-century England, nevertheless there is evidence that certain aspects of the public sphere emerged during this period.[26] Oliver Arnold points out, that although "public opinion" was absent from the Elizabethan and Jacobean vocabulary, the concept of "vulgar opinion" (*OED* 1.6.c) as the opinion of the common people already existed.[27] I employ the phrase "public opinion" here in the wider political context referring to the common opinion of the people including the

[25] C. H. Firth, "The Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1909): 102.
[26] I will return to this issue later in this chapter.
[27] Oliver Arnold, *The Third Citizen: Shakespeare's Theatre and the Early Modern House of Commons* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007) 224.

uneducated and ignorant.

This can be especially important when we consider ballads and pamphlets, and their relation to the public because, as Daniel Woolf argues, ballads were, to a large extent, written for those who "simply picked up such tales by ear and retold or sang them."[28] Indeed, cheap print was always associated with the vulgar sort—in the words of Adam Fox—who "were credulous and gullible in all that they heard, ever liable to misunderstand the truth of things, prone to distort them, hasty to judge and quick to criticize their betters."[29] Therefore, from an authoritarian standpoint, it is hardly surprising that when the Civil War Parliament later closed the theatres, it also criminalised the distribution of street ballads. Such cheap print, devised, said George Puttenham, as "a prety fashioned poeme short and sweete…in which euery mery conceited man might without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his frend sport, and anger his foe, and giue a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit in few verses," became "everyday characters" put "vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantel of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate."[30]

As the cheap print trade expanded and the street-ballads proliferated amongst the vulgar people, Natasha Würzbach asserts that ballads had become a self-consciously proletarian medium.[31] Huffman suggests that they "helped to popularise and confirm the highly charged partisan political atmosphere of the 1580s and early 1590s in Elizabethan England."[32] Therefore, if ballads were wielded by the government for any political purpose, they might effectively suppress the critical faculty and excite people into collective passion. This process characterises what we call propaganda.[33]

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[28] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) 325.

[29] Adam Fox, "Rumor, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," *The Historical Journal* 40.3 (1997): 599.

[30] George Puttenham, "The Arte of English Poesie (1589)," *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, vol. 2 (London: Oxford UP, 1937) 56.

[31] See Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* 13-27.

[32] Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions* 69.

[33] Jaques Ellul describes that propaganda is one of the techniques associated with capitalism and a corollary to

As broadside ballads were the cheapest and most accessible form of print and composed to inform or entertain the great mass of the population, especially those who could not read or write, one imagines that patriotic feelings would be easily stirred when the ballad of *the Obtayning of the Galeazzo* (1588)—which C. H. Firth called "the best ballad on the defeat of the Spanish Armada"—was sung by a ballad seller in the market or by a boy in the street:

> you deare bretheren,
> which beareth Armes this day:
> For safegarde of your natiue soile,
> marke well what I shall say.
> Regarde your dueties,
> thinke on your countries good:
> And feare not in defense thereof,
> to spend your dearest bloud.
> Our gracious Queene
> doth greete you euery one:
> And saith she will among you be,
> in euery bitter storme.
> Desiring you,
> true English harts to beare:
> To God, and her, and to the land
> wherein you nursed were.[34]

Since, as Woolf acknowledges, ballads appealed "to commonplace emotions such as grief, fear, joy, and sexual interest," the following lines may well have been deliberately designed to whip up fear and indignation that would linger in people's imagination:[35]

> They [the Spaniards] do intend, by deadly war,
> To make both poor and bare,
> Our towns and cities, to rack and sack likewise,
> To kill and murder man and wife as malice doth arise;
> And to deflour our virgins in our sight.
> And in the cradle cruelly the tender babe to smite.[36]

This kind of inflammatory language would have suppressed any pro-Catholic sympathies and

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the introduction of mass media. The effect of propaganda is to suppress the critical faculty and subject people to collective passion. While the account of the growth of capitalism upon which Ellul's account is based, is much disputed, the association with the emergence of this technique and the growth of mass media, and the invasion of politics by the media may be useful to my argument. See Jaques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965).

[34] Thomas Deloney, "A Joyful New Ballad, Declaring the Happie Obtaining of the Great Galleazo, Wherein Don Pietro de Valdez was the Chief," *The Works of Thomas Deloney*, ed. Francis Oscar Mann (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) 471-2. For reading of Deloney's ballads in the military context, see Firth, ed. *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1908) xix.

[35] Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past* 325.

[36] Deloney, *Works* 471.

provoked people to take the offensive against Catholic Spain, when it targeted the so-called "vulgar" people. The ideas of gendered violence and dehumanizing an enemy, especially in the context of war, were so common that violation against women and children became central to the propagandistic narrative. This rhetoric could be wielded as a propagandistic tool to draw popular favour. A contemporary patriotic ballad, for example, commemorated the late Earl's enthusiastic gesture of honour when he announced that women and children must be spared when Cadiz was taken: "[Essex] did commaund them all straytlye / to haue a care of infants' liues, / That non should ravishe mayde nor wife, / which was against their order right."[37] *The Winning of Cales*, preserved in Deloney's *Garland of Good Will*, also celebrates the taking of Cadiz by Essex and his generous protection of the women and children, which is told from a first-person perspective as if the narrator becomes a character: "Courage my soldiers all, / Fight and be valiant, / and spoyl you shall haue, / And well rewarded all, / from the great to small: / But look that Women and Children you saue, / Dub, a dub, &c."[38]

As we will see below, the use of first-person narration and the accompanying address to specific groups (maidens, bachelors, and countrymen) was a valuable way of creating within the text a familiar relationship between the singer and the audience, as well as guaranteeing the authenticity of a story.[39] Given that Thomas Deloney's popular success as the most prominent balladeer of the city is based on the fact that he repeatedly addressed the emotions and troubles of his class, it is reasonable to surmise that his Armada ballads succeeded because they reflected common people's thoughts of the Armada experience and captured the emotion of the moment.[40] The way in which Deloney successfully appealed to his middle-class audience/readership in the contemporary news pamphlets will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

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[37] Andrew Clark, ed. "A Lamentable New Ballad upon the Earl of Essex Death," *The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907) 326.
[38] Deloney, *Works* 369.
[39] As David Randall notes with references to military news pamphlets, the first-person narration was also used to guarantee authenticity as a reliable news-transmitter. See David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008) 103-9.
[40] Roger A. Ladd, "Thomas Deloney and the London Weavers' Company," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32.4 (2001): 982.

Two of Deloney's extant ballads were printed by Wolfe, and the other two were printed by Thomas Orwin.[41] It is impossible to demonstrate whether printers like Wolfe and Orwin had a special interest in evoking their readers' patriotic feelings. Since they both occasionally suffered imprisonment for their false print or seditious books, however, they may have been allowed to return to work by the authorities on condition that they printed patriotic pieces of propaganda. It is also impossible to say whether the survival of Deloney's ballads was because they were more popular than other Armada ballads which have been lost. This may be the case, because Deloney's ballads were printed in great numbers by Wolfe, one of a few printers in London whose business enjoyed financial success, or it may be simply, as McAleer believes, that they were stored together in some lucky place where they escaped destruction.[42] Gary Taylor recently pointed out that "no shop can contain all books, not only because shelf space is limited, but because investment capital is limited. So every bookseller had to decide which books, if any, he should publish himself, by paying for their wholesale manufacture."[43] If his reasoning is correct, it can be argued that when the threat of the Armada loomed ever larger, patriotic and anti-Spanish ballads and pamphlets written by Deloney and printed by Wolfe—described by Joseph Loewestein as "one of his culture's greatest sneaks…who worms his way into favour, toward prosperity and influence"—were purchased by many booksellers and ballad singers.[44] They, more than any other printed material, would then have been carried throughout the city and the country, to be sung at fairs and markets or at street corners and alehouses.

Bruce Smith demonstrates that some contemporary ballads certainly functioned as political propaganda.[45] In his model, the sixteenth-century term 'to ballad' means to give an

[41] Wolfe, for example, registered his copy of *The Garland of Good Will* under the hand of Edward White in 1593, as he had previously registered two of Deloney's Armada ballads. Deloney, *Works* 562.
[42] McAleer, "Ballads on the Spanish Armada" 603.
[43] Gary Taylor, "Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623," *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*, eds. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 59.
[44] Joseph Loewenstein, "For a History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation," *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988): 390.
[45] Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999) 188.

event or a person a voice and body and to appropriate it by becoming it or him/her. Therefore, just as a contemporary ballad singer became Henry V at Agincourt or Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury camp, in order to evoke patriotic feeling amongst his audience, so anti-Catholic or anti-Spanish ballads provided an occasion to give militant Protestantism a voice, railing against English papists and Catholic Spain.[46] Another example is a ballad, entitled "A Lamentable Dittie Composed upon the Death of Robert Devereux Late Earle of Essex," which begins with the third-person narrative which calls Essex "Sweet Englands pride" who "did surpasse gallantly" "At Tilt" and "In *Ireland France* and *Spaine*."[47] But toward the middle of the ballad the narrator becomes Essex and prays for himself:

> I haue a sinner been
> Welladay welladay:
> Yet neuer wrong'd my Queen
> In all my life,
> My God I did offend,
> Which grieues me at my end,
> May all the rest amend,
> I doe forgive them.[48]

Then, he turns to the third-person again, yet finishes the ballad in first person plural, in Smith's terms, "in a gesture of solidarity with the executed hero."[49]

> He laide his head on the blocke…
> Then his headesman did his part
> cruelly, cruelly…
> His soule it is at rest.
> in heauen among the blest,
> Where God send vs to rest,
> When it shall please him.[50]

This conclusion seems to confirm the narrative in contemporary murder pamphlets that presented a message of good death prior to execution both to the watching crowds at the execution and to its readers after the event. However, given that this kind of ballad about Essex became popular and there were at least five subsequent seventeenth-century editions, it

[46] See Smith, *The Acoustic World* 188-96.
[47] *A Lamentable Dittie Composed upon the Death of Robert Devereux Late Earle of Essex* (1603) 1.
[48] *A Lamentable Dittie Composed upon the Death of Robert Devereux Late Earle of Essex* 1.
[49] Smith, *The Acoustic World* 192.
[50] *A Lamentable Dittie Composed upon the Death of Robert Devereux Late Earle of Essex* 1. Five subsequent editions are dated 1620, 1625, 1635, 1670, and 1695.

seems that what mattered was not the use of the unfortunate death of Essex as moral edification but the use of his name which represented Elizabethan militarism and anti-Catholicism to cast a critical light on governmental policies.

Adopting a similar method of event reporting and first-person narration, Deloney's ballads, printed by Wolfe, work in much the same way.[51] On the day when Elizabeth came to Tilbury camp to review her troops in August, 1588, Deloney's ballad singer moves from a reporter's view to the words of the queen herself:

> The Lords and Captaines of her forces,
> mounted on their gallant horses.
> Readie stood to entertaine her,
> like martiall men of courage bold…
> Vpon their knéees began to fall,
> desiring God to saue her Grace.
> For ioy whereof her eyes was filled,
> that the water downe distilled.
> Lord blesse you all my friendes, she said,
> but doe not knéele so much to me…
> And then bespake our noble Queene,
> my louing friends and countriemen:
> I hope this day the worst is seene,
> that in our wars ye shall sustaine.
> But if our enimies doe assaile you,
> neuer let your stomackes faile you.
> For in the midst of all your troupe,
> we our selues will be in place:
> To be your ioy, your guide and comfort,
> euen before our enimies face.[52]

Since there is no reliable account reporting what the Queen wore, or said, at Tilbury, ballad accounts of the event are crucial to historical memory. As the Queen's speech at Tilbury reappeared in Leonel Sharpe's letter, arguing against the Spanish marriage of Prince Charles in 1623, it appears that verses in the ballad remained well known and had been recited from memory.[53] In addition, we must remember that when Elizabeth's heroic Protestantism was revived by Sharpe, who was once chaplain to Essex and Prince Henry, visual representation also played its part in disseminating nationalistic and militant Protestantism in the 1620s (See

[51] Smith, *The Acoustic World* 193.
[52] Deloney, *The Queenes Visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie* (1588) 1.
[53] See Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23.1 (1992): 95-114.

Illustration 25).[54]



[Illustration 25. "Queen Elizabeth on horseback" by Thomas Cecil][55]

Thomas Cecil's allegorical print, "Queen Elizabeth on horseback (1625)," which recalls the style of Thomas Cockson's or Robert Boissard's engravings of Essex at Cadiz, casts Elizabeth as heroine of 1588, wearing helmet and cuirass and bearing sword and shield.[56] Given that during this period Sidney also appeared in popular print as an epitome of the perfect Protestant hero, it is clear that the ideals of Elizabethan militarism and militant Protestantism could be deployed to attract readers who were receptive to the anti-Spanish polemics of the 1620s (See Illustration 26).



[Illustration 26. "Sir Philip Sidney" by Robert Vaughan from *Nine Modern Worthies* (1622)][57]

[54] See Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23.1 (1992): 95-144.
[55] Hind, *Engraving*, vol. 3: Plate 19.
[56] See chapter 2.
[57] Hind, *Engraving*, vol. 3: Plate 46.

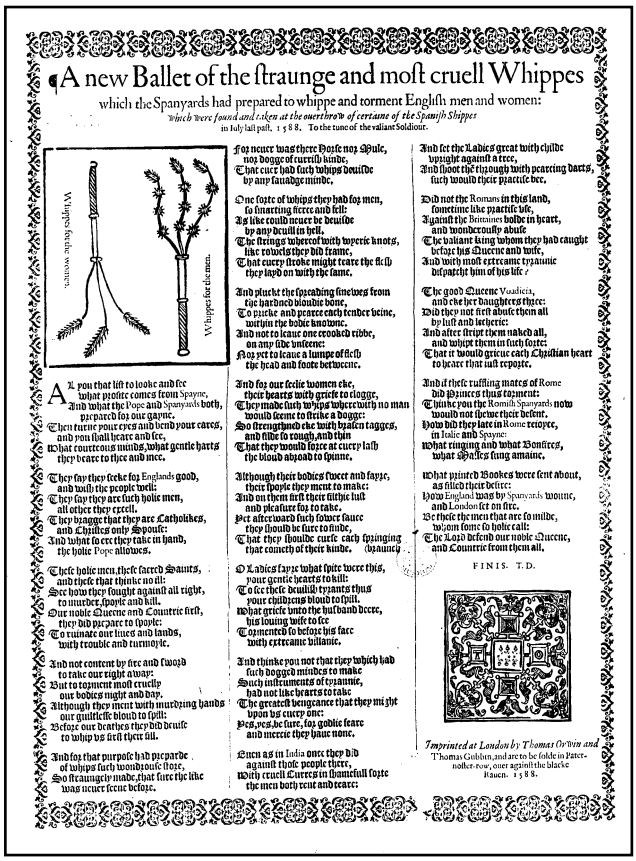
The relationship between ballads and their graphical representation could take many forms and Elizabethan militarism was a well-established genre with which printers and publishers were very familiar. Ballads were amusing, vital for propaganda and intended to instruct or transmit news to the public: in markets, on street corners, in public houses, and at fairs. Some contemporary news or journalistic ballads have been compared with modern newspapers but their role as a news medium has not been taken seriously.[58] This negative assessment of their significance may be merely because they were imaginative rather than accurate in content. However, studying ballads from 1585 to 1603—from extant printed copies, supplemented by entries in the Stationers' Registers of non-extant ballads and by manuscript collections—it is evident that the Armada ballads customarily reported the series of the wars against Spain with as much detail as would a journalist.[59] Consider, for example, one of Deloney's ballads about the Spanish Armada:

> One sorte of whips [Spaniards] had for [English]
> so smarting fierce and fell:
> As like could neuer be deuisde
> by any for deuill in hell.
> The strings whereof with wyerie knots,
> like rowels they did frame,
> That euery stroke might teare
> the flesh they layd on the same.
> And pluckt the spreading sinews from
> the hardned bloudie bone,
> To pricke and pearce each tender veine,
> Within the bodie knowne.[60]

Located within contemporary readers/audiences' fear of an imminent attack by the Spanish fleet, the narrator speaks as if he had witnessed an extremely terrifying device that was invented to punish English people. This ballad skilfully utilises inflammatory language along with the detail. The addition of a woodcut illustration of whips to the printed text serves as confirmation of Spanish cruelty and appeals to prevalent anti-Spanish sentiment (See Illustration 27).

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[58] H. E. Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," *PMLA* 34 (1919) 256.
[59] For ballads and news pamphlets entered in the Stationers' Registers between 1590 sand 1603, but not now extant, see Collins's *Handlist* 102-9
[60] Deloney, *A New Ballet of the Straunge and Most Cruell Whippes* (1588) 1.



¶A new Ballet of the ſtraunge and moſt cruell Whippes
which the Spanyards had prepared to whippe and torment Engliſh men and women:
Which were found and taken at the ouerthrow of certaine of the Spaniſh Shippes
in July laſt paſt, 1588. To the tune of the valiant Soldiour.

Whippes for the women. Whippes for the men.

A You that liſt to looke and ſee
what tyrantes comes from Spayne,
And what the Pope and Spanyards both,
prepared ſay our gayne.
Then turne your eyes and bend your eares,
and you ſhall heare and ſee,
What courteous minds, what gentle harts
they beare to thee and mee.

They ſay they ſeeke for Englands good,
and with the people well:
They ſay they are ſuch holie men,
all other they excell.
They bragge that they are Catholikes,
and Chriſtes only Spouſe:
And what ſo ere they take in hand,
the holie Pope allowes.

Theſe holie men, theſe ſacred Saints,
and theſe that thinke no ill:
See how they fought againſt all right,
to murder, ſpoyle and kill.
Our noble Queene and Countrie firſt,
they did purpare to ſpoyle:
To ruinate our liues and landes,
with trouble and turmoyle.

And not content by fire and ſworde
to take our right away:
But to torment moſt cruelly
our bodies night and day.
Although they ment with murdring hands
our guiltleſſe bloud to ſpill:
Before our deathes they did deuiſe
to whip us firſt their fill.

And for that purpoſe had prepared
of whippes ſuch wondrous ſtore,
So ſtraungely made, that ſure the like
was neuer ſeene before.

For neuer was there Horſe nor Mule,
nor dogge of curriſh kinde,
That euer had ſuch whips deuiſde
by any ſauadge minde.

One ſorte of whips they had for men,
to ſmarting fierce and fell:
As like could neuer be deuiſde
by any deuill in hell.
The ſtrings wherof with wyerie knots,
like rowles they did frame,
That euery ſtroke might teare the fleſh
they layd on with the ſame.

And pluckt the ſpreading ſinewes from
the hardned bloudie bone,
To pricke and pearce each tender veine,
within the bodie knowne.
And not to leaue one reuoked vaine,
on any ſide vnſeene:
Nay yet to leaue a lumpe of fleſh
the head and foote betweene.

And for our feeble women eke,
their hearts with griefe to clogge,
They made ſuch whips wherewith no man
would ſeeme to ſtrike a dogge:
So ſtrengthned eke with ſharpen tagges,
and ſide to rough, and thin
That they would teare at euery laſh
the bloud abroad to ſpinne.

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

O Ladies faire what ſpite were this,
your gentle hearts to kill:
To ſee theſe deuilliſh tyrants thus
your children bloud to ſpill.
What griefe vnto the huſband deere,
his louing wife to ſee
To ſmeared ſo before his face
with extreame villanie.

And thinke you not that they which had
ſuch dogged mindes to make
Such inſtruments of tyrannie,
had not like hearts to take
The greateſt vengeance that they might
vpon vs euery one:
Yes, yes, be ſure, for godlie feare
and mercie they haue none.

Euen as in India once they did
againſt thoſe people there,
With cruell Cutres in ſhamefull ſorte
the men both rent and teare:

And ſet the Ladies great with childe
vpright againſt a tree,
And ſhoot the through with pearcing darts,
ſuch would their practiſe bee.

Did not the Romans in this land,
ſometime like practiſe liſe,
Againſt the Britaines bolde in heart,
and wonderouſly abuſe
The valiant king whom they had caught
before his Queene and wife,
And with moſt extreame tyrannie
diſpatcht him of his life?

The good Queene Voadicia,
and eke her daughteres three:
Did they not firſt abuſe them all
by luſt and lecherie:
And after ſtript them naked all,
and whipt them in ſuch ſorte:
That it would grieue each Chriſtian heart
to heare that iuſt reporte.

And if theſe ruffling mates of Rome
did Princes thus entreate:
Thinke you the Romiſh Spanyards now
would not ſhewe their deſent.
How did they late in Rome reioyce,
in Italie and Spayne:
What ringing and what Bonfires,
what Maſſes ſung amaine.

What printed Bookes were ſent about,
as filled their deſire:
How England was by Spanyards wonne,
and London ſet on fire.
Be theſe the men that are ſo milde,
whom ſome ſo holie call:
The Lord defend our noble Queene,
and Countrie from them all.

FINIS. T.D.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin and Thomas Gubbin, and are to be ſolde in Panier-aulker-rowe, ouer againſt the blacke Rauen. 1588.

[Illustration 27. Thomas Deloney, *A New Ballet of the Straunge and Most Cruell Whippes Which the Spanyards Had Prepared to Whippe and Torment English Men and Women* (1588)]

Moreover, it also adds several stanzas of verse pointing out the lesson as a preacher would do:

> Thinke you the *Romish Spanyards* now
> would not shewe their desent.
> How did they late in *Rome* reioyce,
> in *Italie* and *Spayne*:
> What ringing and what Bonfires,
> what Masses sung amaine.
> What printed Bookes were sent about,
> as filled their desire:
> How *England* was by *Spanyards* wonne,
> and *London* set on fire.
> Be these the men that are so milde,
> whom some so holie call:
> The Lord defend our noble Queene,
> and Countrie from them all.[61]

Interestingly, the narrator reveals his intention to counter Spanish propaganda, especially the printed text. In fact, many broadside ballads like *A Marshall man principally deuoted him self to hazard his lims and life in the seruice of his Prince and countire* were printed and sold to

[61] Deloney, *A New Ballet of the Straunge and Most Cruell Whippes* 1.

infuse patriotic discourse into public debate.

The overall evidence of extant patriotic ballads shows that they flooded onto the London market from the 1590s onwards. Sir Francis Vere continued to appear in contemporary ballads like *News from Flanders* (1600) in the same way as Sir Francis Drake was loved by their wartime audience/readership as a heroic military figure in H. Robarts's *The Trumpet of Fame* (1595) and Charles Fitz-Geffrey's *Sir Francis Drake: His Honorable Life's Commendation* (1596). Ballads continued to be an important tool in the early Stuart era, when Jacobeans were deeply concerned with the fortunes of James I's daughter Elizabeth and her husband, Frederick of Bohemia, who were expelled from Bohemia in 1619 by the Catholic Tilly. At that time, a ballad entitled *Gallants, to Bohemia*, with a chorus of "let us to the warres againe," summoned Englishmen to arms.[62]

Most of these ballads were patriotic in tone and supportive of aggressive foreign policy. Crucial to this was the military circles' support of the production of ballads by placing anti-Catholic ballads with printers like Wolfe, who also printed other forms of war material, and his workshop probably became significant at the very moment when patriotism and militarism were being directed to mobilize popular opinion. Naturally, the ways in which ballads were disseminated and received by soldiers and the public were different from those of military manuals. Nevertheless, as foregoing evidence has shown, a study of the development of a military dimension to the public sphere needs to take more serious account of ballads on military themes and their relation to the publishers and printers, especially Wolfe, who must have been very sensitive to changes in taste and opinion in the highly competitive world of the cheap print market.

3. Military news pamphlets

The entries of the Stationers' Registers and D. C. Collins's list of contemporary news

[62] Firth, "The Ballad History of the Reign of James I," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (London, 1911): 49.

pamphlets suggest that there was a widespread and serious interest in current affairs.[63] As we can see from the series of letters exchanged between John Chamberlain and Dudley Carleton which contain much of military and political interest, the subject matter of military news was in the public domain even if the method of transmission remained private. In contrast to private letters, the news pamphlets, generally printed in quarto format, have always been associated with insignificant, ephemeral, untrustworthy, deceitful, and poorly printed work. This view may have its roots in a traditional elitism dismissive of 'vulgar' content in literary texts and the mass appeal such content had for readers.

Although Fritz Levy and Richard Cust have observed that printed news pamphlets were produced in large numbers after the outbreak of war against Spain in 1585, both deny that printed news contributed to the establishment of a "public sphere" in late sixteenth century England—not claiming that Elizabethan news pamphlets were not credible, but that they were *ad hoc* and irregular.[64] For the same reason, Joad Raymond has also placed the significant rise of news pamphlets not in the 1580s but in the 1620s.[65] Therefore, although M. A. Shaaber once argued that war news—from the Scottish campaign, the Spanish Armada, the French campaign, and the Irish campaign—was one of the earliest forerunners of the newspaper in sixteenth century England, until recently many Elizabethan news pamphlets of the 1580s and the 1590s have been considered less significant than those of the 1620s, since they were seen merely as political propaganda on the French Wars of Religion rather than newspapers.[66] As we will see below, however, war-oriented news pamphlets in the 1580s and 1590s became a prerequisite for the creation of a news-reading public by submitting facts to readers' judgements, while they relied on an evocative emotional response.

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[63] Although Collins's *Handlist*, as he admits, is not exhaustive, the majority of the news pamphlets give extensive coverage of Navarre and the English soldiers in France.

[64] See F. J. Levy, "How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550-1640," *Journal of British Studies* 112 (1982): 20-3; Richard Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-century England," *Past and Present* 112 (1986): 60-90.

[65] See Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).

[66] See M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476-1622* (London: Frank Cass, 1966) 120-33.

As far as the term 'newspaper' is concerned, in modern parlance it embraces a journal of both information and political opinion. Despite their irregularities, Elizabethan news publications focused primarily on the supply of information, such as wartime atrocities—especially stories of massacred Protestants—and the actions of English forces on the Continent. These not only contributed to the creation of a collective taste for military news but also enabled readers to form political opinions as they do today. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the circulation of news was restricted neither to London nor to the elite. Examining records of the Star Chamber relating to murders, witchcraft trials, accounts of monstrous births, and reports of Elizabeth's illegitimate pregnancies or children, Adam Fox demonstrates that the circulation of news—whether domestic or foreign—was neither geographically nor socially limited. Most news pamphlets were read by a cross-section of the population.

For the same reason, Würzbach also asserts that "within the whole spectrum of the forerunners and early forms of English journalism the street ballad has its fairly fixed position and is characterised by set functions."[67] If sixteenth century news pamphlets, as Watt speculates, served as news media to contemporary readers, who "would, no doubt, have picked up [them] as we do a paper," war news would have affected popular attitudes at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[68] This suggests that, since information about wars was to both urban and rural consumers through the printed word, manuscript letters, or oral forms like a song or ballad, the audience would have become familiar with military news and patriotic ideas, images, and vocabulary. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that, on the one hand, government censorship tried to control topical reporting and political comment in printed pamphlets and broadside ballads, and, on the other hand, the authorities supported propagandistic broadside print. Thus late sixteenth century news pamphlets about war and soldiering, complete with political commentary, acted as an early form of journalism as was

[67] Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad* 146.
[68] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* 265.

the case with those of the 1620s.[69] Therefore, there are many reasons to suggest that the circulation of news pamphlets in the late sixteenth century had real significance in moulding popular opinion.

In terms of creating a public sphere, it is significant to note that by the 1590s, both pamphleteers and their printers recognise that their readers were their customers.[70] Paul Voss relates the growing popularity of news pamphlets in these years to the combined interests of translators, printers, publishers, retailers, and consumers about political and military conflict on the continent.[71] Alexandra Halasz also places an emphasis on the market logic of contemporary publishers: "if one pamphlet awakens interest, several flame it, and the interest excited is both immediate (providing for quick sale) and transitory (providing for quick succession)."[72] Military news pamphlets are the most obvious example that demonstrates the immediate and transitory value of the pamphlets. In contrast to ballads, which contained obvious propagandistic discourse, military news was mainly indebted to informative rhetoric and, consequently, did not contain much argument. Although military news pamphlets targeted the same audience as ballads, their selling point was different and the large number of extant military news pamphlets, especially those summarising major military actions, suggests that both news publishers/printers and readers knew the difference between battles and everyday violence.

It is interesting that Wolfe's name appears more often than any other printer on the title pages of military news pamphlets just as it does in Armada ballads. Shaaber has argued that "[of] all the news from France printed before 1600, half, roughly speaking, was published by four men—Wolfe (who published more than 60% of the half), Edward Aggas, William Wright, and Richard Field."[73] According to Collins's list of news pamphlets in 1590, eleven

[69] The first English newspaper was thought to appear in the spring of 1622 and exact periodicity in a news publication did not appear until late 1641. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper* 3.
[70] See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering* 11-25.
[71] See Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2001).
[72] Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 33.
[73] Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper* 284. Shaaber's calculation is roughly confirmed by the list of

out of twenty-five were printed by Wolfe.[74] A similar observation was made earlier by G. B. Harrison and later confirmed by Voss.[75] This is important, because in terms of marketing, contemporary printers and booksellers recorded and advertised their role in printing and selecting (or modifying) a title, explicitly detailing the names of those publishing, printing, and retailing.[76] Such practices had originated from the government's 1542 proclamation which for the first time required any English book, ballad or play to display the name of the printer, author, and the date of printing.[77] However, as James Raven argues, from the early seventeenth century title-pages began to appear in order to "guide potential customers more precisely to the originating shop."[78] Margaret Smith also argues that "the producer's name there clearly establishes the book as an object of commerce."[79] Therefore, the appearance of Wolfe's name on political and military-oriented news pamphlets leads us to recognize that Wolfe and his successor Field acted corporately with members of the military circles and helped to cultivate certain discourses and policies internally as well as outside the military sphere.

One news pamphlet, for example, provides a favourable account of the English troops and appeals for public support:

> A Marshall man principally deuoted him self to hazard his lims and life in the seruice of his Prince and countire for honour and crownes: as it were shame to eclipse him the one, so it is iniurie to scant him the other: for the surest whetstone of valour and virtue is renowned and glorie: in defrauding the souldier of his pay, you cut his purse and rebate his edge: in deprauing his honour, you cut his throat and strike him stone deade: whereby I was induced to publish the renowned seruice done lately by that honourable Knight S. John Norreys in Britanie: to the end that neither he, neither the rest of the braue Captaines, gentlemen and souldiers should want their due commendation, that both they may be encouraged to continew their brave and heroicall minds, and others inclined to aduance themselues to the like honourable attempts and

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270 news pamphlets out of Collins's *Handlist.*

[74] Collins, *Handlist* 2-12.

[75] See G. B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1591-4," *The Library* 8 (1927): 273-302 and Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets*, especially appendix, 197-208.

[76] James Raven, *The Business of Book: Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 2007) 55.

[77] See C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997) 26-7. This Act was designed to control religious texts.

[78] Raven, *The Business of Book* 56.

[79] Margaret Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460-1510* (London: Oak Knoll Press, 1928) 143.

> actions. I am the better able to performe this my promise by reason of a letter I receiued thence from a gentleman so well qualified, that neither he wanted skill or wit to record the seruice with the pen, neither valour and courage to perform anie enterprise with the sworde, being principall actor in the exectution thereof, the copie wherof I present to the reader, that he may be truly enformed of the seruice and yeelde the actors their due commendation.[80]

At first glance, relying on the honour of the gentle author's personal observation and reflection about the war as its source, this kind of news pamphlet seems to reproduce material by printing or translating from private letters or something already printed in France and the Low Countries.[81] For this reason, they have been regarded as a limited resource for understanding international politics in these years, whereas pamphlets concerning domestic crime have been understood in the context of how clerical and popular writers appropriated criminal stories to advance a range of religious positions for consumption by a heterogeneous popular readership. Peter Lake has demonstrated that there could be a close relationship between domestic news pamphlets and drama—especially on the topics of murder and providential events.[82] This might suggest another important motivation behind the publication of military news pamphlets.

A relationship with the theatre has been considered relatively insignificant, partly because drama as a medium for foreign military news lacks that sense of immediate topicality which news pamphlets claim to feed, and partly because of censorship restrictions on foreign policy.[83] Nevertheless, a few plays about current political and military conflicts were able to convey information in a timely way. Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (performed four years after the most recent events, Henri III's murder and the accession of Henri IV in 1589, and nearly twenty years after the massacre itself) lacked historical topicality.[84] However, like *A*

[80] Collins, *Handlist* 18.
[81] Many news pamphlets were couched in the form of letters, but they were obviously intended for broader circulation.
[82] See Peter Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 1and 10.
[83] Celgg, *Press Censorship* 134.
[84] François Hotman's *A True and Plaine Report of the Furious Outrages of France* (1573) and Jean de Serres's *The Three Partes of Commentaries, Containing the Whole and Perfect Discourse of the Ciuill Warres of Fraunce* (1574) have been identified as the major sources of the play. See Paul H. Kocher, "François Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *PMLA* 56 (1941): 349-68.

Larum for London which was said to be mainly based on George Gascoigne's pamphlet, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, it could play as a form of commentary on a contemporary political situation and prompt a playwright to consult an old pamphlet.

The point here, however, is not to read play texts against pamphlet texts or vice versa. Instead, my interests lie in the way in which old pamphlets, despite their ephemeral nature, offered a model for plays by Marlowe and others. Some parts of pamphlets (and ballads) were copied from a purchased text or jotted down during, or after, a performance in the same way as quotations from plays could come from the text or a live performance.[85] Watt has also demonstrated that consumption of cheap print was not confined to the vulgar, as many contemporary ballads or portions of them appeared in gentlemen's commonplace books and despite the ephemeral nature of cheap print, it could also find its way onto the popular stage.[86] Therefore one can see how Gascoigne's pamphlet, or a late anonymous pamphlet called *The Miserie of Antwerpe* (1585), provided stylised narratives for drama and shaped a set of expectations in the consumers of a different genre. For example, Gascoigne depicts the atrocities of Spanish soldiers in Antwerp:

> they neither spared age, nor sexe: time nor place: person nor countrey: profession nor religion: yong nor olde: rich nor poore: strong nor feeble: but without any mercy, did tyrannously tryumphe when there was neither man nor meane to resist them: For age and sex, yong and old, they slew great nnmbers of yong children, but many moe women more then fowerscore yeares of age.[87]

This is transposed into actions on stage where two little children are seen running for their lives and Spanish soldiers chase them with swords, shouting "Kill, kill, kill."[88] Spanish soldiers stab the children on stage who beg for mercy, saying "O Kill vs not, wee'll hang vpon your armes…Sweet Gaffer, stay and looke me in the face, / Haue you the heart to kill a prettie Girle?"[89] In another scene, Spaniards strip a female character on stage, declaring

[85] I thank Will Sharpe for allowing me to read his research on the relationship between a ballad and a play.
[86] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* 17.
[87] George Gascoigne, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* (1576) B8^{r}.
[88] *A Larum for London* E2^{r}.
[89] *A Larum for London* E2^{r}.

"Search her," "turne her inside outward," and "Ransacke her, every part of her."[90] The main part of the other pamphlet also vividly depicts the miserable situation in which Antwerp found itself when it faced a blockade by the Prince of Parma's army:

> It would greeue a stonie heart to see, the people there wandering vp and downe, weeping and wayling, fearing the daunger of themselues, and other Townes which will not yield: Death standes in each mans doore, threatening vnto them short life, and the spoyle of their goodes by the enemie.[91]

These scenes certainly enabled the people of England to imagine the repercussions of a Spanish invasion, when a metropolis neglected its military preparation. Not only are such scenes well suited to the plot of *A Larum for London*, but they also explain the feelings of contemporary audiences when they heard the horrifying news that the "enemie were at our doores."[92] Given that the representation on stage had an advantage over print in terms of its manipulation of the relationship between word and image, war plays with the aid of visual and sound effects as an instrument of propaganda would have powerfully conditioned people's anti-Spanish and patriotic expectations.[93]

Lake has argued that "the heavily stylised narratives" of contemporary crime or murder pamphlets, "provided a sort of narrative template [and] a set of expectations that both shaped the plot of many a play text," such as *A Warning for Fair Women*, *Arden of Faversham*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy.*[94] If sex, violence, and perversity were amongst the major attractions of the domestic crime or murder pamphlets, and the portrayal of the same subject on stage in the domestic tragedies served the same taste, then violence against women and other atrocities contained in foreign news were also considered suitable for theatrical representation. Thus we

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[90] *A Larum for London* C4^{v}.

[91] Willy Louis Braekman, "'The Miserie of Antwerpe,' An English Pamphlet of the Utmost Rarity (1585)," *Studia Germanica* 14 (1973): 112.

[92] Norman E. McClure, ed. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939) 78.

[93] Not only did sellers of ballads and news pamphlets take the same itinerary as the Elizabethan touring companies, they also supplied topical information to both city and country audiences. Therefore, if drama had a journalistic function like cheap print, there should be some connection between news ballads or pamphlets and contemporary drama in fashioning public opinion.

[94] Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat* 378. As the example of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*—based on pamphlets about Walter Calverley, or Yorkshire, who murdered two of his children and stabbed his wife—shows, one of the most obvious ways in which what Lake calls "the template" of the murder narratives is used to highlight the "gross and disgusting nature of the crime."

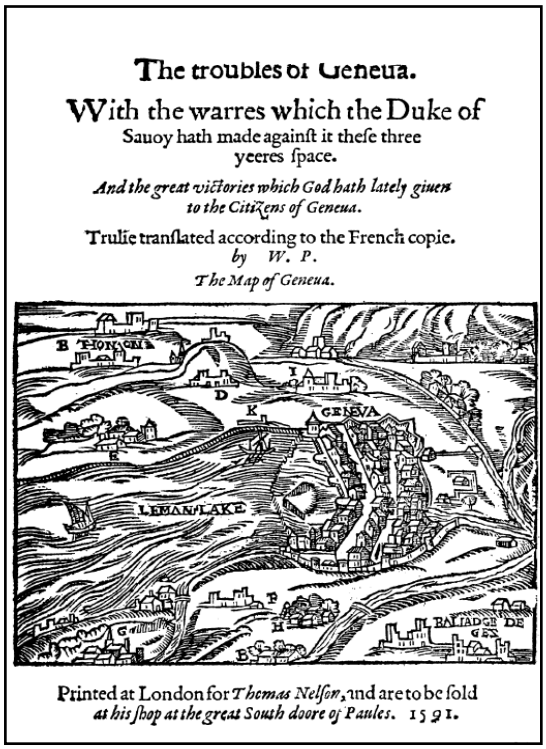
can infer that similar subject matter in foreign news pamphlets increased customers' willingness to purchase them, although they often had generic titles, such as *Newes from France* (1591), *Newes from Ostend* (1601), and *Newes from Turkie and Poland* (1622). The cheap purchase of such foreign news would have provided playwrights not only with topical allusions but also, more importantly, with figurative language that described almost everything in war-like terms. This is exemplified by a reference to the siege of Ostend in John Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed*, which uses the fortification metaphor for an act of sexual penetration: "[the bride's] chamber's nothing but a mere Ostend, / In every window pewter cannons mounted" (1.3.92-4).[95]

Although no classification by subject will ever be entirely satisfactory, amongst 1,251 news pamphlets published between 1590s and 1610, 241 (can be categorised as military news) solely devoted to the account of a battle or campaign. This was the largest section, not taking account of ballads and official government proclamations related to military actions.[96] Interestingly, a pattern emerged of reporting military news, as can be seen from a news pamphlet printed by Wolfe in 1592. *The Continuall following of the French King vpon the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Maine, and their Armies. From the 17th of Aprill, vntill the 20 of the same month. Together with Honourable attempts of Sir Roger Williams and his men* reported that when Parma besieged Caudebecq, Williams' attempt to relieve the town led to a sharp skirmish and informed readers that there were "fortie English hurt, and eight slain. The King doth greatly exalt the English, and Sir Roger Williams for their valour shewed at thie seruice, who haue also gotten therein great good spoile and booties of the enemies."[97] From this type of printed account, readers learned that a battle happened at such a place and such a time; soldiers were injured and killed; and such and such

[95] John Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed or, the Woman's Prize*, ed. Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2006) 66-7. In this regard, it is worth noting that Helen's speech in *All's Well That Ends Well*: "is it I / That drive thee from the sportive court, where thou / Wast shot at with fair eyes, to be the mark / Of smoky muskets" (3.2.108-10) also indicates that people expressed their other experiences of life through military metaphors which were often found in military news pamphlets.
[96] R. Streckfuss, "News before Newspapers," *Journal & Mass Communication Quarterly* 75.1 (1998): 88.
[97] Collins, *Handlist* 24.

notable incidents occurred.

Printers of military news pamphlets often resorted to illustrations and maps to appeal to readers' interest in foreign battles. One contemporary pamphlet, *The Troubles of Geneva*, contains an illustration on the title page (See Illustration 28).

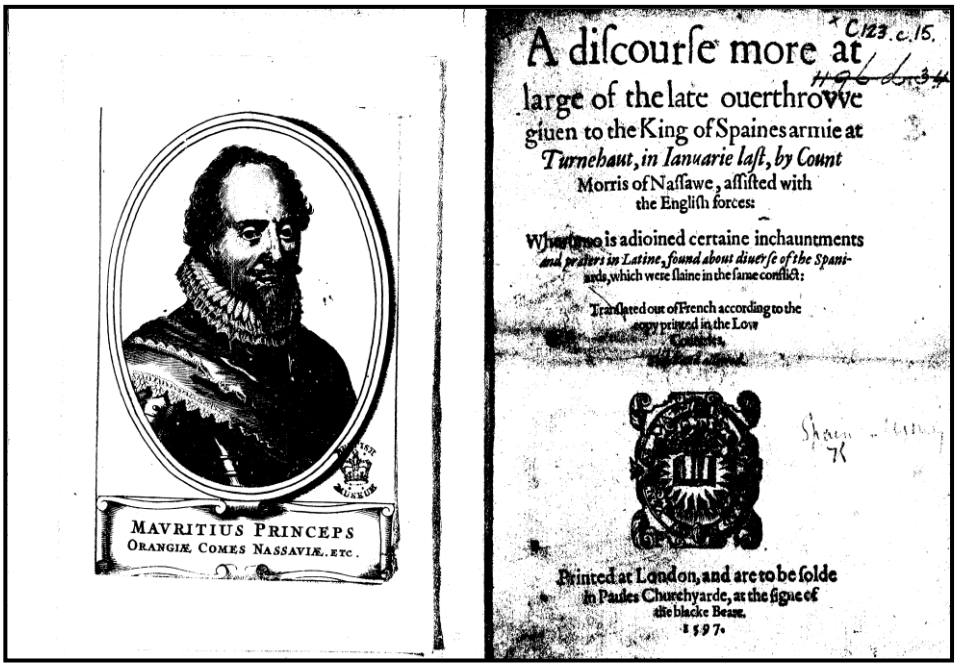

The troubles of Geneua.
With the warres which the Duke of Sauoy hath made against it these three yeeres space.
And the great victories which God hath lately giuen to the Citizens of Geneua.
Trulie translated according to the French copie.
by W. P.
The Map of Geneua.
B HONGRIA
D
K
GENEVA
LEMAN LAKE
F
H
G
Printed at London for *Thomas Nelson*, and are to be sold *at his shop at the great South doore of Paules.* 1591.

[Illustration 28. Title page from the *Troubles of Geneva* (1591)]

Although the woodcut illustration on the cover was crudely done, it must have made the unfamiliar terrain of Geneva more familiar to English readers.[98] Military news from many sources—oral, manuscript, and printed—was gathered by commanders in the field, and ambassadors abroad, for information about current developments in military tactics. While Essex received two letters outlining Maurice's operations at the battle of Turnhout (1597) and seven different accounts of the action, printed news like *A True discourse of the ouerthrowe giue to the common enemy at Turnhaut* (1597), which included a woodcut representing the battle, and general accounts of marching, skirmish, and siege operations, would have served to inform a wider readership about current developments in military strategy.[99] Another news pamphlet about the battle provided lessons on how the battle was won. It also popularised a

[98] Voss, "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 735; 739.
[99] Paul Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 235.

heroic image of the Prince of Nassau, adding his engraved portrait on the title page (See Illustration 29).



[Illustration 29. Title page from the *A Discourse More at Large the Late Ouerthrowe Giuen to the King of Spaines at Turnehaut* (1597)]

To the public and to soldiers, Maurice epitomised the complete soldier as he possessed many leadership qualities: courage, intelligence and godliness.[100] We must remember that this print, including the portrait—one of the few military news prints which showed Maurice as a prominent figure—was undoubtedly intended to impress the public coming and going from the markets. Given that Maurice consulted various military books and apparently carried books with him on campaign, this was a brilliant marketing ploy. In response to popular appeal, even playwrights took this opportunity to admire English forces, fighting alongside the Dutch army, and added a play on "the overthrow of *Turnholt*" to the repertoire of London theatre.[101] Therefore, while military news pamphlets offered standard news accounts of battles, alongside crudely executed woodcuts illustrating movement and terrain, they also supported a military ethos with which their readers already sympathised. Since they fitted well within the Protestant print culture of the period and promoted the same aims as military

[100] These elements were also heralded in the contemporary paintings and engravings on English military commanders. See Chapter 2.
[101] *Sydney Papers*, ed. R. W. Blencowe, vol. 2 (London, 1825) 136.

literature, they would have had a significant impact on public opinion.

In the 1620s there was a sustained rise in the reading and writing of news in England, including an increased circulation and quantity of printed news.[102] This growing interest in military news alarmed James I, who was sensitive to the corantos that first appeared in 1620. He issued a proclamation attempting to ban corantos (early informational broadsheet), in December 1620, and told his subjects to "take heed, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home, or abroad."[103] This proclamation needs to be understood in the context of the influx of news publications, translated from Dutch and printed in London from 1620 onward, which contained details of the Bohemia crisis and the onset of the Thirty Years' War, especially the persecution of the Protestant rebels. Although they were offered without comment, as a series of factual statements, any reader sympathetic to the Protestant cause would interpret them as a comment upon the lack of active engagement by England on behalf of Frederick and Elizabeth.[104] As Paul Salzman points out, these constant accounts of European conflict in corantos from the Netherlands could be set against the domestic situation, as parliament boldly debated foreign policy and, throughout society, tension over possible English intervention was manifested in a variety ways.[105] Caroline readers continued to express their interest in military news when the war with Spain resumed, as they had in the 1580s and 1590s. Therefore, in spite of their primitive form, military news pamphlets constituted a significant channel for information and functioned as a vehicle for disseminating military ideas amongst the public.

Military news was a spur to the explosion of news pamphlets following England's entry into the war with Spain in 1585—Lisa Parmelee believes that a significant portion of the interest in news of the French Civil Wars after 1585 sublimated worry over what might

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[102] Levy, "The Decorum of News," *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. J. Raymond (London: Frank Cass, 1999) 27-8.
[103] P. Hughes and J. Larkin, eds. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973) 495-6.
[104] Paul Salzman, *Literary culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 142.
[105] Salzman, *Literary culture in Jacobean England* 142.

happen to England after Elizabeth died.[106] Similarly, by 1621, when English political opinion was focused on the Palatinate, military news had significant influence in changing England's foreign and domestic policy: to intervene on behalf of fellow-Protestants abroad and to continue the domestic reformation. England was less directly engaged in the Thirty Years' War, but concerns about the fortunes of the Protestant cause, and some participation by English and Scottish soldiers, maintained a significant level of interest. It is, therefore, no coincidence that the corantos were born as Europe descended into the Thirty Years' War. The instability of continental politics in the 1620s provided business opportunities for printers/publishers like Nathaniel Butter and his business partner, Nicholas Bourne, who responded to readers' enthusiasm and anxieties over continental warfare, in the same way as those of the 1590s.

Although Butter was associated with the publication of Chapman's Homer (printed by Field for Butter), there was no obvious wider connection between him and members of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart military circles. There are, nevertheless, reasons to consider the possibility because he was a channel for much of the contemporary military news and his practices in the printing business were very similar to those of Wolfe and Field, who were used as surreptitious tools by their betters and jailed for piratical printing, and Butter's corantos and news pamphlets, like *Corant or weekly news, from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, Bohemia, France, and the Low Countries* (1621) and *A journal of the voyage of the young Prince Fredericke Henry, Prince of Bohemia Taken in the sixt yeare of his age* (1623), described Frederick's disastrous defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and the plight of Germany's Protestants at the hands of imperial and Spanish forces who were engaged in promoting the cause of the Elector Palatine. News pamphlets in the 1590s instructed soldiers as did those of the 1620s and 1630s. When the Swedes entered the Thirty Years' War in 1630, Englishmen were able to follow the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus through various newsbooks including *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632) and *The Swedish Discipline* (1632),

[106] Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce* 53-6.

both of which were printed by Butter. A recent study of Oliver Cromwell's military career suggests that the *Swedish Intelligencer* may have provided the future Parliamentary major-general and Lord Protector with his early military education.[107] Therefore, though Butter's name inspired an excremental comment by John Davies on all printers: they left 'the wals / Butter'd with weekly Newes compos'd in Pauls," and a description of him by Ben Jonson as an unscrupulous vender of news for money in *Staple of the News*, we need to reassess his contribution to the formulation of public opinion.[108]

Further examination of Wolfe's and Field's wartime role will give us a tentative answer regarding that of Butter, although the political situations that they faced were different. In 1627, faced with a crisis in foreign policy as war erupted between England and France, Butter was imprisoned for publishing news reports from the Continent, although his imprisonment did not last long. He and Bourne were soon back at work, although the news pamphlets appeared with less regularity and were more circumspect. In 1632, when the new Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, was driving back Catholic forces in northern Europe, fearful that the news would inflame public opinion in England toward a more interventionist role in the war, the Privy Council suppressed the publication of all news pamphlets and commanded Butter and Bourne to cease printing. Fearful of losing a propaganda opportunity, in the following year the Privy Council licensed Butter and Bourne to publish news pamphlets of foreign affairs on condition there was government censorship before publication. Thus, although their approach to the exploitation of cheap print as a propaganda tool was different, the consequences were the same: dissemination of military knowledge and ideology.

4. John Wolfe, Richard Field, and the disseminating of military knowledge and ideology

As a consequence of the long war between England and Spain in the late sixteenth century, military subjects remained relatively high in printers' stock in the 1580s and 1590s. Richard

[107] See Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier* 225-6.
[108] John Davies, *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (1624) 6-7.

Jones, who specialised in ballads, printed Henry Kirkham's *A Ditty of Encouragement to English men to be bold to fight in Defence of prince and country* in 1588. While Jones is best known for his publication of the first edition of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine The Great* (1590), he also printed many contemporary military-oriented books such as George Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* (1576), George Whetstone's *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1585), and Sir John Smythe's military treatises *Certain Discourses Military* (1590) and *Certain Instructions* (1594; 1595). Robert Walley, a minor London printer, published most of Barnaby Rich's military books, including *A Path-way to Military Practice* (1587). Henrie Bynneman, printer of Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (1573), also printed an English translation of Appian, entitled *An Auncient Historie and Exquisite Chronicle of Romanes Warre* (1578), Leonard and Thomas Digges's *A Geometrical Practise* (1571) and *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise* (1579). Thomas East, who was called the father of English music printing, published an English translation of Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* (1588, third edition).

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that from 1588 Wolfe's shop was busy with printing many military books, such as *The Martiall Shewes of Horsemen* (1588), Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1588), and Albert Meier's *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Mariners* (1589).[109] He also printed Spanish military books, such as Francisco de Valdes's *The Sergeant Major* (1590) and Sancho de Londono's *Military Discipline* (1590), a French military treatise, Bertrand de Loque's *Discourses of Warre and Single Combat* (1591), and an Italian fencing treatise, Vincentio Saviolo's *His Practise* (1595).[110] Similarly, Field, who is believed to have inherited Wolfe's business and political interests, printed important military books, which influenced contemporary soldiership.

[109] Castiglione's treatment of the Arms versus Letters debate as a main subject in the *Courtier* should be considered in the context of the widespread interest in war and in the reform of military institutions that characterised the period. He was also remembered by his contemporaries as a man who was trained for war and mastered all the liberal arts. See J. R. Hale, "Castiglione's Military Career," *Italian Studies* 36 (1981): 41-57.

[110] For printing Spanish military books in Elizabethan England, see Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1905) 206-7.

Among these were a second edition of Digges's *An Arithmetical Warlike Treatise* (1590), Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591)—which, according to Sidney, can "never displease a souldier"—Plutarch's *The Liues of the Noble Grecians and Romanes* (1595)—which gave accounts of "warlike princes" of antiquity—Robert Barret's *Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598), *The Historie of Guicciardin Containing the Warres of Italie and Other Partes* (1599), George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* (1599), and Thomas Smith's *Arte of Gunnery* (1600).[111]

Wolfe and Field differ from other printers in that while most military book publications were mainly pecuniary in motive, these two had a connection with the military circle of Leicester-Sidney-Essex and their adherents. As Paul Hammer points out, Essex and his followers were united by a particular political idea which the pressure of events during the 1580s and the 1590s shaped into a rough political agenda.[112] In contrast, this pattern was not reflected among his opponents—prominent amongst whom were the Cecils—who remained united by little more than hostility against Essex and a desire to profit from his exclusion from royal favour. Wolfe and Field, in doing their business, were drawn into the patronage system and found themselves personally bound to specific members of the military circle.

Wolfe's and Field's financial aims cannot be disputed because, as Würzbach points out, "[for] any printer, whether a specialist in the genre or only an occasional producer, the ballad trade would, at the very least, have been profitable enough for them to do without privileges (monopoly), patronage, and subsidies."[113] However, their printed works, including pamphlets and ballads, became part of the social, educational, and ideological background of the aristocratic circle in the development of their military identity. In fact, a few anecdotal accounts in Wolfe's biography make a convincing case for his social and political connections with leading Elizabethan military men. In 1582, when a group of Stationers led by Wolfe

[111] Philip Sidney, "An Apology for Poetry," *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1904) 188; 189.
[112] See Hammer, "Patronage at Court, faction and the earl of Essex," *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 65-86.
[113] Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad* 20.

petitioned the queen on the matter of dispersal of privileges, he was imprisoned, but soon released on the intervention of Thomas North and George Goring, who claimed Wolfe as his "man."[114] From the 1580s, Wolfe became acquainted with Gabriel Harvey, and by 1592 Harvey was living at Wolfe's London printing house and working for him as a proof-reader and general advisor. As Parmelee pointed out, Harvey, in his friendship with Wolfe, advised him about publishing new works, and Wolfe in turn gave copies of a number of his printed works to Harvey, including English translations of French political books and anti-league pamphlets.[115] Harvey wrote on his own copy of Michel Hurault's *An Excellent Discourse upon the Now Present Estate of France* (1592) that the book was given to "mee bie M^{r} Woolfe, for a special rare Discourse."[116] On the title page, Harvey added a list of other French political works such as *Discourse Sur L'estat de France* (1588), *La Harangue du Roy Henry Troisiesme* (1588), *La Copie de la Lettre du Roy Henry 4, Escript au camp de S. Clou* (1589), *Remonstrance to the Duke de Mayne* (1593), and *Articles Accorded for the Truce-general1 in France* (1593). As Harvey noted, military officers or serious students of war who wished to get ahead needed "to devote themselves to sum valiant especial noblemen, or singular captain of most famous vertu."[117] Leicester, Sidney or Essex were the obvious choices for such devotion in the 1580s and the 1590s, because they endeavoured to make themselves the "great patron of the warrs."[118] Given that by the 1580s Harvey had entered the patronage circle of Leicester and Sidney, and that Wolfe published both his correspondence with Spenser and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590), Wolfe can definitely be associated with

[114] Mckerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Bookseller* 297. Thomas North is known as an English translator of Plutarch. However, he also served as captain in the year of the Armada. In 1579, Leicester in his letter to Burghley wrote, "He [North] is a very honest gentleman." His great-nephew Dudley wrote of North as "a man of courage." See "Thomas North," *DNB* (1937-8) 624. George Goring was probably Goring of Hurstpierpoint and Ovingdean. He was a father of George Goring, Earl of Norwich and a soldier. His son was knighted in 1608 and became one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber of Prince Henry. See "George Goring," *DNB* (1937-8) 248.

[115] Parmelee, "Printers, patrons, readers and spies: information of French propaganda in late Elizabethan England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25.4 (1994): 868.

[116] Virginia F. Stern, "The Bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey," *Renaissance Quarterly* 25.1 (1972): 36.

[117] Gabriel Harvey, *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head, 1913) 190. Harvey wrote it on the margin of J. Foorth's *Synopsis Politica* (1582).

[118] *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, KG &c, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, vol. 8 (London, 1899) 269.

the Elizabethan military circle.[119]

To trace Spenser's link to members of this military circle, it is interesting to note that his prose dialogue *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (probably written in 1596 when he was in London, but not published until 1633) provides evidence that Spenser hoped for some favour from Essex.[120] During a visit to England in 1596, not only did Spenser laud Essex after his return from Cadiz as "Great Englands glory and the Worlds wide wonder," but he would also have had Essex in mind when he included the Burbon and Artegall episode in the new instalment of the *Faerie Queene.*[121] It appears no coincidence that in the same month Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliades* was entered in the Stationers' Registers and this was subsequently printed by John Windet, another of Wolfe's business successors.[122] As John Briggs points out, the registration of those two books coincides with growing public support for greater militancy and for Essex's leadership in the spring of 1598.[123] Neither book was entered in the Registers but there were close business and personal relationships between Wolfe and Windet. From 1594 onwards none of Wolfe's books was printed by himself. His printing house, presses, type, and a number of ornaments were taken over by Adam Islip but the rest of his ornaments passed to Windet who succeeded Wolfe as City Printer and was appointed administrator of the estate on Wolfe's death.[124] Since both were resident in the parish of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, anyone who wished to publicise an interest

[119] The 1596 quarto edition of *Faerie Queene* was printed by Richard Field. It is worth noting that to contemporary readers, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was seen as a book, "representing all the moral virtues assigning to euery virtue a Knight to be the patron and defender of the same, in whose actions and feates of arms and chiualry the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed, and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same, to be beaten down and ouercome." *Spenser: Poetical Works*, eds. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) xxvi.

[120] *A Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, ed. Edward Arber, vol. 3 (London, 1876) 111. *A View* was registered by Matthew Lownes on 14th of April, 1598.

[121] Edmund Spenser, *Prothalamion* (1596) line 146. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 136. As Hammer notes, there is reason to see that Artegall's rescue of Burbon allegorises Essex's support of Henri IV of France. Although the character of Artegall was said to represent Sir John Norris by J. W. Bennett, it seems more likely that an Artegall episode can be considered as a compliment to Essex for championing the French king and intended to incite further acts of martial prowess in defence of Protestantism. J. W. Bennett, *The Evolution of the Faerie Queene* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1960) 191-4.

[122] In the dedication to *Achilles Shield*, a partial translation of *Iliades* (Book XVIII), Chapman approached Essex by claiming that he is "humbly presenting your Achilleian vertues with Achilles Shield." George Chapman, *Achilles Shield* (1598) B1r.

[123] John Channing Briggs, "Chapman's *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades*: Mirror for Essex," *Studies in English Literature* 21 (1981): 64.

[124] Harry R. Hoppe, "John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher 1579-1601," *Library* 14 (1933): 267.

in Elizabethan foreign policy may well have chosen Windet as his printer. In addition, Windet, who also specialised in printing music books, seems a natural choice because Captain Tobias Hume approached him to print his *First Part of Ayres* (1605) and *Poetical Musicke* (1607). All these examples suggest that there was a widely recognised sense amongst writers which printer or publisher was suitable for the printing of purpose-made military-orientated books.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, Jardine and Grafton have demonstrated the significant part played by Harvey as a "facilitator" amongst his court connections.[125] Therefore, it can be argued that Harvey's acquaintance with Wolfe was instrumental in supplying members of the military circles with books by Italian and French political and military writers. These works can be seen as a source of philosophy and affirmation of cultural values amongst the members of the military circles. This is confirmed by Philip Sidney's letter to Edward Denny, which describes Sidney's own view on the practice of reading for military action:

> The second parte consists as it were in the trade of our lives. For a physician must studdy one thinge, and a Lawyer an other, but to you th' with good reason bend your selfe to souldiery, what bookes can deliver, stands in the books th' profess the arte, & in historyes. The first shewes what should be done, and the other what hath bene done. Of the first sorte is Langeai in french, and Machiavell in Italian, and many other wherof I will not take vpon me to iudge, but this I thinke if you will studdy them, it shall be necessary for you to exercise your hande in setting downe what you reed, as in descriptions of battaillons, camps, and marches, with some practice of Arithmetike, which sportingly you may exercise…For historicall maters, I woold wish you before you began to reed a little of Sacroboscus Sphaere, & the Geography of some moderne writer, wherof there are many & is a very easy and delightful studdy.[126]

Writing in the margins of his volume of Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* (1527), Harvey recorded that "Sacrobosco, & Valerius, Sir Philip Sidneis two bookes for the Spheare. Bie him [Sidney] specially commended to the Earle of Essex, Sir Edward Dennie, & divers gentlemen of the Court. To be read with diligent studie…as he termed it," as if he had seen Sidney's original letter.[127] Harvey possessed his own copies of Sacrobosco and Valerius in his library so it is

[125] See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Study for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30-78.
[126] James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1972) 537.
[127] Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 134.

reasonable to assume that when Harvey read "Machiavell in Italian" with those who remained within the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle, they would have made many specific references to Italian-language editions of Machiavelli's *I Discorsi* (1584) and *I Sette Libri Dell'Arte Della Guerra* (1587). Given that both of these Italian editions of *Machiavelli*, along with French political pamphlets, were printed by Wolfe, it is most likely that while Harvey would have acted as a channel for the politically and military oriented readings of the Sidney-Essex circle, Wolfe would have played an equally important role in providing reading material. Although there were no printed English translations of *The Discourses* and *The Prince* until 1631 and 1640 respectively, several manuscript translations of both texts were circulated in Elizabethan England.[128] Wolfe's publication of Machiavelli's works for domestic market in the 1580s is significant because it reflects contemporary interest in his political ideas. Given the centrality of war in Machiavelli's world-view, it is reasonable to suggest that Wolfe's activities as a publisher encouraged contemporary readers to discuss a secular worldview of history, coloured by classical values, and also introduced those who stayed loyal to the military circles to the political and military source material.

In assessing Wolfe's potential role in transmitting political and militaristic texts to Elizabethan military circles, it is worth remembering his friendship with John Hayward. In 1599, when Hayward dedicated his *First Part of the Life and Reigne of King Henrie IV* to Essex, whom Hayward would have seen as a "natural patron to such a book," he would have seen Wolfe as the obvious printer.[129] As we saw in the previous chapter, the parallel between Hayward's politically controversial *Henry IV* and Shakespeare's *Richard II* is significant, not for their similar political implications, but for the fact that the circulation of Hayward's *Henry IV* would have been intended to act as political propaganda which provoked pro-Essexian opinions. When this book was banned by the government, Essex may well have been annoyed

[128] Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500-1700* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) 53. For a discussion of the manuscript circulation of Machiavelli's works in early sixteenth century England, see Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009) 47-67.
[129] Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1967) 259.

with Wolfe's commercial opportunism because Essex himself was blamed for scoring political points. Hammer points out Essex's responsibility in that the situation grew out of his self-promotion and reputation for liberality to authors, which served to make "his name and reputation become commodified," and undoubtedly Hayward was attracted by Essex's liberality.[130] Nevertheless, it is highly significant that about five or six-hundred copies of Hayward's book were sold in a short period of time before it was banned and ordered to be confiscated. It is tempting to say that just as Shakespeare's tragedy, "played 40 times in open streets and houses," might have provoked pro-Essexian opinions, the circulation of Hayward's *Henry IV* might well have had the same effect.[131]

We must acknowledge, however, that the role of Wolfe as a supplier of reading material extended beyond the select membership of the Sidney-Essex circle. Anyone interested in recent events across the Channel was familiar with the products of his press. Robert Ashley, the so-called "Elizabethan man of letters," translated an anonymous French work, *Discours Politique, Tres-excellent pour le Temps Present,* printed by Wolfe and, later in the same year, dedicated his Latin translation and its French original, printed together by Wolfe as *L'Uranie ou Muse Celeste de G. Saluste Seigneir de Bartas*, to Sir Henry Unton.[132] As Lisa Parmelee notes, such an interest focused on France and on the French king, prompted by heroic portrayals of English soldiers in Wolfe's prints, may have led thousands of English soldiers, including Ashley himself, to join the armed forces sent to France to assist Henri IV in his struggle against the Catholic League and Spain.[133] This evidence, therefore, indicates the link that may have existed between Wolfe and political and military activities in Elizabethan England. It is very hard to prove what particular kind of reader Wolfe had in mind when he printed or published such works, but given the evidence of those—most notably Essex—who

[130] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile" 102.
[131] William Shakespeare, "Introduction," *King Richard II*, ed. Peter Ure (London: Routledge, 1989) lix.
[132] See Virgil B. Heltzel, "Robert Ashley: Elizabethan Man of Letters," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (1947): 356-7. Robert Ashley has been known as a translator of various French, Spanish and Italian works, of which the most interesting is perhaps his version of Le Roy's *Of the Interchangeable Course or Variety of Things in the Whole World and the Concurrence of Armes and Learning* (1594). He is also the author of a small treatise *Of Honour* (1596, unpublished).
[133] Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce* 51.

read or had access to the works Wolfe produced, his connection with members of the Elizabethan military circle was significant.

This is also clear when we see how Field collaborated with Wolfe in operating secret presses and then gradually took over Wolfe's practice of surreptitiously printing books.[134] While many people are aware that Field was the printer/publisher of Shakespeare's first two published works, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), few realize the extent to which he was associated with members of the Essex circle. It is frequently acknowledged that Burghley was acquainted with Field, who dedicated Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* to him, but it has hardly been mentioned that Antonio Perez's *Pedaços de Historia* (1594), dedicated to Essex, was also printed by Field. Denis Woodfield suggests that by its publication, Essex would have wanted to stir up and inflame the population of Aragon by revealing the wrongs done to them, and to Perez, by Philip II in order to influence the course of the war in the Low Countries.[135] Perez, the fugitive former secretary to the king of Spain, was supported during his stay in Essex House, in London, for eighteen months.[136] Given Essex's personal relationship with Perez and his occasional consultation with him about Spanish affairs, it can be assumed that Essex was involved in the publication of Perez's book.[137] Sir Robert Dallington, who directed his *Hypnerotomachia* (1592) in memory of the benefits brought by Sidney to Essex and his circle, dedicated a book called *Aphorismes Ciuill and Militarie* (printed by Field in 1613) to Prince Charles in the hope that the prince would become a "true inheritor of [his brother's] vertues."[138] Since Sir John Harington, a prominent soldier and tutor to Prince Henry, saw that his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591) and the later edition (1607) were printed by Field, it suggests that Harington knew his choice of Field

[134] Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing* 35.
[135] Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing* 37.
[136] See G. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez*, vol. 1 (London: Tamesis, 1974) 2-5.
[137] For Essex's personal relationship with Antonio Perez, see Hammer, "The Use of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601," *The English Historical Review* 109.430 (1994): 26-52.
[138] Sir Robert Dallington, *Aphorismes ciuill and militarie amplified with authorities, and exemplified with historie, out of the first quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine* (1613) A3^{r}.

as printer would have been appreciated by those who gravitated towards Prince Henry's circle after Essex's fall.

Books, ballads, and news pamphlets on war and soldiering were produced in an attempt to capitalise on the public desire for information about current affairs and the business was open to any member of the print industry. As has been demonstrated, Wolfe and in particular Field helped to increase the commercial value of the cheap print industry and successfully responded to growing demand. However, what lay behind this popular demand was that members of late Elizabethan and early Stuart aristocratic circles provided an incredibly powerful stimulus for the spread of military books and the regulation of military practice. They relied heavily on printed material to help them keep abreast of military changes on the Continent and the proliferation of military books, ballads and news pamphlets was a result of the commodification of this military culture. Wolfe and Field, who recognised that success lay in a link between military culture and their printing business, were both principal agents and beneficiaries of the development of a military culture.

5. Cheap print and the public sphere in early modern England[139]

The commodification of military culture led to a recognition that politics could also be commodified. Essex sought to invest himself with military language and a style which contributed to the public identification of him with the conduct of an aggressive war against Spain. As Simon Adams and Paul Hammer have observed, by 1597 in particular, (immediately after Essex's Cadiz expedition), division into military and civil factions—described by Hammer as "the polarisation of politics"—became explicit. To outbid the Cecils, whose emphasis on Ireland threatened to destroy his determination to continue and expand England's Continental commitment, Essex made efforts to win over Elizabeth to his cause, circulating partisan manuscripts and printed texts defending his Cadiz expedition as well as

[139] The same issue has been raised in the recently published paper. See Dong-ha Seo, "What Can Elizabethan Pamphlets and Ballads Tell Us about Elizabethan Military Culture?" *The Birmingham Journal of Literature and Language* 1.2 (2008): 43-53.

appropriating the Queen's Accession Day celebrations for his own polemical purposes.

As has been demonstrated, art and literature played a key role in the construction of his image as a perfect Protestant warrior, as did the employment of cheap print. The best known example was Essex's attempt to publish an account of the expedition in the cheapest and most accessible form of print, which glorified his own role in the victory. Essex's secretary Henry Cuffe's letter to another of his secretaries, Edward Reynolds, helps to reinforce this claim regarding the extent to which cheap print was used to cultivate the Earl's persona and inform public opinion. According to Essex's instruction, Cuffe was obliged to oversee the manuscript account of the expedition into print. However, falling ill en route, he sent the material on to Reynolds, with a covering letter. According to the letter, the material was:

> Penned very truly according to his Lordships Large enstructions, by which besides my owne knowledge he enformed me of sundry particulaers of moment in the processes therof. And after I penned it as plainely as I might altering little or nothinge of his owne drawght, I caused his Lordship to peruse it on[c]e againe and to adde extremam manum, which he hathe donne, as you may perceive by the enterlyneinge. his Lordship[es] purpose is that it shoud with the soonest be sett in print, both to stop all vagrant Rumors, and to enforce those that are well affected of the truth of the whole, yet so that in any case nether his Lordship name nor myne nor any other my Lord be ether openly named used or soe insinuated that any slender guesse may be drawen who was the penneman / My opinion is that the best course is presently to cause a fair transcript to be made and…to cause it to be deliuered to some good printer in good Characters and with diligence to publish it.[140]

Essex's (or Cuffe's) instruction to remain anonymous by using "the pennemen" is a common practice, as a contemporary noted, "wherein all men would be glad to participate ther secrets for the common goods, but not publish the Authors for feare of private traducing."[141] Actually, as another example shows, anonymity caused difficulties in identifying the authorship of Essex's letter to Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland, in which the writer commented on Rutland's intention to travel: "Your Lordship's purpose is to travel, and your

[140] Quoted in Alan Stewart, "The Making of Writing in Renaissance England: Re-thinking Authorship through Collaboration," *Renaissance Transformation: The Making of English Writing 1500-1650*, eds. Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2009) 85-6.
[141] *News from Turkie and Poland* (1622) 39-40.

study must be what use to make of your travel."[142] Since travel for the purpose of study was one of the cultural practices amongst late sixteenth century English aristocrats, Essex's letter was unexceptional. Yet his advice soon became more specific about travel for military education:

> When you come into armies, or places where you shall see anything of the wars (as I would wish you to see them before your return), you shall both confirm your natural courage, and be made more fit for true fortitude, which is not given to man by nature, but must grow out of discourse or reason.[143]

It also includes the familiar idea of war as a medicine or a blood-letting designed to cure a disease:

> If it seem strange that I account no state flouring but that which hath neither civil wars nor too long peace, I answer, that politic bodies are like our natural bodies, and must as well have some exercise to spend their humours, as to be kept form too violent or continual outrages which spend their best spirits.[144]

Since this stock idea was endlessly stressed by early modern educational theorists and military writers, James Spedding, editor of the modern edition of the letter, suggested that it was probably written by Bacon not by Essex. However, a similar concept was expressed by Essex and his associates in support of their aggressive policy, as the case of *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600) shows:

> Though warre bee diseases, yet I thinke it better to suffer some sickness, then to venture vppon euery medicine…It is no cure to bring a state from a doubtfull war, to an vnsafe treatie…as vnskillfull Phisition may by weakening a naturall bodie, with his medicines bring it from tertian or quartan feuer into an hectique, so an vnprouident statesman may with conditions of treatise, so disarm a state of the friends reputations, and strength it hath, as the cure will proue farre worse the the[n] the disease.[145]

Thus, given that the Essex-Rutland letter survives in multiple copies and its style and contents resemble the accounts of Cadiz expedition, Hammer argues that it is a "semi-political document" published in manuscript form as a product of a cooperative effort by Essex and his

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[142] Francis Bacon, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. John Spedding, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1854) 7.
[143] Bacon, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* vol. 2: 10.
[144] Bacon, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* vol. 2: 9; 12.
[145] Earl of Essex, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600) A2^{r}.

associates rather a genuine private letter.[146] There is no clear evidence to prove Spedding's or Hammer's interpretation conclusively. Yet from both cases, we can see the extent to which Essex attempted to accommodate his public image to the process of publication. In spite of the Privy Council's order to ban the publication of any account of Cadiz, manuscript newsletters of the battle were carefully phrased and edited for circulation in England as well as translated and despatched into France, The Netherlands and Italy to feed the appetite for news when warfare was the main issue in public discourse.[147] Essex also circumvented the prohibition on publishing accounts of his action at Cadiz by commissioning the production of a map drawn by Baptista Boazio, a former servant of Sir Francis Drake, together with an engraving of Essex as a soldier, by Thomas Cockson.[148] On 2 February 1600, as Richard McCoy points out, Cockson's heroic engraving of Essex was circulating, "with all his titles of honor, all his services, and two verses underneath that gave hym exceeding praise for wisdom, honor, worth."[149] As significant as the circulation of these printed images, were the Privy Council's response to them came in the form of suppression:

> There is of late a use brought up to engrave in brasse the pictures of noblemen and other persons and then to sell them printed in paper sett forth oftentimes with verse and other circumstances not fytt to be used. Because this custome doth growe common and indeed is not meete such publique setting forth of anie pictures but of her most excellent Majesty should be permitted yf the same be well done…[the Archbishop of Canterbury] will give direction that hereafter no personage of any noblemann or other person shalbe ingraven and printed to be putt to sale publiquely, and those prints that are already made to be called in.[150]

This evidence, as Annabel Patterson points out, reveals that there was "a struggle not only for the popular imagination but also, obviously, for control of the media by which that

[146] Hammer, "Letters of Travel Advice from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland: Some Comments," *Philological Quarterly* 74.3 (1995): 322.
[147] See Hammer, "Myth-making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596," *The Historical Journal* 40.3 (1997): 621-42.
[148] Hammer, "Myth-making" 636-7.
[149] Richard McCoy, "'A dangerous image': the Earl of Essex and Elizabethan Chivalry," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1983) 325.
[150] *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1599-1600*, ed. John R. Dasent, vol. 30 (London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office Mackie & Co., 1905) 619-20.

imagination was stimulated."[151] Unfortunately, as Cuffe's letter does not give us any clue to the identity of "some good printer[s]," it must remain a matter for speculation. Essex's propaganda campaign over Cadiz indicates that sometimes certain printers were used to boost his political influence by affecting public opinion and that the government combated this by suppressing the Earl's effort and producing its own propaganda. Hammer also argues that the attempt by Essex's circle to transmit their political and military ideas to a broader public audience challenged "both the conventions of late Elizabethan government and the political standing of his personal rivals who actually ran the government on the queen's behalf."[152] Given that the purpose of the publication of the Cadiz expedition was not that of a private memoir, but to publicise Essex's achievements and self-sacrifice in war, it is in this context that his impact on Elizabethan politics should be reassessed. In other words, such cheaply reproduced images distributed to the wide public played a significant role in creating a powerful symbolism of military virtue in the public arena.[153] Essex's acute awareness of the power of cheap print was crucial in creating a model for the future generation and in influencing the course of policy. Memories and accounts of Essex's military exploits assumed a greater prominence after 1618, (the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War), offering inspiration and guidance for a new generation of soldiers[154] And Essex, who had previously been projected as a hero of the 1596 expedition against Cadiz, now became a byword for chivalrous opposition to Spain as represented in an anti-Spanish pamphlet, *Essex his Ghost, Sent from Elizian*. (1624). This urged his audience to judge the current crisis through the lens of the previous reign: "if you know it not, let your Chronicles resolve you."[155] One of the

[151] Annabel Patterson, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 83-4.
[152] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile: the earl of Essex and late Elizabethan 'popularity," *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*,eds. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007)106
[153] Although Bozaio's map would not have given the Earl any propaganda advantage, it is worth noting that there was growing interest in military maps as part of the practice of modern warfare. In this regard, it allowed its readers to visualise the battle scene at Cadiz more clearly than Cockson's engraving.
[154] Furthermore, the identification of the third Earl of Essex as a champion of the commonwealth with images of his father became a recurrent theme in the propaganda and commemorative verses issued by the Earl and his partisans during the Civil War.
[155] Thomas Scott, *Essex his Ghost, Sent from Elizian* (1624) 6.

earliest expressions of this sort of Elizabethan nostalgia can be found in Heywood's 1606 edition of the Second Part of *If You know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, which dramatised the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

In the early seventeenth century, writers of conservative, patriotic, and nationalistic plays, and cheap print, recognised the explicit parallels between the 1590s and the 1620s and their works caused a rising tide of popular discontent. This grew to dangerous heights at the beginning of Charles I's reign.[156] The glorification of Elizabethanism by writers of historical plays and pamphlets in the early seventeenth century, and emphasising the glorification of war and martial values, had been initially fostered by members of the military circles in previous decades through various media including cheap print, visual arts, and theatre in order to influence the evolving forms of public discourse about foreign policy. If Jacobeans found both ballad and drama useful instruments for "voicing the feelings of the multitude," just as Elizabethans expressed themselves in printed or manuscript ballads as well as on stage, it can be argued that the emergence of the public sphere as it is formulated by Habermas should be dated earlier than the mid or late seventeenth century.[157] Taylor has observed that since the bookshop was "the Elizabethan and Jacobean precursor of the Restoration coffee shop," the emergence of the public sphere would have been stimulated by the bookstalls or printers' shops clustered in St. Paul's churchyard.[158] Randall has also argued that military news pamphlets of the 1590s had important implications for a free press and the creation of a public sphere in early modern England.[159]

Recent emphasis on a public sphere has been built on the development of the marketplace for print. Halasz argues that pamphlets and printing created a public sphere in the late

[156] For example, the 1633 edition, which included eighty lines of Armada and Tilbury camp scene, testifies to the increase in militarism by the mid-1630s. during the 1630s and 1640s, drama like Sir John Suckling's *Brennoralt* (1639) was used to advise Charles I to take a more active military role in both Continental and Scottish affairs and masques like William Davenant's *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* (1636) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640) were used to support the royal foreign policy.

[157] Louis, B. Wright, *Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North California, 1935) 424. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger with Patrick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass: Polity, 1989).

[158] Taylor, "Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623" 5.

[159] See Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* 6-11.

Elizabethan period, albeit in a manner which Hamermas did not predict: "the problem that Habermas identifies as an incursion of commercial interests into the public sphere is present from the moment a public sphere becomes imaginable."[160] The example of Wolfe's determination to use print for commercial interests seems to support Halasz's claim because of his shrewd entrepreneurial sense and ability to imagine the market value of print. However, what really distinguishes Wolfe is that he sensed the business opportunities created by publications of Armada ballads and military news pamphlets, which created a market for government propaganda. His success was inextricably linked with the members of military circles who attempted to manipulate and control public opinion. Given that Wolfe's ballads functioned as an instrument of propaganda to reinforce the resolve of all Protestants in England and to vilify the enemy, his cheap print can be seen as a product of official institutions that authorised the content of the press. His news pamphlets informed his readers—many of whom were potentially a rising generation of soldiers—establishing a form of intelligence report and simultaneously influencing the course of policy. This was possible, because cheap print became a discursive space in which members of the military circles and government rivals had a stake.

When we discuss the emergence of a public sphere, we must examine the relationship between the profit of the cheap print trade and the novelty of Essex's approach to it. Cheap print was a moneymaking enterprise and Wolfe was a capitalist. To be financially viable, cheap print must maintain its customer base. Wolfe's decision to associate himself with members of Essex's circle would have been based on his belief that a significant portion of his customers would come from those who were drawn towards Essex as the natural focus for military patronage, as well as those who were interested in the international conflicts. Essex's willingness to promote himself and his policies led him to circulate printed texts, partisan manuscripts, and engravings for his own polemical purposes. These omni-directional transmissions, intended to be received by the Queen and the public, would have caused Wolfe

[160] Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print* 162.

to calculate that there was a sizable market for this type of cheap print. Despite the existence of official censorship and a ban on the press reporting current conflicts, political references to Essex, using his name and reputation in cheap print, continued, even two decades later, which reinforces the claim that his self-promotion won the hearts and minds of the people. The ghostly representation of Essex and the explosion of military news pamphlets in the early 1620s were obvious examples demonstrating that there was a large customer base for printed materials about military information as well as for Essex's myth. Thus printers like Wolfe and Field were instrumental in the production and circulation of political pamphlets or ballads and their dissemination of printed and manuscript works by and about Essex contributed to what Hammer calls, "the growing commodification of politics," and, consequently, the creation of a public sphere, however rudimentary.[161]

6. Conclusion.

As has been demonstrated, military narratives in contemporary ballads and cheap pamphlets were important not only for propaganda purposes but also because they acted as an early form of newspaper, reporting fighting, atrocities, and bloodshed as well as giving coverage of the progress of the campaign on the continent of Europe, including tactical achievements. Reporting tactics was significant because they had strategic consequences for progress towards overall political and military goals. Sales of war ballads and military news pamphlets were prompted partly by the propagandistic motives of the military circles and partly by the financial motives of publishers/printers like John Wolfe. These two motives seemed to function in a complementary way, facilitating the reception of military values and language amongst a contemporary audience, as well as offering insight into how to translate military achievement into political goals. Perhaps, knowing how a small battle might convert a tactical triumph into strategic success at war, an audience would not have dismissed a stage-battle as a limited action. In fact, as seen from the cases of *Caesar and Pompey*, *Henry V*, and *Julius*

[161] Hammer, "The smiling crocodile" 110.

Caesar, the overall evidence of early modern drama points to a contemporary understanding that a war would have to be concluded through a series of battles, linked together in a campaign, rather than a single battle, and that the outcome of the war was not purely a result of divine intervention or a conspicuous heroic action.

Comparison between publications of cheap print in the 1590s and the 1620s also reveals that the Elizabethan period marked the beginning of a long-term trend in wartime propaganda, although the volume and range of such activity expanded exponentially in the later period. In the following chapter, I will explore the extent to which sermons and other religious material helped create expectations in a wartime audience. This will help demonstrate that military culture was not only relevant for military men but for all early modern Englishmen.

Chapter 5
Religion

1. Introduction

During the age of religious wars, particularly the war between England and Spain in the 1580s and 1590s, and at the end of the time of peace in the reign of King James I, in the 1620s, all official celebrations and preparations for war were primarily religious, as well as patriotic, in character. If we really want to understand how public opinion was influenced at this time, we need to examine religion and its relationship with contemporary military culture. It is important to remember that at this time it was compulsory to attend the Church of England and anyone who did not attend was penalised and viewed with suspicion. Preachers therefore had a guaranteed audience and their influence was profound. This chapter will address the question of how the patronage of preachers became one of the central issues amongst members of military circles and the extent to which early modern 'just war' theory contributed to shaping characteristics of military culture.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the military expression of religious culture in early modern England, as the case of Henry Smith—whom Nashe called the "Silver-tongued" preacher of Elizabethan England—demonstrates.[1] Contemporary preachers assumed that their audiences were highly receptive to viewing the experience of religious conflict in military terms. Apart from Calvin's fondness for using the metaphor of a Christian as a soldier, during the years of war between England and Spain sermons like those of Smith, which Patrick Collinson has called "prophetic sermons," placed special emphasis on comparisons between England as Israel and Spain as Egypt; between Elizabeth as Moses and Philip II as Pharaoh; and between England as David and Spain as Goliath, thus equating the current military conflict with that of ancient Israel.[2] Given that Protestant mottos such as

[1] Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penniless," *Selected Works*, ed. Stanley Wells (London: Edward Arnold, 1964) 51.

[2] For a discussion of how Protestant preachers interpret the Bible typologically, see Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1988). Like Henry Smith, Roger Hacket compared Philip II to Naash, King of Ammon (1 Samuel, chapter 11) and made Saul's calling up of the men of Israel a patriotic summons to Englishmen to

"God breathed, and they were scattered," were commemorated in medals and tapestries, paintings and poems, sermons and prayers, it is easy to see why Elizabethans were familiar with the view that the defeat of the Spanish Armada was a direct result of divine intervention.[3]

Alexandra Walsham has shown that providentialism played an important role in forging a collective Protestant consciousness as a kind of "cultural cement," which interpreted later historical events like the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and Prince Charles's return from Madrid in 1623 as signs of God's special covenant with the elect English people.[4] Since divine care of the common cause was announced not only by the official statements from the government and the church, but also by contemporary news books and pamphlets, the victory over the Spanish Armada was generally accepted as a guarantee of God's continuing support in the Spanish war.[5] In fact, asserting that "[it] would be no less serious a mistake to suppose that those who bought and read prophetic sermons were denizens of a different religious and cultural universe from those who consumed pamphlets and ballads," Walsham has argued that a large number of providential ballads and pamphlets significantly contributed to creating the popularity of providentialism amongst the Elizabethan and early Stuart public.[6] David Cressy concluded that anti-Catholic providentialism integrated political integrity with Protestant identity in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England.[7]

The study of contemporary sermons on military subjects will show that their military language appeared in the guise of providentialism and confirmed Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences in a belief that "enemies abroad, enemies at home, forren enemies, domesticall enemies, open enemies, [and] secret enemies" aimed at the destruction of Protestantism and

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defend country and religion. See *A Sermon Needfull for These Times* (1591).

[3] M. J. Rodriquez-Salgado, *Armada, 1558-1988: An International Exhibition to Commemorate the Spanish Armada* (London: Penguin, 1988) 276.

[4] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) 5; 245.

[5] See Walsham, *Providence* 32-51. It is worth comparing the particular relationship between cheap print and Protestantism to the similar parallel modes of public discourse between cheap print and political propaganda which have been discussed in the previous chapter.

[6] Walsham, *Providence* 63.

[7] See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (London: Sutton, 2004) 93-129.

especially of Protestant England.[8] It is evident that militant Protestantism worked as what Lisa Jardine has called "the group consciousness" on which "social practice depends, and which provides the boundary conditions for individual self-affirmation and action," when war was waged against Counter-Reformation Catholicism.[9] Under such circumstances, messages from the pulpit served effectively as an official, governmental means to influence public opinion, as did John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1556), which depicted Catholic atrocities against members of the Protestant clergy in graphic detail.[10] The justification of war in terms of Christianity was a response to a national security crisis but the shift from general theological debate to a pragmatic justification of war in terms of the cause of Protestantism was the product of the culture epitomised by aristocratic military commanders.

2. A new association between war and Protestant piety

If Elizabethan England, as John Hale suggests, was "an unmilitaristic country where armies were raised with great difficulties," then contemporary sermons would have been considered propagandistic tools, not only to justify but also to foment war, because Protestant preachers were considered men "whose teeth [were] spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword" against their enemy.[11]

Traditionally, the church had permitted or encouraged certain forms of military activities, provided that wars were not conducted for the sake of glory and self-aggrandisement. The *Homilies*, for example, taught that those who defend "the honour of their prince and liberty of

[8] E. R., *Two Fruitfull Exercises* (1588) 170.
[9] Lisa Jardine, "No Offence i'th'World," *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London: Routledge, 1996) 37.
[10] According to William Haller, Foxe's book was "an expression of the national faith second in authority only to the Bible and as an unanswerable defence of England's ideological position on the contemporary struggle for national independence and power." See William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Cape, 1963) 14. The same may be said of Catholic preachers who served the Catholic Church by fighting against Protestant heresy. Although there was not an Elizabethan Catholic equivalent of Foxe's book, Catholic presses on the Continent consistently produced horrifying accounts and images of the suffering endured by English Catholics. See Thomas M. McCoog, "Constructing martyrdom in the English Catholic community, 1582-1602," *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation': Religions Politics and Identity in Earl Modern England*, ed. Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005) 94-127.
[11] John Hale, "Incitement to Violence? English Divines on the Themes of war, 1578 to 1631," *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 487; Curtis C. Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (London: MacMillan, 1996) 188; "Psalms 57:4," *The Geneva Bible* (1599).

their country against the invasion of foreign enemies," and that those who died in foreign war with a good conscience in serving "God, their prince, and their country" were "children of eternal salvation."[12] This kind of message motivated people to commit sacrificial acts in war for reward in the life to come.

However, necessity often forced the clergy to act beyond their religious advisory role. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, called on the clergy to contribute in the Armada year, Robert Wood, vicar of Shephall, went up to London and brought a caliver, saying "the demand could not have come to me in a worse time for I was bare of money, yet the Queen's Majesty must and shall be served."[13] "I will execute vengeance on myne enemies [the Spaniards]," said Edmund Harris in a Paul's Cross sermon in 1588, "and will reward them that hate me. I will make myne arrows dronke with their blood."[14] It is clear that the clergy became involved in the war effort in a number of ways, whether by encouraging a congregation to fight or storing armour, powder, and other provisions for military purposes in churches.[15] It is not difficult to imagine that the kind of moralising found in religious works would have served "to marshall opinion and to interpret God's blessing as an overwhelming endorsement of the Elizabethan regime."[16] Curtis Breight agrees that what he calls "the entire apparatus of the state church"—public sermons and prayers—were "mobilized to consecrate 'Holy War' against the dual Antichrist of Pope and Spain."[17]

Psalm singing was very popular amongst the laity, so much so that it became what John Buxton calls "a Homeric epithet of the Puritans."[18] This was not merely a matter of public religious rites, for, as Tessa Watt argues, psalms displaced ballads as the "definitive godly

[12] *The Two Books of Homilies appointed to be read in Churches*, ed. John Griffiths (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1859) 574.
[13] Quoted in Hale, "Incitement to Violence?" 491.
[14] Edward Harris, *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* (1588) A5^{v}.
[15] See Hale, "Incitement to Violence?" 490.
[16] David Cressy, "The Spanish Armada: Celebration, Myth and Memory," *England and the Spanish Armada*, eds. J. Doyle and B. Moore (Canberra: Australian Defence Force Academy, 1990) 161.
[17] Curtis C. Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and the Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) 188.
[18] John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (London: Macmillan, 1963) 179. Buxton outlines a few occasions when great crowds gathered for singing at Paul's Cross after service time in Elizabeth's reign. For example in 1560 Bishop Jewel told Peter Martyr that "sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be six thousand people singing together." Buxton 179.

songs" in the late sixteenth century and many of the publications of metrical psalms anticipated domestic use. There is plenty of evidence that pious households sang psalms as part of their domestic religious observation, or for private recreation, and many of them, written during David's military campaigns, included military language and metaphor.[19] For example, Psalm 18 reads,

> God my strength and fortitude,
> of force I must loue the:
> Thou art my castell & defence
> in mine necessitie.
> My god my rock in whom I trust
> y^{e} worker of my wealth,
> my refuge, buckler & my shield,
> y^{e} horn of al mi health.[20]

Similarly, in Psalm 28 David defines God in military terms: "He is my shield and fortitude, / my buckeler in destresse."[21] More specifically, in Psalm 35 God is described as a warrior:

> Lorde pleade my cause against my foes,
> confounde their force and myght:
> Fyght on my part, against all those,
> that seke with me to fight.
> Lay hand vpon thy speare & shild,
> thy selfe in armour dres:
> stand vp for me & fight the feld,
> to help me from distress.[22]

Watt points out that Sternhold and Hopkins's *The Booke of Psalmes*—the version used universally in services (first printed by John Day in 1562)—ran into nearly five hundred editions over the century. Military language and metaphor became familiar to contemporary audiences through singing psalms which were well known and valued "not only of religious principle but also of their practical features of memorability".[23]

By the time of the Civil War, the metrical psalm was recruited by both royalists and parliamentarians for keeping morale high[24] and it is significant that texts from the Geneva

[19] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550- 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 55.
[20] Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562) 31.
[21] Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562) 59.
[22] Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562) 74-5.
[23] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* 56.
[24] Nicholas Temperley, "'If any of you be mery let hym synge psalmes': The Culture of Psalms in Church and Home," Jessie Ann Owens, ed. *"Noyses, sounds, and sweet aires": Music in Early Modern England*

Bible were used as an exhortation to fight God's enemies and as a checklist of moral instruction for the Parliamentary armies in *The Soldier's Pocket Bible* (1643). This Bible was compiled by Edmund Calamy who was a member of the third Earl of Essex's circle. These examples clearly demonstrate how military language and metaphor worked effectively within the common understanding and remind us that patronage of preachers, by aristocratic members of the military circles in the late sixteenth century, created a bond between the religious and the military which had a practical military purpose.

Given the importance of religion to men in military circles and their evident connections with Calvinist preachers, such as Anthony Gilby, Toby Matthew, and John Stubbs, David Trim has recently argued that shared fear of Catholicism created a "conscious transnational movement," producing a steady stream of English recruits for the protestant armies in France and the Low Countries between 1562 and 1642.[25] However, as Rory Rapple pointed out, the religious motivation of English soldiers, stressed in Trim's work, was absent from developments in military campaigns in Ireland where the true motivation appeared to be colonization rather than defending Protestantism against a cruel tyrant.

Whereas Trim sees religion as the primary motivator, Rapple sees political rewards as central to service in Ireland.[26] Both approaches are incomplete, however, because the religious dimension of military leadership was as important as the political dimension. Rapple has portrayed Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a younger son with sparse financial resources, as a man who pursued personal glory as the spur above all other towards vigorous military service.[27] His contemporary, Thomas Churchyard, depicted him as avowedly a pagan, who lacked any sense of God's mercy, and attributed his successful effort to establish an Irish plantation in 1569 to what we may call the use of terrorism:

(Washington D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006) 96. See also Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 80.

[25] David Trim, "Calvinist Internationalism and the English Officer Corps, 1562-1642," *Historical Compass* 4.6(2005) 1024. For Those Calvinists' connections with military men, see Trim, "Calvinist Internationalism" 1032-3.

[26] Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009) 16-7.

[27] Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture* 83.

> His maner was that the heddes of all those…which were killed in the daie, should be cutte of from their bodies, and brought to the place where he incamped at night: and should there bee laied on the ground, by eche side of the waie leadying into his owne Tente: so that none could come into his Tente for any cause, but commonly he must passe through a lane of heddes, which he used ad terrorem, the deed feeling nthyng the more paines thereby: and yet did it bring greate terrour to the people, when thei sawe the heddeds of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke, and freendes, lye on the grounde before their faces, as thei came to speake with the saied Collenell.[28]

However, when Gilbert led the English troops in Dutch employ at Flushing in 1572, he regarded the Spanish as "enemies of the Christian cause" and expressed himself in the terms of a Christian soldier, declaring himself ready "to taeke any thynge in hande with Gedion's fayethe."[29] In 1599 Churchyard wrote, *The Fortunate Farewell to the most forward and Noble Earle of Essex,* intended as a spur to him to deliver the all-out suppression of Irish resistance and the complete imposition of Protestant English culture in Ireland, figuring the Irish as "the sons of shame, and children of Gods wrath, / With wolvish minds…lying, like dogs, in litter, dung, and strawe, / Bred as bruet beasts that knoes ne ruel nor lawe."[30] Essex, however, urged a show of justice and some degree of goodwill towards the country and its people.

Throughout their military actions, both Gilbert's and Essex's attitudes to the treatment of prisoners were straightforward and consistent and their objectives were the same: setting up strict discipline in camp. The difference between the two was that the former saw Ireland as a colonial project whereas the latter gave priority to war with Spain over Irish affairs, due to the logistical difficulties of conducting two wars simultaneously. Perhaps, as Hammer suggests, his ambition to emulate Sidney's role as a Protestant chivalric hero inspired Essex to play a part upon "the stage of Christendom" rather than a "miserable beggarly…war" in Ireland.[31] In fact, Essex left the business of Irish affairs to Cecil, while he was concentrating on the Cadiz expedition.

If Essex's attack on Cadiz, which aimed at the complete destruction of Spanish power by

[28] Thomas Churchyard, *The Generall Rehearsall of Warre* (1579) Q3^{v}.
[29] Quoted in Trim, "Calvinist Internationalism" 1032.
[30] Thomas Churchyard, *The Fortunate Farewell to the most forward and Noble Earle of Essex* (1599) A2^{v}.
[31] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 137.

making Cadiz a permanent English base (despite the fact that it required a immense financial burden) had been successful, it would have impacted upon Cecilian influence in politics, regarding foreign and military affairs—including the conduct of the Irish campaign.[32] Elizabeth appears to have left them to pursue their own views of policy as best they might, when her England was incapable of conducting two major wars at the same time, but a discussion of which was the best choice for the country's interest is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that military commanders like Essex fought a war without the government's full commitment, which caused a huge impact upon the physical and moral welfare of soldiers.

Essex, drawing on his personal experience of war, must have been concerned with the physical and moral discipline of soldiers and he promoted the cultivation of a distinct image in the minds of his troops as a perfect Protestant warrior, who acted upon precise observance of the rules of war.[33] As we have seen, his efforts certainly enhanced his military reputation. Essex himself avowedly claimed that his camp was "the best schoole to make religion truly felt, and piety and honestie to be duly practiced."[34] Therefore, for him, what mattered most in war was not simply personal faith nor reward, but in what way and to what extent a military leader made use of Protestant beliefs, symbols and vocabulary to justify his actions.[35] The religious dimension was significant for Essex as it had traditionally been linked to divine assistance in war, spiritual purification before combat, and the support of the prayer and intercession of the clergy. He also made use of religion for maintaining physical and moral discipline in his armies.

We must also remember that the concern amongst many about the plight of the people, and the economic, social and moral effects of war had the potential to affect government

[32] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 367.
[33] During his military actions, Essex assured the innocent, especially women and children, full protection from his troops and made his soldiers pay for everything they took, "even to the value of a hen." See Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 230.
[34] Robert Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600) B3^{v}.
[35] Rapple's argument cannot be easily dismissed, because Ireland was a colonial project and those who fought in the war sought political offices and patronage as prizes. Nevertheless, his study might be criticised as incomplete because it does not include Essex's Irish campaign.

policy. In the population at large, and particularly amongst London traders, there was always a distaste for the wastefulness and brutality of war, though the chivalric ethic gave a romantic flavour to the military exercises of the trained bands of London.

To demonstrate the extent to which the pacifist discourse influenced early modern English society, literary critics have traced the peace language evident in a variety of literary genres, especially in the works of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, which continued to be printed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[36] Erasmus detested wars as a "tragedy" that contains "a mass of evils that the heart of man is loath even to remember it."[37] More was hostile to fighting for fighting's sake, counting "nothing so much against glory as glory gotten in war."[38]

When Elizabeth I's policy was to avoid war and seek peace and its accompanying prosperity, and James I sought to maintain peace in England as well as Europe through the ultimate reunion of Protestants and Catholics, the rhetoric of peace was lauded more than the rhetoric of militancy. Although peace ideas were contemplated more during this period than ever before, they were "not the dominant consideration in early modern English policy or social thought."[39] My point, however, is not that pacifism had merely faded away because militant Protestantism was seen as the most effective instrument to impose the will of the elite on their (sometimes illiterate) social inferiors but that religious ideology fitted into military ethics in order to promote the soldier's readiness, safety, health, discipline, morale, and professional standards. This is significant because military values in a religious message fostered a sense of duty, mission, and historic connection to God's will amongst soldiers, and, at the same time, helped to forge a "group consciousness" that united zealous Protestants and

[36] See Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1997) and R. S. White, *Pacifism and English Literature: Minstrels of Peace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
[37] Desiderius Erasmus, "*Dulce bellum inexpertis*," *The Adages of Erasmus*, ed. William W. Barker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 322.
[38] Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 97.
[39] Lowe, *Imagining Peace* 308.

the silent conforming majority.[40] More importantly, patronage of preachers and religious writers by members of the military circles of Leicester, Sidney, Essex and Prince Henry became the first instance of the use of religion for distinctive militaristic purposes, as preachers propagated a sense of military obligation to God and country, linking religious faith to soldiers' patriotism and military training, and field commanders, in turn, accommodated religious practices for other than religious reasons.

Under these circumstances, though medieval accounts of the chivalric rules regarding battlefield behaviour waned, due to the development of military professionalism, a new tradition developed amongst men in military circles, in particular the just war tradition. In this process, a certain group of preachers and religious writers, who were aware of political aspects of early modern warfare, used their preaching and writing in support of aggressive military policies, by rousing the troops to battle and justifying wars as an expression of God's will and also by explaining that motives for war were no longer strictly religious and defensive. Therefore, we need to consider the extent to which contemporary sermons and religious writings served as means of militaristic propaganda, despite the fact that the existence of a broad spectrum of religious beliefs still obscures our understanding of the nature of the religious culture of the age. Additionally, I will argue that leading military patrons, especially Essex, must have welcomed the emergence of new media such as public sermons and printed works, which could be harnessed to propagate their military and political message on a large scale, and that a group of preachers and religious writers who depended on their support adjusted their rhetorical arguments in order to appeal their patrons.

3. Military and political dimensions of early modern sermons and religious writings

In his essay "War and Opinion" Hale raises an issue concerning the role of sermons in the fifteenth and sixteenth century as war propaganda and comparing them to propaganda plays

[40] Walsham, *Providence* 5. Jardine, "No Offence i'th'World" 37.

directed by the government.[41] As Mary Morrissey points out, the importance of sermons in early modern studies has been neglected partly because of the volume of material, partly as a product of the changing emphasis in both historical and literary studies.[42] Historians have sampled contemporary sermons from here and there as primary sources for real-life events or for information about the lives and feelings of contemporaries in whom they have been interested.[43] Meanwhile, literary critics have also studied the sermon as a literary text which reflects different religious emphases. W. F. Mitchell's *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson*, Alan Fager Herr's *The Elizabethan Sermon*, and J. W. Blench's *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* all drew scholarly attention to the rhetoric of sermons.[44] The attention devoted by these critics to the texts of sermons, however, was chiefly as part of a debate about the history of English prose, which saw the mounting conflict between Puritanism and high church Anglicanism reflected in the styles used in the pulpit. It was argued that while Puritans practised a plain style, Anglican preachers used an ornate and witty style—the so-called "metaphysical" style.[45]

More recently, Peter McCullough and Lori Anne Ferrell, as co-editors of *The English Sermons Revised*, have demonstrated how early modern sermons, with their rhetorical artfulness and political engagement, played an important part in the formation of public opinion.[46] As he states in his *Sermons at Court* (1998), McCullough sees early modern

[41] John Hale, "War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Past and Present* 22 (1962): 25.
[42] Mary Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity and the study of early modern sermons," *The Historical Journal* 42.2 (1999): 1112.
[43] Historians like Patrick Collinson, John Sears McGee, John Morgan, and Paul Seaver have studied a variety of printed sermons to show the importance of preaching in strengthening the Reformation in England. Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity" 1113. See Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Cape, 1967), *The religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), and *Godly People: Essays on English Protestants and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon, 1983); J. Sears McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables, 1620-1670* (Yale: Yale UP, 1976); John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes toward Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986); and Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1970).
[44] W. F. Mitchell. *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrews to Tillotson* (London; New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Macmillan 1932); Alan Fager Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon: a Survey and a Bibliography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940); J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964).
[45] Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1995) 52.
[46] See Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*

sermons preached before the monarch as the most "visible, frequent, and carefully noted literary genre" at the Elizabethan court and also asserts that "not Shakespearean drama, and not even the Jonsonian masque" but the sermon was "the pre-eminent literary genre" at the Jacobean court.[47] Similarly, Ferrell argues that it was not masques but sermons that "were the major organs of political self-expression at the Jacobean court."[48] Their emphasis on the theatricality and affective rhetoric of sermons, and on the government's attempt to use sermons for political ends, provides a useful insight into ways in which we can read sermons as both texts and events. Furthermore, the essays gathered in *The English Sermons Revised*—like Andrew Fitzmaurice's on the rhetoric of the Virginia Company sermons and Arnold Hunt's on the sermons for Essex and about Essex's revolt—highlight the use of sermons for specific ends, either by the monarch or by particular political and religious groups. In previous chapters, I have argued that patronage of literature, visual arts, music, drama, and cheap print by members of the military circles formed a concentrated programme to foment pro-military sentiments in the minds and hearts of contemporaries. It is now necessary to consider the role of sermons far more thoroughly in this context. In fact, by the end of the sixteenth century, when English identity became fully linked to Protestantism, and the international religious threats continued to influence politics in England, Protestant preachers' stress upon military values was well expressed by a contemporary soldier, Sir John Smythe, who described this period as a time when "Religio*n*, Policie and the Arte and science Militarie [were] the conservers of humane societie."[49]

There is little doubt that early modern sermons delivered from the pulpit were an important means of disseminating propaganda but we still need to review how they did this. Godfrey Davies suggested that there was a minimum of 360,000 sermons delivered in England

(Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998); Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998); McCullough and Ferrell, eds. *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).

[47] McCullough, *Sermons at Court* 3; 125.

[48] Ferrell, *Government by Polemic* 10.

[49] Sir John Smythe, *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Militarie* (1595) 1.

between 1600 and 1640. This was based on pure guesswork and he only counted one sermon per parish per year. Based on the same calculation, Hale counted a minimum of 450,000 sermons between 1580 and 1630.[50] There is significant difference between these two statistics, but this does not detract from the obvious value of contemporary sermons in forming popular opinion. Furthermore, if 'live' spoken sermons, for example at St. Paul's Cross, reached an audience of thousands, printed ones gained an even wider and more complex audience, considering that religious books, including the Bible, books of prayers and manuals of religious conduct, along with printed sermons, accounted for the largest portion of the total output of the English printing presses during this period. Naseeb Shaheen declares that "along with the Bible and the *Book of Common Prayer*, homilies were among the best-known writings in Shakespeare's day."[51] It is evident that the government sought to mould the thoughts and control the lives of its subjects and the *Homilies* were revised whenever the Queen and her council felt the need to add new material, such as "Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion" in response to the Northern Rebellion of 1569, and the Ridolfi Plot of 1571, which plotted the invasion of England and intended to depose Elizabeth and put Mary Queen of Scots on the throne.[52] The use of the *Homilies*, therefore, implied a deliberate political attempt to make an impression on the public, continually stressing that subjects had no right to question or judge their monarch and that to rebel against a good king was sinful.

Apart from the government's attempt to control public opinion by means of ordinary preaching, speeches and sermons were given at special occasions like thanksgiving services, funerals and public executions. Special services were occasioned by military actions during the Armada years, such as Drake's success at Cadiz in 1587, the defeat of the Armada in 1588,

[50]Godfrey Davies, "English Political Sermons, 1603-1640," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 3 (1939): 1; Hale, "Incitement to Violence?" 490.
[51] Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999) 56.
[52] See Shaheen, *Biblical References* 56-7. See also Luc Borot, "The Bible and Protestant Inculturation in the Homilies of the Church of England," *The Bible in the Renaissance*, ed. Richard Griffiths (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 150-75.

and Essex's success at Cadiz in 1596.[53] On 24th November, 1588 Elizabeth herself came to Paul's Cross to attend a thanksgiving service. She charmed her way there by displaying herself on a chariot-throne and being followed by her secretaries and many footmen, reminding her audience of a Roman Triumph, which Francis Bacon thought not "pageantry or gaudery," but the "wisest and noblest institution."[54] The spectators must have been reminded of the occasion when the Queen, being compared to Mars and Bellona, went to meet her troops at Tilbury camp a few months before.[55] In 1623, when Prince Charles's Spanish Match was abandoned, Archbishop Abbot, whom McCullough calls "the patriarch of anti-Spanish conformist Calvinism," orchestrated Charles's return as a triumphal entry into London.[56] Simonds D'Ewes, who was a student at the Middle Temple at the time, described the prince's passage as a triumphal event with bonfire smoke and crowds cheering: "London never before saw so many bonfires at one time…here in London all shops were shut, the day was turned to a holiday, with bells ringing and mirth and jollity."[57] Shortly after the Spanish journey, a preacher William Loe, presenting his sermon to Prince Charles, regarded the prince's return without a Spanish bride as an event that marked his conversion "from the ploys of his father's Hispanophile pacifism to an English defence of European Protestantism."[58]

As for public executions, J. A. Sharpe argues that they were not "simple displays of brutality intended to cow or entertain some animalistic mob," rather they were "carried out in a context of ceremony and ritual" in order to "articulate a particular set of values."[59] While only a small number of people might witness an execution, the values it was intended to articulate could reach a wider audience later through accounts of events in printed versions

[53] Sir Sidney Lee, ed. *Shakespeare's England*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1917) 66.
[54] Millar MacLure, *Register of Sermons Preached at Paul's Cross 1534-1642*, revised and expanded by Peter Pauls and Jackson Campbell Boswell (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1989) 66. Francis Bacon, *The Philosophical Works*, ed. John M. Robertson (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1905) 774.
[55] James Aske, *Elizabethan Triumphans* (1588).
[56] McCullough, *Sermons at Court* 207; Cressy 94.
[57] Quoted in David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) 94.
[58] McCullough, *Sermons at Court* 208.
[59] J. A. Sharpe, "'Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 107 (1985): 146; 148.

with visual images which made its readers accustomed to the public display of cruel violence.[60] In the same way, funeral sermons like that for Essex's late father, Walter Devereux, in 1577, and that for Philip Sidney in 1587, were used to express aristocratic virtues and Protestant values, and printed accounts of the events reached out to a wide audience.[61] For example, Walter Devereux's funeral affirmed that he died an exemplary Christian death, calling out: "Courage, courage! I am a soldier that must fight under the banner of my saviour Christ!"[62] More specifically, sermons like Thomas Nun's, "The Apologie of the Portugal Voyage"—which was probably originally delivered from the pulpit, and presumably soon after the 1589 expedition's return—confirms our understanding of the extent to which public sermons used a politically sensitive event to mould public opinion. Nun states that "this voyage is euill spoke off of some, whome nothing contenteth, and bitter to others that lost their friends," and conversely "to the godly death is no curse, and as for the rest it is great blessing to the land that they neuer returned."[63]

Significantly the Portugal expedition of 1589 gained fresh currency in Nun's sermon in 1596. This was the year of the Cadiz expedition, in which Essex played a prominent role. It is no accident that soon after the 1596 expedition, Essex used a whole range of genres to defend his military action, including William Barlow's sermon.[64] Historians read public executions, public funerals, and similar events as symbolic texts, or as important forms of propaganda, while they regarded the public theatre as a relatively marginal form. However, we must remember that the ways in which sermons promoted particular religious and political values, amongst members of the military circles and beyond, paralleled the ways in which contemporary drama and cheap print were used in moulding opinion—as demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4.

[60] R. A. Foakes, *Shakespeare and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 28.
[61] See Ronal Strickland, "Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral," *ELH* 57.1 (1990): 19-36; Paul J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabeth Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 21-2.
[62] Quoted in Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds* (London: Penguin, 2001) 253.
[63] Thomas Nun, *A Comfort against the Spaniard* (1596) C2^{r}; C4^{r}.
[64] See Hammer, "Myth-making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz 1596," *The Historical Journal* 40.3 (1997): 621-42; 636 and William Barlow, *A Sermon in Praise of Essex's Victory at Cadiz* (1596).

To understand how sermons fed into the development of a military culture, we need to acknowledge that preachers like William Barlow had a direct hand in propagating a military ethos, just as scholars and artists worked for the formation of the image of a Protestant warrior. Whereas Barlow had preached at Paul's Cross, on 8 August 1596, in celebration of Essex's victory at Cadiz, he was later forced to preach against Essex in order to discredit the Earl.[65] Given that his account of Essex's execution was subsequently circulated in both manuscript and printed format and was widely copied into commonplace books, and that his account comparing the Earl to the "discontented Romane" Coriolanus, are still widely cited by literary scholars who have uncritically accepted Barlow's account and, as a result, have been unfavourable to Essex, his sermon must have served well for propaganda purposes.[66] Despite Barlow's quest for flaws in the character of Essex, there was a general attempt to assimilate being a good soldier into the image of being a good Christian and a combination of both Christian and pagan models was exploited in attempting to create an ideal of the perfect warrior. One of the most influential examples was the passage from Matthew Sutcliffe's *The Practice, Proceddings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593) that speaks of Essex:

> The only hope that susteineth me, and hath thus farre in these my endeuours auanced mee, is grounded vpon that expectation, which all this nation hath of your heroical actions. God hath placed your lordship as it were on a high stage in this estate: never man had greater favour of the beholder, nor was more likely to obtain a singular applause of the people. All mens eyes are fixed vpon you, to see what effects will follow those vertues, and partes, the which already haue made our name honourable, as others choose ease, so your Lordship hath followed the wearisome trauailes of warres.[67]

Dedicating his book to Essex, Sutcliffe warned the Earl about the dangers the country might run if it did not enforce an efficient military organisation. He hoped that Essex would take this task upon himself, following "the right course & true discipline of armes confirmed by

[65] See William Barlow, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Cross, on the First Sunday in Lent: Martij 1. 1600* (1601) E3^{r}-E7^{r}. For Essex's political enemies' effort to deface the Earl's public image, see Hammer, "The smiling crocodile: the earl of Essex and late Elizabethan 'popularity'," *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007) 107-8.

[66] Barlow, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Cross* C3^{v}. Barlow's description of Essex is often quote in discussions of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, and usually to Essex's detriment. See Robin Headlam Wells, *Shakespeare on Masculinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 153 and David Bevington, *Shakespeare and Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010) 58.

[67] Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceddings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593) B2^{r}-B2^{v}.

ancient & later precedents of most experts warriors [from Caesar to La Noue].”[68]

The title page of Sutcliffe’s work used a Biblical quotation to illustrate the importance of the question of whether a small force could defeat a large enemy force: “What king going to make warre with a forreine prince, sitteth not downe first, and taketh counsel, whether he be able with ten thousand, to meete him that commeth against him with twentie thousand?”[69] Despite the fact that he was Dean of Exeter, Sutcliffe’s main motivation appears to spring from the military aspect, rather than the spiritual message, and he used his military knowledge to analyse various factors such as the physical conditions of the soldiers, enemy, weather, time, terrain, and stratagem.[70] In other words, Sutcliffe employed religious language and imagery, but conveyed a military and political lesson.

Although he belittled Machiavelli’s work for being written by one who lacked actual military experience, in his admiration of Roman models, especially Caesar, Sutcliffe agreed with Machiavelli on many points. For example, like Machiavelli, Sutcliffe was opposed to the employment of foreign mercenaries and advocated the use of “all manners of stratagems and devices of warre” to gain advantage over the enemy.[71]

Interestingly, in contrast to the traditional ‘just war’ or ‘defensive war’ theory, which prohibited preventive actions, Sutcliffe even proclaimed that “it is far better for the English nation…to invade the Spanish, or any other enemy in his own country, than to receive their assault and invasion here at home, or to stay until we see the enemy on our own coast.”[72] For Essex, and Sutcliffe himself, this idea was not new, as both joined the Portugal expedition of 1589. However, it is significant that while Sutcliffe was one of the earliest who extensively set out the theoretical principles for the so-called “preventive war” in the sense that preventive measures could guarantee security from future attack, Essex’s Cadiz expedition—which was

[68] Sutcliffe, *The Practice*, B4^{v}.
[69] Sutcliffe, *The Practice*, Title page.
[70] They are almost equal to the factors, such as mission, enemy, terrain and weather, troops, and time available, which must be considered before planning and executing the mission today.
[71] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* Z4^{v}.
[72] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* P4^{v}.

intended to neutralise Spanish sea-power and maintain a permanent blockade of Spanish ports and to seize Spain's place as the dominant power in the East and West Indies—was one of the earliest examples of preventive war in the modern sense.[73] It is not surprising, then, that, when Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham began war against Spain, they decided to conduct an amphibious expedition against Cadiz. There were some superficial similarities to the 1596 expedition. But whereas the operational success (amphibious operation) in 1596 did not translate into strategic success (seizing the strategic initiative away from Spain by destroying the foundation of its military power: the Spanish fleet), the expedition in 1625 failed due to an "almost total lack of strategic planning."[74] Thus, unlike the medieval perspective on war as "the scourge of God to punish us for our wicked and abominable living," the Elizabethan perspective, in a period of transition, derived from changing political and religious attitudes toward war, as found, most notably, in Machiavelli's careful rational analysis of politics and war.[75] While there is no direct evidence showing that Sutcliffe's proposal of a preventive war influenced Essex's military planning, his book clearly reflects the general mood for a more aggressive stance in military and political affairs and in the clergy's role in mobilising public sentiment.

Since the Machiavellian secular attitude toward politics was widely circulated in Elizabethan England, many Elizabethans would have recognised that religion could function as a form of participation in secular politics. To determine the extent to which religion was considered necessary as a way of instructing soldiers, it is interesting to note that Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre*, which was relatively uncontroversial compared to works such as *The Prince* and *Discourses upon the First Decade of T. Livius*, was translated into English earlier than his other works. When the Queen and her captains were planning to raise a new army, they would be unlikely to ignore Machiavelli's views on religion and military

[73] See L. W. Henry, "The Earl of Essex as Strategist and Military Organizer (1596-7)," *The English Historical Review* 68.268 (1953): 363-93.
[74] Mark C, Fisse1, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001) 257.
[75] Thomas Becon, "The Policy of War," *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1843) 240.

matters: "in keeping disposed the souldiers in olde time, to fight for their countrie, the religion availed much."[76]

The use of religion to generate bonds of loyalty between the ruler and the subject and to motivate soldiers on the battlefield was not new but the concept of using religion as a tool for political or military means was explicitly expressed for the first time by Machiavelli. This pragmatic attitude at the expense of Christian morality, in fact, caught the attention of many and caused much debate.[77] As Roger Ascham's description of Machiavelli as the patriarch of the religion of impiety shows, his name was associated with deceit, immorality, and impiety and his political doctrines were seen as dangerous.[78]

However, we must remember that his book on war was published and dedicated to the Queen in 1562. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, his *Arte of Warre* was promoted through the patronage of the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle and became a popular work which was subsequently found in the libraries of many contemporary soldiers well into the seventeenth century. Indeed, by the last decades of the sixteenth century, the thoughts of earlier pacifist writers were superseded and their influence dispersed, as "the spirit of age was much more Machiavellian than Erasmian."[79] In the context of the changing nature of early modern warfare, the notion of limited war became obsolete.

Religion was now regarded by soldiers as a reason to fight and kill and a reason to maintain good order and discipline in their military life. This was evident in William Garrard's *The Arte of Warre* (1591) where Garrard suggests that in order to uphold martial law:

> special care must be had to prouide one man amongst the many scores of souldiers, that may gouerne and direct in spiritual causes, who ought to be wise, learned, honest, sober, patient, and of exemplare life: who must offer vp dayly sacrifice of thankes for his whole companie, must instruct them to

[76] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre* (1588) 65.
[77] For Machiavelli's English public image in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, see Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).
[78] See Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (1570) 84-5. Both *The Prince* and *Discourses* had been banned from publication during the Elizabethan period (though translations of both circulated in manuscript form) and the first published English translations of these works dated from 1636 and 1640.
[79] Paola Pugliatti, *Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010) 52.

> be penitent, confessant, and restore to euerie man his right…so often as they can, chiefly at speciall times appointed by the Church, and before any dangerous attempt, to feede them with holesome foode of learned instructions, wherein they may learne how to liue, and so consequently to teach their companies their dueties towards God and their Prince.[80]

Hence, by appointing military chaplains to take care of "the souldiers in a warlike band" through a close and personal relationship, military commanders in the late sixteenth century tried to prevent soldiers from becoming discouraged and doubtful about their war, like those depicted in Shakespeare's *Henry V,* since an appointed military chaplain was required to "giue ghostly counsel and spirituall reliefe vnto the sicke, wounded, weake in bodie or in conscience."[81] Furthermore, like contemporary preachers, he emphasised that those who were "well armed with spirituall armour…good knowledge and good liuing" would "withstand their enimies, the flesh, the diuel, the world and desperation," breaching the boundary between spiritual and physical war.[82] Interestingly, just as Gifford did a few years later, he described the war with Spain as representing the final battles prophesied in the Book of Revelation and used the image of Christ riding on a white horse, which was commonly invoked to represent a godly soldier in the military context, to urge Essex and his soldiers to maintain their hope:

> through y^{e} equitie of their cause, their conformitie to the church, and their firme faith in our sauiour Iesus Christ, to enter into the campe of euerlasting life, where they shall ride amongst the souldiers on white horses, clothed in white and pure silke, crowned with bright triumphant garlands, as the scriptures do witnesse.[83]

When we set this alongside Gifford's sermon, we can argue that Gifford was reflecting the general mood fostered amongst Essex's circle and that preachers and military writers adjusted each other's rhetorical arguments in order to gain popular support. It is in this context that Henry V's conversation with his soldiers on the night before the battle of Agincourt should be considered.

[80] William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (1591) 53.
[81] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 53.
[82] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 53.
[83] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 53. As for Gifford's sermon, see Chapter 3.

Many scholars have read this short scene as one that evokes the idealised general, drawn in contemporary military books, and have emphasised the way in which the theatre characters contradicted it. In her most recent work, Ros King has argued that in contrast to the writer of a manual like Garrard, whose discourse on the nature and morality of war provides for its efficient prosecution, the English soldiers in the play express the concept of the leader's personal responsibility for the loss of the lives of many innocent people.[84] Much to her dissatisfaction, however, Henry, instead of comforting and reassuring them, delivers a lengthy disquisition on individual sin, concluding that "every subject's soul is his own" and that every soldier should take the steps to salvation that he would take were he dying at home in his bed (*H5* 4.1.175-6). It is not difficult to understand why critics, sympathising with the soldiers' condition and their terror in the face of death, particularly when they were forced to go to war against their own conscience, have criticised Henry, who simply dismissed his soldiers' worries and grievances, concluding that "[t]he King is not bound to answer the particular endings of his soldiers" (*H5* 4.1.155-6).

It is dangerous, however, to draw a conclusion about Henry's military leadership solely from such an episode, because we have reason to ask whether Henry's disavowal of responsibility for his soldiers was dismissive. To do this we need to analyse the situation that Henry was confronting.

It is a truism that victory always rewards the side with the highest morale, discipline, and offensive spirit. When Henry discovered that the morale of his fighting force was low on the night before the battle, he, as field commander, had to act quickly. Answering every soldier's particular grievance was tactically impractical, and if he had done, it would have been a rather theoretical and dramatically unexciting discussion. Sutcliffe stated that "It is needless…to dispute, whether it be lawfull, either for Christian Princes to make warres, or for Christians to

[84] Ros King, "'The Disciplines of War': Elizabethan War Manuals and Shakespeare's Tragicomic Vision," *Shakespeare and War*, eds. Ros King and Paul J. C. M. Franssen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 23.

serue in wars."[85] Before going to war the decision to fight should be taken by qualified men who "shall be judges of Princes factes…and who shall answere for men that execute Princes[']…commaundments before Christes tribunal seated."[86] The role of the military chaplains who accompanied the troops was to act as the commander's Christian conscience, when soldiers were dismayed by the terrible consequences of war. Actually, the existing records of Agincourt contain information that describes Henry's military chaplains, on the eve of the battle, encouraging every English soldier to make confession and "put on the armour of penitence."[87]

Shakespeare may have omitted the part in which Henry's chaplains acted on their own responsibility in order to give a voice to the opinion of common soldiers. After all, when the soldiers exit the scene, Henry complains of the plight of the king who rules in the best interest of his subjects: "The slave, a member of the country's peace, / Enjoy it, but in gross brain little wots / What watch the King keeps to maintain the peace, / Whose hours the peasant best advantage" (*H5* 4.1.278-81). However, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, we must remember that Henry was reduced to the despair and anguish that field commanders felt when they laboured under the heavy moral burden they carried when their armies were completely outnumbered by the enemy. Henry's prayer that God would make his soldiers brave, and forgive his sins as well as his father's, would have been accepted by any Elizabethan audience, who understood that there was nothing that encouraged the heart as much as religion and that a spiritual purity, a clear and focused mind, humility, and fellowship with others characterised a well-disciplined soldier. Indeed, contemporary Christian writers like Sutcliffe considered religion was the first requirement for a perfect general, because among "all other matters sure the hazardes of warre require religion."[88] Knowing that "God hee is the Lord of Hostes, and giuer of victories; and sure it is not probable, he will giue it to those, that aske it not at his

[85] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* D1^{v}.
[86] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* E2^{v}.
[87] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. F. Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 79.
[88] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* G3^{r}.

hands," through a time of prayer—a moment of reinforcement of nerve power and endurance for which a military chaplain might have been invited to implore God's assistance—Henry developed and maintained his fortitude. [89]

At the same time, Henry took advantage of other means to communicate confidence and high expectations in his soldiers by delivering to them an inspirational speech. This was a well-elaborated answer to those who questioned the king's capacity of determining whether his war was just. [90] The same sentiment had been expressed in a plain language by a contemporary of Shakespeare. Charles Gibbon's *Watch-worde for Warre* (1596) contained what might have been Shakespeare's source for Henry's conversation with his soldiers on the eve of Agincourt:

> Of their seruice, others are grieued at Warres, because they must then leaue their wiues, children & goods, or rather because they must hazard theyr liues? Far better it is for one to venture his lyfe like a man, then to be killed in his house like a beast; Is it not better to hazard the lyfe of one in an house, then in forbearing to fight, to bring in daunger the whole familie? The diuine Philosopher saith, *Nascimur pro Patria*, we are borne for our Countrie, and therefore we must regard our Prince and common-wealthe more then our owne priuate liues. 2 Sam. 10.12 Wee haue example in Judith, who for the good of her Country, put her life in great hazard in the host of *Olofernes*, let not the courage of a woman condemne the humanitie of a man; for that is a reproach.[91]

We do not know whether Shakespeare drew upon this passage of Gibbon's but it is evident that Shakespeare was working on a common theme, though he did so in his own style.

As for the idea of an encouraging speech to the soldier, Gibbon wrote:

> The patheticall meanes are to bee vsed by such as haue the regiment or conduct of souldiers, to encourage and comfort them, for flesh and blood is fearefull. The best Warriors of al wil sometime be abashed, and therefore no meruaile though the common sort be somewhat timorous. For this cause we find diuers instances in the scripture, of Generals, Captains, and worthy warriors, who haue vsed very pathetical and moouing speeches, to comfort and incourage theyr companies in war…The most renowned and valiantest warriors amongst the Heathen, as *Caesar*, *Alexander*, &c, would neuer goe into the field without

[89] Sutcliffe, *The Practice* G3^{r}.
[90] It is not difficult to see why Winston Churchill's (whose commission of producing a sanitised version of *Henry V* in 1944 as a patriotic propaganda film designed to inspire the beleaguered British in the battle) wartime orations resemble Henry's rousing words. For example, his memorable tribute to the warriors of the Battle of Britain, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few," echoes Henry's speech at Agincourt. See Sara M. Deats, Lagretta T. Lenker, and Merry G. Perry, *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004) 98.
[91] Charles Gibbon, *A Watch-worde for Warre* (Cambridge, 1596) C2^{v}.

> Phylosophers (who in theyr tymes were deemed the onelie wise men) to the end they might instruct and comfort theyr souldiers.[92]

Given that Henry's elaborate speech embodied the virtues of the perfect field commander, it is misleading to say that Henry's response to his common soldiers was dismissive. Moreover, as Gibbon pointed out, "it is none of the least poyntes of martiall discipline, to practise all pos[s]bile and perswasive meanes, to incourage, comfort, and corroborat the hartes of the Souldiers; for most men desire to serue vnder such a Captayne."[93] His emphasis lies on mastering a powerful rhetorical tool that helped a field commander to fight against fears that crept into the minds of soldiers. In fact, since Henry's speech has often been quoted out of its context by military leaders who intend to encourage their soldiers in the face of danger, Shakespeare fulfilled military writers' expectations and responded successfully to those who disrespected the military profession, claiming that "Blood is their argument" (*H5* 4.1.142). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, if the quarto of *Henry V* is an authoritative players' text that was first put on the stage at the Globe in 1599, it can be concluded that the different types of propaganda had worked closely together and spoken with one voice and, consequently, they became powerful means of creating and regulating what Deborah Shuger has called "habits of thought."[94] This is why it is important to study military matters in early modern sermons and religious writings, and their interactions with other media in the context of late Elizabethan and early Stuart culture.

As the subject matter of Sutcliffe's and Gibbon's books reveals, their concerns were to coordinate ethics with the creation of a perfect soldier, while Garrard's was to explain the war realistically and practically. In other words, it was not the responsibility of soldiers but rather of preachers and religious writers to justify and legitimise the practice of the past and decide the theoretical basis for the present and the future. As we will see below, their political, legal,

[92] Gibbon, *A Watch-worde for Warre* F2^{v}-F3^{v}.
[93] Gibbon, *A Watch-worde for Warre* F3^{v}.
[94] For an issue of the 1600 quarto text of *Henry V*, see Chapter 3. See also Deborah K. Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

and moral perspectives, built on massive classical and biblical erudition, provided a new model of military leadership, while keeping soldiers away from moral judgements as matters belong to other authorities. In this way, English military ethics in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were developed by a group of Protestant preachers and religious writers whose works were primarily dedicated to the leading members of the military elite. Before discussing how they contributed to the education of the perfect soldier, one must understand the nature and impact of public sermons, which held up fortitude and courage as the supreme elements of Christian military ethics in war.

4. Militant Protestantism in public sermons

Situated as they are at the intersection of religious and political awareness, sermons are an invaluable source of information regarding early modern English society in times of war. Although Millar MacLure's *Registers for Paul's Cross* and John Wilson's *Pulpit in Parliament*, along with McCullough's and Ferrell's studies on the sermons preached in the Elizabethan and Jacobean court pulpits, confirm the importance of the subject of religious politics, it still seems impossible to categorize the complex subjects of early modern sermons or quantify the amount of source material available. Nonetheless, historians like John Hale, Michael Walzer, and Curtis Breight single out military subjects as one of most distinct areas of concern for the contemporary pulpit and highlight how the sermon as propaganda played an instrumental role in military mobilisation or enhancing the militaristic atmosphere.[95]

These historians, unlike literary critics, noting the recurrent use of military language in contemporary sermons, conclude that contemporary sermons played a significant role in the militarisation of the nation. The many titles of contemporary sermons which they list provide clear evidence that military language, in Scriptural and military metaphor, was used not only in a spiritual sense but also with a combative intent. Nevertheless, it has not been sufficiently

[95] See Hale's "Incitement to Violence?" and "War and Public Opinion;" Michael Walzer's *The Revolution of Radical Saints* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966); and Breight's *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era*.

recognised how much the sermons contributed to the popular literature of war and how both religious and secular literature combined to promote militant Protestantism. Historical studies have neglected the extent to which sermons contributed to creating a military culture. Hence we will examine the language of the pulpit, familiar to congregations at the time, to determine their use of military language and imagery. In order to do this, we must investigate how contemporary sermons heard from the pulpit, and in printed texts, played a pivotal role in forging a collective militant Protestant consciousness which manifested itself as anti-Catholicism, and patriotism, and which united the elite with their social inferiors. Reading sermons contextually, and popular literature historically, will establish that military Protestantism became both religiously and culturally meaningful. Throughout this process, we need to remember that there were certain preachers and religious writers who received support from military circles.

Preachers could participate in the edification of the public through their writing, delivering or reading of sermons. However, as seen from the case of Barlow's sermons for and against Essex, the deliberate influencing of public opinion was nowhere more apparent than in the open-air sermons at Paul's Cross. With its proximity to the Inns of Court and book shops in St. Paul's Churchyard, it became a significant part of the public sphere. According to Arnold Hunt, Paul's Cross sermons were important, because "they provided a rare opportunity for non-elite audiences to glean information about court faction."[96] In a culture where a variety of oral and literary products engaged the popular imagination, it is evident that the influence of public sermons was particularly strong not only because the seating or standing capacity at Paul's Cross was larger than the public theatre but also because the purpose of many contemporary ministers was primarily to educate the common folk, or "the ignorant sort, who are so easily led astray by superstition or by popery."[97] As Mitchell points out, "for one

[96] Arnold Hunt, "The Religious Context of the Essex Revolt," *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000) 90.
[97] George Gifford, *Dialogue Concerning Witches* (1593) A2^{r}. While St Paul's Cross could accommodate about 6,000, Andrew Gurr suggests that public theatres like Globe or Fortune accommodated "more than 3000

person who witnessed a play or ten who happened to read it, thousands may, without exaggeration, be said to have attended sermons, or afterward studied them from shorthand notes or in printed copies."[98] Mitchell's emphasis on the power of the sermon is supported by Paul Seaver, who estimated that about one hundred sermons were preached in London every week, while thirteen theatrical performances took place in London for the same period.[99]

It must also be remembered that sermons were a more effective means of persuasion than any other, due to compulsory church-going, the state's control of the subject matter of sermons, and the nationwide network of the church.[100] Peter Heylyn, a mid-seventeenth-century religious writer, recalled that when Elizabeth "had any business to bring about amongst the people, she used to tune the pulpits, as her saying was…to have some preachers in and about London, and other great auditories in the kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design."[101] In times of war during the 1580s and 1590s, there was abundant evidence to suggest that public sermons bore a militaristic message directly to the congregation: "Have we practised anie feats of armes whereby we may be enabled to meete a Spaniard in the field? Let vs exercise the same daily and continue in this forewardness of service," when "this sudden alarme rowzed vs from the bed of securitie."[102]

MacLure argues that preachers at Paul's Cross rose to the occasion with gusto in fashioning public opinion because "the stern simplicities of war were more suitable to their extravagant metaphors than the devious complication of diplomacy which had informed those affairs until 1580."[103] In the biography of Archbishop William Laud, from which I have already quoted, Heylyn drew his readers' attention to the parallel between the way in which Charles I used preaching, as a means of political control, and the way in which Elizabeth had used it to tune the pulpit for the same goal. It was in the 1620s that Tom Tell-Troath, "one of the great

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persons." See Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London,* 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 19.
[98] Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory* 3-4.
[99] Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships* 125.
[100] Hale, "War and Opinion" 25.
[101] Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668) 161.
[102] E. R., *Two Fruitfull Exercises* 164.
[103] Miller MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958) 70.

company-keepers" in London, wrote that whenever a group assembled, people talked of the wars of Christendom and the honour of their native land, drawing invidious comparisons between James's government and Elizabeth's.[104] Such comparisons between the situation of the 1580s or the 1590s and that of the 1620s help to explain why James I and Charles I had to follow Elizabeth's example of "[tuning] the pulpits" for "a dutifull compliance" with their wishes.[105] Nevertheless, while scholarly attention, preoccupied with the Puritan influence on the Civil War, has been drawn to militarism in the pulpit in the 1620s and 1630s, the conspicuous militarism in the 1580s and 1590s has not been given the same attention. For example, Godfrey Davis asserted that the military element in preaching in the 1620s and the 1630s was "the first definite example of an attempt to marshall public opinion in opposition to the foreign policy of a government in England."[106]

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, debates on the emergence of an English public sphere have been preoccupied with the notion that the first English newspaper appeared in the 1620s. Davies notes that news books of the 1620s were published for the benefit of English soldiers. However, as already demonstrated, news pamphlets and ballads were part of a similar process in the 1580s and 1590s.

While considering the return of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Spain upon the collapse of the marriage negotiations in the 1620s, Mervyn James notes that the event "anticipated a return to the militant Protestantism of an Elizabeth."[107] James, like many critics, tends to accept the existence of militant Protestantism in Elizabethan England without discussing it further. In Charles's reign, the spirit of Elizabethan religious warfare was at best metamorphosed into an eroticised version, rather than a restoration of positive aspects of militant Protestantism which the Elizabethan military circle, or the late Prince Henry's circle,

[104] Davies, "English Political Sermons" 2.
[105] Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* 161.
[106] Davies, "English Political Sermons" 9.
[107] Mervyn James, "English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642," *Past and Present* 3 (1978): 72.

represented.[108] Despite the fact that the military elements fitted uneasily into the context of the romanticised heroism that the Caroline masques staged with military adventures, stratagems, achievements, feats and defeats, Elizabethan Protestant militarism still had a hold on people in Caroline England.[109] It is hardly surprising then that suppressed Protestant militancy erupted into violence in the late 1630s and 1640s with the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars and the Civil War. Responding to the obvious reluctance to pursue a military policy in Europe under James I, a contemporary writer commented towards the end of his reign:

> We must not greatly maruell if our so long continued rest and peace from warres and warlike imployments, our vnspeakable idleness and dissolute life, haue so corrupted and in manner effeminated our people generally and for the most part, that they cannot endure the hearing, much lesse the doing of any laborious attempts, of any thing that shall be troubleous or any whit dangerous vnto them.[110]

Writing in 1623, Thomas Sutton urged military preparedness: "Above all creatures [God] loves soldiers…above all actions he honors warlike and martial design."[111] Thomas Taylor stated that "the condition of the child of God is military in this life," and contemporary preachers frequently compared the condition of the present time to "warfare, and people's lives to the life of a souldier."[112] Church-goers in the early decades of the seventeenth century were often urged to be "souldiers of the Militant, and so following the advice and direction of the Apostle, stand against all those [their] enemies" both spiritual and worldly.[113] There is no doubt of the pervasiveness of military rhetoric in Protestant churches.

Throughout the 1620s, many Protestant preachers were interested in bringing England into the European war or emphasised England's lack of preparedness. Meanwhile, military metaphors became so widespread that even hack writers, whether they wanted to defend their country against the forces of papists or not, had recourse to the same rhetoric as the godly.

[108] See Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales England's Lost Renaissance* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1986) 14.
[109] Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 574.
[110] Richard Eburne, *A Plaine Path-way to Plantations* (1624) 91.
[111] Thomas Sutton, *The Good Fight of Faith* (1623) 7.
[112] Thomas Taylor, *Christ's Combat and Conquest* (1618) 8; Richard Rogers, *Samuels Encounter with Saul* (1620) A2.
[113] John Reynolds, *The Triumphs of Gods Revenge* (1621) 12-3.

Many preachers supported war as moralists rather than politicians.

Barbara Donagan has made an important point about other aspects of their sermons, arguing that although evidence that links literature and practice is random and circumstantial, the steady production of military books of all kinds, throughout this period, suggests that "authors, from the member of Essex's and later Southampton's Protestant circle Gervase Markham to the old Low Countries veteran turned military instructor Thomas Fisher, judged that there was a promising market."[114] Fisher's *Warlike Directions* (first published in 1634 and reissued in 1642 in a pocket version), advertised itself as a book of the "discipline which is now practiced within the Netherlands, under the command of the Prince of Orange" and fitted to "every one that loves his King and Countries good, the furtherance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, [and] the safeguard of himself."[115] This kind of literature was written mainly to offer military information to a wide public, from fellow soldiers to potential soldiers and ordinary readers.[116] The use of religious narrative revealed that it had broad appeal to Protestant readers who were conditioned by the military rhetoric of religious culture and to those who took the Christian aspects of military duty seriously. Elsewhere Donagan highlights the influence of Markham whose two books, dedicated to the exercise of arms, appeared between 1625 and 1627 and were reissued in the 1630s and 1640s.[117] As already noted in Chapter 1, Markham in his *Honour in his Perfection* (1624) linked the Elizabethan and Jacobean military worlds by connecting the military patrons of one age to those of the next, from the second Earl of Essex to Southampton, to Francis and Horace Vere, to Mountjoy, to the third Earl of Essex. Given that Markham's career as a military writer continued into the Caroline age, and his works remained popular throughout the seventeenth century, with many of his instructional treatises printed in three or four editions, his observation of the general mood embodying the traditions of Elizabethan Protestant

[114] Barbara Donagan, "Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642," *Past and Present* 147 (1995): 94.
[115] Thomas Fisher, *Warlike Directions* (1642) A2^{v}.
[116] Fisher, *Warlike Directions* A2^{v}.
[117] Barbara Donagan, *War in England 1642-1649* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) 38.

militarism deserves our attention:

> [B]lesse those which shall blesse [princely soldiers like Essex], and curse those which shall curse them; say vnto those which shall wish them good lucke, you are my children, and my breasts shall nourish you; to those which sing praise of them, you are my Swannes and I haue Laurell to crowne you; to those which shall Register their good actions, I haue Chronicles, and you shall write them; and to those which shall pray for them, I haue Pulpets, and onely you shall speake in them. But vnto those who shall murmure against them; to those which mis-interpret, disgrace, depraue, or wish ruine to their proceedings, say vnto them, they are the bastards of the great Whore, and they and their seede haue beene accursed before all Generations; say indeed plainly (and say truly) that they are the sons of the deuill, begotten on the Pope, nurst vp by the Iesuite.[118]

Markham gives us the account of a contemporary preacher, preaching to the members of the Artillery Company, who invoked the hallowed memory of "the valorous earl of Essex"[119] and referring to the example of Essex, urged:

> Take heede therefore O yee Captaines, Commanders, and other Members of the Artillery Company, take heede, as you would haue your inward disposition fit for your outward profession, of suffering sin to lie vpon your soules. Let your function bee a motiue to make you trie the truth of your conuersion. Be yee righteous, that you may bee indeede couragious. And to take occasion from your externall profession to put you in minde of your spirituall condition, which is, to be Souldiers of Christs bands, vnder his colours, whose Artillery Garden is the Church Militant, where your Martiall discipline in which you are daily trained vp, is not for recreation and pastime, but in very good earnest, to conquer, vnlesse you will be conquered, and that in a combate of great consequence, wherein no earthly, but an heauenly inheritance is fought for, and for attaining thereto not liberty of this world, but of the world to come, not a temporall, but eternal life is in great hazard.[120]

In the same year, Thomas Scott wrote an apology for the second Earl of Essex, *Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost* (1624), admonishing his countrymen, "Is *England* become so base a State, as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expenses to keepe themselues from conquest and slauery?" and hoping "there is yet left some seed of that *auncient virtue*: Remember with what spirit and alacrity the Gentlemen of England did contribute and put themselues voluntarily into Action, in my time on earth."[121] Elsewhere

[118] Gervase Markham, *Honour in his Perfection* (1624) 7.
[119] Gouge, *The dignitie of chiualrie set forth in a sermon preached before the Artillery Company of London* (1626) 29.
[120] Gouge, *The dignitie of chiualrie* 29-30.
[121] Thomas Scott, *Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost* (1624) 14-5.

Scott declared, "warre hath beene better then peace, and the Common-wealth and religion of England, haue had their fame and propagation by opposing Antichrist, and in plaine termes, must recouer her ecclipsed prosperitie reputing Spaine our opposite."[122] As seen from these instances, in the context of an apocalyptic battle between the Church and the Antichrist, the lines between public and private religious action, and between the religious and the military, were often blurred. Spiritual discipline was often directly connected with military discipline, and many believed that spiritual discipline could perfect military efficiency.

Taking these circumstances into consideration, Michael Walzer has noted that there was a blurring of the distinction between spiritual and physical warfare in the early seventeenth century.[123] For Walzer, Thomas Adams's sermon *Souldier's Honour* (1617) is a precursor of this phenomenon: "We are all soldiers as we are Christians. You bear Spiritual Arms against the enemies of your salvation, and Material Arms against the enemies of your country."[124] Later, in "Of Arming a Christian Soldier" (1627), Gouge—whose sermons such as *The Whole Armour of God* (1615) were already filled with militaristic language and metaphor—wrote that the Christian armour was spiritual, but the enemies of Christ were flesh and blood.[125] However, as Roger Manning notes, there was always a strong religious dimension to the ethics of the seventeenth-century soldiers, which combined piety with military practice.[126] Its emphasis, however, was more than a spiritual understanding of the Bible. Consider, for example, John Everard's *The Arrieban: A sermon preached to the company of the military yarde* (1618), which was specifically commissioned to reinforce the mental and moral determination of soldiers, using a similar theme of godliness and manliness throughout the performance of military service:

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[122] Scott, *The Belgick Souldier Warre Was a Blessing* (1624) A3^{r}.
[123] Walzer, *Revolution of Radical Saints* 277-8.
[124] Thomas Adams, *Souldier's Honour* (1617) A3^{r}.
[125] Gouge, "Of Arming a Christian Soldier," *The Whole Armor of God* (1627) 27-8. Later Gouge used military metaphor to illustrate preacher's role in the current political context, declaring that "for a soldier to die is the field is a good cause, it is as for a preacher to die in a pulpit." Gouge, *Gods Three Arrows* (1631) 217.
[126] Roger Manning, *An Apprentice in Arms* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006) 148. See also William Hunt, "Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War," *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) 205-37.

> Now I conclude, & winde vp all in a word; If in the truth of your hearts…you be perswaded of the lawfulnesse of a *necessary* war, of your generall obligation to the defence of your country, of the necessitie of being exercised and trayned vp to *military discipline*; and lastly, if you be touch'd with a serious detestation of these baser and effeminate…men amongst women, and women amongst men…Then take courage vnto your selues, be neither amazed nor dismayed with the mockes of such as sit in the seate of *scorners*, runne not with the multitude to do euill; the readinesse and resolution of your hearts hath made you *Martyrs* in your will and affection, and hauing said so, I shall neede to adde no more to your praise.[127]

His message, appealing to the traditional notion of masculinity, seems similar to others who justified an offensive war as a legitimate way of defending the country, but he soon turned his attention to the battle tactics of the Bible. One of his main arguments in this sermon was that practical military lessons, such as encampment, battlefield stratagems, signalling, ambush, and siege operations, could be taken from the narratives of Joshua, Gideon, and David.[128]

However, the proliferation of militaristic sermons in the 1620s had been anticipated in the 1580s and 1590s. The content of militaristic sermons in the late sixteenth century reflected this phenomenon. In the 1580s and 1590s, Protestant apologists had already related religion to politics, placing great importance on reading the Old Testament for military education and proclaimed the notion that the defeat of Catholicism "is not only lawfull but also necessary for the glory of God."[129] This sentiment was echoed by Lodowick Lloyd, who wrote "[t]he whole bible is a book of the battles of the Lord" in his historical survey of military practices, *The Stratagems of Jerusalem* (1602).[130] In it he recounted numerous examples of stratagems and deceitful devices being used by Moses, Gideon, and Joshua to achieve victory and asserted that "all stratagems, victories, & good counsel cometh from the Lord."[131] These sentiments inspired the people to equate the religious to the military; and the spiritual to physical war. Ordinary prayers in the Armada years called God "our Chieftaine" or cried to God to "guide [the queen] with [His] trueth, preserve her with [His] power, defend her with [His] shield,"

[127] John Everard, *The Arrieban: A sermon preached to the company of the military yarde* (1618) 101-2.
[128] Everard, *The Arrieban* 21-2.
[129] Alexander Leighton, *Speculum Belli Sacri* (1624) 6.
[130] Lodowick Lloyd, *The Stratagems of Jerusalem* (1602) B^{r}.
[131] Lloyd, *The Stratagems of Jerusalem* A2^{v}.

and beseeched God to endow her "Generall, Marshall, Captaines, Officers, and English Souldiers…with courage and manliness," so that "they [might] suppresse the sleights of Antichrist." English Protestants regarded wars of religion, in the 1580s and 1590s, as evidence that England was an elect nation and took heart from the providential message that their faith would prevail, as Edward Harris preached in his sermon before Elizabethan soldiers at Brocket Hall in 1588:

> Shall not God avenge his elect which cried vnto him day and night?...let us put before God euery day the humble supplication of our harts for the reuenging of the blood of our brethren, which these papish Aramites haue staine here.[132]

Elizabethans evidently saw the history of the English Church as a Protestant enterprise, in which King Arthur and Saint George were prototypes of the Elizabethan anti-Catholic soldiers in popular imagination.[133] Furthermore, proving that militant Protestantism was deeply embedded in the contemporary imagination, Stephen Gosson compared preaching to "an exercise of artillery," saying that the souls of the congregation were "marks that [should] be shotte at."[134] If "the end of the Souldier [was] victorie," wrote Gosson, "the ende of the Preacher [was] Gods glorie."[135] Since preachers like Gosson encouraged their listeners to fight the war with Spain, referring to it as the eternal war between the forces of Christ and Antichrist, their message would have appealed to a wider audience. More importantly, by combining Christian faith and military efficiency, and persuading their listeners to participate in the military culture of aristocratic soldiers—for example, emulating Essex as a perfect model of a Protestant warrior—they made a substantial contribution to the dissemination of military values.

[132] Henry Roberts, *The Trumpet of Fame* (1595) A3^{v}; *A Prayer for Assistance against the Armada* (1588) 1; Harris, *A Sermon Preached at Brocket Hall* (1588) C6^{v}.
[133] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954) 297.
[134] Stephen Gosson, *The Trumpet of Warre* (1598) 64.
[135] Gosson, *The Trumpet of Warre* 69.

5. The paradigm of military culture in the context of war sermons and writings

So far this chapter has explored the question of what kind of militaristic ideals were purveyed by sermons and religious writing. In this section the question of the kind of role members of the military elite played in the process will be further discussed. As we have seen, a receptive attitude toward military experience was developed by frequent recycling of classical and biblical models in public sermons and treatises written by clergy. We must also remember that such a combination of humanistic and Protestant ideals significantly constituted the very basis of aristocratic military culture. As Mervyn James observes, this humanization and regulation of military ethics was evident in members of the elite circles, especially Essex, who shared not only a humanist-classical education and Protestant faith but also a belief that all learning had, as its end, "vertuous action."[136]

There is little doubt that for early modern Christian humanists the pagan classics were servants of Christianity in the same way that classical examples were the favoured supplementary materials used by different authors, in different genres, and for different purposes. Machiavelli derived practical military knowledge from the deeds and actions of the classical heroes just as Alexander the Great imitated Achilles, Caesar imitated Alexander, and Scipio imitated Cyrus. Spenser claimed to follow the traditions of Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso in order to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentile discipline."[137] In contrast, George Gifford, a zealous godly puritan, in order to explain the nature of "divine fortitude," which he called the "most pure" of Christian virtues, advised his readers not to follow the classical heroes, saying:

> What say you vnto Philip of Macedon, and to his sonne Alexander the great? What say you to Scipio and Haniball, Caesar and Pompey? Was there but a shewe of virtue in these men? Was all theyr courage and hardinesse but a vice? May wee not rather esteeme them and other of like same, as worthy patterns for all Warriors imitate: let no man couet to bee a more worthy souldiour then Julius

[136] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* 161. Mervyn James Essex embodied both morality and the traditional chivalric values in a "synthesis of honour, humanistic 'wisdom' and Protestant religion." See James, *Society, Politics and Culture* 309.

[137] Edmund Spenser, "A Letter of the Authors expounding his whole intention in the course of this worke," *Spenser: Poetical Works*, eds. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 407.

> Caesar was.
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> To this I aunswere, that in verie deede it can hardly be shewed, that euer there haue beene more souldiour-like men in the world then some of those forenamed, if we respect eyther theyr skill to guide an Armie, or their courage and boldness of minde, & also their famous acts.: but yet it is out of all doubt, that they had not in them the true Fortitude.[138]

Although these examples of "human courage" could "haue been had in admiration and honoured," their achievements, elaborated not by "faith in Christ" but through "their owne naturall powers and faculties of the minde," were nothing but a "vice vnder the shewe or resemblance of virtue."[139] However, an estate surveyor, John Norden, in *The Mirror of Honor* (1597), used those same ancient generals in order to uphold the concept of a just and Christian war:

> [War] is a pernicious evill, as of it selfe, but by circumstances it is both lawfull and expedient, not that *it openeth the way to heaven by slaughter and bloud*, as Scipio of Afrike boasted, but that it is the way to redeeme most wished peace.[140]

It might seem contradictory that these two works of Gifford and Norden were both dedicated to Essex, who was often identified with the ancient heroes like Caesar and Scipio and imitated antiquity, following Machiavellian advice. However, such an apparent contradiction provides another perspective on classical military ideals applied to Christian writings, since the application was deliberately made not only to teach lessons to its dedicatee or its readers but also to endorse or influence, sometimes distinctly and sometimes less obviously, their political and religious stands.

Margo Todd highlights Christian indebtedness to classical frames of reference and authority. In their reading of ancient works, early modern Christians pursued not merely stylistic excellence but sought to emulate good examples, such as Roman stoicism, and apply the principles to the practical problems of godly living.[141] Todd notes, Christian humanists "acknowledged the individual's call to wage an internal spiritual war against evil, but they

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[138] Gifford, *A Treatise of True Fortitude* (1594) A6^{r}.
[139] Gifford, *A Treatise of True Fortitude* A5; A5^{v}.
[140] John Norden, *The Mirror of Honor* (1597) A3^{r}.
[141] Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 27.

also saw man as a political animal, called to live for the common good."[142] As their reading from Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Cicero, Sallust, Xenophon, Plutarch and others was eclectic in character, it is difficult to pinpoint readers' responses to the texts. Todd emphasizes that if they are "being read contextually," particularly in the context of Renaissance military culture, it is almost certain that these books uniformly offered to Christian readers ideas of discipline and exercise, which were closely linked with a military way of life.[143]

While university-educated students, in principle, were required to follow classical and Christian humanist ideals in their public careers, university-educated preachers were also expected to transmit those ideas through the spoken and written word, to both educated and illiterate audiences. Had a certain group endorsed particular topics—like justifying warfare—not only through their public career but also through preaching, the impact on public opinion must have been profound. It is useful to recall that the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle created their marriage alliances, and cemented useful links with aristocratic friends, scholars, and soldiers; and that their connections with Protestant preachers were part of their university context, in which patronage of scholarship was derived from the patrons' belief that scholars were natural companions for soldiers.[144] As Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Leicester was a great encourager of learned men, and much involved in academic affairs. William James, Archdeacon of Coventry (1577-84), Dean of Christ Church and vice-chancellor of Oxford, had accompanied Leicester to the Netherlands in 1586 as one of his chaplains. Leicester appointed Alberico Gentili as Regis Professor of Civil Law in 1580 and as we will see below, Gentili, who had been connected with Sidney and Leicester, dedicated his works on the just war to Essex in support of his international Protestant cause. Paul Hammer notes that Essex—despite being a Cambridge man—had growing connections with Oxford scholars, as illustrated by Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1592, during which his secretary Henry Cuffe,

[142] Todd, *Christian Humanism* 28.
[143] Todd, *Christian Humanism* 48.
[144] Essex, *An Apologie* A1^{v}.

Thomas Smith, and Henry Savile played key roles in the preparation for the Queen's visit.[145] From this background Essex would have enjoyed close dealings with Oxford academics like John Rainolds, an Oxford Protestant theologian, who dedicated to him *De Romanae ecclesiae idolatria* (1596).[146] Even before his appointment as Chancellor of Cambridge University, Essex also had contacts there with scholars such as Andrew Downes, Richard Harvey, and William Whitaker as well as Lionel Sharpe.[147] Like Leicester, Essex's interests in featuring an intellectual and religious community in the universities were not confined to academic affairs. After his return from Cadiz, Essex donated about two hundred books, many of which had been seized during his expedition, to Thomas Bodley's library at Oxford and a great psalter from Cadiz was deposited in the library at King's College, Cambridge, where it became the pride and joy of the college library.[148] Essex's donation, which was followed by a celebration of his heroic act, was a deliberate effort to build his public image as a Protestant champion:

> [W]hat man never heard tell of that fearful grappling with Spain,
> That famed Peninsular raid, which, under the command of a hero
> —Greater than Hercules he—came right to Hercules Pillars!
> He (and in proverbs now, his name personifies valour)
> Who is the friend and beloved of the common people of England,
> Head and shoulders above the rest in height and honours,
> Who held all menacing Spain in check, at the sack of Cadiz.[149]

According to Hammer, it was Sharpe, a fellow of King's College, who arranged this public and literary celebration.[150] It was no coincidence, therefore, that this celebratory verse, which had been appended to the opening page of the volume, was ripped out as a consequence of Essex's conviction for treason in early 1601.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Sharpe—who is better known as one of the contemporary

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[145] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 302.
[146] In his dedication, after referring to Calvinists and Lutheran denunciations of St. George, Rainolds stated that the George was an emblem designed to incite the valiant Garter Knights to fight the dragon, the dreaded Antichrist Rome. He, who had always been supportive to the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle, became president of Corpus Christi College in 1598 and continued to increase discipline, improve academic performance, and broaden the curriculum. See Lawrence D. Green, ed. *John Rainolds's Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Newark; London: University of Delaware Press, 1986) 37-8.
[147] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 303.
[148] Hammer, "Myth-making" 637-8.
[149] Quoted in Hammer, "Myth-making" 638.
[150] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 268.

witnesses of Elizabeth's visit to Tilbury camp in 1588—served Essex as one of his chaplains on the Cadiz expedition, and later became chaplain to Prince Henry. The Prince's patronage of preachers like Sharpe was only natural in a man with strong Protestant religious convictions. Indeed, Sharpe poured out to Prince Henry his anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiments over the Catholic plot, urging "Beware of the Vipers, or, to speak freely, of the Jesuits."[151] His *Speculum Papae* (1612; being published in translation in 1623 as *A Looking-glass for the Pope*) was dedicated to Henry for his pious zeal in propagating the cause of religion and the Prince tried to recommend him to his father for the post of Provost of King's College. Given these examples, it is a reasonable conclusion that patron-preacher relationships played a significant role in shaping the culture of Henry's military circle, and that such religious admonitions were an integral part of the transmission of Elizabethan militarism to the next generation.

Andrew Fitzmaurice's study of the rhetoric of the Virginia Company sermons also offers us useful information to confirm the links between the Elizabethan and early Jacobean military circles, and the universities, as a source of a humanistic-militaristic vision. Fitzmaurice suggests that the Virginia Company's leaders' use of the sermons, stressing common good in militaristic terms, reveals a humanistic belief in the power of oratory that is initially derived from the links between the company leaders' and preachers' educational background in the university, in particular St. John's College, Cambridge.[152] Amongst the leaders, for example, were Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who was the most prominent member of the company and also a graduate of St. John's; Alexander Whitaker, "Cambridge Apostle to Virginia," the son of William Whitaker, Protestant scholar and Master of St. John's; and Alexander Whittaker's best friend and counselor, William Crashaw of St. John's.

[151] Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry, Prince of Wales: Eldest Son of King James* I (London, 1760) 63.
[152] Andrew Fitzmaurice "'Every man, that prints, adventures': the rhetoric of the Virginia Company sermons," *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000) 24; 28.

Apart from the matter of the Virginia Company's business enterprise, the company leaders and its preachers emphasized their vision of a new commonwealth. If "the noble spirits of so many worthy men" had been encouraged by preachers like Whitaker and Crashaw to take part in the Elizabethan and Jacobean colonial project, which had both military and political dimensions, those who were at home would also have been encouraged to fulfil their patriotic duty. The extent of the contribution of St. John's College in creating links between the Elizabethan and Jacobean military circles and its graduates can be illustrated by the example of Dee, who was educated as St. John's and became a Fellow of the College before moving to Trinity as one of its original Fellows in 1546. Such connections cannot be confined to members of St. John's, since Oxford colleges also received scholarly and religious patronage from military circles. However, clerical groups in both universities, like other academic scholars, served these military circle not only by publicly or privately preaching or praying for their patrons, but also by offering their theological knowledge in support of their patrons' military actions against Catholics or papists, which they called "the armies of Gog and Magog."[153] In 1599, when rumours were rife that another Spanish Armada would attack England, Gifford recalled the year of 1588 in his printed sermons on the Book of Revelation:

> The King of Spaine, who hath giuen his power to the beast, sent his forces Anno 1588. for to inuade her land, & to throw down her excellent Highnesse, from that sacred authoritie & power in which almighty God hath placed her, & miraculously protected her, fighting from heauen against her enemies, euen to the wonderment of the whole world.[154]

Dedicating the printed version of his sermon, preached at Maldon in Essex, to the Earl of Essex, Gifford revealed that he had intended to "giue both speciall instruction and direction, and also encouragement" of "our great captaine the Lord Jesus," because the "prince of darkness" was still "restless in seeking the subuersion of our religion, Queen, and countrie."[155] Similar military language was used whether these dedications stemmed from soldiers and scholars or religious writers. Gifford's sole purpose was propaganda "as a matter

[153] Gifford, *Sermons vpon the Whole Booke of Revelation* (1599) A3^{r}.
[154] Gifford, *Sermons vpon the Whole Booke of Revelation* A3^{v}.
[155] Gifford, *Sermons vpon the Whole Booke of Revelation* A3^{v}.

very profitable for the daies."[156] Clearly, to ministers and preachers like Gifford, "the spirituall sword" was their weapon as "the materiall sword" was to "noble warriors & mighty men like Essex."[157] Since Essex deliberately projected the public image of a heroic Protestant which Sidney had represented in his military expeditions, such dedications would have served to promote Essex as the prominent patron of English soldiers as well as patron of international Protestants.[158] Besides Gifford, other puritan preachers like Stephen Egerton—who is better known as one of the 1596 petitioners who opposed James Burbage's remodeling of Blackfriars into the playhouse—requested his congregation at Blackfriars to "remember the Earl of Essex; that as he had lived honorable, so he might die Christianlie," in December of 1599 when it was rumoured that the Earl was dangerously ill; and Anthony Wotton, William Whitaker's successor and one of Essex's chaplains, appeared on the lists of Essex's clerical patronage circle. Essex's patronage of religious men extends from active support of anti-Spanish foreign and military policy, to protection of non-separatist Puritanism, like that of Leicester and Sidney before him; and later Prince Henry continued to cultivate and construct a coherent ideology by the fusion of classical and Christian military imagery and language.

The merging military and religious concerns during these years yielded a new perspective on military ethics. Out of it came the English 'just war' theory, which had been expanded upon by leading continental scholars and theologians of the sixteenth century. St. Augustine of Hippo had argued that war was morally justified if it was declared by the appropriate secular authority; if it had a just cause; and if it was fought with rightful intentions. The just war theory was developed to legitimise warfare.[159] By the sixteenth century, as Theodor Meron demonstrates, just war theory was extended further by the addition of the chivalric code and emerging ideas about international law. Alberico Gentili—who was an Italian Protestant refugee in England, professor of law and a theorist of international renown—

[156] Gifford, *Sermons vpon the Whole Booke of Revelation* A3^{v}.
[157] Gifford, *Sermons vpon the Whole Booke of Revelation* A5-A5^{v}.
[158] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 214.
[159] A. H. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York: Columbia UP, 1966) 160.

conceived that both belligerent parties might have a just cause. Meron argues that just as Gentili compared Henry V's order to kill the French prisoners with "the barbarous savagery of the Turk, who slew four thousand prisoners, to relieve himself of their burden," Shakespeare in *Henry V* discouraged "war through legal, moral, and utilitarian arguments."[160] Admitting that there is no evidence that Shakespeare had read Gentili's work, Meron, nevertheless, highlights a thematic parallel between the two and asserts that Shakespeare may have "doubted the value and vitality of just war doctrine."[161] However, Gentili's claim that "a war might be objectively just on both sides" was derived from his professional background as an international lawyer, which emphasized the equal application of the laws of war in preventing or regulating military conflicts and maintaining international society, rather than questioning the long-standing premise that only one party could be just.[162] In theory, if war could be just on both sides, the interrogation of just causes became less important than just conduct in determining its overall legitimacy. Gentili and contemporary jurists sought above all to limit the violence of war and his criticism against Henry V's act should only be considered in this limited context. Besides, despite the fact that Henry's order to kill his prisoners was against the accustomed rules of war, his act was not a war crime because it was not until the Nuremberg Trial in 1945 that the idea of violations of the humanitarian laws of war was applied in practice.[163] To make matters even more complicated, even in today's military environment it is not always possible for a field commander to judge whether a code

[160] Theodor Meron, *Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 7.
[161] Quoted in William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 26; Meron, *Bloody Constraint* 31.
[162] Meron, *Bloody Constraint* 31.
[163] For Shakespeare's contemporaries, especially military-oriented writers, Henry's act was defensible because the heavily outnumbered English would have had difficulty repelling another attack while guarding their numerous prisoners. Sutcliffe made a similar point, alluding to the necessities of war: "Likewise were the English forced to kill their prisoners after the battell of Poitiers, fearing least they should use some trecherie, when the enemie made shewe to assayle them." Sutcliffe, *The Practice*, E2^{v}. For the same reason, military personnel and military historians have defended Henry's order to kill French prisoners believing that his order was prompted by either the attack on the rear camp or the continued menace of the French. See Winston Churchill, *A History of the English-speaking People*, vol. 3 (London: Cassell, 1965) 31 and John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1978) 220. Prior to 1945, once a state was justified in going to war it was invariably entitled to seek the complete submission of its adversary and to employ all force to achieve that goal.

of arms is applied correctly in an actual case.[164] Bearing these circumstances in mind, our attention should be directed to the question of how influential Gentili's ideas were in relation to ethical issues of warfare and military leadership in general, rather than his probable relations to Shakespeare as a source. Essex patronized Gentili who in turn dedicated to Essex his book on international law, *De Jure Belli Commentationes*, which was published in various forms between late 1588 and the end of 1589. Gentili's works were printed by John Wolfe, and Essex later published *The Laws and Orders* in 1599, which was the equivalent of the code of war printed in 1585-6 for Leicester. In 1591 Garrard's *Arte of Warre* included the Duke of Alva's martial law, and in 1593 Sutcliffe's *Practice* included a detailed chapter on martial law which was dedicated to Essex. All of these suggest that just war theory was developed in the context of the Leicester-Sidney-Essex circle's patronage. Ros King cites number 49 of the Duke of Alva's rules of war which states that no one must loot "until the Generall make proclamation, that euerie man shall take booties: And if the general cause no such proclamation, to be made, & that souldiers make spoile, he shall incurre the paine of death" as a rule for keeping control and maintaining security rather than a humanitarian function.[165] In fact, as the 1576 spoil of Antwerp by unpaid Spanish soldiers—known as "Spanish Fury"—shows, a hatred of such Spanish atrocities was prevalent in the Low Countries.[166] In contrast, number 17 of Essex's military laws states that "No Souldier shall…willfully spoyle any Corne, Ship, or Boate, or Carriage, or other thing that may serue for the prouision of the Armie, without he be commaunded so to doe by the Generall."[167] This rule allows soldiers to seize private property only by way of military necessity, just as modern military laws state.[168]

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[164] Modern law of armed conflict states that military necessity cannot be used to justify military actions prohibited by law. But there are always elements of uncertainty and risks of arbitrary conduct in the theatre of actual military operations.

[165] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 43. King, "The Disciplines of War" 26.

[166] David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 135.

[167] Earl of Essex, *Lawes and Orders of Warre, Established for the Good Conduct of the Seruice in Ireland* (1599) $A4^{r}$-$A4^{v}$. Number 18 through 20 of Essex's law also define the military actions that can be justified by military necessity.

[168] See laws on "looting" in *Armed Forces Act 2006*. 05th April, 2008. <http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2006/pdf/ukpga_20060052_en.pdf.>

Of course, Essex's martial laws were not intended to apply what is today called the principles of the international humanitarian law to the Irish campaign, but to coordinate military ethics with a disciplined army. The publication and dissemination of martial law contributed to the written portrait of Essex as a Protestant warrior. It is evident that Essex's emphasis on the ethics of war was carefully crafted for success in his Irish campaign, and his patronage of preachers, theological writers, and jurists was a war by propaganda.[169] In this process, the notion of a Protestant warrior was crucial and became closely connected with the ethics and observance of the rules of war.

Written works on models of military behavior were largely absent during this period. Essex and members of his circle filled this gap and contributed to a model which justified war in the name of Christianity and combined classical and Christian principles. In this context, we can conclude that his patronage of university trained theologians and lawyers was instrumental in conditioning and justifying the theological and legal foundations of what we now call 'military ethics.'

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the intimate association between war and religion. Just as contemporary plays and ballads were repackaged as printed books, many contemporary sermons, which were designed to appeal to socially, religiously, and culturally mixed audiences, entered the same market for print. As Peter Lake notes, although the audiences and readers at which the sermons were aimed may not have been identical to those targeted by plays and cheap print, the consumers of sermons must have substantially overlapped with those of the other two genres.[170] Therefore, if, as Lake suggests, cheap print and sermons appealed to the same habits of perception as plays for the public theatre, it is tempting to conclude that sermons would have been one of the chief means of creating the popular

[169] Number 1 of Essex's laws requires his men to attend religious services. See Essex, *Lawes and Orders of Warre* A1^{v}.
[170] Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* 360-1.

perception that militarism was the expression of common values held in high esteem. These values—including that of a just war—were deliberately fostered by the aristocrats who assumed positions of military leadership in times of crisis. It was partly through their patronage of preachers that the icon of the Protestant hero—embodying "honour, godliness and bold national endeavour in war"—was created and disseminated.[171]

It was highly significant that during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods a shift from the theological to the pragmatic justification of war occurred. This shift occurred because members of the military circles combined examples of ancient history and the Bible with pragmatic, legal and religious arguments to vindicate soldiers' actions in war.

Aristocratic military commanders, like Essex, who developed an image of a Protestant warrior through their patronage of arts and literature, which for the most part avoided the horrors and hardships of war, might be criticized on moral grounds. We must acknowledge, on the other hand, that they also developed the correct manner in which soldiers should conduct themselves on campaign by developing the just war traditions, most of which are still used in the context of modern war. In it, a new ideal of military behaviour, acceptable on the battlefield, evolved from the chivalric ethos to inform the official codes supervised by the Judge Advocate (a post, according to Garrard, that was responsible for conduct of the martial laws and reserved for a person, "learned in the Martiall, Ciuill and commmon Lawes").[172] Such developments, however rudimentary, became possible through the military circles' patronage of Protestant preachers like Gifford, religious writers like Sutcliffe, and jurists like Gentili.

[171] Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* 292.
[172] Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* 244.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to examine the development of English military culture in the period 1585 to 1624, looking at the circles of aristocratic soldiers who served in wars on the Continent and in Ireland. In doing so, I have attempted to question the three assumptions prevalent in existing academic discussion: that the leading military figures such as Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry conducted their public lives in terms of outdated chivalric ideals and pride of ancestry; that militarism in England emerged as a modern social force because the government propagated military values through religion and manuals of warfare by directly praising militaristic attitudes, patriotism, Protestantism, and national unity; and that public theatre might have thrown doubts on the values of militarism.

It has been important to examine various cultural forms patronised by aristocrats like Leicester, Sidney, and Essex in the late sixteenth century, and by Prince Henry in the early seventeenth century, because members of these military circles helped to encourage the exchange of ideas about time-proven military tactics and the latest innovations through a variety of forms. This cultural environment, which was conducive to many aspects of the cultural imagination of war, afforded contemporaries, including Shakespeare, the language, the arguments, and the mode of presentation to tell their stories of war to their audiences.

My first chapter demonstrated that although some—like Sir John Norryes who ridiculed Thomas Digges as an amateur—valued military experience above theory, soldiers like Roger Williams, Francis and Horace Veres, Edward Conway, and Edward Cecil and scholars like John Dee, Gabriel Harvey, and John Cleland, within these intellectual circles, studied war from discussions and debates, and particularly from reading classical and modern military books printed in London and across Europe. It was these members of the aristocratic and princely circles who contributed to the development of England's military culture in the late sixteenth century and sustained it in the early seventeenth century. In this environment,

important military books like those of Vegetius, Caesar, William Garrard, and Robert Barret were held in the libraries of the leading military commanders and their fellow soldiers.

A new aristocratic military ethos was marked by the leading noblemen's artistic and musical patronage, which played its part in the process of idealising the Renaissance warrior. Philip Sidney gives us an important insight into the propagandistic function of visual art: "For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informes with counsel how to be worthy."[1]

The second chapter demonstrated that a reading of the portraits of Leicester, Essex, or Prince Henry, who was, as Ophelia said of Hamlet, "Th'expectancy and rose of the fair state, / The glass of fashion and the mould of form, / Th'observed of all observers" (*Ham*. 3.1.155-7), and their patron-client relationships with musicians like William Byrd and Thomas Morley, reveals that the real point at issue was that they were all concerned with seeking, following and teaching military values, and with their application to contemporary political conditions through visual and musical impressions. Patronage of the theatre involved a less concerted effort to support ongoing wars and yet war had divisive effects on the English stage, when circumstances allowed theatre companies to consider their opportunities and choose from a variety of alternative actions: the "Audience must fight in the field for [players]," while players fight "upon the stage for them" (*Histriomastix* 5.1.93-5).

My third chapter examined in more detail, in contrast to a contemporary claim that "Alas, it is an easie matter to play *Hercules* in our houses, or *Alexander* upon the stages; but it is somewhat [*sic*] to follow them in the fields where every bullet doth threaten death," many war-oriented plays like Shakespeare's *Henry V* and Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* which took their military traditions and responsibilities seriously.[2]

[1] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Nelson, 1965)179.
[2] Charles Gibbon, *A Watch-worde for Warr* (1596) D1^{v}.

In the fourth chapter I examined the informative functions of cheap print and its value as a propaganda tool during the war. Recent research has broadened our understanding of propaganda. Whereas earlier studies found that there had to be deliberate intent, later research has defined propaganda as including the control of symbols, myths, and information in order to legitimise a given set of values.[3] I established that aristocrats, like Essex, set up a system of patronage supporting the arts, the theatre, and print, and developed novel techniques of political manoeuvre and communication that helped to frame a "public sphere." This public sphere that I am describing provided the arena for discussion of both political and military issues and these political interactions originated from different motivations. London printers like John Wolfe and Richard Field were driven mainly by the profit motive, but political and military vocabulary and tradition were nevertheless disseminated in their printed works. This vocabulary and tradition enabled them to further the military purposes of the elite in the same way as other members of aristocratic circles served their patrons. Rather than being members of the military circles, printers and writers of ballads and news pamphlets operated dynamically within a web of connections—not in a simple structure but as a complex cultural institution—drawing people's attention to the military situation of the era, and helping them to digest their experiences of war.[4] Cheap print dealt with conflict and suffering, antagonism and friendship, glory and the misery of war. These stories, using credible readable accounts by people who claimed first hand personal experience as witnesses, affected public opinion and reinforced the association between militaristic ideas and their realisation in the political arena.

In the final chapter, I examined how religion could be used as a vehicle by the leading noblemen to present a specific political and military agenda without the public at large realising what was happening. Preachers like George Gifford and religious writers like

[3] See Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: the Public Debate during the Investiture Contest c*. 1030-1122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007)19-20.

[4] For the relation between printers and artists, it is worth noting that John Day who published Bibles and other Pr otestant literature, together with Marc Geerarts the Elder, contributed to the expanded edition of Jon Foxe's *The Actes and Monuments*, which appeared in 1570.

Matthew Sutcliffe were more political than religious in their support of their patrons. They promoted the concept that there was a division of responsibility, and provided a rationale for military leaders, by maintaining that it was the role of the monarch and the religious leaders to decide what constituted the cause of war, and whether a war was just; the military leaders' role was to decide tactics and strategies and the conduct of the war. Such a pro-war discourse had a powerful impact on public opinion by presenting compelling arguments regarding the use of force, when the issue remained unsettled.[5]

Indicators of militarism and militarization in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, included an emphasis on discipline and obedience, high military expenditure, and the glorification of war and the military way of life in a wide range of literature. It has been my purpose to investigate the extent to which militarism had meaning for wider society at a time when the type of military institutions that inspired Michel Foucault's analysis did not exist in England.[6] Theoretical, idealised early modern military manuals, were ineffective without a state-run military education system and English military culture was dependent on members of leading military circles, who perpetuated and sustained this cultural environment.

The intellectual pursuit of military knowledge and training, religious forms and habits of thought for justifying military service, and the promotion of a popular image of the military in society, were amongst the basic characteristics of this military culture. In the tradition of aristocratic soldiership, a young aristocrat was considered sufficiently prepared for a military career, as an efficient leader, after a reasonable exercise of arms or a brief experience in the field. From the late sixteenth century onward, the old attitude was challenged and this facilitated change. Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry made a huge impact by laying

[5] The nature of religion's influence on conflict was an important factor in the policy-making of princes and the attitudes of soldiers. As Protestants saw Catholics as agents of Antichrist, at the tactical level religious warfare was waged with few restraints. This motivated many Protestants soldiers through preaching and catechism to fight against Catholics, even when princes did not act. See T. J. B. Trim, "Conflict, religion, and ideology," *European Warfare 1350-1750*, eds. Frank Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010) 278-99.

[6] The institution of a standing army and its incorporation into the activities of the states was what first created the early modern state with its concentration of power at the centre. But in the absence of military institutions that inspired Foucault's analysis, the assertion of the importance of national military culture remains in the realm of the military circles. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) 134.

the intellectual and ethical foundations for the military, which began to take a more serious interest in its professional development. In this new environment, it became necessary for soldiers to study war formally and to develop strategic and tactical thinking. Hence militarism, in early modern culture, was not merely developed from the cult of outdated aristocratic chivalry or the state's effort at propaganda, but developed from an active aristocratic military culture which encompassed theoretical, practical, theological, and artistic responses to contemporary warfare. This culture continued to feature the ideal of a Protestant-warrior in the circles of Prince Henry well into the early seventeenth century.

The development of military culture was often an ambivalent process, modified and adapted by aristocratic soldiers who dominated the officers' ranks in the face of changing political, cultural, and social circumstances. This process of adaptation and modification continued through the 1610s and 1620s, using the same media; and there are examples which replicate very closely the earlier examples from the 1580s and 1590s, testifying to the marked militarism in taste and outlook during the entire period.

Today, we need to recognise the existing military culture, which shapes our view of military experiences through literary, visual, musical, theatrical, and religious impressions, if we are to see our current political and military affairs clearly and objectively. It would have been the same in the early modern period, when there was no strict segregation between the military and the civilian sphere. Therefore, my approach has been intentionally and determinedly broad in scope, in order to make observations about wider social and cultural trends, because military culture, as thus defined, acted as a prism through which we may see contemporary military affairs.

It was important to trace a wide range of contemporary literary, artistic, and religious texts and to assess the level of recurring military subjects and themes in them. There is, of course always a gap between intended and perceived meaning and this is a difficult issue when we try to assess what the gap may be between the meaning intended by the patrons and the

reception of meaning as interpreted by their audience. This is exacerbated by a lack of evidence within primary written sources indicating public response to the militaristic voice in popular culture. The emergence of a marked militarism, nevertheless, is indisputable. The choice and employment of language and imagery in a variety of material, through the patronage of Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Prince Henry, in particular, ensured that militarism became the expression of values commonly held in high esteem. Essentially, this became a common ground upon which a collective sense of military culture became a pattern of thought, a set of expectations and desires that constrained the very ways in which the public at large thought about war then, and our military personnel think about it now.

I believe that the intellectual, artistic, and religious traditions of military themes epitomised by the military circles in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England have been so rooted in the culture of the military, in Western countries, that they are still influential even today. They not only provide the military with a means to advocate its role in society (from its military traditions, history, and language to its religion and cultural stereotypes), but they also influence the way the military fights.[7]

Finally, a close relationship between soldiers and their commanders on the battlefield and the impact of a range of media including reading classical history, Shakespeare's plays, the Bible, sermons, artwork, the theatre, ballads, engravings and various kinds of cheap print, has been established during the course of my research. I hope that the present study will both encourage and facilitate continued enquiry into the multiplicity of aspects and issues relating to the military culture of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

[7] Napoleon Bonaparte was a great admirer of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar. U.S. general Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of the Coalition Forces in the First Gulf War, claimed that his war strategy was partly inspired by Hannibal's campaign against the Romans. The histories of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar, that inhabit every library in every military academy, are still influential in shaping the imaginations of future military commanders and their attitudes towards war.

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