Double Dutch: Approximate Identities in Early Modern English Culture

by

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For my grandmother, Marjorie S. Dimpfl

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Table of Contents

Dedication ii

Acknowledgements iii

List of Figures viii

Chapter

1. Cultural Double Vision: Thinking Dutch in Early Modern England 1
2. Going Dutch in London City Comedy: Staging Proximate Ethnicities 42
3. "By Common Language Resembled": Productions of Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Kinship 97
4. A Doppelganger Built In: Migrancy, Architecture, and the Making of an Anglo-Dutch Royal Exchange 175
5. Dangerous Transplantations: The Crisis of Anglo-Dutch Interchangeability in the East Indies' Spice Islands 210
6. Conclusion and Future Directions 270

Works Cited 280

List of Figures

Figure 1. *The Roaring Girl* (1611), title page, STC (2nd ed.) / 17908 66

Figure 2. "The aryval [of] the first Anceters [sic]," *Restitution* (1605), page 117, STC (2nd ed.) / 21361 110

Figure 3. *The Roaring Girl* (1611), K3 recto, STC (2nd ed.) / 17908 148

Figure 4. *Dutch Schoole Master* (1606), STC (2nd ed.) / 15453.7 153

Figure 5. *Dutch Schoole Master* (1606), STC (2nd ed.) / 15453.7 154

Figure 6. *Den Grooten Vocabulaer* (1639), title page, STC (2nd ed.) / 24869 155

Figure 7. *Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen onderrichter* (1677), title page, Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / H2035AD 155

Figure 8. *La vraye instruction des trois langues* (1661), page 1, Wing (CD-ROM, 1996) / B2193B 156

Figure 9. The British Airways London Eye 175

Figure 10. Frans Hogenberg, *The Royal Exchange,* exterior view, c.1569. Crace collection, XXII, 34. The British Museum. 176

Figure 11. Frans Hogenberg, *The Royal Exchange,* interior view, c.1569. Crace collection, XXII, 35. The British Museum. 177

Figure 12. *The Opening of the First Royal Exchange by Queen Elizabeth, 23 January 1570-71,* by Ernest Crofts, RA. Presented by the Mercers' Company, 1899. 183

Figure 13. London's Processional Routes with Arches from the *Magnificent Entertainment* 189

Figure 14. Stephen Harrison, "The Dutch arch at the Royal Exchange," *The Arch's* [sic] *of Triumph* (London, 1604). The Folger Shakespeare Library. 191

Figure 15. The location of the Dutch Arch at Cornhill 196

Figure 16. *A True Relation* (1624), frontispiece, STC (2nd ed.) / 7452 236

Figure 17. *A True Relation* (1632), frontispiece, STC (2nd ed.) / 7453 239

Chapter 1

Cultural Double Vision: Thinking Dutch in Early Modern England

MISTRESS OPENWORK: Have I found out one of your haunts? I send you for hollands, and you're in the low countries with a mischief [. . .]

MASTER OPENWORK: She rails on me / for foreign wenching, that I, being a freeman must needs keep a whore in' th'suburbs, and seek to impoverish the liberties.

The Roaring Girl, 2.1.226-305

In Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's theatrical comedy *The Roaring Girl* (1611), the extra-marital promiscuity of the play's citizen sempster is figured through a metaphor of travel to the Low Countries that discursively renders the Low Countries and London's suburbs as overlapping sites of illicit sexual commerce. Beyond the legal jurisdiction of the city's Mayor but buttressing its borders, the liberties of London were notorious spaces for all kinds of illicit activity, particularly the running of houses of prostitution. In this exchange, Master Openwork bemoans being driven beyond the liberties and into the suburbs for his extra-marital delights. Earlier in the play, Mistress Openwork similarly puns on a province of the Low Countries when she castigates her husband for his whoring: "keep you your yard to measure shephard's Holland," she admonishes.[1] The "yard," an instrument of measurement necessary in the cloth trade to which the Openworks owe their livelihood, is also a bawdy pun on male genitalia. Within the framework of Mistress Openwork's pun, "Holland" is both a linen product that she sent her husband out of their shop to procure, a product whose origin of production is in the Low Countries, and a double-entendre for the region of the female body that she suspects he has procured instead. That Mistress Openwork modifies Holland as "*shephard's* Holland" underscores the range of signification within the signifier upon which her punning admonishment

turns. In her attempt to delimit the meaning of "Holland" to a kind of linen, Mistress Openwork unintentionally reveals the multiplicity of its spatial as well as sexual connotations. Mistress and Master Openwork's exchange opens onto the multivalent signification of the Netherlands, the Low Countries, and Holland in the English imagination of the early seventeenth century. Referencing a geographical territory, a material commodity, even the body's parts, these signifiers were especially productive in comic exchange precisely for how they oscillated from one to the other meaning. Indeed, to speak of things "Dutch" in early modern English was almost always to traffic in double meaning.

To tease apart the various double-entendres that imbricate London and the Low Countries in the bawdy exchange above is to discover how the spatial proximity of England to the Netherlands is the structuring trope by which a paradoxical geography emerges. The Low Countries is at once represented as an extension of London's sexual and commercial geographies and as a space beyond home and homeland. This paradox is made possible by the implicit fantasy of England's spatial proximity to the Low Countries; so close are they that Openwork can get there and back in the time it takes to travel to and from the suburbs. In turn, the suburbs of London are rendered all the more "foreign," as they are figured not as part of London's sexual economy *per se*, but as a surrogate of the "Low Countries." To travel beyond the liberties and into the suburbs was to find oneself both at home and abroad, just beyond London and into the Netherlands. More than a sequence of bawdy puns interlinking the sexual geographies of London with the Low Countries, the Openworks' exchange opens up the real and symbolic ways in which thinking England also meant thinking Dutch in the early modern period.

Double Dutch: Approximate Identities in Early Modern English Culture argues that thinking Dutch was an integral and constitutive part of becoming English as well as maintaining and cultivating one's English identity. Throughout this project, thinking Dutch with the early moderns involves more than tracing representations of the Dutch, a people from the Low Countries. Analytically speaking, it entails tracing how ideas of Englishness and Dutchness

emerge in relation to one another. This relational process is rarely so neat as to reveal itself through straightforward representations of English and Dutch characters on the stage. For reasons that I explore more fully below, the following chapters do not focus exclusively on representations of *the Dutch*. Rather, considering a range of cultural productions (theatrical comedy and drama, civic pageantry, travel writing, architecture, typography), this project traces various ways in which English self-definition came into view in relation to ideas of what it meant to be or to seem Dutch. *Double Dutch* argues that early modern representations of England's relations to its Netherlandish neighbors involved a cultural double vision whereby Englishness and Dutchness come into view through a process of drawing distinctions between as well as charting similarities across the Anglo-Dutch relation. For instance, in briefly exploring puns and double-entendres on Dutch sexual and spatial geographies in *The Roaring Girl,* we discover, historically speaking, that imagining and representing London involved imagining and representing the Low Countries (as place, material culture, and economy) and that representing the Anglo-Dutch relation did not necessarily imply thinking about Dutch people or characters *per se*. We also begin to glimpse how discursive operations structured Anglo-Dutch relations as a relation of similarities and differences held in tension by proximity. The punning exchange imagines two things at once: within the framework of the pun, the Low Countries is a different place insofar as it is just beyond, bordering but outside, "foreign" and abroad; the Low Countries is a similar place—even the same space—insofar as it is familiar, intimately known, and situated nearby. This project argues that thinking Dutch engendered and entailed the kind of cultural double vision embedded in the Openwork's exchange: a vision that is double precisely because of the way in which it holds similitude and difference together within its scope.

The cultural double vision that I trace throughout was engendered in significant ways by both real and imagined proximities between the English and the Dutch. Thinking Dutch meant grappling with how to represent proximate relations between people, products, and places. As the pun on Holland above suggests, Anglo-Dutch geographic proximity sparked anxieties not only

about licit and illicit commercial and sexual "mixing," but also about the potential for England to be rendered indistinguishable from the Low Countries. Anglo-Dutch proximity pressured the self-evidence of borders that so often helped to define distinctions between people and places. Across the Anglo-Dutch relation, geographic, religious, linguistic, commercial, and cultural borders seem more like intersections, sites of cultural overlap, than parameters inscribing difference. *Double Dutch* traces how identities that exist in proximity to one another become approximated identities when rendered in cultural representation.[2] I argue that representations of Anglo-Dutch relations were shot through with concerns about ethnic and sometimes national approximation. Even in attempts to differentiate themselves from their northern European neighbors, the English often discovered the ways in which they were similar to, even approximately the same as, their Dutch neighbors. A significant part of what this cultural double vision that I am tracing produced, then, was the uncanny effect of rendering the English and the Dutch—Englishness and Dutchness—disquieting doubles.

In early modern cultural representation, thinking Dutch performs a double epistemological function; it is this double epistemological function that I mean to underscore in my title, *Double Dutch*. In English cultural performance, thinking Dutch draws into view a perspective onto the other that redounds in two ways onto English self-definition. On the one hand, the Dutch were partly characterized by fashions, appetites, behaviors, and a geography that set them apart from the English. On the other hand, the Dutch and English shared similarities and correspondences: religiously, both underwent Protestant reformations; politically, both faced the military and political aggression of Spain; economically, their woolen industries were interdependent and, later, they engaged in parallel colonial endeavors; ethnologically, the English and Dutch were both northerners. The English regularly characterized the Dutch as "neere neighbours," "friends," "allies," even kin.[3] Correspondences between Englishness and Dutchness often undercut, even destabilized, many of the oppositional frameworks that might have cut clean lines between the English and their near neighbors. When the English were representing Anglo-

Dutch relations, they were reflecting on their own variously constituted identity and calibrating degrees of sameness and difference from their nearest Continental neighbors.

If thinking Dutch in the early modern period involved a cultural double vision that brought into view both similitude and difference, thinking Dutch as a critical intervention in discussions of English self-definition is to reconsider how proximate relations and representations of those relations put particular pressures on the process of that evolving self-definition. This project explores how proximate relations are imagined, forged, represented, and contested; it asks in what ways proximity to one's neighbors—those who live just beyond and within England—shapes constructions of local and national definition. In short, this project calls for a renewed attention to how multiple and overlapping notions of proximity—geographic, spatial, religious, commercial, political, linguistic, ethnic, and racial—play out as the expression of similarity and difference held in tension. If, over the past thirty years, we have come to understand something of how difference was epistemologically useful in the forging of English (and later British) national self-definition, *Double Dutch: Approximate Identities in Early Modern English Culture* sheds light on the ways in which desirable and disquieting similarities to one's neighbors shaped that definition too. I argue that early modern English representations of Dutchness were meditations on the elasticity of the self / other divide.

To think Dutch with the early moderns across a broad range of archives requires an analytic that attempts to preserve the paradoxes and maintain the double vision that structures representations of Anglo-Dutch proximate relations. I have been arguing that, historically speaking, thinking Dutch involved vacillating between ideas of Dutchness and Englishness, considering differences and similarities together. *Double Dutch* takes its analytical cue from this historical process by tracing correspondences and differences between the English and the Dutch—Englishness and Dutchness—in representation and exploring the chiastic interplay that held this relation in tension. This project, then, attempts to understand the hyphen within Anglo-Dutch relations as a flexible field of relation rather than a marker of separation. This project does

not assume the stability of borders or of identities. As I will go on to show, the interchangeability of English and Dutch identity frustrates the idea of fixed borders. In historical terms, national, ethnic, and religious borders were themselves in flux. I want to suggest that, both analytically and historically, thinking Dutch deconstructs the edges and the centers where oppositions attempt to take hold. Critically speaking, it throws up the challenge of reconstructing how the English understood and represented similitude, approximation, and resemblance.

In attending to approximations, this project argues that thinking Dutch produced different effects and incited different tensions within the emergence of national and ethnic self-definition than did thinking French, for instance. Linda Colley has argued that in the eighteenth century:

> Britons defined themselves in terms of their common Protestantism as contrasted with the Catholicism of Continental Europe. They defined themselves against France throughout a succession of major wars with that power. And they defined themselves, in short, not just through an internal and domestic dialogue but in conscious opposition to the Other beyond their shores.[4]

Colley's argument that national self-definition emerges "in conscious opposition to the Other" pervades historical scholarship that seeks to define the processes of British national identification.[5] For instance, in early modern literary criticism and historical scholarship, this idea has shaped studies of national types or kinds. In the most comprehensive work of this kind, A. J. Hoenselaars explores "examples of the binary relationship between the dramatists' presentation of the Englishman's auto-image and his hetero-image" in plays that present Englishmen and foreigners together on stage:

> The juxtaposition of these groups of characters in the drama crystallizes differences and facilitates a comparison between them . . . Once the foreigner is presented in an English environment, contrastive stress procedures tend to foreground him since he is the "odd one out." Conversely, when the Englishman is presented in a nonnative environment, his nationality in turn is emphasized.[6]

According to this line of argument, on the stage the foreigner is opposed to and so helps to define the Englishman. Michael Duffy's survey of English satirical prints (1600-1832) finds "what a marketable commodity this patriotic xenophobia was for English printmakers" whose art ascribed various different characteristics to different national kinds.[7] According to Duffy, during the first

half of the seventeenth century it was not the French but the Spanish who were the "foremost" foreigners and Others in English minds.[8] The antagonisms between Spain and England positioned the Spaniard as England's "natural enemy."[9] In a reading of the figure of the Spaniard in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, Jean Howard finds, "the difference between Spanish and English is figured as a series of binary oppositions, and the relations between the two powers are straightforwardly antagonistic. The Spanish are Catholic, cruel, and rapacious; the English are Protestant, merciful, and generous."[10] Even so, Howard argues that the Spanish were "also constructed *in relation* to the English in a way that suggests a subterranean fraternal bond between the two nations, a bond defined precisely by rivalrous antipathy . . . These two European powers are national rivals and enemies, but necessary to one another's self definition."[11] The necessity of forging Englishness against ideas of the other is also explored by James Shapiro who has argued that Jews, whose "differences were greatly exaggerated and at times simply invented," were a people deemed "un-English in the way that they looked, prayed, ate, smelled, dressed, walked, and talked," and increasingly racially marked during this period.[12] Even so, one of the most perplexing problems of the era was how to understand "what happened to their racial otherness when [Jews] converted and entered, or tried to enter, a Christian commonwealth."[13] Also, England's encounters with and commercial traffic with Muslim powers "exacerbated prevalent tensions and anxieties about religious and cultural differences," Ania Loomba has argued.[14] Yet these differences were not absolute: "if on the one hand references were made to the shared Protestant and Muslim hatred of Spain and 'idolatry,' then, on the other, English anti-Catholicism was often articulated by suggesting a continuum rather than a difference between Muslim infidels and Catholics."[15] For Emily Bartels, the theater could demonstrate its own role in the process of estrangement across kinds; in granting the alien center stage, Christopher Marlowe's plays "expose the demonization of an other as a strategy for self-authorization and self empowerment."[16] In other words, the theater did more than display strangeness; it thematized it.[17] Critical explorations of the emergence of English identity (and discourse of national identity)

have thus largely affirmed, even as they have nuanced, the post-modern insight that "to exist is to be called into being in relation to an otherness."[18]

Considerably less scholarly attention has been paid to how similitude, similarities, correspondences, agreements, and parallels between the English and their near neighbors might also have threatened, disrupted, ruptured, and / or coalesced ideas of Englishness. In a 1994 essay published in the groundbreaking collection, *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, Lynda Boose, writing on racial discourse in early modern England, contended: "to chart early modern England's discourse of racial difference, we clearly need a more detailed cartography of what the English assumed within notions of the same."[19] Compared to scholarly inquiry that takes "difference" as its subject, this is a project that remains in its infancy.[20] Historicizing, de-essentializing, and identifying the epistemologies that have constructed gender, race, ethnicity, class, and national difference remains a focus among humanities scholars in the academy today. Broadly speaking, if there is a single concept around which it might be said that much of literary criticism with interest in identity now turns its collective energies it is *difference*.[21] Race, class, caste, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, place, and language are among the categories now regularly explored as those that have and continue to make differences that matter. What could be more intuitively correct or theoretically reiterated than the idea that difference is central to how social identities are constructed, represented, articulated, affiliated, and contested? Social identity, we have learned, "*lies* in difference." [22] Without it, various social identities lack the edge against which to sharpen and define identifications, affirm or disavow distinctions. In comparison to our collective critical effort toward mapping, historicizing, theorizing, and just generally *reading* for difference, we have developed a far less expansive expertise for discussing and understanding how similitude between people and across groups, how notions of sameness and similarity, have also been historically constructed, represented, articulated, and contested.[23] Among literary critics of early modern English literature, difference long has been a keyword as scholars have demonstrated the ways in which the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries saw the emergence of ideologies and epistemologies that have informed the development of modern notions of race;[24] gender, sexuality, embodiment;[25] and rank and status.[26] *Double Dutch: Approximate Identities in Early Modern English Culture* is a project that interrogates especially ethnic difference in the making; but in thinking Dutch with the early moderns I also have aimed to take up Lynda Boose's call to attend to early modern notions of the "the same" because thinking Dutch so often had the English thinking in terms of similitude, approximation, and interchangeability.

It was not only the Dutch who fostered English reflections on their potential interchangeability with other ethnic and national kinds, but, in important ways, England's proximate relations with the Dutch were informed by different historical factors than those shaping French or Spanish relations with the English. The Elizabethan period was marked by the waning of dynastic struggles between England and France and the increasing threat of Spain to England's political and commercial health. Both France and Spain were governed by monarchs with whom England fought over territory. France and Spain were officially Catholic monarchies when England began its Protestant reformation. In vilifying these Continental others, English authors called up anti-Catholic rhetoric and pilloried the Spanish and French kings in satirical prints and broadsides.[27] The Dutch, like the English, underwent Protestant reformations. Many in England considered the Dutch their Protestant co-religionists. Therefore, drawing sharp religious distinctions between the English and Dutch was less effective in forging clear ideas of cultural difference. Moreover, until the mid-seventeenth century, the English did not fight wars against the Dutch over issues of territory (and then the territory at stake was the sea). Because the Low Countries and England did not engage in state-sanctioned military campaigns, their proximity was not informed by the same dynastic tensions that underwrote England's histories with France and Spain. Finally, the English had ample opportunity to reflect upon their relations with the Dutch because the Dutch were *everywhere* in early modern English culture. The fact of Dutch presence in England can be witnessed in our own scholarly absorption of Dutch cultural

production *as English* cultural production. In early modern literary scholarship, in particular, Dutch engravings regularly adorn book-jackets on early modern English culture,[28] Dutch maps are called upon to demonstrate points about the forging of the English nation,[29] and Dutch painter's pictures of English royalty are set up to reveal the subtle ways in which English sovereignty was being figured.[30] Even so, the Dutch remain curiously absent in critical discussions of identity. This paradox raises an interesting question: has our own critical practice implicitly, yet uncritically, begun responding to Boose's question about English notions of the "same?" In other words, is this critical oversight potentially an insight? This project invites us to consider the complex ways in which "thinking Dutch" with the early modern English exercises our own critical understanding of ethnic similitude, difference, and approximation, and, in so doing, to take measure of our own historically-informed assumptions regarding what constitutes "the same."

Then as now, ethnicity was a markedly fluid framework within which to structure identity. Recent work on ethnology in the early modern period has argued that, "in sixteenth century England humoralism is ethnology."[31] Rooted in classically derived ancient philosophy, which posited a tripartite division of the world's *oikoumene* ("inhabitable world"), "geohumoralism" (a "regionally-framed humoralism" that applied to "people of all climates") rendered England's northern clime marginal and intemperate.[32] Mary Floyd-Wilson's work has been instrumental in demonstrating how the English grappled with their northern and intemperate bodies by infusing positive value in their marginalized northerness even as such valuation paradoxically involved manipulations that aimed to remedy that northerness.[33] Floyd-Wilson's work aims to bring into view a global picture of how the early modern English imagined ethnicity and also race. In so doing, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* tends to accentuate the divisions between north, middle (temperate), and south, as those that were most distinctive in the formation and conceptualization of ethnic identity. Less clear are the ways in which ethnicity was shaped, constructed, and understood *within* each of these geohumoral zones.

In the context of geohumoralism, for instance, the geographic northerness of the Dutch and the English might seem to imply that English and Dutch peoples thought of themselves as sharing a common ethnological self-definition. Yet, in a caveat to the broader argument of her work, Floyd-Wilson proposes that ethnicity in the early modern period was not over-determined by geohumoralism:

> What constituted ethnological identity was exceedingly fluid and malleable—shaped not only by the environment but also by other horizontal, synchronic, and 'civilizing' forces, such as government, law, travel, diet, fashion and education . . . these shaping influences played a particularly significant role in the conception and formation of English ethnicity because "Englishness" itself was understood primarily as a collection of markedly fluid qualities.[34]
>
> [. . .]
>
> ethnic distinctions in the early modern period were necessarily plastic. Given the sheer number of variables in the external world (diet, environment, clothing) and the multiple cultural agents (government, travel, custom, performance, education, for example), people could intentionally or accidentally estrange themselves from their native kind.[35]

I share with Floyd-Wilson an interest in the plasticity and fluidity of ethnicity in the early modern period. However, where Floyd-Wilson's work focuses on ethnicity on a global scale and so tends to emphasize the distinctions between the world's tripartite zones (and the early modern epistemologies that reorganized those distinctions), I show how Anglo-Dutch proximate relations, and English attempts to represent those relations, encouraged attention both to the plastic variables of ethnic distinction and to the plasticity of those variables. *Double Dutch* starts with the assumption that, while important, geohumoralism alone did not define ethnicity in the period. Even while the English and the Dutch shared a northern location, representations of Anglo-Dutch relations open a perspective onto Englishness that expose unsettled tensions within the English character and English ethnic self-definition.

Finally, in its attention to processes of approximation, this project does not assume that sameness is the opposite of difference or that sameness evacuates tension in the process of self-definition. Rather, it aims to explore the ways in which thinking Dutch was a process that entailed conceptualizing divisions and cohesions, differences and similarities, alterity and similitude. It aims, in other words, to practice an analytic double vision for reading early modern cultural

productions, an analytic itself engendered out of the representational, epistemological, and rhetorical processes it seeks to map.

*

The double vision that I explore in *Double Dutch* is exemplified in Owen Fellltham's *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* (1652) which begins, "they are a general sea-land," thus initiating a series of paradoxical characterizations that render paradox itself as central to the "character" of the Low Countries, its people, institutions, and geography. Fellltham's narrative of "the Dutchman anatomized and truly dissected" offers a diptych portrait of England's Netherlandish neighbor. Figures of both virtue and vice, the Dutch are represented as holding the very oppositions that define them in an unresolved tension. Prime among these paradoxes was the Netherlands' lack of clearly defined geographical borders. It is described as the "great bog of Europe," an "Aequilibrium of mud and water," the soil itself "the buttock of the World, full of veines and bloud, but no bones in't."[36] Echoing and extending the implications of Fellltham's opening characterization of the Low Countries, Andrew Marvell similarly characterized Holland as a place always half-steeped in the sea: "Holland scarce deserves the name of Land, / As but th' Of-scowring of the Brit|tish Sand," begins his poem *The Character of Holland* (1665).[37] For both authors, the Nether*lands* is a misnomer for a geography neither fully land nor sea. Not merely ill defined because of its doubly situated geography in land and water, the Low Countries emerge in Marvell's poetic imagery as detritus that has been scowered off or exfoliated from British land. Curiously, this pejorative image of the Low Countries does less to differentiate England and the Netherlands than to underscore how imbricated, related, and proximate they are. The imagined doubleness of the Netherlands' geographic location enables this odd portrait of proximity to come into view. The Netherlands is at once claimed and discharged by Britain, a part of and apart from British land.

The people too are similarly represented as doubly situated. Fellltham satirically represents the Dutch as amphibians: they are "like frogs" for they "live both on sea and land," an

idea crystallized by Marvell who characterizes the people as "half-anders, half-wet, half-dry."[38] Halfness, in this instance, is another way of expressing ideas of doubleness—to be half one thing and half another is to be imperfectly two things at once. At the same time, to be characterized as a people and a land that are half land / half sea is to throw up a challenge to nature's peripheries and to the fixity of borders themselves. If Holland can be made to seem the "of-scowring of the Brittish Sand," then just where are the borders that distinguish England from the Netherlands? If nature's borders are so porous as to fail to inscribe a difference between land and sea, what difference can hold in distinguishing the Dutch—those experts in halfness—from their English neighbors? The answer suggested in *A Brief Character* is less geographic than characterological in nature.

If the Dutch are amphibious by nature and doubly situated geographically, they are also doubly figured as characters of virtue and vice. In the first half of Fellthams's text, the Dutch character is pejoratively represented as stubborn ("you may sooner convert a Jew than make an ordinary Dutch-man yield to Arguments that cross him") (27), poorly mannered ("they were bred before manners were in fashion") (30), huge of appetite yet excessively parsimonious ("they eat much and spend little: when they set out a Fleet to the *Indies*, It shall live three moneths [sic] on the Offals" . . . they seem indeed "addicted to parsimony") (55, 89), vociferous, "boisterous," "rude" (41), and nearly always steeped in drink ("as if it were against the nature of a Dutch-man not to have *Bacchus* his neighbor") (16). In the second half of the text, Dutch character is, conversely, positively anatomized as impressively diligent ("want of idleness keeps them from want. And this their Diligence makes them rich . . . Their diligence hath made them both *Indies* neere home") (72, 62-3). Their domestic administration of "public banks that (without use) lend upon pawns to all the poor that want," combined with their charity for the poor ("even their bedlam is a place so curious, that a Lord might live in it; Their Hospital might lodge a Lady: so that . . . even Poverty and Madness do both inhabit handsomely" (75), produce a nation without "a begger among them" (64, 73). As a mercantile people they are driven to explore in search of

trade: “there is none that have their like intelligence; Their Merchants are at this day the greatest of the Universe. What Nation is it where they have not invested? Nay, which they have not almost anatomized, and even discovered the very intrinsick veins on’t?” (71). Regarding Dutch women, Felltham praises their chastity, for even though “a husbands long absence might tempt them to lascivious ways . . . they hate adultery and are resolute in Matrimonial chastity” (88). The diptych-like quality of Felltham’s observations frustrates any readerly impulse to draw a definitive or definitional conclusion about the Dutch. A patchwork of contradictions—pecuniary yet generous with the poor, often drunk yet diligent, rude and “low” yet intelligent—the character who emerges is never fully but only at best half any one thing at a time. Ultimately, the paradox of Dutch geography and the contradictions within the Dutch character are the qualities Felltham identifies as essentially Dutch.

This characterization of the Dutch as essentially two things at once is a symptom of the double vision epistemology that emerges from thinking Dutch in early modern England. The Dutch are not imagined as a homogenous group or kind; instead they are figures defined by their own internal contradictions. When Felltham moves out from his characterization of the Dutch toward comparison between the English and Dutch, his reflections begin to expose the instabilities of English, and later British, self-definition. Representing Dutchness often rattles those notions of Englishness that exist eccentric to concepts of national self-definition. Comparisons that focus at once on national similarities and differences between England and the Netherlands, the English and the Dutch, also take place beneath or alongside investments in “nation.” Felltham’s observations on the character of the Low Countries catalyze repeated comparison with English character, England’s geography, its social and political orders. By some measures, the Low Countries come across as England’s antipodes—a place that renders topsy-turvy the hierarchies that order England’s social and political spheres. For instance, Dutch domestic life is rife with disordering principles of “democracy,” from Felltham’s perspective (42). “The woman there is the head of the husband” (24), an inversion of idealized English

notions of patriarchal domestic order. Moreover "in their Families they all are equals, and you have no way to know the master and mistress, but by taking them in bed together," where, presumably, one discovers the sex of these "equals." If sex fails to rank men and women in public, age does little more to order the domestic sphere: "Father and Son had never passed so long for Relatives. They are here Individuals, for no Demonstrance of Duty or Authority can distinguish them, as if they were created together, and not born successively" (48-49).[39] This intermingled social structure is most manifest at meals when "they sit not there as we in *England*, men together, and women first, But ever intermingled with a man between" (58). The hierarchies that order the English household are seemingly overturned in the Low Countries. The Dutch household is the idealized, patriarchal English household turned upside down and inside out. By this measure the Dutch are different from the English and their difference is characterized by inversion of English custom. This kind of difference—alterity expressed as stark opposition and inversion—is one repeated topos by which English authors work to distinguish themselves from their Dutch neighbors. As such, the Dutch character's vices set into relief English virtues while Dutch virtues similarly highlight English vices. This is not, however, the primary or the most destabilizing effect that thinking Dutch had on early modern authors' attempts to represent Anglo-Dutch relations.[40] When reflections on Dutch history revealed the ways in which the Dutch might be understood to be England's tutors, or revealed shared histories but different historical outcomes for England and the Low Countries, then the process of thinking comparatively exposed the historical contingencies and ideological instabilities involved in the process of forging an English identity.

Some of this destabilizing effect on notions of English identity can be found in Felltham's text. Other aspects demand a close and textured reading of other forms of discursive production. English drama, linguistic debates, the printed page, the use of urban space in London civic and royal pageantry, and both English- and Dutch-authored travel reports are among the sites of cultural production explored in the chapters that follow. In Felltham's work, we glimpse an

example of one way in which the English and Dutch were rendered similar when he asserts the view that the Dutch are a "pure" people, a reiteration of an argument advanced by early seventeenth century antiquarians and philologists. Felltham writes:

> Their Language though it differ from the higher Germany, yet hath it the same ground, and is as old as *Babel* . . . And still among us all our old words are *Dutch* . . . Unlike English, which has many borrowed words, the Dutch language yielded to less mixing, making the Dutch themselves a people who even the Romans conceded were "rather Triumphed over than conquered": To confirm this, the keeping of their own language is an argument unanswerable. The change whereof ever follows upon the fully vanquished, as we may see it did in *Italy, France, Spain, England.* (76-77, 81)

In an idea whose history will be explored in chapter two, the notion that Dutch speech consisted of a pure, unmixed lexicon set into relief the relative mixedness (and supposed impurity) of the English tongue. Linguistic histories were understood by early modern Europeans to archive social histories.[41] For Felltham, the social history evident in the mixed lexicon of English and less mixed lexicon of Dutch reveals the relative martial prowess of the Dutch who were merely "triumphed over" while the English were "fully vanquished." That the English and the Dutch shared a similar historical encounter with the Romans but their languages emerged differently from that encounter sets up another kind of contrast than that based on the characterological differences between a people's virtues and vices. From this vantage point onto northern European history, the *English* emerge as the patchworked identity of the North, whereas the Dutch like the Germans emerge as "a pure and unmixed people" (78). The rub here is that if English identity and English language were to become synonymous, an important but never wholly actualized aspect of the project of fashioning English national identity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[42] then thinking Dutch linguistic history together with English linguistic history troubles attempts to set up the English language as the *sine qua non* of Englishness. In reminding his reader that "still among us all our old words are *Dutch*" (77), Felltham highlights the interconnectedness of English and Dutch history and language, Old English and present Dutch. Considering Dutch and English linguistic histories side by side has the effect of setting into relief the relative mixedness of English—exposing even its old roots in "Dutch." A glance into Dutch linguistic history does not

confirm Felltham's earlier view that England and the Low Countries are antipodean cultures; in this instance, thinking Dutch along a linguistic axis reveals the unevenness of England's historical development and its consequent mixedness.

The most disquieting effect of thinking Dutch is the way in which doing so sometimes produced an uncanny doppelganger effect, rendering the English and the Dutch as approximated kinds. In Felltham's text, the English and the Dutch are approximated when the meaningful differences upon which their social and political distinctions depend are overwritten by a reference to human universalism. Felltham's conclusion does not tie up or sum up the various and contradictory characterizations of the Dutch that his "anatomy" has opened up. Instead, readers are encouraged to avail themselves of a final lesson gleaned from thinking Dutch:

> If any man wonder at these contraries, let him look in his own body for as many severall humors. In his own brain for as many different Fancies. In his own heart for various passions; and from all these he may learn that there is not in all the world such another beast as *Man*. (100)

By the conclusion of *A Brief Character of the Low Countries*, the oppositions of the Dutchman are revealed to be oppositions that reside *within* the very body of Felltham's reader, the Englishman. This final rhetorical move positions the Dutchman and the Englishman together as indistinguishable kinds who share a form in the body of Man. Felltham's reader is thus left to explore the ways in which the paradoxes and contradictions presented throughout the text as those inherent to the Dutch "character" reside also "in his own brain" and "in his own heart." In its conclusion, Felltham's text suggests that the English reader and the Dutch subject of the "observations" are far less different than they are akin. They are, in other words, approximately alike.

Approximation raises the specter of interchangeability. To be approximately alike is to be just about the same, nearly similar, but not fully identical. For instance, to say that one is approximately six feet tall is to suggest that six feet is the measurement closest to one's actual height but that one either does not fully reach that measurement or exceeds it by just a bit. At the

same time, to claim that one is approximately six feet tall is to imply that six feet is a measurement interchangeable with one's actual height. When English people, places, and material culture become approximated to Dutch people, places, and material culture, concerns about cultural and ethnic interchangeability emerge. A theme of Anglo-Dutch approximation and interchangeability can be traced to the English stage, particularly city comedies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (chapters 1 and 2), to London's streets, its architecture and the role it plays in urban pageantry (chapter 3), and further afield to the colonial sphere of Anglo-Dutch trade in the East Indies (chapter 4). In these sites of cultural production, various operations (including puns, double-entendres, visual palimpsests, and representations of mistaken identity) approximate and render potentially interchangeable English and Dutch identity.

The varied archives explored in this project demonstrate that though differences and distinctions were drawn, even over-drawn, rarely did English representations of the Dutch and of Dutchness successfully settle, shore up, or delimit the range of their significations. Dutchness was a category that encroached upon, overlapped with, and sometimes collapsed into the signifiers of English self-definition. If the pun with which we began implies that distinction is threatened at the border—that, for instance, Master Openwork's journey to the edge of London is what renders him vulnerable to crossing over into the foreign—then a closer look at the cultural operations by which Anglo-Dutch relations were constructed in representation reveals that this pun opens onto only part of the story. In English representations of Anglo-Dutch relations, Dutch people, products, material culture, even language and religion, are often discursively cast as so proximate as to be situated within. Chapter one, "Going Dutch in London City Comedy: Staging Proximate Ethnicities," traces how Dutch and English identities on the English stage were, in the drama's own terms, "jumbled" by means of puns and wordplay that emphasize the fluidity of signifiers of ethnic difference, including language, diet, clothing, and religious belief. Plays such as John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611), and Thomas Middelton's *The Family of Love* (1604) confirm an insight more often

attributed to post-modern notions of ethnicity, that ethnicity is "essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group."[43] When English characters of London city comedies go Dutch, they do not necessarily *turn* Dutch, an early modern phrase more commonly evoked in the case of an Englishman "turning Turk," for instance.[44] In the early modern English imagination, "turning Turk" raised the specter of conversion and irreversible transformation. Going Dutch, on the other hand, was a process that was calibrated by means of more fine-grained distinctions. If "turning Turk" involved a movement from belonging to estrangement, going Dutch involved something altogether more gradient, as minor alterations in appetite and style unwittingly affiliate a character with the faith of another, even as that character (and the dramatist's resolution of plot) insists on her English identity. Attending to the chiastic interplay of differences and similarities that constitute Englishness and Dutchness in London city comedy reveals that, across the Anglo-Dutch relation, identity was more of an analogue phenomenon than a digital one. The chapter argues that city comedies were demonstrating that minor differences matter in maintaining one's English identity, even as they were exposing just how easy it was to find oneself, both wittingly and unwittingly, going Dutch in early modern London.

A cultural double vision comes clearly into view at the turn of the seventeenth century as English philologists, dramatists, antiquarians, even playbook compositors consider anew the differences and similarities between English and Dutch speech, English and Dutch language. Chapter two, "By Common Language Resembled: Productions of Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Kinship," explores how, at the turn of the seventeenth century, authors recast the history of the English language in such a way as to emphasize its historical relatedness to Dutch. As histories of English began to underscore the relatedness of English and Netherlandish linguistic and racial histories, performances of English and Dutch speech on stage emphasized the phonetic resemblances between English and Dutch speech. Ranging between both popular and elite sources—from the period's drama to historiography, from printed playbooks and Anglo-Dutch dictionaries to humanist tracts on the "worth" of Europe's vernacular languages—"By Common

Language Resembled" recovers a moment when an emphasis on the similitude and resemblance across languages rendered the English and the Dutch close kin.

Chapter three shifts focus from language in its many forms and domains to the intersection of material culture, pageantry, and identity. We move to the London streets for three performances that feature London's central marketplace, the Royal Exchange. An architectural copy of Antwerp's Beurs, London's Exchange sparked concern about the building's representative Englishness and about the status of the Dutch community living in London. Chapter three reads royal and civic pageants that transpired near the Exchange for how they reveal the affiliations and tensions between the space of the Royal Exchange and the dynamics of early modern Dutch immigration. "A Doppelganger Built In: Migrancy, Architecture, the Making of an Anglo-Dutch Royal Exchange" argues that representational efforts to "english" the Royal Exchange induced a palimpsestic perception of London's commercial center and gave rise to new possibilities for how the Dutch stranger community in London represented their own belongedness.

Lastly, "Dangerous Transplantations: The Crisis of Anglo-Dutch Interchangeability in the East Indies' Spice Islands" traces the issues that emerge when the provisional, relational, and proximate identities of the English and the Dutch are transplanted to the East Indies. Dutch and English correspondence together with English-authored travel accounts reveal that in the early years of English and Dutch colonial ventures, the failure of English and Dutch ethnic and national differences to signify was a central crisis in the minds of Dutch and English factors. The chapter explores how the English responded to this crisis by turning to performance, on the one hand, in the East Indies (in what I call "ceremonies of distinction") and, on the other hand, in London theaters after the Restoration. These attempts to make a difference between English and Dutch ethnic, national, and colonial identities result in imperfectly suppressing the similarities that had rendered the English and the Dutch interchangeable in the East and approximated back home.

In recent years, historians and literary critics have suggested that the relationship between English subjects, particularly freemen in the trades, and stranger residents living in and around the city of London was largely antagonistic.[45] Many social historians have emphasized a xenophobia underpinning English attitudes toward foreigners in their midst,[46] while others have begun to ask whether xenophobia is "an epithet [gone] too far?"[47] Similarly, literary and historical scholarship regarding the English and Dutch ventures in the Spice Islands has tended to emphasize the rivalry between the corporate bodies of the Dutch Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) and the English East India Company (EIC).[48] *Double Dutch* suggests that a textured and far more complex cultural history of Anglo-Dutch relations emerges when we suspend assumptions of rivalry, antipathy, and xenophobia as governing the Anglo-Dutch relation. Asking instead how Anglo-Dutch relations were shaping and being shaped by various discursive, spatial, and representational practices ventilates the critical debate and redirects our focus onto the intermingled diversity of northern European urban life.

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While much of *Double Dutch* investigates the Anglo-Dutch relation across representational fields, it is important to have some knowledge of the social history that was fashioning and being fashioned by these representations. The social history of Anglo-Dutch relations was shaped throughout the late-medieval and early modern periods by commercial, geographic, and eventually political and religious proximities. Geographically, the Thames estuary faces those of the Scheldt, the Maas and the Rhine across the North Sea. Historians remind us that "in the age of the sailing ship the Dutch were in practice less distant from London and the south-east than were the French . . . until the age of the turnpike, indeed, except in prolonged stormy weather, the Netherlands were less remote from London than the more distant parts of England."[49] Throughout the sixteenth century, the Dutch were a doubly situated people, the majority living just beyond England in the various provinces of the Low Countries, with a significant minority living within and around the city of London itself. From the mid-sixteenth

through the early-seventeenth centuries, Dutch immigrants constituted London's largest alien population.[50] While many sought temporary refuge from Spanish oppression in the southern Low Countries, others among these "strangers" became part of a Dutch diaspora, developing their spiritual, commercial, and domestic lives in London.[51] The majority of immigrants who entered England during Elizabeth Tudor's reign came from the southern and maritime provinces of the Netherlands. Many were religious refugees, fellow Protestants who were forced to flee Spanish oppression. Though the Low Countries were under Hapsburg control and officially Catholic, Protestantism grew in popularity from the 1550s onward, particularly in the southern provinces. In the year 1566 reformers in the Northern and Southern Netherlands attacked Catholic altars in an iconoclastic fury known as the *beeldenstorm.* Margaret of Parma, then the Spanish regent of the Low Countries, attempted to reach a compromise with the Protestant movement in the officially Catholic territories of the Spanish Netherlands by allowing Protestant worship in places where it was already practiced. This policy, riven by contradictions, ultimately proved "untenable," resulting in the Protestants positioning their cause in terms of armed revolt or submission.[52] In 1567, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, third Duke of Alva, arrived in the Netherlands with ten thousand troops and the intention of suppressing the Protestant action. Alva, who has been described by a leading historian of the Dutch Republic as "austere and rigidly authoritarian," even "fanatical in his detestation of Protestant heresy," imposed military rule, and fashioned himself simultaneously as leader of the Spanish army and Governor-General of the Netherlands. Under his regime, almost 60,000 Protestants fled the Netherlands in what was, at the time, the largest emigration movement of the early modern period.[53] This was the beginning of a Protestant emigration that would occur in waves over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century, resulting in "the largest uprooting experienced in early modern Europe."[54] The movement of Protestants throughout northern Europe and their relocation, temporary and permanent, in England would shape much of Anglo-Dutch political, military, and social policy in the last half of the sixteenth century.[55]

The mid-sixteenth century was by no means the originary moment in the history of Anglo-Dutch relations.[56] So connected were English and Dutch religious and industrial relations that historians have argued that they were "almost inseparable" throughout the sixteenth century.[57] In terms of Dutch immigration into England, from 1521 to 1560, 642 people—the majority "Netherlanders"—sought letters of denization and acts of naturalization in England.[58] Among the immigrants whose places of origin are recorded in the historical record, Brabant (including the city of Antwerp), is the "most frequently mentioned origin."[59] Immigrants from Antwerp would go on to play an important role in the management of the Dutch, French, and Italian Churches in London during the second half of the sixteenth century.[60] During the first half of the sixteenth century, two-thirds of the Netherlanders who sought denization or naturalization lived in London, Southwark and Westminster; the other one-third lived elsewhere in England.[61] Professionally, these immigrants were "mostly occupied with clothing the English."[62] They were shoemakers, cordwainers and tailors but also metal workers, weavers, and printing tradesmen. Marriage between Dutch men and English women was not uncommon during this period: "this was the case in more than 60 percent of the new denizens in 1541, that is, 112 persons."[63] The traffic between England and the Low Countries ran both ways. From 1483 "when Flemish printers first began to issue books for the English market," English printers and publishers ventured to the Netherlands to learn the trade.[64] Laurence Andrewe was one such Englishman who apprenticed under the famous Antwerp printer, Jan van Doesburg, and then later returned to London as a printer.[65] English ideas were shipped into the Netherlands for printing because "it was sometimes safer for an English author to publish his books on the continent than in England."[66] Ideas, material culture, and people crossed back and forth between England and the Low Countries throughout the sixteenth century, creating networks of both personal and professional affiliation. The result of all of this shuttling was evidenced even on London's commercial landscape. Sir Thomas Gresham, an English merchant and agent of the English crown in Antwerp, spent years of his life working and residing near Antwerp's mercantile

Exchange, the "Nieuwe Beurs." His experiences watching the world's merchants trade under covered walkways at the Antwerp Beurs inspired him to build a copy of it in London. For English merchants, particularly those involved in the cloth trade, it would not have been unusual to split some of their time between England and the Netherlands. The close commercial relations between England and the Netherlands, particularly relating to the cloth trade, made spotting "English merchants in Bruges, later in Antwerp, and Dutch clothiers in London . . . a common sight . . . . Even when in the late Middle Ages the exportation of wool from England stagnated because it began to process its own wool," rather than exporting it to the Netherlands for finishing, "the Netherlands remained important for the export of English cloth. And so the commercial route quite naturally became the escape route."[67]

Dutch diasporic networks created by the exodus of Protestants from the southern and maritime provinces of the Low Countries in the later half of the sixteenth century worked to knit England and the Netherlands ever more tightly in a bond of Protestant alliance—if not always at the affective, local level, often at the level of state-sanctioned policy and military action. Twice, Elizabeth was offered and rejected what were effectively offers of sovereignty: first over the provinces of Holland and Zeeland in 1571 in exchange for joining an alliance with France and the German Protestants in expelling Spain from the Netherlands; and again in 1585 when she agreed to send six thousand troops into the Netherlands at a cost of 126,000 pounds, which "amounted to about half of the Queens ordinary revenue in peacetime."[68] In *A Declaration of the Causes mooving the Queene of England to give aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries* (1585), England's military engagement in the Low Countries is justified, in part, because of the proximity of England to the Netherlands, "and joyning thereunto our own danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and access and planting of the great forces of the Spanyards so neere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attemptes against our realme, we did therefore . . determine to sende certaine

companies of souldiers to ayde the naturall people of those countries."[69] Spanish aggression in the Low Countries presented a "common danger" for both England and her neighbor:

> we have found the general disposition of al[l] our own faithful people very ready in this case, and earnest in off[e]ring to us, both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realm and themselves, evidently seene and feared by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of warre, enemies to our counyries, there so nere unto us.[70]

The Low Countries were often imagined to be less a buffer zone than a bridge to England, so when troubles erupted there the English, though often slow to take action, were always on guard.[71]

As Elizabeth extended the finances and military powers of the English state into the Netherlands, the presence of Dutch strangers in England's southern and eastern towns and cities sparked an array of pressing ideological questions for the English who found themselves living, working, and worshiping alongside a people who were broadly classified as "the Dutch." Prime among the issues raised by the large presence of Dutch refugees was that of enfranchisement. How would the strangers living and working in England earn a living, maintain their religious affiliation, and secure a right to appeal to legal authorities for wrongs committed against them? Legally speaking, those Dutch immigrants with the financial means and motivation and appropriate institutional connections could apply for denizenship. A patent of denization, granted by the crown, extended to the stranger the right to hold real estate in England and to bequeath it to children who were born after the patent of denization was granted. Strangers could also seek enfranchisement by appealing to the City. "Free denization" was a status granted by the City after either a term of apprenticeship or once redemption was paid (a fee paid to the City). Even after securing denizenship, strangers were required to pay alien custom rates that amounted to twice the Lay Subsidy taxes paid by natural born English men and women. The costs involved in seeking denization, together with what was a complicated and cumbersome process, discouraged

many alien residents from seeking denizen status.[72] The strangers living and working within England thus existed in both a legal and extra-legal relationship to the English state.

Immigrants from the Low Countries who sought refuge in London following Alva's military campaign emigrated primarily, but not exclusively, from the provinces of Flanders and Zeeland.[73] Once in London, those Dutch- and French-speaking Netherlanders found churches established by and for their particular communities.[74] Their members met, worshiped, and socialized within London city walls in Broadstreet Ward where their services were held in Dutch and in French.[75] Founded in 1550 by Edward VI, the Dutch Church of Austin Friars and French church of St. Anthony provided refugees with a social, economic, and religious infrastructure of safe harbor.[76] The institution of stranger churches provided much of the necessary support for a growing stranger population in London. A survey of the City of London, its liberties, and suburbs in 1562 counted 4,534 alien men, women, and children residing therein.[77] Following the 1567 troubles in the Netherlands, 6,704 aliens were counted in London and the liberties, another 2,598 in Westminster. Of the 9,302 aliens residing in and around London, seventy-seven percent were "Dutch" (approximately 7,162 men, women, and children).[78] Although the population surveys of the sixteenth century "frequently convey an impression of careful preparation," Nigel Goose contends, "all of these enumerations are likely to underestimate the number of aliens . . . . An Elizabethan 'norm' in the region of 8,000 would therefore be a sensible estimate, this figure rising periodically (but also repeatedly) as high as 10,000."[79] Historian of London's Protestant communities, Andrew Pettegree, estimates that by 1568 the French church of London (which many Dutch attended) had a community 1800 strong and the Dutch church nearly 2000.[80] As members of sanctioned houses of religion, this was a minority made visible by its means of its religious enfranchisement (the first compiler of an Anglo-Dutch grammar, for instance, advises his readers to go to the Dutch Church to practice some Dutch with the strangers there).[81] Even so, just what it meant to be "Dutch" in early modern London was not always transparent, as is evident even in the population surveys themselves.

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In 1593 a London city official knocked on the door of Judith Strete, widow and seamster, to inquire about her status as a "stranger" in London. Widow Strete resided in St. Olave in Bridge Ward Without on the bankside of the river Thames where she was householder and non-denizen.[82] Her son, age twenty four, was "English-born," she told the city official, and she was "of the Dutch Church." The censor records that Judith Strete had dwelt in England twenty-seven years, which, if accurate, suggests she left her homeland the year of the *beeldenstorm*. Having noted her name and if any English or stranger servants were set to work by Widow Strete, the city official had but one more question: where was Judith Strete from? Nothing in the 1593 stranger population census suggests that Judith had reason to obfuscate her place of origin; indeed, hundreds of strangers reported precisely where they were born and where they had resided before coming to London. Catharine Payne, for instance, also a widow, silk weaver, and resident of England for twenty years, reportedly specified that she was from "Andwerpe (Antwerp) in the Province of Brabande (Brabant)."[83] However, as Judith looked into the face of London's city official, whose job it was to collect information about the numbers of "strangers" residing in London, she said simply, I am "a Dutchwoman." As Judith closed the door behind her and returned to her work, the London official jotted down Judith's response, which apparently sufficed to answer the question of her origins. Indeed, Judith's answer was not unusual. Ninety-one other strangers, when asked where they were from that year, said they too were Dutch, from Dutch, or "of the Dutch nation."[84] As both a category of identity and a general name for a geographic space, Judith's response was not a misuse of the word Dutch during this period. Instead, her appropriation of the category was useful in the face of the English state and the city of London. Together with her affiliation with the Dutch church, in identifying herself as "Dutch," Judith asserted her Protestant affiliation and thus her status as a co-religionist and "friend" of the officially Protestant English state. Although Judith likely would have identified more regionally among her Netherlandish peers, for the immigrant in the English context, Dutch sufficed as a

response to questions of origins, at least in legal contexts.[85] As such answers suggest, Dutch was a broad classificatory term for geographic, cultural, and even linguistic affiliations.[86]

While it has been argued that by the seventeenth century, "Dutch [had] come to be exclusively associated with the northern Netherlands"[87] in the Netherlands context, in London's population returns and in English literature, "Dutch" continued to refer broadly to the people and languages of the northern and southern provinces of the Low Countries. In English usage, Dutch was a category that obfuscated the array of meaningful differences that structured social life in the Low Countries. Simply put, the term lacked a sharp edge. The geography it evoked referred generally to the Low Countries but could bleed east into Germany and southwest to include the Walloon (French-speaking) population living on the border of France. To complicate matters further, the English had a plethora of terms by which they referred to their neighbors' language in the Low Countries. In the seventeenth century, Netherlandish, "Nether-dutch," "Netherland language,"[88] and Low German were all "convertible terms" in English that meant Dutch language.[89] English-Dutch dictionaries of the seventeenth century employed a range of words for the Dutch language, including Dutch,[90] Duyts,[91] Neder-duytsche and duitsche,[92] Ne'erduitschen and Low-Dutch,[93] and Nederduits.[94] So too English was replete with names for Dutch people including Netherlander, Hollander, Fleming, Brabanter, Walloon, Dutchman, and, to mention only one of many satirical labels, low lander. On the English stage, a Dutchman or Dutchwoman might as easily be associated with Antwerp as Amsterdam; a Fleming may be a person from the province of Flanders or, in the more general sense, a Dutch person. Walloon, a less frequently occurring word in the drama, was more geographically and linguistically restricted, referring in most instances to French speaking people of Flanders and Brabant.[95] On the whole, however, these words were used interchangeably—especially in drama, often in political discourse, and sometimes in philological tracts and dictionaries. This interchangeability tended to smooth over regional linguistic and cultural differences that a French-speaking Calvinist from Antwerp, for

example, would have registered as profoundly salient when she immigrated to the Dutch-speaking province of Holland following the sack of Antwerp.

In London, immigrants from the Low Countries were evidently aware of the classificatory multiplicity available to them. When asked in 1593 by surveyors where they were from, strangers reported that they were from Antwerpen or Brugges, answers that still register as meaningfully delimited geographic areas today; others stated that they were from "Dutch," "Walloon," and "Lo Countrie."[96] Still others simply declared that they were a "Dutchwoman" or "Dutchman." That these recorded answers made sense enough to the immigrants *and* to the surveyors suggests that understanding what Dutch meant in the early modern period entails grappling with the multivalence of the category Dutch in early modern English.

If Dutch was a category that was capacious, slippery, and undefined at its edges, so too was Englishness. The blurring of distinction between English and Dutch identity could prove potentially tragic, as is evidenced in one Englishman's account of his experiences on the streets of Antwerp in the days following the Spanish Fury (1576). From atop the tower of the English House at Antwerp the Elizabethan courtier and dramatist, George Gascoigne, watched in horror as smoke engulfed the gable-roofed skyline of the Netherlandish city. On the crisp November evening, the Spanish army was busily sacking the city below in "one of the worst atrocities of the sixteenth-century."[97] Gascoigne, it is believed, was in Antwerp as an official observer for Elizabeth I in 1576, the year of the Spanish Fury.[98] More than an observer, on this evening Gascoigne found himself embroiled in a tragedy that he worried might prove a harbinger of London's fate. His pamphlet, *A Spolye of Antwerpe* (1576), presents its English readership not only with the bird's eye view of an observer whose safe harbor is temporarily secured by his position aloft a tower, but the perspective of an Englishman caught in the fray, a man who narrowly escaped with his life.[99]

In Gascoigne's pamphlet England and the Netherlands are figured as near neighbors whose proximity renders their fates intertwined: the "burning houses of so neare neighbors"

ought to stir fear in the hearts of Englishmen that they too "might fall . . . into the like calamities" (5).[100] Like a fire that catches the rooftops of neighboring houses, the Spanish Fury at Antwerp might ignite London too. Gascoigne's pamphlet exemplifies the way in which in the mid-sixteenth century, London and Antwerp, England and the Netherlands, rarely enjoyed the perspective of a view from the distance onto one another's political landscapes. These were near neighbors whose mutual struggle against Spanish domination, whose geographic propinquity and shared Protestant affiliations, intertwined their fates.

For Gascoigne it was not merely London's proximity to Antwerp that fostered his foreboding reflection; it was his own experiences on the streets of Antwerp that rendered all too real the indiscriminate nature of the Spanish Fury and the problems that erupt when identities are closely approximated. Trapped within the city for weeks following the massacre, Gascoigne reports just how treacherous it was to be an Englishman walking the streets of Antwerp in the days following:

> At least all the world wyll beare mee witness, that ten (yea twenty dayes) after, whosoever were but pointed at, and named to bee a Walloon, was immediatlye massacred without furder audience or tryall. For mine owne part, it is wel known that I did often escape very narrowly, because I was taken for a Walloon. (21)

As the smoke lifted and the fires burned out in Antwerp, the Englishman finds himself rendered troublingly interchangeable with the French-speaking Dutch Protestants whose "heresies" the Spanish were intent on suppressing. While it might be thought that Gascoigne should have been easily distinguished from a Walloon since his English would have set him apart, his account suggests otherwise. At the time of the Spanish Fury, Antwerp was a city that bristled with strangers and merchants from around the globe. They regularly engaged in commercial exchange without any pressing problem of confused or mistaken identities.[101] Nonetheless, Gascoigne reports that he feared for his life—not because he was a foreigner, an Englishman, an informant for the English crown, or a merchant—but because he might be "taken for a Walloon." Gascoigne's fear opens onto a central and recurring tension in sixteenth and seventeenth century

English meditations on Anglo-Dutch relations. The threatening and somewhat uncanny experience of being "taken for" one's nearest neighbor, of being rendered as a double, posed a challenge to constructions of English identity during this period. Gascoigne's account of mistaken identity touches on the plasticity of English ethnic identity that *Double Dutch* explores throughout.

This project aims to reanimate the early modern ways of knowing housed in the Openworks' exchange, in Judith Strete's response to a London surveyor, and in Gascoigne's report of mistaken identity in Antwerp. In thinking Dutch across varied archives, *Double Dutch* traces the ways in which signifiers of Dutchness were constituted, revised and contested throughout the period and how that process engendered and entailed a cultural double vision that was simultaneously shaping ideas of Englishness too. In approaching early modern English culture with an analytic double vision, this project demonstrates that how identities were approximated has as complex a representational history and as important a place in the history of English ethnic and national identity as does the ascription of difference.

[1] Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl*, ed. Paul A. Mulholland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) 2.1.170.

[2] In linking proximity to approximation in the case of Anglo-Dutch relations, I am of course also consciously evoking the etymological connection between the two words. Proximity comes from the Latin *proximitat-em*, which literally means the state of being nearest, "nextness." According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in early modern English, "proximity" was used both to describe a spatial relation and to describe relations of affiliation, such as kinship. Approximate comes from the Latin *approximare* (ap-+*proximus*), which means to draw near to. In representing proximate relations, the English were grappling with the cultural and representational processes of approximation.

[3] For example, Queen Elizabeth discusses the "mutual amitie" and "natural unions" of the peoples of England and the Low Countries, whose bonds tie them "in perpetuall amitie," in *Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries* (1585):

> By which mutuall bondes, there hath continued perpetuall unions of the peoples heartes together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall love hath bene inviolablie kept and exercised, as it had bene by the worke of nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kinges and the lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have bene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighhbours, envying the felicitie of these two countries. (*A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts,* eds. John Somers and Walter Scott [London: T. Cadell, W. Davies, etc, 1809], 411), hereafter *Somers Tracts*.

[4] Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *The Journal of British Studies,* 31.4 (1992): 316. This article offers a condensed articulation of the argument Colley advances in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992).

[5] An important exception is Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[6] A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1642* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992) 25.

[7] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print 1600-1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986) 13. Though Duffy identifies xenophobia as the sentiment driving much of satirical print making in England, he finds that "xenophobia was in fact sufficiently diverse in its origins to give considerable flexibility to the portrayal of the foreigner in the prints either as entertainment or as propaganda . . . . The prints therefore do not only show the English image of different foreigners, they also show how that image was manipulated for other purposes" (44).

[8] Ibid., 23.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Jean Howard, "An English Lass Amid the Moors: Gender, Race, Sexuality, and National Identity in Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West,*" *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period,* eds. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994) 111.

[11] Ibid.

[12] James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) 5.

[13] Ibid., 170.

[14] Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 105.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) xv.

[17] Ibid., 21.

[18] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 44.

[19] Lynda Boose, "The Getting of a Lawful Race: Racial Discourse in Early Modern England and the Unrepresentable Black Woman," *Women, "Race,"and Writing in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994) 38.

[20] Scholars working in the field of the history of sexuality constitute an important exception to this observation. See Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 44-97. Traub's article introduces a new hermeneutic for reading early modern maps, atlases and their frontispieces. Part of the project initiated in this ambitious article involves Traub's close examination of images on maps and atlas frontispieces for how they mobilize images of heterosexual monogamy / coupling: "the marital union here signifies the force linking and homogenizing nations, with companionate dyads seemingly offered as the harmonious resolution to the threat of ethnic, racial, and national difference. Through the repetition of erotic sameness, the naturalness of heterosexual monogamy is enforced at the same time that its cultural specificity is erased. As a global erotic normativity literally is installed by the deployment of images from maps, national identity and heterosexual marriage are shown to go hand in hand" (82). Traub demonstrates how similitude is created across difference to advance nationalist ends. See also Traub's introduction to *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Scholars working on the history of friendship have also opened up early modern ideas about "likeness" and similitude. Laurie Shannon has uncovered the early modern "politics of likeness" in *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). For the ways in which collaboration and friendship disrupt paradigms of difference, see Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Historians working on European / Native American encounters in the eighteenth century have recently placed an emphasis on the interplay of difference and sameness in constructing ideas of race in colonial America; see Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth Century North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[21] A search of the MLA International Bibliography since 1980 yields over forty five hundred publications in which "difference" appears in the title; among these, two hundred are book-length monographs. "Difference" and "identity" appear together in over one hundred and fifty MLA titles. Journals too have positioned their mission statements around the term as their contributors interrogate and historicize the construction of cultural differences. E.g., *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* was at the foreground of the critical encounter of theories of difference.

[22] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) 479.

[23] Another search through the MLA database suggests that in the humanities we remain less invested in how constructions of similitude, sameness, and similarity shape social identity. A parallel MLA search for publications from 1980 to the present that express in their title a critical investment in interrogating any of

the following terms: "similarity," "same," "sameness," "similitude," "propinquity," or "nearness," together with the term "identity" yields a total of fifty two publications, only one of which is a book length manuscript. A title search is, of course, a blunt way to test critical investment in a topic. It does, however, point toward an asymmetry in scholarly trends.

[24] Early modern scholarship on epistemologies of race is extensive. Among the book-length monographs shaping the discussion are: John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); James Shapiro *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Dympna Callaghan, *Shakespeare Without Women: Representing Gender and Race on the Renaissance Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Mary Floyd Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003); Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Robert Markley, *The Far East in the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Often cited edited collections include: *Women, "Race," and Writing in Early Modern England,* eds. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (New York: Routledge, 1994); *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, eds. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (New York: Routledge, 1988); *Race, Ethnicity, and Power in the Renaissance,* ed. Joyce Green MacDonald (Madison, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1997); *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England,* eds. Peter Erikson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); *Writing Race Across the Atlantic World,* eds. Philip D. Beidler and Gary Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[25] Feminist scholars as well as scholars working in the field of sexuality studies assert the importance of understanding the co-evolution of ideas shaping notions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, embodiment, and rank. Thus, much work attentive to the category of gender has also been instrumental in demonstrating how variously and fully co-articulated these categories have been historically. Many of the works cited in the note above also obtain here. Book-length monographs that have explored sexuality, embodiment and/or gender in the early modern period include: Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982; rpt. 1995); Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of* Shakespeare (Brighton: Harvester, 1983); Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Often cited edited collections include: *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern England,* eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992); *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture,* eds. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, Dympna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dympna Callaghan (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[26] See especially, Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[27] See Duffy.

[28] J. C. Visscher's panorama of London is an especially ubiquitous example. E.g., Lawrence Manley, ed., *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1986); Gerald M. Pinciss and Roger Lockyer, eds., *Shakespeare's World: Background Readings in the English Renaissance* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995).

[29] E.g., Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[30] E.g., Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[31] Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 12.

[32] Ibid., 2.

[33] Floyd-Wilson's careful sifting through literary, philosophical, medical, and travel literature reveals that the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English were revising classical ethnographies (structured through the binaries of inner/outer and body/environment) in order to denaturalize long-standing connections between humoral and climate theories that rendered them intemperate and marginalized their geographic, cultural and humoral status.

[34] Ibid., 48.

[35] Ibid., 54.

[36] Owen Fellltham, *A Brief Character of the Low Countries* (London, 1652) 1-5.

[37] Andrew Marvel, *The Character of Holland* (London, 1665).

[38] Fellltham 41; Marvel, Ibid.

[39] Fellltham's use of the word "individual" retains the early modern sense of indivisibility. Here, the father and son are not ranked by successive birth order or patriarchy, but seem to Fellltham troublingly indivisible figures in the household.

[40] Analytically speaking, inversion of any ordering system does not destabilize the binaries that structure that order (husband/wife; man/woman; father/son). Instead, in its most conservative manifestation inversion preserves the ordering structure even at is rotates the players.

[41] See Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[42] These issues are explored more fully in chapter two.

[43] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 2002) 12.

[44] See Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

[45] Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions, and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996). On England's "Hollandophobia" in particular, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987): 257-64. According to Alan Stewart, hostility to the "denizens" of London animated theatrical productions. For instance, in a literary reading of William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, Stewart concludes:

> The play thus enacts a fantasy version of denization that allows the audience the vision of seeing the daughters of a denizen grow up to be sturdy, xenophobic English roses, fruits of English soil, the mother, and the mother tongue, in a blow against their alien paternity. And in the daughters' determination to *have their will*, to marry their English lovers, lies in the guarantee for the ultimate victory for environment over blood, for soil over seed: that the grandchildren of this denizen-stranger will be multiple, male, and wholly, unchangeably English.

(Alan Stewart, "Every Soyle to Mee is Naturall: Figuring Denization in William Haughton's *English-men for My Money*," *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 75.)
For a recent article that questions the limits of popular xenophobia in London, see Joseph Ward, "Fictitious Shoemakers, Agitated Weavers and the Limits of Popular Xenophobia in Elizabethan London," *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001) 80-87.

[46] See especially Yungblut; also, Lien Bich Luu, "Taking the Bread Out of Our Mouths: Xenophobia in Early Modern London," *Immigrants and Minorities* 19 (2000): 1-22.

[47] Nigel Goose, "Xenophobia in Elizabethan England and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far?," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lein Luu (Brigthon: Sussex Academic Press, 2005) 110-135.

[48] See George Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). For an important critique of the economic thesis driving most notions of Anglo-Dutch rivalry, see Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and "From Butterboxes to Woodenshoes: The shift in English popular sentiment from anti-Dutch to anti-French in the 1670s" *The Historical Journal* 38:2 (1995): 333-361.

[49] K.H.D Haley, *The British and the Dutch: Political and Cultural Relations Through the Ages* (London: George Phillip, 1988) 8.

[50] Irene Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593,1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority,* Quarto Series, Vol. 57, (London: Huguenot Society, 1985).

[51] I employ the words "stranger" and "alien" to refer to the Dutch residing in London. "Foreigner" was a word more often used to refer to native born English men and women who migrated from areas outside of London.

[52] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 129-54. On the social, economic, and religious backgrounds of the Dutch revolt, see Isreal 1-220; Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1977). For a brief overview of the years leading to the Dutch Revolt, see Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 7-24.

[53] Israel 160.

[54] Nigel Goose, "Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005) 1. Goose notes that in the seventeenth century, "the Moriscos expelled from Spain in 1609 and the Huguenots who fled Louis XIV's France during the 1680s," exceeded in number the Protestants who fled the Spanish Netherlands. At the time of their exodus from the southern Netherlands, however, the Protestant migration was indeed the "largest emigration movement" that early modern Europe had yet experienced.

[55] See Haley for a detailed history.

[56] For the long view of Anglo-Dutch relations, see J.F. Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations From the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924); W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (1897; New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1965).

[57] Bense 97.

[58] This number reflects only the number of people who applied for denization, the number of immigrants who did not seek denization but who were living in England is unknown. Raymond Fagel, "The Netherlandish Presence in England Before the Coming of the Stranger Churches, 1480-1560," *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001) 9. Fagel carefully lays out the logic by which he identifies "Netherlanders" in the historical records on pages 7-9: "The immigrants I am interested in came from the Low Countries, the Netherlands, which corresponded more or less with the present countries of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as the northern part of France" (7).

[59] Fagel, "Netherlandish Presence" 10.

[60] Immigrants from Antwerp served as Elders and Deacons of the three Stranger Churches in statistically significant numbers. Twenty of the Dutch Church's Elders and Deacons (1567-1585) were from Antwerp, almost twice the representation of any other Netherlandish city or town in the Church governing body. Thirteen immigrants from Antwerp served as Elders and Deacons of the French Church (1567-1585), second in representation only to all of those immigrants who claimed "France" as a place of origin. Interestingly, among those who served as Elders and Deacons of the Italian Church (1568-1591), immigrants from Antwerp equaled those from Italy. Raymond Fagel, "Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England,* eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005) 48.

[61] Fagel, "Netherlandish Presence" 12.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 14. Regarding marriage between strangers and English during the second half of the sixteenth century, see Charles Littleton, "Social Interactions of Aliens in Late Elizabethan London: Evidence from the 1593 Return and the French Church Consistory Actes," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXVI.2 (1995): 153-55; Lien Bich Luu, "Assimilation or Segregation: Colonies of Alien Craftsmen in Elizabethan London," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXVI.2 (1995): 168-70.

[64] John J. Murray, "The Cultural Impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," *The American Historical Review* 62.4 (1957): 837-85.

[65] Bense 94.

[66] Bense 94. On the Anglo-Dutch exchange of ideas in print in the seventeenth century, see Cornelis W. Schoenveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983). For a broader exploration of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange in the seventeenth century, see

The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century, eds. Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994); J. A. van Dorsten, *The Anglo-Dutch Renaissance: Seven Essays*, eds. J. van den Berg and Alastair Hamilton (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

[67] M. Evers, "Religionis Et Libertatis Ergo: Dutch Refugees in England and English Exiles in the Netherlands," *Refugees and Emigrants in the Dutch Republic and England (Papers of the Annual Symposium, Held on 22 November 1985)* (Leiden: Sir Thomas Brown Institute, 1986) 8.

[68] Haley 27-49.

[69] *Somers Tracts* 1.417.

[70] *Somers Tracts* 1.416.

[71] Regarding the internal debates at court for and against military intervention in the Low Countries (and Elizabeth's preference for diplomatic engagement), see Roy Strong and J. A. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* (Leiden: Published for the Sir Thomas Brown Institute at the University Press, 1964).

[72] On the legal position of strangers in England, see Daniel Statt, "The birthright of an Englishman: The Practice of Naturalization and Denization of Immigrants Under the Later Stuarts and early Hanoverians," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXV.1 (1989): 61-74; Irene Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers* 3-18. An important collection of essays that spans two centuries of English history on this subject is *From Strangers to Citizens The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America 1550-1750*, eds. Charles Littleton and Randolph Vigne (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001).

[73] Jonathan Israel summarizes the three-pronged movement of Protestant emigrants in the years 1567-1568: "Those fleeing the Netherlands moved in three main directions. From Amsterdam, the West Frisian towns, Friesland, and Groningen, the flow was towards the north-western corner of Germany, especially Emden. From Flanders and Zeeland, emigration was chiefly by sea to England. From Brabant, southern Holland, and Utrecht, the exiles gravitated mainly to Cleves and the Rineland" (160). Raymond Fagel further details the specific geographical origins (town and city roots) of London's Protestant immigrant population over the course of the sixteenth century in "Immigrant Roots."

[74] On the stranger communities and their churches, see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign and Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Charles Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005) 177-191; Nigel Goose, "Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England" 1-38; William John Charles Moens, *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers, 1571-1874 and Monumental Inscriptions, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London.* (Lymington: Privately Printed, 1884) i-xliii.

Not all of the immigrants who arrived into England during this time were religious refugees. Some came for economic reasons and many did not join the stranger churches, see Andrew Spicer, "'A Place of Refuge and Sanctuary of a Holy Temple': Exile Communities and the Stranger Churches," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England,* eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 91-109. While I focus on the Dutch immigrants in London, there were other significant communities of Dutch strangers in southern England. Nigel Goose reminds us, "it is very likely that collectively the provincial immigrant communities outnumbered those in London in the late sixteenth century, and in total there may have been as many as 23,000-24,000 aliens in England by the 1590s." In Norwich the alien population reached over 40 percent of its population in the early 1590s: "by 1571 it numbered as many as 3,999 (Dutch and Walloon), and 4,679 by 1583 despite the death of 2,482 strangers in the plague of 1579-80" (Goose, "Immigrants" 18). On Norwich's stranger population, see also Douglas Rickwood, "The Norwich Strangers, 1565-1643: A Problem of Control," *Huguenot Society Proceedings* XXIV.2 (1984): 119-28. Towns with significant immigrant settlements included: "Canterbury, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Dover, Thetford, Kings Lynn, Stamford, Halstead, Rye,

Winchelsea, and later on also Canvey Island in Essex and in the fens of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, at Sandtoft and Thorney respectively," (Goose, "Immigrants" 17).

[75] The Dutch and French churches served "as a kind of ecclesiastical Trojan horse," Patrick Collinson has argued: "In effect, the strangers were exempt from the terms and requirements of the Act of Uniformity" ("Europe in Britain: Protestant Strangers and the English Reformation," *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton [Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001] 57). For French and Dutch alien settlement within England, see Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us*; Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); a number of related articles appear in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu. For settlement within London, see especially Andew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*; Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 131-40.

[76] Though referred to as the "Dutch" and "French" churches, the congregation of both of these churches consisted predominately of Dutch- and French-speaking people who originated from the Netherlands, not France. The French Church congregation consisted "mostly of Walloons from the southern Netherlands until the St. Bartholomew massacre in 1572 brought the first significant number of French refugees to London," (Ole Peter Grell, "The French and Dutch Congregations in London in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV.5 [1987]: 363). Charles Littleton, historian of the French Church in London, estimates that in 1593: "of the 417 individual members of the French Church whose place of birth is listed in the Dugdale [manuscript], 54 percent came from what was the Spanish Netherlands and 39 percent from the Kingdom of France," suggesting that the French Church continued to count Netherlanders among the majority of its congregation even after the St. Bartholomew massacre (Charles Littleton, "Social Interactions of Aliens in Late Elizabethan London" 149). Patrick Collinson further notes: "not all adherents, or even members, of the various stranger churches [of London] were of the appropriate and designated nation or language. In the 1560s an actual minority of the members of the Italian congregation, an extreme case, were Italian by birth. The majority were Dutch, in 1568 numbering at least 63" ("Europe in Britain" 62).

[77] R.E.G. Kirk and E.F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London, Publications of the Huguenot Society*, 10.1 (1900) 293.

[78] Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here* 21-22.

[79] Goose "Immigrants" 16; C.f., Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here,* for a more conservative estimate.

[80] Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities* 182. Pettegree estimates that, "the members of the French and Dutch churches would have made up less than half the total foreign population of the capital . . . it is quite probable that many foreigners of genuinely Reformed sympathies may have baulked at the public scrutiny of their beliefs necessary before they could be admitted to membership of the church, and other long-established foreign residents may simply have felt well settled in their parish churches, and for this reason ignored the foreign communities" (Ibid., 78).

[81] Marten Le Mayre, *Dutch Schoole-Master* (London 1606).

[82] A non-denizen was a stranger in London who had not received or had not petitioned for a patent of denization, which extended some of the privileges of a natural-born subject to those classified as "alien friends." Judith Strete's return is recorded in Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers* 209.

[83] Ibid., 199.

[84] Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers* 145-221.

[85] On local, regional, and religious identity in the early modern Netherlands, see *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, eds. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (London: Brill, 2007).

[86] This is due, in no small part, to the fact that the meaning of the word was in the process of transition in the English language during this period. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* in Old High German, *diota*, *diot* originally meant people or nation. As early as the ninth century, the word was used "to distinguish the vulgar tongue from the Latin of the church and the learned; hence it gradually came to be the current denomination of the vernacular" applied to dialect and "the people" alike. In English, *Diutisklant* (*Deutschland*) came, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to indicate the country of the German people. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the geographic and ethnic attribution indexed by the word Dutch had expanded to include not only the people and regions we now call "German," but also the "language and people of the Netherlands as part of the "low Dutch" or low German domain." With the declaration of the independence of the United Provinces (1581), "the term Dutch was gradually restricted in England to the Netherlanders." As a broad ethnic classification, in the seventeenth century, the English employed the word Dutch to refer to the people of the Seventeen Provinces and the word German to refer to people of Germany, as we do today.

This brief etymology of the English use of the word Dutch obscures at least two important realities of sixteenth and seventeenth century usage. First, it does not address the potential differences between how English authors and how speakers of Dutch used the words "Dutch" and *duitsch* respectively. As the *OED* explains, "in Holland itself *duitsch*, and in Germany *deutsch*, are, in their ordinary use, restricted to the language and dialects of Germany and of adjacent regions, *exclusive of the Netherlands and Friesland*; though in a wider sense 'deutsch' includes these also, and may even be used as widely as 'Germanic' or 'Teutonic'." Grammarians William Z. Shetter and Inge van der Cruysse-Van Antwerpen argue that the terminological distinction between Dutch and German was settled only in the past two centuries:

> Until two centuries or so ago the covering term for the languages of the Low Countries was *Duits* or *Nederduits*, which at the same time meant "German." The Dutch word *Duits* now means only "German," and corresponds to the German word *deutshe*. The English word "Dutch," which originally did not distinguish "Dutch" from "German," has simply been restricted in a different direction. (*Dutch: An Essential Grammar* [New York: Routledge, 2002] 1).

[87] C. A. J Armstrong, "The Language Question in the Low Countries," *Europe in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. J. R Hale (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965) 386.

[88] Nether-dutch (translation of *Nederduits*) appears on the title page of J. G. van Heldoren's *English and Nether-dutch Dictionary* (Amsterdam, 1675). For "netherland language," see the prefatory letter in Richard Verstegan's *Newes from the low-countreyes. Or The anatomy of Caluinisticall calumnyes, manifested in a dialogue betweene a Brabander, and a Hollander* (1622).

[89] Armstrong 397.

[90] Marten Le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoole Master* (London, 1606).

[91] Anon, *Den Grooten Vocabulaer / Engels ende Duyts* (Rotterdam, 1639).

[92] Anon, *Den Engelschen School-Meester* (Amsterdam, 1646).

[93] Francois Hillenius, *Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen onderrichter . . . The English, and Low-dutch instructor,* 3rd edition (Rotterdam, 1677).

[94] J. G. van Heldoren, *An English and Nether-dutch Dictionary . . . Een Engels en Nederduits Woortboek,* (Amsterdam 1675).

[95] As is evident in the Anonymous play, *A Larum for London* (London, 1602). W. Cunningham defines Walloons as people who "came from Artois, Hainault, part of Flanders and Brabant, Namur and Luxemburg, and spoke a dialect of French" (*Alien Immigrants to England* 155).

[96] Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers* 223-31.

[97] Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* 178. The story is, of course, far more complex than I have space to recount here (see Parker). Behind the Spanish Fury, for instance, is the story of a mutiny of the unpaid Spanish troops. The Spanish and Dutch armies were far from homogonously constituted. Even so, in English publications regarding the Fury at Antwerp, also known as the "siege of Antwerp," the Spaniard is the vilified figure of aggression. See the anonymous English play, *A Larum for London* (1602).

[98] Anne L. Mackenzie, "A Study in Dramatic Contrasts: The Siege of Antwerp in *A Larum for London* and *El saco de Amberes,*" *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 59 (1982): 287.

[99] George Gascoigne, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe. Failthfully reported, by a true Englishman, who was present at the same* (London 1576) 16.

[100] Englishmen indeed fell victim to the Spanish Fury at Antwerp: "A poore English marchant (who was but a servant) having once redeemed his Masters goods for three hundreth crownes, was yet hanged until he were halfe dead, because he had not two hundreth more to geve them"; returning later still empty handed, the Spanish "hong him again outright" (Gascoigne 20). Even the English house was not off limits. Soldiers "threatned to fyre the [English] house, unlesse we would open the doores" (Ibid., 23). Protesting vehemently that they were protected by privileges and grants of the King of Spain, the English finally did turn the lock and open the doors to the Spanish soldiers. They were promptly robbed, the house looted, and one man among them was murdered.

[101] On early modern Antwerp, see Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis 1550-1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Peter Burke, *Antwerp: A Metropolis in Comparative Perspective,* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993). On the literature of "alarm" and the association of Antwerp with London, see S.M. Pratt, "Antwerp and the Elizabethan Mind," *Modern Language Quarterly* 24 (1963): 53-60.

Chapter 2

Going Dutch in London City Comedy: Staging Proximate Ethnicities

To be Dutch on the early Jacobean stage was to be a jumbler of kinds. More than butter-loving, slop-adorned, herring eaters whose "gibble-gabble" speech and penchant for drink induced laughter, the Dutch of London city comedy were actively producing and revealing English anxieties about potential interchangeability with their nearest European neighbors.[1] At the turn of the seventeenth century, city comedies, whose events transpire in London, were offering audiences ways to reflect on the proximate relations that shaped their daily lives.[2] As Londoners walked to their theaters, they passed through a city that was home not only to English men and women but to a significant presence of Dutch residents, with whom the English traded and apprenticed, alongside whom the English worshiped, and with whom some English married.[3] Arriving at the theater, Londoners paid admission for plays entitled *The Dutch Courtesan*, *The Hollander,* and *Holland's Leaguer,* to name but a few whose billings promised the fictive presence of the "Dutch" on London stages.[4]

While in literary analysis the Dutch of London city comedy often are folded into the larger category of Continental "Others," historically they were unlike their French, Spanish and Italian counterparts insofar as they lived for decades in significant numbers in and around London. Anglo-Dutch proximity in early modern London has prompted social historians to comb dramatic literature "for what [it] could reveal about popular attitudes" toward England's Dutch neighbors, living both within and beyond its borders.[5] For example, in "Strangers and Aliaunts: The 'Un-English' among the English," Laura Hunt Yungblut argues that there is "no evidence of an overwhelming preoccupation with the Continental immigrants" in early modern literature and

argues that "depictions of foreigners fall into two basic, stereotypical categories: contemptuously comical or darkly threatening and subversive."[6] Yungblut's search for a cultural preoccupation with Continental immigrants imagines that where there is cultural anxiety about the Dutch, for instance, we should expect to find literary representations of the Dutch. Conventional literary interpretation of city comedy has focused on the genre's characterization of "city types," such as the merchant, citizen, gentleman, widow and whore.[7] Such scholarship has revealed how the "comic staging of social roles permits audiences to question their adequacy."[8] City comedies offer powerful social commentary insofar as they "call attention to the stereotypes that constitute 'a merchant' or 'a wife' outside the theater."[9] A troubling critical slip occurs, however, if in literary and historical analysis the exploration of a stereotype begins by assuming the self-evidence of a category such as "Dutch."[10] In both historical and literary analysis, Dutch characters have been understood largely either as stereotypes that evince English xenophobia or as merely another Continental "Other," interchangeable with French, Italian or Spanish counterparts. Less attention has been paid to how "Dutchness" as a category was actively constituted in particular ways by the English stage.

By investigating only those characters overtly marketed as Dutch in a list of dramatic personae, or those identified as Dutch within a play, we risk reifying, rather than investigating, the category of Dutchness that the early-seventeenth century theater and its audience were in the process of producing. In an attempt to explore that process, this chapter attends to the wordplay by which English and Dutch ethnicities were distinguished and interlaced in two city comedies: John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605) and Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611). These plays challenge the claim that "city comedies depend less on verbal traces than on exaggerated characterizations" by employing verbal puns and wordplay to vivify subtle and unstable characterizations of northern European, in particular, English and Dutch ethnicities.[11]

On the early seventeenth century stage a complex script was being rehearsed and played out, one that sought a language for speaking a presence both familiar and foreign. This chapter looks closely at the ways in which the plasticity of ethnic distinction and fluidity of ethnic identity played out across comic representations of Englishness and Dutchness. Language, religion, culinary appetite, and fashion are four variables by which city comedy represented Dutchness and Englishness as problematically proximate ethnicities. Stated schematically, northern European ethnicities are figured through performances of approximation in which Englishness and Dutchness cannot be parsed along any one ideological or epistemological axis. The characters that I explore pose a particular interpretive challenge because their representation resists binary distinctions predicated on "national," linguistic, or even distinct geographic difference.[12] None of the characters explored in this chapter are unambiguously Dutch. In the *Dutch Courtesan*'s own terms, the characters are "jumbled"; more unsettling, however, is the jumbling of national and ethnic affiliations that they lay bare.

How, then, did the stage "Dutch" its characters and how were Londoner's imaginatively refigured in the process? *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Roaring Girl* offer compelling responses to these questions by figuring English characters who are alternately overwritten with Dutch-identified influences and who imperfectly suppress the trace of the stranger within. In exploring how English characters wittingly and unwittingly go Dutch, this chapter traces the ways in which ethnicity comes into view as a relation between the English and the Dutch, and between signifiers of Englishness and Dutchness. "Going Dutch," aims to underscore that this relation is a *process* the plays themselves are involved in bringing about. In reading for this process, we need not assume that "going Dutch" in London city comedy necessarily means that one *becomes* Dutch. These plays demonstrate the ways in which speech, religious belief, culinary appetite, and fashion play central roles in representing the disquieting familiarity *and* difference of England's Dutch neighbors. So too, both plays mobilize lustful female characters—prostitutes, bawds, street-women, and lustful wives—in affiliating English with Dutch appetite, belief, and fashion.

Understanding the discursive strategies by which Englishness and Dutchness are affiliated sometimes requires a close and sustained reading of how these women (and their "real" or imagined traffic with men) create the groundwork for (or become expressions of) ethnicity. Teasing out the operations that interlace the signifiers of English and Dutch ethnicity demands a close reading of wordplay, double-entendres and bawdy puns. Often, in order to get the joke or register double-entendres in city comedy, the listener must hear *at once* the English and the Dutch reference, creating something of a palimpsestic perception of Englishness and Dutchness. I want to underscore the doubleness and simultaneity of this perception—the at-once-quality of it—because this double vision was an important part of what city comedies *produced* as they performed Anglo-Dutch ethnicities as troublingly proximate.

I

Intimate Proximities: *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Family of Love*

In the opening scene of *The Dutch Courtesan*, Freevill, whose cooling affection for the play's Dutch courtesan sets the plot in motion, proffers a defense of prostitution intended to persuade his reluctant friend, Malheureux, to join him in his visit to a brothel. On the face of it, the defense Freevill recites is familiar, even formulaic: prostitutes provide married and unmarried men an outlet for desires that would otherwise be turned toward other men's wives.[15] What is curious about Freevill's speech is the way in which his argument is subtended by a claim of England's spatial proximity to the Low Countries:

MALHEUREUX:	. . . I dare not give you up to your own company; I fear the warmth of wine and youth will draw you to some common house of lascivious entertainment.
FREEVILL:	Most necessary buildings, Malheureux. Ever since my intention of marriage, I do pray for their continuance.
MALHEUREUX:	. . . sir, your reason?
FREEVILL:	. . . lest my house should be made one. I would have married men love the stews as Englishmen love the Low Countries: wish war should be maintained there lest it should come home to their own doors.[16]

In Freevill's imagination, the geographic proximity of the Low Countries to England allows England's Continental neighbor to function as a "buffer zone" that absorbs the Low Countries' war with Spain, which would otherwise spill into English cities and the domestic space of the home.[17] Similarly, by harboring male lust the brothels of London buffer the patriarchal household from sexual transgression. The brothel, just beyond the city wall, and the Low Countries, across the North Sea, are each figured as neighbors whose difference and traversable distance from London facilitate peace within it.

Of course, the fiction of this tidy geographical fantasy was writ large in post-Spanish Armada London. The war with Spain had come home to London in 1588—entering even its Thames. Moreover, for the audience of 1605, it was the porosity, rather than the imperviousness, of geographic borders that was everywhere experienced in Londoner's daily lives. The Low Countries' own battles with Spain had made England sanctuary to thousands of Dutch refugees. In the survey of 1568, a staggering seventy-seven percent of the aliens (over seven thousand of the nine-thousand-plus aliens recorded residing in and around London) were "Dutch."[18] By 1593, over seven thousand aliens resided in the capital; among these, by far the most represented place of origin was the Spanish Netherlands (today's Belgium and parts of France), and those provinces that later became known as Holland.[19] Strangers from the Low Countries had "come home" to London's "own doors." The generation of Londoners attending Marston's play in 1605 had never known their city without a significant presence of Dutch strangers.

Although the play opens with a vision of distinct and "maintain(able)" borders, as the play unfolds, Dutch influence on English religious belief and culinary appetite reveals the Low Countries as a space less securely beyond the pale than is suggested by Freevill's speech. The lynchpin of Freevill's analogy is the house. On the one hand, the house is imagined as a private, domestic, patriarchal, and chaste enclosure guarded by its "own doors"; on the other hand, houses can be commercialized, made public, bawdy and "common." In the play both of these houses are sites of family. Freevill's fantasy of a patriarchal, lawful family rooted in the wife's marital

fidelity is insured by the labor of another family, an affiliation of women in the sex trade whose commercial home is, in the play, called the "Family of Love."

Curiously, Freevill's idealized, patriarchal household never materializes on stage. Instead the play invests the audience in a domestic portrait of life at the Mulligrubs, an English family of vintners whose religious affiliation is with none other than the banned religious sect, the Family of Love, a group thought to have originated in the Low Countries.[20] The play thus introduces four concepts of "family": idealized patriarchal household, common bawdy house, banned religious sect, and the commercialized home-tavern.[21] By multiplying the sites of family, the play exposes the fault line of Freevill's binary logic (patriarchal household versus bawdy house equals England versus the Low Countries) to expose the instability of the ground upon which his two houses and two geographies rest. In *The Dutch Courtesan*, the home-tavern, local brothel, and religious sect ultimately become symbolically overlapping communities constituted by a crossfire of double entendre that depends on a more subtle negotiation between foreign and domestic than Freevill imagines.

"Dutching" the Courtesan

With Franceschina's first appearance, the Dutch courtesan ignites a controversy of classification. The difficulty other characters in the play have in naming her underscores the uneasy nexus of affiliations that the courtesan draws together. Though Freevill somewhat euphemistically glosses over her occupation by lending her the capacious title "mistress," by the play's conclusion she will have served as an index for early modern terms for whore. Upon first sight of Franceschina, Malheureux wonders if he is seeing "[a] courtesan?" and then moments later he pronounces, somewhat more confidently, "Ha, she is a whore, is she not" (1.2.99)? Freevill responds,

> Whore? Fie, whore! You may call her a courtesan, a cockatrice, or (as that worthy spirit of an eternal happiness said) a suppository. But whore, fie! 'Tis not in fashion to call things by their right names. . . . Come, she's your mistress, or so. (1.2.100-07)

Throughout the course of the play the professional appellations used to describe Franceschina proliferate. She is: "a creature of public use"; "courtesan"; "strumpet"; "punk"; "polecat"; "rampant cockatrice grown mad"; "wench"; "fair devil"; "cacafuego"; "fair whore"; "common up-tail."[22] A "Dutch courtesan" with an Italianate name who is called every slang word for an English whore in the book, the very multiplicity of her ethnically-inflected differences, projected by those around her, resist categorization.[23] The range of affiliations the naming of Franceschina engenders is suggestive of her openness to business with all European men. Mary Faugh, the bawd who governs the brothel where Franceschina works, boasts:

> I have made you acquainted with the Spaniard, Don Skirtoll; with the Italian, Master Beieroane; with the Irish lord, Sir Patrick; with the Dutch merchant, Haunce Herkin Glukin Skellam Flapdragon; and specially with the greatest French; and now lastly with this English. (2.2.13-18)

Franceschina prospers by indifference to the geographical origin of the men she serves; and those men who multiply her common epithets demonstrate an indifference to her geographical origins.

As the play's "Dutch courtesan," however, Franceschina recalls the historical presence of Dutch sex workers in London. Dutch courtesans and bawds were known elements in the sexual economy of the city. There was, among English writers from the medieval period through the early modern period, a recurring charge that "Froes of Flanders" were in the business of London sex work. For example, in the midst of England's late fourteenth century wars of rebellion, the stews of Southwark, on the Bankside of the Thames, were transformed into a sanctuary for rebels. The *Anonimalle Chronicle* reports, "that same day being Corpus Christi in the morning these commons of Kent despoiled a house newar London Bridge which was in the hands of Froes of Flaunders who farmed out the sayd house from the Mayer of London."[24] The association of women from Flanders with prostitution in London reemerges a decade later in an ordinance entitled *Concerning Street Walkers by Nyght and Women of Ill-Repute*, which set curfews in London in an attempt to curtail the "broils and affrays" sparked by evening traffic among "common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of huksters and other places of ill-fame"; the ordinance

specifically addresses "Flemish women who profess and follow such shameful and dolorous life [. . . All prostitutes were] to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned . . . the stews on the other side of the Thames and Cokkeslane."[25] In her work on medieval English prostitution, Ruth Mazo Karras finds:

> Flemish, Dutch, and Low German women are particularly prominent in the records as prostitutes and bawds . . . "Dutch" brothelkeepers appear to have been particularly common . . . Court rolls from the London suburbs of Southwark (outside the Winchester liberty), Lambeth, and East Smithfield name several Dutch women as brothelkeepers.[26]

The imputation of prostitution directed toward Flemish women living in London and its suburbs carries through to the late sixteenth century. Karras has discovered in John Stow's late sixteenth-century account of the 1381 rebellion "an editor's marginal heading" which reads, "English people disdained to be bawds. Froes of Flanders were women for that purpose."[27] Finally, those English who regularly sailed across the North Sea to the ports of Amsterdam and Haarlem during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were likely to have encountered Dutch prostitutes upon their arrival. According to Sir William Brereton, in his *Travels to Holland . . . 1634-1635*, Dutch prostitutes aggressively marketed their wares to strangers arriving at port:

> About nine hour we passed Harlemmer Port and came into a fair street, wherein of late swarmed the most impudent whores I have heard of who would if they saw a stranger come into the middle of the street unto him, pull him by the coat and invite him into their house.[28]

Both abroad and at home, the Dutch prostitute was a familiar and long-standing figure in the English sexual economy and cultural landscape.

In Marston's play, Franceschina's part-Dutch part-English lexicon enters her into this cultural association of Dutch women with sex work. Though her speech has been characterized as "a helter-skelter of Germanic, French, [and] Italian," making her something of a "linguistic monster," it is everywhere inflected with what the play's title and its list of *dramatic personae* indicate should register as a *Dutch* accent and lexicon.[29] Franceschina rails "Ick sall be revenged! Do ten tousand hell damn me, ick sall have the rouge troat cut" (2.2.43). Cheek by jowl, Dutch pronouns (Ick) mix with imperfectly translated English phonology (tousand; troat), English loan

words (revenged), and Anglo-Dutch cognates (sall—for English "shall" / "zal" [from Dutch zullen: shall]).[30] Franceschina may indeed speak something of a "Babylonian dialect" but that dialect is heavily laden with the sounds of English mixed with "stage Dutch," which was often a mix of German, Flemish and Dutch sounds.[31] The English-speaking theater audience may have known but a few words and phrases in Dutch; they were, however, likely familiar with the sound of Dutch merchants speaking English with Dutch accents as they transacted business in London's commercial centers, such as the Royal Exchange. More importantly, the London theater-going audience was growing familiar with the theater's production of Dutch speech on the English stage. In Thomas Dekker's popular play *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), Lacy, having taken on a disguise as a Dutchman named Hans, speaks a macaronic twist of a predominately English lexicon inflected everywhere with his adopted Dutch accent. The Skipper of the same play is supposed to be a "real" Dutch sailor. His Dutch and Lacy's are nonetheless markedly similar. They understand one another because the Dutch they speak is tailor-made for the *English* ear and for the London stage:

SKIPPER:	*Ik sal you wat seggen Hans: dis skip dat comen from Candy is al fol, by Got's sacrament, van sugar, civet, almonds, cambric end alle digne, towsand, towsand dign. Nempt it, Hans, nept it vor your meester. Daer be de bills van laden. Your meester Simon Eyre sal ha'good copen, wat seggen yow, Hans?*
FIRK:	*Wat seggen de reggen de copen, slopen*. Laugh, Hodge, laugh.
LACY:	*Mine liever broder Firk, bringt Meester Eyre tot den signe van swannekin. Daer sal you find dis skipper end me. Wat seggen youw, broder Firk? Doot it, Hodge*. (Scene 7. 1-9) [36]

This exchange is comical not merely because of the garbled approximation of a part-English part-Dutch lexicon, or English words made to sound Dutch, but because of Firk's response to the Skipper. Firk is neither Dutch nor playing a Dutchman in this scene. His nonsensical mockery of the cadence of the Skipper's language reveals a familiarity with the sounds if not the meaning of Dutch tradesmen in action. Firk's satirical performance of Dutchness underscores the representational quality of both the Skipper's and Hans' stage Dutch. Every word is self-consciously theatrical.

Playwrights were not alone in exploring the sounds of Dutch and English. To one well-tuned English ear the cacophony of consonants evident in this stage Dutch was a feature that made the Dutch language unfit for poetry. Sir Philip Sidney remarked in his *Defense of Poesy,* "the Dutch [. . . is] so [full] with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding, fit for a verse."[37] Late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century city comedy sometimes produced characters whose stage Dutch gives life to Sidney's thesis on the stage.[38] In order to be rendered alien, Franceschina need not appear to be a "real" Dutch speaker; she must merely evoke the conventions that the theater was constructing as *Dutch in performance*.

Franceschina's speech not only mingles the phonologies of English and stage Dutch; Dutch words also slip into her expressions of emotion: "Oh mine aderliver love, vat sall me do to requit dis your mush affection," she inquires of Freevill when she first sets eyes on him. Her attempt to translate a specifically Dutch term of endearment, "alderliefest" ("dearest") into the lexicon of amorous parlance within the bawdy house results in her making "mush" of her affection for Freevill.[39] In this way, Franceschina's attempt to translate her love for Freeevill from her native tongue to the language of love in the Family of Love brothel renders her heart-felt affections comic. Franceschina's stage Dutch is a performance of imperfect phonological approximations to English and failed translations of Dutch. Her speech blurs distinctions between English and Dutch even as it helps to identify her as (somewhat) Dutch. Not surprisingly, by the play's end Franceschina will be condemned "as false, as prostituted, and adulterate, as some translated manuscript" (4.3.6-7).

What emerges from this play is not Franceschina's inherent "Dutchness." What I wish to emphasize is the way in which the play's titular character never strays far from the capacious category of "Dutch" that the theater of the period was busy producing. The very capaciousness of this category—the ways in which stage Dutch is constituted by a jumbling of Dutch- and English-sounding words—introduces a particularly problematic set of linguistic codes by which ethnic

difference might be instantiated. To make the point rhetorically, how much "sweet sliding" must slip from English before the courtesan's amorous vows sound Dutch?

Just as Franceschina's speech unsettles linguistic boundaries, so too her exchanges with Freevill demonstrate that she cuts across his opposing sexual geographies: London and the Low Countries. Franceschina is the neighbor whose presence threatens to depreciate the value of the home(land) precisely because she challenges the cultural fantasy of fixed, impermeable geographic and linguistic borders. In the final scenes of the play, the Dutch courtesan is silenced. But the lingering echo of her stage Dutch combined with her affiliation with "The Family of Love" leaves in place a challenge to Freevill's neatly structured worldview. This challenge plays itself out in the *The Dutch Courtesan*'s subplot to which Franceschina and Freevill's story lends coordinates by establishing a chiastic structure that crosses England with the Low Countries as well as domestic with commercial sexual economies.

The Double Business of the Common House: Lust and Caritas

The brothel where Franceschina resides is given a name, the "Family of Love," by Freevill (1.2.146-47). Later in Act I, the brothel's bawd, Mary Faugh, declares, "though I am one of the Family of Love and, as they say, a bawd that covers the multitude of sins . . . I am none of the wicked that eat fish o' Fridays" (1.2.17-20). By claiming affiliation with the religious group, the Family of Love, Mary Faugh ranks herself above Catholics and so reshuffles her social position along the cultural register of belief over trade. Her statement, along with Freevill's remark, introduces more than passing bawdy entendre. Their punning works to link the religious sect, a supposed import from the Low Countries, with the sexual commercial space of the bawdy house.

Critics have observed that the seventeenth century theater yoked representations of the Family of Love together with inherent sexual licentiousness, a charge that plagued the community throughout its life in England.[40] For example, in John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* (1606) we learn that "the Family of Love hold it lawful to lie with [a woman] though she be another mans wife."[41] *Any*

thing for a Quiet Life (1662), by Thomas Middleton and John Webster, makes explicit the sexual impropriety of Familists, members of the Family of Love, while also underlining the sect's link to the Low Countries: "Let's divorce our selves so long, or think I am gone to'th'Indies, or lie with him when I am asleep, for some Familists of *Amsterdam* will tell you [it] may be done with a safe conscience."[42] On the veracity of the theater's charge of sexual immorality, historian Jean Dietz Moss argues:

> There are grounds . . . for terming Familists dissemblers, but the more dramatic accusations of licentious behavior appear to have little, if any, foundation. Chronicles, state records, annals, and reports of clerical officials mention Familists imprisoned for their religious opinions and Familists who publicly recanted of their errors, but no accounts are included of Familists discovered in immoral circumstances.[43]

While Moss finds that silence pervades state records and reports, on the early seventeenth century stage there nonetheless is no dearth of imputation of the sexual licentiousness of Familists. Both Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* and Thomas Middleton's *The Family of Love* (1603-04), staged within about a year of one another, make visible the sect by transferring the unknowable geography of Familist faith onto the sexual landscape of London's bawdy houses.[44]

These plays are penned and performed at a moment of great historical consequence for the Familists. Historians have emphasized the radical nature of Familist doctrine and the troubling inscrutability of Familist identity. J. A. van Dorsten in *The Radical Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance* argues that "among London's unofficial churches the most controversial and probably the most influential was the 'Domus Charitatis' or Family of Love."[45] The Family of Love or Familism was a religious fellowship founded c. 1540 by Hendrik Niclaes who was born in Munster but resided throughout his adult life primarily in Amsterdam. Christopher Vittels, a joiner residing in Southwark, is credited with spreading the ideas of Familism to England in the 1570s when he translated Niclaes's treatises.[46] In its first decades of influence in England, the faith was disparaged by Englishmen who emphasized its foreign origins. Disseminators of the faith risked being impugned as foreigners, as evidenced by the attempt of one of Vittels' contemporaries to defame Vittels by charging that his translation of Hendrik

Niclaes was "not done like a godly Christian nor a true English hearted man. For indeed, as I am informed, you are of the Dutch race yourself."[48] Prior even to Vittels' translation of the Familist doctrine, the Dutch Stranger Church in London found itself implicated in affiliation with Familists when in the 1550s a minister of the Dutch congregation, Andrian van Haemstede, was "suspected of harboring Familists sympathies" because he publicly defended an Anabaptist. Van Haemstede's stance resulted in his eventual excommunication.[49] This kind of conflation regarding dissenting Protestant sects was by no means unusual; James VI of Scotland would inscribe the same conflation of Familists with Anabaptists in his *Basilikon Doron*.[50] Van Haemstede's story reveals not an actual link between Familism and the Low Countries, nor a link between Dutch stranger communities in London and Familism, but rather that a cultural fantasy of affiliation between Familism and the Dutch community in London was forged on English soil.[51] This nexus of affiliation was one that the Dutch church itself was eager to disavow.

The sect flourished during the second half of the sixteenth through the mid-seventeenth century when it was absorbed into Quakerism.[52] The core ideas of the English manifestation of this sect were:

> the denial of the divinity of Christ, the belief that baptism should not be taken before the age of thirty, and the idea that once "Godded with God" the regenerate had been perfected and could not sin.[53]

The practice of such a late baptism followed from the belief that full union with God was only achieved by:

> a progressive growth in the service of love in which the individual developed from a child to an adult in his understanding and practice of *caritas* or Christian Love. This spiritual growth culminated in an elaborate ritual of baptism at the age of thirty.[54]

At that moment, the follower was recognized by the community as "Godded with God." This implied a complete union of the perfected self with God.[55] The Familist's view that Christ was the Son of God, not God Himself, aligned the sect, in popular imagination, with other anti-Trinitarians such as the Anabaptists and the Mennonites.[56]

Though Familists were "established at the court of Elizabeth," in 1580 Elizabeth banned the sect by means of a Royal Proclamation, which officially declared Familism heretical.[58] The Proclamation links the sect with its "Dutch" roots, laments the spreading of it into the English realm and warns that these believers are "dangerous" because, when asked to declare their belief, they deny their affiliation with the Family of Love.[59] During an era when popular reading included martyrology (stories that remembered those who died declaring rather than recanting their faith), the Familists struck a particularly heretical note in the ears of those who aimed to tune the English state to an Anglican harmony. From an Anglican perspective, the Family of Love was a spiritually promiscuous sect untroubled by making claims of allegiance to more than one religion.[60]

The perception of spiritual promiscuity slides into accusations of sexual promiscuity in a 1606 publication entitled *The Supplication of the Family of Love*.[61] First submitted to King James I in 1604, the text, an appeal to overturn Queen Elizabeth's Proclamation, was published along with an Examiner's editorial in 1606.[62] The 1606 publication suggests that the 1604 *Supplication* had garnered attention enough at court that an anonymous Examiner, someone likely "involved in the earlier campaign against the fellowship," felt pressed to respond.[63] The 1606 *Supplication* is interrupted throughout by the Examiner's commentary. Ironically, the *Supplication* is so embedded with the Examiner's commentary that the 1606 text reads as a successful polemic *against* the Familists. One of the more intriguing aspects of the published *Supplication* is the Examiner's insinuation of sexual as well as religious transgression. Early in the *Supplication* the Familists are characterized as exhibiting "always a lust to themselves, and cleave unto the covetouesnesse, the voluptuousnesse of the flesh."[64] This, of course, is a familiar Anglican trope applied to Catholics, Muslims, Jews and "radical" Protestant sects.[65] Yet, the Examiner's subsequent suggestion that the Familists make a common house of their meeting houses goes further: "[t]hey build diverse common houses, which they name Gods houses. And they occupie there manie-manner of foolishnesse."[66] The phrase "common house," deployed in the context of

the Examiner's condemnation of Familists as lustful, carries with it clear implication: either the Familists meet not to worship God but to engage in the "lust" of the flesh or their worship of God involves performance of such lusts. What might seem a passing remark in a catalogue of condemnation becomes, on the contemporary London stage, the central trope for imagining the Family of Love.

"Loose-Bodied Dames" and a "House of Venery": Thomas Middleton's *The Family of Love*

The Familists in Thomas Middleton's play, *The Family of Love* (1603-04), remain cloaked in the mystery that characterized the religious sect in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.[67] The audience's access to what transpires behind the doors of the meetinghouse is limited to the conjecture of characters who themselves never gain entry to the Familists' meeting. The primary Familist character is Mistress Purge, whose membership in the Family of Love associates her in the mind of the male gentry and citizens with extra-marital sexual promiscuity.[68] Though Middleton's play does not weave the Family of Love together with Dutch cultural references as Marston's play does, a brief reading of *The Family of Love* reveals the shared strategies by which the these two plays inflected representations of the Family of Love with female sexual transgression.

Mistress Purge is the wife of a citizen apothecary who believes that she cuckolds him with Glister, a doctor of physic. Her imagined sexual impropriety initially has less to do in Purge's mind with her fraternization with the Familists than it does with social status:

> My wife, by ordinary course, should this morning have been at the Family, but now her soft pillow hath give her cousell to keep her bed: master doctor should indeed minister to her . . . I smile to myself to hear our knights and gallants say how they gull us citizens, when, indeed we gull them, or rather they gull themselves.[69]

Purge renounces any jealously, "Tut, jealousy is a hell; and they that will thrive must utter their wares as they can, and wink at small faults" (2.1.21-23). Though infidelity is here dismissed as a "small fault," as the play progresses Purge's jealousy stirs. He begins to stalk his wife, following her to Familist meetings where he is convinced she sells her "wares."

After overhearing Mistress Purge reveal the secret code for entry into the Familist meeting, Master Purge bumbles the code when, rather than announcing that he is a "Brother in the Family," he declares himself, "A Familiar Brother." The voice from within the meeting refuses Purge admittance, "Here's no room for you nor your familiarity" (3.3.101). Baffled, Purge reasons:

> How? No room for me nor my familiarity? Why, what's the difference between a Familiar Brother and a Brother in the Family? O, I know! I made ellipsis of *in* in this place, where it should have been expressed, so that the want of *in* put me out . . . these Familists love no substraction, take nothing away, but put in and add as much as you will; and after addition follows multiplication of a most Pharsit-hypocritical crew. (3.3.102-11)

Purges' comical rumination on his own lack of "familiarity" belies anxiety about the implicit sexual breech that he suspects is underway behind the closed doors. As family, his wife is one with whom he is "familiar," but outside the home his access to her is hindered at the barred door that marks her voluntary association with another Family. His attempt to enter the Family of Love meeting leaves him forestalled with time to ponder the difference between being a Brother in the Family and a "familiar" brother. But the potential sexual innuendo—being "familiar" with another—is lost on a logic that ponders instead how the elision of "in" failed to get him in. The "Pharsit-hypocritical crew" inside is defined, in Purge's imagination, as a sect that "loves no subtraction." Purge's inability to decipher the code points up a lack of linguistic sophistication, which will allow for his wife's slippery articulation of reconciliation at the end of the play. Here, Purge's failed attempt to resolve subtle linguistic difference moves him to reach for a mathematical algorithm of simple addition and subtraction. However, the specter of his wife's sexual indiscretion haunts even his conclusion that this crew might "put in and add as much as you will; and after addition follows multiplication."

Purge is not alone in linking sexual indiscretion to the Familists. Mistress Glister, wife of the doctor whom Purge presumes dallies with his wife, inquires of Club, Purge's apprentice, "what kind of creatures are these Familists" (2.4.66-67)? Club responds, "What are they? With reverence be it spoken, they are the most accomplished creatures under heaven; in them is all

perfection . . . they love their neighbours better than themselves" (2.4.73-74). Mistress Glister challenges, "Not than themselves, Club." Club elaborates, "Yes, better than themselves; for they love them better than their husbands, and husband and wife are all one; therefore, better than themselves" (2.4.76-78)? Club cunningly reasons from the commandment "Love thy neighbor" to an adulterous conclusion, and leaves Mistress Glister wondering, "This is logic: but tell me, doth she not endeavor to bring my doctor of her side and fraternity" (2.4.79-80)? This "logic," imagined as the doctrine of the Familists themselves, links the Family of Love with the crime of adultery, and governs Purge's perception that his wife's association with the Family of Love is a threat to their marriage.

At the play's conclusion, when Purge presents his case before gallants masquerading as court proctors, he charges that he has discovered his "wife's iniquity at the Family of Love" (5.3.92-93). Dryfat, whom Purge has wronged with a practical joke earlier in the play, now meets out his revenge. Disguised as the proctor to Purge's case, Dryfat salts Purge's wound by confirming Purge's suspicion that the meeting house into which his wife daily disappears is "otherwise called the House of Venery, where they hunger and thirst for't" (5.3.94-95). According to the *dramatis personae*, Dryfat is himself "a brother of the Family." His own contention, then, that Familists worship at a "House of Venery" fuels suspicion that Mistress Purge cuckolds her husband under the aegis of her "faith." After hearing Purge's allegation, Dryfat summarizes the case thus:

> Her own husband, upon the late discovery of a crew of narrow-ruffed, strait-laced, yet loose-bodied dames, with a rout of omnium-gatherums, assembled by the title of the Family of Love; which, master doctor, if they be not punished and suppressed by our club-law, each man's copyhold will become freehold, specialities will turn to generalities, and so from unity to parity, from parity to plurality, and from plurality to universality; their wives, the only ornaments of their houses, and of all their wares, goods, and chattel[s], the chief-movables, will be made common. (5.3.191-201)

Dryfat effaces his own affiliation with this "crew" and evokes early modern legal discourses pertaining to land ownership to emphasize the stakes of Familists' influence on men's wives.

Copyholders and Freeholders were terms used to describe a subject's relationship to the land upon which s/he lived. Keith Wrightson describes these relationships thus:

> Freeholders enjoyed a secure title, the rights to sell, lease and bequeath their land, and the protection of the common law . . . copyholders, holding land by virtue of a copy of the entry on the manor court roll recording their admission to the tenancy . . ., paid an entry fine and an annual rent.[70]

The terms "specialities" and "generalities" connote legal and extra-legal contexts. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "speciality" was a term used for " a special contract, obligation, or bond expressed in an instrument under seal," while "generality" was sometimes grouped together with "speciality" to indicate its opposite: "a general point, principle, or law."[71] Dryfat's underlying point touches on a broader theme of displacement. When copyholds become freeholds, certain subjects, whose right to live on a piece of land depended on the terms of a "specialitie," will find themselves ousted. Their wives, then, "the chief-movables" of the home, are consequently relocated (in Dryfat's imagination) to the common house. Purge's earlier mathematical conclusion that the Familists "love no subtraction" reemerges in Dryfats' speech, which makes explicit the sexual multiplication "from parity to plurality, and from plurality to universality" that transforms the wife into the common woman.

Mistress Purge's association with the "House of Venery" lands her in a mock-court in which her husband ultimately proves the butt of the staged joke. The burden of the play's final verdict in this case of adultery falls most heavily on Purge himself, as is common in city comedy. He is publicly impugned for his inability to decipher his wife's alleged dissembling and to contain her within his own family. Ignorant of her role in the performance underway, Mistress Purge must answer the allegation of "iniquity at the Family of Love." She denies that she has "known the body of any man there or elsewhere concupiscentically" (5.3.209-211). Her successful refutation of her husband's charge would seemingly necessitate a disarticulation of the logic that conflates the Family of Love with a House of Venery if she were going to remain a part of her domestic and (ostensibly) spiritual families. Ironically, her renunciation of the Family of

Love re-inscribes her split allegiance to her domestic and spiritual families, rather than recuperating her into the domestic realm. The court rules that Purge has presented "evidence insufficient" (5.3.409). Defeated, Purge nonetheless demands that his wife "promise me to come no more at the Family." Mistress Purge's response appears to satisfy Purge but leaves open questions about the sincerity of her renunciation:

> Truly, husband, my love must be free still to God's creatures; yea, nevertheless, preserving you still as the head of my body, I will do as the spirit shall enable me. (5.3.25-28)

Despite the court's pronouncement, "and there an end," and Mistress Purge's own evocation of the patriarchal organizing metaphor of the husband as the head of the wife's body, Mistress Purge's promise slips past the domesticating boundaries that her husband attempts to reestablish. Though Purge is "preserved" as the head of her body, her promise leaves open access to her body "enabled" by her spirit and a "love" which "must be free still to God's creatures." The cultural perception of the Family of Love as a secretive, mysterious collection of people whose faith need not be pronounced and can even be renounced publicly in an exhibition of spiritual double speak, is here played out in Mistress Purge's seeming promise to her husband that she will no longer fraternize with the Familists. Their marital reconciliation is balanced on a concession that ultimately sustains the association of the Family of Love with the House of Venery. It is this association that is further developed in *The Dutch Courtesan*, through a triangulation of the Family of Love, the domestic household and the common house.

A Great Jumbling of Kinds

In naming the Dutch courtesan's brothel "the Family of Love," Marston's play fosters a connection between the sect and the Low Countries. Certainly, the common house had long been a troubling space of domestic and foreign mixing because, as Jean Howard has argued, the prostitute's activities "threaten to erase differences between man and man, nation and nation, as her clients are rendered interchangeable."[72] The symbolic resonance of the common house, however, expands further in Marston's play to cross commercial with religious affiliation, lust

with *caritas*. This crossing catches more in its network than the bawds and clients of the bawdy house. As the play progresses, characters who are members of the religious sect become charged with signifying the sexual excess of the London bawdy house. Interestingly, this happens both through commonplace accusations of the sexual availability of a tavern-wife and through her reflections on her own culinary labor.

The play's subplot serves up an English family of vintners, who happen to be members of the Family of Love, as the target of the knavish Cocledemoy's devices. Characterized as a "capricious rascal" (1.2.67), Cocledemoy targets the Mulligrubs "for wit's sake" (5.3.137). We learn of the Mulligrubs' religious affiliation with the Family of Love as Mistress Mulligrub prepares her tavern for guests. "[P]erfume!" she cries out, "This parlour does so smell of profane tobacco. I could never endure this ungodly tobacco since one of our elders assured me, upon his knowledge, tobacco was not used in the congregation of the Family of Love" (3.3.48-51). She prepares her table and scents her tavern to no avail. Mistress Mulligrub has been gulled by Cocledemoy.[73] She has traded a "great goblet" for a jowl of rotten salmon upon the promise that Cocledemoy's master and wife should return for dinner that evening.[74]

Adulterated or poor quality foodstuffs are at the heart of what aggravates Cocledemoy about the Mulligrubs, thus making his gift of rotting fish a fitting jibe. In one of the only motivations he offers for his antipathy and thieving, Cocledemoy imaginatively metamorphosizes Master Mulligrub from a vintner into wine itself:

> I'll gargalize my throat with this vintner, and when I have done with him, spit him out . . . to wring the withers of my gouty, barmed, spigot-friging, jumbler of elements, Mulligrub. (3.2.31-42)

Cocledemoy is not alone in his characterization of the Mulligrubs as "jumbler[s] of elements." Mistress Mulligrub expresses an anxiety about her vocation in similar terms:

> Truth, husband, surely heaven is not pleased with our vocation. We do wink at the sins of our people, our wines are Protestants and,—I speak it to my grief and to the burden of my conscience—we fry our fish with salt butter. (2.3.7-10)

What resonates theatrically as a comically overblown crisis of conscience reveals, characterologically, Mistress Mulligrub's concern that the products in which she and her husband traffic do not reflect their own religious affiliation. For Mistress Mulligrub, the rules of her "congregation" inform even the food and scent of her tavern. The concatenation of "our people, our wines" suggests that religious subjectivity and appetite are homologous in her mind. By serving Protestant wines, the Mulligrubs rupture the neat metonymic logic that makes diet an extension and expression of faith. The air, a mix of perfume and tobacco, like fish fried in salt-butter, registers the difficult negotiation of religion residing in the home when the home is also a place of commerce.

The jumbling of dietary elements, central to the characterization of the Mulligrubs, springs forth even from the patronymic itself. In early modern parlance, to be "sick of the Mulligrubs" was a way of indicating one had an acute stomachache, colic, or diarrhea induced by humoral imbalance. Contemporary texts reveal that devils, dogs and university students alike are struck with the Mulligrubs. Thomas Dekker in *The Noble Souldier* (1634) writes, "The Divell lyes sicke of the Mulligrubs," thus suggesting the shared fallibility of the both man's and the devil's stomach.[76] The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the use of the word in John Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas* (1639): "Whither goe all these men-menders, these Physitians? Whose dog lyes sicke o'th mulligrubs?"[77] Earlier in the century and just a year prior to the publication of *The Dutch Courtesan,* Thomas Middleton employed the term in *Father Hubburds Tales Or The Ant and Nightingale* (1604), in which university students are derided for their dependence on their mothers: "Some Londoners Sonne . . . that must heare twice a weeke from his mother, or else he will be sick . . . of a university Mullygrub."[78] The term was of common parlance. In Marston's play, the Mulligrubs' own name is mobilized to implicate the vintner and his tavern-keeping wife in digestive distress, itself a sign of humoral imbalance.

In *Staging Domesticity*, Wendy Wall shows how national identity for the "middling sort" was, in part, constituted by "reflections on the material realities of household work," above all the

foodstuffs, health remedies and products that women prepared in the domestic sphere.[79] Domesticity stands in as the staple of Englishness and "template for political order," even as it is fraught with the violence of food preparation and the mixedness of alien ingredients.[80] Patricia Fumerton likewise emphasizes the ways in which everyday practices of domestic life in the early modern period could "be charged with strangeness even to its practitioners."[81] Mistress Mulligrub's reflection on her culinary concoctions reveals the way a tavern hearth could register both religious and state conflict. In serving Protestant wines, her tavern reflects the religion of the Anglican English state and, so she fears, conflicts with her own religious affiliation.

David Crane has argued that Mistress Mulligrub "laments the use of cheap Dutch (i.e., salted) butter instead of the good English sort."[82] By using preserved butter that tastes "Dutch" to fry her customer's fish, Mistress Mulligrub brokers a product associated with the geography from which her faith was thought to have been imported. Mistress Mulligrub, however, does not identify her faith as foreign; rather, it is the *Protestant* faith of her customers, evidenced by their palate for fried fish and Protestant wines, which generates her ambivalence about a commercial livelihood earned by serving a menu whose ingredients fall outside the dietary guidelines of her faith. Living and working in a space rife with culinary adulterations, her consequent epicurean anxieties lay the groundwork for the play's suggestion that she is vulnerable to being lured into a sexually adulterous relationship with her husband's antagonist, Cocledemoy.[83] In other words, Mistress Mulligrub's willingness—however reluctant—to adulterate foodstuffs in her tavern puts at issue a supposed predilection for marital adultery. The play has prepared the groundwork for this insinuation not merely with commonplace innuendos about the sexual availability of tavern women, but by linking the Mulligrubs to the religious sect, the Family of Love, and the Family of Love with the bawdy house.

Cocledemoy maliciously stages Mulligrub's arrest on the grounds that the vintner's "house has been suspected for a bawdy tavern a great while" (4.5.106-8). Mistress Mulligrub's exchanges with her husband's enemy do little to put suspicions of her sexual availability to rest.

Her oft-repeated self-characterization as a woman of commerce, the keeper of a public house, unwittingly implicates her in adultery:

> Squires, gentlemen, and knights diet at my table . . . [they] give me very good words, and a piece of flesh when time of year serves. . . . My silly husband, alas, he knows nothing of it. (3.3.19-27)

Audiences no doubt registered the sexual innuendo in "the piece of flesh" that tavern guests give to Mistress Mulligrub without her husband's knowledge. Here Mistress Mulligrub sports with adultery with language evocative not of the bedchamber but of her kitchen.

By the play's conclusion, Mistress Mulligrub's religious affiliation has joined with her professional role as public house keeper to set in motion an imputation of sexual transgression articulated in terms of *culinary* mixedness. So too, her culinary transgressions are depicted as a religious sin. As her husband's accuser, now also her suitor, declares the charges brought against Master Mulligrub, it turns out that it is precisely this mixing that Cocledemoy's prank attempts to police:

> COCLEDEMOY: But brother, brother, you must think of your sins and iniquities. You have been a broacher of profane vessels; you have made us drink of the juice of the whore of Babylon. For whereas good ale, parries, braggets, ciders, and metheglins was the true ancient British and Troyan drinks, you ha' brought in Popish wines, Spanish wines, French wines . . . to the subversion, staggering, and sometimes overthrow of many a good Christian. You ha' been a great jumbler. (5.3.102-11)

Having confessed to Cocledemoy's charges of being "a great jumbler," Mulligrub is released into a city whose sexual economies have been reworked from inside his own home. This reworking is part of what the genre of city comedy itself is working out, Jean Howard has argued. City comedy

> often specifies the danger to the household . . . as the penetration of domestic space by foreign bodies—foreign people, foreign goods, or class enemies who function as strangers or aliens—and the subsequent weakening of the boundaries of the household as a container for the people, especially the women, who dwell in it.[84]

One might argue that Marston's play extends Howard's generic definition by adding faith and foodstuffs to the list of what "penetrates" and endangers domestic space; but this would fall short of what Marston's Mulligrubs accomplish. Mistress Mulligrub's menu brings in through the

tavern door and circulates within domestic space ingredients that insure her commercial livelihood while alienating her from her chosen faith. Her religious identity reaches out beyond her commercial household to couple with that other commercial space run by women, Mary Faugh's bawdy house, the "Family of Love." In contrast to Freevill's neatly articulated dichotomies with which the play began, the Mulligrubs reveal that distinctions between household and common house, England and the Low Countries, are not easily "maintained." By the play's end each space is refigured *in terms of the other.* The effect of this mutual construction in Marston's play cannot be reduced to an act of penetration, evinced in the failure of boundaries to contain, forefend and defend. Indeed, to conclude thus would be to unwittingly reproduce Freevill's logic.

Critical work on London city comedy has rightly emphasized the ways in which the theater was staging the "mixedness of urban life."[85] Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* demonstrates that recovering how the Mulligrubs become the play's "great jumblers" demands recognition that the historical particulars of what they set into circulation matter to how they imbricate Dutch and English ethnic identities. The Dutching of the English Mulligrubs suggests that the critical challenge for understanding the theater's role in constructing northern European ethnic proximity lies, in part, in re-animating early modern lexicons. The comedy's wordplay, which sets in motion an affiliation between wives and sex workers, lust and *caritas*, English and the Low Countries religion, depends on the audience's ability to decipher puns on the "Family of Love" and to register certain culinary references as charged with Dutch strangeness, even as this strangeness is embodied by "English" characters. Further, the play demonstrates that part of what was underway in city comedy was more than an exploration of the metropolis and its types. The theater's attempts to differentiate English from Dutch characters results throughout in operations that expose the overlap between them. While there can be little doubt that London playwrights trafficked in and produced border-generating logics of self and other, these same authors and their audiences were also exploring the ways in which English people, products and places were

reshaped by their proximate—even intimate—relations with Dutch people, products, and places. *The Dutch Courtesan* traffics in discursive operations that work to open up a palimpsestic perception: one that sees Dutchness within / beneath / and overlayed onto Englishness. In other words, *The Dutch Courtesan* produces a cultural double vision, one that envisions the signifiers of Englishness and Dutchness as emerging always in relation to one another. The pressing question that *The Dutch Courtesan* leaves its audience to ponder is: who among us isn't going Dutch in London?

II

"Two Shadows To One Shape": Ethnic Crossdressing in *The Roaring Girl*

The Roaring Girle
OR
Moll Cut-Purse.
As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players.
Written by T. Middleton and T. Dekker.
My cake is dough'd, I must worke for my living.
Printed at London for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes head-pallace, neere the Royall Exchange. 1611.

1. *The Roaring Girl* (1611), title page, STC (2nd ed.) / 17908

In John Marston's city comedy, the play's Dutch courtesan and the English Mulligrubs "go Dutch," almost despite themselves. In Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl*, the titular heroine actively conspires in the production of her ethnic doubleness when she enters the stage in act four, scene one, wearing a pair of Dutch slops.[86] The play features Moll Cut-Purse, a master of sartorial transformations both on and off stage. The theatrical Moll had her contemporary counterpart in London's Mary Frith, alias Moll Cut-Purse, notorious for frequenting "all or most of the disorderly & licentious places" in London and for making a spectacle of legal attempts to reform her sartorial transgressions. The play emphasizes the link between the staged Moll and the "real" Mary Frith in the *Epilogue,* which promises the appearance of Mary Frith on the Fortune stage. The editor of the Revel's edition suggests that the actor who played Moll likely delivered the *Epilogue*:

> The Roaring Girl herself, some few days hence,
> Shall on this stage give larger recompense;
> Which mirth that you may share in, herself does woo you,
> And craves this sign: your hands to beckon her to you. (35-39)

According to the *Consistory of London Correction Book* 27 January 1612, Mary Frith indeed appeared "at a playe about 3 quarters of a yeare since at the ffortune in mans apparel & in her boots & with a sword by her side."[87] This legal record emphasizes Mary Frith's transvestism, alleging an incident at "Powles Church" on Christmas night when she appeared "with her peticoate tucked up about her in the fashion of a man with a mans cloake on her."[88] Frith concedes to allegations of such transvestism and further "voluntarily confessed that she had long frequented all or most of the disorderly & licentious places in this Cittie as she hath usually in the habite of a man resorted to alehowses Tavernes Tobacco shops" and "play howses."[89] In the case of Mary Frith, it is the "habite of a man" and the access to public spaces that such gender-crossing enables that concerns the city. In Dekker's and Middleton's play, Moll's transvestism is

not limited to gender-crossing; it also jumbles the sartorial signifiers of English and Dutch self-fashioning.

While the interplay between the crossdressed Moll of the stage and Mary Frith of the street has been of interest for critics, scholars have overlooked the ethnic particulars of Moll's sartorial show, the details of which are not only staged during a fitting within the play but are depicted on the quarto title-page (figure 1).[90] On the title-page of the 1611 quarto edition of *The Roaring Girl*, Moll Cut-Purse stands on a wooden platform suggestive of a stage floor, holds a large sword, dons a hat with flower plumes, wears slops and doublet, and smokes a pipe. Upon closer inspection, it appears that Moll's crossdressing crosses not only gendered but ethnic boundaries. On the title-page and in the play Moll dresses in the fashions of a Dutchman, evidenced by the baggy-kneed "Dutch slops" that billow around her thighs in an extravagant excess of fabric.[91] As I will show, what the Fortune theater staged and what was pictured on the quarto title page was not just another boy playing a woman dressed as man. In the case of the stage production, Moll's sartorial transformation involves a (presumably English) male actor playing an *English* woman dressed in the fashions of a *Dutch* man. Moll's crossdressing, then, doubles the categories crossed as her transvestism enacts both a gender and ethnic crossing.

Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones have unfolded the material history of clothing in early modern Europe to discover how fabric was central to "the making and unmaking of Renaissance subjects."[92] Early modern subjects were subject to the paradox central to early modern fashion—"fashion-as-change [was] in tension with fashion as 'deep' making."[93] If, as Stallybrass and Jones have argued, "clothing is a worn world: a world of social relations put upon the wearer's body," what "world of social relations" does Moll put on when she crosses the Jacobean stage in a pair of Dutch slops? If in sixteenth and seventeenth century England "clothes were still material mnemonics in metropolitan centers," not yet mere commodities evacuated of their "objectness," then we might expect that the particular "materials of memory" that Moll has fashioned for herself will matter to our critical and historical analysis of her self-fashioning.

Moll has stirred up much debate among critics interested in transvestism on the early modern stage. Despite their differences, one thing this criticism shares is a tendency to confine transvestism to an art of crossing gendered and sexed boundaries.[94] In order to explore the question of how wearing ethnically marked clothing doubles the operation of "crossing," I begin by tracing the ways all things Dutch are infused with sexual connotation in the play. In particular, I focus on the play's characterizations of Dutch appetite and the use of bawdy puns to link the Low Countries to the geography of London's sex work. When Moll purchases and then wears a pair of Dutch slops, she enters into a charged circuit of bawdy innuendo that the play's punning on Dutch food and geography has created. It is this circuit, together with the particular materials of her costume, that ultimately makes Moll's Dutch slops a fitting fashion for the play's protagonist. The Dutch slops Moll wears work like a visual metonym, entering her into a circuit of meaning that extends beyond the sartorial. Moll's crossdressing stages a cross-ethnicizing of her body, a body which serves as the cynosure for cross-nationalizing desire in the play.[95]

The "Double Temple of Priapus and Venus": The Tale of Mary Frith

Before turning to the play, let us examine the text running the length of the title-page image: "My case is alter'd, I must worke for my living." This line raises at least two questions: what precisely is the "case" and what is the "work" that sustains Moll's living? In addition to "circumstances," case can also mean an "outer covering," "receptacle," or "a thing fitted to contain or enclose something else"; figuratively, it can mean the "body" or exterior, as in Shakespeare's (1606) *Antony and Cleopatra*: "This case of that huge Spirit now is cold."[96] This gloss leads rather intuitively to a connection between case and clothing, which John Nashe makes explicit when he writes, "[O]ur garments (which are cases and covers for our bodies)."[97] What is more, for a figure notorious because of her association with the murky underworld of criminality that blurs distinction between thieves and prostitutes, "case" is suggestive of the sexual organs Moll Cut-Purse is thought to put to work.[98] In the *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* Gordan Williams finds that "case" usually refers to the

vagina but "occasionally meaning extends to penis."[99] This double entendre potentially doubles Moll's sexual identity as the allusiveness of the gender of the "case" redounds to Moll's own genitalia, rendering her case both male and female. The pun is not so easily settled, however. Because there has been an alteration of her case, having once been one thing is it now another, or has the alteration, like the pun itself, had the effect of doubling Moll's case? The suggestion that Moll's case / state of affairs / body / clothing / sexual organs have altered all run meaningfully into the biography of Mary Frith, alias, Moll Cut-Purse, and, I contend, the body of the play's Moll. The play will make the circumstantial, bodily, sartorial and bawdy connotations of "case" come alive in a field of association linked to things Dutch. If what the title-page suspends is the question of *how* Moll's case(s) are "altered," this alteration is precisely what the play plays out.

As the play progresses, the title page's caption, "I must work for my living," is rendered paradoxical. Moll circulates in and around the Royal Exchange, moves in and out of shops, but for all her proximity to those spaces of commerce, seems exceptionally removed from *work* as labor in the marketplace. She appears, in fact, to defy the assertion of the play's title page. Furthermore, despite the play's subtitle, *The Roaring Girl or, Moll Cut-Purse,* the play's Cut-Purse thwarts all attempts to bait her with "chains, watches, jewels . . . and hollow-hearted angels."[100] Is the title-page image and its caption meant to evoke knowledge of the work of London's Mary Frith? If so, what expectations might the audience of the Fortune theater have brought with them regarding Mary Frith's work? These historical questions are complicated by the fact that the first published text that refers to Mary Frith is, in fact, Dekker's and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl.*[101] What is extant and offers the most detailed portrait of the life of Mary Frith is a 1662 publication entitled, *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith. Commonly called Moll Cut-Purse. Exactly collected and now Published for the Delight and Recreation of all Merry disposed persons*.[102] The *Life and Death* was published anonymously three years after Mary Frith's death. Editors Janet Todd and Elizabeth Spearing find that it is "not even clear how many hands are involved or to what extent Frith may have been responsible for telling her own

story."[103] They venture that the *Life and Death* is a "'told to' autobiography" but the extent to which we can determine "how far the main body of the narrative can be said to be 'her own' is difficult."[104]

What we learn from the author of *The Life and Death of Mary Frith* is that her "common name," Moll Cut-Purse, only obliquely captures the work Mary Frith undertook in London. Writing in first person, the author claims that she was a broker for thieves: "I never Actually or Instrumentally cut any Mans Purse, though I have often restored it."[105] She learned to turn a quick profit by restoring to apprentices the "Shop Books [that] lie commonly neer the Door upon a Desk; and upon turning of the backs of the Servants, who are commonly walking to and fro, [thieves easily] snatch it off and be gone, with an intent only of some redemptory Money upon its Delivery."[106] Frith reasons that apprentices were "willing to give any thing rather than their selves and their Parents should be liable to make satisfaction for so great a damaged happened by their Carelessnesse."[107] Frith acted as a broker in the exchange of stolen items. Her traffic in stolen material objects was profitable only within a model of displacement and replacement. Frith entered nothing new into the marketplace; instead she devised a system of profit that depended on re-circulating what was already available (restoring the shop-keeper's book to the original owner). In a righteous defense of her work, the author proclaims, "I did no way abuse [my landlord's] House, but made it rather an Exchange and place of Entercourse, then prostituted it by any unseemly or lewd action."[108] She turned her lodging not into a brothel, as the 1612 "imputation" against her as a "bawd" might suggest, but "a brokery for stolen goods."[109] This declaration squares with the transcript of the *Consistory of London Correction Book* 27 January 1612 in which we learn that "being pressed to declare whether she had not byn dishonest of her body & hath not also drawne other women to lewdness by her perswasions & by carrying her self lyke a bawde, [Mary Frith] absolutely denied that she was chargeable with eyther of these imputations."[110] No mere bawdy-house, Moll's home is for thieves an Exchange so central to the underground market in stolen goods that she presumes the reader is familiar with its location: "I

had forgot to tell you the place of this my dwelling which slipt me the rather, because few men need to be told where the *Exchange* or *Cheapside* Standard stands, since my Habitation was little lesse Famous."[111] Her imagined geographic centrality in the underworld market combines with an economic vitality and notoriety comparable with the "legitimate" global marketplace figured in London's Exchange. The explicit comparison of markets extends the geographic imaginary of her local fantasy into the global sphere. "My house was the Algiers," she boasts, and compared to "the Folks [who] parted with their Gold and Silver, upon the warrant of the Publique Faith," her trade was as secure as an "Amsterdam Bank."[112]

As the biography proceeds we learn that, during the English Civil war, business was slow, forcing Mary Frith into new markets. Ever the savvy entrepreneur, Frith notes a gap in the services offered by the Abbess of Holland with whom she had grown "very intimate."[113] The Abbess of Holland ran a traditional bawdy house, known as "Holland's leaguer," a name it earned after it was besieged by authorities.[114] There, female prostitutes served a male clientele. Frith thought that the Abbess was typical of procuresses who "were very straightlaced and too narrow in their practice, as Confining their industry in this Negotiation to one Sex."[115] Consequently, Mary Frith transforms her house from a "place of Exchange and Entercourse" into "a Double Temple of Priapus and Venus, frequented by both sorts."[116] Her new Exchange doubles the bodies in sexual circulation. Employing "emissaries and Agents to procure Stallions to satiate [London's great Women's] desires, as confidently as they entertain Grooms and Laundreis," Frith doubles the sex-market demand by entering female desire (in the form of female consumers) into the sex market. Women who desire men for sex can select from a network of "Stallions" that Mary's "Temple" of sexual commerce makes available to them. Mary Frith becomes an emblem of commerce and exchange, first creating a circuit by which objects are stolen and restored and then by fostering a market of male prostitutes. Her ease in moving from one to the other of these underground industries suggests that the skills Frith needs to be successful in both endeavors are commensurate. In this way she mitigates the difference and so emphasizes the similarities of

running an Exchange and a Bawdy house. By fostering a market of male prostitutes, Frith proliferates the bodies in the marketplace marketed for sexual consumption. London's economies of consumption and sexual consummation flourish in a common Exchange that, under the headship of Moll Cut-Purse, dissolves difference between a "Double Temple of Priapus and Venus" and an "Amsterdam Bank."

The logic of looking forward fifty years to a text about a life not yet fully lived in 1611 in order to imagine what the Fortune audience might have had in mind about the work of Mary Frith is obviously anachronistic. In reading the biography alongside the play, I do not wish to suggest that Mary Frith's biography is mimetic of her actual lived experience; indeed questions of the authorship of the biography abound, making such a claim highly suspect. Given these important critical caveats, I have chosen to set these two texts side by side in order to read the discursive strategies by which Mary Frith's occupation is figured in both texts. Insofar as there are striking similarities between the commercial and sexual exchanges Moll orchestrates in the *Life* and in the play, this seems an important methodological strategy for recovering the possibilities for reading the play's Moll. For instance, when Moll asserts, "I scorne to prostitute myselfe to a man / I that can prostitute a man to me" (3.2.107-8), she prefigures, in not insignificant ways, Mary Frith's claim in the *Life* that she creatively re-imagined the possibilities of London's commercial sexual economy when she designed a "Double Temple of Priapus and Venus." We will likely never know if the historical Mary Frith was infamous for such innovative bawdry. Indeed, the play itself may have initiated this vision of Mary Frith's work.

There are also parallels in how the *Life* and the play connect Mary Frith / Moll with things Dutch. In the *Life*, Mary Frith's cultural frame of reference reveals a familiarity with Dutch markets (Amsterdam Bank) and Dutch presence in London (the Abbess of Holland), references that emerge in the context of her reflections on London's underground sexual economy. In *The Roaring Girl* Dutch appetite and Dutch fashion intersect with Moll at oblique angles. Moll's association and affiliation with Dutch-identified food and fashion serves to amplify Moll's work

as an enabler of commercial and sexual exchange. Both the biography of Mary Frith and *The Roaring Girl* emphasize Moll's ability to multiply sexual desire by enabling women to enter an underground circuit of sexual exchange as the consumer, a role conventionally reserved for men. In the play, "going Dutch" enables Moll to enter women into the circuit of sexual exchange (as figures who pursue their desires). More, the Dutch slops Moll wears serve to double Moll's own position within that circuit; by the play's end the audience does not see a boy playing a woman playing a man, but an (English) boy playing an (English) woman who, after her fitting for Dutch slops, seems to be *both* woman and man, English and Dutch. In other words, Moll's "Dutch slops" are more than a pair of men's breeches; they function to produce the fantasy that Moll is herself doubly sexed, cross gendered, and doubly ethnicized. "Going Dutch" in *The Roaring Girl* does more than make one think in doubles; in the play's own terms it produces "monstrous" doubles.

Material Ethnicity

The plot begins with Sir Alexander denying his son's request to marry his beloved, Mary, whose lack of fortune makes her an unattractive match. Sebastian realizes that he will not persuade his father of a match with Mary, so he cunningly feigns affection for Moll, the city "roaring girl" who is notorious for dressing in men's fashions and frequenting taverns on the city's bankside.[117] As the plot unfolds, Sir Alexander begins to believe that his son has fallen for Moll even as Moll enables the union of Sebastian and Mary.

When Moll first appears on stage she is characterized as consumable, indeed edible. Consumption of Moll is initially associated with Italian appetite, "such a Moll were a marrowbone before an Italian," Laxton quips in an aside to his friend Goshawk as they linger over a smoke in a tobacco shop (2.1.193). Marrow and marrowbone "frequently appear in lists of aphrodisiacs" and, in their other works both Dekker and Middleton deploy the term in the context of prostitution.[118] Laxton's ethnically inflected menu continues: "[s]he slips from one company to another like a fat eel between a Dutchman's fingers" (2.1.206-07). Steven Orgel notes the

"autoerotic element" in Laxton's "praise" of Moll.[119] I hear, rather, a frustrated autoerotics in which the Dutchman's inability to keep hold of his own favorite food is linked to his inability to use himself sexually with any skill. The eel is a recurring pun for male genitalia, as evidenced in J.W.'s *The Valiant Scot* (1637) when the clerk suggests "Eels for whores, and great Oysters for Bawds" (3.1.88). Following Gordon Williams, I read the 'for' in these lines as functioning proscriptively. Both in *The Roaring Girl* and in Jonson's *The Staple of Newes* (1631), the eel is a food connected to the Dutch or Hollanders.[120] "Hollanders" was a word commonly used to refer both to the people of Holland and to a Dutch ship. In Jonson's play, the second clerk of reports the news of the sabotage at sea: "*Cornelius-Son*, / Hath made the *Hollanders* an inuisible *Eele*, / To swimme the Hauen at *Dunkirke*, and sinke all / The shipping there." "Hollanders" (which I read in this passage as both the ship *and* its people) become "invisible eels" when deceptive tactics sink the flat-bottomed eel-boats out of Holland. King James' political confrontation with the Hollanders grew out of the perception of Dutch maritime mastery and their perceived success as fishermen capable of outstripping English competition along British coastline and in the North Sea (or "narrow seas"). Here, the joke on the Hollanders is one which metamorphosizes both the Dutch sailors and their ships into "invisible eels," and thus evaporates the whole coastal and North Sea conflict that dogged James throughout his reign.[121] If the audience brought to the Fortune theater the preconception inherent in the charges leveled against Mary Frith in 1612—that her crossdressing implicated her in being a "bawd"—then the Dutch are the butt of Laxton's joke on at least two scores. The Dutchman is not only unable to gratify his gastronomic appetite with a plentiful food source associated with his own countrymen's successful fishing industry. But in letting the eel-like Moll slip by, he cannot even catch that most available of women, a (presumed) prostitute. The incompetence of the Dutch, in Jonson's play, to stay afloat at sea is echoed in Middleton and Dekker's image of the Dutchman's incompetence in sating his most basic bodily appetites while on land.

It is the quality of the eel's slipperiness linked with the evasiveness or trickery of women, a

pervasive trope in the seventeenth century, that creates the wiggle room for Laxton's association of Moll with eels: "woman and a wet eele have both slipperie tails;"[122] "shel'll slip thorow your fingers like an Eel else; / I know her tricks: hold her, I say;"[123] "She is nible that way as an Eele."[124] Moll, the meal that gets away in this imagined feast of pleasure forfeited, is nonetheless implicated in a national and ethnic promiscuity inherent in Laxton's free association of her with Italians and Dutchmen. Mistress Gallipot picks up on Laxton's imagery of the slippery eel to assert that "some will not stick to say she's a man, and some, both man and woman" (2.1.209-10). Like the eel, with its various sexual applications, Moll too "slips" attempts to stick her with one or the other gendered identity.

Moll's imagined ability to play the man *and* woman results in the fantasy that she uniquely disrupts marriages by making a cuckold of both the husband and the wife. Laxton concludes that "she might first cuckold the husband and then make him to as much for the wife" (2.1.211-12). The awkward diction of Laxton's line, "make him *to* as much for the wife," obfuscates the gender role(s) Moll plays in this flurry of double-cuckolding. The obfuscation of particulars is precisely what makes this fantasy possible; the importance of what Moll does (with and to whom) is mitigated by an emphasis on the speed and ease with which she can accomplish this imagined feat of marriage wrecking. Laxton's statement attributes an agency to Moll that, imagined as a marrowbone or eel, she previously lacked. At the same time Laxton's statements paint her into a framework of sexual promiscuity and ethnically specific appetites that resurface throughout the play.[125]

Sexual promiscuity itself is imagined as a border crossing that results in the shuffling of distinctions between geographical zones, which, however unstable they might have been, England's emerging national borders attempt to stabilize. Specifically, the play figures the illicit and extra-marital sexual promiscuity of Englishmen through a metaphor of travel to the Low Countries that renders the Low Countries and the London suburbs overlapping sites of illicit sexual commerce. As we explored in the opening paragraphs of *Double Dutch*, in the subplot of

the *Roaring Girl*, Mistress and Master Openwork exchange a series of puns on the Low Countries that function to overlap English and Dutch geography, link the Netherlands to the sexual "regions" of the female body, and render "Holland" both a foreign material product and a prostitute working in the suburbs beyond London:

> MISTRESS OPENWORK: Have I found out one of your haunts? I send you for hollands, and you're in the low countries with a mischief [. . .]
>
> MASTER OPENWORK: She rails on me / for foreign wenching, that I, being a freeman must needs keep a whore in' th'suburbs, and seek to impoverish the liberties. (2.1.225-305)

Within the theater's punning exchanges about the proximity of England to the Low Countries, Anglo-Dutch commercial relations are cast not in opposition but in a relation of interdependence. This interdependence, expressed in the sexual desire of a freeman whose "haunt" is situated in the "the Low Countries," blurs the distinction between the geography of London and that of the Low Countries. "Low Countries" was a descriptor particularly available to such bawdy punning in early modern English as its evocation played upon a geographic territory, which is itself low (at or below sea-level), and female genitalia (an aural pun on "country"/"cuntry"), located in the lower-region of the female body. As the Openworks' exchange suggests, "Low Countries" and "Netherlands" had become common bawdy slang of the period, a well-known instance of which occurs in Dromio of Syracuse's description of Nell the kitchen maid in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors:* Nell is "spherical, like a globe, I could find out countries in her." This prompts Antipholous of Syracuse to ask, "in what part of her body stands Ireland . . . Where's Scotland . . . Where's England?" Having hop-scotched about the globe, he concludes by inquiring, "Where stood Belgia, the Netherlands?" Dromio replies, "O sir, I did not look so low."[126] With this, the body of Nell is divided in terms of geographical regions of the globe and, in turn, the globe is engendered and anatomized according to the regions of the female body. The Netherlands found out in Nell is the very "Holland" Mistress Openwork worries her husband uses his yard to "measure."

These exchanges suggest that England's spatial proximity to the Low Countries was imagined in terms of intimate, sexual relations and that these relations are gendered and commercialized. In *The Roaring Girl*, the regionalization of male sexual promiscuity is charted onto the geography of the Netherlands, a place figured as familiar but abroad, outside yet proximate. A husband's traversing of this geography is imagined as instigating a mischievous consumerism that conflates women with products. Holland is a material that resists being fully Englished, its import history apparent in its very name: a product for but not of England. In exchanging the shop's need for linen Holland with his own desire for a prostitute, Openwork has, according to the logic of his wife, exported the English prostitute (of the city's liberties and suburbs) to that Low Country which, in its very name, announces the sexual product for sale. In this verbal exchange, the prostitute too is a product for but not of England, and Openwork's commerce with her alienates him from the hearth.

It is within these charged sexual associations with foods, products and regions Dutch that Moll's verbal exchange with her Tailor, regarding her new pair of Dutch slops, resonates. The Tailor, who has forgotten to "take measure on [Moll] for [her] new breeches," begins measuring her body in the public street as the Exchange bell has rung and shops have closed for lunch. The spectacle of Moll's public fitting is overseen by Sir Alexander who wonders anxiously, "What, will he marry a monster with two trinkets? What age is this" (2.2.76-7)? The monstrosity Alexander locates in Moll recalls his earlier tale of a traveler who, on his journey, encountered a "creature . . . nature hath brought forth / To mock the sex of woman . . . Tis woman more than man, Man more than woman and—which to none can hap—/ The sun gives her two shadows to one shape" (1.2.127-132). The story of this double-shadow-casting creature is a tale constructed for the consumption of his eavesdropping son, Sebastian, whom Sir Alexander aims to steer away from Moll. Here, on a London street, Sir Alexander looks on as his tall tale materializes before his eyes. The ensuing repartee between Moll and her Tailor (overheard by Sir Alexander) evokes tropes of doubleness hinted at by the play's earlier association of Moll with alien appetite and by

Sir Alexander's suggestion that Moll is a "monster with two trinkets" (2.1.354). Jean Howard notes, "the fact that the female Moll is personated by a male actor of course gives this accusation [of doubleness] a particular piquancy in performance."[127] Indeed, it is the multiplicity of possibilities engendered in Moll's new fashion that baffles Sir. Alexander.

Sir Alexander's fantasy about Moll's "two trinkets" might be written off as part of his own idiosyncratic psychology, were it not for Moll's Tailor's implication in that fantasy.[128] What Moll is wearing on the lower half of her body during this fitting is not entirely clear. The stage direction in act two, scene one reads, "Enter Moll in a frieze jerkin and a black safeguard"; presumably she appears in these same garments one scene later (2.1.174). Paul Mulholland notes that "the jerkin (a short coat with a collar, usually with sleeves) was normally worn by men," while the safeguard was used to protect a woman's clothing from dirt kicked up by her horse when she went riding.[129] Her wardrobe, at the time of the fitting, then "is hermaphroditic in combining elements of the dress of both sexes."[130] Initially Moll wonders why "the old pattern" for her breeches might not have served the Tailor's needs. The Tailor reminds her, "You change the fashion, you say you'll have the great Dutch slop, Mistress Mary." Moll concurs, "Why sir, I say so still" (2.2.81-83). Moll is particular about the materials she adopts in gender crossing and is interested in "changing the fashion" of her sartorial show. Moll's preference for Dutch slops enmeshes her in the mercantilism of a city that depends on the changing of fashions to sustain an ever-expanding emporium of goods imported from abroad.[131] Moreover, the excess of material needed to construct Dutch slops makes room for the fantasy that Moll's (mercantile / financial / sexual) excess extends to the doubling of her genitalia. The Dutch slops, not merely man's breeches, make space enough for this fantasy:

TAILOR: Your breeches then will take up a yard more.
MOLL: Well, pray look it be put in then.
TAILOR: It shall stand round and full, I warrant you.
MOLL: Pray make 'em easy enough.
TAILOR: I know my fault now: t'other was somewhat stiff between the legs; I'll make these open enough, I warrant you. (2.2.84-90)

The Tailor and Moll's bawdy banter obfuscates the genital distinction that would settle this fantasy back into a normative binary of sex difference. The audience, encouraged by all of the punning, is invited to participate in the hermaphroditic fantasy that the Tailor is busy constructing.

The yard more the breeches take up suggests both the increase in materials that Moll's slops require and the male genitalia that Moll suggestively requests be "put in." Marjorie Garber finds that Sir Alexander "realizes that the design is not for a pair of breeches, but, in effect, for a phallus, one that will stand round and full (if somewhat stiffly) between the legs."[132] Valerie Forman agrees, but emphasizes the "hermaphroditic quality" of Moll. Forman's reading shares with my own an interest in the doubleness of Sir Alexander's fantasy that Moll is a "monster with two trinkets":

> By definition a trinket is either an ornament, or the tools or accoutrements of an occupation. Furthering the levels of irony in this scene is the etymological link of trinket with "trenchier" which means to cut, as in to castrate; "cut" was also slang for female genitals. A trinket was initially a small knife; is it a prosthetic phallus, or an instrument of castration? Trinkets in this scene, then, can refer simultaneously to an excess, that is a proliferation of *material* substance and to its absence—the classic fetishist position . . . On the one hand, this fitting invokes the acquisition of material, even excess material, that would serve as an expression of unique, individual identity, what Moll seems to accumulate throughout the play. At the same time, the proliferation of changing fashion invokes imitation and counterfeiting and points to the unreliability of this "rematerialization" to effectively resurrect a material guarantee. The "put[ting] in" of more material only serves to register the very absence for which it attempts to compensate. Moll's fitting for the Dutch slop thus functions like her body's two trinkets: as a reminder of the absence of any reliable guarantee that it also supplies. Rather than provide stability, this representation of the body's measurability demonstrates how the nexus of cultural concerns (about gender, sexuality, and changing economic relations) becomes manifest in a necessarily unstable body.[133]

Both Forman's and Garber's readings emphasize the excess of additional materials needed to construct Slops. I too have pointed to the Dutch Slops as a material expansion of the English breeches. But in the Tailor's response to Moll, "I know my fault know, t'other was somewhat stiff between the legs," I hear the suggestion that the phallus, which Garber imagines is under construction by the Tailor, is also what the Tailor imagines he is in the process of designing a garment around. The "stiff[ness]" between Moll's legs meets up with the constructed

"open[ness]" between her legs and the Dutch slops provide room enough to sustain the fantasy of Moll's doubling of sex.

Suddenly, the Tailor announces that he has "gone as far as I can go" and implores Moll to "send me the measure of your thigh by some honest body," in order that he might have all the measurements needed to construct her Dutch slops (2.2.93-7). What the Tailor's arrest underscores most profoundly is the *immeasurablility* of Moll's body. As Moll exits from the stage, the Tailor quips, "So you had need: it is a lusty one. Both of them would make any porter's back ache in England" (2.2.100-1). The doubling of Moll's genitals is carried through the end of this exchange as the Tailor imagines the burden of Moll's body to a porter who finds himself sexually employed by "both." The bricolage of Moll's gendered body and nationalized fashion appalls Sir Alexander who, having overheard and watched this fitting, exclaims, "Here's a good gear towards! I have brought up my son to marry a Dutch slop and a French doublet: a codpiece daughter" (2.2.91-93)[134] For Sir Alexander, the only way to speak such gender-doubling is to take recourse in the visible, ethnic mixedness of Moll's new clothes.

An Historical Post Script

What were Dutch slops? James Robinson Planché in his two volume *Cyclopaedia of Costume* (1876) begins his entry on slops: "This word presents us, I think, with the most remarkable instance of the capricious appropriation of terms to which I have had to call the readers attention in the course of this Dictionary."[135] Planché finds that not until "the sixteenth century [do] we find the word 'slopp' unceremoniously transferred to the nether garments."[136] Until then, "slop" had "been applied at various times to three distinct articles of clothing—a jacket or cassock, a shoe, and a pair of breeches."[137] But even the capaciousness of this tripartite definition does not capture the many objects it indexed. Planché continues:

> Palsgrave: "Sloppe, a night gowne, *robe de nuit*." At the same time he has also : "Payre of sloppe-hoses, *braiettes a marinier*;" while Halliwell defines slop "a smock frock," "any outer garment made of linen," "a summer boot or buskin, much worn in the sixteenth century," and, in the Lancashire dialect, "a pocket.' He also informs us that in Lincolnshire *sliver* signifies "a short slop worn by bankers or navigators. It was formerly

> called a *sliving*. The *sliving* was exceedingly capacious and wide." Wright . . . speaks of "such slopes or slivings' as being breeches worn by many gentlemen in 1601; and the breeches retained possession of the title of "slopp" from that period, as Bailey, in 1736, gives "SLOPS (from *slabbe* Dutch), a sort of wide-kneed breeches worn by seamen."[138]

The "Open Breeches" were "a Dutch fashion from c. 1585," but do not appear in "English mode before 1600, lasting till 1610 and reappearing in the 1640s."[139] *The Roaring Girl*'s performance post-dates this estimation of when slops were in mode by one year. According to Planché's research, *The Roaring Girl* is the first literary text explicitly to connect slops with the Dutch.[140] In Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600), Don Pedro characterizes "a German from the waist downward, all slops" (3.2.29-30).[141] By the time Jonson's *The Alchemist* is performed in 1610, the link between slops and the Dutch presumably has stabilized enough that the audience gets the joke when Face says to Subtle, "A noble Count, a Don of Spain [. . .] is come hither . . . And brought munition with him, six great slops, / Bigger than three Dutch hoys, beside round trunks, / Furnished with pistolets" (3.3.13-5).[142] Editor Gordan Campbell glosses "hoys" as "small boats rigged as sloops (thus a pun on slops)."[143] He argues a similar pun between ships and fashion registers in the phrase, "round trunks," which he glosses, "stuffed knee-breeches."[144] The Dutch fashion for "slops" is turned into another pun on Dutch shipping, making both Dutch "breeches" (slops) and Dutch "boats" (sloops) something the Spanish Don can stuff with supplies. It would seem, then, that the connection between slops and the Dutch is comically charged by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century.

I suspect that it is not merely an historical coincidence that the word "slops" became associated with Dutch fashion on the English stage just as that fashion increasingly referred to a garment that covers the body's nether regions. The choice to underscore the Dutchness of Moll's slops works to knit Moll together with other bawdy Dutch references in the play. As we witnessed in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*, even one's unwitting affiliation with Dutch foods, belief and geography risks implicating one in sexual licentiousness. In *The Roaring Girl*, Moll *requests* that a pair of Dutch slops be fashioned for her. Given the fantasy of sex doubling that the

Dutch slops enable, they prove a particularly productive fashion to employ when staging questions about Moll's doubled nether-regions.

I have highlighted the multiplicity of meanings that accrete to the Netherlands in this play and suggested that Moll's wearing of Dutch slops makes Moll the *potential* embodiment of sexual as well as cross-ethnic promiscuity, excessive consumption, and the doubling of sex / gender. In conclusion, I turn to an exploration of the ways in which the representation of Moll that the play stages might have served to shape perceptions of the historical Mary Frith who found herself compelled to articulate her actions within and against these cultural fantasies on the 27th of January 1612. If Mary Frith had already "voluntarily confessed" to being "at the ffortune in mans apparell & in her bootes & with a sword at her syde," and if she further voluntarily confessed to being at "Powles Church with her peticoate tucked up about her in the fashion of a man with a mans cloake on her," what additional information was the council seeking when it "pressed [her] to declare whether she had not byn dishonest of her body & hath not also drawne other women to lewdness by her perswasions & by carrying her self lyke a bawde?" The play suggests one possible answer.

As the play draws to conclusion, we learn that Moll has enabled the crossdressing of Mary, Sebastian's beloved, by allowing Mary to be measured by Moll's tailor (a fitting that happens off-stage). "My tailor fitted her: how like you his work?" Moll asks Sebastian, whose kiss with Mary leads him to conclude, "a woman's lip tastes well in a doublet . . . so methinks every kiss she gives me now / In this strange form is worth a pair of two" (4.1.47; 55-6). Mary in a doublet doubles Sebastian's pleasure. Mary also discovers heightened pleasure in her "strange form," "Never with more desire and harder venture" (4.1.44)! Read together with the biography of Mary Frith, this scene appears to be a triumph of Moll's / Mary Frith's "Double Temple of Priapus and Venus." First, Moll has entered Mary into a circuit of desire from which her social rank had previously cut her off. Second, by dressing her in a doublet, Moll positions Mary as the

agent of her own desire, one who can seek the lover she chooses. Third, by crossdressing Mary, Moll apparently doubles Mary's erotic / sexual worth in her lover's eyes.

As Moll stands by in her Dutch slops, housing her "two trinkets," she watches the kiss transpire that she has enabled by outfitting Mary. One cannot but wonder if Moll is not pleased by the economy of doubled desires that she has enabled?[145] Insofar as Moll stands outside the circulation of desires that she catalyzes in this scene, I find in the play suggestive grounds for the "imputacions" of bawdry that Mary Frith "absolutely denied." While New Historicist critics claim that the stage served as a "shaping fantasy" for English gender ideology, rarely do critics trace how a particular scene impacted public perception of a historical figure.[146] I venture to suggest that this stage production leaves us one such potential trace. In other words, I wonder whether this performance might have *produced* the imputations Mary Frith denied in 1612. What else is it that Moll performs if not a kind of bawdry when she dresses Mary in a doublet, enables her meeting with Sebastian, and then fans Sebastian's fire by interpreting his consummation with Mary as a doubly gendered (and so twice valued) kiss? Sebastian's comment that a woman's lips "tastes well in a doublet" sparks this rumination from Moll:

> Many an old madam has the better fortune then,
> Whose breaths grew stale before the fashion came;
> If that will help 'em, as yo think 'twill do,
> They'll learn in time to pluck on the hose too! (4.1.48-51)

In this moment, Moll glimpses future profit in Sebastian's titillation, and confidently asserts that "many an old madam" will as well. Moll's pleasure is not sexual but commercial; her titillation occurs at the thought of how crossdressing might enable "old madams," who are presumably undesirable in London's sex market, to make "better fortune" in their old age. She reasons that if Sebastian enjoys kissing Mary in a doublet, then perhaps the city's "old madams" (which here may mean both older women and aged bawds) will learn that by dressing as men they might restore their value in London's (illicit) sexual economy.

Whether the court's allegations that Mary Frith drew "other women to lewdness" and acted as a "bawd" were in some measure sparked by the staged appearance of Moll Cut-Purse and the gender-bending dynamics of this scene, we may never know. Nonetheless, this scene certainly became part of the legacy of Mary Frith. That legacy, partly shaped on the stage, was eventually inscribed as the "biography" that lauded Moll as the innovative bawd of a "Double Temple of Priapus and Venus."

III

Ethnicity in English City Comedy

Isolating signifiers that distinguish English from Dutch ethnicity and nationality is a task challenged by the drama of the period precisely because the comedy that was constructing and trafficking in those signifiers was simultaneously exploring their fluidity. Just when we isolate a signifier of ethnicity, such as language, clothing, foodstuffs or fashion, questions of how that signifier functions emerge. How long must a fashion, having once been an import, be popular in London before its foreign association fades? Which fashions remain *en vogue* only as long as their foreignness remains apparent? How much "sweet sliding" must slip from English before English begins to sound Dutch? When does a religion, once imported from the Low Countries, shed its foreign affiliation? Just who worries about salt in butter or identifies a meal of eels as particularly Dutch? If these questions seem to skew the larger point, it is because London city comedy of the early seventeenth century emphatically did not *isolate* codes of ethnicity when fashioning Dutchness on the English stage. Instead, the theater interlaced, overlapped, and jumbled Englishness and Dutchness. This is not to say that the signifiers of early modern ethnicity and nationhood were arbitrary. Rather, the city comedies explored here reveal how the theater's representation of proximate ethnicity depended on a process of accretion and cross-referentiality in order render salient an ethnic signifier. In order to understand why Mistress Mulligrub's affiliation with the Family of Love implicates her in sexual promiscuity we must reconstruct and reanimate how *The Dutch Courtesan* weaves the Family of Love together with

Dutchness and with London's sexual economy within the play. To understand why the Mulligrubs become the target of Cocledemoy's pranks is to understand that the Mulligrubs, for all their affiliation and association with things Dutch, are nonetheless troublingly English. The ways in which the Mulligrubs reveal the proximity and interrelatedness of Englishness and Dutchness makes them rich registers for how the theater was productive in shaping northern European ethnicities. So too, in *The Roaring Girl*, Moll's choice to go Dutch in her self-fashioning renders Moll something of an emblem for the play's cross-ethnicized vision of sexual commerce. Nonetheless, Moll's extra-textual referent in the historical Mary Frith maintains Moll's rootedness in London and her identity as an English subject. These city comedies show that the project of representing Anglo-Dutch proximate relations is one that resists pinning Dutch places, fashion, appetite and belief to Dutch characters; ethnicity and its signifiers did not straightforwardly correspond with "types," or national kinds. Something more nuanced is at work in the comedy of the period. To think Dutch within the genre of city comedy is to find oneself thinking in doubles, seeing in layers, and reading between the lines. The Englishness that emerges is not merely "mixed" by encounters with the Dutch. In rich and complex ways, these comedies insist that being English and going Dutch were sometimes the same thing.

[1] In Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* Firk, the play's apprentice, characterizes the speech of the supposed Dutchman, Simon Eyre, as "gibble-gabble" (ed. James Knowles [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001] 1.4.45).

[2] Notable full length studies of Tudor and Stuart city comedy include Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968 and 1980); Alexander Leggatt, *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Theodore Leinwand, *The City Staged: Jacobean City Comedy from 1603-1613* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986). A work that I was unable to consult before this chapter was completed is Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Following Adam Zucker, I find useful a broad definition of the city comedy: "to denote a play obviously set in London that relies predominately on comic narrative elements (i.e., romance, intrigue, the "untying of the knot of all the error") to produce and make sense of the complexities of an urban setting," ("The Social Logic of Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*," *Renaissance Drama* 33 [2004]: 60 n.25).

[3] For Anglo-Dutch working relations see Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996). On the Dutch Church in London see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[4] John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan* (composed and performed 1605); Henry Glapthorne, *The Hollander* (performed 1635); Shackerley Marmion, *Hollands Leaguer* (published 1632).

[5] Laura Hunt Yungblut, "Strangers and Aliaunts: The 'Un-English' among the English in Elizabethan England," *Crossing Boundaries: Issues of Cultural and Individual Identity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Sally McKee (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999) 273. The historiography on Continental immigration to England is vast. Two useful collections of essays on the topic are: *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2001); *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England,* ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

[6] Yungblut, "Strangers and Aliaunts" 273.

[7] Leinwand, *The City Staged* 3-20; A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1642* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992).

[8] Leinwand, *The City Staged* 13.

[9] Ibid., 12.

[10] More recently, scholars have explored city comedy for its "renegotiation, through a focus on the urban site, of England's self-definition and its position in a global arena" (Jean Howard, "Women, Foreigners, and the Regulation of Urban Space in *Westward Ho,*" *Material London, ca. 1600,* ed. Lena Cowen Orlin [Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 2000] 150-167).

[11] Leinwand, *The City Staged* 13.

[12] I place "national" in quotes to underscore that constructions of nationalism were nascent in the early seventeenth century. Neither England nor the Low Countries had settled into what are now recognized as nations. Today's Belgium and Holland consisted then of seventeen different provinces, some Catholic, others Protestant. Jonathan Israel's *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness and Fall*, *1477-1806* (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1995) offers a trenchant political history of the Low Countries' during this period. Britain itself was an idea more than a reality. The crown's claim that Britain unified Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales was hotly contested throughout the seventeenth century. The idea of nationhood, nonetheless, was being worked out in significant ways through literary and cartographic representations. See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

[15] Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. argues that in this passage "brothels function in two ways: on one level, they help preserve the chastity of the wife by giving potential unmarried male adulterers a sexual outlet; on another, they provide that same outlet for philandering husbands" ("All Things Come into Commerce: Women, Household Labor, and the Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*," *Renaissance Drama* 27 [1996]: 27-28). This logic extends back into medieval social justifications for prostitution. Ruth Mazo Karras finds that in the medieval period "one justification given for establishing official brothels, or for tolerating private ones, was the 'lesser evil' argument. Masculine sexuality, particularly that of unmarried men (whether workers and apprentices, who could not afford to marry, or priests, who were not allowed to), was seen as an irrepressible force that needed some sort of outlet. If there were no prostitutes—already fallen women—to provide this outlet, these men would corrupt and cause the fall of 'honest' women" (*Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996] 133). This medieval logic apparently informs Freevill's defense of prostitution.

[16] *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London: W.W. Norton, 1997) 1.1.58-68. All future citations are from this edition.

[17] Jean Howard observes, "seen from Freevill's starkly Anglocentric point of view, the Dutch are not fellow allies in a Protestant cause so much as inhabitants of a convenient buffer zone keeping Spanish troops from attacking England" ("Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan,*" *Shakespeare Studies* 24 [1996]: 108).

[18] Scouloudi, *Returns*. This survey records aliens living in London, the Liberties, and Westminster.

[19] Ibid.

[20] For a full-length study of the Family of Love, see Christopher Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Although Marsh critiques the use of the term "sect" to describe Familists, I retain the term in order to maintain the religious underpinnings of the community as it is imagined in Marston's play.

[21] Sullivan reminds us, "given the failure in the period to draw a sharp distinction between the domestic and economic, a reading that sees the partitioning of space as separating the commercial from the 'private' or familial is problematic" ("All Things Come into Commerce" 24). Because the stage directions do not distinguish between the Mulligrubs' home and their tavern, I assume that there is a fluid boundary between where the Mulligrubs reside and where they do business.

[22] 2.1.84; 2.1. 91; 2.1.92; 2.1.155; 2.1.155; 3.1.225; 3.1.259; 4.2.17; Crane glosses this as "spitfire." (Lat *cacare*= to shit; Sp. *fuego* = fire); 4.3.8; 4.3.15.

[23] Howard emphasizes the mixedness of Franceschina: "her entry into the internationalized marketplace has left her a linguistic monster, called a Dutch courtesan, textually coded as an Italian, and speaking a one-woman Babylonian dialect, as if all the tongues of Pentecost had visited her at once" ("Mastering Difference" 115).

[24] Quoted in E.J. Burford, *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of London Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675* (London: Owen, 1976) 78.

[25] Ibid., 79.

[26] Karras 56.

[27] Ibid., 57.

[28] Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1634-1635* (London: Printed for the Chetham Society, 1844) 55.

[29] Crane ed., *The Dutch Courtesan*, xxv n.12. See also Howard, "Mastering Difference" 115.

[30] The play text is, of course, silent as to how the actor speaking Franceschina's lines pronounced "Ick sal." In performance, an actor may have amplified or minimized the foreignness of sound in stage Dutch speech.

[31] The English often refer to Germanic speaking peoples as Dutch; the German language itself is commonly called "high Dutch" (but also sometimes "Dutch") during this period. Chapter two explores this linguistic history as well as the history of "stage Dutch" in greater detail.

[36] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* 1-65; 311-333. Knowles glosses the exchange thus:

> 1-5 *Ik…Hans?* 'I shall tell you what to say, Hans; this ship that comes from Candy [Crete], is all full, by God's sacrament, of sugar, civet, almonds, cambric, and all things—a thousand, thousand things. Take it, Hans, take it for your master. There are the bills of lading [inventories]. Your master Simon Eyre shall have a good bargain. What say you, Hans?
> 6 *Wat…slopen*. Firks' mockery of the Skipper
> 9 *Mine..Hodge:* My dear brother Firk, bring Master Eyre to the Sign of the Swan [a tavern]. There you will find this skipper and me. What say you, brother Firk? Do it, Hodge.

[37] *"The Defense of Poesy," Sir Philip Sidney: A Critical Edition of the Major Works,* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 248. If to the English ear Dutch was "unfit for poetry," to the Dutch ear English seemed fit for mere "prattling." The Dutch author Emanuel van Meteren characterized the English language as "broken German, mixed with French and British terms, and words, and pronunciation, from which they have also gained a lighter pronunciation, not speaking out of the heart as the Germans, but only prattling with the tongue. Where they have no significant words, they make use of Latin, and sometimes of German and Flemish words" (*History of the Netherlands* (1614), quoted in *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth & James I*, ed. William Brenchley Rye. [New York: B. Bloom, 1976] 71).

[38] My reading of Thomas Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, in chapter two, complicates this portrait of stage Dutch as speech characterized by its cacophonous sounds and characterized as essentially comic.

[39] This term of endearment is one Franceschina repeats throughout the play. Each time the word appears differently on the page. She calls Freevill her "aderliver love" (1.2.81) and later declares "mine aderlievest affection!" (2.2.50-1). She will refer to Malheureux as "O mynheer man, aderliver love," which appears in the Quarto as "a dere liver" (5.1.18). Had the actor delivered *aderliver* as "a dear liver," thus transferring to the liver Franceschina's heart's desire, further mockery of her desire might have been enabled in performance.

[40] See William C. Johnson, "The Family of Love in Stuart Literature: A Chronology of Name-Crossed Lovers," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 7 (1977): 95-112; Richard Levin, "The Family of Lust and *The Family of Love*," *Studies in English Literature*, *1500-1900* 6:2 (1966): 309-22.

[41] Cited in Charles Cathcard, "Lodge, Marston, and The Family of Love," *Notes and Queries* 50:1 (2003): 70.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Jean Dietz Moss, "The Family of Love and English Critics," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 6.1 (1975): 50-51.

[44] Not only were Familists notoriously closed-mouthed about their faith, according to Marsh, they seemed to have held only the most clandestine of meetings. There has been much critical debate regarding the dating of Middleton's *Family of Love*. I follow Marsh (*The Family of Love,* 204) in citing 1603-04.

[45] Quoted in Michael Srigely's "The Influence of Continental Familism in England after 1570," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, *Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia*, Special Issue: "Cultural Exchange between European Nations during the Renaissance" 86 (1994): 100. For another examination of the history of Familism, see Jean Dietz Moss, "Godded with God: Hendrik Niclaes and His Family of Love," *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 71:8 (1981): 1-89. I follow Moss in her spelling of Hendrik Niclaes. She notes that "the name is variously spelled: Heinrich Niclaes, or Niclas, in German references; Nicolas in English." She uses the Dutch form "since the man's origin is obscure and most of his years were spent in the Low Countries" (7 n.1). For a map of areas frequented by Niclaes and the Family of Love—mostly Low Countries, and some German cities—see Moss, "Godded with God" 14.

[46] Srigely, "Influence of Continental Familism" 100.

[48] Moss, "Godded with God" 27 quotes John Rogers, *Displaying* (1579) Fol. E8.

[49] Moss summarizes Van Haemstede's story in "Godded with God" 22-23.

[50] For the ways in which this conflation in James' *Basilikon Doron* might have provoked the Familists' *Supplication* (discussed below) see Marsh, *Family of Love* 200-05.

[51] My use of the phrase "cultural fantasy" has been informed by Wendy Wall's definition of fantasy in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Wall defines fantasy "not simply as the wish of an individual (the *object* of desire) but instead as the cultural setting or syntax for desire" (12). The cultural fantasy that I suggest is developing in the religious-political context of mid-sixteenth century sectarianism links stranger communities in London to faith "imported" from abroad and does so, at times, by conflating "radical" sects with one another in order to amplify their difference from the Anglican church. That the Dutch Stranger church must respond to charges of its minister's Familist (or Anabaptist) sympathies suggests that at the highest clerical levels within the stranger community, those marked as "strangers" were working to jettison this association from their community.

[52] Srigley avers that in the seventeenth century Familism was "absorbed into Quakerism" ("Influence of Continental Familism" 96); Keith Thomas argues that Familists "were a powerful influence upon the Quakers, and barely distinguishable from some of the Ranters" (*Religion and the Decline of Magic* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971] 376). Moss discusses a tract by Henry Hallywell entitled, *An Account of Familism as it is Practiced by the Quakers* (1673), which lends textual weight to the perception of ideological affiliation between Familism and Quakerism ("Godded with God" 67-68). In a work critical of Quakerism, *Snake in the Grass* (1698), the author Charles Leslie "draws direct parallels between Familist and Quaker teachings" (Moss, "Godded with God" 68). But in her final analysis, Moss argues, "there are no names that furnish final proof, no lists of Quakers who admitted to having been Familists" (Ibid., 68).

[53] Srigley, "Influence of Continental Familism" 100.

[54] Ibid., 98. Moss notes that the baptism at thirty is a derivation of Niclaes' teachings and "is similar to that of the Anabaptists" ("Godded with God" 25).

[55] Keith Thomas explains: "The Familists, who held that Christ was 'a Type, and but a Type,' believed that it was possible for man 'totally to be inhabited by Christ.' That is to say, they were perfectionists, envisaging that men could attain a holy state in this existence," (*Religion and the Decline of Magic* 375-76).

[56] Srigely, "Influence of Continental Familism" 98.

[58] Marsh argues that the Family of Love "was established at the court of Elizabeth and James I to a degree that has never previously been realized" (*Family of Love* 16). See Proclamation 652 "Ordering Prosecution of the Family of Love," *Tudor Royal Proclamations* 1553-1587, ed. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 2.474-75. Hughes and Larkin note: "the Privy Council had already been active in efforts to suppress this group in orders of 25 May 1579 . . . and 12 April earlier in the present year [1580]" (2.474 n.1).

[59] Ibid., 2.474.

[60] For more on the perception of the sect as untroubled by strategic disavowal of affiliation, see Marsh, *Family of Love*.

[61] *A supplication of the Family of Loue (said to be presented into the Kings royall hands, knowen to be dispersed among his loyall subiectes) for grace and fauour Examined, and found to be derogatorie in an hie degree, vnto the glorie of God, the honour of our King, and the religion in this realme both soundly professed & firmly established* (London, 1606) 3. The *Supplication* is introduced by an anonymous "Examiner" who quotes from James' *Basilikon Doron* to presume the Familists' "foule . . . and fantasicall opinions" (1). To my knowledge, we do not have the first edition of the *Supplication*; Marsh notes that "the original date of 1604 was given by Samuel Rutherford, who discussed the supplication [in his] *A survey of the spirituall Antichrist* (1648) [page] 168" (*Family of Love* 201 n.13).

[62] In the *Supplication* the Familists declare that they "utterly disclaim & detest . . . the disobedient and erroneous Sectes of the Anabaptistes, Browne, Penrie, Puritanes, & all other proud-minded Sectes" and attempt to persuade the throne that their beliefs are not heretical. According to the text, James responded by demanding that the Familists "professe the same religion with him . . . and laye aside all H.N. his erroneous and detestable writings; if they will approve the Service of the Church of England . . . they neede feare no persecution, or trouble" (*Supplication* 56). For a discussion of James' negative opinions regarding Familism when he was on the Scottish throne, see Janet Halley, "Heresy, Orthodoxy, and the Politics of Religious Discourse: The Case of the English Family of Love," *Representations* 15 (1986): 110.

[63] Marsh, *Family of Love* 203.

[64] *Supplication* 12.

[65] For discussion of the sexualizing of the Catholic, for example, see Francis E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

[66] *Supplication* 15.

[67] For a reading of this play in the context of rumors that Familists held positions of power at James I's court, see Marsh.

[68] Moss notes, "Familist writings confirm that women could become members of the first rank of the very elaborate priestly hierarchy created by Niclaes" ("Family of Love and English Critics" 46).

[69] All references to Middleton's *The Family of Love* are from *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen, Vol. 3 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1885) 2.1.7-15.

[70] *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 72-73.

[71] *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition) "Generality": definition 2; "Speciality": definition 7.

[72] Jean Howard, "Women, Foreigners" 159.

[73] For the conventionality of such gulling in city comedy, see Leinwand, *The City Staged* 53.

[74] 3.3.30-56.

[76] *English Verse Drama Database* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995) 4.1.191.

[77] *Oxford English Dictionary* (New Edition, on-line), "Mulligrub" (n.1.b).

[78] Ibid., n.2. The word could also mean "a state or fit of depression: low spirits. Also: a bad temper or mood" n.1.a.

[79] Wall 6.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Patricia Fumerton, "Introduction," *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1999) 6.

[82] Crane ed., 45 n.10. Throughout the seventeenth century the English link butter consumption to the Dutch going so far as to create an origin myth for Belgium in which the land itself springs from a butter-box (*The Dutch-mens Pedigree* (1653) Thomason/669.f.16 [81]). The Dutch are commonly referred to as "butter-boxes" (boxes for storing butter) in dramatic as well as in satirical texts. In Henry Glapthorne's *The Hollander* (1635), the Dutchman reflects on the weakness of his bodily constitution: "guilty of bacon grease, and potted Butter" (3.1).

[83] Gordon Williams asserts, "women who made or sold butter were proverbially fractious . . . they might also be wanton" (*The Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 1 [London: Althone Press, 1994] 181).

[84] Howard, "Women, Foreigners" 154.

[85] Howard, "Mastering Difference" 107.

[86] All references are drawn from The Revel's Plays edition, edited by Paul A. Mulholland (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1987).

[87] Mulholland, *Appendix E*.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] One clue to the date of this image is the rose or flower on Moll's shoe. According to Phillis Cunnington & Willett Cunnington, "after 1610 the bow was usually replaced by a large rosette called a 'rose'. This was ready-made and concealed the tie beneath" (*Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century* [London: Faber, 1972] 56). The title page, then, depicts a fashion that was *en vogue* the year *The Roaring Girl* was performed. I suspect that the image was produced *for* the play's title page. It does not appear in Ruth Samson Luborsky's and Elizabeth Morely Ingram's *A guide to English Illustrated books, 1536-1603*

(Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).

[91] The audience learns that Moll has ordered a pair of "dutch slops" be made for her in act two, scene two, which we will explore in detail below.

[92] Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 14.

[93] Ibid., 5.

[94] See especially: Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde Freud to Foucault* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 297; Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 152; Jean Howard, *"Crossdressing, the Theater, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England," Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Crossdressing,* ed. Leslie Ferris (London: Routledge, 1993) 20-46; Marjorie Garber, "The Logic of the Transvestite: *The Roaring Girl (1608),*" *Staging the Renaissance*, eds. David Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (London: Routledge, 1991) 232; Tracey Sedinger, "'If Sight and Shape Be True': The Epistemology of Crossdressing on the London Stage," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48:1 (1997): 70.

[95] There is some evidence that Dutch strangers living within London continued to wear the fashions of the Low Countries. In an appeal to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1593, the Dutch church of London attempted to protect its members from abuses by London merchants. In one description of an abused Dutch merchant, the Church characterizes the man as a poor tailor whose family and wife "doe weare apparel but after Dutch fashion" (quoted in Scouloudi, *Returns* 68 n.6).

[96] Quoted in Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, "case."

[97] *Oxford English Dictionary* "case" cites: 1593 NASHE *Christ's T.* 73b

[98] The slippage between thievery and prostitution is also evident when Sir Alexander, in his trap to catch Moll in the process of stealing, says: "Place that o'the court-cupboard, let it lie Fill in the view of her thief-whorish eye" (4.1.16-17).

[99] Gordon Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 1 (London: Althone Press, 1994).

[100] These temptations are spread over the course of the play. Moll's virtue in not being tempted is summed up by Trapdoor in 5.2.235-241.

[101] In *Counterfeit Ladies* (1994), a critical edition of both Mary Frith's *Life* and Mary Carleton's *Case,* Janet Todd and Elizabeth Spearing argue that Nathan Field's play, *Amends for Ladies,* first published in 1618, was "probably written and acted several years earlier"; perhaps it was contemporary with *The Roaring Girl* (*Counterfeit Ladies* [New York: New York University Press, 1994] xv). Nathan Field later re-titled his play, *Amends for Ladies With the merry prankes of Moll Cut-Purse*; since "Moll Cut-Purse makes only one brief appearance it must have seemed that her notoriety would be good box office or good for the publisher's receipts" (Ibid., xvi). Todd and Spearing note that "there is an entry in the *Stationer's Register* in 1610 of *A Booke called the Madde Pranks of Merry Mall of Banckside, with her Walks in Mans Apparel and to what Purpose. Written by Jon Day*, which supports the impression that Frith, in her twenties, had emerged as a well-known figure at that point; no copy of any such work survives, however, it may never have been printed" (Ibid., xvi). Todd and Spearing assert that the publication date for *The Roaring Girl* post-dates the play's performance.

[102] This text includes its own visual image of an aged Mary Frith, framed by a monkey, a hawk-like bird, and what looks like a tiny lion. In this image she dons an unadorned hat and a long collarless coat. The text

below admonishes the reader against the "pilfring Trade" and remarks on the "doublet and breeches in a Uniform dresse" of the book's protagonist.

[103] Todd and Spearing xi.

[104] Todd and Spearing xii. For ease of discussion, I will follow the convention of Todd and Spearing in referring to the narrator of the *Works* as Mary Frith.

[105] Ibid., 71.

[106] Ibid., 33.

[107] Ibid., 33.

[108] Ibid., 22.

[109] Ibid., 23.

[110] *Officium Domini Contra Mariam Frith* in the *Consistory of London Correction Book* 27 January 1612 reproduced in Mulholland ed. 262-3.

[111] Todd and Spearing 25.

[112] Ibid., 58.

[113] Todd and Spearing note that Elizabeth Holland ran "a famous brothel…in an old manor house on the Bankside. It may have gained the name leaguer (a besieged military camp) when under siege by the authorities, but it is also a joke on its mistress's name, as the term was a Dutch one," (144. n.313).

[114] The incident of the siege of "Holland's leaguer" became the topic of ballads, one "history" and a play in the 1630s: "News from Holland's Leaguer: Or, Hollands Leager is lately up broken, This for a certaine is spoken. To the tune of, Canons are roaring" in *A Pepysian Garland: Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1659, Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) 400-5; Nicholas Goodman, *Hollands leaguer: or, An historical discourse of the life and actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia the arch-mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia Wherein is detected the notorious sinne of panderisme, and the execrable life of the luxurious impudent* (London 1632); Shackerley Marmion, *Hollands leaguer An excellent comedy as it hath bin lately and often acted with great applause, by the high and mighty Prince Charles his Servants; at the private house in Salisbury Court* (London 1632).

[115] Todd and Spearing 51.

[116] Ibid., 54.

[117] 1.2.204-5

[118] In *Newes from Graves-End* (1604), a dying rake is thus described: "His marrow wasted with is treasures" on "Painted harlots"; Middleton's *Fair Quarrel* (c.1617) describes how "three were buried near Marybone Park; . . . a pander, a bawd, and a whore, That suck'd man dry to the bones before," (quotations are drawn from Williams: "marrow" and "marrow-bone.")

[119] Orgel 151.

[120] The 1631 publication of *The Staple of Newes* notes that the "comedy was acted in 1625."

[121] For discussion of the Anglo-Dutch fishing conflict in the North Sea, see George Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). Edmundson discusses Hugo Grotius's treatise *Mare Liberum* and how it challenged the principle of a *dominium maris* that England's Kings had used to claim rights to the "narrow seas," (25-6).

[122] Shirly, J. *A Pastorall Called the Arcadia* (1640), Act 5.

[123] Fletcher, *The Prophetesse* (1647), Act 3, Scene 2.

[124] Fletcher, *The Womans Prize* (1647), Act 4, Scene 1.

[125] Later in act two, Moll gives new life to the terms of doubleness that both Laxton and Sir. Alexander have deployed to connect her to the monstrous and alien:

> I have no humour to marry. I love
> to lie o'both sides o'th'bed myself; and again, o'th'other
> side, a wife, you know, ought to be obedient, but I fear me
> I am too headstrong to obey, therefore I'll ne'er go about
> It . . . I have the head now of myself,
> and am man enough for a woman; marriage is but a chop-
> ping and changing, where a maiden loses one head, and
> has a worse i'th'place. (2.2.36-45)

[126] Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997) 4.1.113-137.

[127] "Sex and Social Conflict: The Erotics of *The Roaring Girl*," in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992), 181.

[128] Wendy Wall in *Staging Domesticity* defines fantasy "not simply as the wish of an individual (the *object* of desire) but instead as the cultural setting or syntax for desire" (12). Wall follows Butler who writes the following when "elaborating the work of Laplance and Pontalis, 'Fantasy…is to be understood not as an activity of an already formed subject, but the staging and dispersion of the subject into a variety of identificatory positions'" (12).

[129] Mulholland ed., 107 n.174.

[130] Ibid.

[131] For a trenchant examination of the connection between Moll and the market, see Valerie Forman's "Marked Angels: Counterfeits, Commodities, and *The Roaring Girl*" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 1531-1560.

[132] Marjorie Garber, "The Logic of the Transvestite: *The Roaring Girl* (1608)," *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, eds. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[133] Forman, "Marked Angels" 1544-46.

[134] Jean Howard in her essay "Crossdressing, The Theater, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England" notes that in *Hic Mullier* (1620) "crossdressed women are accused . . . of excessive sexual appetite. With their short waists and French doublets 'all unbotton'd to entice,' they 'give a most easie way to every luxurious action'(A4v)" (*Shakespeare Quarterly* [1998]: 424). So it would seem that the French doublet could be understood as amplifying the luxury and excess as well as the promiscuity signified by the Dutch

slops. Stallybrass and Jones argue: "the materiality of the foreign cloth and dye effected a material dislocation, fracturing the wearer's body into conflicting kingdoms" (66).

[135] James Robinson Planché, *A Cyclopaedia of Costume or Dictionary of Dress, including notices of contemporaneous fashions on the continent; a general chronological history of the costumes of the principal countries of Europe, from the commencement of the Christian era to the accession of George the Third* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876-79) 469.

[136] Ibid., 469.

[137] Ibid., 470.

[138] Ibid., 470.

[139] C. Willet Cunnington & Phillis Emily Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*. 3rd ed. (London: Faber, 1972) 122.

[140] In fact, Planché opens his definition of "slops" by correcting Mr. Fairholt's oversight on this score: "Mr Fairhold has 'SLOPS, the wide Dutch breeches *mentioned by* Chaucer, and again introduced during the reign of Elizabeth.'" Planché continues, "I can scarcely account for this oversight. Chaucer's words are: 'Upon that other side, to speak of that horrible disordinate scantiness of clothing as be these *cut slops or hanselines,* that through their shortness and the wrapping of their hose, which are departed of two colours—white and red, white and blue, white and black, or black and red—make the wearer seem as though the firs of St. Anthony, or other such mischance, had cankered and consumed one-half of their bodies.'" Planché wonders, "What allusion is there to be found in this passage to 'Dutch breeches'?" (469) It would seem that the eventual connection between slops and the Dutch has been read back into Chaucer even when Chaucer himself makes no reference to the Dutch.

[141] *The Norton Shakespeare,* ed., Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997).

[142] *The Alchemist*, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[143] Ibid., 496.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Trapdoor makes clear that Moll has changed into the Dutch slops when he forewarns Sir Alexander that Moll's "black safeguard is turned into a deep slop" (3.3.25-6). By act four, Moll's appearance on the Fortune stage must have looked something quite like the title page image of the 1611 quarto.

[146] Louis Adrian Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," *Representations* 2 (1983): 61-94.

Chapter 3

"By Common Language Resembled": Productions of Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Kinship

Writing from Holland, the Englishman Thomas Scott begins his polemic in support of the resumption of the United Provinces' war for independence against Spain with a curious remark:

> Let us now . . . goe to . . . the United Provinces, and considering her wayes, learn to be wise. Neither need wee be ashamed of such Tutors, who come of the same race originally as we do, as our speech witnesseth.[1]

Scott's *The Belgicke Pismire,* published in 1622, positions the United Provinces as a "tutor" to the English people, their state, and its sea-faring Corporations.[2] As the text's titular pismires (ants), the Holladers' diligent management of the domestic sphere, organization of their provinces, and abilities at sea persuade Scott to implore his countrymen, "let us weave our selves more closely together [with the United Provinces], and tye our selues inseparably in a true-loues knot."[3] Throughout Scott's text, Hollanders are imagined as edifying their English neighbors on multiple levels. Less prone to trends in fashion and more satisfied by a "homely" diet, they save what Englishmen spend on foreign commodities; their State-funded almshouses better care for the poor and elderly; and the Dutch cleverly turn their greatest enemies, the sea and wind, to journey-men working on their behalf in the form of canals and windmills. England and the United Provinces share a common interest in suppressing the imperial ambitions of Spain, Scott reminds his reader. To that end he suggests that the English and Dutch might "unite our trades" in the East Indies and "bring both Nations into one Corporation."[4] The broad imperative of Scott's project is to draw a closer alliance between England and the United Provinces. As tutors, the admirable Hollanders of Scott's text differ enough from the English that Scott's countrymen might "learn to be wise" by their example. Customs, manners, and habits, what in chapter one we explored as

plastic variables of ethnic distinction, are understood by Scott to differentiate the English from their Dutch tutors. However, these are but "small differences," according to Scott, "which will be betwixt Nation and Nation, even by the different temperature of the soyle and ayre, or other naturall accidents, as betwixt brother and brother in a house"; but for these minor differences, Scott declares, "wee agree well, and seeme as if wee were one people."[5]

Beneath the surface of Scott's appeal for Anglo-Dutch political alliance lies the story of ancient kinship, racial similitude, and a history of Anglo-Dutch proximate relations. This history, as Scott inherited it, begins to unfold when we ask how the seventeenth century reader made sense of Scott's unqualified assertion that the English and Dutch "come of the same race . . . as our language witnesseth." On its face, the political motivation for Scott's claim is clear: he wishes to naturalize Anglo-Dutch alliance by short-circuiting the complex apparatus of the state with an argument that recalls an "original" alliance rooted in "race." For Scott this is the ultimate "true-loves knot," which has been loosed by false suspicions between the neighboring states. Less clear, however, is the logic governing the idea that the Dutch and English peoples *were* the "same race," and how Dutch and English languages were thought to "witness" this racial thesis. This chapter aims to untie the "true-loves knot" that Scott imagines binds his English countrymen to their neighbors in the Netherlands by exploring the pre-history of Scott's racial assertion.

Decades before Scott's essay and again in polemic surrounding England's intervention in the Low Countries' efforts to throw off the yoke of Spain, Anglo-Dutch political alliance is naturalized by reference to linguistic kinship. *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries* (1585) declares:

> in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitt in auncient friendship to this realm then to any other countrie, wee are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long tyme with more cause and grief generally, then of our subjects of this realme of Englande, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our realm of England and those countries have been by common language resembled and termed as man and wife.[6]

Shared anti-Spanish politics and Protestant religious sympathies are figured forth in the metaphor of a "common language" uniting "man and wife." This chapter will suggest that something more concretely philological is also anticipated in these metaphors. At the turn of the seventeenth century the idea that England and the Low Countries share a common language emerges not merely as a metaphor for political alliance, fueled by the jingoistic anti-Spanish fervor of the period, but as its own philological argument implicating the English and the Dutch in racial kinship. On both sides of the North Sea, Dutch and English authors involved in the antiquarian movement, which "developed out of the convergence of Renaissance historical scholarship with Reformation concerns about national identity and religious ancestry," were advancing a thesis that emphasized the propinquity of English and Dutch language, English and Dutch peoples.[7] Many in the antiquarian movement emphasized the Teutonic origins of English and in so doing linked the linguistic and cultural histories of the English and Dutch. Both English and Dutch authors emphasized the relatedness of northern European—particularly English and Dutch—peoples in surprising, even politically risky, ways.

The debates of poets, philologists, and the educated elite, explored in part one of this chapter, were by no means uncritically witnessed or evenly adopted in other discursive realms. Dramatists as well as playbook readers of the period were also actively exploring the degree and kind of relation forged by English and Dutch speech in representation. This chapter traces the struggle to define the relation of English to Dutch as it was represented in three domains: in the philological debates about the history of English, on the stage in the form of Dutch and English speech, and on the printed pages of early seventeenth century playbooks. The ideologies circulating in these three discursive and representational domains occasionally cross-pollinate; other times each domain exercises its own logic, and its own internal, generic and historical motivations stop short of influencing the others. In taking up an analysis of three different discursive and representational domains—language as history, language as speech, and language as text—"By Common Language Resembled" aims to reveal conjunctions and disjunctions that

would otherwise remain imperceptible. In so tracing the intellectual inheritance that makes possible Thomas Scott's assertion of a racial kinship based in language, the frayed and uneven lines of thought in the cultural history of the English language and its work as a carrier of identity emerge. Throughout, a focus on ideologies of language and their relations to race and nationhood unites the sections. By tracing the pre-history of Scott's assertion through these different domains, I contend that we glimpse the making of an ethnic, even racial, [8] correspondence between the English and the Dutch.

I

Our Two-headed English Tongue: The Stranger and the Inkhorn

> All the words which we do use in our tung be either naturall English,
> and most of one syllab, or borrowed of the foren, and most of manie syllabs.
> Whereby our tung semeth to have two heds, the one homebornd,
> the other a stranger.
>
> Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the Elementarie,* 1582.[9]

Historians of the English language agree that an important shift in perceptions about the English vernacular took place over the course of the last third of the sixteenth century, when English—once considered bereft of expressiveness, rude, even barbarous—was endowed with positive qualities.[10] Richard Foster Jones finds that in the late sixteenth century, perceptions of English vernacular shift away from characterizations of the language as barbarous and toward notions of English eloquence: "the suddenness with which writers began to recognize the eloquent nature of the mother tongue enables us to date the turning point not earlier than 1575 nor later than 1580."[11] In *Early Modern English,* Charles Barber summarizes this ideological transition:

> For the most part . . . the attitude to English in the early Tudor period was apologetic . . . by the end of the end of the sixteenth century, uncomplimentary comparisons of English with other languages have largely disappeared; and the seventeenth century writers are more likely to go to the other extreme, and boast of the superiority of English to other languages.[12]

The late-sixteenth century debates regarding the value of English, in relation especially to Latin and French, have aptly been coined the "inkhorn controversy," a phrase that recalls the instrument

into which authors dipped their quills for writing. The inkhorn became the central image of debates regarding the aesthetic value of English for humanist pursuits. The debates were divisive, as Richard Bailey notes: "the argument about English . . . resolved itself into two distinct and opposing views. One side sought to enhance the "purity" of English to foster simplicity and uniformity . . . The other celebrated 'copiousness' and 'eloquence'."[13] Linguistic purity was opposed to copious mixedness and the inkhorn became a metaphor of measurement for this opposition. As a symbolic instrument of measurement, the inkhorn revealed the purity of an English text—the more ink spilt in writing, the lengthier and therefore more foreign the words and text. George Gascoigne summed up the case in *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse and ryme in English* (1575): "The most auncient English wordes are of one sillable, so that the more monosyllables that you use the truer Englishman you shall seeme, and the less you shall smell of the Inkehorne."[14] Antithetically, the more ink conserved, the purer, more "naturall" the English text. The inkhorn was a reservoir whose capacity indicated the dissolution or consolidation of a pure English. From the position of both purists (who rejected foreign borrowings) and archaizers (who advocated the discovery and redeployment of Old English vocabulary instead of borrowing from classical and continental lexicons), inkhorn terms diluted the value of English.

To be charged with "smelling of the inkhorn," then, implicated one in excessive consumption of foreign languages, as well as linguistic and cultural miscegenation. In *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham chafes against the vice of linguistic "mingle mangle":

> Another of your intolerable vi[c]es is that which . . . we may call the (*mingle mangle)* as whe[n] we make our speech or writings of sundry languages using some Italian word, or French, or Spanish, or Dutch, or Scottish, not for the nonce or for any purpose (which were in part excusable) but ignorantly and affectedly.[15]

Similarly, in *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579), EK bemoans that authors make of English a "hodgepodge" and "galimaufray" of other languages:

> They patched up the holes with peces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latine, not weighing how il, those tongues

> accord with themselves, but much worse with ours: So now they have made our English tongue, a gallimaufray or hodgepodge of al other speeches.[16]

By evoking a "gallimaufray," a dish made up of odds and ends, this passage imagines the English mouth as consumer and producer of cultural "hodgepodge." In other words, linguistic mixedness underscores an English disposition toward other kinds of cultural mixedness, from fashion (the English body adorned in patchy rags) to diet. Like Richard Mulcaster's imagined English tongue—which "semeth to have two heds, the one homebornd, the other a stranger"—in *The Shepheardes Calendar* the English tongue is again fractured, patched up with "rags of other languages."

From the perspective of purists and archizers, an important part of what was at stake in the inkhorn controversy was stabilizing Englishness itself, a problem that manifest itself in almost all expressions of English identity throughout the early modern period. Thomas Wilson in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) warned that the use of inkhorn terms estranges English peoples from one another, one generation from the next:

> Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that wee never affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speak as is commonly received . . . Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were alive, thei were not able to tell what they say.[17]

Here the changeableness of English undermines any fantasy of consolidating identity—familial, local, ethnic or national—around claims of linguistic unity. Wilson's narrative of linguistic miscegenation imagines a local, inter-generational myth of Babel taking place across the Kingdom, where mothers and children no longer share a "mother tongue," where the language of the homeland becomes literally out-landish. Similar images of linguistic miscegenation abound in the drama of the period wherein, for instance, the English suitors in William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1598) worry that should they lose their suit in marriage to the Dutch, Italian, and French strangers, "a litter of Languages" would "spring up amongst us."[18] In the philological debates and in the drama of the period, threats to English identity are regularly thematized as the dissolution of English word-stock.

Enfranchized Speech: The Stranger-made-Denizen

> The alteration and innovation in our tongue as in others, hath beene brought in by entrance of Strangers . . . by enfranchising and endenizing strange words.
> William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain,* 1605.[19]

As a ubiquitous and powerful image for those who advocated a purist language policy, the inkhorn proved a difficult symbol to co-opt by those who "celebrated [the] copiousness and eloquence" of English. Instead, such advocates strategically deployed the figure of the "denizen" to describe more positively English's relation to other languages. To conjure the denizen within the context of the language debate was to trouble the binary opposition that subtended the symbolic economy of the inkhorn. The denizen, in legal and social parlance, was a once-stranger who, through an appeal to the City, an act of Parliament or Royal Proclamation, had been recognized to have some of the legal rights of a natural-born English subject.[20] The denizen is a subject who had been "made," who had once been a stranger and, through the mechanisms of the state, been translated into a subject less strange.

As an identity expressed in terms of alterity *in process of transition*, the denizen became an especially charged figure in the language debates. For Richard Mulcaster, first headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London, the denizen stood for the positive value of English's mixedness. In *The First Part of the Elementarie Which Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of our English Tung* (1582), an analysis of the education of his time, Mulcaster argued that it was precisely a linguistic flexibility and willingness to incorporate foreign terms that rendered English a venerable "tongue of account":

> If the spreading sea, and the spacious land could use any speech, they would both show you, where, and in how many strange places, they have seen our people, and also give you to wit, that they deal in as much, and as great variety of matters, as any other people do, whether at home or abroad. Which is the reason why our tongue doeth serve so many uses, because it is conversant with so many people, and so well aquainted with so many matters, in so sundry kinds of dealing. Now all this variety of matter, and diversity of trade, make both matter for our speech, and mean to enlarge it. For he that is so practiced, will utter that, which he practiseth in his natural tongue, and if the strangeness of the matter do so require, he that is to utter, rather than he will stick in his utterance, will use the foreign term, by way of premunition, that the country people do call it so, and by that mean make a foreign word, an English denizen.[21]

Trade, commerce, and traffic with strangers "require[s]" that a "tongue of account" incorporate foreign words.[22] Here positive affirmation of the mixedness of the English language depends upon reference to a broader logic of the state—particularly, an evolving logic of English citizenship—by which the immigration of foreign and alien subjects might (ideally) be classified and regulated. In Mulcaster's text, the process of linguistic denization controls foreign and domestic interplay. Foreign words immigrate into the English lexicon and exist in a relation of forced assimilation rather than linguistic pluralism:

> This benefit of the foren tung, which we use in making their termes to becom ours, with some alteration in form, according to the frame of our speche, tho with the continewing in substance of those words, which are so used, that it maie appear both whence theie come, and to whom theie come, I call *enfranchisment*, by which verie name the words that are so *enfranchised,* become bond to the rules of our writing, which I have named before, as the stranger denisons be to the lawes of our cuntrie . . . I think it best for the strange words to yield to our lawes, bycause we ar both their usuaries & fructuaries, both to enjoy their frutes, and to use themselues, and that as near as we can, we make them mere English, as *Justinian* did make the incorporate peple, mere *Romanes.*[23]

For Mulcaster, the legislative frame of English grammar works on foreign words to "bond" them to the "rules of our writing." Such grammatical bondage is positively portrayed as an act of enfranchisement characterized by alteration and restriction of the 'foren tung.' Analogously, stranger denizens are bound to the "laws of our cuntrie." Though in the passage above Mulcaster's denizen deconstructs the binary positions that polarized debate in the inkhorn controversy, what emerges is not a celebratory picture of linguistic multiplicity. Instead, what Mulcaster proposes is a restrictive and regulated version of linguistic and cultural assimilation. The successful enfranchisement of foreign words transforms what was foreign out of itself as it is pressed into an English mold. Almost two decades later, William Camden echoes Mulcaster when he writes:

> The alternation and innovation in our tongue as in all others, hath beene brought in by entrance of Strangers, as Danes, Normans, and others which have swarmed hither, by trafficke, for new words as well as for new wares….it hat beene beautified and enriched out of other good tongues, partly by enfranchising and endenizing strange words, partly by refining and mollifying olde words.[24]

For Camden, the strategy by which foreign words are "enfranchised" includes the process of "endenizing" or naturalization.[25] For both authors, the stranger-made-denizen serves as an exemplar of successful incorporation of foreign words into English speech in large part because such incorporation attests to England's ability to beautify and enrich the "others which have swarmed hither."

Unlike the inkhorn, the denizen was put to use at both ends of the debate. For example, Samuel Daniel's *Defense of Ryme* (1603) rejects the positive notion of linguistic enfranchisement by recasting the denizen as a symbol of cultural anarchy:

> Next to this deformitie stands our affection, wherein we always bewray [sic] our selves to be both unkinde, and unnaturall to our owne native language, in disguising or forging strange or unusall wordes, as if it were to make our verse seeme an other kind of speech out of the course of our usuall practise, displacing our wordes, or inventing new, onley upon a singularity, when our owne accustomed phrase, set i[n t]he due place, would expresse us more familiarly and to better delight, than all this idle affection of antiquitie, or noveltie can ever doe. And I can not but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously adventure to introduce any whatsoever forraine wordes, be they never so strange; and of themselves as it were, without a Parliament, without any consent or allowances, establish them as Free-denizens in our language.[26]

Such impassioned rhetoric effects a conflation of the subject of the passage (forraine wordes) with its figurative vehicle (the denizen). For Mulcaster the denizen pointed up the stability of the grammatical framework of English (the foreign word made denizen is "bond to the rules of our writing"), as well as the strength of the legislative framework of the English state, which could incorporate and enfranchise the stranger as denizen. For Daniel, the denizen is, conversely, a figure of deceit, an unregulated, "disguised" border-crosser who, having arrived, declares himself "free-denizen." Whereas the inkhorne's symbolic logic reinforced the binarism of debate, the denizen proved a contested figure, in one instance an exemplar of cultural assimilation, in another an unwanted and deceptive stranger existing outside the laws of English grammar and the English state.

Within the context of the sixteenth century language debates, the inkhorn and the denizen emerge as figures which differently represent border-crossing, linguistic assimilation, and cultural

mixedness.[27] Though the inkhorn and the denizen are put in service of different ideological positions, as expressions of ideals they emphasized linguistic difference over sameness, a position exemplified by the so-called "purists" who bemoaned linguistic encounter because they thought it polluted, contaminated, and diluted the imagined purity of English. In the context of these debates, the non-English speaking stranger was cast either as an agent of linguistic miscegenation or as a figure of potential assimilation, one who could be made "mere English." As such, the debates ascribe an essential alterity to both the foreign word and the stranger who carries it into the realm.

The Teutonic Thesis: A Racial Turn in the Language Debates

> For there is no man, I suppose, but will readily allow, that those People which Speak the same Language, must necessarily be derived from one common original.
>
> Camden, *Britannia* (1586)[28]

With the turn of the seventeenth century, another logic was introduced, one with its own attendant historical narrative that stresses the linguistic and ontological relatedness of the English to their "familiar neighbours." Whereas sixteenth century debates depended primarily upon an assumption about the differences between languages, early seventeenth century antiquarians advanced a genealogy of language that made families of neighboring language groups. Here a racial logic—coextensive of the linguistic arguments—takes hold, implicating the English and Dutch in racial as well as linguistic kinship.

Historians of the English language contend that at the turn of the seventeenth century there was a pronounced shift, especially among antiquarians, who placed "stress upon [English's] Saxon element."[29] Richard F. Jones characterizes this interest in narratives of linguistic origins as a "Teutonic mania" or Nordic craze:

> Its chief characteristic was an opinion, which, drawing heavily upon Tacitus, extravagantly praised the Germans and all things German. The history of the Teutons was elaborated upon in connection with the origin and dispersal of human races, and their far-flung migrations were pointed out as evidence of great excellence . . . Many and long were the treatises on these matters, and intricate and imaginative the theories evolved, but they were always so managed as to redound to Teutonic glory. And more than once the

> Saxons are singled out as especially blessed with all the virtues attributed to the Germans as a whole.[30]

While historians of the English language and critics writing on the emergence of early modern national identity have long recognized the importance of the Teutonic thesis to constructions of English identity, none have explored the ways in which the Teutonic thesis creates a logic that links the English to the Dutch in racial kinship.[31] These links emerge within linguistic debates sometimes by direct assertion; other times racial kinship is implied by the historical and geographic discussions used to support this strand of philology. Reading not only for the Teutonic thesis, but also for the arguments that subtend that thesis, demands we approach early seventeenth century philology as an argument with both expressed and embedded logics. These embedded theses imply racial kinships that cut across emerging articulations of English nationalism. As we will see, Teutonism (sometimes referred to as English Gothicism) has the problematic effect of linking together much of northern Europe in racial kinship. The search for the "origins" of the English language and exploration of its connection to other Germanic languages is expressed as a search for the origins of the Saxon people. The stories that unfold emphasize the relatedness of the English to their near neighbors and implicate, in particular, the English and the Dutch in a shared ethno-linguistic, ultimately racial, heritage.

English authors asserting the Teutonic thesis begin doing so at a moment when "British" nationalism depends in part upon what Paula Blank has called a program of Anglicanization: "the process by which English forms began to infiltrate foreign languages abroad [. . . which] proceeded largely without intervention, as a reflex of cultural evolution rather than a consequence of deliberate reform."[32] While, on the one hand, in the political sphere differences between English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish were often "marginalized or suppressed" in order to unify the realm, on the other hand, "Renaissance English writers incorporate the speech of the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scottish into the province of English letters," and in so doing "dramatize the differences in language."[33] The program of Anglicanization and the politics of imagining a

linguistically unified Britain are different expressions of nationalism in the making. The Teutonic thesis, which asserts the Saxon heritage of the English as primary, expands claims of linguistic kinship well beyond the domain circumscribed by Britain's monarch, and so fails to align with either deliberate or unintentional expressions of British nationhood. In other words, Teutonism resists framing English's history within the confines of the realm, drawing connections and forging relations across emerging nationalist boundaries.

In 1605 two texts asserting the Teutonic origins of the English people were published, William Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* and Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence.* Critical work on English nationalism has focused on the fact that both authors press for a revisionist history of the English people, a history that emphasizes Saxon influence as predominate in English history.[34] In emphasizing the global shift that these texts propose—the reassigning of English origins to a Germanic rather than Roman line of descent—scholars have tended to overlook how the specific ways in which the antiquarians' revisionist argument re-imagines northern, proximate relations.

Although Verstegan's *Restitution* may have influenced Camden, Cornelius Tacitus's essay *On the Origin and Geography of Germany*, composed in 98 BCE, rediscovered in the fifteenth century, and subsequently translated into English, deeply influenced Camden's narrative of English history.[35] In his earlier chorographical work, *Britannia* (1586),[36] Camden had begun to advance a notion of linguistic nationalism, arguing that languages were:

> the surest evidence of the original of a nation. For there is no man, I suppose, but will readily allow, that those People which speak the same Language, must necessarily be derived from one common original.[37]

In *Remains*, Camden emphasizes the Germanic origins of the English language in an effort to dispel what he recognizes as the culturally dominant but specious Brutus legend that had long served as the founding myth of Britain.[38] Early in his chapter entitled "The Languages," Camden asserts:

> The English-Saxon tongue came in by the English-Saxons out of Germany . . . The English tongue is extracted, as the nation, from the Germans the most glorious of all now extant in Europe for their morall, and martiall virtues, and preserving the libertie entire, as also for propagating their language by the Francs, the Burgundians, in this Isle by the English-Saxons, in Italie by the *Heruli*, West-Gothes, Vandales, & Lombardes, in Spaine by the Suevians, and Vandales.[39]

Despite the influence of Latin and the linguistic invasion of the Norman conquest, "ancient Saxon, I mean . . . the tongue which the English used at their first arrival here, about 440 yeares after Christs birth," was retained due to "our Ancestors stedfasness in esteeming and retaining their own tongue."[40] The quality of steadfastness that Camden esteems in his English ancestors is manifest *par excellence* by "the Germans, which have most of all Nations opposed themselves against all innovations in habite, and language."[41] Camden's thesis would have registered as a strong but not original argument to his seventeenth century audience. Two years earlier in *Historia Britannica,* John Clain ventured: "the English tongue is a mixture of many languages, especially German and French, although it is believed that formerly it was altogether German."[42] Clain's qualified assertion of English's indebtedness to the Germanic tongue was politic, for, as Charles Barber recalls:

> the Tudors had cultivated their Welsh ancestry and the old Celtic legends as part of their mystique, and James I continued this policy: it was no accident that the Ancient British and Trojan material played a prominent part in the courtly masques and entertainments of Elizabeth I and James I. An attack on theories of Celtic origins for the English nation was an attack on part of the mythology of the ruling dynasty . . . there was a period in the first half of the seventeenth century during which the authorities tended to regard antiquarian and Anglo-Saxon studies as something subversive.[43]

Camden's contemporary Richard Verstegan therefore ventured boldly when he dedicated his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence In Antiquities Concerning the Most Noble and Renowmed [sic] English nation* (1605) to King James: "'the chiefest Blood-Royal of our ancient English-Saxon Kings,' and thus with one stroke cast aside the Stuart claim to British ancestry and James's vision of himself as a second Arthur."[44] Verstegan went so far as to illustrate the arrival of the Saxons into England (eg., figure 2). For Verstegan, the ancestry of "so honorable a race" had

been obscured by the prevailing poetic traditions that linked English ancestry to the Britons, descendants of the Welsh, rather than to the Saxons whom, he argues, came out of Germany.[45]

2. "The aryval [of] the first Anceters [sic]," *Restitution* (1605), page 117, STC (2nd ed.) / 21361

Verstegan thus ventures to recover the "true originall and honorable antiquity":

> [which] lieth involved and obscured, and we remaining ignorant of our own true anceters, understand our descent otherwise then it is, deeming it enough for us to heare that *Eneas* and his Troyans the supposed anceters [sic] of King *Brute* and his Britans are largely discoursed of . . . And by this meanes cometh it to passe, that wee not only fynde Englishmen (and those no idiots neither) that cannot directly tel from whence Englishmen are descended, and chanceing to speak of the Saxons, do rather seem to understand them for a kind of forreyn people, then as their own true and meer anceters . . . for Englishmen cannot but from Saxon originall derive . . . and can lack no honor to be descended of so honorable a race, and therefore are the more in honor obliged to know and acknowledge such their own honorable and true descent.[46]

English "descent," "origin," and "race" are the central concerns of Verstegan's project and language is key to recovering and restoring this history to its rightful place.[47] The mandate of Verstegan's revisionist project is the reorientation of the English toward their true, northern, Saxon origins. As an effect of this reorientation, the English are linked not only to the Germans but, more specifically, to the Dutch.

Verstegan's text is replete with assertions of the Germanic origins of English, a thesis boldly underscored in the second chapter title: "How the ancient noble Saxons, the true anceters

[sic] of Englishmen, were originally a people of Germanie, and how honorable it is for Englishmen to be descended from the Germans." Throughout, Verstegan ascribes value to the German "race" in order that his readers might not only find persuasive but desirable the genealogy he insists is their own. Verstegan boasts, "what a highly renowmed [sic] and moste honorable nation the Germans have always bin, that thereby it may consequently appeer how honorable it is for Englishmen to bee from them descended."[48] In order to make palatable this historical narrative, Verstegan lays out three distinguishing and laudable features of the German people drawn from "testimonies which ancient authors of other nations, do give them":

> The first therefore & moste memorable, & worthy of moste renowme and glorie, is, that they have bin the only and ever possessors of their countrey, to wit, the first people that ever inhabited it, no antiquitie being able to tel us that ever any people have dwelt in *Germaie* save only the Germans themselves, who yet unto this day do there hold their habitation.
>
> Secondly they were never subdued by any, for albeit that the Romans with exceeding great cost, losse & long trooble, might come to bee the comaunders of some parte thereof; yet of the whole never, as of *Gallia, Spain* & many other countries else, they were.
>
> Thirdly they have ever kept themselves unmixed with forrain people, and their language without mixing it with any forrain toung.
>
> In al which three pointes of greatest, national honor, I doubt whether any people els in the world can challenge to have equalitie with them.[49]

The German "race" is imagined autochthonous, un-subdued by and unwilling to mix with "forrain people." In so being, they escape the very crisis of mixedness that had dogged English efforts to attach value to their vernacular throughout the inkhorn controversy of the previous century.[50]

Verstegan's discussion of the Germans emphasizes similitude among the Germanic "race" of people whose lineage can be testified by the diverse languages of the "Francs, the Burgundians, in this Isle by the English-Saxons, in Italie by the *Heruli*, West-Gothes, Vandales, & Lombardes, in Spaine by the Suevians, and Vandales." In Verstegan's formulation, these diverse languages share a common linguistic ancestor and it is the commonality and correspondence between these languages that Verstegan emphasizes. Verstegan's Teutonic thesis gathers up a multiplicity of cultural, linguistic, and geographic differences under the rubric: "the German people." The linguistic map that emerges radically differs from the map of early modern

geo-political domains. In other words, Verstegan de-emphasizes the territorial differences between various European states, emphasizing instead their shared historical derivation.

This "diminished sense of distance between England and the 'other'" had direct implication on notions of the interrelatedness of English and Dutch linguistic and racial histories.[51] In tracing the route by which Verstegan ties the English to the Saxons, we discover that English language, history, and people are directly linked to the territory of the Netherlands. Verstegan posits a linguistic link between Saxonie and the Netherlands by mapping the geography of the Teutonic language family to the western limit of Saxon country: "the river of Sceld, (which in passing down along by Antwerp, devydeth Brabant from Flanders)."[52] Furthermore, he asserts, "about 900 yeare past our la[n]guage and the language of Saxonie and the Netherlands was all one," making both a linguistic and a colonial claim.[53] Throughout Verstegan's *Restitution*, linguistic venerability is measured across geographic territory. The more geography a language can claim to have covered on the map, the greater its dominance in the form of influence. This geographic logic was prevalent among philologists of the period. The Dutch author Abraham Van der Myl (Vander-Mylius) concurred with Verstegan's vision of the linguistic colonization of Teutonic in his *Lingua Belgica* (1612), in which he argued, "Hebrew and its dialects occupied roughly one-half of the world, while Teutonic and its dialects, the other."[54] According to Verstegan, the conquering Saxon armies, those who advanced into Britain, had come out of the Low Countries:

> Very probable it is that these two Saxon leaders with their forces, which were of *Westphalia, Friesland* and *Holland*, did (as the chronicles of *Holland* affirme*)* set foorth from thence & so saile over into *Britaine*, for as I have said in the third chapter, the inhabitants of these provinces were all somtyme generally called by the name of Saxons.[55]

Verstegan proposed that the Saxon colonizers of Britain were originally inhabitants of Westphalia, Holland, and Freisland, the latter two being provinces of the Low Countries. The reader who looked up from Verstegan's text to plot Saxon history on a contemporary map would

have discovered that the homeland of the ancient Saxons was occupied by the contemporary Dutch.

Verstegan advances his case by asserting a linguistic kinship between seventeenth century "Nether-dutch" speech and old Teutonic. It is "Netherland & Eastland speech [which] draweth nearer to the old Teutonic then the High-duitsh . . . And for further proof hereof it is to bee noted, that all such writings as are found in the old Teutonic, do more nearer agree to the speech of these partes, then to the High-duitsh."[56] Here Verstegan presses for a distinction between Nether-dutch (Low-Dutch) and High-Dutch (German), categories oftentimes rendered interchangeable in the writing of the period. Writing from Antwerp—the very border of "Saxon country" as he maps it—Verstegan was intimately familiar with the geographic and linguistic territory he charted. Arguing that Nether-dutch of Holland preserves old Teutonic even more closely than does "high-duitsh," Verstegan invests the Netherlands with having preserved the origins—both ethnic and linguistic—of *England's* Saxon ancestry.

"The neernes" of English and Dutch is not merely a theoretical proposition, but is evinced in the spoken language of Verstegan's day:

> And as touching our English toung, which is more swarved from the original Teutonic then the other languages thereon also depending . . . And notwithstanding the so much swarving of our toung from the original, I durst for a trial of the great dependence which yet it holdeth with that which being issued from the same root is spoken in the continent, sryte an Epistle of chosen-out words yet used among the people of sundry shyres of *England*, as also of the people of *Westphalia, Friesland,* and *Flanders*, and the countries lying between them, that should wel bee understood both of Englishmen and Duytshmen, so great is the neernes of our unmixed English with their yet used Duytsch.[57]

Verstegan's curious reference to "unmixed English"—made on the heels of the inkhorn controversy that had made so much of English's mixedness—refers to an English derived from old Teutonic before its encounter with classical and continental forms; such English, spared from contamination by its isolation in the "shyres of England," is a relic of the past. Still preserved in much of England's monosyllabic lexicon, this "unmixed English" shares a special nearness to spoken Dutch. Verstegan elaborates by displaying empirical examples of such propinquity:

> It is not long since that an Englishman travailing by wagon in *West-Flanders,* and hearing the wagoner to call unto his man and say, **De string is losse/ bind de string aen de wagen vast.** Presently understood him yf hee had said, **The string is loose/ bynd the string on the wagon fast/** and weening the follow [sic] to have bin some English clown spake unto him in English.[58]

Verstegan's sample, ostensibly drawn from travelers' reports, equates Dutch speech with that of clownish English (an idea, as we shall see, also current among dramatists of the period who were thematizing the relation of English to Dutch speech on stage). Verstegan presses further, proffering examples of the phonetic proximity of English and Dutch, which he articulates in spatial terms as "neerness":

> I have divers tymes in noting the neernes of that and our language, observed certain of our old countrey rymes to accord with theirs, both in self ryme and self sence, which is a very great argument, of the ancient neernes of our and their language.
>
> As for example.
>
> Wee say, **Winters thunder is somers wunder.**
>
> They say, **Winters donder is somers wonder.**
>
> Wee say, **An apple in May is as good as an eye**
>
> They say, **En apple in Mey is so goet als en ey.**[59]

Ancient kinship is evidenced in contemporary linguistic similitude, suggesting a special historic and on-going bond between English and Dutch speech.[60] Verstegan envisages a language continuum that sets Old Teutonic, Dutch, and English in proximate relation. Along this continuum, contemporary Dutch speech preserves old Teutonic most closely; the nearness of English to Dutch reveals that English is also derived from Teutonic; the differences between English and Dutch underscore that English has yielded to more linguistic mixing than has Dutch.[61]

The continuum between the language of the Saxons, the Dutch, and the English is nowhere more explicitly drawn than in Richard Carew's *The Excellency of English,* 1595/1614:

> The grounde of our owne apperteyneth to the old Saxon, little differing from the present low Dutch, because they more then any of their neighbours have hitherto preserved that speech from any greate forrayne mixture. Heer amongst, the Brittons have left divers of their wordes entersowed, as it were therby making a continuall clayme to their Auncient possession.[62]

What Verstegan refers to as "old Teutonic," Carew names "old Saxon." Although their terms vary, both authors agree that English, high- and low-Dutch derived from the same Germanic tongue.[63] According to Carew, the English language "apperteyneth" (relates) to the old Saxon, which itself differs little from present low Dutch. More than neighboring languages (English, German, and French), low Dutch has preserved itself from foreign mixture. Like English, Dutch also derives from old Saxon, but it has preserved old Saxon more completely than has English, which is fraught with foreign mixture.[64] The implication of the seventeenth-century antiquarian argument was that native English speakers might hear in the speech of their Dutch neighbors an alternative to the history of English. In other words, the Dutch language set into relief what the English language might have been, had it not yielded to so much mixing. As a preserver of old Teutonic "from any greate forrayne mixture," Dutch stood in elevated contrast to the diluted, mixed, and "doubled-headed" English tongue.

Across the North Sea, the notion that Dutch closely preserved old Teutonic was vigorously advanced by Flemish authors. Johannes Goropius Becanus (1518-72), a Brabant-born physician, made an extreme case, which "even the most ardent Germaniphiles for the most part could not follow," that his native Belgian (Flemish) had been the language of Paradise: "it rather than Hebrew was the first language . . . and the one in which the Old Testament was first composed."[65] Other languages, including English and Scottish, were considered by Van der Myl to be Teutonic languages, but unlike Belgian "they had lost many indigenous words, and they pronounced, declined and inflected differently" and so, along with other Scandinavian languages, "could not claim the purity and unchangeabilty which characterized Belgian."[66] In so arguing, Van der Myl echoed the anxieties of sixteenth-century English purists who, throughout the Inkhorn controversy, worried about the relationship of English to other languages. Van der Myl's argument in effect provincialized English from a northern perspective, rendering it the bastardized kin of its more robust Dutch cousin.

In the context of seventeenth century English and Dutch antiquarianism, Dutch was considered a more pure instantiation of Teutonic. Dutch authors occasionally went so far as to disparage English as "broken Dutch." Emanuel Van Meteren (1535-1612), who spent most of his life in England, authored *Historie der Nederlandscher ende haerder Na-buren oorlogen* (1614), in which he argued that English was "ghebroken Duyts, vervreement en vermengt met Fransche en Brittaeensche termen ende woorden" ("broken Dutch [i.e., German in the broad sense of Teutonic] estranged and mixed up with French and British phrases and words.")[67] A contemporary of Van Meteren's, the Flemish mathematician and engineer Simon Stevin (1548-1620), included in his formidable study on mechanics a treatise entitled "Discourse on the Worth of the Dutch Language." In it Stevin aimed to recover the greatness of the "Dutch race" by revealing the superiority of Dutch to all other languages, especially in "interpreting the profound secrets of Nature."[68] Stevin posits the antiquity of the Dutch language, arguing from extraordinarily creative, often specious, linguistic evidence that, "we may safely conclude that the French formerly spoke Dutch, that is that they were Dutch, and consequently that in former days the Dutch were a well-known and powerful nation."[69] Even the Spanish had once been "Dutch or modeled their language on Dutch."[70] The philological perfection of Dutch was evident, according to Stevin, in its economy of monosyallabic words: "denoting single things by single sounds."[71] It is a refrain of Dutch antiquarians that the antiquity (evident in the affinity of Dutch with Old Teutonic), economy (predominance of monosyllabic words), and immutability (over time and despite potentially transformative linguistic encounters) of Dutch rendered it the most venerable of Europe's languages.[72] When Dutch authors remarked upon the "neerness" of English to Dutch, English was determined to be decidedly more "mixed" and thus less pure in its derivation from Teutonic origins. English had migrated further from its own linguistic roots than had Belgian or Nether-Dutch dialects.

In both English and Dutch philological arguments, it was the nearness, indeed the linguistic kinship, of English and Dutch that was agreed. This linguistic propinquity was evidence

of a once-forgotten-now-restored relatedness, specifically located in the Saxon ancestry of the English and the Dutch. The logic of race and affiliation that informed the antiquarian movement insisted upon a connection between "kin" or kind when a connection between language could be demonstrated. Verstegan's *Restitution*—in particular his argument that that kinship existed between the English and the Dutch—and the works of both English and Dutch antiquarians, had laid the philological foundation for Thomas Scott's claim that the English and Dutch "come of the same race originally that we do, as our speech witnesseth."

II

Language Lessons: Staging Dutch in English Drama

> What is it . . . against law of hospitality, to jest at strangers because they speak not English so well as we do? What do we learn?
> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesy,* 1595.[73]

In his recent survey study, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke argues that the "evidence of plays" as representational records of human speech "especially in comedies, was probably stylized and stereotyped" and therefore is not a reliable window onto the spoken word during the period.[74] "In the cases of Shakespeare, Jonson, and Moliere," Burke continues, "playwrights exploited sociolects for comic effect, representing marginal communities as funny foreigners who do not know how to speak."[75] The broken English of foreigners on the English stage has been the focus of significant critical attention, much of which supports Burke's observation that broken English enacts the foreigner's marginalization.[76] In the discussion that follows, I argue that stage Dutch *was* particularly funny to English audiences, but that laughter is not necessarily a response that marginalizes its object; when audiences laugh they are, as Sidney suggests, also learning something. Just what English-speaking, theater-going audiences were learning about the relation of English to Dutch is the central focus of part two. While plays do not offer us a "record" of early modern sociolects—"the distinctive languages of particular social groups"—they are rich archives for attitudes toward language.[77] More than a laugh at the Other's expense and the consolidation and confirmation of

cultural difference, English comedies offered audiences lessons in philosophies of language and in so doing shaped notions of English's similitude and difference from Dutch. As Peter Burke reminds us:

> One of the many reasons for the growing interest in the diversity of languages was the belief that they revealed the nature of the speakers. Ben Jonson made the essential point in epigrammatic form when he declared (following Socrates) that 'Language most shows a man: speak that I may see thee. No glass renders a man's form or likeness as true as his speech.'[78]

When transferred to the context of dramatic production, Jonson's calculus, "speak that I may see thee," raises an important question: what did English audiences learn to "see" when the Dutchman spoke on the English stage?

Sir Philip Sidney's remarks that open this section shed partial light on the question. Sidney would have us assume that English audiences both heard and saw a "stranger." Undoubtedly, the truth of Sidney's observation about his countrymen's appetite for jesting at strangers finds full expression in early seventeenth century city comedies, wherein Dutchmen rarely escape the satirization of their native tongue. In William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1598), Frisco, the play's clown, boasts that he can speak "perfect Dutch":

> FRISCO: [. . .] I can speak perfect Dutch when I list.
> PISA: Can you, I pray let's heare some?
> FRISCO: Nay I must have my mouth full of Meate first, and then you shall heare me grumble it foorth full mouth, as *Haunce Butterkin slowpin frokin.* (179-184)

Later in the play, Laurentia (whose father has promised her to the play's real Dutchman, Vandalle) bemoans, "Shall I stay? Till he belch into mine eares/ Those rusticke Phrases, and those Dutch French tearmes, / Stammering half Sentences dogbolt Elloquence" (929-31). Her sister sympathizes, "Alas poore Wench, I sorrow for thy hap, / To see how that art clog'd with such a Dunce" (943-44). Vandalle's Dutch speech reveals more than his non-native status as a merchant alien. Characterized as "rusticke," incomplete ("half Sentences"), and as "dogbolt elloquence," Vandalle's "belch[ed]" expressions of endearment render him more than merely unintelligible to the English sisters whose ears he "clogs." To speak Dutch in this company of

woman inevitably assures that one will be dismissed as a "dunce." Time and again in city comedies Dutch speech is portrayed as clownish, and speakers of it rendered unintelligent, even stupid. In *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600) the Englishman Barnaby Bunch mocks the Flemish Inn keeper, Yacob Van Smelt, who would rent him space in his Inn:

> BUNCH: My head in, and fall to work here, and instead of *parle buon francoys*, learn to brawl out "butterbox, *yaw, yaw*," and yawn for beer like a jackdaw.
> YACOB: *Heare me eance. Ick heb a cleyne skuttell, a little stall, by mine huys dore. Sall dat hebben for a skoppe.*
> BUNCH: "*Hebben, habben,*" quoth'a? What shall I "*hebben*"?[79]

In similar terms, the journeyman Firk of Thomas Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599) pleads with his master, shoemaker Simon Eyre, to hire the seeming Dutchman, Hans, on the grounds that laughing at Hans' "gibble-gabble…Twill make us work the faster":

> FIRK: Ha ha! Good master, hire him. He'll make me laugh so that I shall work more in mirth, than I can in earnest.
> EYRE: Hear ye friend, have ye any skill in the mystery of cordwainers? . . .
> LACY (as Hans): *Yaw, yaw, yaw, ik can dat wel doen*.
> FIRK: "*Yaw, yaw!*" He speaks yawing like a jackdaw that gapes to be fed with cheese curds. O, he'll give a villainous pull at a can of double beer.[80]

As the century progresses, Dutch characters begin to self-censor, even abandon, their native speech as when in Glapthorne's *The Hollander* (1635) the title character Sconce reasons:

> It shall be so, my English is not compleate enough
> To hold discourse with Ladies of regard, my naturall
> Dutch too is Clownish speech, and only fit to court
> A leagurer in[.][81]

In these productions, Dutch is rendered comic, even—echoing Richard Verstegan's characterization—"clownish," consisting of repetition ("*yaw yaw*"), rhyme ("*slowpin frokin*"), long open vowels (*aw* and *ow*), and alliteration. Evidently, Dutch characters as well as English characters posing as Dutch "grumble[d]," "stammer[ed]," and "gibble-gabble[d]" their way to the funny bone of English audiences. In many instances, then, when stage Dutch was spoken, audiences were meant to see a clown. What is less evident is the relation of stage Dutch to the

Dutch spoken on the streets of London and the extent to which English audiences would have recognized the difference.

The stage provided but one of many venues wherein native English-speakers listened to and learned about Dutch in early modern England. In London, Dutch could be overheard in many of the city's quarters. In Broadstreet Ward on the Sabbath, Dutch immigrants conversed each week at the Dutch Church of Austin Friars where services had been conducted in Dutch from its foundation in 1550.[82] Following religious services, "wealthy, merchant members of Austin Friars" were known to meet for business on the Royal Exchange, a practice that drew the attention of those "pious Englishmen" who generally held a "stricter" notion of sabbatarianism than did the Dutch.[83] Walking along Cornhill street, passing by the Royal Exchange or nearby taverns such as the "Antwerp," English speaking Londoners would have overheard conversations between London's Dutch immigrants and Dutch merchants who frequently traveled to London from the Netherlands for business.[84] In St. Katherine's precinct the majority of strangers were Dutch, lending historical veracity to Ben Jonson's talk of going to "St Katherine's / To drink with the Dutch there and take forth their patterns."[85] Dutch strangers also resided in large numbers in Bridge Ward Without, just across the river Thames.[86] For English-speaking Londoners, passing into St. Katherine's or Bridge Ward Without registered something of a linguistic, as well as juridical, transition. Beyond London, the large presence of Dutch exiles living in Norwich, reaching "almost one-third of the population" by 1581, made encounter with Dutch speakers likely as one traversed the streets and conducted business at shops in the East Anglian town.[87]

In addition to overhearing Dutch in the streets and upon the Exchange, native-born English men, boys, women, and girls lived and worked in the homes of Dutch-speaking strangers, drawing English-speaking and Dutch-speaking Londoners into discussion on a daily basis in both the commercial and domestic spheres.[88] The 1593 population Return reveals that the majority of the alien population living in and around London was from the Low Countries.[89] These immigrants would have spoken one or more languages, including Flemish, Dutch, French, and

English.[90] Stranger women and men alike hired English-speaking apprentices, servants, and journeymen, thus creating an environment that, in many instances, necessitated some familiarity with Dutch turns of phrase and terms of trade. Three Dutch women drawn from the 1593 Return illustrate this point. The Antwerp-born starcher, Dionis Welfes, provided work for four English women servants, set four English women to work, and additionally employed one Antwerp-born woman servant.[91] The widow Joyce Van der Rowe, a "silk throster" (sic) reported residing in England for twenty-six years; she employed two stranger men as servants, one stranger maid servant, kept seven English men and one English maid, and set on work five English men and one English maid, bringing Van der Rowe's charges to seventeen people.[92] An exceptional case is that of brewer Mary Jeames, widow and householder, born in Antwerp. Jeames reported employing eight Dutchmen "of the English Church," one English journeyman, one Englishwoman, and setting on work twenty-three English men and women for wages.[93] Between these three Dutch women, forty-six English people were employed along with twelve strangers, nine of whom are identified as Dutch. It seems likely that these Dutch women, each of whom had resided in England for over two decades, acquired a degree of proficiency in English even as they retained their native Dutch (or Flemish) vocabularies. In such cross-cultural working conditions, English-speakers had occasion to learn commonplace sayings, oft-repeated colloquialisms, as well as terms of the trade, not only from their employers but also from the "stranger" servants whom they worked alongside. Indeed, Dutch loan words enter English in their greatest number during the sixteenth century; "in contrast to the Latin and French ones, [Low German/Dutch terms] tend to be popular rather than learned or polite."[94] Such loan words include: cambric (1530), yacht (1557), manikin (1570), pawn (1575),[95] landscape (1598), knapsack (1603), and brandy-wine (1622), as well as verbs such as foist (1545), ravel (1582), snip (1586), rant (1598), hanker (1601), and drill (1622). Linguistic exchange between English- and Dutch-native speakers went hand in hand with their domestic and commercial exchange.

The turn of the seventeenth century also ushered in the possibility of formalized study of Dutch language in the form of Anglo-Dutch dictionaries and grammars. During the seventeenth century, nine different Anglo-Dutch dictionaries and grammars appeared in England, six of which underwent multiple editions.[96] Marten le Mayre's *The Dutch Schoole Master* was entered in the stationer's register on 15 August 1603 and published in 1606.[97] It consists of rules for pronunciation, thirty-eight pages of grammar, an equal number of pages of dialogue, and concludes with thirteen pages of religious text. The work's compiler was a "professor of the said tongue" who dwelt in Abchurch Lane.[98] In the "Letter to the Reader," Le Mayre advises:

> If you have desire to understand perfectly the hardest and most eloquent Dutch, and to speake it naturally, you must aquiant yourself with some Dutch-man, to the end that you may practise, with him by dayly conference, and frequent also the Dutch-church, having a Dutch Bible, and marking how the Reader readeth, and hearing the Sermons. The one will confirm and strengthen your pronountiation, & the other to understand when one doth speak.[99]

Le Mayre's *Dutch Schoole Master* envisages a polyglot metropolis in which a native-born Englishman might practice Dutch "daily," even "frequent" the Dutch church. The city supplements the *Schoole Master* providing daily lessons in Dutch. Le Mayre's preface suggests that this is not a language confined to the study; Dutch is a language of and for the city. More precisely, Dutch is a language of and for the city of *London*. Only through conversation with London's Dutch community will the reader perfect the Dutch tongue, Le Mayre insists: "you must not thinke that my Booke will make you a good Dutch-man, except you bee a diligent Student."[100] Together the text and the city of London emerge as the essential instruments for the making of "a good Dutch-man." The mandatory language lessons between Dutch strangers and native English speakers that the preface requires raise important questions about the relationship between language and identity, speech and community affiliation. Le Maryre's ambition, the making of a "good Dutch-man," begs the question: was to speak Dutch to *be* Dutch in early modern London? Did one's linguistic competence in a foreign tongue necessarily implicate one in ethnic affiliation? Does Le Mayre's preface pose a challenge to or does it confirm Jonson's

confident assertion, "speak that I may see thee?" If a dictionary, wordbook, or grammar, together with discussion with one's Dutch neighbors, can make one a "good Dutch-man," what then does one see when the well-practiced Englishman opens his mouth and out flies Dutch?

Thomas Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, performed in 1612 and first published in 1657, takes up questions of the relationship of linguistic to ethnic identity by actively exploring what George Metcalf calls the "intermingled diversity and similarity of human speech."[101] Middleton's exploration of the polyglot reality of London life challenges the satirical characterization of the Dutch as clownish dunces. In *No Wit,* English and Dutch speech share similar phonologies and approximately the same syntaxes. In dramatizing similitude between English and Dutch, *No Wit* poses an important epistemological challenge to Jonson's thesis that speech makes visibly apparent one's identity.

Speaking "Double Dutch" in Thomas Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*

In conversation today, to claim that an interlocutor speaks "double Dutch" is to negatively characterize another's speech as gibberish or unintelligible. To claim that someone speaks double Dutch is to say, in other words, "its all Greek to me!" Historically speaking, this colloquialism does not enter English until the nineteenth century, but its ideological underpinnings, I will suggest, have roots in early modern representations of Dutch speech on London stages.[102] At the turn of the seventeenth century, stage Dutch is represented not merely as gibberish or "gibble-gabble"; Dutch is literally doubly represented in performance. In Middleton's play, the audience is not offered a single form of Dutch speech on the stage; instead, stage Dutch is represented in two very different and opposed forms. This double representation of Dutch happens across two sets of linguistic relations. The first is relative to the relation between what I will call authentic and inauthentic Dutch. Stage Dutch (the authentic form) was meant to reproduce the Dutch that Londoners would have heard on the streets; counterfeit or mimic Dutch (the inauthentic form) was represented as mere gibberish, a collection of sounds that no one—on or off stage—was supposed to understand as "real" speech. In essence, inauthentic Dutch

functioned on the early modern stage as an instance of what today we refer to as "double Dutch." In an extended exchange between an Englishman, a Dutchman, and an English servant pretending to speak Dutch, Middleton enjoins his audience to identify and distinguish between authentic, stage Dutch and inauthentic, mimic Dutch. As the audience parses the differences between authentic and inauthentic Dutch, Middleton also highlights the similarities of English and authentic Dutch. This brings us to the second linguistic relation. As the scene of linguistic exchange unfolds, the similitude between authentic stage Dutch and English is emphasized over and above those differences between authentic stage Dutch and English. In other words, the play pairs English and authentic stage Dutch, setting their affiliation in opposition to the category of inauthentic, mimic Dutch. A chiastic relation holds English and authentic Dutch together, while setting into opposition authentic and inauthentic Dutch. This chiastic interplay structures more than a language lesson *per se*. A plot that starts as a cross-cultural exchange between an Englishman and a Dutchman ultimately results in a lesson that reorganizes the ethno-linguistic oppositions and affiliations with which the play begins. While an audience familiar with the conventions of city comedy might have expected to laugh when the play's Dutchman takes the stage and begins to speak, they may have found themselves laughing instead at a caricaturization of Dutch speech that was funny precisely because it gets Dutch so very wrong.

Unlike his merchant father, the "little Dutch Boy" of *No Wit No Help Like a Woman's* "can speak no English." Having recently arrived in London from Antwerp, the boy's father nevertheless entrusts his Dutch-speaking son to the Englishman Sir Oliver:

> Business commands me hence, but as a pledge
> Of my return I'll leave my little son with you,
> Who yet takes little pleasure in this country
> 'Cause he can speak no English, all Dutch he.[103]

In the scene that follows, Sir Oliver's man, Savourwit, much abuses the Dutch merchant, putting into question his credibility by conducting a mock-interview in which he falsely translates the Dutch boy's speech against the word of his absent father. While the father "wears a double

tongue—that's Dutch and English," Savourwit observes, the "little Dutch Boy in great slops" cannot negotiate, control, or contest Savourwit's specious translations. In the case of the boy, spoken Dutch yields little more than a blank script that Savourwit fills with English meaning to advance his deceptive end.

The little Dutch Boy of Middleton's play is an unusual instance in city comedy of an "all Dutch" character who never attempts to translate his ideas into English. More commonly, the Dutch of English city comedy "wear a double tongue," part English-, part Dutch-sounding speech, coined "stage Dutch" by literary critics. Stage Dutch, rarely precisely defined, was a flexible formula for representing Dutch speech on stage. It is partially or mostly intelligible to English characters and, I want to suggest, also to the theater audience, as it consists of Dutch-accented English interlarded with a relatively limited, well-worn theatrical lexicon of Dutch words and phrases, such as Ick (I), vro or frow (woman, maid, or girl), bedanck (thanks), vader (father), vater (water), heb (have), niet (not), met (with)—words that an audience need not know beforehand in order to translate in the context of performance. I will refer to stage Dutch when speech is identified as Dutch by the speaker and the listener, or by the stage direction ("enter with a dutche songe," for instance). In the anonymous play *An Enterlude of Welth and Helth* (1565), Haunce Berepot, "one of the earliest foreign characters with a specific nationality in nonhistorical drama,"[104] enters the stage singing a "dutche songe":

> Entreth Hance with a dutche songe.
> Gut nyuen s[ ]one rutters by the moder got
> It [ ]eist o□wne s[ ]hon, for s[ ]aue ye ne[ ]e
> De qus[ ]eker mau iche bie do do
> Uan the groate bnmbarde well ic we[ ]e
> Dartyck dowsant van enhebit mete
> Ic best de mauikin van de keining dangli[ ]er
> De grot keyser kind ic bene his [ ]usket[ ]r.[105]

Haunce speaks a hodgepodge of Dutch and English: English articles (the, a), prepositions (with, for), and verbs (got), are interspersed with Dutch articles (de), nouns (moder), adjectives (groate), and verbs (bene). Of course, some words, which might be categorized as English, may have been

intended to be understood as Dutch, rendered phonetically into English: "by," for example, is phonetically and linguistically cognate with the Dutch preposition bij. The instability of orthography, both in English and Dutch, in addition to the issues of cognate words and the loss of the actor's speech in performance, will inevitably undermine attempts at too fine an assessment of the Dutch or English content in stage Dutch. Nonetheless, the mixedness of Haunce's speech clearly anticipates the theatrical formula for representing Dutch speech on the Jacobean stage. While our earliest Elizabethan evidence suggests that stage Dutch is almost always interspersed with English or English-sounding vocabulary, a subtle shift in the formula takes place between the mid-Elizabethan and the late-Elizabethan / early Stuart periods. It appears that in the mid-sixteenth century, stage Dutch was less influenced by English phonology and vocabulary than is the case by the turn of the seventeenth century.

When Lacy, dressed as Hans, enters scene four of Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), he too enters singing in stage Dutch:

> *Enter Lacy [dressed as Hans], singing*
> Der was een boor van Gelderland, — There was a boor ["peasant"] from Gelderland
> Frolick sie byen. — Merry they be.
> He was als dronck he could neit stand, — He was so drunk he could not stand,
> Upsee al sie byen. — Pissed [drunk] they all be.
> Tap eens de cannikin — Fill up the cannikin ["small drinking vessel"]
> Drincke, schone mannikin. — Drink my fine manikin ["little man"].[106]

If Hans' song is more readily comprehended than Haunce Berepot's, it is due, in part, to the use of Anglo-Dutch cognates (drink, dronck; stand, staan) and the mobilization of loan words, such as "frolick," a Flemish word that enters English in 1583, and "canniken," a Dutch diminutive of "kan" (from middle Dutch kanne) meaning a small drinking vessel.[107] As Dutch and Flemish words increasingly enter English as the sixteenth century progresses, the likelihood that native-English speakers understood stage Dutch as familiar broken English also increased. For instance, in William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, Vandalle, the play's Dutchman, expresses his gratitude: "Seker Mester *Pisaro*, mee do so groterly dancke you, dat you macke mee so sure of de Wench, datt ic can neit dancke you genough."[108] While we cannot know how the actor playing

the part of Vandalle performed his lines, on the page the stage Dutch that Vandalle speaks registers as a variant of English. There are few if any unfamiliar words—not because Vandalle's Dutch has been completely Englished—but because his entire lexicon consists of words that have cognates in English.[109] In the case of the examples above, the characters were intended to sound Dutch; Haunce and Vandalle are both Dutchmen and Lacy (as Hans) plays a Dutchman. However, this stage Dutch is doing more than confirming their characterizations as Dutchmen. These performances also highlight the similarities of Dutch and English speech, the way in which English and Dutch consisted of approximately the same phonologies, and even shared lexicons. Unlike in the mid-sixteenth century drama, in early seventeenth century city comedies, stage Dutch theatrically represented the *relatedness* of English and Dutch and in so doing performed the thesis of antiquarians like Verstegan who asserted the historical relatedness of English and Dutch. If, as Jonson averred, "No glass renders a man's form or likeness as true as his speech," then on stage, laughter at stage Dutch was potentially a joke at the expense of the English.

Before the arrival of the Dutchman in *No Wit*, Sir Oliver's son, Philip, and man, Savourwit, are confident that their scheme, which has set the plot in motion, has gone off without a hitch. In the opening scene of the play Savourwit reveals that Sir Oliver's wife and daughter were "taken by the Dunkirks, sold both, and separated . . . in nine years space / No certain tidings of their life or death" had reached Sir Oliver until "five months since a letter came / Sent from the mother, which related all / Their taking, selling, separation . . . and required / Six hundred crowns for ransom" (1.1.64-74). Sir Oliver promptly secured the ransom, entrusting it to his son and Savourwit who immediately departed for Antwerp. Rather than rescuing sister and mother, however, Philip, "eased" the heavy weight of his gold-filled pockets in "wenches' aprons" at Antwerp. Savourwit confesses:

> 'Twas my young master's chance there to dote finely
> Upon a sweet young gentlewoman, but one
> That would not sell her honour for the Indies,
> Till a priest struck the bargain, and then half a crown
> Dispatched it.

To be brief, wedded her and bedded her,
Brought her home hither to his father's house,
And with a fair talke of mine own bringing up
She passes for his sister that was sold. (1.1.83-91)

Philip and Savourwit presumably thought that the distance between London and Antwerp would insure that their scheme would remain undetected. With the arrival of the Dutch merchant into London, however, the closeness of London to Antwerp and the regularity of traffic between the two cities comes to the fore.

Having been led to believe by those closest to him that Grace, the Antwerp-Inn "gentlewoman" now residing in his home, is his recovered daughter and that his wife is dead, Sir Oliver is unprepared for the news the Dutch merchant delivers. Other than the announcement that a "Dutch merchant that's now come over, / Desires some conference with you" (1.2.43-4), little else in the script immediately identifies the stranger as Dutch. Addressing Sir Oliver, the Dutchman speaks perfect English:

This is my business, sir. I took into my charge
A few words to deliver to yourself
From a dear friend of yours that wonders strangely
At your unkind neglect. (1.3.49-52)

The merchant brings news that "within this month" he has seen Sir Oliver's wife "talk and eat; and those in our calendar / Are signs of life and health"; aghast at the news, Sir Oliver can only concur "Mass, so they are in ours" (1.3.63-64). Gathering his thoughts and summoning Grace to the scene, Sir Oliver protests that his daughter has been restored to him, returned by means of a ransom paid by his son Philip. The Dutch merchant examines Grace and contends:

If my eye sin not, sir,
Or misty error falsify the glass,
I saw that face at Antwerp in an inn
When I set forth first to fetch home this boy . . .
I tell you my free thoughts, I fear y'are blinded.
I do not like this story; I doubt much
The sister is as false as the dead mother. (1.3.83-93)

Sir Oliver reasons, “Yea! Say you so, sir? I see nothing lets me / But to doubt so too then” (1.3.94-95). Moments earlier the Dutch merchant and Sir Oliver concurred that the greatest deceptions often transpire domestically:

SIR OLIVER: Here’s strange budgelling! I tell you, sir
Those that I put in trust were near me too—
A man would think they should not juggle with me—
My own son and my servant, no worse people, sir.
DUTCH MERCHANT: And yet, ofttimes, sir, what worse knave to a man
Than he that eats his meat?
SIR OLIVER: Troth, you say true, sir. (1.3.74-79)

Linguistic, cultural, and moral similarities are established between Sir Oliver and the Dutch merchant during their initial exchange. Both men speak fluent English, thus eliminating the possibility for linguistic misunderstanding that so often structures the comic exchange between English and foreign characters. Their digression, regarding their agreement about the signs of “life and health” in London and Antwerp, serves not only to elicit a chuckle amidst this scene of unraveling domestic deceit, but foregrounds a universalism that sets ethnic and cultural difference back stage. Finally, in contradistinction to the moral compass of Philip and Savourwit, who have forfeited a hefty ransom for a rendezvous at an Antwerp Inn, the Dutch merchant and Sir Oliver appear to share a moral barometer, agreeing that the worst deceptions grow up among familiars. Although the Dutch merchant enters the scene as a stranger, he presents Sir Oliver with news that estranges him from those he considers most near. The rupture introduced by the Dutchman splits not along ethnic lines but winds through the domestic sphere, threatening to divide father from son.

A bond of trust sprouts up between the Englishman, grateful for the Dutch merchant’s news, and the Dutchman, who in turn entrusts his boy to Sir Oliver while he attends to business in London. Desperate to preserve his employment in Sir Oliver’s home, Savourwit manages to raise doubt about the credibility of the Dutch merchant and the reliability of his message by conducting a mock-interview with the little Dutch boy. The audience is in on the deception as Savourwit confides his intention to play the Dutch boy’s word against that of his father:

SAVOURWIT: [*aside*] All's confounded.— . . .
SIR OLIVER: 'Las, he can speak no English.
SAVOURWIT: [*aside*] All the better; I'll gabble something to him.— (1.3.142-45)

Savourwit plots to speak an early modern version of double Dutch and confesses his plan to the play's audience. In this way, the audience is enjoined to hear what Sir Oliver initially does not: the difference between authentic stage Dutch, as represented in the boy's speech, and the "gabble" (double Dutch) of a mimic Englishman. Savourwit's dissembling involves a lengthy comic interlude in which he generates nonsensical, rhyming, and alliterative phrases in an attempt to sound Dutch enough to fool Sir Oliver into believing that the Dutchman cannot be trusted:

SAVOURWIT: Hoyste kaloiste, kalooskin ee vou, dar sune, all gaskin?
DUTCH BOY: Ick wet neat watt hey zackt; Ick unverston ewe neat.
SAVOURWIT: Why la, I thought as much.
SIR OLIVER: What says the boy?
SAVOURWIT: He says his father is troubled with an imperfection at one time of the moon and talks like a madman. (1.3.146-50)

The extent to which the audience was encouraged to translate the boy's authentic stage Dutch would have been significantly influenced by the actor's performance: how slowly he spoke each word, whether gesture aided in meaning-making; how the actor paced the line; and his performance of the phonetics of stage Dutch. Additionally, those audience members who occasionally encountered Dutch in the streets of London, on the Exchange, or in homes where they apprenticed may have developed a limited Dutch lexicon useful in glossing the personal pronoun, "ick," and the negative, "neit," for instance. For that native English speaker who had escaped encounters with Dutch speech on the streets of London, the scene itself offers practice in glossing the Dutch boy's speech. Before the Dutch merchant departs, leaving his boy alone with Sir Oliver and Savourwit, he turns to his son and asks,

DUTCH MERCHANT: Where's your leg and your thanks to the gentleman?
War es yu neighgen and you thonkes you?
DUTCH BOY: *Ick donck you, ver ew edermon vrendly kite.*
SIR OLIVER: What says he, sir?
DUTCH MERCHANT: He thanks you for your kindness. (1.3.104-08)

The father and son's speech is typical of the flexible formula for authentic stage Dutch in city comedy: real Dutch words, such as "ick," combine with Dutch or Dutch-sounding terms, such as "donck" (dank u), these commingle with orthographically English, but technically cognate forms, such as (you / jij or u), and broken-English, as in the father's "thonkes." In Middleton's script, this initial production of stage Dutch is accompanied by a gloss that the Dutch merchant provides by translating his son's gratitude to his host. In the exchange between father and son, the English-speaking audience is given an opportunity to hear the similarities between Dutch and English syntax and is (re)familiarized with conventions of stage Dutch. This gloss establishes a counter-script to Savourwit's counterfeit Dutch: replete with exaggerated rhyme, alliteration, and repetition, Savourwit's speech includes recognizably English, scatological words, "Quisquinikin sadlamare, alla pisse kickin sows-clows, hoff tofte le cumber shaw, bouns bus boxsceeno" (1.3.158-59). This exaggerated caricature of Dutch speech underscores for the audience what Dutch is *not*. Consisting of nonsense nouns, even romance articles (le), Savourwit's clownish speech approximates nothing of Dutch vocabulary or English syntax and is a far cry from the little Dutch boy's stage Dutch.[110]

While Middleton has provided the audience a lesson in glossing the Dutch boy's speech, the comic thrust of the exchange between Savourwit and the Dutch boy does not require that the audience literally translate the Dutch boy's line (above), "I do not know what he says; I do not understand you." Middleton offers his audience the epistemological advantage by means of Savourwit's asides. If laughter erupted at Savourwit's mock-interview and false translations it was because the audience is already in on the joke and in so being realizes that the Dutch boy has made no such accusation against his father. As the scene progresses, Sir Oliver grows suspicious of Savourwit's translations and begins to press for clarification:

> DUTCH BOY: Ick an swath no int hein clappon de heeke, I dinke ute sein senon.
> SAVOURWIT: Oh sein sennon! Ah ha! I thought how 'twould prove i'th'end. The boy says they never came near Antwerp, a quite contrary way, round about by Parma.
> SIR OLIVER: What's the same zein zennon?

SAVOURWIT: That is, he saw no such wench in an inn. (1.3.161-66)

Sir Oliver's question, "what is the same zein zennon," reveals the fallibility of Savourwit's performance. Of course, unlike Sir Oliver, the audience has all along heard the distinction between the Dutch boy's Dutch and Savourwit's speech. The scene gains its comic piquancy because the audience enjoys Savourwit's far-fetched mimicry of Dutch speech and awaits Sir Oliver's discovery of the ruse.

Savourwit puts Sir Oliver's gullibility to a final test by expounding a theory of the Dutch language which, fittingly, turns on the word "Gullder-goose," a term suggestive of both the gulling underway and the figurative sense of "goose" during the period: a foolish person or simpleton.[111] Savourwit translates the jibe into evidence of the economy of Dutch speech:

SAVOURWIT: He tells me his father came from making merry with certain of his countrymen, and he's a little steeped in English beer. There's no heed to be taken of his tongue now.
SIR OLIVER: Hoyda! How com'st thou by all this? I heard him speak but three words to thee.
SAVOURWIT: Oh, sir, the Dutch is a very wide language. You shall have ten English words even for one, as for example, Gullder-goose, there's a word for you, master.
SIR OLIVER: Why, what's that same Gullder-goose?
SAVOURWIT: How do you and all your generation.
SIR OLIVER: Why, 'tis impossible! How prove you that sir?
SAVOURWIT: Tis thus distinguished, sir: Gull, how do you—der, and –goose, your generation.
SIR OLIVER: Tis a most saucy language; how cam'st thou by't?
SAVOURWIT: I was brought up to London in an eelship;
There was the place I caught it by the tail. (1.3.185-201)

Although Savourwit's Dutch is self-confessed gibberish, the logic of his argument about the economy of Dutch, an economy he characterizes as "wide," had precedence in the linguistic debates about the value of Dutch vernacular in the period. The lesson, despite the teacher, had sound grounding in Dutch philology of the day.

In his treatise, *Uytspraeck vande weerdigheyt der Duytsche tael, 1586* (*On the Worth of the Dutch Language*), Bruges-born Simon Stevin praised Dutch for its *rijcheyt* (wealth), evinced in the economy of Dutch speech. Writing in Dutch on subjects that humanists in the Low

Countries conventionally reserved for Latin (including mechanics, mathematics, and measurement), Stevin argued that the "structure" of Dutch exhibited "its superiority to all the other languages":[112]

> The object of language is, among other things, to expound the tenor of our thought, and just as the latter is short, the exposition also calls for shortness; this can best be achieved by denoting single things by single sounds.[113]

Long circumlocutions, particularly polysyllabic words used for single ideas, obscure the revelation of nature's properties, according to Stevin.[114] The Belgian lexicon, richest of all in monosyllabic vocabulary, made it superior to and a model for the world's other languages. Almost two decades earlier, an enthusiast of the Belgian dialect, Johannes Goropius Becanus, physician and linguist, authored a controversial work entitled *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569) in which he too praised the monosyllabicity of Belgian, going so far as to concoct absurd etymologies toward the end of "exalting his native Belgian, even presuming it . . . to have been the language of Paradise."[115] Among his Dutch contemporaries, Becanus' ideas were met with skepticism. In *Lingua Belgica* (1612), Abraham Van der Myl (Abraham Vander-Mylius) refuted Becanus' most controversial claim, "that Belgian rather than Hebrew had been the language of Paradise [. . . but] did agree that the monsyllabicity of Belgian in contrast to the polysyllabicity of Hebrew was a telling argument for Becanus."[116] English humanists encountered these ideas in Richard Verstegan's *Restitution* wherein the monosyllabicity of Dutch serves as evidence of its derivation from Old Teutonic.[117] Among both English and Dutch authors, the parsimony of Dutch, exhibited in its rich monosyllabic lexicon, set it apart from and elevated it above other languages.[118]

In Savourwit's attempt to pull off a persuasive performance of Dutch he expounds a philosophy of the language that rehearses the assertions of English and Dutch philologists. To support his contention that Dutch is a "wide" language, Savourwit articulates a commonplace comparison between Dutch and English: "you shall have ten English words even for one [Dutch]." Savourwit's case for the wideness of Dutch at once reiterates Verstegan's thesis, which

rendered Dutch a less diluted branch of old Teutonic than English, and implies an inadequacy of English to express ideas with economy. In this moment, the play's double portrayal of (authentic and inauthentic) Dutch seems to overlap as the purveyor of mimic Dutch expounds an authentic linguistic lesson. And yet, Savourwit's linguistic argument is ironically undercut by his summoning of a polysyllabic nonsense word, "Gullder-goose," to illustrate his point. Even his performance of mimic Dutch—rife with polysyllabic constructions ("Quisquinikin sadlamare")—undermines the intended illustrativeness of his argument. The audience is meant to understand that Savourwit's counterfeit Dutch is not only not Dutch; it also does not conform to the conventions of authentic stage Dutch established by Middleton during the exchange between the Dutch merchant and his boy and developed more broadly in other stage plays. It will take a real "double tongued" Dutchman to expose the truth about the relation of English to Dutch.

Having left Sir Oliver "tossed between two tales" knowing "not which to take, not which to trust" (1.3.210-11), Savourwit exits confessing to the audience, "We are undone in Dutch; all our three-months' roguery / Is now come over in a butter-firkin" (208-09).[119] Sir Oliver, still suspicious of Savourwit's self-professed bilingualism, ponders whom he should trust:

> The boy here is the likeliest to tell the truth
> Because the world's corruption is not yet
> At full years in him; sure he cannot know
> What deceit means, 'tis English yet to him. (1.3.212-15)

Sir Oliver's double-entendre imbricates English speech and deceit. On the one hand, because it is an English word, the little Dutch boy is quite literally unable to understand "deceit"; on the other hand, Sir Oliver's rumination also implies that deceitfulness is an English *trait*, a characterological description nowhere more manifestly displayed than in Savourwit's false translation of the boy's speech. Upon the Dutch Merchant's return, Sir Oliver interrogates the Merchant:

> SIR OLIVER: . . . Pray resolve me one thing, sir;
> Did you within this month, with your own eyes,
> See my wife living?
> DUTCH MERCHANT: I ne'er borrowed any,

Why should you move that question, sir? Dissembling
Is no part of my living. (1.3.224-27)

The merchant quickly demonstrates that "dissembling" and deceit are not Dutch but English practices. Sir Oliver maintains that his man "questioned your boy in Dutch" who said "that you / Had imperfection at one time o'th'moon / Which made you talk so strangely" (1.3.232-35). With this, the Dutch merchant turns to his son, thus replaying the interview that Savourwit, moments earlier, had conducted in counterfeit Dutch:

DUTCH MERCHANT: How, how's this? *Zeick yongon, ick be nick quelt*
Medien dullek heght, ee untoit van the mon, an kook uramed?
DUTCH BOY: *Wee ek, heigh lieght in se bokkas, dee't site.*
DUTCH MERCHANT: Why la you, sir! Here's no such thing;
He says he lies in's throat that says it. (1.3.236-40)

Sir Oliver presses the merchant for further confirmation of the news of his wife's survival, inquiring, for instance, if indeed he "came near Antwerp" and spotted his wife there (1.3.243). Ultimately, the revelation of the nature and source of the deception pivots on the very word Savourwit introduced as evidence of his skill in Dutch:

SIR OLIVER: Pray tell me one thing, What's
Gullder-goose in Dutch?
DUTCH MERCHANT: How? *Gullder-goose?* There's no such thing in
Dutch; it may be ass in English.
SIR OLIVER: Hoyda! Then am I that ass in plain English; I am grossly
Cozened, most inconsiderately. (1.3.251-56)

With the help of the "honest Dutchman" (4.1.95), whose true bilingualism sets him apart from everyone else on stage, Sir Oliver discovers that he has indeed been made an "ass in plain English." The "all Dutch" boy, the "gabbling" Savourwit, and the gullible, monolingual Sir Oliver are all at the mercy of the "double tongue[d]" Dutch merchant to shed light on the facts. That the bilingual Dutch merchant is characterized as "double tongued—that's Dutch and English"—proves accurate, as he speaks both unbroken English and authentic Dutch. Ironically, in a play that performs an early modern instance of double Dutch *as gibble-gabble*, the "double-tongued" Dutchman never speaks a line of it. Instead, he emerges as the only character with the combined moral constitution and linguistic ability to set matters straight. He can do so precisely

because his work renders him doubly-situated (both a man of London and a man of Antwerp) and he is bilingual (fluent in English and in Dutch). The image of London that Middleton sketches is, in this moment, much like the London imaged forth in Professor Le Mayre's preface to *The Dutch Schoole Master*; London is part of a larger northern European network, and in so being, the scope of its citizens' "linguistic competence" is expanded to include not only English, but a bit of basic Dutch.[120] Without it, one risks being gulled even out of reunion with one's family.

English dramatists of the period regularly exploited the monolingualism of foreigners on stage, characterizing aliens and foreigners as essentially untranslatable and inassimilable others.[121] Middleton's Dutchman turns this dramatic convention on its head, exposing instead the monolingualism of the Englishman Sir Oliver as the impediment to his desire to reunite his family. By the scene's conclusion, it is evident that even a rudimentary knowledge of Dutch would have spared Sir Oliver from Savourwit's cozening. The audience's knowledge of the variety of kinds of Dutch staged by Middleton positions them at an epistemic advantage, precisely where Middleton wants them. The play not only tunes its audience's ears to what constitutes the conventions of authentic stage Dutch and what does not; it also offers lessons regarding the proximate syntax and phonology of English and authentic stage Dutch. More, the audience is exposed to a philosophy of language that classifies Dutch as "economical" and straightforward, an idea extended to the characterization of the Dutch merchant's moral constitution. The Dutch merchant is one of the few characters in the play who speaks the truth and does so precisely. Not simply "funny foreigners who do not know how to speak," the Dutch on Middleton's stage resist xenophobic caricaturization as they emerge "honest," even innocent of "the world's corruption."[122]

Finally, the audience witnesses Sir Oliver's monolingualism fail him in a city where a bi-lingual Dutch merchant can arrive unannounced on one's doorstep and a little Dutch boy in great slops can become a guest in one's home. If the audience laughs at Savourwit's ridiculous caricaturization of Dutch speech, their laughter simultaneously ridicules Sir Oliver whose

ignorance of the difference(s) between authentic stage- and counterfeit / gabble-Dutch makes all the difference in the realization of his desire. In the end, we are lead to conclude that it is not the Dutch stranger, but the native-English Londoner whose linguistic limitations threaten to marginalize him, even from his family. To garner the audience's laugh (and ensure the success of his production), Middleton tutored his audience, teaching Londoners to tune their ears to the shared characteristics between authentic stage Dutch and English and to identify as merely comic caricaturization Savourwit's exaggerated linguistic performance. Ultimately, as the false-translation scene unfolds, the audience is compelled to identify resemblances between authentic stage Dutch and English, whereas only disjunctions exist between Middleton's authentic stage- and counterfeit-Dutch. Through the figure of the bilingual Dutch merchant and his triangulated conversation with Sir Oliver, the little Dutch Boy, and Savourwit, *No Wit*'s language lesson thematizes what Richard Verstegan and his antiquarian colleagues characterized as the nearness of English and Dutch.

III

Characters with a Difference: Fashioning Dutch in Print

Middleton's *No Wit* demonstrates that early seventeenth century drama was multiplying the meaningful categories of speech on stage, complicating the binary of English versus foreign by expanding the range of categories to include stage Dutch, counterfeit Dutch, English, and broken English. In this theater of linguistic multiplicity, affiliations emerge across languages as audiences begin to hear correspondences between English and authentic stage Dutch. The philologists of the early seventeenth century, particularly those antiquarians who advanced the Teutonic thesis, and the comic theater arrived at a similar thesis of linguistic approximations between the English and Dutch languages.

I now turn to the material evidence of the playbook page and Anglo-Dutch dictionaries of the seventeenth century to ask how *visual* cues played a role in affiliating and distinguishing the English and the Dutch language. On the playbook page, typography appears to have been

mobilized to introduce salient visual difference between English and Dutch speech. For instance, in the 1607 quarto edition of Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Northward-Hoe*, the only extant early modern print edition of the playbook, the play's Dutchman, Hans Van Belch, looks quite unlike any other character in print. Hans's speech is printed throughout in black letter:

HANS: **Dar is vor you, and vor you: een, twea, drie, vier, and vive skilling, drinks Skellum upsie freese: nempt, dats u drinck gelt.**

LEVER: Till our crownes crack agen Maister *Hans van Belch*.[123]

Except for proper and place names interspersed throughout Hans' speech, all of Hans Van Belch's speech is printed in black letter. More, his is the only speech in the playbook that is printed consistently in black letter type.[124] As such, Hans's speech is given a look all its own. As the eye moves across the page, Hans' lines appear darker, even weightier than do the lines of other characters' speech, rendered throughout in the less ornamented roman type.

A glance at the 1607 quarto of *Northward Hoe* appears to suggest a challenge to the thesis developed in parts one and two of this chapter. If the theater was dramatizing the similitude, nearness, and approximation of English and Dutch, does the playbook page resist, even reject, the lessons of Middleton's *No Wit*? Part three contends, first and foremost, that this is an important question to take up. If, as I have argued, "thinking Dutch" is a representational process that involved parsing and constituting differences and similarities across the Anglo-Dutch relation, then the analytic process that I have derived from my materials is one that aims to bring into view both processes of differentiation and processes of approximation. In developing a material archive of English and Dutch *in print*, I introduce a body of evidence that, in many ways, challenges the thesis of English and Dutch resemblance developed in parts one and two of this chapter. Taken together, these archives reveal the tensions and asymmetries involved in "thinking Dutch" across various sites of cultural production in early modern England.

*

The loquacious Hans Van Belch of *Northward Hoe* enters act two, scene one expressing himself in terms that unambiguously emphasize his Dutch identity: "**Dar is vor you, and vor you; een twea, drie, vier, and vive skilling**." In naming the play's "Flemish Hoy" Hans Van Belch, Dekker and Webster draw upon a long stage history of naming Dutch and Flemish characters "Hans."[125] Hans' performance in *Northward Hoe* conforms to many of the stereotypes that the stage circulated about "the Dutch," not the least of which was a love of drink, here manifest in a patronymic that renders Hans *of the belch*. As the scene between Van Belch, Doll, the play's common-woman, and her crew unfolds, Van Belch's stage Dutch sparks laughter when phonetic similarities between Dutch and English result in semantic confusion:

> HORN: Is your father living Maister *Hans*.
> HANS: **Yau, yau, min vader heb schonen husen in *Ausburgh*:**[126]
> **Groet mine heare is mine vaders broder, mine vader heb land, and**
> **Bin full of fee, dat is beasts, cattell.**
> . . .
> **Min vader bin de groetest tooker in all *Ausburgh*.**
> DOLL: The greatest what?
> LEVER: Fooker he saies.
> DOLL: Out upon him. (2.1.92-101)

What Doll presumably hears is Hans Van Belch claiming that his father is the greatest "fucker" in Ausburgh. Freighted with derogatory and sexual connotation, the word "fucker" comes into English, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* in 1598. What Hans means, indeed what he attempts to clarify ("dat is beasts, cattell"/that is, beasts and cattle), is that his father is a "fokker": a "cattle-breeder" in Dutch. The difference between what Hans means and what he says opens up space for the bawdy pun to circulate, making Hans' stage Dutch function like a malapropism, a lexical confusion more often associated with the theater's bawds and whores. In this instance, stage Dutch yields not a blank script filled by ne'er-do-wells, as it did in Middleton's *No Wit*, but the unwitting misuse of the *English* language. Dutch meaning is lost in translation as Anglo-Dutch phonetic similarities fail to belie significant semantic differences, rendering Van Belch the object of laughter both on and off stage.

In performance, Hans Van Belch's speech is meant to register as at once familiar and foreign. On the page, however, Van Belch's speech looks like a typographic experiment in setting difference in play. The use of black letter in playbooks was not unusual in of itself. Black letter had been widely used by publishers in the mid-sixteenth century, but by 1595 it began to be replaced by the use of roman type in setting plays. Zachary Lesser calculates:

> From 1576 when the first play from the professional theater was printed, through 1594, when the market for playbooks experienced its first rapid expansion, black letter was used in almost half of all editions of professional plays. From 1595 to 1608, however, the typeface began to disappear, used in only 12.4 percent of editions, and in no first editions after 1605.[127]

Set primarily in roman type, *Northward Hoe* is evidence of the shift in type traced by Lesser. What is curious then is not the use of black letter in a playbook, as that would have been a familiar, if outmoded, trend by 1607. Instead, what is striking is the choice to set a specific kind of speech, or the speech of a certain character, in black letter when the playbook is otherwise printed in roman. The process of setting a page with contrasting black letter and roman type would have involved additional labor on the part of the compositor. Not only were roman ligatures and black letter ligatures stored in different areas within a workshop, the variation in size of roman and black letter ligatures made the process of setting the type within the skeleton of the page more time consuming for the compositor, who may have opted first to press the roman type and then set the black letter (or vice versa), a process which would have required setting and printing the same page twice.[128] In the early modern world of print production, paper was a significant factor in determining the cost of printing a text, and the potential introduction of error due to changes in type increased the risk that valuable paper might be discarded.[129]

The visual effect of Hans Van Belch's speech is an instance of the materiality of the printed page calling out for interpretation. It catches the eye by introducing difference into the typographic arrangement of the page. It is not enough for the critic of such a playbook to read between the lines, so to speak; the page calls out also for a reading of the materiality of the line. As the text is both an object produced and consumed, it is tempting to try to resolve the question

of intentionality by determining who in the chain of production (author, acting company, publisher/printer,[130] compositor) made the choice to set off Hans' speech by setting it in black letter. Who directed, selected, or authorized this choice? Perhaps knowing this would shed light on the provenance of such an idea: whether it was a trend in early seventeenth century representations of stage Dutch in playbooks; whether it was the experiment of a particular playwright, or linked to a set of plays acted by a specific acting company; whether the publisher or compositor made this choice.

In the discussion that follows I address why these questions are especially difficult to answer given our archive of instances in which stage Dutch is set in black letter. Also, in keeping with many historians of the book, I suggest that the effect of type on a page, the way in which it constitutes part of the *mis en scene* of the page, can fruitfully be explored separate from questions of intentionality in the line of production.[131] In other words, I am most interested in exploring the legibility of the typographic experiments which are archived on playbook pages. I explore three instances of this typographic experiment that occur in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a time when city comedies were at their height of production and the antiquarian movement was underway. In many instances of black letter being used for stage Dutch, the typographic arrangement juxtaposes what in performance may have registered as funny precisely for how stage Dutch imperfectly approximates English: Fokker/fucker, for instance. In other words, black letter fixes difference onto a language that was often comically represented as sounding similar to English. In so doing, typographic arrangements can inject competition within a text by introducing the eye to a logic of difference that is often less salient in the thematic underpinnings of the play itself. As we shall see, in some instances, typographic arrangements emphasized a moving between languages and in so doing rendered visible the linguistic doubleness of a character's performance. I argue that the interpretive competitions catalyzed by black letter difference yield anything but a fixed picture of the relation of English to Dutch.

Making Dutch: From Stage to Page

Before turning to an analysis of stage Dutch and black letter, it is important to address a question raised by the material manifestation of Hans' speech on the page: whether an ideological connection existed between the spoken word on the English stage and the printed word of the playbook page. In other words, does Hans' speech look different because in performance it sounded different? Did black letter function as "visualized speech," as Yvonne Schwemer-Scheddin has proposed regarding black letter in post World War II Germany?[132] Scholars working on the material history of the playbook have weighed in on this question. In "What is an Editor?" Stephen Orgel asserts: "[i]f the play is a book, it's not a play."[133] David Scott Kastan expands:

> Although they have often been imagined as two halves of a single reality, as the inner and outer aspects of the play, the printed text and the performed play are not related as origin and effect (in whatever order one might conceive it). Indeed, in any precise sense, they do not constitute the same entity. Performance no more animates the text than does the text record the performance. They are dissimilar and discontinuous modes of production . . . The printed play is neither a pre-theatrical text nor a post-theatrical one; it is a *non*-theatrical text, even when it claims to offer a version of the play "as it was played."[134]

Contra Kastan and Orgel, Marta Straznicky argues that, "the early modern play could be play and book at one and the same time. This is not to say, however, that reading plays was meant to be a straight-forward replication of playgoing[.]"[135] What this critical debate exposes is that questions regarding the referentiality of a playbook to stage performance (or in this instance: type to speech) elide many important aspects of what Straznicky has called the "matrix within which a history [of play-reading] might emerge: that is, the relationship between the material forms of playtexts, their production and modes of circulation, and their interpretations, uses and appropriations by various reading publics."[136] Shifting inquiry from the relation of the stage to the page toward the relation of the page to its readers throws up a different and perhaps more productive question: in what ways might the allocation of black letter to stage Dutch have informed how readers interpreted a text?

Numerous theories have been advanced to explain the conventional use of black letter type in early modern books, especially the Bible.[137] Coverdale's New Testament, the Great Bible ("the English translation authorized by Henry VIII to supplant Coverdale in 1539"), the Bishops' Bible (1568) and King James I's Bible (1611) were all printed in black letter.[138] In addition to an almost fifty year history of state-sanctioned black letter English Bibles, black letter "had become identified with 'common' vernacular texts designed for 'circles untouched by humanistic studies'."[139] Black letter survived well into the seventeenth century as the "dominant font" of "prayer books, primers, ABCs, hornbooks, early chapbooks, law books, published laws, and statutes—texts issued in the voice of authority, whether divine or civil; texts which instilled obedience, singularity of opinion, and uniformity of action."[140] The books "essential in early modern childhood education . . . were printed in black letter"; even books, such as Edmund Coote's *The English school-master*, "designed for teaching tradesmen's apprentices or small children, followed [a] pattern [of printing] roman for the teacher, black letter for the student."[141] On the basis of such evidence, Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Keith Thomas, and John King all conclude that black letter "transmitted the voice of authority";[142] it was "the type for the common people";[143] and that "typography differentiates learned readers capable of reading text set in roman and Greek typefaces from the *hoi poloi*, who do not go beyond vernacular wording set almost wholly in black letter."[144] In this analysis, black letter functions indexically, pointing beyond itself to a target readership, *"hoi poloi,"* the everyman / child of early modern England—in other words, a "low" readership.

The study of "low" or popular culture, Zachary Lesser recently reminded us, is itself "the desire for popular culture."[145] In a critique of conventional readings of the semiotics of black letter, like those represented above, Lesser argues:

> While black letter appears to be the material index to a class of readers, the specifics of these class formations are never stable. What this instability reveals is that black letter is in fact not an *index* but a *signifier*, a sliding signifier of the "low" that depends on how the critic defines the total spectrum of readers.[146]

Analysis of black letter that relies on a stable construction of "low" or "popular" interpretive communities is inevitably belied by the fact of the plurality of cultural practices—based on gender and religion, for instance—which potentially differentiated the interpretive frameworks of one from another "low" reader. Also, as Rogier Chartier argues:

> [e]very textual or typographic arrangement that aims to create control and constraint always secretes tactics that tame or subvert it; conversely there is no production or cultural practice that does not rely on materials imposed by tradition, authority, or the market and that is not subjected to surveillance and censures from those who have power over words or gestures.[147]

In approaching black letter as a sliding signifier, rather than an index of the "low," Lesser recognizes the inherent instability of typography to serve as a transmitter for the voice of authority. Writing more generally on print and typography, Chartier calls for an approach to "typographic arrangement" that recognizes the interrelation of "discipline and invention."[148] Chartier, Lesser, and Straznicky all urge critical analysis of early modern typography that sets in play the complex inter-relations, even "struggles of competition" among performance and text, author, compositor/printer, and publisher, and the intended and unintended readerships.[149] While it is not my intention to take on, in full, this complex set of inter-relations, the critical call for attention to "struggles of competition" guides my inquiry. In the readings that follow, I explore ways in which typographic arrangements introduce interpretive competitions, contradictions, and instabilities within a text.

An initial impression of Hans' black letter speech may suggest that black letter functioned as a character type. In other words, the appearance of Hans' speech raises the question: did black letter type represent Dutch-identified dramatic characters on the page? Certainly italic type was used in playbooks throughout the period to make broad classificatory distinctions. As playbooks shifted increasingly away from black letter to roman type, italic was deployed to indicate un-narrated dramatic action such as character entrances and exits, character prefixes, all proper names, and sometimes songs; italic also was sometimes used to set off foreign words or foreign language from English. In such instances of typographic arrangement, italic was

not functioning indexically to point to foreigners on the playbook page. Instead it visually underscored foreign *language*. Evidence of this pattern can be found in print editions of the earliest English city comedy.

In the first three editions of William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1616, 1623, 1631), a play rich in instances of foreign speech, use of italic appears to have been carefully managed to distinguish visually what audibly may not have been self-evident: the difference between foreign speech and broken English. In all three print editions, foreign speech—particularly Italian, Dutch, and French—is set in italic.[150] The italic type used to indicate foreign speech travels with the language, regardless of whether it is being spoken by an Italian, Dutch, French, or English character. In the following exchange, for instance, two English-identified characters, Anthony and Frisco, exchange words in French and Dutch:

> FRISCO: [. . .] Can you speake French? *Content pore vous monsier Madomo*.
> ANTHONY: If I could not sire, I should ill understand you: you speak the best French that ever trode upon Shoe of Leather.
> FRISCO: Nay, I can speak more Languages then that: This is *Italian*, is it not? *Nella sturde Curtezana.*
> ANTHONY: Yes sir, and you speake it like a very Naturall.
> FRISCO: I believe you well: now for *Dutch:*
> *Ducky de doe watt heb yee ge brought.* (D3r)

When the play's three strangers attempt to speak English, their broken English, unlike their foreign lexicons, is rendered identically to that of other English speakers in the play; it too is set in roman type. For instance, the Dutchman, Vandalle bemoans his own linguistic inadequacy: "Mester *Pisaro*, de Dochter maistris *Laurentia* calle me de Dyel, den Asse, for that ic can neit englesh spreken" (E3v). Here broken English and English *look* alike, suggesting that broken English counts *as* English within the ideology of print exhibited in this text. The typographic arrangement foreshortens distance between English and broken English, as both appear identical on the page. The different uses of italic and roman type result in highlighting the difference between English and *foreign* speech. The three printed editions of *Englishmen For My Money* establish a pattern whereby foreign speech is italicized and English, even broken English, appears

in roman type. Undoubtedly, the typographic distinction is not telling readers about speech in performance. Any construable difference between broken English and stage Dutch—potentially salient in comic performance—collapses on the page when Vandall's confession, "ic can neit englesh spreken," is set in roman type. Within the typographic conventions of the play, Vandalle appears to be attempting *English* in this moment, even as he strains it to the breaking point with a lexicon so plainly Dutch. This inquiry into the use of italic and roman type reveals two patterns. First, typographic arrangements can emphasize a passing back and forth from foreign-identified (italic) to English-identified (roman) speech. Second, and significantly, the *language* rather than the *character* functions as the organizing principle of this typographic arrangement.

The typographic arrangements in Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* were not settled conventions of the period. More often than not, stage Dutch is set in the same type style as the surrounding speech in a playbook. Plays such as the Anonymous *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600), Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Westward Hoe* (1604), John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), and later printed playbooks such as Henry Glapthorne's *The Hollander* (1640) and Thomas Middleton's *No Wit No Help Like a Woman's* (1657), all of which include the appearance of a Dutch character speaking stage Dutch and / or broken English, use roman type for all speech in the playbook.[151] Given this evidence, the critic would be hard-pressed to support a thesis that suggests that there was a robust cultural association or fixed convention of playbook printing that linked stage Dutch and black letter. Instead, playbooks of the period reveal that typographic arrangement was open to a degree of experimentation, even as trends were emerging and falling from use.

If the use of italic in Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* suggests that type and language, rather than type and character-identity, were sometimes linked, this pattern is further instantiated in *Northward Hoe*'s use of roman and black letter types. Upon the Dutchman Hans' arrival to the scene, he inquires of Doll:

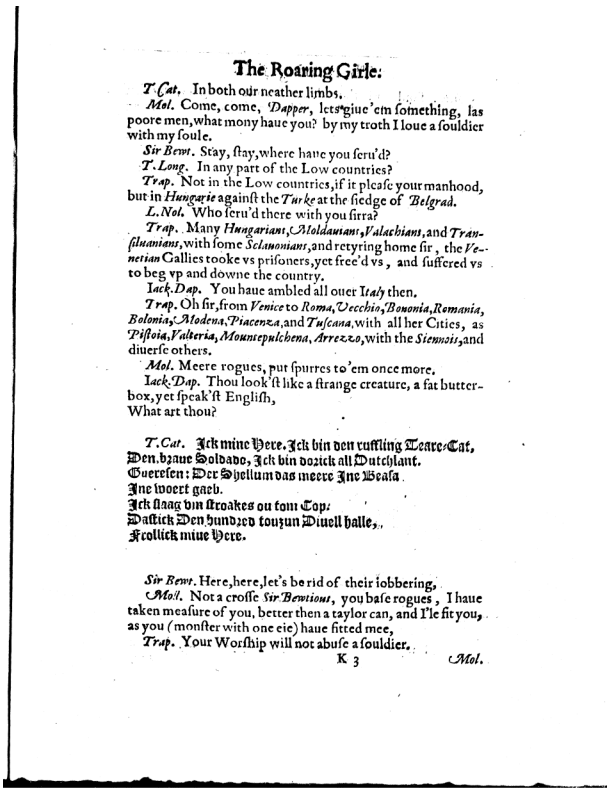
HANS: **How ist met you, how ist vro? Vrolick?**
DOLL: **Ick vare well God danke you:** Nay I'me an apt scholler and can take.
HANS: **Datt is good, dott is good.** (2.1.64-66)

The typographic arrangement of Doll's line is striking for at least two reasons. First, it is the only instance in the playbook of black letter and roman type being used in the same line to set the speech of a single character. Second, it would have involved significantly more effort on the part of the compositor, as it involved making certain that the black letter and roman ligatures aligned within in a single line. The allocation of black letter for Doll's stage Dutch is all the more conspicuous because of how it rests against roman type, focusing the reader's attention by means of spatial proximity on the visual difference of roman and black letter. As she takes up Hans' Dutch, her lines are set down in a type that effaces her English difference. On the page, Doll momentarily sounds *and looks* Dutch. No sooner has her typographic transmogrification occurred, however, than she snaps back, demonstrating that while she can "take" to Dutch as "an apt scholler," so too can she translate herself back into English. For the reader of Dekker and Webster's *Northward Hoe,* this translation is both linguistic and typographic, at once of the word and of the page. The page creates a *mis en scene* that the stage could not. The sensory experience of reading—that double process of hearing and seeing at once—is amplified by a typographic arrangement that underscores Anglo-Dutch linguistic difference by setting it as visual difference, side-by-side. If, in performance, Doll's Dutch sounded similar to English, the *mis en scene* created by Doll's line on the page pushes against Thomas Scott's assertion of the "small differences" between the English and Dutch; here Dutch and English are made to look as different as the technology of print would allow.

A similar association of black letter with adopted stage Dutch occurs in Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (1611).[152] Tearcat's speech in act five, scene one involves another instance of an English character temporarily taking on Dutch speech and the look of the page transforming in the process (eg., figure 3). One of the play's many "base

rogue[s]," Tearcat adopts stage Dutch as part of a ruse to extract sympathy and swindle money from the street-smart Moll and her companions, Sir Beauteous and Jack Dapper. Having claimed injury in both "nether limbs," Tearcat pretends to be a wounded soldier whose service has taken him from Hungary to Venice to "Dutchlant." Prompted by Jack Dapper's observation that he looks like "a fat butter-box," a negative characterization of the Dutch used frequently both on and off the English stage, Tearcat launches into a speech meant to confirm Jack Dapper's impression:

> *IACK DAP.* Thou lookest like a strange creature—a fat butter-box—yet speakest English. What art thou?
>
> *T. CAT.* **Ick mine Here. Ick bin den ruffling Tear-cat,**
> **Den brave Soldado. Ick bin dorick all Dutchlant.**
> **Gueresen. Der Shellum das meere Ine Beasa**
> **Ine woert gaeb**
> **Ick slaag bin stroakes on tom Cop:**
> **Dastick Den hundred touzun Divell halle,**
> **Frollick, mine here.**[153]
>
> *SIR BEWT.* Here, here— [About to give money] let's be rid of their jabbering. (5.1.98-106)



The Roaring Girle:

T Cat. In both our neather limbs.
Mol. Come, come, *Dapper*, lets giue'em ſomething, las poore men, what mony haue you? by my troth I loue a ſouldier with my ſoule.
Sir Bewt. Stay, ſtay, where haue you ſeru'd?
T. Long. In any part of the Low countries?
Trap. Not in the Low countries, if it pleaſe your manhood, but in *Hungarie* againſt the *Turke* at the ſiedge of *Belgrad*.
L. Nol. Who ſeru'd there with you ſirra?
Trap. Many *Hungariant*, *Moldauiant*, *Valachians*, and *Tranſiluanians*, with ſome *Sclauonians*, and retyring home ſir, the *Venetian* Gallies tooke vs priſoners, yet free'd vs, and ſuffered vs to beg vp and downe the country.
Iack.Dap. You haue ambled all ouer *Italy* then.
Trap. Oh ſir, from *Venice* to *Roma*, *Vecchio*, *Bononia*, *Romania*, *Bolonia*, *Modena*, *Piacenza*, and *Tuſcana*, with all her Cities, as *Piſtoia*, *Valteria*, *Mountepulchena*, *Arrezzo*, with the *Siennois*, and diuerſe others.
Mol. Meere rogues, put ſpurres to'em once more.
Iack.Dap. Thou look'ſt like a ſtrange creature, a fat butter-box, yet ſpeak'ſt Engliſh, What art thou?

T. Cat. **Ick mine Here. Ick bin den ruffling Teare-Cat,**
Den brave Soldado, Ick bin dorick all Dutchlant.
Guereſen: Der Shellum das meere Ine Beaſa
Ine woert gaeb.
Ick ſlaag bin ſtroakes on tom Cop:
Daſtick Den hundred touzun Diuell halle,
Frollick mine Here.

Sir Bewt. Here, here, let's be rid of their iobbering.
Moll. Not a croſſe *Sir Bewtious*, you baſe rogues, I haue taken meaſure of you, better then a taylor can, and I'le fit you, as you (monſter with one eie) haue fitted mee,
Trap. Your Worſhip will not abuſe a ſouldier.

3. *The Roaring Girl* (1611), K3 recto, STC (2nd ed.) / 17908[154]

Tearcat's performance is an attempt to pass as Dutch and so transform into the "fat butter-box" Dapper derides. In *Northward Hoe,* Doll performs in stage Dutch when she briefly speaks to Hans in his native tongue. In so doing, she plays the "scholler" whose linguistic acuity underscores her urban savvy. Even as both characters self-consciously take up stage Dutch, they do so by speaking authentic stage Dutch, not the inauthentic form that Savourwit hoped would pass as authentic (stage) Dutch. In *The Roaring Girl*, Tearcat intends his linguistic display to engender his counterfeited professional and ethnic identities. His brief adoption of stage Dutch, however, fails to resolve the question, "what art thou?" Sir Beauteous' response, "let's be rid of their jabbering," reveals that Tearcat has succeeded only in perturbing his audience. Moll concludes that he is not a soldier but a "skeldering varlet," a swindler and thief (5.1.113). Tearcat's performance of stage Dutch tests the limits of Jonson's calculus, "speak that I may see thee," in as much as speech is exposed as a mere instrument of disguise. Tearcat's performance in effect denies response to Sir Beauteous' query, "what art thou," as he demonstrates how authentic stage Dutch, and the attendant identity potentially attached to it, can be taken up and discarded at will. Although the page momentarily suggests that speaking Dutch makes one Dutch, Tearcat's various typographical embodiments (from roman to black letter and back to roman) suggest instead that speech—even speech set down in print—is a highly unstable signifier of identity.

In their textual embodiment as temporary speakers of authentic stage Dutch, Tearcat and Doll display, on the one hand, a complete visual metamorphosis that seems to underscore English and Dutch difference. On the other hand, their textual embodiment also reveals the impermanence of that difference. Performing in or passing as Dutch does not leave a trace once English is resumed (so too, English does not leave its typographical trace when characters "pass" as Dutch). In these playbooks, black letter difference signifies a character's ability to negotiate Dutch linguistic difference, taking it on as his or her own, convincingly and completely. Unlike

Middleton's Savourwit, Tearcat and Doll are not purveyors of broken English or inauthentic stage Dutch; these underworld characters have seemingly mastered Dutch linguistic difference and in so doing play double roles, double "types"—English and Dutch. Their apparent bi-lingualism introduces a fissure in the logic that grafts ethnic identity onto language. For those English characters who have mastered Dutch, linguistic identities can be produced at will, and ethnic identity, as Jonson imagines it, is exposed as a chimera, something that—with a bit of linguistic skill—one can apparently slip in and out of.

Nowhere was Jonson's idea more in play than in his own *Masque of Augures* wherein stage Dutch, set in black letter, signifies an infection of the tongue due to travel. Presented to King James' court on Twelfth Night, 1622, the opening Anti-Masque is set in the Court buttery-hatch where a "Brewers Clarke," a "Lighterman," an "Alewife," "her two women," a "rare Artist," a "Bear-ward," and his "three dancing Beares" have arrived in hopes of performing their masque for the King. The artistic principal among this band of "St. Katherine's" thespians (who "stincke like so many bloat-herrings newly taken out of the chimney!") is named Van Goose, the "rare Artist" of the crew. Eager to persuade "Groome of the Revels," who works in the Court buttery, that the King and his company might enjoy their performance, Van Goose begins:

> VAN: **Dat is all true, exceeding true, de inventors be barren, lost, two, dre, vour mile, I know that from my selven; dey have no ting, no ting** . . . **Now me would bring in some dainty new ting, dat never was, nor never fall be in de** rebus natura; **dat has never van de** materia, **nor de forma, nor de head nor de hoof, but is a** mera devisa **of de braine** —
>
> GROOM: Hey-da! what HANS FLUTTERKIN is this? what do's this *Dutchman* build, or talk of? Castles in the ayre?
>
> NOT: He is no *Dutchman* Sir, he is a *Brittaine* borne, but hath learned to misuse his owne tongue in travell, and now speakes all languages in ill English; a rare Artist he is sir, & a Projector of Masques.[155]

On the page, Van Goose looks like Hans of *Northward Hoe* and the counterfeit "butter-box" of

The Roaring Girl. Except for those words drawn from a Latin lexicon, all Van Goose's words are in black letter. His speech prompts Groom to rename him, Hans Flutterkin, a name no less satirical than his given, Van Goose, which (as Savourwit's pontifications on the nonsense word "gullder-goose" suggest) has the effect of linking Dutchness with notions of intellectual simplicity. Van Goose's name, lexicon, even the look of his speech on the page, coalesce, leading the reader to concur with Groom's identification of him as Dutch. More, the opening of the masque makes reference to both geography and foodstuffs commonly linked to the Dutch. Van Goose's troupe confesses they are from "St. Katherines," an area in London where a significant population of Dutch immigrants settled. They are said to stink of herring, a fish the Dutch were said to savor. Upon first spotting the unexpected players, Groom exclaims, "Hey-da! what's this? A hogshead of beere broake out of the Kings buttery, or some Dutch Hulke!" These signifiers—even accusations—of "dutchness" are introduced to the scene before the presumed "Dutch Hulke" speaks a line, spilling his difference on to the page.

Notch's insistence that Van Goose "is no Dutchman, he is *Brittaine* borne," together with the black letter appearance of Van Goose's speech, deconstructs Jonson's confident assertion of a correlation between speech and ethnic identity. Notch claims that Van Goose's lexicon is a symptom of perambulation, not birth. His "misuse[d]" English is a "learned," rather than inborn, affectation. If, of Van Goose's tongue it could have once been said that it "semeth to have two heads, the one homebornd, the other a stranger," it seems now but a one-headed stranger. Van Goose's travels have infected his speech, and though Notch claims that he "now speakes all languages in ill English," what seems most in evidence is that Van Goose has a particularly Dutch case of "mingle-mangle." Though a "*Brittaine* borne," he looks, talks, even smells like a Dutchman. When Van Goose speaks the reader does not *see* an Englishman. Quite the contrary, all clues on the page suggest that Van Goose is neither performing in nor passing as Dutch; Van Goose has unwittingly become a Dutchman. The page literally presses difference onto Van Goose's speech, foreclosing the interpretive wiggle-room the theater almost always exploited

when a Dutchman entered the stage. Unlike Tearcat and Doll, Van Goose does not transition in an out of his black letter appearance. His border crossing has translated him out of his Englishness. Though perhaps once an Englishman, Van Goose—on the page and by the page—has been made a Dutchman.

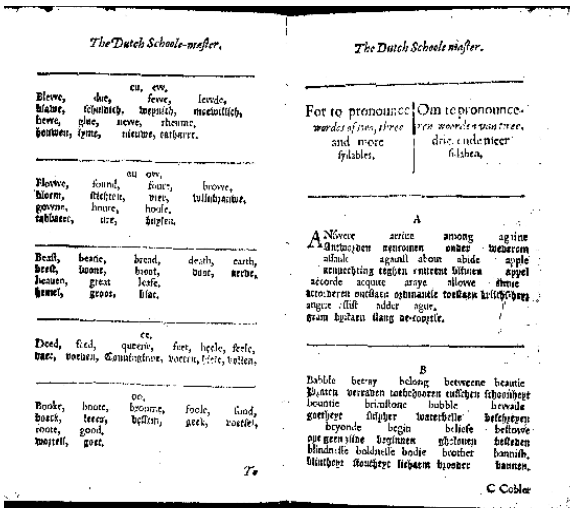
Of the three instances of black letter explored above, two —*Northward Hoe* and *Roaring Girl*— share an author, Thomas Dekker. Dekker collaborated with John Webster on the earlier and Thomas Middleton on the later play.[156] Taken together, this may suggest Dekker's hand in designing the look of stage Dutch on his playbook pages. However, a review of Dekker's corpus of plays containing Dutch characters reveals no consistent pattern of black letter type for stage Dutch. Dekker and Webster's *Westward Hoe* (1607) might have provided the most obvious source for suggesting whether Dekker was indicating to printers how certain aspects of his playbooks should look, a practice that would have been highly unusual in the period.[157] Like *Northward Hoe*, *Westward Hoe* was performed by the Children's company, was printed in the same year, and it too has a character named Hans who speaks stage Dutch.[158] But in *Westward Hoe* Hans' stage Dutch is set in roman font, and there is no use of black letter at all.[159] Conversely, in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* the playbook is set entirely in black letter. There too no typographic distinction is given to Hans' stage Dutch.[160] Dekker's oeuvre does not help to narrow questions of intentionality and design.

None of the printed texts that I have explored share printers,[161] nor were they performed originally by the same theater company,[162] nor have editors reached consensus on which dramatist (if any) provided the printer's copy.[163] Jonson knew Dekker and Webster, as they collaborated to some degree on King James I's royal progress, *The Magnificient Entertainment of King James* (1604). But whether Jonson read a copy of the printed playbooks of *Northward Hoe* or *The Roaring Girl* we do not know, nor would knowing shed light on the ideology of print that may have inspired this typographic arrangement in all three texts. In short, no compelling pattern

emerges from the variables of production that would help determine *who* selected black letter for stage Dutch in these three instances.

From Playbook to Woordenboek

What all three dramatic instances of the use of black letter could be said to share is the effect of underscoring Dutch and English language difference by means of visual cues. An analogous effect is produced in Anglo-Dutch dictionaries and grammars of the period, the texts to which one likely turned to learn Dutch when one was not learning about it at the theaters, in philological debates, or on the streets of London. In Marten le Mayre's *Dutch Schoole Master* (1606), for instance, Dutch words are set in black letter beneath corresponding English translations, set in roman type (figure 4). As was the convention of grammars, practice dialogues are set side-by-side; one column contains the script in English the other in Dutch (figure 5).


The Dutch Schoole-meſter.

ou, ow,

Blowe, due, fewe, lewde,
blame, ſchuldich, wenich, moetwillich,
bewe, glue, newe, theume,
bouwen, ſyme, nieuwe, eatharre.

au ow,

Blowe, ſound, foure, browe,
blorm, ſtichten, vier, tullebyanwe,
gouwe, huure, houde,
tabbaeee, tire, Ayperia.

Beaſt, beaſte, breed, death, earth,
beeſt, boome, broot, doode, aerde,
Heauen, great leafe,
hemel, groos, blat.

ee,

Deed, feed, queene, feet, heele, feele,
daet, voeden, Coninginne, voeten, hiele, voelen,

oo,

Booke, boote, broome, foole, find,
boack, beeſe, beſſem, geek, voetſel,
roote, good,
wortel, goet.

To

The Dutch Schoole meſter.

For to pronounce words of two, three and more ſyllables,

Om te pronounce-
ren woorde van twee, drie, ende meer ſilben,

A

Aldewere aertze among aginſt
Antwoyden nenroomen ondes wederoom
alſnak agnaill aboue abide apple
aenaerchting eaghen entreent bitwien appel
accorde acquire araye allowe amue
arroberen ouchtare ogbmaatde toeſtaen beſchoyen
angue ellift adder ague.
gram hedaem daing ae-coptie.

B

Babble beare belong betweene beautie
Baaten verraaden toebehooren tuſſchen ſchoonheyt
beautie breakſone bobble brewale
goetheyt diſpher waterbelle beſchryven
beyonde begin beliefe beſtowe
oge geen ytine beginnen ghelooven beſteden
blindneſſe boldneſſe bodie brother bannish,
blindheyt ſtoutheyt lichaem broeder bannen.

C Cobler

The Dutch Schoole-maſter.

my Vncle,	myneen Oom,
my Aunte,	myn Moeyken,
our couſines,	onſe neefjenen,
our thee couſines,	onſe nichten,
thy friends,	dine vrienden,
his brother in law,	syn swager,
his ſiſter in law,	syn swagerinne,
my kinsfolkes,	myn maeschappyen,
his children,	syn kinderen,
my ſonne in lawe,	myn schoon soone
my daughter in law,	myn schoon dochter,
thy neighbour,	dine ghebuire,
your ſhe neighbour,	dine ghebuirnue,
his goſſip,	syn ghemaecken,
her ſhe goſſip,	hare ghemaecken,
my godfather,	myn peter,
my godmother,	myn meeter,
your ſonne,	dinen soone,
your daughter,	dinen dochter,
thy godſonne,	dinen peeterken,
thy god-daughter,	dine peeterken,
my nephew,	myn neve,
my niece.	myn nichten.

Of Time.

When ſaw you them?	Vanden Tyt.
yeſterday,	Wanneer ſiet ghyſe t ghyſteren,
the other day,	den anderen dach,
to day,	van daghe,
this morning,	deſe morghe,
this euening,	deſen noont,
not long ago,	vier lang ghelenen,
a few dayes agoe,	wat nige daghen verleden,
a ſeuen-	

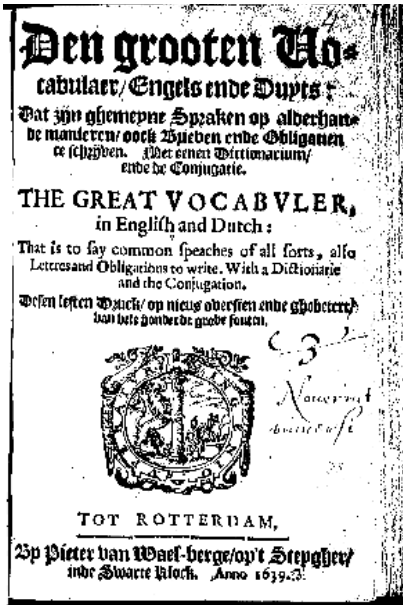
The Dutch Schoolemaiſter.

a ſeuen night agoe,	over acht daghē verleden,
a fornight agoe,	over viertien daghen
three weekes agoe,	over drye weken,
a moneth agoe,	over een maent,
long ſince,	over lang,
A Monday come ſeuen night,	maendach to comende ouer acht daghen tyt,
This day fornighe,	Heden vierteen daghē,
It ſhall be to morrow, three weekes,	Het ſal morghen dyt, Weken tyt,
A Tueſday ſhall bee a moneth	Dy dinsdach ſalt een maent tyn,
When ſhall you ſee them?	Wanneer ſult ghy de ſien?
When hope you to ſee them?	Wanneer verhope ghy de te ſien?
To morrowe God willing,	Morghen met Gode beleft,
This day ſeuen night,	Van hnidē in acht daghē.
To morrow come fortnight.	Van morghen in veerthē daghen,
Wedneſday come three weekes,	Van woensdach in drye weken,
Thurſday come a moneth,	Van donderdach in een maent,
at Chriſtmaſſe,	te Chriſtmiſſe,
at New yeares tide,	op de new yere,
in the twelue dayes,	ter drye Coninghen,
at Candlemaſſe,	te Lichtmiſſe,
at Shroue tide,	op de vaſtelauent,
on Aſhwedneſday	de eerſte dach dāt vaſte,
in Lent,	in de vaſte,
at middent,	ten halue vaſten,
at Eaſter,	te Paeſchen,
at our Lady in Lent,	t'onſer vrouwe in vaſten
at Whitſontide,	te Pinxten,

5. *Dutch Schoole Master* (1606), STC (2nd ed.) / 15453.7

I have found that this typographic arrangement is prevalent in Anglo-Dutch dictionaries throughout the seventeenth century (see Appendix I). In some cases, the typographic distribution appears even on the title page, aiding the reader in organizing his or her engagement with the text (figures 6 & 7). Typographic arrangement of dictionaries and grammars operated as a visual organizing principle, facilitating the reader's engagement with the bilingual text by allowing the eye to see and distinguish English from Dutch before reading a word. What the archive reveals is that when black letter appears in seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch dictionaries it *always* attaches to Dutch rather than English words. Readers of Anglo-Dutch dictionaries throughout the period likely anticipated this typographic arrangement.

Even in multi-lingual dictionaries and grammars, when English and Dutch are involved, black letter is more often assigned to Dutch. However, here there is a greater degree of variability in the allocation of type to language. For instance, in Guillaume Beyer's *La vraye instruction des trois langues la Francoise, l'Angloise, & la Flamende. . . Right instruction of three languages French, English and Dutch* (1661), black letter is used predominately for Dutch, roman for French, and italic for English (figure 8).

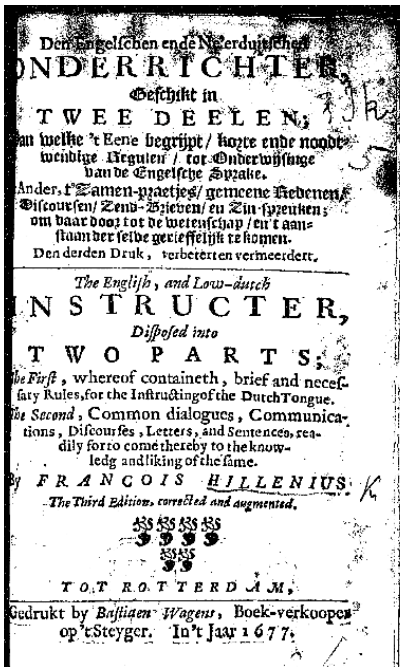


Den grooten Vo-
cabulaer/ Engels ende Duyts:
Dat zijn ghemeyne Spraken op alderhande manieren/ oock Brieven ende Obligatien te schrijven. Met eenen Dictionarium/ ende de Conjugatie.

THE GREAT VOCABVLER,
in English and Dutch:
That is to say common speaches of all sorts, also Letters and Obligations to write. With a Dictionarie and the Conjugation.
Desen lesten Druck/ op nieus oversien ende ghebetert/ van dese sonder de groote fouten.

TOT ROTTERDAM,
By Pieter van Waelberge/ op't Steygher/ inde Swarte Kloek. Anno 1639.

6. *Den Grooten Vocabulaer* (1639), title page, STC (2nd ed.) / 24869

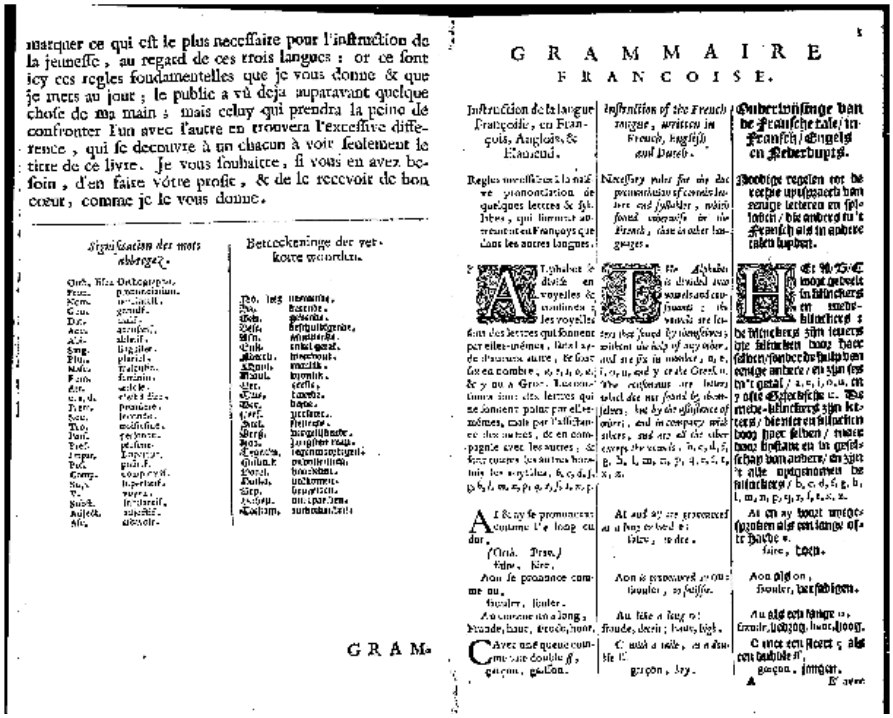


Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen
ONDERRICHTER,
Geschikt in
TWEE DEELEN;
In welcke 't Eene begrijpt/ korte ende noodtwendige Regulen/ tot Onderwijsinge van de Engelsche Spraake.
Ander, t'Samen-praetjes/ gemeene Redenen/ Discoursen/ Send-Brieven/ en Sin-spreuken; om daar door tot de wetenschap/ en 't aanstaan der selve gerieffelijck te komen.
Den derden Druk, verbeterten vermeerdert.

The English, and Low-dutch
INSTRUCTER,
Disposed into
TWO PARTS;
The First, whereof containeth, brief and necessary Rules, for the Instructing of the Dutch Tongue.
The Second, Common dialogues, Communications, Discourses, Letters, and Sentences, readily for to come thereby to the knowledg and liking of the same.
By FRANCOIS HILLENIUS.
The Third Edition, corrected and augmented.

TOT ROTTERDAM,
Gedrukt by *Bastiaen Wagens*, Boek-verkooper op 't Steyger. In't Jaar 1677.

7. *Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen onderrichter* (1677), title page, Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / H2035AD



marquer ce qui eſt le plus neceſſaire pour l'inſtruction de la jeuneſſe, au regard de ces trois langues : or ce ſont icy ces regles fondamentelles que je vous donne & que je mets au jour ; le public a vû deja auparavant quelque choſe de ma main ; mais celuy qui prendra la peine de confronter l'un avec l'autre en trouvera l'exceſſive difference, qui ſe decouvre à un chacun à voir ſeulement le titre de ce livre. Je vous ſouhaitte, ſi vous en avez beſoin, d'en faire vôtre profit, & de le recevoir de bon cœur, comme je le vous donne.

GRAMMAIRE
FRANCOISE.

GRAM-

8. *La vraye instruction des trois langues* (1661), page 1, Wing (CD-ROM, 1996) / B2193B

While *La Vraye* exhibits the same typographic arrangement for English and Dutch as do the Anglo-Dutch dictionaries of the period, the use of black letter was not restricted to Dutch in bi- and multi-lingual dictionaries of the period. Black letter type is frequently used to distinguish language groups from one another. This is the case, for example, in John Barrett's *An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionary* (1580) in which English words and definitions are set in black letter, Latin translations in roman, Greek in the Greek alphabet, and French in italic.[164] Dutch is not part of the linguistic matrix *An Alvearie* aims to organize; among romance counterparts, the Germanic English takes on the black letter form in this instance. Among seven bi-lingual (English / romance language and classical language) dictionaries of the period, none set romance or classical languages in black letter.[165] When English and romance languages are contrasted and when black letter appears, English always takes on the black letter form.[166] Within the first all-English dictionary, Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabetical* (1604), English words appear in roman type and their definitions are set in black letter.[167] This does not, however, establish a trend. When Henry Cockeram publishes *The English Dictionary* (1623), the "third dictionary in English and

the first to use the term," English words are set in italic and their definitions in roman type.[168] Such variability might be attributed to pressures of production: namely, the availability of type to the compositor (using two kinds of type on a single page decreased the chances that the compositor might run short of letters).[169]

Based on this survey of the typographic arrangement of dictionaries and grammars, I venture an observation: when the languages of the text are only English and Dutch and black letter is used, there seems to have been a strong preference for setting Dutch in black letter; to my knowledge, an example of the opposite typographic arrangement does not exist. To this observation I would add that in plays from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century in which English and Dutch characters appear and / or stage Dutch is spoken either by English or Dutch characters—fifteen plays in all—I have not found any instance of English being set in black letter except when the entire playbook is printed in black letter.[170] Taken together, it is striking that in both playbooks and Anglo-Dutch dictionaries, when black letter is used to set off the difference between English and Dutch, it *always* signifies *Dutch* linguistic difference. More, in dictionary printing, when English is set next to romance and classical lexicons, Dutch is absent, and black letter is used, there seems to have been a strong preference for setting English in black letter; I have not come across an example of the opposite typographic arrangement (romance languages in black letter, English in roman, for instance). Given this body of evidence, a print ideology might be said to emerge—one in which Germanic languages are the bearers of black letter. In of itself, this is not a surprise given the black letter print history of the European north. Even so, there is little reason to suppose in the case of the Anglo-Dutch dictionaries that their typographic arrangement could not have been otherwise. If, as the first English author to write on the art of printing tells us, black letter was referred to as "English letter," the pattern of typographic arrangement in Anglo-Dutch dictionaries seems by no means inevitable.[171]

In the year 1607, a Londoner sitting down to read Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Northward Hoe* may have had on their bookshelf a copy of Professor Marten le Mayre's *The*

Dutch Schoole Master, wherein is shewed the true and perfect way to learne the Dutch tongue, published the previous year. Both texts were cultural experiments of a kind: one took a gamble that the London market would invest in a book that offered lessons in Dutch, the other experimented with the look of those languages on the playbook page. Anglo-Dutch dictionaries would, for the most part, maintain a typographic distinction between English and Dutch long after it fell out of use in playbooks. Indeed, the typographic experiment that we witness on the pages of the three dramatic texts which we have explored did not take hold as a popular trend; it was, as I have been suggesting, an *experiment* with how the page might negotiate the nexus of speech, print, and identity. These experiments with setting Dutch differently—setting it off from English—were happening during the same decade when antiquarians were arguing for the resemblance between English and Dutch. Even as these playbooks set English and Dutch difference into play, they also demonstrate how such difference is a fiction of the page—a fiction that was not always mirrored by the narrative and thematic content of the play. As we have seen, typographic difference could introduce gaps between the *look* of the page and thematic and narrative *content* of the play. As typographic difference introduced hermeneutic competition within the early modern playbook, it asked early modern readers to actively engage in the cultural double vision of "thinking Dutch" as they were reading English drama.

IV

Anglo-Dutch Linguist Kinship

Throughout this chapter, I have been exploring early modern ideas regarding the relatedness of the English and Dutch language, suggesting that the turn of the seventeenth century was a moment when Anglo-Dutch linguistic proximity was actively produced in philological debates and, on multiple levels, in city comedies. Among antiquarians, the Teutonic thesis resulted in connecting the English and Dutch people in a long history of racial kinship. City comedies also began to produce a complex picture of Anglo-Dutch linguistic relations, doubling representation of Dutch speech to include both authentic and inauthentic forms. In so doing, the

resemblance between English and authentic stage Dutch was highlighted. In printed pages of playbooks and Anglo-Dutch dictionaries, the use of black letter for Dutch language and speech suggests that theories of Anglo-Dutch nearness were not settled, but contested across various discursive and representational domains. Dutch difference could be set onto the page, even in instances where Dutch speech and Dutch identity are anything but neatly aligned. What these varied archives reveal, then, is the unsettled quality of the relation of language to identity in early modern English culture.

Across all three archives, the Anglo-Dutch relation was figured as a proximate relation: among antiquarians, English and Dutch shared a linguistic continuum and the phonological similarities between English and Dutch were testimony to their shared, ancient Saxon lineage; in the theater, Dutch could be made to sound a lot like English and in so sounding produce an effect of similitude in performance; on the page, typographic difference between English and Dutch was literally set side-by-side, giving readers another vantage onto the Anglo-Dutch linguistic relation. Although typographic arrangements could make a difference between English and Dutch on the page, even there—where we might expect to discover only stark opposition—the fine line between the linguistic aspect of English and Dutch identity is exposed, as English characters demonstrate just how "apt" they are in "taking" up Dutch. In moving back and forth between Dutch and English, the theater's characters—on the stage and on the page—together with the antiquarians of the period ultimately did more to knit together the English and the Dutch, English language and Dutch language, than they did to tease it apart.

Appendix I: Typographic Arrangement of Anglo-Dutch Dictionaries & Grammars
***indicates that more than one typographical arrangement was used**

Date	Title/Place of publication	Blackletter	Roman	Italic
1606	*Dutch Schoole Master* London	Dutch	English	
1639	*Den Grooten Vocabulaer* *Engles ende Duyts* Rotterdam	Dutch	English	
1646	*The English Schole-master. . .* *Den Engelschen School-Meester* Amsterdam	Dutch	English	
1647&1648	*Het Groot Woorden Boeck /* *Large Netherdutch and English Dictionary* Rotterdam		English	Dutch
1660	*Dutch Tutor** London			
	"Rules" & Dialogues	Dutch	English	
	Vocabulary		Dutch	English
1664	*Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen. . .* *English and Low Dutch instructor* Rotterdam	Dutch	English	
1675	*An English & Nether-dutch Dict.** Amsterdam			
	Dictionary		Dutch	English
	Letter to reader		English	Dutch
1677	*Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen. . .* *English and Low Dutch instructor** Rotterdam			
	Intro material		Dutch	English
	Dutch Instructor	Dutch	English	
1677, 1689, 1698	*Anglo-Bel[g]ica. . .* *The English and Netherdutch Academy* Amsterdam			
	Dialogue	Dutch	English	

[1] Thomas Scott, *Belgicke Pisimire* (London [i.e., Holland: s.n.], 1622) 49.

[2] The United Provinces included: Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, Friesland (as well as Drenth, which later became a separate province). Scott's political argument pertains to the United Provinces rather than all of the Low Countries' seventeen provinces. Scott's use of the term "Hollanders" for people from all seven of the United Provinces was a common misnomer of the period, an effect of Holland's commercial and cultural centrality.

[3] Ibid., 99.

[4] Ibid., 67.

[5] Ibid., 97.

[6] *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts,* eds. John Somers and Walter Scott, Vol. 1 (London: T. Cadell, W. Davies, etc, 1809) 413.

[7] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 2.

[8] In exploring the ways in which the philological debates informed and were informed by notions of racial heritage, we will be considering notions of race as kinship, ideas that were informed far more by Mosaic history than by the pre-modern (particularly seventeenth century) and enlightenment epistemologies that linked race to skin color. On the Mosaic paradigm, see Benjamin Braude, "Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 54.1 (1997): 103-42; Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 9-33.

[9] Richard Mulcaster, *Mulcaster's Elementarie*, ed. E.T. Campagnac (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925) 172. All references are to this edition.

[10] Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1976) 142.

[11] Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953) 211.

[12] Barber, *Early Modern English* 76.

[13] Richard Bailey, *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) 53.

[14] George Gascoigne, "Certayne notes of Instruction," *The Posies* (1575), ed. John W. Cunliffe (1907; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 468.

[15] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) 252.

[16] Quoted in David Crystal, *Stories of English* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2004) 291.

[17] Quoted in Crystal, *Stories* 291.

[18] William Haughton, *Englishmen for My Money*, ed. Albert Croll Baugh (Philadelphia 1917) line 338.

[19] William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R.D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) 29. All citations are from this edition.

[20] On denization in England see Irene Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593,1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority,* Quarto Series, Vol. 57, (London: Huguenot Society, 1985) 3-18; Daniel Statt, "The Birthright of an Englishman: The practice of Naturalization and Denization of Immigrants Under the Later Stuarts and Early Hanoverians," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXV.1 (1989): 61-74.

[21] Mulcaster, *Elementarie* 90-91.

[22] For consideration of the economic and legal metaphors in sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts of language, see Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1996) 33-68.

[23] Mulcaster, *Elementarie* 173-74.

[24] Camden, *Remains* 29.

[25] Camden explicitly links linguistic transculturation and national assimilation, as this quote suggests. R. D. Dunn, editor of *Remains*, explains: "In the *Britannia* Camden was interested in languages as the 'surest evidence of the original of a nation' . . . This preoccupation with national identity has given way [in *Remains*] to a relaxed consideration of languages in general, their characteristics and development," (xxii).

[26] Samuel Daniel, *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie . . . Also Certaine Epistles, with a Defence of Ryme* (London, 1603), unpaginated; the quote appears on the final recto page of the text.

[27] Occassionally, linguistic mixedness was cast in terms of lineage and blood as was the case in George Chapman's *Preface* to the *Seven Books of the Iliades* (1598):

> For my varietie of new wordes, I have none Inckepot I am sure you know, but such as I give passport with such authoritie . . . All tongues have inricht themselves from their originall…with good neighbourly borrowing, and as with infusion of fresh ayre and nourishment of newe blood in their still growing bodies, & why may not ours?

Chapman's preface draws together the two central figures of the sixteenth century debate: the inkhorn and the denizen, the latter implicitly evoked in the image of a granted passport. As the city might authorize international exchange by granting a travel passport that enables mercantile trade, here Chapman authorizes trade in the form of an anglicized Greek epic. In raising the specter of "new blood," miscegenation is endowed with positive associations linked to the logic of humoral balance. In so imagining a link between blood and language, Chapman foreshadows the early-seventeenth century turn toward an emphasis on the linkages between language and racial history.

[28] Camden, *Britannia*, quoted in "Introduction," *Remains,* ed. R.D. Dunn ed., xxii.

[29] "Until the close of the sixteenth century, comments on the English language were concerned largely with its eloquent or uneloquent nature, the inadequacy of its vocabulary, the confusion and illogicality of its spelling, and the lack of grammatical regulation. The historical development of the language received little attention," (Jones, *Triumph* 214).

[30] Jones, *Triumph* 215. *Apropos* of Jones, R.D. Dunn refers to this movement as a "Nordic craze," 374. I refer to this critical interest in Teutonic origins as the Teutonic thesis, rather than "mania" or "craze" for, as Colin Kidd has demonstrated, the influence of the Teutonic thesis reaches, with important historical variation, well into the nineteenth century, a legacy the word craze (with its connotation of a flash in the pan or passing trend) risks obscuring. On the Teutonic thesis, see: Barber, *Early Modern English*; Jones, *Triumph;* Kidd, *British Identities,* esp., 75-98; Hugh MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans,*

Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons (Montreal: Harvest House, 1982); Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 161-83.

[31] In focusing on the ways in which the Teutonic thesis differed from the Inkhorn controversy and the different histories of English to emerge through these debates, the critics cited above (n.30) have not asked the question I am exploring here: how did the Teutonic thesis re-imagine Anglo-Dutch history?

[32] Blank 128.

[33] Blank 126-68.

[34] Camden and Verstegan propose that while first the Gauls and then the Romans invaded Britain, only the Anglo-Saxons made a full conquest—a conquest never fully undone by the subsequent invasions of Danes and Normans. On English nationalism and Camden and Verstegan, see MacDougall 45-50; Floyd Wilson 161-83.

[35] R. D. Dunn notes: "there are some strikingly similar ideas in Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* and it is possible that the appearance of Verstgan's book in 1605 prompted Camden to revise his own discussion of the Germanic element in English," (Camden, *Remains* 372). For a detailed history of the fifteenth century "rediscovery" and influence of Tacitus, see *Tacitus Germania,* trans. and introduction by J. B. Rives (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 70-74. Hugh MacDougall places Camden among a network of contemporaries invested in the work of Tacitus: Camden "maintained a fairly extensive correspondence with his friend, Thomas Savile, and his brother, the erudite Sir Henry Savile, the English translator of Tacitus. At the urging of the Dutch geographer Abraham Ortelius, Camden undertook the work that was to establish his fame, the *Britannia* (1586)" (45).

[36] *Britannia* undergoes multiple Latin editions in the sixteenth century: 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607; 1610 is the first authorized English version.

[37] Quoted in "Introduction," *Remains,* ed., R.D. Dunn, xxii.

[38] Colin Kidd rightly argues that "whatever the logic of Gothicism, this ethnic story of Germanic transplants never, over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fully occluded the idea of the immemorial constitution or the relevance of the ancient Britons" (81).

[39] Camden, *Remains* 23.

[40] Camden, *Remains* 25 & 31. Camden distinguishes English from "the British tongue or Welsh (as we now call it)," which he posits "was in use onely [sic] in this Island, having great affinitie with the olde Gallique of Gaule, now Fraunce, from whence the first inhabitants in all probability came hither" (*Remains* 22).

[41] Ibid., 32.

[42] Quoted in Jones 220 and 220 n.17.

[43] Barber 129-30.

[44] MacDougall 47.

[45] Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, ed D. M. Rogers (Ilkley, Yorkshire, [England], The Scolar Press, 1976). All references are to this edition, hereafter cited as Verstegan.

[46] Verstegan, "Epistle to our Nation," *Restitution.*

[47] The grandson of a refugee from Gelderland, Verstegan enrolled at Oxford as "Richard Rowlands," left before taking his degree to avoid oaths of allegiance to the Anglican Church, and became a freeman of the Goldsmiths' company in London. Scholars have suggested that it was "as a result of his enthusiasm for the Germanic background of English [that] he assumed his grandfather's Dutch surname on leaving the University" (MacDougall 47; Bailey 38). From March 1587 Verstegan resided in Antwerp where he "worked as a publishing and intelligence agent" overseeing the "printing of numerous English Catholic works" (*Dictionary of National Biography* entry: Richard Verstegan). His ties to Antwerp developed further when in 1610 he married his second wife, Catherina de Sauchy of Antwerp. *Restitution* was penned at least in part from Antwerp where he signed his prefatory *Epistle to our* [English] *Nation.*

[48] Vertegan 42.

[49] Ibid., 42-43.

[50] From the perspective of the twenty-first century, it is difficult not to hear in Verstegan's passage a kind of proto-Aryanism. Colin Kidd admonishes against such comparison:

> In the course of the eighteenth century Englishmen began to depend more exclusively on the Saxons as the nation's foundational ethnic core. Saxonist historiography was not primarily a celebration of ethnicity. It focused principally on institutions—political, legal and ecclesiastical. Customs, manners and culture were subordinate considerations, though the Tacitean inheritance meant that they were always a component part of the Gothicist package. Moreover, this cultural dimension of the Saxon heritage grew in importance throughout the eighteenth century, paving the way for the more overtly racialist and ethnic-determinist Saxonism which would prevail in nineteenth-century English discourse . . . The Teutonic racialism which dominated the nineteenth-century English ethnic self-image has distorted our understanding of early modern English conceptions of ethnicity. Although Teutonism evolved out of the preoccupation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English antiquarians with the Anglo-Saxon origins of England's institutions, freedoms and national characteristics, nineteenth-century racialists altered its orientation. Their revisions included a greater emphasis on ethnic determinism, the drawing of a sharper distinction between Gothic and non-Gothic peoples, a heightened awareness of English exceptionalism and the reclassification of certain European peoples, formerly thought of as Gothic, within alien categories. (91 & 212)

In the nineteenth-century racialist discourses subtending notions of English exceptionalism, the construction of English difference is what is most at stake; such ideologies differ from Verstegan's in their efforts to construct and naturalize racial *difference*. In Verstegan's project the racial narrative yields an expansive, extra-national sense of racial kinship.

[51] Kidd 211.

[52] Verstegan 83.

[53] Verstegan 147.

[54] *Lingua Belgica,* 97. A copy of this work is housed in the University of Michigan, Special Collections. Translations are drawn from George Metcalf, "Abraham Mylius on Historical Linguistics," *PMLA* 68:3 (1995): 546. Hereafter, Metcalf.

[55] Verstegan 121-22.

[56] Ibid., 196.

[57] Ibid., 198.

[58] Ibid., 198-99. I have preserved the typographic arrangement of the text.

[59] Ibid., 199.

[60] Perhaps because it does not serve Verstegan's larger argument regarding English and Dutch nearness, he does not explore the false cognates in this passage: in Dutch, *ey* means egg, not eye.

[61] A century later, John Farrington would assert an even closer relation between English and Dutch: "I think there is very considerable agreement in a great many of their words, especially their monosyllables as house, hose, smith, way, rain and all which are pronounced just as we do," (*An account of a journey through Holland, Friezeland, Westphalia…in several letters to Mr. N.H., Aug.-Dec. 1710,* quoted in C.D. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Brown and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces.* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993] 230 n.88). Where Verstegan finds "neerness," Farrington hears phonetic sameness.

[62] "The Excellency of the English Tongue," *Elizabethan Critical Essays,* ed. G. Gregory Smith, Vol. 1, (London: Oxford University Press) 289.

[63] "Our ancient English-Saxon language is to bee accompted [considered] the Teutonic toung" (Verstegan 188).

[64] The idea that the Dutch language, "more than any" other, preserved old Teutonic was repeated by English authors throughout the seventeenth century. As late as 1689, for example, Edward Richardson in the introduction to his *Anglo-Belgica: The English and Netherdutch Academy* (1689) writes: "Touching the Nether-dutch, I find it upon severall grounds preferred by Authors, at le[a]st so far as it hath affinity with the old Teutonick, before many other." He then prophesies that "this *Belgick* is likely to be yet far more esteemed of, and usefull then it's Neighbour Languages." At the turn of the eighteenth century, John Northleigh considered Dutch, "a kind of a dialect of the old Teutonic, modeled into many monosyllables and pronounced with a more tart and voluble fineness," (*Topographical Descriptions with Historico-Political and Medico-Physical Observations, Made in Two Several Voyages through Most Parts of Europe* (1702), quoted in Van Strien 212). For Verstegan, Carew and Richardson alike, old Teutonic was a kind of parent language from which German, Nether-Dutch (or low-Dutch), and English derived. For all three authors, contemporary Dutch retained a closer linguistic affiliation to old Teutonic than did their own native tongue.

[65] *Origines Antwerpianae* (Antwerp, 1569), quoted in Jones 216. For examples of French, Swiss, and Welsh authors making a similar case for their native language, see Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 21 & 69.

Becanus's hinged his case on the assertion that the Cimbri, the direct descendants of Japhet and ancestors of the Flemish people, had not been present at Babel; therefore Becanus's contemporary Flemish dialect, spoken in Antwerp, wholly preserved the language of the garden of Eden. Abraham van der Myl (1563-1637) differed with Goropius Becanus, finding instead that Hebrew was the most ancient of languages. He concurred with Becanus, however, that the "purity" of Old Teutonic could be found in the contemporary idiom of Belgian (Metcalf 541). Van der Myl concluded that of the four languages:

> worthy of serious scholarly consideration, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic . . .
> Hebrew, to be sure, was the most ancient, but Teutonic had originated in the family of Japheth shortly after the flood, and shared with Hebrew a far-flung territorial expansion. Greek had less claim to antiquity, and Latin still less, and their territorial expansion, however significant in itself, was negligible in comparison to that of Hebrew and Teutonic. Of these four, moreover, Latin and Hebrew were no longer spoken, while Greek survived in only a corrupt and mutilated form. Only Teutonic was still spoken, and still spoken, moreover, with the same purity as in ancient times (Ibid., 549).

Furthermore, Van der Myl asserted the primacy of Old Teutonic: "I conclude now from the fact that our language extended farther and occupied much more territory than Greek that it consequently preceded it in age" (Ibid., 546). Because Hebrew and Latin were no longer "living, spoken tongues" and Greek "had

pitifully lost its older character," Belgian was praised as all the more honorable for having "survived uncorrupted" (Ibid., 547-8).

[66] Ibid., 550. Not surprisingly, Van der Myl concludes that it was Belgian, "which had originated with Gomer, son of Japheth . . . that was the heart, so to speak, of a language family" which spread "widely over the Old World and the New" (Ibid., 554).

[67] Quoted and translated in H. Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland: A study in the literary relations of England and Holland before 1730,* (Amsterdam: H.J. Press, 1933) 93. Scherpbier quotes the 1663 folio, p.244.

[68] *The Principle Works of Simon Stevin,* ed. C.V. Swets and Zeitlinger, 5 vols. (Amsterdam, 1955-66) 1.59-93. Hereafter cited as Stevin; all citations are from volume one.

[69] Stevin 63.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Stevin goes further than his contemporaries on this point, compiling a table more than ten page in length that lists all Dutch, Latin and Greek monosyllabic nouns, adjectives, and other words (67-78). As we have seen, this reasoning was shared by English authors of the sixteenth century, especially those who advocated a purist language policy. For an overview of how monosyllabic words were considered an "authentic characteristic of the native [English] tongue," see Jones 199; and Bailey 39-42.

[72] Additionally, Dutch authors praised Dutch for its ease in creating compound words: "Hendrik Spieghel of Amsterdam argued that Netherlanders should take pride in their language following the example of the Italians, the French and the English and agreed with Stevin about the wealth of Dutch and its propensity to create compounds such as *handschoen* for gloves ('hand-shoes') or *woordboek* for dictionary ('word-book')," (Burke, *Languages and Communities* 66-7).

[73] *Sir Philip Sidney: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 245.

[74] Burke, *Languages and Communities* 11.

[75] Ibid., 38.

[76] Wilson Clough, "The Broken English of Foreign Characters on the English Stage," *Philological Quarterly* 12.3 (1933): 255-68; A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama 1558-1642* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992) 26-76. For a reading that associates the performance of linguistic differences with English xenophobia, see Janette Dillon, *Language and Stage in Medieval and Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 162-87.

[77] Burke, *Languages and Communities* 29-32.

[78] Burke, *Languages and Communities* 26. Burke quotes Ben Jonson, *Timber or Discoveries,* ed. Ralph S. Walker (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1953) 45-6.

[79] *A Critical Edition of the Anonymous Elizabethan Play* The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, ed. Jill L. Levenson (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980) 4.66-75. The editor glosses 4.70-72: "Listen to me for a moment. I have a small shop a little stall, near the door of my house. You shall have that as a place of business."

[80] Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday or The Gentle Craft*, ed. James Knowles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 4.45; 4.76-85. All references are to this edition.

[81] Henry Glapthrone, *The Hollander* (London, 1640), D2 verso.

[82] Jan van der Noot, a Brabant refugee resident in London, lauded Queen Elizabeth for allowing his Dutch countrymen and women to worship in their native tongue in: "Epistle to Elizabeth*," A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings*, (London 1569).

[83] Ole Peter Grell, "The French and Dutch Congregations in London in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV.5 (1987): 368. The English generally held a stricter notion of sabbatarianism than did the Dutch, in England or in the Netherlands, according to K. H. D. Haley, *The British and the Dutch: Political and Cultural Relations through the Ages* (London: George Phillip, 1988) 70.

[84] John Taylor catalogues the names and locations of London's taverns in *Taylors Travels and Circular Perambulations through, and by more then thirty times twelve signs of the Zodiak, of the ffamous Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1636). I am grateful to Laura Ambrose for pointing me to this source.

[85] Irene Scouloudi, "Notes on Strangers in the Precinct of St. Katherine-by-the-Tower c. 1500-1687, and on the Flemish Cemetery," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXV.1 (1989): 79; Ben Jonson, *Devil is an Ass,* 1.1.

[86] In May of 1571, 105 Dutch residents lived near the Dutch Church in Broadstreet Ward; in November of 1571 the Returns show that 845 lived in Bridge Without, just across the river Thames (R.E.G. Kirk and Earnest F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs in London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1902) 10.1.443; 10.2.94.

[87] On the Dutch population of Norwich, see Raymond Fagel, "Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England," *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005) 52. On the linguistic influence of Dutch on East Anglian English, see Peter Trudgill, "Third-Person Singular Zero" in *East Anglian English,* ed. Jackek Fisiak and Peter Trudgill (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001) 179-86.

[88] The population survey of 1593 records that of the 2357 people employed by 7113 strangers living in the City and Liberties, 1671 were English: "This figure of 1671 English persons employed comprised 950 men and boys labouring in the strangers' homes as well as 457 women and girls. . . What is of special note is that, although a small figure, 264 English persons were 'set on work' but not actually living in strangers' homes" (Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis* 137; 81). The percentage of English apprentices to stranger tradesmen is in fact higher than this statistic would suggest since 686 of the 7113 reported strangers living in London were themselves servants of strangers. Thus the total number of strangers who might potentially employ English people was 6427 (less still if we account for children). Lien Bich Luu summarizes: "over half of those listed in the 1593 Return employed no workers at all, a quarter had *only* English employees, and a smaller proportion both English and stranger workers" ("Assimilation or Segregation, Colonies of Alien Craftsmen in Elizabethan London," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXVI.2 (1995): 166). Incidentally, these figures suggest that perhaps one under-studied source for wide spread perceptions of strangers' mercantile success was the large number of English persons employed by strangers in the 1590s.

[89] Scouloudi, *Returns* 85.

[90] The educated elite would have also been schooled in Latin and may have known Italian and Spanish as well, see Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991) 137-42.

[91] Scouloudi, *Returns* 219 n.1140.

[92] Ibid., 213 n.1060.

[93] Ibid., 184 n.603.

[94] Barber 182. Unless otherwise noted, the following list of words and their date of entry into English are drawn from Barber.

[95] From Middle Dutch *pant*, early modern Dutch pand, "A gallery, colonnade, or covered walk; *esp.* one in a bazaar, market, exchange, etc., within which traders display their goods for sale," *OED* New Edition, on line: "pawn" n4. The word enters English especially in connection to the Royal Exchange (discussed in chapter three).

[96] Seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch Dictionaries & Grammars:

Marten Le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoole Master wherein is shewed the true and perfect way to learne the Dutch tongue, to the furtherance of all those which would gladlie learne it* (London: George Elde, 1606).

[Anon.], *Den grooten vocabulaer Engels ende Duyts. . . The great vocabuler, in English and Dutch* (Rotterdam, Pieter van Waes-berge, 1639). A subsequent edition is published in 1644. This is an anonymous vocabulary (attributed to Willem de Groot) based on Noel de Berlemont's Flemish-French colloquies and dictionary (Antwerp, 1539).

[Anon.], *The English Schole-master or certaine rules and helpes whereby the natives of the Netherlandes, may bee, in a short time, taught to read, understand, and speake, the English tongue. . . Den Engelschen School-Meester* (Amsterdam: S.N., 1646). Subsequent editions are published in 1658 and 1663.

Henry Hexham, *Het Groot Woorden-boeck . . . A large Netherdutch and English dictionarie* (Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1647). University of Michigan, Special Collections, shelf mark PF 640 A2 H62. Subsequent editions appear in 1648, 1658, 1660 as *A copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie*. A "new edition, amended, enlarged, and enriched" is issued in 1675.

[Anon.], *The Dutch-tutor or, a new-book of Dutch and English* (London 1660). Thomason E.2116[2]. Another edition appears in 1669.

J. G. van Heldoren, *An English and Nether-dutch dictionary composed out of the best English authors . . . Een Engels en Nederduits Woortboek* (Amsterdam: Widow Mercy Bruyning, 1675).

Francois Hillenius, *Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen onderrichter* . . . The English, and Low-dutch instructer (Rotterdam: Bastiaen Wagens, 1664 [2nd ed]). Subsequently published in 1671, 1677 and 1678.

Doctor Edward Richardson, *Anglo-Belcica* [sic]. *The English and Netherdutch Academy* (Amsterdam: Steven Swart, 1677). Subsequently publishes by the widow of Steven Swart in 1689 and 1698.

William Sewel, *A new dictionary English and Dutch . . .Nieuw woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche* (Amsterdam: Widow of Steven Sward, 1691).

In his study of English and Dutch dictionaries, N.E. Osselton includes a text which I have not been able to consult: *Dictionarium, Ofte Woorden-Boeck, Begrijpende de Schat der Nederlandtsche Talke, met de Engelsche Uytlegginge* (Rotterdam, 1672, 1678). On this text, see Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists: A Study of the Earliest English and Dutch Dictionaries* (Leiden: The University Press, 1973).

[97] Marten Le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoole Master* (London: George Elde, 1606).

[98] This information is printed on the books title page. Little else is known about the author. The *English Short Title Catalogue* lists only this publication under his name. The on-line *Dictionary of National Biography* has no entry for the author.

[99] Le Mayre A3 verso.

[100] Ibid.

[101] In his discussion of Van der Myl, Metcalf writes, "Mylius, like all linguistic scholars, was confronted by the *fact* of the intermingled diversity and similarity of human speech," (537). I wish to transfer this conception of language to the theater in order to ask how playwrights confronted and constituted this as fact.

[102] See *The Routledge Dictionary of Historical Slang*, ed Eric Patridge (London: Routledge, 1973); *Slang and Its Analogues*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Routledge, 1965).

[103] Thomas Middleton, *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, ed. Michael Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 1.3.102. All references are to this edition.

[104] Hoenselaars 40.

[105] Anonymous, *An Enterlude of Welth, and Helth* (London, ca.1565) C recto.

[106] Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday* 4.36-41; 316 n.41.

[107] Incidentally, "canniken" first enters English in 1570; the *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the second recorded use of the word in Shakespeare's *Othello*. Hans' use of the word in 1599 may have tipped it over from Dutch into the English lexicon of drinking terms, making it readily available for Shakespeare's use in *Othello*.

[108] Haughton, *Englishmen* 1.3.399-401.

[109] My reading differs with that of Wilson O. Clough who finds that Vandalle's Dutch would have been "certainly unintelligible to one who knows next to no Dutch" ("The Broken English of Foreign Characters on the English Stage," *Philological Quarterly* 12:3 [1933]: 261). Part three (below) explores how the play's typography further suggests that stage Dutch sometimes registered as broken English.

[110] Hoenselaars' important survey of national stereotypes on the English stage explores caricatures as fixed formulas. I want to suggest that exaggerations of Dutch speech on stage, such as Savourwit's, allows for the category "Dutch" to be worked upon, constituted, and reconstituted. Caricaturizations ought to be explored, not as a process of repetition, but revision.

[111] *OED New Edition* (on line): "goose."

[112] Simon Stevin, *The Principal works of Simon Stevin,* Vol 1., ed. E.J. Dijksterhuis (Amsterdam: C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1955), 65. Applying a quantitative method to his analysis, Stevin catalogues all monosyllabic words in Dutch, Latin, and Greek, finding that there are "742 Dutch monosyllabic words in the first person, where the Latins have only 5 and the Greeks have no monosyllables proper" (65). Stevin thus explicates the logic of his praise for Dutch's monosyllabic lexicon:

> just as in geometry it would be absurd to consider the point, the element of magnitude, greater than magnitude itself, in the same way it is also improper in grammar for the element to consist of more syllables than that which is made of several elements. Thus for example in spelling the word *Dal*, which is said in Greek: Delt, Alpha, Lambda, *Dal;* or in Hebrew Daleth, Aleph, Lamed, *Dal*; in which each element improperly consists of more syllables than that which is made up of the three elements. Therefore *we* say, much more naturally and peculiarly: De, A , El, *Dal*, for the elements in the arts should be simplest of all, which in this case, as the Dutch have achieved it, are single sounds. (81)

On debates regarding the use of Dutch vernacular for humanist pursuits, see Peter Burke, *Towards a Social History of Early Modern Dutch* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005) 16.

[113] Stevin 65.

[114] Stevin 91. Stevin's ideas were by no means unique to Dutch thinkers. As Peter Burke has recently demonstrated, arguments for the perfection of European vernaculars (French, Polish, German, etc.) were commonplace in the early modern period (*Languages and Communities* 68-9).

[115] Metcalf 540 n.16. Incidentially, Becanus' contention that Adam spoke a pure Teutonic (extant in his contemporary Belgian dialect) was pondered by antiquarians and satirized by playwrights. In *A Restitution,* Verstegan purports discussing Becanus' claim with Abraham Ortelius who allegedly thought Becanus difficult to refute (190). Ben Jonson, who may have learned of Becanus's ideas through reading Verstegan, touches on the topic when, in *The Alchemist* (1610), Sir Epicure Mammon is portrayed as an exponent of Becanus thesis:

> MAMMON: Will you believe antiquity? Records
> I'll show you a book where Moses and his sister
> And Soloman have written of the art;
> Aye, and a treatise penned by Adam.
> SURLEY: How!
> MAMMON: O' the philosopher's stone, and in High Dutch.
> SURLEY: Did Adam write, sir, in High Dutch?
> MAMMON: He did, / Which proves it was the primitive tongue.
> (Ben Jonson *The Alchemist*, ed. Gordon Campbell [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995] 2.1.80-85).

[116] Metcalf 544.

[117] Verstegan argues that like early modern Dutch, Teutonic "consisted moste at the first of woords of monosyllable, each having his own proper signification, as by instinct of God and nature they first were receaued and understood" (189). Old Teutonic was not the original language of Eden, according to Verstegan, but was as one of the languages of Babel: Tuisco, the grandson of Gomer, was "the first and chiefest man of name amongh the Germans, and after whome they do call themselves, Tuytshen / that is, duytshes or duytsh-people [that is, Teutsch or Deutsch" (71).

[118] For a comprehensive survey of Elizabethan discussions regarding monosyllables, see Jones 199-200.

[119] A butter-firkin was a container for storing and shipping butter.

[120] The phrase is borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of the linguistic marketplace (*Language and Symbolic Power* [Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991] 57). I am suggesting that rather than an education system having a monopoly on creating producers of linguistic competence, the early modern theater was exploring the bounds of what constituted linguistic competence in London's ever linguistically-expanding marketplace.

[121] Shakespeare's history plays make much of this representational strategy for depicting foreigners, see Blank, *Broken English*; Michael Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45.1 (1994): 1-32; Janette Dillion, *Language and Stage,* esp. 162-87. An important corollary to this work is Michael Archer's recent consideration of the ways in which Shakespeare's plays constructed notions of English citizenship as busily as they worked on ideas of foreignness, see: *Citizen Shakespeare: Freemen and Aliens in the Language of the Plays* (New York: Palgrave, 2005). On the shifting early modern epistemologies of language more generally, see Margreta De Grazia, "Shakespeare's View of Language: An Historical Perspective," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 29.3 (1978): 374-88. Regarding city comedy, see Emma Smith, "So Much English by the Mother: Gender, Foreigners, and the Mother Tongue in William Haughton's *Englishman for My Money*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2000): 165-81.

[122] Jannette Dillon argues that the theater forges a link between foreign speech and duplicity: "Political, religious and economic discourses of the period all offer potential perspectives for collapsing foreignness into duplicity, constructing English in the position of strength, firmly allied with plainness and

transparency" (164). It is my contention that Middleton, along with other dramatists of the period, pose a significant challenge to Dillon's emphasis on xenophobia.

[123] Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *Northward Hoe*, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Fredson Bowers Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 2.1.60-62. All references are to this edition; instances of typographic arrangement in the playbook are drawn from the Tudor Facsimile edition of the British Museum copy, 1914. I have chosen to reproduce the typographic arrangements within the chapter because of resolution issues in transferring the original microfilm to a digital image format.

[124] Italic or roman font is used in Hans' speech to set proper and place names off from the rest of his speech. The convention in drama of the period was to set such names in italic, thus visually distinguishing them from the rest of the speech. Stage directions too, when given, are regularly set in italic type.

[125] An early instance includes Haunce Berepot in the Anonymous, *Enterlude of Welth, and Helth,* 1565; contemporary with *Northward Hoe* and from Dekker's own corpus is Hans of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and Hans of *Westward Hoe*.

[126] Ausburgh, then as now, was not a city of the Low Countries. Despite Hans' claim that his father lives in Ausburgh, the play associates Hans with the Netherlands, first, before his arrival on stage, when Doll claims that from his "trampling" steps she can identify "my Flemish Hoy" (2.1.59) and then, upon his departure from the scene, Doll exclaims, "father launch out this hollander" (2.1.118). The interchangeability of Flanders and Holland, even Ausburgh, makes Hans an example of the indifference to geographic specificity regarding the Low Countries that is symptomatic of English comedy.

[127] Zachary Lesser, "Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and Black Letter," *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England,* ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006) 114.

[128] Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004) 137-158.

[129] I am grateful to Bill Ingram for his conversation on this topic. See William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theater in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) 37.

[130] Douglas A. Brooks notes that "the distinction between printer and publisher was not yet firm in the early modern book trade" ("Inky Kin: Reading in the Age of Gutenberg Paternity," *The Book of the Play*, 226 n.14).

[131] In reading for the *effects* produced by material form, I concur with David Scott Kastan who has recently argued: "We can read only what is physically before our eyes to be read, and we should, therefore, factor into our calculus of meaning what Roger Chartier calls 'the effects that material forms produce'" (*Shakespeare and the Book* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001] 5).

[132] Yvonne Schwemer-Scheddin, "Broken Images: Blackletter Between Faith and Mysticism," *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, ed. Peter Bain and Paul Shaw (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998) 50.

[133] Stephen Orgel, "What is an Editor?" *Shakespeare Studies* 24 (1996): 23.

[134] Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* 7-8.

[135] Straznicky, "Introduction: Plays, Books, and the Public Sphere," *The Book of the Play*, ed. Marta Straznicky, 4. Also approaching the question from "the evidence of reading," Lucy Munro challenges the conclusions of Orgel and Kastan in "Reading Printed Comedy: Edward Sharpham's *The Fleer*," *The Book of the Play*, ed. Marta Straznicy, 52.

[136] Straznicky 6.

[137] Historians of print culture will no doubt wish for a more nuanced analysis of *kinds* of black letter type. The *textura* type of the Gutenberg Bible (1455) and later the type used for the King James Bible (1611) differs in provenance from the *schwabacher* type, which appears first in 1492 and is based on bastarda scripts; these differ also from *fraktur*, a black letter type that derived from sixteenth century German courts chancery scripts. This history is explored in *Blackletter: Type and National Identity,* eds. Peter Bain and Paul Shaw (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998). See also Harry G. Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Alexander Lawson, *Anatomy of a Typeface* (Boston: Godine, 1990); Sabrina Alcorn Baron, "Red Ink and Black Letter: Reading Early Modern Authority," *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001) 19-30. Given my particular archive, I do not suspect that printers were experimenting with more nuanced differences among kinds of black letter—instead, I will suggest, it was the broader typographic difference between black letter and roman that was meaningful.

[138] Baron 24.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid., 25. That the look of "official discourse" might be mimetically reproduced in playbooks is an idea evidenced in the print editions of the Anonymous play, *Life and Death of Jack Straw* (1593/4). The 1593/4 edition is printed entirely in roman font but for a King's pardon read aloud toward the end of the play, "Kings Pardon Delivered by Sir John Morton to the Rebels." Like an actual King's pardon, which would have been printed in black letter, the playbook compositor sets the text of the pardon within the play in black letter. When the second edition of *Jack Straw* appears in 1604, the entire playbook is set in black letter. The Kings Pardon remains set in black letter in this edition.

[141] Baron 25.

[142] Ibid., 26.

[143] Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England," *The Written Word: Literacy in Tradition*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford, 1986) 98.

[144] John King, "Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the History of the Book," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 30:2 (2004): 177.

[145] Lesser 100. For an important critique of the notion of "popular culture" in relation to texts and interpretive communities, see Rogier Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," *The New Cultural History*, ed. Aletta Biersack and Lynn Avery Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 154-75; esp. 169-70.

[146] Lesser 102-03.

[147] Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings" 173-4.

[148] Ibid., 173-4.

[149] Ibid., 174.

[150] I have examined the 1616 British Museum edition (available in Malone Society reprint, 1913), the 1623 Folger Shakespeare Library edition (available through EEBO, STC 12932), and the 1631 Yale Library edition (available through EEBO, STC 12933). The typographic pattern I describe is consistent in all three of these editions. The 1598 quarto does not survive, according to Albert Croll Baugh, editor of *Englishmen*

(1917) and according to David Kathman who has authored the *DNB* entry on William Haughton. All citations and reproductions of typographic arrangement are drawn from the 1616 Malone Society reprint.

[151] The following editions were consulted through the *Early English Books Online* database:
Anonymous, *Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Oliue, dwelling in Long Lane, 1600), STC (2nd ed.) / 25144; and (London : Printed by G[eorge] P[urslowe] for Richard Hawkins, and are to be sold at his shop in Chancery-Lane, neere Serieants Inne, 1618), STC (2nd ed.) / 25145.
Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *Westward Hoe* (London: [By William Jaggard], and to be sold by Iohn Hodgets dwelling in Paules Churchyard, 1607), STC (2nd ed.) / 6540.
John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan* (London: T[homas] P[urfoot] for Iohn Hodgets, and are to be sould at his shop in Paules Church-yard, 1605), STC (2nd ed.) / 17475.
Henry Glapthorne, *The Hollander* (London: Printed by I. Okes, for A. Wilson, and are to be sold at her shop at Grayes-Inne Gate in Holborne, 1640), STC (2nd ed.) / 11909.
Thomas Middleton, *No Wit, [No] Help Like a Woman's* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), Wing / M1985.

[152] Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl*, ed. Paul A. Mulholland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). All line numbers are from this edition. Images of typographic arrangement are drawn from the quarto edition: STC (2nd ed.) / 17908.

[153] Paul Mulholland, editor of the Revels Plays edition of *The Roaring Girl*, notes that Tearcat's speech consists "mainly of Low-German with some High-German elements," 214 n.100-4. Mulholland translates Tearcat's speech:

> I, my lord? I am the ruffling Tearcat, the brave soldier. I have traveled through all Dutchland. [he is] the greatest scoundrel who gives an angry word. I beat him directly on the head, that you take out a hundred thousand devils. [Be] merry sir.

[154] The page layout is of interest. The space set between speakers' lines is a unique instance of such setting in the quarto edition of the *Roaring Girl*. The black letter speech appears to have been given additional room on the page, perhaps in order to accommodate a second printing of the same page. This was *not* the case in *Northward Hoe* in Doll and Hans' exchange.

[155] Ben Jonson, *Masque of Augures* (London, 1621). The edition to which I refer is the British Library 1621 edition, shelfmark C.39.c.34. I have compared this edition to the 1640 edition of *Masque of Augures*, which appears in folio of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London: Printed by Richard Bishop [and Robert Young]) STC (2nd ed.) / 14753, available on *Early English Books On-Line*. There is some variation in the spelling and word order of Van Goose's speech between the two editions. However, both the 1621 and 1640 texts set Van Goose's speech in black letter. Incidentally, Van Goose's speech constitutes the *only* incidence of black letter in Jonson's *Works* (1640).

[156] Little is known of Thomas Dekker's family history. Though it has been remarked that his name suggests Dutch origins, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Thomas Dekker notes, "in all probability he was born in London, where he lived all his life."

[157] David Scott Kastan discusses just how uninvolved—indeed ideologically and financially un-invested—many authors were with the printing of their plays (*Shakespeare and the Book* 14-49). Shakespeare is a case-in-point, while Ben Jonson, who was very involved in the fashioning of his works into print, was an exception.

[158] *Westward Hoe* (1607), *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Fredson Bowers, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).

[159] British Library copy (1607): STC (2nd ed.) / 6540.

[160] On this play's print history, see Lesser, "Typographic Nostalgia."

[161] *Northward Hoe* was printed in London by G. Eld. *Roaring Girl* was printed in London by *Nicholas Okes*. *Masque of Augures* was printed in London by S.N. The *English Short Title Catalogue* does not provide a full name for the printer of Jonson's masque.

[162] *Northward Hoe* was acted by the Children of Pauls; *Roaring Girl* was performed by The Prince his Players at the Fortune Theater. The *Masque of Augures* was performed twice at court, January 6 and May 5 or 6, 1622. Little else is known about the performance of Jonson's *Augures*; it is not, for instance among the masques discussed by Stephen Orgel in *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

[163] Mulholland ed., *Roaring Girl*, 4; Bowers ed, *Northward Hoe,* 407-08.

[164] John Barrett, *An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionary* (1580). University of Michigan, Special Collections, shelfmark PA2364.B3.

[165] My archive, drawn from the University of Michigan, Special Collections includes:
John Florio, *A world of words* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598), shelf mark PR 3072.F64
Randal Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of French and English tongues* (London: A. Islip, 1598), shelf mark PC2640.A2.C84. I also consulted the 1611 edition, shelf mark PC1640.F64.1611.
Richard Perceval, *A dictionary in Spanish and English* (London: I. Haviland, 1623), shelf mark PC 4640.P43.1623.
Robert Sherwood, *Dictionaire anglois et francois* (London: Adam Islip, 1632), shelf mark PC2640.A2.C84.1632.
Giovanni Torriano, *The Italian Tutor* (London: Tho[ ] Paine, 1640), shelf mark PC1109.T68.
John Rider, *Dictionarie . . . Latin, French, and other languages* (London: Felix Kingston, 1640), shelf mark PE 1620.R54.1640.
Thomas Cokayne, *A Greek English Lexicon* (London, 1658), shelf mark PA 881.C68.

[166] Eg., John Rider, *Dictionarie . . . Latin, French, and other languages* (1640).

[167] STC (2nd ed.) / 4884. This typographic arrangement continues throughout subsequent editions of Cawdry's *Table Alphabetical*: 1609 (STC [2nd ed] 4884.5), 1613 (STC [2nd ed.] 4885), and 1617 (STC [2nd ed.] 4886).

[168] Barber103. Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionary* (1623), STC (2nd ed.) 5461.2.

[169] Stern 137-158.

[170] My dramatic archive includes fifteen plays, which I have consulted in their various editions whenever possible: *Enterlude of Welth and Helth (1565); Like will to Like (1568;1587); Tide Tarrieth No Man (1576); Life and Death of Jack Straw (1594;1604); Shoemakers Holiday (1600); Weakest Goeth to the Wall (1600); A Larum for London (1602); London Prodigal (1605); Dutch Courtesan (1605); Westward Hoe (1607); Northward Hoe (1607); Roaring Girl (1611); Englishmen for my Money (1616/1626;1631); The Hollander (1640); No Wit No Help Like a Woman's (1657).*

[171] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-4), ed., Herbert Davis & Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

Chapter 4

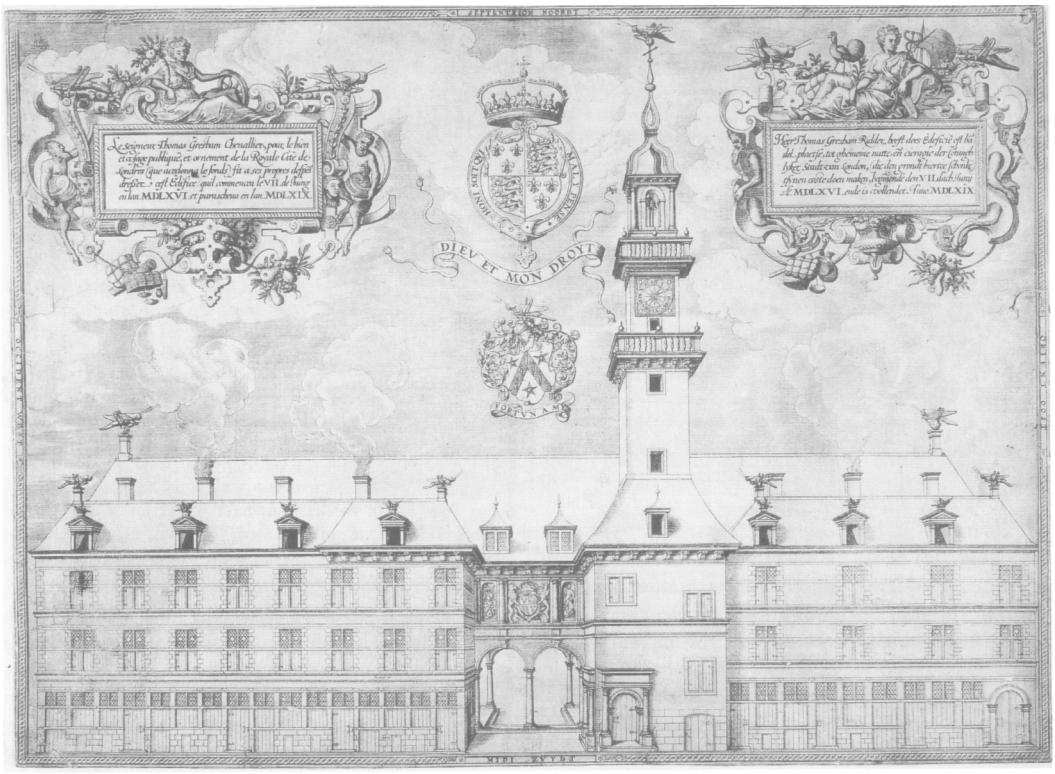
A Doppelganger Built In:
Migrancy, Architecture, and the Making of an Anglo-Dutch Royal Exchange

The skyline of London was transformed in March of 2000 as the world's largest observation wheel was set in motion on the bankside of the river Thames.

9. The London Eye

From atop, viewers survey London twenty-five miles in each direction. Its architects' objective was to offer "an exciting new way to see and understand one of the greatest cities on earth." The official website of the "London Eye" boasts, "London Eye has become, quite literally, the way the world sees London."[1] While the architects, designers, and corporate financiers extolled the innovation of the project, they could not rightly claim it as the first Eye of London. In the mid-sixteenth century the world's merchants would observe the city from inside another London Eye,

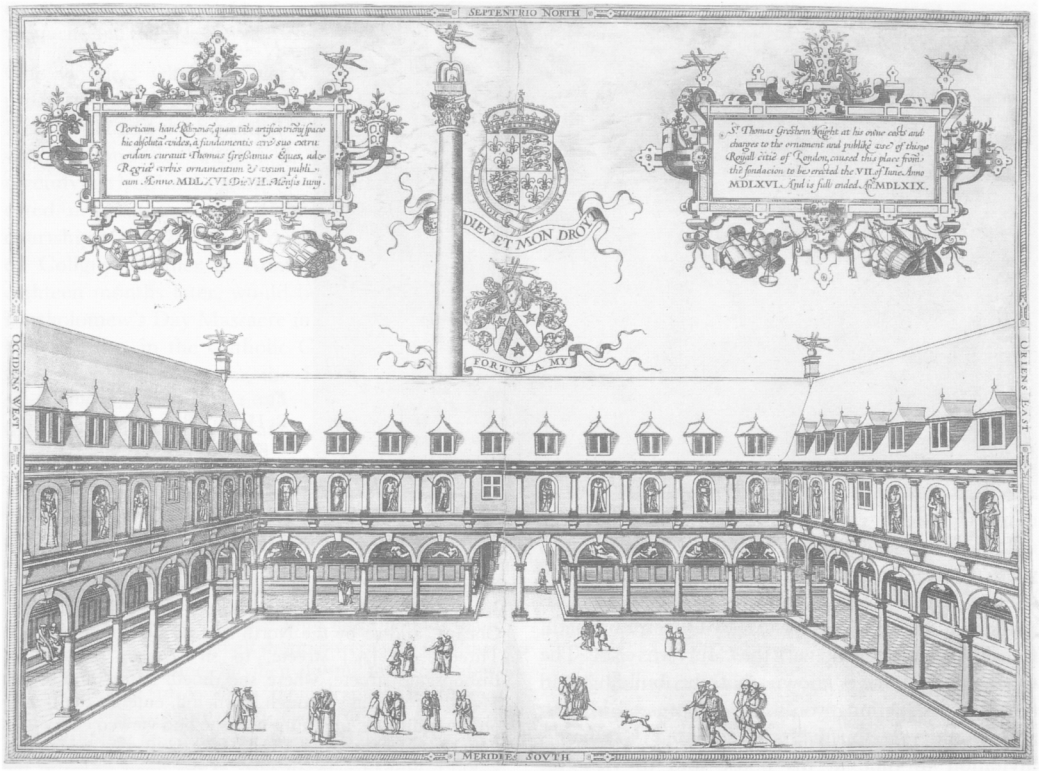
London's Royal Exchange (figure 10). Completed in 1568, the Royal Exchange was the first building devoted exclusively to mercantile exchange within Renaissance London.[2] The Exchange was a quadrilateral structure with a central court open to the sky, located within the city walls at the intersection of Threadneedle and Cornhill. The ground level of the interior consisted of an open-air square and an arcade with marble pillars, above which stood a story of one hundred small merchant shops called "pawns." In his 1598 *Survey of London*, John Stow reveals that the Exchange had earned the appellation, "The Eye of London."[3]



10. Frans Hogenberg, *The Royal Exchange,* exterior view, c.1569.
Crace collection, XXII, 34. The British Museum.[4]

In walking to the Royal Exchange, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Londoners indeed could eye much of their world. A structure designed to organize and shelter London's merchants, who until 1568 had met in open-air markets along nearby Lombard Street, it showcased far more than merchants' worldly goods. Inside the open square, merchants traded commodities twice daily, loaned and borrowed capital from European merchants, arranged transportation for goods, and caught up on city gossip and world news (figure 11).[5] A German visitor in 1598 declared,

"[i]t has a great effect, whether you consider the stateliness of the building, the assemblage of different nations, or the quantity of merchandise."[6] During non-business hours Londoners played football within the building.[7] Outside the Exchange gates "boyes and children, and younge rougues" were often heard "shoutinge and hollowinge"; "certain women" were reported "selling oranges, apples, and other things at the Exchange-gate . . . amusing themselves in cursinge and swearinge, to the great annoyance and grief of . . . passers by."[8]



11. Frans Hogenberg, *The Royal Exchange,* interior view, c.1569.
Crace collection, XXII, 35. The British Museum.

Initially intended as a space in which mercantile exchange might be organized, the rules at the Exchange were no sooner established than breeched. Dutch merchants were known to ignore conventional business hours, transacting business at the Exchange on Sundays following their church service at Austin Friars.[9] The Exchange was a place of commerce and entertainment where licit and illicit activities transpired and domestic and foreign merchants met to transact

business. Before its destruction in the Great Fire of 1666, the Royal Exchange served as a stage for the day-to-day work of merchant business and spectacles of early modern London life.

Before Londoners began migrating twice daily to the Royal Exchange for business, the building itself had made its own migration. Arriving on the scene from across the North Sea, London's Exchange was an architectural copy of Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs; as such, it was a material outgrowth of the shuttling of people, products, and capital between these two northern European cities. "A Doppleganger Built In" sets Dutch immigration into London side by side with the importation of this Dutch-inspired architectural site to raise a number of questions about the relation of Dutch migrancy to architecture, urban pageantry, and cultural identity in early modern London. This chapter considers what it meant to be doubly-situated, as a people and as a site in early modern London. It asks: when a copy of Antwerp's marketplace was erected in central London, what cultural work did the importation and imitation of this neighboring marketplace produce? By what means did Londoners and Dutch immigrants make claims to such a site? How did the Exchange shed or reconcile its connection to the Low Countries? In other words, by what strategies was the Royal Exchange Englished and to what extent were those strategies informed by and informing ideas of what it meant to be a Dutch immigrant in London?

The immigration of the Dutch community to London and the migration of Dutch-inspired architecture are intertwined, but not as our contemporary scripts of migrancy might predict. In such scripts, architectural theorist Stephen Cairns has summarized, the link between architecture and migrancy is often figured as causal; architecture is imagined as built *by* migrants or *for* migrants.[10] For example, ethnic enclaves—what sociologists refer to as the "ethnopolis" (such as Little Italy or Little Saigon)—are thought to spring up as a result of the concentration of "permanent immigrants from relatively coherent ethnic backgrounds . . . within the urban fabric."[11] The little-city-within points beyond the parameters of the host-city which acts as "an 'urban portal' that opens onto larger diasporic networks of association."[12] Architecture *for* migrants, in our current socio-political moment, conjures more traumatic associations of the

refugee camp or temporary structures of disaster relief. In both cases, architecture is imagined as a by-product of trends in migrancy—a material reality derivative of social conditions. As such, architecture announces the presence of the foreign within.

The Royal Exchange and the cultural contests it catalyzed—including contests about representation—do not fit comfortably into this narrative. The relation between people and London's built environment that this chapter explores challenges a central line of thought in conventional scripts of migrancy's relation to architecture. Notably, the Royal Exchange was not a by-product of Dutch immigration, at least not initially so. The concept for and politics behind the building of the Exchange preceded the first significant wave of Dutch refugees into London in the mid-sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the Exchange's indebtedness to its Antwerp predecessor sparked anxieties about the site's belongedness that erupted in contests over its signification. These contests affirm Michel de Certeau's insight that "space is a practiced place" and "stories carry out a labor that constantly transforms places into spaces."[13] For de Certeau, place "implies an indication of stability"; it is ruled by the law of the "proper[:] the elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own 'proper' and distinct location, a location it defines."[14] Space, on the other hand, is "actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it."[15] In early modern London, discursive and representational networks intersect with architecture, transforming the place, the Royal Exchange, into space. This chapter traces the various ways in which the Exchange's embeddedness in and production of such networks rendered it a vital space through which Anglo-Dutch relations in London were not only figured but produced.

Before its fiery demise, the Exchange was materialized on the pages of dramatic texts, pamphlet literature, political speeches, and in records of civic pageantry. "A Doppleganger Built In" explores three performances at or of the Exchange: Queen Elizabeth's visit to and re-naming of the Exchange in 1571; King James' royal progress by the Exchange in 1604 as recorded in Thomas Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment of King James*; and the Mayoral pageant of

1605 which is initiated with the arrival of a ship named the "Royal Exchange." I read these performances for how they reveal the affiliations and tensions between the "space" of the Royal Exchange and the dynamics of early modern Dutch immigration. Throughout, I approach the Royal Exchange as a site of interaction, one animated by and in turn generative of domestic and foreign, particularly English and Dutch, interplay. In so doing, I aim to recover cultural interactions as they are housed in textual representations of London's cityscape. These representations are more than snapshots of the once "real" Royal Exchange; they are agents productive of a "poetic geography" of both the Royal Exchange and Anglo-Dutch cultural relations.[16]

I

From "Gresham's Bursse" to "The Royal Exchange"

Beyond a shared appellation and prominence on the London skyline, both the sixteenth- and the twenty-first-century London "Eyes" are architectural monuments whose material history bespeaks Anglo-Dutch commercial relations. In building the twenty-first century London Eye, the Dutch steel company, Hollandia, was contracted to engineer the world's largest wheel rim, which would serve as the infrastructure of the Eye. The finished rim was shipped in sections along the same waterways used in the sixteenth century when three ships, also laden with iron as well as stone, glass, and wainscot (oak panels), sailed from the Low Countries into the river Thames to deliver the materials with which London's Exchange would be built.[17] In addition to its materials, the London Exchange owed its architectural design to the Dutch. "Gresham's Bursse," as the Exchange was initially coined, was an architectural copy of Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs ("new marketplace"), erected in 1531. Thomas Gresham, the English merchant who proposed the building of and orchestrated the financing for the Burse in London, spent much of his young adult life successfully trading and negotiating debts on behalf of the English crown in Antwerp.[18] In the mid-sixteenth century, merchants from around the globe met at Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs to negotiate trade relations. Both products and people flowed regularly in and out of Antwerp; at the

center of this commercial exchange stood the Nieuwe Beurs. Gresham was intimately familiar with the structure as he transacted business there regularly for over twenty years and, when residing in Antwerp, lived within three hundred yards of it.[19] It is not surprising that a merchant, whose reputation and fortunes were largely reaped from the success he enjoyed as merchant adventurer in Antwerp (1543-51) and later as the English crown's Royal Agent in the Netherlands (1551-64), would select a Flemish architect, Hendryck van Paesschen, to realize his vision of erecting a (copy of Antwerp's) Burse in London.[20]

The often-heated mercantile tensions that would partly characterize Anglo-Dutch relations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were prefigured in the labor conflicts that arose around the building of Gresham's Burse.[21] The Flemish architect who oversaw its construction brought with him "masons, bricklayers, and other foreign workmen" along with materials imported from Flanders.[22] English artisans and bricklayers were incensed at the loss of potential income to Dutch aliens; they angrily protested the use of foreign labor and the loss of potential English jobs. The Lord Mayor of the city of London was forced to respond to reports of abuse and vandalism of Gresham's Burse by issuing a proclamation in which we learn that the mantel and crest of Thomas Gresham on the building's south side had been "cut mangled and defaced" and that the bricklayers committed "misdemeanors . . . both in words and also in deeds" against "Sr Thomas Gresham."[23] Even Hendryck van Paesschen suffered the abuse of the English bricklayers, as Ann Saunders explains: "the Warden of the Company [of bricklayers] was charged: 'To bring one William Crow, one of his Company, before my Lord Mayor, so that his Lordship may send him to ward for his very lewd demeanour towards Henrick the said Sir Thomas Gresham's chief workman there'."[24] In order to forefend against subsequent vandalism, Gresham agreed to give the English bricklayers a "parcel of his work at the said Bursse."[25] Given the impassioned nature of the bricklayers' protests, one might suspect that city officials would have registered concerns regarding the building project. There are, however, no extant records of any city officials querying the logic of building a copy of Antwerp's marketplace (by means of a

significant presence of foreign workmen) in London.[26] The silence in official records suggests that for Gresham, the city of London, and the monarch, the building—which the world's merchants arriving into London would very likely have recognized as a piece of Antwerp in London's center—was not a cultural anachronism. On the contrary, London's appropriation of the architecture that symbolized Antwerp's economic prowess seems to have been an act of intentional political posturing, which called for nothing short of a royal visit by Queen Elizabeth. Foregrounding a nascent cultural fantasy, the building signaled to London's merchants and their prosperous northern European, especially Dutch, neighbors that London was prepared to surpass Antwerp's more powerful position in an increasingly global world market.[27]

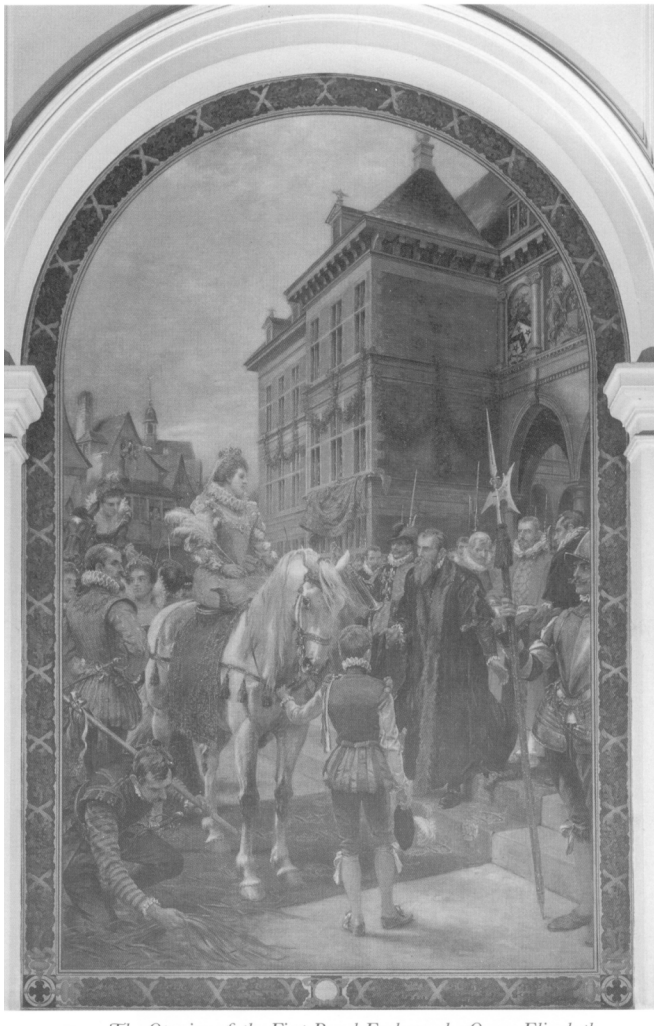
Despite hopes that London's merchants would prefer to avoid the elements of weather, which they regularly suffered in the open-air markets, merchants did not take quickly to the new building that opened for business on December 22, 1568.[28] The "pawnshops" within the Burse remained mostly empty and un-rented for almost two full years.[29] This changed when, in 1571, Queen Elizabeth's visit to the building transformed it into a site of spectacle. In preparation for the Queen's visit, Gresham devised a way to foreground the success of his Burse at a moment when the building had, in reality, received only lukewarm reception from London's merchants. John Stow's *Chronicle* (1604) narrates that since only a few shops about the pawn had been rented, Gresham negotiated with his tenants that on the evening of the Queen's visit to his Burse, they would

> furnish and adorn with wares and wax-lights as many shops as they either could or would, and they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that year, which otherwise at that time was forty shillings a shop by the year.[30]

According to Stow's *Survey of London* (1598), Gresham's backstage negotiations with tenants resulted in a successful production of the commercial promise of his Burse:

> After dinner, her Majestie returning through Cornehill, entered the Bursse on the southside, and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawne, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the fineset wares in the Citie: shee caused the same Bursse by an Herauld and a Trumpet, to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.[31]

The Queen's visit to the Exchange became urban legend, retold in Thomas Heywood's play, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part II* (1606), and later recalled after the building was lost to the Great Fire in *Great Britains Glory: Or, A brief Description of the Present State, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Royal Exchange* (1672).[32] The Queen's visit was visually commemorated on coins, in engravings, and on murals. One such mural dating to 1899 can be seen today on the walls of London's rebuilt Exchange (figure 12).[33]



12. *The Opening of the First Royal Exchange by Queen Elizabeth, 23 January 1570-71,* by Ernest Crofts, RA. Presented by the Mercers' Company, 1899.[34]

Queen Elizabeth's renaming of Gresham's Burse was a creative act of royal English appropriation. As Gresham's Burse, the building evidenced both the profitable drift of Dutch

material culture and Dutch craftsmanship into London and the necessary shuttling of England's merchant class from London to Antwerp and back. As Gresham's Burse, the building further underscored London's commercial interdependence with Antwerp. In calling the building a "Royal Exchange," Elizabeth attempted a double revision of the building's signifying potential. First, she suppressed the emphasis on the economic prowess of the individual merchant, Gresham, whose wealth, ambition, and penchant for business was instantiated by the "richly furnished" monument that bore his name. She also countered the potential for London's marketplace merely to set into relief Dutch commercial enterprise. As the "Royal Exchange" London's new marketplace exfoliated the Dutch-derived title (Beurs / Burse), which linguistically recalled the building's foreign architectural influence and inspiration.[35] With this act, Elizabeth attempted to cast off the Burse's derivative, foreign origins, urging on its status as a fully English site.

Elizabeth's speech served simultaneously as an act of erasure and inscription, thereafter charging the Exchange with a double signification, a doubling that both affiliated and set into opposition England and the Low Countries, English and Dutch commercial life. On the one hand, as the Royal Exchange, the building signified London's pretension to ascend as the new European center of global trade. Despite the foreign craftsmanship and materials that made possible the construction of the building, the Royal Exchange would become an English monument whose ultimate success depended not on Anglo-Dutch collaboration (or the wealth Englishmen raised in Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs), but on the English whose most prominent political signifier was the monarch. On the other hand, as a "copy," the building necessarily retained its affiliation with Antwerp. More significantly, despite the Queen's insistence that the structure be called the Royal Exchange "from thenceforth, and not otherwise," the original name stuck and the building was called both the Royal Exchange and Gresham's Burse until its fiery demise. Volume one of the Gresham *Repertories*, housed in London's Mercers' Company, records the minutes of the committee responsible for administrating the business relating to the Exchange during the years

1596-1625; the committee's reports refer to the building both as "Gresham Bourse" and the Exchange.[36] Likewise, in drama and public pamphlet literature, the two names were used interchangeably.[37]

The ideological imperative implied by Elizabeth's renaming was never fully actualized. Well after its pawns were all rented and merchants were meeting on the Exchange floor twice daily, the building's inscription into London's commercial geography continued to depend upon cultural productions of its belongedness. Indeed, the cities' two almost identical Exchange structures made potential doppelgangers of London and Antwerp, underscoring in material form the longstanding "complementary [trade] relationship" between them.[38] This doppelganger effect, however, seems not to have been Gresham's intention; rather London's Exchange was to outshine its Continental inspiration. In political discourse, the project's merit is framed in terms that underscore a competition between London and Antwerp. In his address to the Merchant Taylors on 12 January 1565, Sir William Chester averred that "Sir Thomas Gresham knight . . . had . . . promised . . . to build and plant within this City a burse to be more fair and costly builded in all points than is the burse of Antwerp."[39] Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs is regularly compared with London's Exchange in travel writing and drama. Thomas Platter, a foreign visitor to London, was prompted to compare London and Antwerp precisely because of their similar Exchanges: "the Exchange is a great square place like the one in Antwerp."[40] In 1606, Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part II* features two characters who admire the Exchange as if it were Europe's latest and greatest accomplishment:

> 2 Lord: The nearest that which most resembles this,
> Is the great Burse in Anwerpe, yet not comparable
> Either in height or widness: the faire Sellerage,
> Or goodly shoppes above: O my Lord Major,
> This Gresham hath much grac't your Cittie London,
> His fame will long out-live him. (1371-76)

Though Gresham's fame was much indebted to the work he did for the crown at Antwerp's Nieuwe Beurs, the play's characterization of Gresham, like the Lord's analogy of Burses, works

to shake London's commercial / urban history free from links with Antwerp. In the play, Gresham's historical role as Royal Agent in Antwerp is geographically revised so that his business dealings connect him instead with investments in North Africa and the Levant. On the one hand, the characterization of Antwerp's Beurs as the "nearest . . . which most resembles" London's strengthens the pattern of Anglo-Dutch affiliation and hints at a cultural anxiety that London might signify not its own place in European trade relations, but prove instead a satellite-city, an Antwerp affiliate.[41] On the other hand, by affiliating Gresham with the Levant rather than with Antwerp, this passage simultaneously effaces the effect of Antwerp's influence on and material presence within London.

Elizabeth's renaming of Gresham's Burse sparked a representational quandary for those authors who would lionize Thomas Gresham and his architectural legacy in their praise of London as a commercial trade center. Representation of the Royal Exchange was built upon an erasure at its center—the erasure of Antwerp's material and cultural migrations into London. This erasure proved difficult to maintain. Especially as the sixteenth century drew on and as Dutch immigrants settled around London's city walls and could be found trading at the Royal Exchange, the cultural memory of the Exchange's Antwerp predecessor was lent a new vocabulary and a renewed cultural force.

The legal category of denizenship that attempted to govern the relationship that strangers living within London had to the material culture they participated in producing provided a useful language for situating the relationship of the Royal Exchange to the Antwerp Beurs. Donald Lupton's 1632 characterization of the city, for instance, mobilizes this category to subtend his depiction of the city's marketplaces. By the time Lupton wrote *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into Several Characters*, there were two Exchanges in London, the "Old," or Royal Exchange, and a "New Exchange," which opened in 1609 along the Strand and showcased more fashionable and costly products than were sold at the Old Exchange.[42]

Lupton's comparison of the "Old" and "New" Exchanges recalls the foreign origins of the Old Exchange: "The one of these came from Antwerpe, the other from a Stable; the one was Dutch, yet made Denison; the other was not lo at the beginning, but did Exchange his name and nature."[43] By evoking the legal terminology of denizenship, more conventionally employed to categorize the status of aliens in London, Lupton anthropomorphizes the Old Exchange; the building, like a Dutch stranger once from Antwerp, shares with that stranger the ability to be "made Denison." I want to underscore what Lupton's analogy does not do. Lupton does not mobilize an insider / outsider or citizen / alien dichotomy to locate the Old Exchange in opposition to the New. The Old Exchange, Gresham's Burse, is characterized as once "Dutch now Denison," which is not to claim it as a fully Englished site. The status of the Exchange as "denizen" reveals less about where on the spectrum of cultural affiliation it stands, than that a spectrum, rather than a dichotomy, is necessary to think, articulate, and represent the building's belongedness in London. Interestingly, Lupton extends the association with Dutch origins, drawing even the New Exchange into the nimbus of Antwerp's Beurs through his pun on "lo" and "low countries." That the New Exchange, which might rightly be claimed for London as a fully English monument, is characterized as "not lo" keeps alive the logic of cross-cultural comparison that might otherwise have been effaced by the New Exchange.[44] The logic underpinning Lupton's comparison of the Old Exchange with Dutch immigrants suggests that the success of London's Old Exchange is measured by the degree to which it exfoliates evidence of its original Dutchness. Here the story of architecture's migrancy implies something in turn about the migrant. As the building's incorporation into London underwent a process of assimilation, in Lupton's view, so too the successful Dutch immigrant is one who, having once been Dutch, is now Denizen. Dutch immigrants, linked by means of a vocabulary of citizenship to the story of the Old Exchange, are here figures of partial immigration—their migrancy is characterized as an always-heading-toward-but-never-fully-arriving-at Englishness. Put differently, what Queen Elizabeth's performance attempted to efface, Lupton imaginatively accommodates.

The paradox of the Exchange's double signification—born in Elizabeth's ceremonial renaming and re-accommodated in Lupton's representation—came forcefully to bear on its textual representations. The difficulty of using the Exchange to symbolize London's commercial success resided in how to domesticate that success when its most prominent signifier was anxiously and repetitively associated with Antwerp. Despite its Englished royal title, the building continued to spark comparison to its foreign antecedent. As the Royal Exchange, it was imagined as Europe's superior place of commerce; as Gresham's Burse, it continued to belie its foreign origins—indelibly marked, through a lexicon of citizenship, as "denizen."

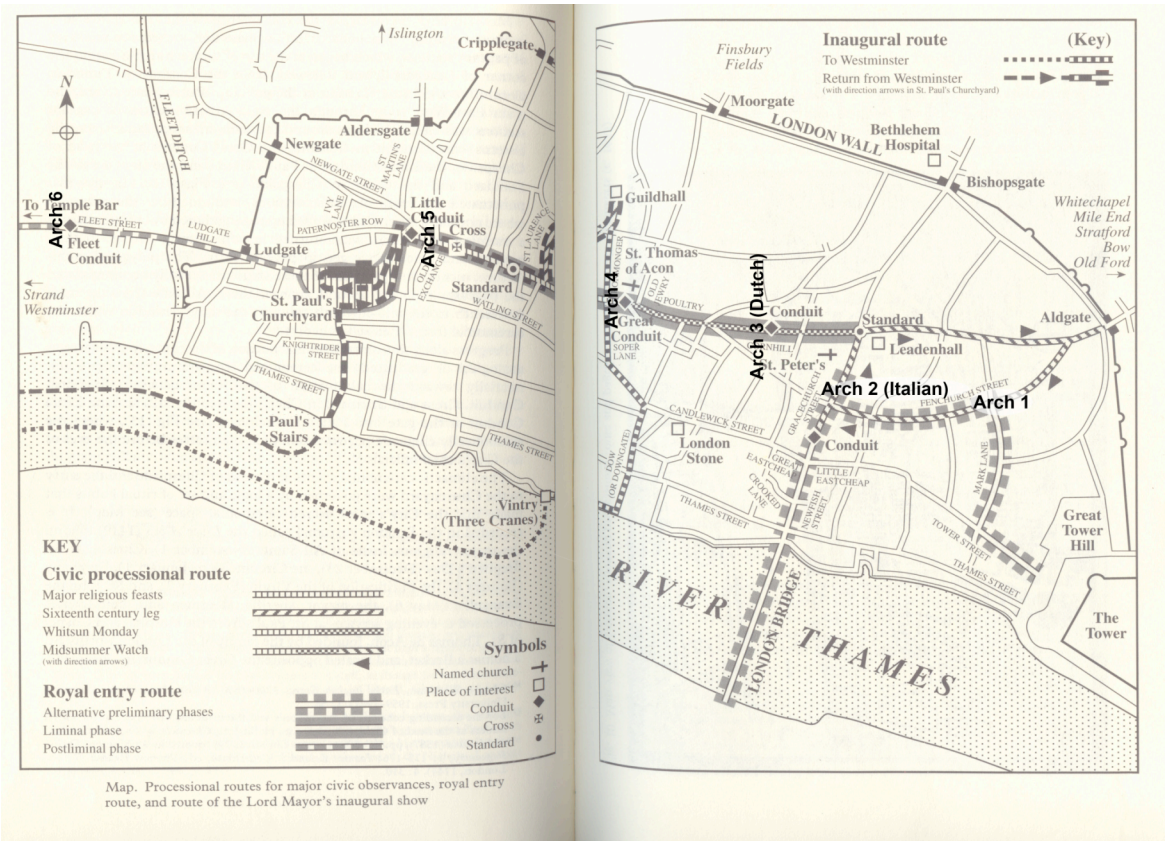
II

The Denizen Re-imagined: A Cultural Performance of Dutch Belonging

As England mourned the death of Queen Elizabeth, London citizens undertook extensive preparations for the royal progress of her successor.[45] London at this time was a "ceremonial city" whose established processional routes were inflected by what Lawrence Manley has identified as a "ceremonial syntax" upon which the ritual meaning of London's civic pageants' depended.[46] Pageantry's ceremonial efficacy and cultural legibility depended on its proceeding along particular streets and stopping at conventional sites along the way.[47] For the stranger communities, civic pageantry occasioned a rare opportunity for direct address both to the London citizenry and to English royalty. By focusing on the participation of a community of people who had long lived *in* but were not *of* England, I aim to reconstitute a perspective of King James' royal progress of 1604 that, while partial, reanimates a "denizen" perspective of the pageant. Scholarship on civic pageantry has conventionally attended to the thematic trends of an entire pageant;[48] in so doing, we implicitly read civic pageantry from the perspective of the guest of honor who, along with their entourage, would have experienced not only a privileged perspective, but one unavailable to most of the city's inhabitants who clustered around particular pageant arches. Such reading practices have tended to obfuscate the contribution of those participatory and interpretive communities for whom pageantry's emphasis on social unity and budding

English nationalism may have proved illusory. Additionally, in reading the pageant as the thing, critics have missed the opportunity to excavate the local and spatial context of each performance in a pageant in order to consider how the history and everyday use of a site along the "central civic axis" might have served as a meaningful part of that spectacle.[49] In James I's royal progress the Dutch stranger community creatively deployed the "ceremonial syntax" of their host city to showcase the social contributions and commercial success of London's Dutch inhabitants. Even more, their performance, as depicted in Thomas Dekker's *Entertainment Given to King James . . . 15 March 1604*—our most complete account of James' royal progress—amplifies the Scottish King's implicit status as a stranger; in so doing, it extends the politics of the Dutch strategy for self-representation by implicitly connecting the King's immigration to London with their own.[50]

As James wound his way from Grace Church Street to Cornhill on the morning of 15 March 1604 he traced the path of England's Queens and Kings before him.



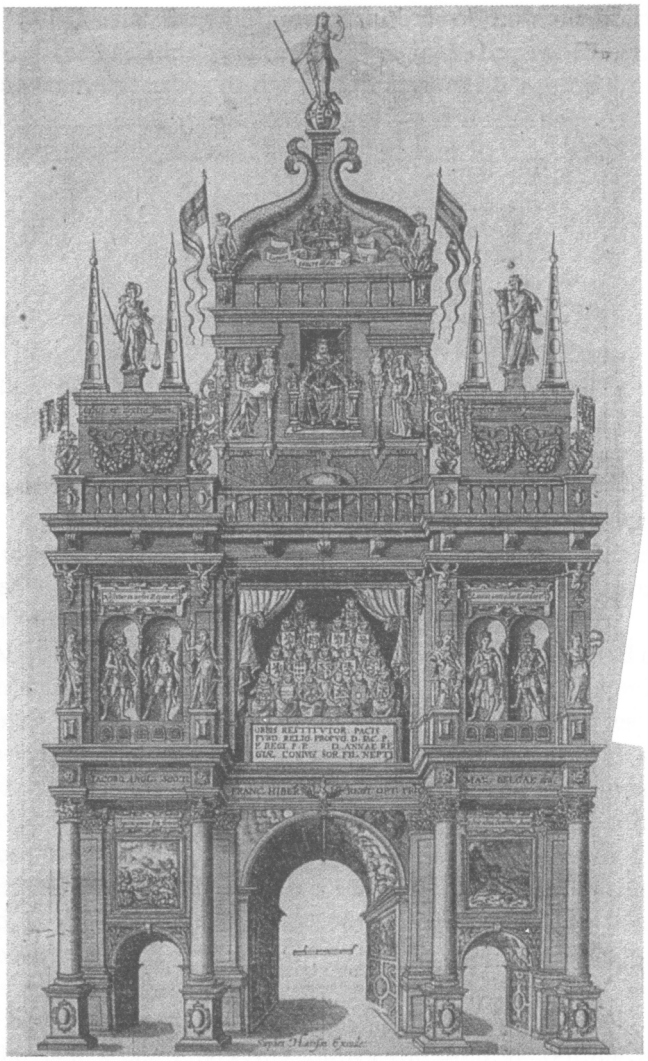
Map. Processional routes for major civic observances, royal entry route, and route of the Lord Mayor's inaugural show

13. London's Processional Routes with Arches from the *Magnificent Entertainment*.[51]

But on this day James' ceremonial landmark at Cornhill would differ from that of his predecessors (figure 13). When Queen Elizabeth progressed through London in 1559 plans for the Royal Exchange had not yet taken hold; additionally, the Dutch community that would spring up in London, in part due to the Low Countries' battles with Spain, had not yet begun immigrating to London.[52] James was the first King for whom the Royal Exchange was incorporated into a royal progress and he was the first King whose royal progress included an arch sponsored by the Dutch stranger community. On this day, the Royal Exchange and the Dutch community emerged as fledgling participants within London's ritual zone. Though new to the context of royal progresses, the Exchange was already a loaded signifier in London life, and the Dutch community that erected its arch "by the Royall Exchange" creatively mobilized the interplay of domestic and foreign significations activated by the Exchange.

The Dutch strangers collected funds enough through the Dutch Church in London to afford the building of an arch eighty-seven feet high and thirty-seven feet wide which rivaled in scale and design those other "wonders of Wood [which] clymed . . . into the clowdes" designed and funded by the London Guilds (figure 14).[53] It has been argued that, "no English pageant previously studied so depends on triumphal arches as this one, and they embody highly embellished architectural achievements."[54] This assessment rightly extends to the Dutch arch. While English architect Stephen Harrison designed most of the pageant arches, the craftsmen, designers, and architects of the Dutch arch were drawn from the Dutch and Walloon communities.[55] Dekker's text highlights the divide between the domestic and foreign communities participating in the pageant. *The Magnificent Entertainment* refers to the arches funded by London guilds according to *where* they appeared along the pageant route: the Fenchurch arch, the "Device at Soper-lane end," the arch of triumph "above the Conduit in Fleetstreete," or Pageant in the "Strond." Funded by English guilds, these arches produce little anxiety about their decipherability as creations by English subjects for their King. In contrast, the strangers' contributions are distinguished from the London guilds by largely printed title headings

that emphasize the community that sponsored the arch: "The Italians Pageant" and "The Pageant of the Dutch-men, by the Royal Exchange." What Dekker's title headings set apart—domestic from foreign participation in London's ceremonial and economic life—the Dutch arch itself creatively and strategically confounds.[56]



14. Stephen Harrison, "The Dutch arch at the Royal Exchange," *The Arch's* [sic] *of Triumph* (London, 1604). The Folger Shakespeare Library.[57]

On the day of James' progress London was transformed in anticipation. "The Sunne over-slept himselfe," Dekker reports:

> and rose not in many houres after, yet bringing with it into the very bosome of the Cittie, a

> world of people. The Streets seemede to bee paved with men: Stalls in stead of rich wares were set out with children, open Casements fild up with women.
>
> All Glass windows taken downe, but in their places, sparkeled so many eyes, that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to have made one: hee that should have compared the empty and untroden walks of *London*, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying Deluge, with the thronged streets now, might have believed, that upon this day, began a new *Creation*, and that the Citie was the onley Workhouse wherein sundry Nations were made.[58]

Dekker portrays London's rebirth from the recently devastating plague as also a birthing of nations: the city is envisaged as the generative agent of and spatial context out of which "sundry Nations" are made. From our historical perspective—so entrenched in nationalism—it is difficult not to gloss this line as a simple poetic inversion that gains its piquancy by flying in the face of the obvious: cities exist within the domain of national territory and therefore Dekker's observation gathers poetic charge by inverting that order. But as the pageant itself unfolds in Dekker's narrating of it, it seems that in more ways than one, on the day of a royal progress, the city *was* the workhouse wherein sundry nations were in fact made—not the least of which, of course, was Britain.

Having passed through two of the pageant's arches (Fenchurch arch and then beneath and past the Italian's pageant at Grace Church Street) James wound his way toward Cornhill:

> Having hoysted up our Sailes, and taken leave of this *Italian* shore, let our next place of casting anker, be upon the Land of the 17. Provinces; where the *Belgians*, (attired in the costly habits of their owne native Countrey, without the fantasticke mixtures of other Nations) but more richly furnished with love, stand ready to receyve his Maiestie: who (according to their expectation) does most gratiously make himselfe and his Royall traine their Princely ghests.[59]

The King's movement through the city is figured as travel among nations as he sails from Italian to Belgic shores. Even before readers arrive at Dekker's description of "The Pageant of the Dutch-men, by the Royall Exchange," the Seventeen Provinces are imagined as a shoreline. The nautical metaphor suggests the geographical reality that underscored much of Anglo-Dutch exchange, an exchange mediated and facilitated by the North Sea waters they shared. Within Dekker's *Entertainment*, the King's approach to the Royal Exchange renders him both at home and abroad (in London and "upon the Land of the 17. Provinces"), a geographical paradox that

functions to interlock London and the Seventeen Provinces as the King passes through "the house . . . these *Strangers* have builded." In this reconfigured space, the King plays the part of the foreigner and honored "ghest." Dekker's imagery subtly reverses the more evident guest-host relationship at work; although the Dutch are guests in London, for a moment, the British King is made guest within his own nation and a stranger among his nation's strangers.[60]

The *Entertainment* develops a *leitmotif* by which the once-Scottish, now-"British" King is represented as a stranger. Indeed, for many Londoners, James' Scotland was a world away. The *Entertainment* was designed to open with a device that attempts to resolve James' status as a "stranger" by entering him into a pact of brotherhood with England:

> Saint *George*, Saint *Andrew*, (the Patrons of both Kingdomes) having a long time lookt upon each other, with countenances rather of meere strangers, then of such neare Neighbours, upon the present aspect of his Maiesties approach toward *London*, were (in his sight) to issue from two severall places on horsebacke, and in compleate Armour, their Breastes and Caparisons suited with the Armes of *England* and *Scotland*, (as they are now quartered) to testifie their leagued Combination, and newe sworne Brother-hood.[61]

What the device enacts—a resolution between "neare Neighbours"—prefigures that which James' kingship must achieve. James, a once stranger to England, must make a "sworne Brother-hood" of "neare Neighbours," that is, England and Scotland, whose people were more often than not "meere strangers." That the "*Genius* of the Cittie" is "call[ed] up" to aid these strangers in their pact of brotherhood is a fitting role, given the city's history of making neighbors of strangers—a fact evident in the Dutch strangers' participation in the royal celebration.

In their address to the King, the Dutch make the implicit request that their status as strangers in the realm be accommodated and protected. Through the figure of a "Boy, attired all in white Silke," the Dutch community's address to James boldly reminds the King both of the source and limitations of his power:

> Great KING, those so many Scepters, which even fill thy right hand, are all thine owne, onely by the providence of Heaven . . . This honour of Soveraigntie, being at the beginning of the world, bestowed but upon few; upon the heads of few, were the cares of a Crowne set: for to sway onely but one Empire (happily) as it is a labour, hard; so none can undergoe the waight [sic], but such as are mightie: But . . . to controule many

> Nations, (and those of different dispositions too) O! the Arme of man can never doe that, but the finger of GOD. God therefore (that guides the Chariot of the world) holds the Raynes of they Kingdome in how owne hande: It is hee, whose beames, lend a light to thine: It is hee, that teaches thee the Art of *Ruling*; because none but hee, made thee a *King* . . . Wee (the *Belgians*) likewise come . . . a Nation banisht from our owne Cradles; yet nourcde [sic] and brought up in the tender boosome of Princely Mother, *ELIZA*. The *Love*, which wee once dedicated to her (as a Mother) doubly doe wee vow it to you, our Soveraigne, and Father; intreating wee may be sheltred under your winges now, as then under hers: our Prayers being that hee who through the loynes of so many Grand-fathers, hath brought thee to so many Kingdomes, may likewise multiply thy years.[62]

The Dutch community plays an important part in recognizing the British King's authority, even as they seek his political protection. Their formal address serves as a communal oath of allegiance to the British King and simultaneously calls upon his protection in reciprocation. Through their "speaking instrument," the Dutch venture to remind King James that his authority derives from God and they admonish against ambitions of political over-reaching. Furthermore, the Dutch address cautiously extends the King-as-stranger *leitmotif*. Like the new King, the Dutch "likewise come" into London; they too have been brought to new Kingdoms. The implication is two fold: on the one hand, as strangers the Dutch recognize King James' authority as their sovereign (and so seemingly relinquish loyalty to their homeland); on the other hand, the sovereign himself is a stranger (and so, ironically, requires recognition from the city's strangers). These are not mutually exclusive perspectives, of course. Rather, in so fashioning the King as "ghest" and as "meere stranger," Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* accommodates both the Dutch and King James as strangers who belong. In granting the Dutch the role of hosts of the King, Dekker's text enfranchises the Dutch community by making them denizen subjects of Britain, subjects who can publicly declare their allegiance to the British King.

The Dutch arch functioned in part as a stage concealed by curtains until the King's entourage approached the Exchange at Cornhill. Dekker details the dramatic aspect of the Dutch pageant:

> (being [at] the heart of the *Trophee*) was a spacious square roome, left open, Silke Curtaines drawne before it, which (upon the approach of his Maiestie) being put by, 17. yng *Damsels* (all of them sumptuously adorned, after their countrey fashion,) sate as it

> were in so many Chaires of State, and figuring in their persons, the 17. *Provinces of Belgia*.[63]

A stage so densely packed suggests something of the density of the Dutch stranger population in London.[64] Reconstructing the scene on that day, Dutch merchants, artisans, religious leaders, and apprentices lined up along Cornhill, flanking the arch their community had sponsored. As the King approached and passed beneath it, he would have seen, carved in high relief, images everywhere of Dutch artistic and agrarian industry:

> Over the other Portall, . . . men, women and children (in Dutch habits) are busie at other works: the men Weaving, the women Spinning, the children at their Hand-loomes, &c. Above whose heads, you may with little labour, walke into the *Mart,* where as well the *Froe*, as the *Burger*, are buying and selling, the praise of whose industrie (being worthy of it) stands publisht in gold.[65]

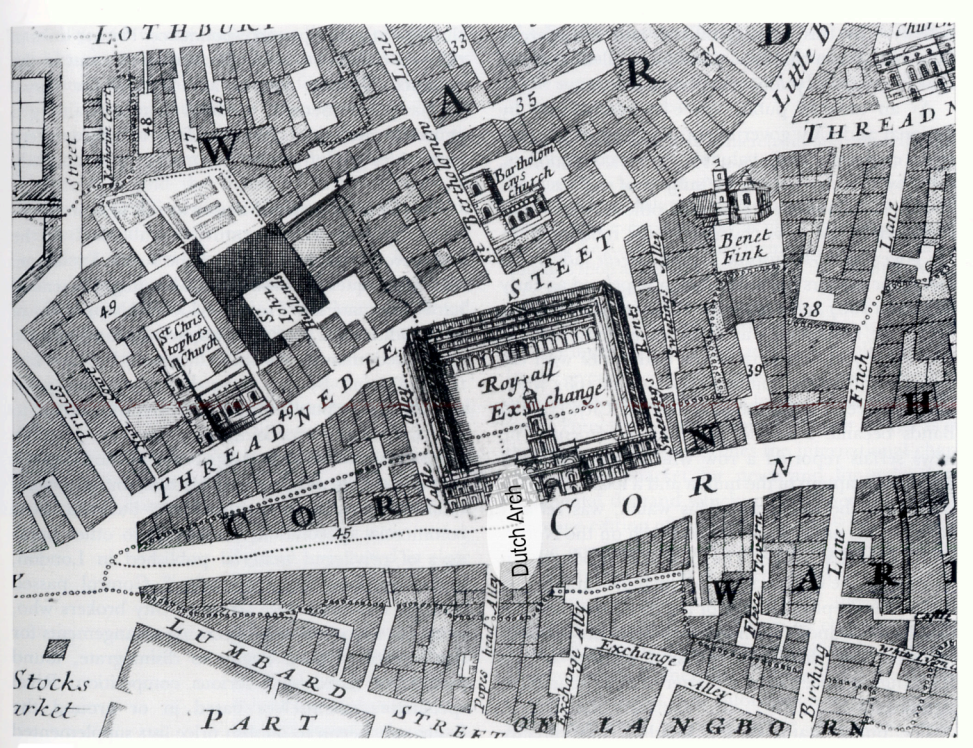
Dekker's description emphasizes the artifice of the arch itself as further evidence of the truth of Dutch creative industry:

> In the square Field, next and lowest, over one of the Portals, were the Dutch Countrey people, toyling at their Husbandrie; women carding of their Hemp, . . . such excellent Art being exprest in their faces, their stoopings, bendings, sweatings, &c. that nothing is wanting in them but life (which no colours can give) to make them bee thought more than the workes of Paynters.[66]

Images of Dutch commercial productivity and mercantilism are featured prominently on the arch. But one image on the backside of the arch stands out among the others. With London's actual Exchange looming in the immediate background, the backside of the arch foregrounds the *Dutch* Exchange, the Antwerp Beurs: "Lift up your eyes a little," Dekker implores, "and beholde their *Exchange*; the countenaunces of the Marchants there being so lively, that bargaines seeme to come from their lippes."

While we do not know precisely where the Dutch arch stood, four different contemporary reports concur that it stood near or "by" the Royal Exchange; thus, we might visually reconstruct its position along Cornhill (figure 15).[67] Dekker's description of the Dutch arch's breadth raises the question of whether these two Exchanges—one, the building; the other, a representation—did not in fact abut, in effect creatively condensing the spatial distance between the two historically

and textually interlocked Exchanges.[68] The visual effect of the two adjacent Exchanges invites the viewer to read the city as a book. For those standing along Cornhill facing the backside of the Dutch arch, the verso page of the city street was filled by the Royal Exchange, while Antwerp's Beurs filled the recto. Of course the Royal Exchange at Cornhill was already something of a palimpsest. There, too, onlookers glimpsed the phantom presence of Antwerp's Beurs, a history of Dutch labor in London, and evidence of Anglo-Dutch commercial and cultural exchange.



15. The location of the Dutch Arch at Cornhill.[69]

The Dutch arch, then, renders spatially what Dekker's nautical metaphor had accomplished poetically: a foreshortening of the distance between Antwerp and London and their commercial centers. The Dutch arch draws together Antwerp and London not only by setting a representation of Antwerp's Exchange into relief against the backdrop of London's. Also, the Dutch community that occupied the street alongside the Royal Exchange was suggestive of both the cause and outcome of such interlocking of northern European trading spaces. There, at the center of London's burgeoning metropolis and almost midway through the King's ceremonial

procession, stood London's Dutch (stranger) community, their impressive triumphal arch, and a legacy of Dutch cultural influence as evinced in *London's* Royal Exchange.

Indeed, whether the Dutch community elected or campaigned for their place of performance along Cornhill or it was assigned to them (we do not know—Dekker simply tells us that where the Dutch arch stood was "fated"), it placed the Dutch within central London, not those areas east of city walls, such as St. Katherine's or East Smithfields, or on the Bankside of the river Thames in Southwark, where so many Dutch strangers actually resided and earned their living.[70] More, insofar as the Dutch arch included seventeen Dutch women and was surrounded by members of the Dutch stranger community currently living and working in London, London's indebtedness and relation to the Netherlands was figured not as a bygone aspect of the Elizabethan era, but as a contemporary and central fact of London life. The Dutch who were present and performing that day were not the Dutch of Antwerp, but the Dutch of contemporary London: a people built in to (and partly responsible for building) the economic, social, and material fabric of London life. The Dutch performance at Cornhill optimized the representational doubleness of the Royal Exchange. The strategy at the center of the Dutch performance might best be characterized then as "strategic proximity": this is a performance that maximizes the opportunity to create meaning out of temporary realignments of bodies in the urban sphere.[71] The proximity of Dutch bodies to London's built environment—particularly *this* charged space—makes possible the fantasy of Antwerp's presence *within* London, and Dutch presence as integral rather than peripheral.

If Queen Elizabeth's visit to and renaming of the Exchange attempted to settle the site as English—to cut off the shuttling of signification between England and Low Countries catalyzed by Gresham's Burse—the Dutch performance builds upon the royal erasure at the center of the Exchange's representational history. The Dutch immigrants mobilize architecture to stage a broader representational contest already animating that building's meaning, and their performance sets into question the way those meanings underpin the logic of Dutch belongedness

in London. The community's arch and performance of strategic proximity frustrates distinctions that depend upon discursive and geographic references framed by a logic of here or there, home or abroad, us or them. Fundamentally, it is not Anglo-Dutch *difference* that has all along agitated and threatened to unravel the production of an Englished Royal Exchange; it has been a lingering sense of sameness, an unshakeable doppelganger effect, which destabilizes the fantasy of national difference and frustrates any easy national consolidation of "Britain" that Dekker's text (and civic pageantry) attempt to create. If, as Dekker declared, on this day London was the workhouse in which sundry nations were made, then those nations—including once 'strangers,' now 'neere neighbors'—were made to look as if they were in the city to stay.

III

A Floating Signifier: The "Royall Exchange" at Sea

> We construct, we make every city a little in the image of the ship Argo, whose every piece was no longer the original piece but which still remained the ship Argo, that is, a set of significations easily readable and recognizable. In this attempt at a semantic approach to the city we should try to understand the play of signs, to understand that any city is a structure . . . [T]he city is a poem . . . but it is not a classical poem, a poem tidily centered on a subject. It is a poem which unfolds the signifier and it is this unfolding that ultimately the semiology of the city should try to grasp and make sing.
>
> Roland Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban"[72]

The year following James' royal progress, Anthony Munday, pageant director and author, staged a spectacular entry of "The Shippe called the *Royall Exchange* . . . laden with *Spices*, *Silkes* and *Indico*" returning from its voyage to the East as the opening act of *The Triumphes of a Re-united Britannia* (1605).[74] The first extant Mayoral pageant of King James' reign, *Triumphes* untethers the Exchange and its significations from the material site and releases Dutchness from inhering in people *per se*. By tracing this lexical signifier, we can see how the meaning of the Royal Exchange began to float free from its material sign (the building), even as it continued to register English and Dutch commercial competition.

The pageant opens with a narration of "the only full-scale treatment of the Brutus-Troy myth of English history to be found in civic pageantry."[75] Over the course of the pageant, this

myth transforms James into "our second Brute . . . by whose happye coming to the Crowne, England, Wales, and Scotland, by the first Brute severed and divided, is in our second Brute re-united, and made one happy Britania again."[76] If the story of Brutus focused spectators' minds on King James, whose royal progress must have been fresh in memory, the spectacular entrance of "The Shippe called the Royall Exchange" returned attention to the city's new Mayor and to the economic life of the city that his office helped to oversee. The arrival into port of the "The Royall Exchange" occasions the pageant's initial address to the Lord Mayor and serves as an important stage for figuring the parameters of the new Mayor's juridical and economic domain.

The shipmaster's address to the city of London provides the narrative context for the "Royall Exchange's" arrival in London:

> All hayle fair London, to behold thy Towers.
> After our voyage long and dangerous:
> Is Seamens comfort, thankes unto those powers,
> That in all perils have preserved us.
> Our *Royall Exchange* hath made a rich returne,
> Laden with *Spices*, *Silkes*, and *Indico*,
> Our wives that for our absence long did mourne,
> Now find release from all their former woe. (108-15)

Having returned from the East Indies, the ship's cargohold is loaded with valued goods soon to enter London's marketplace. The fortunes derived from the East India Company ventures are located not in spaces abroad but in a floating version of London's Royal Exchange. Mayor Halliday is cast as owner of the "Royall Exchange," a role revealed when the ship's mate calls out, "Maister good newes, our Owner, as I heare, / Is this day sworne in Londons Maioralty" (116-17). In so linking the Mayor to the "Royall Exchange" and the "Royall Exchange" to the East India Company's success, the pageant expands the Mayor's interests and influence beyond London's horizon. Munday's pageant suggestively associates the wealth of the East Indies with London, London's trade success with the ship, "The Royall Exchange," and "The Royall Exchange" with Leonard Halliday, Merchant Taylor, whose inauguration as Mayor the pageant was designed to celebrate.

The spectacle of an English ship's return from the East Indies alludes to the successful return of the first English East India Company (EIC) fleet two years previous, in September 1603.[77] The English East India Company fleet of four collected pepper from south Sumatra and Bantam in western Java. Upon their return, the ships "were almost entirely laden with pepper . . . the consignment [of which] was estimated to amount to 1,030,000 [pounds]," a staggering quantity, which had the result of throwing the market "completely out of balance."[78] The market surplus of pepper had implications for Anglo-Dutch economic relations because English success in reaching Sumatra and Java transformed England from an indirect to a direct importer of pepper. This transformation posed a challenge to the Dutch market in pepper, which, like the English, was profitable largely due to its re-exportation of pepper to other European markets, including England.[79] Following the EIC success, all pepper that had not been imported directly by the English East India Company was sequestered. Such action, of course, threatened to limit Dutch re-exportation of pepper into England. In December of 1603, "Lord Burkhurst . . . proposed, first that there should be a general prohibition of all imports; secondly, that all such pepper as had already been brought in from the Low Countries and the Levant should be sequestered from sale."[80] At the time of Halliday's mayoral inauguration, London's markets were clamoring to adjust to the unprecedented influx of pepper. When the Master of Munday's "Royall Exchange" orders his Boy and Mate to "Take of our Pepper, of our Cloves and Mace, / And liberally bestow them round about," the London audience, whose market had been literally peppered by the 1603 fleet, was invited to participate as consumers in the recent success of the English East India Company's venture.

The opening dramatic sequence enacts a London so rich with spices that the ship's entire crew is implored to shower the London crowd with the ship's "luggage." Such a strewing of spices, even "comfits, and sweetmeats (in the case of the Fishmongers, fish)," was the convention of Mayoral shows and served to play an important part of the "gift-exchange" enacted between the company and the city.[81] With the surplus of pepper that indeed existed in London in the year

1605, we can have little doubt that Munday's actors actually tossed pepper into the London crowd.

The Master of the ship also boasts "cloves and mace" among his cargo. This claim functions as a proleptic appropriation of *Dutch* export commodities. We know, for instance, that "between 1599 and 1634 . . . mace [was] regularly imported from the Netherlands."[82] More, it is not until 1607 that "the first mention of a clove sale in the [English East India] Company's records occurs."[83] The Exchange vignette of the Mayoral pageant nonetheless celebrates England's emergence as a *direct* importer of these spices from the East Indies. Mundy thus creatively scripted into the Mayoral inauguration a triumph over a much-feared dependence on European, particularly Dutch, middlemen.[84] Munday's ship of pepper, cloves, and mace depends on the audience's association of it with London's central marketplace, where merchants ventured capital on just such risky ventures, to harness its fullest signification. Within the fictional framework of Munday's pageant, the "Royall Exchange" voyages beyond the geographical territory of northern Europe, drawing with it the Anglo-Dutch commercial competition that has all along adhered to its London counterpart. By carrying the Royal Exchange out to sea, Munday's pageant liberates Anglo-Dutch exchange from the parochialism of Europe, extending it into the global economy of imperial ventures. In drawing that ship back home, Munday imagines an English triumph over their Dutch competitors.

The colorful fiction that a ship named the "Royall Exchange" owned by Leonard Halliday should sail into London's Thames the very day that Halliday is inaugurated as Mayor works to extend well beyond London's walls the circumference of Halliday's celebrated power. Just as the King (and his court) are King and court regardless of their location, so too, this pageant performance suggests, wherever the Royal Exchange is—in Cornhill, or at sea—so too are London's mercantile powers and, more implicitly, the politics of competition with the Dutch. In so translating the Royal Exchange, Munday also resituates Anglo-Dutch competition, locating it in the corporate bodies of the English East India Company and its Dutch competitor, De

Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC). The mayor's reign, then, exceeds the city's walls insofar as his rule corresponds to a mobile, global marketplace. As James brings with him Scotland into the fold of Britain, *The Triumphes of Re-United Britannia* presents the "Royall Exchange" as a floating, imperial marketplace whose centrifugal commercial force draws the spices of the East into London, even as its centripetal political force figuratively extends the Mayor's reign even to the East Indies.

Neither Munday nor his London audience could not have anticipated that fifteen years after Mayor Halliday's inauguration, an 800 ton ship named the "Royal Exchange" would indeed venture to the very edges of Britain's trading outposts.[85] According to EIC shipping lists, the Royal Exchange was among England's largest trade vessels and sailed three expeditions to Batavia (Jacarta) between the years 1620-1640. During the early years of competition between the VOC and EIC, England's Royal Exchange carried highly profitable spices from the Indonesian archipelago back to England. The arrival of the Royal Exchange into England's ports was, as Munday's pageant had boldly imagined, a triumph of the English over Dutch domination of the Indonesian spice trade. Decades before the destruction of the building that lent its moniker to this vessel, the symbolic commercial charge of the Royal Exchange had been unmoored from London, becoming a floating signifier of Anglo-Dutch commercial competition on the world's seas.

[1] *The British Airways London Eye*, 26 September 2005 <http://www.londoneye.com/AboutEye>.

[2] On the history of the Royal Exchange, see *The Royal Exchange*, ed. Ann Saunders (London: London Topographical Society, 1997), hereafter abbreviated *RE*.

[3] Quoted in John William Burgon, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Knt. Founder of the Royal Exchange*, 2 vols. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1839) 505.

[4] A refugee from the Netherlands, Franz Hogenberg engraved images of the interior and exterior, which are our "earliest known topographical engravings of any English building," (Ann Saunders, "The Building of the Royal Exchange" *RE* 40).

[5] For instance, in Thomas Heywood's *Fair Mayde of the Exchange,* Boy remarks to Phillis, the play's fair maid: "I would not be a by-word to th' Exchange, for every one to say (my selfe going by) Yon goes a vassall to authoritie" (*A Critical Edition of* The Faire Maide of the Exchange, ed. Karl E. Snyder [New York: Garland Publishing, 1980] 3.2.19-21).

[6] Quoted in Charles Welch, *Illustrated Account of the Royal Exchange and the Pictures Therein* (London: Johnson, Riddle & Company, 1913) 23.

[7] Welch 24.

[8] *Royal Exchange Inquest-book* quoted in Welch 24-25. Orange women were also regularly spotted at the theaters where they "operated as intermediaries negotiating discreet acquaintances between male admirers and actresses and prostitutes" (John L. McMullan, *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld 1550-1700* [New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984] 137).

[9] Ole Peter Grell, "The French and Dutch Congregations in London in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV.5 (1987): 368.

[10] Scott Cairns, "Drifting: Architecture / migrancy," *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy,* ed. Scott Cairns (New York: Routledge, 2004) 1-16.

[11] Cairns 18.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 117-8.

[14] Ibid., 117.

[15] Ibid.

[16] De Certeau defines "poetic geography" as that which is "on top of the geography of the literal, forbidden or permitted meaning" (105). Recovering the "poetic geography" of London's Exchange depends on attending to its material history and its textual representations as well as recovering the spatial practices of the Dutch stranger community residing in London.

[17] Saunders 39 n.17.

[18] For a detailed history of Gresham's life, see Burgon *Life and Times . . . Gresham*; Ian Blanchard, "Sir Thomas Gresham c. 1518-1579," *RE,* 11-19.

[19] Saunders 36.

[20] For Gresham's negotiations with the city, see Saunders 36-39; also, *A Booke Concernynge the Newe Burse* (1566), reprinted in *RE,* 416-26.

[21] On Anglo-Dutch commercial relations, see David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism 1650-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[22] Welch 19.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Saunders 39.

[25] Ibid.

[26] I have searched for such references in the archives of the Mercers' Company (London) and in the collection of the Guardian of the Royal Exchange (London).

[27] I wish to underscore that this is a nascent cultural fantasy insomuch as the commercial realities of London's position in the larger networks of global trade might more accurately be characterized as "marginal." David Baker has recently argued this point in "'The Allegory of a China Shop': Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*," *ELH* 72 (2005): 159-180.

[28] In a letter to Gresham written from Antwerp (December 31, 1561), Gresham's agent, Richard Clough writes,

> it is marvel that we have so good orders as we have, considering what rulers we have in the City of London: such a Company that do study for nothing else but their own profit. As for example, considering what a City London is, and that in so many years they have not found the means to make a Bourse! but must walk in the rain when it raineth, more like pedlars than merchants; and in this country, and all other, there is no kind of people that have occasion to meet, but they have a place meet for that purpose. (Burgon 1.409)

[29] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "pawn" (gallery, colonnade, or covered walk) derives from early modern Dutch "pandt" (cloister). The Royal Exchange not only introduces Dutch-identified architecture into London it also brings with it Dutch vocabulary.

[30] Quoted in Saunders 44.

[31] John Stow, *A Survey of London,* ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, vol. 1 (1908; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 2000) 193.

[32] Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part II* (Oxford University Press: The Malone Society Reprints, 1934) lines 2100-10; Theophilus Philalethes, *Great Britains Glory: Or, A brief Description of the Present State, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Royal Exchange* (1672) 5-6. For how the Exchange figured in the drama of the period, see Jean Howard, "Staging Commercial London: The Royal Exchange," *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* **(**Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). I am grateful to Professor Howard for sharing a pre-published version of this chapter with me.

[33] For visual commemorations of Queen Elizabeth's visit, see Christopher Eimer, "Medals of the Royal Exchange," *RE*, 349; Ingrid Roscoe, "'The Statues of the Sovereigns of England': Sculpture for the Second Building, 1695-1831," *RE*, 184; Clare A.P. Willsdon, "The Mural Decoration at the Royal Exchange," *RE*, plate x.

[34] This image has been reproduced from *The Royal Exchange,* Saunders ed., plate x.

[35] The *Oxford English Dictionary* posits that the word "burse" arose either at Bruges "from the sign of a purse, or three purses, on the front of the house which the merchants there bought to meet in" or at Antwerp.

[36] Volume II of the *Repertories*, housed in the Mercers' Company, runs from 1629-1669 and records the committee's negotiations following the building's destruction in the Great Fire.

[37] See Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, Part II*, in which Gresham consistently refers to his building as "my burse" while the Queen calls it the "Royal Exchange"; also, Thomas Middleton, *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1.2.31-34; Thomas Dekker, *"The Gulls Horn-Book (1609)," Thomas Dekker,* ed. E.D. Pendry, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

[38] For the "complementary relationship" between London and Antwerp markets in the sixteenth century, see Derek Keene, "Material London in Time and Space," *Material London ca. 1600,* ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) 55-74.

[39] Quoted in Jean Imray, "Origins of the Exchange," *RE*, 27.

[40] Reprinted in Lawrence Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1986) 39.

[41] I borrow this characterization of London as a satellite-city from Peter Burke, *Antwerp: A Metropolis in Comparative Perspective* ([Gent]: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993).

[42] On the New Exchange, see: Thomas N. Brushfield, "Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange," *Journal of British Archaeological Society* 9 (1903): 33-48, 81-94; Lawrence Stone, "Inigo Jones and the New Exchange," *The Archaeological Journal* 114 (1957): 105-121; "The New Exchange," *RE,* 121-249. James Knowles has recently discovered and published Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, a performance for King James upon the opening of the New Exchange ("Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse,*" *Re-presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance,* ed. Martin Butler [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999] 114-151). This includes both an edited text and Knowles' commentary on it. See also, James Grantham Turner, "'News from the New Exchange': Commodity, Erotic Fantasy, and the Female Entrepreneur," *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800 Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and Jon Brewer (London: Routledge 1995) 419-33; Janette Dillon, "Court Meets City: The Royal Entertainment at the New Exchange," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 38 (1999): 1-21; Baker, 159-180.

[43] Donald Lupton, *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into Severall Characters* (London, 1632) 22-23.

[44] Both symbolic and real efforts were made during the planning and building of the New Exchange in order to avoid the kind of protest that Gresham's Burse had sparked. The stone used in building the New Exchange was domestic in origin, sent from "monastic buildings of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, which Cecil had recently acquired" (Stone 115). A month prior to the opening of the New Exchange, Thomas Wilson pens a tongue-in-cheek letter to King James in which he suggests possible names for the new building. Among others, "English rialto" is proposed (Brushfield 40-41). Not surprisingly, James opted instead to name the rival to the Royal Exchange, "Britain's Burse," a title that in of itself emphasizes the

(idealized) political unifying effect James's Kingship had brought to the isle even as it retains an etymological affiliation with Antwerp.

[45] An event of this magnitude drew upon the finances of London's Guilds and its stranger communities, and upon the talents of some of its finest authors, architects, and artisans. For authorial collaboration between Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton and Ben Jonson on James' *Entertainment*, see Fredson Bowers' textual introduction to "The Magnificent Entertainment Given to King James," *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1953) 231-252; and Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) 222-226. Stephen Harrison, "Joyner was appointed chiefe; who was the sole Inventor of the Architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to Carving, Joyning, Molding, and all other worke in those five Pageants of the Ciite (Paynting excepted) were set down" (Bowers, *Dramatic Works* 303). In an historically unprecedented move, Harrison authors his own version of the pageant, a folio entitled, *The Arch's of Triumph Erected in Honor of the High and Mighty Prince James* (1604), which provides description and drawings of the seven pageant arches. Regarding Harrison's folio, see David Bergeron, *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship: Plays and Pageants, Patrons and Politics* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2000) 179; and Bergeron, "Harrison, Jonson, and Dekker: *The Magnificent Entertainment of King James*1604," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institute* 31 (1968): 445-48. Five of the pageant's seven arches were paid for by funds levied against the city's companies; "the other two Arch's erected by Merchant-Strangers (viz the Italians and Dutchmen) were only their owne *particular* charge" (Harrison, *Arch's* K).

[46] For London as a "ceremonial city," see Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (1988; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 10. Lawrence Manley explores the "ceremonial syntax" of London pageantry in *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 223.

[47] David Bergeron defines civic pageantry as that which "refers to consciously planned dramatic entertainments that typically offered access to the public, seen most clearly in London pageants" (*English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*, Revised Edition [Tempe: Arizona State University, 2003] 2).

[48] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, exemplifies trenchant scholarship of this kind. See also, Withington, *English Pageantry*; John Nicols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First,* 4 vols. (New York: B. Franklin, 1964); Gordon Kipling, "Triumphal Drama: From in English Civic Pageantry," *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977): 37-56; Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300-1660*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980) 51-111.

[49] Manley, *Literature and Culture* 223.

[50] "The Magnificent Entertainment: Given to King James (1604)," *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredsom Bowers, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) 230-303; hereafter cited as Dekker, line numbers.

[51] I have borrowed this image from Manley, *Literature and Culture* 226-27, adding the arches where Dekker mentions they stood.

[52] Regarding Queen Elizabeth's royal entry, see Bergeron, *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship* 17-65.

[53] Dekker 175-6.

[54] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* 76. For a thorough description of each arch, see Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* 67-109.

[55] The arch was "designed by Christopher de Steur and Assuerus Regemorterus . . . the architect was Coenraet Janszoon, and the chief decorators or painters were Daniel de Vos and Pauwel van Overbeke,"

(*The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers, 1571 to 1874, and Monumental Inscriptions, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London,* ed. William John Charles Moens [Lymington: Privately Printed, 1884]: xxviii).

[56] Though future work is necessary in order to determine how the Italian's use of Grace Church street might have complicated the meaning of their performance, when compared to the Dutch pageant, Dekker's portrait of the Italian pageant registers a more timid tone, a less aggressive political message, and employs a more conventional celebration of the King. On the backside of the Italian arch, for example, "antikely attir'd, stood the four kingdomes, *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, holding hands together" (Dekker 390-91).

[57] This image is reproduced from Bergeron, *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship* 171.

[58] Dekker 177-189.

[59] Ibid., 437-43.

[60] The ambiguities surrounding legally constituted citizenship bedeviled the era. That James was represented as a "stranger" in London is of little surprise when we recognize that: "we still find forty-nine scotchmen individually listed in the returns of strangers made during the reign of his son, Charles I, King of England" (Irene Scouloudi, "The Stranger Community in London 1558-1640," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV.5 (1987): 436).

[61] Dekker 31-38.

[62] Ibid., 664-701.

[63] Ibid,, 479-84.

[64] Scouloudi, *Returns* 85.

[65] Dekker 584-90.

[66] Ibid., 569-74.

[67] Stow's *Survey*, Harrison's *Arch's*, Dekker's *Entertainment*, and Gilbert Dugdale's account of the King's visit to the Exchange just days before the pageant (*The Time Triumphant,* 1604) all refer to the Dutch arch as "by" or "neere" the Exchange.

[68] While I have not found any records that answer definitively why the Dutch community selected Cornhill "by the Exchange" for the site of their pageant, what we do know about the placement of the Dutch arch is twofold. First, the Exchange was located alongside the conduit at Cornhill where, before the erection of the Exchange, pageants were conventionally staged. Thus, while the Exchange was a new site along the city's ceremonial route, it occupied familiar ceremonial terrain. Second, the decisions made regarding the artistic design of the Dutch arch reveal the Dutch community's investment in highlighting Dutch commercial prosperity as something alive and well both abroad and in London.

[69] This image (reproduced in *The Royal Exchange,* ed. Saunders, 189) is a copy of a ward map that appears in John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. John Strype (London, 1720).

[70] Foreigners living within London city walls tended to reside East of the river Walbrook in Langborne, Aldgate, Tower, and Billingsgate. Just beyond the eastern edge of the city wall in East Smithfield, more than twenty percent of the adult male population consisted of foreigners in the mid-sixteenth century (Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* [Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1986] 21; and Scouloudi, *Returns* 77). Southwark (or Bridge Without) was, from the mid 1560s through the early 1590s, a ward that had among the highest reported alien populations (Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here* 27). Also home to a large population of strangers were other Liberties and exempt areas of the metropolis (Scouloudi, *Returns* 77). In short, the largest numbers of Dutch strangers were living just East of the city walls, in the Eastern suburbs, or just across the Thames in Bridge Without.

[71] In reading temporary spatial practices as potential political acts, I concur with Elizabeth Grosz who argues that the city is "both a mode for the regulation and administration of subjects but also an urban space in turn re-inscribed by the particularities of its occupation and use" ("Bodies-Cities," *Space, Time, and Perversion* [New York: Routledge, 1995] 109).

[72] Roland Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban," *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (1997; London: Routledge, 2003) 172.

[74] Throughout my discussion of Munday's *Triumphs* I will distinguish the ship the "Royall Exchange" from London's marketplace by retaining Munday's spelling (Royall Exchange) and placing the name of the ship inside quotation marks. For the only critical edition of this text, see David M. Bergeron, *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985) 1-23. I quote from Bergeron's edition throughout. For a more recent discussion of Anthony Munday's largely overlooked *oeuvre,* see Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[75] Bergeron, *Pageants and Entertainments*, 19 (notes).

[76] Ibid., 7. The little critical interest Munday's pageant has received has tended to focus on the conceit of the Brutus-Troy myth, e.g., Hill, 149-52; Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* 145.

[77] This venture was a *commercial* success. Regarding lives lost on this first venture, see Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia 1600-1834* (London: The British Library, 2002).

[78] For the effects of the 1603 shipments on London's market, see K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640* (London: Franck Cass & Co, Ltd., 1965) 153-156.

[79] Chaudhuri explains: since both the English and Dutch domestic markets were restricted in terms of how much spice their markets could absorb, "the profits of the pepper trade depended almost entirely on its re-export to the continent" (140).

[80] Chaudhuri concludes: "The proposal was unique as an extreme example of the Government attempt to control the commercial life of the country to suit its own convenience" (153-4).

[81] For a discussion of this gift-exchange, see Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture* 261; Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1992) 119-155.

[82] Chaudhuri 167.

[83] Ibid., 169-70.

[84] The suspicion that the Dutch would create a monopoly was sparked in 1599 when news arrived in London that six VOC ships, laden with pepper and spices, had returned to Holland from the East Indies. Had the VOC secured a monopoly, the English would have been unable to compete, especially if the Dutch engaged in price-cutting wars. Even when the English established factories in the East Indies, they suffered

"chronic fear that the 'Flemings might fill the market abroad' or if there was a shortage in the London market bring it into England and sell at a high price" (Ibid., 145).

[85] Ibid., 226-234.

Chapter 5

Dangerous Transplantations:
The Crisis of Anglo-Dutch Interchangeability in the East Indies' Spice Islands

YSABINA: Fly this detested Isle,
where horrid Ills so black and fatal dwell,
as Indians cou'd not guess, till Europe taught.
[. . .]
TOWERSON: But dry your tears, these sufferings are all mine.
Your breast is white, and cold as falling Snow.
You still as fragrant as your Eastern Groves.
John Dryden, *Amboyna*, Act 4

Before the "horrid ills" of Anglo-Dutch rivalry are played out on the body of Ysabinda in John Dryden's *Amboyna* (1673), the play's native Amboyner makes a promise that the changing conditions of her world will refuse to let her keep. The intended wife of the English East India Company Captain, Gabriel Towerson, Ysabinda has waited three years for his return to Amboyna, a clove-producing "Spice Island" in the Indonesian archipelago.[1] Their anticipated nuptials are tragically marred when Harmon Junior, son of the island's Dutch East India Company Governor, sets his sights on Ysabinda and declares his competition for her in marriage. In terms that presage the central crisis of the play, Ysabinda dismisses Harmon's suit:

YSABINDA: If this be earnest, you've done a most unmanly and ungrateful part, to court the intended Wife of him, to whom you are most oblig'd.
HARMON: Leave me to answer that: assure your self I love you violently, and If you are wise, you'l make some difference 'twixt Towerson and me.
YSABINDA: Yes, I shall make a difference, but not to your advantage.[2]

Harmon's "violent" love will be horrifically realized when, in act four of the play, he pursues Ysabinda into the island's clove forests, binds her to the tree that has drawn Europeans to her island, stops her screams with a rag, and rapes her. Before Ysabinda's tragedy unfolds, Harmon urges Ysabinda to make a different choice in marriage. Pressing his case by appealing to

mercantile and colonial logics, Harmon asserts Dutch primacy in trade on the island as a reason for Ysabinda's affectionate re-alliance. He scoffs at Ysabinda's choice of "an Englishman, part Captain, and part Merchant" because "his Nation [is] of declining interest here: consider this, and weigh against that fellow, not me, but any, the least and meanest Dutchman on this Isle" (1.360). As a Dutchman, he boasts, he is worth more than any Englishman from a "nation of declining interest." Indeed, as the play reminds its audience, the English and the Dutch had reached a controversial agreement regarding their trade relations in the East Indies' Spice Islands, ratified in the Treaty of 1619, which guaranteed the Dutch Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) two-thirds of the trade in the region, the English East India Company (EIC) one-third.[3] The play takes place after the Treaty and in the days running up to one of the most notorious Anglo-Dutch East Indies conflicts of the seventeenth century, the Amboyna massacre of 1623. From the position of the English East India Company merchants, the Treaty of 1619, which had been negotiated in the complex political atmosphere of Anglo-Dutch relations back home, secured Dutch domination of the Spice trade and foreclosed English opportunity to compete in "fair and free commerce," thus weakening their position in the East Indies.[4] In local matters of trade, being Dutch makes all the difference of economic advantage on Amboyna. So too, Harmon Junior's logic runs, should he enjoy an advantage in his suit for Ysabinda's hand.

Ysabinda's response to Harmon's suit, "I do not weigh by bulk," though "I know your Countreymen have the advantage there," suggests that she is knowledgeable of but indifferent to the Anglo-Dutch negotiations that structure European colonial contests on Amboyna (1.361). Though profitable cloves, weighed and distributed in bulk, draw the play's Europeans to the island, Ysabinda maintains that the logic and politics of trade, worked out between the English and the Dutch, do not govern her relations with the strangers on her island. In effect, Ysabinda positions herself as existing outside of the conditions of colonial enterprise that she has played no role in brokering. From her epistemological standpoint, what difference can be made between the Dutchman and her betrothed English Captain, both colonizers on her island?

Recent criticism has asserted the centrality of Ysabinda in forging English *national* self-definition in Dryden's play. Her role has been understood as largely symbolic; as an object of an Englishman's and a Dutchman's desire, Ysabinda functions primarily to distinguish the national character of the English from that of the Dutch, especially as these national identities are expressed in very different modes of colonial engagement. The contest over and ultimately the violence against Ysabinda is "a metaphor for colonial aggression";[5] she "is herself a symptom of Dryden's recasting of international conflict into a binary political morality";[6] more "this feminization of Asian culture in the figure of Ysabinda thus writes out of existence both Asian men and those Europeans who do not conform to a Manichean politics of English virtue and Dutch vice."[7] While critics agree that conflicted projections of national ideology circulate in the play, Ysabinda's place in that conflict has largely been understood as stabilizing the difference the play aims to constitute.[8] Ysabinda serves not as the sign of "Indian" difference or as the exoticized other that raises the specter of miscegenation, familiar tropes of Anglo-Indian encounter in Restoration drama.[9] Instead, she is the fulcrum about which Anglo-Dutch national difference turns. In the play's own terms, she is understood as keeping her promise to "make a difference": she makes a national difference between men.

Recent scholarship has done much to shed light on Dryden's most under-explored play. In this body of scholarship, critics share a general conclusion about Ysabinda's role in the play as well as a process of reading her through the triangulated standpoints of Anglo-Dutch-Amboynese dynamics. This chapter looks at Ysabinda afresh to consider how positioning her not only within a matrix of masculine European desire, but also along side another female character in the play, complicates, on the one hand, the play's project of fashioning intra-European national difference and, on the other, critical understanding of the intersection of gender and national self-definition in the play. In so doing, I offer a reading that makes visible the structural contradictions in Ysabinda's subject-position as the native object of Anglo-Dutch desire. Ysabinda's story, one that unfolds both before and after the rape and together with that of the other female characters on the

island, reveals a more complex, less successful vision of distinct national definition than has been argued. If she is a "symptom" of a kind, as critics have argued, she proves a symptom of a broader cultural problem that plagued Anglo-Dutch relations, politics, and identity in the Spice Islands: the crisis of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability.

This crisis is played out both in Dryden's plot and in early accounts of Dutch VOC and English EIC ventures to the Spice Islands. In letters and in published travel narratives regarding events in the East Indies, both English and Dutch merchants report concern that in the East Indies their northern European national differences fail to signify. In this new theater of Anglo-Dutch relations, the emerging *colonial* identities of the English and the Dutch are vexed by the threat that perceptions of their seeming likeness might override their corporate and national differences. "Dangerous Transplantations" aims to trace the issues that emerge when the provisional, relational, and proximate identities of the English and the Dutch are transplanted to the East Indies. It asks how such transplantation refigures the categories of difference that matter, and explores how bodies—male and female—come to bear an ideological and epistemological burden of representativeness that differs from and draws upon the modes of representation that mattered in the northern European context. Finally, it reconsiders Ysabinda's story, exploring in what ways she both does and does not keep her promise to make a difference between the European men whose material and carnal desires draw them to her island.

I

Identity at the Eastern Edge: Mistaken, Usurped, and Failed National Identities

Early English accounts of East Indies' voyages are shot through with anxieties about the failure to signify as English. Though often critically explored for England's "encounter" with and constituting of the "exotic Other," English travel writing, journals, and letters abound also with stories in which the English discover themselves rendered interchangeable with the Dutch, both from the perspective of the indigenous population and from the perspective of other Europeans. Such stories of confused or mistaken identity have garnered little critical attention in part because

discussions of Anglo-Dutch relations in the East Indies are often cast as a "rivalry" from the start.[10] As if forged in commercial competition, the English and the Dutch are often understood as essentially commercial identities. In so framing Anglo-Dutch relations, critics have unwittingly obscured a powerful anxiety that shaped that rivalry: a sense—drawn with the English and the Dutch into the East Indies, which relations in the East Indies magnified and confirmed—that cultural and religious resemblances, linguistic correspondences, and reciprocal political obligations between the English and the Dutch blurred distinctions between them.[11] While commercial rivalry with the Dutch was very much in play in England's ventures East, early English accounts of Anglo-Dutch relations in the East Indies provide a more multivalent picture of how the English experienced and represented their identities in relation to the Dutch. On the one hand, the theater of Anglo-Dutch relations in the East was much like that back home, where the double process of identification with and differentiation from the Dutch was precisely what characterized England's proximate relations with their nearest neighbors. On the other hand, in the Spice Islands the perception of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability—explored as comic on London stages and as a social and political insight in London civic pageantry—proved an explosive problem. Up-rooted from the geographies of England and the Netherlands, the English and the Dutch discover themselves abstracted ships at sea, compelled to identify anew signifiers of their difference.

In early English accounts of voyages to the East Indies, the ubiquitous figure of the Dutch proves a dangerously unstable signifier. In so being, the Dutch of English travel narratives function somewhat like the Spaniard in English "New World" discovery narratives. In discourses of New World discovery, Louis Montrose argues, the Spaniard is the proximate Other who problematically shares an "ambient" "cultural, moral and intellectual" tradition with the English. The Spaniard is the other who is always already there:

> The ubiquitous figure of the Spaniard is an unstable signifier . . . he is, at once, an authority to be followed, a villain to be punished, and a rival to be bested. For the Englishmen in the World, the Spaniards are proximate figure of Otherness: in being

> Catholic, Latin, and Mediterranean they are spiritually, linguistically, ethnically, and ecologically alien. At the same time, however, England and Spain are intertwined with each other in an encompassing European system of economic, social, and political structures and forces; and they share an ambient Christian and classical cultural, moral, and intellectual tradition. The sign of the Spaniard in English discovery texts simultaneously mediates and complicates any simple antinomy of European Self and American Other.[12]

In English-authored East Indies travel narratives the Dutch are similarly ubiquitous figures. However, as I have been charting in previous chapters, the Dutch were imagined as being spiritually, linguistically, and ethnically similar to the English and, thus, emphatically unlike the Spaniard of New World discovery narratives who was "alien" to the English by these measures. As Protestant, northern, Teutonic neighbors, the Dutch share with the English affiliations, qualities, characteristics, even racialized histories,[13] which would have more definitively distinguished an Englishman from a Spaniard in a European context. The English had long sought to make a difference between some essential Englishness and an essential Dutchness. Nonetheless, the English and the Dutch, Englishness and Dutchness, were often more jumbled than separated, more imbricated with than extricated from one another. If representing English and Dutch difference was difficult in northern Europe, the challenge rose to the level of crisis in the East. As Anglo-Dutch relations are transplanted to the colonial space of the Spice Islands, so too is the anxiety that the doppleganger might be taken for the self.

Yet "Neere Neighbours" So Far From Home

At ten o'clock at night, on the fifth of August 1603, Dutch Captains of the VOC knocked on the door of the English house in Bantam. Half a world away from their northern European homelands, the Dutch and English discovered themselves intertwined by a historical sense of affiliation engendered by their proximate relations back home, and anew by their spatial proximity to one another on the island and a shared status as strangers there. Edmund Scott's *An exact discourse of the subtilties, fashishions* [sic]*, policies, religion, and the ceremonies of the Indians as well Chyneses as Javans, there abiding and dweling . . . since the 2 of February 1602 until the 6 of October 1605*, published in London in 1606, provides one of our three earliest

accounts of the English East India Company experience in the Indonesian archipelago.[14] Scott was among the factors left behind in Bantam by the first fleet of East India Company ships.[15] Following the death of two senior merchants, Scott became chief of the English factory at Bantam where he attempted to trade and preserve goods for the next English fleet. His account of his almost three-years' residence on the island reveals just how perilous, complex, and explosively violent England's early colonial ventures were. On the evening of August fifth, the Dutch Captains at the English house door came bearing good will toward the English. Under the cover of darkness the Dutch share intelligence with Scott about the ever-changing politics of commerce on the island:

> There came to our House Capt. *Spylbeck*, Capt. *John Powlson*, and some other *Dutch* Captaines, who told us they had that day bin with the *Protector* about some business, who asked them if they would take our parts, if he should do any violence to us? To the which they answered (as they sayd) that we and they were neere neighbours, wherefore they might not see us wronged.[16]

The "Protector" was one of the island's principal governors with whom the Dutch, Portuguese, English, as well as Chinese, Indian, and Javan merchants on the island negotiated trade relations.[17] The suspicion that the Protector might be plotting against English interests would have been grave and certainly undesired news. Scott and his fellow Englishmen nonetheless take seriously the Dutch-delivered rumor, suggesting that in these early years of EIC and VOC interactions at Bantam, the English indeed believed themselves to be "neere neighbours" with the Dutch, both in a geographic and affective sense. As the Dutch Captains make clear, English and Dutch interests at Bantam are not simply parallel but intimately intertwined.

Scott's *Discourse* is replete with evidence of Anglo-Dutch strategic and affectionate alliances. The need for a degree of strategic alliance is made evident in the arrangement of the storage of goods and spices on the island. The English stored their overflow of goods and pepper in the Dutch house, suggesting that there was no distinct separation between the Dutch and English commercial infrastructure on Bantam (4). An attack against the English house might snowball into an attack against the Dutch. Therefore, the English and Dutch volunteered to

defend one another's property when they found themselves assaulted by other players in the region. Scott reports that on an evening when the Chinese were suspected of setting fire to the English house, "the *Dutch* merhaunts . . . came ver[y] k[i]ndely with their weapons, and sware they would live and die in our quartell" (21). Scott represents the Dutch as not only tactical allies, but trusted messengers who bring important news to the English from England. It was, in fact, the Dutch who "tolde us of the death of the late *Queene Elizabeth,* and of the great plague and sicknesse that had beene over all Christendome . . . they tolde us the king of *Scots* was crowned, and that our land was in peace, which was exceeding great comfort unto us*"* (37). Acting as strategic allies, the Dutch offer military and infrastructural support; as neighbors, they bring news of "great comfort" to the English. Such images suggest that the Dutch at Bantam were not merely rivals in trade; they also provided an essential lifeline to the English.

Affective bonds were displayed and nurtured in Anglo-Dutch social exchange on the island. Scott recounts how the Dutch offered succor when English factors were weakened by disease: "We are very much beholding to . . . Generall *Wyborne van Warwycke* . . . for Wine, Bread, and many other necessaries and curtisies received of him." More than victuals, the Dutch General also shared conversation and friendship with Scott's men:

> He would often tell us how *Sir Richard Luson* relieved him when he was likely to perish in the Sea: for which (he would say) he was bound to be kind to *English* men where soever he met them: and to speake the truth, there was nothing in his Shippes for the comfort of sicke men, but wee might commaund it, as if it had been our owne. Also, he in his owne person did verie much reverence the *Queenes* Majestie of *England*, when he talked of her. (4-5)

So closely bonded was Van Warwycke to the English merchants that when an Englishman at Bantam knew himself to be dying, "hee thought it good . . . to spend the rest of his time with *Generall Warwicke.*" Upon the Englishman's death, General van Warwycke "caused [him] to be honored with a volley of Slot and Pikes, the which with the Collours were [. . .]rayled upon the ground, according to the order of Souldiers buriall" (5). Scott's text reveals the many ways in which the English and the Dutch were intertwined in efforts of survival and in mourning those

lost to disease. Not all Anglo-Dutch relations were catalyzed by crises, however. The groups regularly dined together, fostering a sense of friendship between them: "after dynner the Hollanders and wee parted exceeding great friends" (17); "The 8. Of September, the Dutch Merchants invited our Generall and all his Merchants & Masters to a feast, where there was great cheere, and also great friendshippe was made betweene us" (37); "The third day of October our Generall made a feast for his farewell, whereunto hee invited the *Dutch-Admirall*, with also all the rest of hi[s] *Captaines, Maisters, and Marchants,* where we were all exceeding merry, and great f[r]endshippe was made between us" (46).

These snapshots of strategic alliance, festive merriment, and displays of "great friendship" bring into focus a larger picture of neighbors bonded in affectionate alliance. As we have seen, the notion that the English and the Dutch were near neighbors was a long, continuous thread in their centuries-long history. When the Dutch report telling the Protector of Bantam that they and the English are "neere neighbors, wherefore they might not see us wronged," the Dutch are not speaking in the idiom of Bantam politics, nor with the lexicon of commercial rivalry; instead, they are deliberately calling up the idiom of Anglo-Dutch Protestant alliance back home. In this way, the Dutch and the English attempt to transplant to the East Indies a conceptual framework that had long structured their relations. In the Anglo-Dutch context of northern Europe, "neere neighbours" are those whose proximity implies shared political, religious, even cultural investments, as well as reciprocal obligations. And yet, just as they are near, neighbors are also—ideally—just beyond the home. When the English and Dutch use the phrase to characterize their relations abroad, they imply that theirs remains a relation defined at once by the geographic proximity of their homelands, by affection and bonds of obligation, and by the important recognition that there remains some distinction between them. "Neere neighbors" are not the same as kin.

Even as the English and Dutch share a degree of communion in their struggles for survival at Bantam, they are troubled by events that imply a lack of distinction between them. In

the context of Reformation politics of the European north, English and Dutch identities had long been closely approximated. The proximate identities of the English and Dutch, especially "the Dutch" who resided on English soil, were regularly represented on the English stage as fallible, fluid, potentially counterfeited or unintentionally jumbled. Both English and Dutch accounts of the first two decades of VOC and EIC engagement in East Asia report episodes in which the English and Dutch experience not merely a blurring of identities, but a complete loss of distinction between them. Strategic alliances between the English and Dutch, their social interconnectedness, as well as their similar position as trading strangers in the Moluccas reinforced perceptions of similitude. In other words, these near neighbors discover themselves rendered as disquieting doubles.

*

In February 1605, the Englishman Sir Henry Middleton, General of the second East India Company voyage, sailed his ships, the *Dragon* and *Ascension,* into view of the island of Amboyna. The events that transpired off the coast of Amboyna are narrated in *The Last East-Indian Voyage,* an anonymous account of Middleton's ventures to the East Indies published in 1606 for his brother-in-law, Walter Burre, for whom Edmund Scott's *Exact Discourse* was also published the same year.[18] *The Last East-Indian Voyage* recounts the day of the crew's arrival to Amboyna when, before Middleton's men even set anchor off the island, an "Indian" approaches the fleet to deliver a letter from the Portuguese Captain, controller of the island's fort and the clove trade. The story, a tale of a missive delivered into the wrong hands, foretells much about the potential challenges the English would face in the East Indies:

> The tenth day wee weyed anker, and stood to the Easter ende of *Amboyna*, and came to an anker in an hundered fadomes water, fayre by the shoare, fayre by a towne called *Mamalla*. Before we came to an anker there came an *Indian* aboard of us which spake good Portuguese, also there came a letter to our Generall from the Captain of *Amboyna*, but it was directed to the Generall of the *Hollanders*, or any other Captaine of his fleete, supposing us to be *Hollanders.* The effect of his Letter was, to desire them to certifie them of some newes of *Portingale*. (D2r)

This epistolary tale reveals the epistemological imbalance sparked by life at sea and the atmosphere of confusion engendered by the increasing number of ships from around Europe sailing into the waters surrounding the Spice Islands. From their perspective on the shores of Amboyna, the Portuguese mistake English for Dutch ships and instruct an Indian in their service to deliver a letter "to the Generall of the *Hollanders*." That the Portuguese misidentified the English as Dutch "was not uncommon in the early days" of East Asian intra-European encounter, according to one historian of Portuguese commercial history in Asia.[19] This story compounds the source of mistaken identification: both the Portuguese, who sent the letter from the shores of Amboyna, and the messenger, who boards the English ship, apparently are unable to tell an Englishman from a Hollander. If distance befogged the Portuguese view, proximity did little to clear things up from the Indian's perspective. Once aboard the English ship, the Portuguese-speaking Indian apparently did not see or hear anything to cause him to hesitate before delivering the letter to the men he assumed were Hollanders. If the English were sailing with their flags flying, if they first spoke English to the Indian stranger, then these signs failed to give the messenger pause. In accepting the letter, perhaps hoping to gain some information thereby, the English General happily plays the part of the Hollander that the Portuguese Captain and the Indian messenger suppose him to be. In so doing, the English capitalize on the misperception in an attempt to turn a case of mistaken identity to their advantage.

Instances of mistaken identification at sea were not limited to the point of view of the Portuguese or to that of the indigenous peoples of the Spice Islands. *The Last-East Indian Voyage* reveals that in battles along the coasts of the Moluccan islands the Dutch themselves could mistake an English vessel for their own. Before the English arrived to the region, the Dutch built an alliance with the Sultan, or "King," of Ternate against the Sultan of Tidore, who was allied with the Portuguese. The Dutch and the Portuguese were caught in a battle for trade dominance in the region, one in which the English—with fewer ships, fewer men, and less financing—could not realistically compete. As Middleton and his men sailed toward the clove island of Tidore in

hope of negotiating trade relations there, the author reports that the English spotted seven Tidore galleys "rowing betwixt us and the shoare, to chase the *Turnatanes* Galleys . . . they in the *Tarnate* Galleys did all they might to overtake our Ship waving with two or three flags at once to tarie for them, which our Generall seeing caused the top-sayles to be strucke, and lay by the lee to know what was the matter" (E2r). Hastening to the side of the English ship,

> the King of *Tarnata*, and divers of his noblemen, and three Dutch Marchants, shewed themselves to us looking pale, and desired our Genrerall for Gods sake, to rescue the caracole that came after us, wherein were divers *Dutch-men*, which were like to fall into the enemies handes, where there was no hope of mercie, but present death: whereupon our Generall caused our Gunner to shoote at the *Tydore* Galleys. (E2r)

At the time of this fray, the English were aligned neither with the Sultan of Tidore nor the Sultan of Ternate. But in this moment, as the pale-with-fear Dutchmen approach the English ship and plead for aid, the English position themselves as allies of the Dutch and, by extension, allies of the Ternatans. Believing many more Dutchmen to be aboard other Ternate galleys under attack, and that if the Dutch were captured they would have "no hope of mercie, but present death," the English turn their guns on the Tidore galleys that pursue them. As it turns out, however, "there were no *Dutch-men*" on the Ternate galleys, "as they [the Dutch had] reported, but all *Tarnatanes*" (E3v). Intending to defend the Dutch, the English instead turned their weapons on the Tidorans in defense of the Ternatans. Not only were there no Dutchmen facing "present death," as the Dutchmen reported, but their desperate approach to the English ship was, the Dutch later claim, itself a case of mistaken identification: "The Dutch-marchants coming aboard, told our Generall they thought wee had beene *Hollanders*, and bound for *Tarnata*, and that was the cause they had put themselves in such danger" (E3v).

Whether the Dutch tricked the English into coming to their defense against the Tidore galleys or whether they indeed believed the English ship to have been their own in danger of attack, the text does not ponder. What is interesting about the reported Dutch justification for drawing the English into their battle with the Tidoreans—that "they thought wee had been *Hollanders*"—is that this explanation is accepted by the English author on its face. The lack of

skepticism in the English text suggests that the author found the Dutch story plausible. Such stories from *The Last East-Indian Voyage* reveal that in the context of the East Indies, mistaking an English for a Dutch ship, an Englishman for a Hollander, was a reasonable and not uncommon mistake to have made.

What is particularly curious about both the story of the misdirected missive and that of the English drawn into a Dutch battle is the way in which classificatory confusion induced at first by a perspective from a distance is not resolved by a better look up close. While it seems as if there ought to have been a difference between mistaking a ship off shore and mistaking a people up close, the stories of mistaken identity in *The Last East-Indian Voyage* suggest otherwise. The Indian messenger actually boards the English ship and the pale-with-fear Dutchmen paddle up beside it, close enough indeed to converse with the English and plead for assistance. *The Last East Indian Voyage* implies that in the East Indies, a crew's English national affiliation can be jeopardized merely by being aboard a European-style pinnace.

Dutch letters written by factors in the East to the governing VOC members in the Netherlands reveal that the Dutch were also concerned by similar episodes of mistaken identity.[20] In Dutch letters spanning the years 1602-1626, there are numerous reports of problems relating to the perception that the English and the Dutch might unwittingly or strategically stand in as one another. For instance, in a letter written by Jeronimus Woudaraer, 5 June 1602, we learn that the Dutch were concerned that the Portuguese were deliberately conflating English and Dutch identity to gain a trade advantage with China and Japan. Woudaraer relays a story told to him by the King of Linoa Basso, with whom the Dutch were allied against the Portuguese. He reports that the King of Linoa Basso admonished the Dutch, "that we should be careful, whenever we came, either in China or in Jappan," because a Portuguese priest had "tried to make [the Japanese] believe . . . that we were English and . . . aliens of God's commandments and of faith, [and] had assisted the King, who was heathen" (I/3/2/VIII). In an atmosphere of constantly rotating players, the Portuguese strategize to secure trade relations with Japan by deliberately conflating the

English and Dutch into one group of English "heathens." More than a case of mistaken identity, in this instance the Portuguese jumble the Dutch and English with the intent of stirring up trouble for the "Englished" Dutchmen. If, as the letter goes on to suggest, the Japanese had poor relations with the English and if the Portuguese priest could persuade the Japanese that the Dutch "were English," then, the letter projects, the Portuguese might maintain a position of strength in Japan and the Dutch would find themselves at a particular disadvantage: "The same Japonese also advised us not to come in Japan, for the King would make thieves all of us, as he had once with some English three years ago, who had visited that country" (I/3/2/VIII). The problem, which Woudaraer's letter anticipates but does not explore, is how the Dutch might compel the Japanese King to know and recognize the difference between a Dutch and an English crew. Once cast as the English, how might the Dutch, in effect, re-Dutchify themselves? The story raises an important question regarding identity and representation: how does one unmask oneself when the mask itself was not self-fashioned?

Strategic counterfeiting of identity became part of the game in the East Indies as the English learned that they could, in effect, "play Dutch" both at sea and on land. In his letter from Bantam to the director at Amsterdam (15 December 1616), the Dutchman P. Van der Broeck writes, "The English act very often in our name here in the Indies, as appears herefrom and as I also heard they had hoisted our flag when at Mocha" (I/3/4/LXXVIII). Almost two decades into trade relations in the Indonesian archipelago, the Dutch worried the possibility that the "English act very often in our name." At sea too the English apparently counterfeited their national and corporate identity by flying the Dutch flag. That one European company might fly the flag of another was, as the tone of Van der Broeck's letter suggests, an affront to the intra-European politics of Asian trade. However, it was doubtless a savvy strategy for securing safe passage through waters in the Indonesian archipelago that were so divided—island by island—in their European alliances. If by taking on another's moniker or flag, or, somewhat more

opportunistically, accepting a misdirected letter, one could disorder the signifiers of national identity, then there was little hope that either company might gain a stronghold in the region.

What then could the English or the Dutch do about such representational confusion? How might the problem of the representational legitimacy of national and corporate identity be redressed? While both English accounts of ventures East and Dutch letters written by factors of the VOC record a number of cases in which Anglo-Dutch identities were deliberately or accidentally rendered indistinguishable, rarely does an author proffer a solution to the situation. Scott's *Discovery* stands apart in offering a compelling case of a particularly English response to how English difference might be made manifest to the people on the island of Bantam. The English turn to theater, of a sort, to stage their national difference. Scott and his men design a performance of pageantry that emphasizes both props of English nationhood and ethnic signifiers of Englishness. This performance is a "ceremony of distinction" because it is designed at once to ceremonialize English presence at Bantam and to distinguish English identity from Dutch identity on the island. Scripted with the indigenous audience in mind, staged and performed on a specific ceremonial date, and consciously constructed down to every detail in an attempt to reveal an essential English difference, the ceremony is from start to finish a highly theatrical production.

A Ceremony of Distinction at Bantam

Just ten months into their stay at Bantam, late in October of 1603, Edmund Scott foresees that he and his men face imminent danger due in part to the changing political landscape of the island and, in part, to a misunderstanding about who's who among its European strangers:

> About this time also, there was much falling out betweene the *Hollanders* and the Countrey people, by meanes of the rude behaviour of some of their Marriners, and manie of them were stabbed in the eveninges: and at that time, the common people knew not us from the *Hollanders*, for both they and wee were called by the name of *English*-men, by reason of their usurping our name at their first coming thither to trade: and as wee passed along the Streets wee might heare the people in the Market rayling and exclaiming on the *English*-men, although they meant the *Hollanders*: wherefore fearing some of our men might be slaine in stead of them, wee beganne to thinke how wee might make our selves knowne from the *Hollanders*. (11)

Scott's account paints a scene of social and political disorder sparked by the usurpation of the "name of *English*-men." Cast as usurpers, the Dutch at Bantam attain illegitimate power by operating as Englishmen. In so doing, they subvert the ability of the island's real Englishmen to authenticate their political, commercial, even social identities. Importantly, this usurpation is not strictly a displacement *per se*. The English at Bantam have not been ousted. Rather, the more troubling epistemological problem in need of redress is that the English find themselves implicated in and defined by the actions of the Dutch-masquerading-as-Englishmen.

While usurpation conventionally implies the replacement of one body by another within a strict framework of power—that of kingship, for instance—here the act of usurpation pressures the framework itself. Names not bodies have been usurped, kicking up a crisis regarding the very definition of Englishness. The manner of usurpation matters to what is at stake in Scott's account of the crisis at Bantam. An example from the London theater clarifies the important but nuanced difference in the kind of usurpation that Scott's performance attempts to redress. On the early modern London stage, interchangeability is often dramatized as the replacement of one body for another. To take one well-known instance, in Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* the play's twin Dromios share a name and visage, facilitating a plot of mistaken identities. So long as the two Dromios do not appear to the same character *at the same time*—as long as both bodies are not present together on the stage—episodes of mistaken identity compound. However, when "these two Dromios, one in semblance" appear together in act five, scene one, their double-bodied presence catalyzes the comic conclusion.[21] Even as Dromio of Ephesus recognizes himself in the face of Dromio of Syracuse ("methinks you are my glass and not my brother"), the Dromios are set straight, realigned with their original, unmistaken selves (5.1.419). As a comic device, it is not that the play effaces the fact of there being two Dromios that makes the comedy work; instead, it is the clever rotating of one body into the position of the other that lends the plot its comic piquancy. In contrast to the operation of replacement that structures Shakespeare's comedy, the performance that Scott and his men enact attempts to avert a tragedy induced by an operation of

supplementation. In usurping the name "English-men," the Dutch have added too broad a range of meaning to the category. In other words, "English" has been expanded beyond its definitional parameters and thus has been exploded as a carrier of national self-definition. It now means too many things and can be claimed by too many kinds. In short, to be an "Englishman" at Bantam has lost the definitional and representational legitimacy that makes the category "English" mean anything at all, from the English point of view.[22] From Scott's perspective, if the actions of the Dutch can define the "English-men" at Bantam, then the English have lost more than their commercial footing there. This kind of usurpation threatens not individual identities, but national categories themselves.

Such threatening instability of national categories demanded redress. Scott's men select the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth I's coronation to stage a pageant designed to impress on Bantam's "countrey people" the English difference. Significantly, the English at Bantam do not first attempt to explain their difference from the Dutch—they do not, for instance, send an Ambassador to the King of Bantam with letters from the Queen—instead they take up props, put on new apparel, and, like players at a theater, *perform* their difference:

> Wee all suted our selves in new Apparrell of Silke, and made us all Scarffes of white and redd Taffata, being our Countries Cullours. Also, we made a Flagge with the redde Crosse thorow the middle: and because wee that were the Marchants would be knowne from our men, wee edged our Scarffes with a deepe Fringe of Golde, and that was our difference. / Our day being come, we set up our Banner of *Saint Gorge* upon the top of our House, and with our Drumme and Shott we marched up and downe within our own grounde, being but fourteene in number, wherefore wee could march but single one after another. (11)

The sign of Saint George hoisted atop the English house, a sartorial display of England's "countries collours", the sound of drums and shot, together with the marching, ordered, disciplined bodies of fourteen Englishmen upon "our own ground" at Bantam become the signifiers of Englishness in a disordered and disordering colonial space. As if restaging a part of the Queen's Royal Progress itself, the English enact their colonial pageant using familiar, iconic signifiers of Englishness; nothing here is invented specifically for the Javan audience in the

Bantam context. Even as the expressed agenda of this ceremony of distinction is to make a difference between the English and Dutch on the island, internal differences of rank are also in play. Marked by "a deep Fringe of Golde," the merchants among the fourteen parading Englishman are determined that rank be visibly manifest. Content that their gilded scarves represent the hierarchy among the English, Scott affirms, "that was our difference." Despite the seemingly more pressing issue that prompted the performance—that the English are not known from the Hollanders—the English ceremony at once stages both inter-national and intra-national codes of difference. Even among a mere fourteen survivors so far from home, being "English" meant that one remained invested in rank.

The English ceremony turns out to prove a success insofar as it draws the crowd it was designed to entice. Scott continues:

> The *Sadyndar,* and divers of the chiefest of the Land, hearing our Peeces, came to see us, and to enquire the cause of our triumph. Wee told them, that that day sixe and fourtie yeare our *Queene* was Crowned, wherefore all *English*-men, in what Countrey soever they were, did triumph on that day. / He greatly commended us for having our *Prince* in reverence so farre a Countrey. (11)

Having drawn a considerable audience, the English performance transforms into a kind of animated *wunderkammer* in which the English on display are prompted to respond to the curiosities of the Bantam population:

> Many others did aske us, Why the *English*-men at the other House did not so? Wee told them they were no *English*-men but *Hollanders*, and that they had no King, but their Land was ruled by *Govenours.* / Some would reply againe and say, They named them selves to be *English*-men at the first, and therefore they tooke them to be *English*-men: but we would tell them againe, they were of another Countrey neere *England*, and spake another Language; and that if they did talke with them now, they should heare they were of another Nation. (Ibid)

When an emphasis on the sartorial self-fashioning of English fails to make clear the English difference from the Dutch, government and language bubble to the surface of the English ceremony as seemingly stable signifiers of English and Dutch difference. The English pageant is itself an expression of pride in English monarchal government; the Hollander's lack of pageantry on this particular day, by contrast, not only marks them as a people from "another Nation," but

from a Nation of another kind, one that "had no King" but is "ruled by Governours." The English ceremony at Bantam becomes an expression of English commitment to their "Prince" and, as a ritual of remembrance, participation in the ceremony is meant to differentiate members of the nation of "England" from those who merely counterfeit that membership in name. In the absence of such rulers, however, the notion that a people might be ruled differently by a monarch than by a governor was rather an abstraction. Despite the ceremoniously articulated distinction between the political landscape of England and "Holland," the Bantam audience's questions continue, suggesting that the attempt to attach identity to monarchy fails to crystallize a meaningful difference between the authentic and inauthentic Englishmen at Bantam.

Reaching for some essential difference that might be understood, Scott's men shift emphasis from the sartorial, emblematic, and political to the ethno-linguistic. Language becomes their essential difference. For the *reader* of Scott's *Exact Discourse* this registers as a somewhat jarring reminder that such a difference has all along been in play. Nowhere in Scott's recordings of the many exchanges he and his men have with the Dutch at Bantam is a linguistic divide between the English and the Dutch entered into evidence. To the contrary, in all of the cultural and commercial exchanges that transpire between the English and the Dutch, nowhere does Scott report a communication breakdown due to language difference. In fact, there is little mention of linguistic difference at all. What the *text* puts into evidence is the fluidity of Anglo-Dutch linguistic exchange. On the page, the English and Dutch appear to sound the same. Of course, the English and Dutch *did* speak different languages. However, the question of whether the difference *between* English and Dutch registered as a *salient* difference in an environment where Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Malay, English, and Dutch were spoken—to name only a few of the world's languages spoken on Bantam—is not a question which presses Scott. Unlike his contemporaries writing for the London theaters, Scott was confident that the linguistic difference between English and Dutch was always robust and thus perceptible. While we do not know whether the audience that collected around the English house in November of 1603 ever followed

up on the English invitation to talk to the Hollanders in order to hear their linguistic difference, the events that follow the English ceremony suggest that language *failed* to secure the distinction the English hoped it would. What we do know is that the English, adorned in silk and bearing banners of Saint George, when pushed to make their difference manifest, selected their mother tongue as that which differentiated them most decisively from the counterfeit "English-men" on the island. That this difference might not be heard once the English returned to their usual sartorial habitations, that they might *sound* like the Hollanders on the island, was inconceivable to Scott. From his northern European standpoint, if the colonial engagements of the Dutch and English, together with the look of Dutch and English bodies and their proximity to one another on the island, rendered them the same from the perspective of the "countrey people," then at the very least the different sounds of English and Dutch speech must send a rupture through any seeming sameness.

The ceremony of distinction moves from the English grounds at Bantam to the town and marketplace:

> In the after noone I caused our men to walke abrode the Towne and the Market, whereby the people might take notice of them. / Their redd and white Scarffes and Hatbandes, made such a shew, that the Inhabitants of those partes had never seene the like: so that ever after that day, wee were knowne from the Hollanders; and manie times the Children in the Streetes would runne after us crying, *Oran Enggrees baych, oran Hollan[. . .]a iahad:* which is, The *English*-men are good, the *Hollanders* are naught. (11)

With this, Scott concludes that the English performance at Bantam secured the stabilization and rightful reorganization of national categories that the Dutch usurpation of the name "English-men" had eroded. As a theater of difference, Scott's ceremony of distinction seems to have worked. But *as theater* Scott worried about the reviews of another audience: that of his readership in England. "I stood in doubt many times," he acknowledges, "whether I should put this in practise or no, for feare of being counted fantasticall, when it should be knowne in *England*" (11). But "by the perswasions of Thomas Tudd and Gabriell Towerson, and chieflie the present danger wee stood in, forced me to it" (11). While in Bantam the performance seemed a success from

Scott's point of view, Scott worried that the display of English difference upon which that success depended risked rendering his crew "fantasticall" in England. As we explored in chapter two, the English had long worried about their susceptibility to what John Deacon characterized as a "fantastic foolerie," a particularly English penchant for all things foreign. In *Tobacco Tortured* (1616), Deacon rails:

> Our carelesse entercourse of trafficking with the contagious corruptions, and customes of forreine nations…from whence cometh it now to passe that so many of our Englishmens minds are thus terriblie *Turkished* with *Mahometan* trumperies; thus ruefully *Romanized* with superstitious relickes; thus treacherously *Italianized* with sundry antichristian toyes; thus spitefully *Spanished* with superfluous pride; thus fearefully *Frenchized* with filthy prostitutions; thus fantastically *Flanderized* with flaring net-works to catch English fooles; thus huffingly *Hollandized* with ruffian-like-loome-works, and other like Ladiefied fooleries; thus greedily *Germanized* with a most gluttenous manner of gormandizing; thus desperately *Danished* with a swine-like swilling and quaffing; thus sculkingly *Scotized* with Machiavillan projects; thus inconstantly *Englished* with every new fantasticall foolerie.[23]

Deacon's portrait of an Englishman renders him as a patchwork of foreign influences. For Deacon, English mixedness is evidenced in appetite (gluttenous . . . gormandizing), belief (superstitious relickes), character (pride), material and carnal desire (ruffian-like-loome-works and prostitution). England, in other words, is a nation corrupted, indeed diluted, by its own appetite for the foreign. As Scott reflected on the show that he and his spiffed up crew staged for the Bantam audience, he expresses anxiety that accusations of "fantasticall foolerie" might be cast against them. In his case, however, it is not the Englishmen's taste for the foreign, but the anxiety that that which is foreign might masquerade as English which prompts Scott and his men to enact their show. The display of English fashion, an emphasis on color and icons, a display of hierarchy within the group, and the phonetics lesson that the English offer to the people of Bantam, serve to clarify essential English identity, Scott hoped. He and his men risk "being counted fantastical" in their display of the trappings of English national symbolism—in other words they risk self-parody—in order that they might stabilize the national categories too much in flux at Bantam. Unlike Deacon's critique of English character, then, Scott and his men aim to delimit the category "English-men" to its rightful bearers. From Scott's point of view, the "present danger" of Anglo-

Dutch interchangeability at Bantam is not the result of English taste for things foreign; it is a result the Dutch "usurping our name."

Both *An Exact Discourse* and *The Last East Indian Voyage* express the anxiety that the English and the Dutch might be mistakenly or intentionally rendered interchangeable in the East Indies context. Scott's *Exact Discourse* offers a window onto one way in which the English attempted to disentangle their identity from Dutch identity in the Moluccas. Though Scott declares his crew's performance a success, the text belies his own conclusion when, at the beginning of the New Year, 1604, Scott writes:

> Because at that time there was much quarrelling and brabling betweene the *Javans,* and the *Hollanders:* I charged our men that if they were sent out in the evening about any businesse they should take their weapons with them, for feare some *Javans* that knewe them not, might doe them a mischiefe in the darke. (14)

Composed just four months after the ceremony of distinction, this entry reveals that the Hollanders and the Englishmen apparently remain more alike than different from the perspective of the Javans. Neither a sartorial nor linguistic display of Englishness will spare Scott's English crew from Javan "mischiefe." Despite their desire to do otherwise—indeed, despite their "fantasticall" attempts to make their English difference known—the English find themselves compelled to live and die in the Hollanders' quarrel because, as they discover time and again, they are not always clearly "knowne from the *Hollanders*."

These early English and Dutch accounts of Anglo-Dutch relations in the Indonesian archipelago reveal that the English and Dutch were vexed by the problem of a seeming sameness. For the English, a long-standing characterization of the Dutch as, on the one hand, friends, nearest neighbors, and allies and, on the other hand, enemies, dissemblers, and usurpers—contradictions symptomatic of the cultural double vision engendered by and entailed in "thinking Dutch"—featured prominently in reports regarding the competitive trading context of the East Indies. These reports might have more immediately cast the Dutch, far more simply, as mere rivals. However, even after the Dutch usurpation of the name "English-men," Scott continues to

the figure Anglo-Dutch relations as a relation animated by distinctions and approximations, disputes and affections. In his own words, Scott makes sense of the push and pull of Anglo-Dutch relations at Bantam: "for it is to bee noted, that though wee were mortall enemies in our trade, yet in all other matters wee were friends, and would have lived and dyed one for the other" (31). Rivals in trade, friends in all other matters: this construction suggests that, for Scott, English engagement at Bantam was not entirely structured by trade relations. In the interstitial spaces between a trading life—at dinners, during funerals, and in the exchange of news from home—the Dutch remained vital friends. Despite the many instances of mistaken and usurped identity, Scott's cultural double vision helped him to make sense of the new world the Dutch and English were navigating. Ironically, the representation of the doubly figured Dutch in Scott's text is precisely what complicates English expressions of national self-definition. Since English alliance with, proximity to, and social intercourse with the Dutch rendered them an affiliated crew of trading strangers on the island, so long as the English considered the Dutch friends "in all . . . matters" other than trade, the English and Dutch were, from the English perspective, primarily closely knit allies and, from the perspective of the native Javans and "Indians" of Amboyna, an interchangeable cast of European trading strangers. If the English were to distinguish themselves more decisively from the Dutch in the Moluccas, expressions of rivalry would have to outweigh acts of neighborly alliance. A definitive expression of English difference would have to emerge *in opposition to* the Dutch.

II

From "tender amity" to "unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceedings": Amboyna in Popular Print

Situated southeast of Java, among the central Moluccas, Amboyna was one of the few places on earth suitable for clove cultivation. The Dutch VOC had reached the island of Amboyna in the year 1599, catalyzing a violent intra-European contest for domination of the island's rich clove harvests. In the European marketplace cloves yielded twice the profit of pepper and the

Dutch were eager to secure an advantage as importers of this rare spice.[24] Upon their arrival, the Dutch established alliances with the Ambonese against Portuguese traders who had built a fort on the island's southern peninsula. By 1605, the Dutch captured the fort and moved in as the island's primary European traders.[25] Nestled midway along the island's southern leg, the Dutch fort would become the stage for the most notorious massacre of English merchants to occur in the East Indies in the seventeenth century. The "Amboyna massacre" transpired in February 1623 and quickly sparked a massive publication campaign that began with a three-part pamphlet, which included the English "relation" of events at Amboyna (*A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruell, and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna*), the VOC justification of its actions (*A True Declaration of the News that came out of the East Indies with the Pinnace called the Hare*), and the English East India Company's rebuttal of the VOC account (*The Answer to the Dutch Pamphlet made in Defense of the Unjust and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna*). Upwards of two thousand copies of the 1624 three-part pamphlet circulated in England, another one thousand were translated into Dutch and sent into the Netherlands.[26] From its inception as a newsworthy event, the Amboyna massacre was structured as a discursive debate among nations and their corporate bodies.[27] For both the English and the Dutch, "Amboyna" fast became a tragic keyword in the lexicon of Anglo-Dutch relations.

In tracing the rhetorical and visual shifts in how the English represented the Amboyna massacre over the course of the seventeenth century in political pamphlets, we discover that, initially, the English struggled to frame their account of the event in strictly oppositional terms. However, the debates that were engendered by the event and fueled by rounds of pamphlet wars quickly became divisive, and the pamphlets exfoliated from their rhetoric references to Anglo-Dutch alliance, kinship, or friendship. Part of what the pamphlets initiate is a reorientation of the cultural double vision engendered by thinking Dutch in early modern English culture. They expose Anglo-Dutch friendship not as a by-product of proximate relations, shared religious affiliation, or cultural correspondences, but a ruse of the "dissembling" Dutch. In portraying the

Dutch as dissemblers, the pamphlets project a homogenized portrait of England's near neighbors. No longer both similar to and different from the English, the Dutch are instead different, dangerous, even barbarous others whose alterity is expressed as violence against the English.

Throughout the seventeenth century the massacre was serialized in pamphlets, recounted in ballads, censored in plays, and depicted in the visual arts.[28] Even sermons were preached about it.[29] In English versions, the Dutch are almost always represented as figures of ingratitude—dissembling friends driven by self-interest. Even so, the earliest publications about the massacre express ambivalence about whether to consider the massacre at Amboyna a Dutch plot or that of a few misguided "boors." The letter to the reader that opens the *True Relation,* authored "by the English East-India Company," begins on a reticent note:

> The truth is, the English East-India Company have ever been very tender of the ancient amity and good correspondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, [sic] and have been very loth, by divulging of the private injuries done them by the Neatherlands East-India Company to give the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply growe betweene these two Nations, for the sake of and on behalf of the two Companies respectively.[30]

Until the recent discovery of a Dutch publication of events on Amboyna, the author continues, the English Company had "contented themselves with informing his Majestie and his Honorurable Privy Councell" of their grievances against the Dutch "privately in writing" in order not to "stir up or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise tied in so many reciprocall obligations." Ironically, the text that would do so much to recast Anglo-Dutch relations in a framework of violent commercial contest and binary opposition for the duration of the seventeenth century begins by echoing the sentiment of Thomas Scott, explored in chapter two, that England and the Netherlands are "tied in a true loves knot." The tone of the letter to the reader is unlike that of the material that follows in as much as it suggests that "the truth" of Anglo-Dutch relations is that there exists still a "tender amity" between them.

The ambivalence expressed in the letter to the reader underscores just how difficult it was for the English to resist vacillating within their own double perspective of the Dutch. Even in the

face of horrific violence done onto the English by the Dutch, the author maintains his analytic double vision, seeing at once the reciprocal obligations that foster amity across the Anglo-Dutch relation and the crime that so violently distinguishes the two. In the 1624 text of *A True Relation*, the cultural double vision splits national from corporate identity. That is to say, a distinction is made between the public politics of the English and Dutch nations and the "private" politics of their fledgling corporations. This division thus holds open a space between the politics and policies of the Dutch Nation and the "private" injuries executed by the servants of the Dutch East India Company:

> Thus, Reader, thou seest . . . what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their servants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between these two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their nearest allies and best-deserving friends.

Though bound by "firm affection" and "otherwise tied in so many reciprocall obligations" in the context of northern Europe, the English characterize themselves as "grosely overtopped, outraged & vilified" by the Dutch VOC in the East Indies. Though, as national neighbors, the Dutch and the English are "best deserving friends," in their corporate manifestations, the Dutch are characterized by their degenerate, strange, and incredible actions, while the English are characterized by their innocence.

If the letter to the reader thinks Dutch through the lens of a cultural double vision, then the frontispiece of *A True Relation* works to close down and reorient a perspective that holds alliance and affiliation together in the same frame with antagonism and rivalry. *A True Relation* splashed across London a graphic image of "barbarous" Dutch cruelty. With nearly two thousand copies of the 1624 pamphlet in circulation in England and another one thousand in the Netherlands, the woodcut frontispiece fast became a widely circulated emblem of Anglo-Dutch relations in the East Indies.

16. *A True Relation* (1624), frontispiece, STC (2nd ed.) / 7452

The emblem illustrates a "scene of sad tragedy," English captivity, torture, and murder, at the hands of their "nearest allies." Whereas the letter to the reader leaves open the possibility that blame might be assigned to a few rogue Dutchman, the frontispiece and the narrative within suggest instead that cruelty is the defining characteristic of the Dutchman in the East.

The text underscores a difference between English and Dutch models of colonial engagement, a point also made expressly in the letter to the reader (which appears in both the 1624 *True Relation* and in the 1672 *Emblem of Ingratitude*, the two texts Dryden surely had at arms reach as he composed his *Amboyna* for the English stage). In the letter, the reader is asked to "consider the different end and design of the English and Dutch *Companies* trading in the Indies":

> The English being Subjects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his own, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acquests; have aimed at nothing in their East-India Trade, but a Lawful and competent gain by Commerce and Traffick with the people of those parts. And although they have in some places builded Forts, and settled some strength, yet that hath not been done by force or violence, against the good will of the Magistrates or people of the Country; but with their desire, consent, and good liking, for the security only of the Trade, and upon the said Magistrate and peoples voluntarily yielding themselves under the obedience and Sovereignty of the Crown of England; their own antient [sic] Laws, Customs and Priviledges, nevertheless reserved . . . On the other

> side, the Netherlanders, from the beginning of their Trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free Commerce, invaded divers Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more, than the Conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new Dominion.[31]

In the pamphlet literature about the Amboyna massacre, the English EIC and Dutch VOC emerge as contrasting corporate entities whose agendas in the East are vastly different. For the "peaceable" English, whose Prince "hath enough of his own," moderation and collaboration are their ideals of colonial engagement. For the Netherlanders, "conquest" and full "dominion" are their colonial imperatives. As we will see, John Dryden's theatrical rendition of the massacre at Amboyna will draw upon similar notions of the differing ideals of English and Dutch colonialism. In terms of the pamphlets themselves, insofar as the relation between these corporate bodies comes to stand in for Anglo-Dutch relations as a whole, they work to produce an epistemological shift in what it means to "think Dutch" in early modern England. In short, the Amboyna pamphlets eschew thinking in terms of approximation, similitude, and correspondence, and think instead in terms of opposition, alterity, and difference.

What occurred on the island of Amboyna that so jarred representation of Anglo-Dutch relations back home? The English version of events begins on the evening of February 11, 1623, when a "Japan soldier," "walking in the night upon the wall" of the Dutch Castle of Amboyna, "came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there, amongst other talk, asked him some questions touching the strength of the castle, and the people that were therein" (B2v). The Japan soldier's questions spark suspicion among the Dutch that the Japonese of the island are conspiring with the English to take over the Castle.[32] The Japanese soldier is put to torture and, in an effort to save his own life, confirms Dutch suspicions. Days pass and Abel Price, a prisoner in the Dutch castle, is also tortured into "confess[ing] what ever they asked him." With two torture-coerced confessions on record, the Dutch lay a trap for the English Captain Towerson. They invite Towerson to bring his men "to speak with the Governor in the Castle" (B3v), and when the English Captain and his company arrive, they are forcibly imprisoned and their merchandise, the

"books, writings, and other things in the English house," are confiscated. One by one Towerson's men are tortured into giving false testimony confirming Dutch suspicions that Towerson was masterminding a joint English and Japanese plot to overthrow the Dutch on Amboyna. The story, as the Dutch would have it, involves the Japanese, who work within the Dutch Castle, aiding the English in a plot to seize the Castle and oust the Dutch from the island.[33]

A True Relation seeks to construct a reader who identifies the Dutch not ethnically (by what they eat or wear, how they talk, or where and how they worship—those minor differences that prove such a rich resource for early seventeenth century comic playwrights). Instead, the text constructs a reader who identifies the Dutch by what they *do abroad*. *A True Relation* paints a vivid and horrifying image of the suffering the English endured at the hands of their Dutch examiners:

> First they hoised him up by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him fast upon two Staples of Iron, fixt on both sides at the top of the dores posts, naling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being made fast, his feete they stretcht asunder as far as they would retch, and so made them fast beneath unto the dore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly upon his head untill the cloath was full, up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw breath, but he must withal suck-in the water; which being still continued to bee poured in softly forced all his inward parts, came ouf of his nose and eares, and eyes, and often as it were stifling & choking him, at length took away his breath & brought him to a swoune or fainting. They then tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water . . . Afterwards they hoised him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete, until the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applied they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands; likewise under the arme-pits, until his inwards might evidently be seene. (11)

The immolation and drowning of the English at Amboyna, described with such detail in the pamphlet, is graphically illustrated in the top two thirds of the frontispiece of *A True Relation* (figure 16). In the foreground / bottom third of illustration, an Englishman appears to plea for his life. The 1624 frontispiece involves two images, each with two Dutchman torturing one Englishman. A subsequent publication multiplies the Dutch agents of torture and populates the page in a more self-consciously theatrical fashion. The image of torture that fills the top two-

thirds of the 1624 frontispiece becomes the central and only image in the 1632 republication of *A True Relation* (figure 17).

17. *A True Relation* (1632), frontispiece, STC (2nd ed.) / 7453

Here, no fewer than eight Dutch agents immolate a single English body. In this image the faces of the other prisoners, presumably English and Japanese, can also be seen peering from behind bars beneath the floor. The shift in visual representation (from two to many Dutch agents of torture), seems to resolve the ambivalence expressed in the letter to the reader in the 1624 edition. That is to say, though the author of the letter seemingly wants to attribute the massacre to a few rogue Dutchmen, he openly worries that their crime might implicate the whole Dutch nation. The changes in the visual illustration of Amboyna demonstrate that the English authors of these pamphlets (and perhaps the English readership) increasingly understood the Amboyna massacre as a larger Dutch plot to usurp England's "fair and free trade" in the East Indies. As publications regarding the event multiplied over the course of the century, and as three Anglo-Dutch wars erupted in the Narrow Straights in the years 1652-54, 1665-67, and 1672-74,[34] the ambivalence expressed in the 1624 letter to the reader gave way to ever increasing opprobrium heaped on the

Dutch until they emerge in pamphlets about the Amboyna massacre as the very "emblem of ingratitude."[35]

John Dryden's dramatization of the Amboyna massacre takes its cue from developments in the visual imagery and rhetoric of the pamphlet literature. On his stage, all of the island's Dutchmen come in for a piece of action during the English massacre at Amboyna. Though it is deeply indebted to the narrative outline of the pamphlet literature, Dryden's *Amboyna* is not merely a "hack work," as it has sometimes been characterized.[36] While the visual and discursive frameworks of the pamphlet literature portray the English and Dutch as opposed to and distinguished from one another in their colonial actions, Dryden's play will complicate the binary structure and adversarial national stance of the pamphlet literature from which he draws. *Amboyna* will partly restore and *reshape* the cultural double vision that we have been attending to all along. In bringing the Anglo-Dutch relation into an imperial framework, Dryden's *Amboyna* adds colonial identity to the matrix of Anglo-Dutch relations.

III

"The endless jars of Trading Nations": Staging *Amboyna*

The doteage of some Englishmen is such
To fawn on those who ruine them; the Dutch.
. . . How they love England, you shall see this day:
No Map shews Holland truer then our Play.
Prologue to *Amboyna* (1673)[37]

The audience attending Dryden's *Amboyna or, The Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants*, staged three months into the Third Anglo-Dutch war, no doubt anticipated the broad strokes of the play's narrative contours as the title evoked one of the most widely publicized events in Anglo-Dutch seventeenth century history. Despite Dryden's own apologies for his play's "imperfections,"[38] a review which subsequent critics have rarely challenged, the play was an apparent success.[39] *Amboyna* did not disappoint those in its audience who expected to witness the horrific massacre of their English forefathers, half a century past and half a world away.[40] In depicting the "cruel sport" of the Dutch at Amboyna, Dryden drew much from the 1624 *True*

Relation and from John Darrell's 1665 pamphlet, *A True and Compendious Narration; Or Second Part of Amboyna*.[41] Dryden's source pamphlets, as well as *The Emblem of Ingratitude A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna*, published in 1672, envision Amboyna as an exclusively male, almost exclusively European theater of Anglo-Dutch conflict. Dryden's play brings to the story an element nowhere to be found in the historical accounts. *Amboyna* introduces women characters who perform significant ideological work in the story, two of whom feature prominently. Ysabinda, a native Amboyner, is betrothed to the English Captain Towerson and is the object of the Dutchman, Harmon Junior's, desire. Julia, a Spanish woman, is the wife of Captain Perez. She is also the mistress of both Fiscal, the evil Dutch sidekick of Harmon Junior, and Beamont, an English Merchant.[42] By introducing these characters, Dryden's theatrical production breathes life into the gaps of the historical narrative, expanding the imaginative framework of social relations on Amboyna. The women of Dryden's *Amboyna* also complicate the binary structure and adversarial national stance of the pamphlet literature.

While Julia has garnered little critical comment, critics recently have argued that Ysabinda is the central figure through which English *national* self-definition is worked out and that this self-definition is forged in contrast to the play's representations of the Dutch.[43] In characterizing the play's construction of national self-definition, Robert Markley argues that Dryden's play casts English and Dutch national difference as one of moral economy: English "strategic weakness" in Amboyna becomes a form of moral superiority witnessed in the desire for "fair and free commerce" between civil gentleman; the Dutch, in contrast, represent the tyrannical, illegal drive toward monopoly in the East Indies Spice Islands and the exploitation of its resources. Ysabinda's rejection of the Dutchman Harmon Junior and her choice to marry the English Towerson instead, despite his position of "declining interest" in the region, establishes her as the prism through which Anglo-Dutch difference is refracted in the play. English virtue contrasts with Dutch vice and

> [Harmon Junior's] violence directed against Ysabinda stands synechdocically for the illegal, tyrannical appropriation of the East Indies by the Dutch, just as her love for Towerson justifies English trade and colonization as a mutual desire for harmonious, and hierarchical, relations between British merchants and dutiful East Indians.[44]

In *Framing India* Shankar Raman argues that a similar binary is developed in the play: "English nationalism is coalesced with ideals of court patronage,"[45] as the English and England are, through the figure of Towerson, agents "characterized by an idealized disinterestedness, whose marks are generosity, gratitude, honor, heroism and true religious faith. The Dutch, on the other hand, incarnate a pure commercial interest that excludes all forms of faith, justice, and reciprocity."[46] In these readings, Ysabinda makes a difference between the English and the Dutch by standing in, as Raman has demonstrated, for the colonized land, enacting "in refracted form the colonial myth of the native freely yielding him / herself up to the colonizer's protection and sovereignty."[47] Towerson's marriage to Ysabinda, portrayed as "mutually desired," is thus symbolic of the reciprocity of patronage, while Harmon Junior's violence against Ysabinda becomes an expression of the "uncivilized" Dutch.[48] Recent criticism has, thus, coalesced around the notion that the moral economies that distinguish the English from the Dutch result in portraying the English as heroic, gentleman merchants and the Dutch as upstart "boors".[49]

That the play carves out England's national self-definition in contrast to representations of the Dutch has been compellingly argued. I want to suggest, however, that critical focus on the play's representation of Anglo-Dutch national identities has somewhat obscured the many ways in which the women of Dryden's play, who are both thematically and structurally asked to "make a difference" between European men, expose an anxiety of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability that had long plagued Anglo-Dutch relations, particularly in the East Indies where Dryden sets his play. The women of *Amboyna* indeed reveal national difference between European men, but they also threaten to render interchangeable the colonial identities of these same men.[50] The problem that Dryden's representation of Anglo-Dutch relations in the East must address is how to maintain a link between English national self-definition and the project of English imperialism, which

depends upon the fiction of its own benevolent engagement in the East. Read in relation to one another and to the European men whose desires they negotiate, Dryden's women emerge as characters upon whose choices the tenability of English colonial identity—and England's imperial self-fashioning—rests. They differently reveal the instability of England's colonial identity and expose anxieties surrounding its reproduction.

The division between English and Dutch models of colonial engagement emerges in act one of the play as an expression of competing logics regarding the availability and distribution of the island's resources. For the Dutch, a logic of scarcity informs their pursuit of monopoly at Amboyna. As the play opens the Dutchman Fiscal announces his plot to eliminate the English from the island in terms that express his monopolistic impulse:

> [T]his now gives encouragement to a certain Plot, which I have long been brewing, against these *Skellum English* . . . to cut all their Throats, and seize all their Effects within this Island. I warrant you we may compound again . . . we must our selves be ruin'd at long run, if they have any Trade here; I know our charge at length will eat us out; I would not let these *English* from this Isle, have Cloves enough to stick an Orange with, not one to thrown into their bottle-Ale. (1.354-55)

Whether the island's crop of cloves is abundant or scarce, for Fiscal the island's yield will never prove enough to share so much as one clove with an Englishman.[51] In such an economy of scarcity, the elimination of the English is thought to ensure that Dutch profits will "compound," as if every ounce of clove on an English vessel depletes Dutch reserves.[52] No notion of market saturation enters Fiscal's logic; the more cloves he can traffic onto Dutch vessels, the wealthier the Dutch become. His logic avoids a concern, pervasive in the seventeenth century, regarding the distribution of commodities between the English and the Dutch and among a broader range of European consumers at home.[53] At the time when the play is set, Fiscal's plot to drive the English from Amboyna would have proven no minor infraction on England's investments in the Moluccas. Broadly speaking, in the first two decades of Dutch VOC and English EIC ventures, pepper, not cloves, was the commodity reaping the greatest profits in Europe. This was true for the EIC through the year 1617 when pepper prices peaked and then began to decline.[54] As pepper

prices fell due to a glutted European market, profits from cloves began to increase. Among the rare spices of cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, and cloves, only cloves were directly imported by the EIC from the Indies into England: "this in effect meant that cloves were the only item of importance on the Company's list of spice imports."[55] Indeed, while England regularly imported mace and nutmeg from the Netherlands, they had managed to become direct importers of clove. The year of the Amboyna crisis was a peak year for Dutch and English clove importation to Europe. The supplies were on such unprecedented scales that the Dutch company "felt itself able to supply the whole of Europe for seven or eight years," a claim that was "echoed in London where it was stated that the Dutch had 'cloves at Amsterdam sufficient to serve all Christendom for four of five years'."[56] With such substantial clove cargos, there would have been concern that the European market would again become glutted, thus driving down the profits compounded by EIC investors. It is at the height of clove importation into Europe that the Amboyna massacre takes place and *A True Relation* begins circulating throughout England and the Netherlands. Fiscal's boast that he would not "let these *English* from this Isle, have Cloves enough to stick an Orange with," reveals a plot with far reaching implications for England's colonial enterprise. If Fiscal's plot to eliminate the English from Amboyna impinges on the English clove trade, England's status as a direct importer of this rare spice—of any rare East Indies spice at all—is gravely threatened.

Fiscal's scheme to oust the English by killing their factors at Amboyna runs counter to the Treaty of 1619. He thus runs his plot by Harmon, the Dutch Captain at Amboyna. Together they discuss the terms of the Treaty and in so doing refresh those in Dryden's audience with its details:

> FISCAL: . . . after many long and tedious quarrels, they were to have a third part of the Traffick, we to build Forts, and they to contribute to the charge.
> HARMON: Which we have so increas'd each year upon 'em, we being in power, and therefore Judges of the Cost, that we exact what e're we please, still more then half the charge, and on pretence of their Non-payment, or the least delay, do often stop their Ships, detain their Goods, and drag 'em

> into Prisons, while our Commodities go on before, and still forestall their Markets. (1.354)

Neither Fiscal nor the Dutch Captain, Harmon, express interest in complying with the 1619 Treaty. The Dutch policy of noncompliance is here figured as of a piece with the VOC drive toward monopoly. If the Dutch can fool the English by using the very terms laid out in the Treaty, then they can "forestall" English ships arriving to market, monopolize the European market in cloves, and (to salt the wound) secure a status as the supplier to the English market in spices. What the English audience watching Dryden's play would have known, that the English represented in Dryden's play do not, is that the English will in fact be driven from the clove market following the Amboyna massacre, here represented as Fiscal's plot.[57] Ironically, efforts to bring about this plot depend on sustaining the fiction among the English that the Dutch are England's friends.

From the very start of the play, the Dutch strategy for securing a monopoly of the Clove trade at Amboyna depends upon a process of masking their true sentiments and counterfeiting their intentions. The Dutch, in other words, enact their own doubling as they plot to conceal their authentic and reveal only their inauthentic intentions. Fiscal advises that in order to bring about his murderous plot, "we must put on a seeming kindness, call'em our Benefactors, and dear Brethren, pip 'em within the danger of our Net, and then we'l draw it o're 'em: when they are in, no mercy, that's my maxim" (1.355). Unlike the Dutch of early English travel writing, the Dutch of Dryden's play are neither impersonators, who through an operation of replacement cast a seeming similitude across difference, nor are they usurpers, who threaten through an operation of supplementation to efface categories of difference that matter in ordering social relations. Instead, Fiscal's instructions for the Dutch to dissemble—"to put on a seeming kindness"—restricts the operation of doubling to the Dutch themselves. The Dutch ability to play a double self is what distinguishes them most from the English in terms of national character. The English emerge as a coherent collective of people who *are what they seem*. Conversely, the Dutch put on what they

seem: their self-fashioned doubling does not depend on an English double vision. As a representation of national character, it is the Dutchman's doubleness that distinguishes him from the Englishmen in Dryden's play. Dutch and English colonial self-definition depends on yet another logic of difference.

While a logic of scarcity informs the Dutch model of colonial engagement at Amboyna, a logic of abundance informs the English model of moderate gain. Having arrived at Amboyna after a three-year absence, the English Captain Towerson shares an exchange with the Dutch Captain, Harmon, in which he expresses the English philosophy of colonial engagement:

> HARMON: [embracing Towerson] Oh my sworn Brother, my dear Captain Towerson; the man whom I love better than a stiff gale, when I am becalm'd at Sea; to whom, I have receiv'd the Sacrament, never to be false-hearted.
> TOWERSON: You ne'er shall have occasion on my part: the like I promise for our Factories, while I continue here: This Ile yields Spice enough for both; and Europe, Ports, and Chapman, were to vend them.
> HARMON: It does, it does, we have enough, if we can be contented.
> TOWERSON: And Sir, why shou'd we not, what mean these endless jars of Trading Nations? 'tis true, the World was never large enough for Avarice or Ambition; but those who can be pleas'd with moderate gain, may have the ends of Nature, not to want: nay, even its Luxuries may be supply'd from her o'erflowing bounties in these parts: from whence she yearly sends Spices, and Gums, and Food of Heaven in Sacrifice. (1.358)

For Towerson, Amboyna's "overflowing bounties" yield "spice enough for both" trading nations, a notion advanced also in *True Relation*'s letter to the reader, which insists the English Prince "hath enough of his own" and need not vie for domination in the East. Harmon's qualified agreement, "if we can be contented," belies Dutch ambition for more than merely moderate gain. In this initial exchange between Towerson and Harmon, Towerson invites the Dutch Captain to reconfirm their commitment to "fair commerce and Friendliness of Conversation here" (1.358). Harmon, who earlier endorsed Fiscal's murderous plot, dissembles in his reply, "you ask too little friend, we must have more then bare Commerce betwixt us: receive me to your bosom, by this Beard I will never deceive you" (1.359). The eavesdropping Englishman, Beamont, remarks, "I do not like his Oath, there's treachery in that Judas colour'd Beard" (1.359); and, indeed, the

audience, knowledgeable of the events to come, knows there is. Beamont, however, is unique among his English cohort in defining early on the division between English and Dutch character. Of Towerson, he worries, "if he has any fault, 'tis only that, to which great minds can only subject be, he thinks all honest, 'cause himself is so, and therefore none suspects" (1.356). In contrast to the English Captain's honesty and naiveté, Beamont worries about the Dutch for other reasons, "I do not like these fleering Dutchmen, they over act their kindness" (Ibid). In Beamont's imagination, Dutch grins mask pernicious plots, an idea instantiated by Fiscal who boasts, "'tis fit we guild our Faces; the troth is, that we may smile in earnest, when we look upon the Englishman, and think how we will use him" (3.375). As the play begins, then, the Dutch and English are set into an ideological framework of binary opposition based on differing models of colonial engagement. On the one hand, the portrait of national identity that emerges paints the Dutch as naturally double-faced and the English as a people who are what they seem; on the other hand, this portrait of colonial identity paints the Dutch as monopolists who are informed by their own economy of scarcity while the English are merchants whose goals are limited to moderate gain because they are confident in the abundance of the East.

As the play unfolds, women's liasons with the European men on the island emerge as expressions of the broader ideological division animating relations between men. In their interactions with Dutch and English men, women in Dryden's play are ideologically situated by means of the discourses that underwrite the play's opposed economies of scarcity and abundance. In the economy of scarcity, an either / or framework prevails; in the economy of abundance, a both / and framework prevails. Women's engagements with the European men on Amboyna are similarly cast as either exclusive or inclusive—in other words, monopolistic / monogamous or open market / polyamorous. In short, Dryden's women do not stand apart from the opposed logics of colonial engagement between the island's European men; they are themselves trafficked through them.

The two primary female characters of the play make their first appearance together. Ysabinda and Julia enter the scene to find Harmon, Harmon Junior, Fiscal, and Towerson conversing. Ysabinda soon catches the eye of Harmon Junior who is immediately overcome with desire for her: "She's a most charming Creature, I wish I had not seen her . . . oh happy, happy Englishman, but I unfortunate" (1.359-60). In love as in trade, Harmon Junior's calculations are based on his logic of scarcity. Towerson's riches in love stand not apart from, but in relation to Harmon Junior's emotional reserves. If Towerson is the "happy, happy Englishman," then Harmon Junior is "unfortunate," a word that in this context resonates along both affective and economic chords.

When Ysabinda and Harmon Junior meet up privately, at the beginning of act two, Ysabinda initially believes that Harmon Junior's declarations of affection for her are a test—"a plot betwixt you: my Englishman is jealous, and has sent you to try my faith"; she believes, "he might have spar'd the experiment after a three years absence; that was a proof sufficient of my constancy" (2.360). Ysabinda's instinct is wrong. Towerson has not plotted with Ysabinda's Dutch suitor, a fact that becomes apparent as Harmon Junior presses Ysabinda to leave Towerson and choose him instead:

HARMON JUNIOR:	[. . .] if you are wise, you'l make some difference 'twixt Towerson and me.
YSABINDA:	Yes, I shall make a difference, but not to your advantage.
HARMON JUNIOR:	You must, or falsify your knowledge: an Englishman, part Captain, and Part Merchant; his Nation of declining interest here: consider this, and weigh against that fellow, not me, but any, the least and meanest Dutchman in this Isle.
YSABINDA:	I do not weigh by bulk: I know your Countreymen have the advantage there. (2.360-61)

From the start, Ysabinda's affections for Towerson are represented as translating Harmon Junior out of his position of advantage on the island. Her choice reverberates on local and global levels. In choosing the English Captain, Ysabinda inverts the national hierarchy that organizes Anglo-Dutch trade relations on the island. If Ysabinda is the prize to be won, the English win all by her choice—a clear challenge to the politically negotiated distribution of commodities arranged in the

1619 Treaty. In contracting herself to Towerson, Ysabinda chooses English protection and English sovereignty, despite the fact that the English have negotiated themselves out of a position in which they might offer either on her island. As she foretells, the difference Ysabinda would make is *not* to Dutch advantage, as it expresses an indifference to the economic and political realities that give rise to Dutch preeminence in the region. Paradoxically, Ysabinda's rejection of Harmon Junior closely parallels the Dutch-identified logic of scarcity. Though Ysabinda is the object of the Englishman's affection, her response to Harmon Junior—"of all Mankind, you shou'd not be my choice"—shares with Harmon Junior the all or nothing thinking (what I have characterized as a monopolistic ideology) that characterizes Dutch engagement on Amboyna. She is all Towerson's or no one's at all. When Towerson arrives on the scene, Harmon Junior bemoans, "You have no reason Towerson to be sad, you are the happy happy man" (2.361). Towerson replies in terms informed by his logic of abundance, "If I have any, you must needs some," revealing that in love as well as in trade, Towerson operates by a model of moderate gain. For Towerson, his love of Ysabinda does not preclude Harmon Junior's happiness; instead—though he cannot yet know the implications of his statement—he urges Harmon Junior to "have some" of that which makes Towerson the happy man. Harmon Junior responds, "No, you are lov'd, and I am bid despair" (2.361), echoing his earlier assertion regarding Dutch colonial interest in the region, "we must our selves be ruin'd at long run, if they have any Trade here" (1.355).

For Harmon Junior, Ysabinda's refusal presents merely a bump in the negotiations. The real obstacle to his plot is Towerson. Though the case he makes to Ysabinda—to consider union with a Dutchman as a strategy of socio-economic advancement—falls on deaf ears, Harmon Junior is undeterred. He tries his logic again with Towerson, propositioning him in similarly mercantilist terms:

> HARMON JUNIOR: Now I consider on't, it shall be yet in your free choice, to call me one or other [friend or rival]; for, Towerson, I do not decline your Friendship, but then yield Ysabinda to me.

TOWERSON: Yield Ysabinda to you?

HARMON JUNIOR: Yes, and preserve the Blessing of my Friendship; I'le make my Father yours, your Factories shall be no more opprest, but thrive in all advantages with ours; your gain shall be beyond what you cou'd hope for from the Treaty: in all the Traffick of these Eastern parts, ye shall—

TOWERSON: Hold, you mistake me Harman, I never gave you just occasion to think I wou'd make Merchandise of Love; Ysabinda you know is mine, contracted to me e're I went for England and must be so till death. (2.362)

In this exchange Ysabinda functions symbolically as a commodity subject to the operations of colonial trade. Despite Towerson's refusal to "make Merchandise of Love," his evocation of the "contract" between him and Ysabinda draws her into the discursive framework of mercantilism and trade from which he means to exclude her. Moreover, Towerson's defensive stance forces him to adopt Dutch ideas of colonial possession, whereby no part of Europe's engagement in the East can be amicably shared, no amount of merchandise can be equitably distributed between English and Dutch hands. Of course, Ysabinda (not the seemingly infinitely divisible natural resources of the island) is at stake, making Towerson's model of moderate gain seem inapplicable to the contest in play. However, as the plot progresses, Ysabinda is increasingly associated with and represented as the spice for which the Dutch and English come to Amboyna. The native Amboyner thus blurs distinction between person and place, woman and commodity. Like the abundance of cloves on Amboyna, Ysabinda too is "exceeding rich" (2.363). More, in a scene to which we will return, Harmon Junior tries on the English logic when, in act four, he pursues Ysabinda into the woods: "You are a Woman; have enough of Love for him and me; I knowe the plenteous Harvest all is his: he has so much of joy, that he must labor under it. In charity you may allow some gleanings to a Friend" (4.382). Ysabinda and the clove forests are rendered as "harvests" for Dutch appetite. Dutch colonial aggression plays out across the body of the woman and the land that she at once occupies and represents. As Towerson defends his "contract" with Ysabinda, he shifts toward the Dutch logic of colonial engagement (Ysabinda is either mine or yours). This shift marks a display of the inevitable violence of colonial domination. Harmon

Junior warns, "the sum of all is this, you either must Resign me Ysabinda, or instantly resolve, to clear your Title to her by your Sword" (2.362).

The contest over Ysabinda introduces chiastic interplay between the Dutchman and his self-articulated logic of scarcity and the Englishman and his self-articulated logic of abundance. In defending his right to Ysabinda's exclusive affections—in asserting his power to remove Ysabinda from the sexual marketplace—Towerson expresses a Dutch-identified model of colonial engagement, here figured as marital monogamy. Harmon Junior's attempt to "make merchandise of" Towerson's love by entering Ysabinda into the broader terms of commerce and trade between the two nations renders Ysabinda as another of the island's commodities to be divided among European men. Harmon Junior extends his commodification of Ysabinda by applying the English-identified logic of abundance when he presses her to "allow some gleanings to a Friend." Such moments of ideological reversal illuminate the cross-pollination between Dutch and English colonial models of engagement and, significantly, point up the instability of the English colonial and national "difference" that Dryden's play is poised to constitute.

Like Ysabinda, Julia is also made "merchandise." Unlike Ysabinda, however, neither Julia nor her lovers resist the characterization. In her first speech of the play, Julia reflects on the dynamics of her relations with the men on the island:

> JULIA: Yonder's my Master, and my Dutch Servant, how lovingly they talk in private; if I did not know my Don's temper to be monstrously jealous, I shoul'd think, they were driving a secret Bargain for my Body . . . If my English Lover, Beamont, my Dutch Love the Fiscall, and my Spanish Husband, were Painted in a piece with me amongst 'em, they wou'd make a Pretty Emblem of the two Nations, that Cuckold his Catholick Majesty in his Indi's. (2.365)

By the play's conclusion, a secret bargain will be driven for Julia's body, a fact she cannot foresee in this moment. Here, she relishes the emblematic sketch of international relations that her dalliances with men on the island images forth. Julia's emblem refers at once to the sexual as well commercial / political cuckolding of Spain.[58] The Dutch ousting of the Portuguese at Amboyna was the first major Dutch success over the Portuguese in the East Indies. That the Dutchman,

Fiscal, and Englishman, Beamont, share Julia's affections and sexual favors is figured as one outcome of Europe's recent battles for domination there. Julia might be characterized, then, as something of a palimpsest: her sexual relations with men record the layered history of European colonial conquest at Amboyna.

In yet another reversal of nationally-inflected discourses of colonial engagement, Julia's lovers vie for her affections in terms that express the English-identified logic of abundance:

> BEAMONT: Mr. Fiscall, you are the happy Man with the Ladies, and have got the precedence of Traffick here too; you've the Indie's in your Arms, yet I hope a poor English Man may come in for a third a part of the Merchandise.
> FISCAL: Oh Sir, in these Commodities here's enough for both, here's Mace for you, and Nutmegg for me in the same Fruit; and yet the owner has to spare for other friends too.
> JULIA: My Husband's Plantations's like to thrive well betwixt you. (2.367)

The English logic of abundance and philosophy of moderate gain informs Beamont's tongue-in-cheek reference to the 1619 Treaty that secured for England one third of the merchandise of rare spice in the region. In the above exchange, the Treaty's division of natural resources is recast as an enabling contract for the Englishman, inasmuch as it allows Beamont to come in for a "part" of the gain. Fiscal does not counter with claims of his rights to Julia. Instead, the Dutchman who had earlier declared that the Dutch lose all in giving over even some of the island's clove crop to the English here adopts the English logic. Echoing Towerson, Fiscal claims "in these commodities here's enough for both." Julia, the self-fashioned plantation of Amboyna, concurs. Like the island's fruitful abundance, there is "enough" of Julia to "thrive" in use. In a familiar trope of colonial engagement, the land is feminized and divided up by masculine desire. In this exchange, Julia's abundance seemingly mitigates Dutch and English feelings of commercial rivalry and sexual competition. For through Julia, the "Indi's" are fashioned as Europe's mistress. The Englishman and the Dutchman's relations with Julia further disorder, through chiastic interplay, the play's tidy alignment of Dutchmen with Dutch logics of colonial engagement and

Englishmen with English logics. Julia's sexual availability seems to have turned even the most ardent of the play's Dutch monopolists into something of an Englishman.

Though figured as the Indies, Julia is *not* the "indigenous" woman of the play's plot. She is a European transplanted to the East Indies as a result of Spain's engagements there. That she is nonetheless imagined to be the "Indi's" makes her something more than a palimpsest recording first Spain's, then the Netherlands', then England's commercial pursuits in Amboyna. Her traffic with men disorders the hierarchy of national relations that this history projects. Her sexual relations with *all* of the various kinds of Europeans on Amboyna raises the specter of interchangeability that had so long plagued especially English and Dutch relations in the Moluccas. Like the prostitutes and sexually available tavern wives of London city comedies, Julia thrives by her indifference to the national affiliation of the men whose sexual desires she satisfies. In their sexual relations with her, the Dutchman, the Englishman, and the Spaniard are rendered interchangeable. Their equal access to her is a unique instance of an exchange that is not dictated by the intra-European colonial politics that determine so much of what transpires on the island.

In their mutual cuckolding of the Spanish husband, however, the English and the Dutch (though opposed in national self-definition) share a structural position as Julia's interchangeable lovers. Structurally speaking, their particular interchangeability is expressed as rotation, wherein each replaces the other in subsequent encounters with Julia. Thematically speaking, Anglo-Dutch interchangeability is thematized as northerly similitude when, for instance, Beamont and Fiscal share a rare moment of ideological alignment in their caricature of the Spaniard. Beamont avers, "the whole Nation of 'em is generally so Pocky, that 'tis no longer a Disease, but a second nature in 'em," and Fiscal rejoins, "I have heard indeed, that 'tis incorporated among 'em, as deeply as the Moors and Jews are, there's scarce a Family, but 'tis crept into their blood like the new Christians." Extending their shared racializing epistemology from blood to skin, Beamont recalls "what pleasant lives . . . Spaniards . . . live in England":

> We observ'd 'em to have much of the nature of our Flies, they bus'd abroad a month or two I'th'Summer, wou'd venture about Dog dayes to take the Air in the Park, but all the Winter slept like Dormice, and if ever they appear'd in publick after Michaelmas, their Faces shew'd the difference betwixt their Countrey and ours, for they look in Spain as if they were Roasted, and in England as if they were Sodden. (2.367)

Out of place and far from home, the Spaniard in the north makes laughing matter for the Dutchman and the Englishman. The Spaniard's travels north render him lethargic and his once "roasted" skin pale and sodden. For Beamont, the difference between the Englishman and the Spaniard can be read across the Spaniard's face—a notion that at once draws upon a long history of geohumoral discourse dividing the southerner from the northerner and also touches on an emerging racial epistemology that will, eventually, insist that "faces shew [. . .] the difference betwixt" kinds. The Dutchman and the Englishmen share a geohumoral position as northerners and draw upon that northerly situatedness to naturalize their opposition to the southern Spaniard.[59] So too they share the Spaniard's wife and in so doing share the same object of colonial desire. For Fiscal and Beamont, colonial desire emerges not as desire for the native (as it has for Towerson and Harmon Junior), but as a desire for the conquest of the other European already there.

This complex portrayal of Dutch and English desire, Dutch and English models of colonial engagement, portrays the English and Dutch as tied in something of a Gordian knot. Indeed, a matrix of colonial desire is figured forth in the affairs of the play's plot and subplot. Towerson and Harmon Junior's desire for the native woman is also an expression of Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry articulated in terms of the *Dutch* logic of scarcity: either one or the other will have all. Fiscal and Beamont's desire for the Spanish woman is also an expression of Anglo-Dutch ideological proximity and structural interchangeability, articulated in terms of the English logic of abundance: both will share Julia. As these affairs develop, a tension builds that threatens to wrench the English from the ideology of colonial engagement that underwrites their very Englishness on Amboyna, and challenges the viability of the English model of colonial engagement itself. Towerson and Harmon Junior's competition for Ysabinda not only represents

the perniciousness of the Dutch model of monopoly; it raises the question of whether the English model of moderate gain is a viable one in the East. Also, Beamont and Fiscal's dalliances with Julia present a fissure in the play's representation of Dutch colonial desire; if Fiscal can share Julia with Beamont, then the Dutch—even the most malevolent and scheming dissembler among them—might be absolved of what the play represents as the very nature of the Dutchman abroad: his insatiable monopolistic drive to conquer all.

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As events unfold in the tragic second half of the play, the fate of the women of *Amboyna* is directly linked to how they negotiate through this matrix of colonial desire. Both Ysabinda and Julia differently attempt to negotiate their relations with men, yet both women, ultimately, suffer tragic consequences. Following the marriage of Towerson and Ysabinda, which transpires off stage, Julia and Ysabinda stroll together into the clove forest of Amboyna at dusk, just hours before Towerson and Ysabinda expect to consummate their union. Having been lured by another of Fiscal's schemes, Towerson has left the wedding party and Ysabinda and Julia follow in search of him. Before Ysabinda can find Towerson, Harmon Junior appears and offers to lead her to her bridegroom. Convinced that Harmon Junior and Towerson have reached a personal peace brokered by the island's Dutch Govenor, Ysabinda accepts and in so doing slips away from Julia. No sooner is Ysabinda alone with Harmon Junior than he unmasks his true intentions, pleading with her that she might offer him some part of the love she so freely gives Towerson: "You are a Woman; have enough of Love for him and me; I know the plenteous Harvest all is his: he has so much of joy, that he must labor under it. In charity you may allow some gleanings to a Friend" (4.382). By now, of course, any Dutch evocation of "friendship" is shot through with the tenor of deception. Ysabinda recognizes Harmon Junior's deceit, and her rejections of him grow increasingly ardent, "Now you grow rude: I'le hear no more" (4.382). As she turns to leave, Harmon Junior warns,

> Pray resolve to make me happy by your free consent; I do not love these half Enjoyments, t'enervate my delights with using force, and neither give my self nor you that full content, which two can never have, but where both joyn with equal eagerness to bless each other . . . you know you were now going to your Bridal Bed. Call your own thoughts but to a strict account, they'll tell you all this day, your fancy ran on nothing else; 'tis but the same Scene still you were to act; only the person chang'd, it may be for the better. (4.382-83)

The "strict account" that Harmon Junior proposes unbridles desire from its object, redirecting even a bride's consummation of marriage away from her bridegroom. Of course this difference in person makes all the difference to Ysabinda, whose desire for Towerson expresses both her "free consent" and the "contract" of marital monogamy that underwrites their union. This rupture of desire from its object depends on the Dutchman's willingness to portray himself as the architect of yet another instance of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability. He will act the "same Scene . . . only the person changed." Like the Dutch of Edmund Scott's *Exact Discourse*, Harmon Junior will act in the Englishman's name, thus usurping from the Englishman his own contracted wife. Played out across the field of sexual desire, the notion that Ysabinda's object of desire might be exchanged, or divided in half—in other words, that in love she might engage in the *English* model of colonial engagement—is exposed as an impossible fiction. So too, Anglo-Dutch interchangeability is exposed as a plot of *Dutch* design, a tactic in the game of colonial domination, rather than a phenomenological or epistemological mistake.

Indeed, only in forcibly seizing Ysabinda can Harmon Junior achieve his "half Enjoyment." Ysabinda's attempts to resist Harmon Junior fail. The audience can hear her pleas for mercy and Harmon Junior's insidious continuing "negotiations" from off stage:

> HARMON JUNIOR: [within] Now you are mine; yield, or by force I'le take it.
> YSABINDA: [within] Oh kill me first.
> HARMON JUNIOR: [within] I'le bear you where your crys shall not be heard.
> YSABINDA: [as farther off] Succor sweet Heaven, oh succor me. (4.383)

For the play's only Amboyner, no relief will be found. She will not escape the gendered violence of colonial aggression. "Ty'd to a Tree and Gagg'd," Ysabinda is "ravish'd" and in ravishing her Harmon Junior is left "nothing . . . of Manhood . . . I am turn'd Beast of Devil" (4.384).

Following the tragic scene, Harmon Junior returns again to his self-fashioned position as the Englishman's proxy. Insisting that Ysabinda's honor is still safe so long as she recognizes his possession of her, he reminds her that in his ravishment of her "the Husband only alter'd" (4.388).

If Ysabinda's rape strikes in Harmon Junior a momentary inability to reconcile his "manhood" with his devilish "actions," in Towerson, the first glimpse of his ravished bride induces visions of "some illusion of the Night . . . some Spectre, such as in these Asian parts more Frequently appear" (4.385). Ysabinda's ravished body renders her both tragically embodied and hauntingly disembodied in Towerson's mind's eye; she seems to him to flutter between worlds, at once an illusion, a specter, and his ravished lover. The crime written across her body leaves Towerson speechless. Having unbound and ungaged her, Towerson remains mute as the powers of language return first to Ysabinda. Her first words to Towerson powerfully recast the differences that matter on her island. Though all along she has played her part in the Anglo-Dutch contest that consumes her island, in this moment, the most tragic and dramatic yet in the play, as the play's ravished subaltern speaks she casts a general condemnation across the whole of Europe's colonial enterprise:

> YSABINDA: No longer Bridegroom thou, nor I a Bride: those names are vanish'd; Love is now no more. Look on me as thou wou'dst on some foul Leper; and do not touch me: I am as polluted, all shame, all o're dishonour; fly my sight, and, for my sake, fly this detested Isle, where horrid Ills so black and fatal dwell, as Indians cou'd not guess, till Europe taught. (4.386)

Ysabinda's speech collapses the distinction that matters most to English colonial self-definition by framing the real violence, the real difference at stake, as that between Indians and Europeans. If for the English both national and colonial self-definition depends upon a distinction drawn between them and the Dutch, then nothing threatens more than Ysabinda's epistemological standpoint as the victim of *Europe's* colonial aggression. In this moment, Ysabinda fails to keep

the promise she first made to Harmon Junior, "to make a difference" between Towerson and he—to make Europe's national differences matter in the context of and spaces of colonial enterprise.[60]

Significantly, Towerson *cannot* hear Ysabinda's condemnation of Europe's colonial domination of Amboyna. His response to her suggests that he has slipped into a momentary aporia induced first by the sight of her ravished form and then by a condemnation that, should he register it, would leave him bereft of any hope of reconciling himself with Ysabinda. His response to her, "Speak plainer, I am recollected now," reveals he has not heard her. He has not seen from the perspective of her native eyes the full horror of Europe's "horrid Ills." Though Towerson has not heard her, the lingering effect of Ysabinda's perspective—the sense that in their colonial pursuits the English and Dutch may be far more alike than they are different—sends a deep rupture through the play's portrait of English colonial identity. In this moment, the structural inconsistencies of English colonial desire, as the play has fashioned it, are exposed. As Dryden writes Ysabinda into the gaps in the historical narrative, his self-fashioned native—the only figure in the play who has overtly been asked to make a difference between the Dutch and English colonizers on her land—fills those gaps by speaking with another voice. In so doing, she fails to sustain the ideological imperative of her structural position in the play and threatens to rewrite the history that she had been introduced merely to animate. Ysabinda's story does not make a difference between the English and the Dutch, and so cannot, indeed must not, be heard.

If Ysabinda's story cannot be heard, Julia's on-going story of polyamorous and cross-national desire is one that cannot be sustained if the Dutch are to emerge as fully fledged figures of colonial domination who are driven by an insatiable and uncompromising monopolistic impulse. By the play's end, Julia is forced to withdraw herself from the circuit of desire that renders interchangeable her English and Dutch lovers. In other words, Julia is ultimately forced to make a difference between those lovers who had earlier seemed happy enough to share her. In coming to the aid of the English against the Dutch at Amboyna, the Spanish Captain Perez has embroiled himself in the English fate. Upon discovering that her husband has been taken captive

by the Dutch, an enraged Julia condemns Fiscal: "Oh you have ruin'd me, you have undone me, in the Person of my Husband" (5.398)! Fiscal expresses no concern for his lover's pending position as a Spanish widow, victim of yet another round of intra-European colonial competition. Instead, echoing his countryman Harmon Junior, Fiscal avers, "If he will needs forfeit his Life to the Laws, by joying the English in a Plot, 'tis not in me to save him; but dearest Julia be satisfy'd, you shall not want a husband" (5.398). Once again, the Dutch strategize to take the place of other European men in love as in trade. In this instance, the Dutchman renders himself the proxy even for the Spaniard who had previously evoked Fiscal's deepest antipathy. Like Harmon Junior's cruel logic expressed after his rape of Ysabinda—"only the Husband alter'd"—here too Fiscal's promise that Julia shall "not want a Husband" emerges as a particularly pernicious Dutch strategy for "overtopping" their European competition. If, in her earlier engagements with the island's European men, Julia raised the specter of interchangeability that had long vexed Anglo-Dutch relations in the East, then as the play concludes she is compelled to "driv[e] a secret Bargain for [her] Body" that brokers her body and her allegiances on Dutch terms.

Quick to understand Fiscal's implication that he will take her as his wife, Julia retorts, "Do you think, I'le ever come into a Bed with him, who rob'd me of my dear sweet Man?" Fiscal responds, "Dry up your Tears, I'me in earnest, I will Marry you, yfaith I will; it is your destiny" (5.398). This "destiny" is one Julia accepts only upon condition. She brokers a deal with Fiscal that secures her English lover's release:

JULIA:	Nay if it be my Destiny: but I vow I'le ne're be yours but upon one condition.
FISCAL:	Name your desire and take it.
JULIA:	Then save poor Beamonts Life.
FISCAL:	This is the most unkind Request you cou'd have made, it shews you Love him better; therefore in prudence I shou'd hast his Death.
JULIA:	Come, I'le not be deny'd you shall give me his Life, or I'le not love you[.] (5.398)

Fiscal agrees to this exchange of the Spanish wife for the English lover. He spares Beamont's life, but, in order to insure that he himself does not become the cuckold that the Spaniard so easily

proved, he sends Beamont off of the island, never to return. This resolution resolves more than Beamont's fate. It reinscribes the Dutch ideology of monopolistic engagement in the East, here expressed as a threatening imposition of forced monogamy with the Dutchman. In other words, the play writes out the expression of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability as that which is beyond the control of the Dutch by foreclosing the (sexual) agency of the woman who had most exposed such interchangeability. In making Julia the instrument of the cuckolding of the Spaniard and the ousting of the English, the play refashions her symbolic role. No longer an emblem of the shared Anglo-Dutch cuckolding of Spain, her contract with Fiscal draws her into the Dutch economy of monopoly and renders her an emblem of Dutch colonial desire realized. With her assistance, the Dutch lover overtops the other European men.

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The massacre of the English at Amboyna, staged in the final act of Dryden's play, moves the English and England into the structural position of the play's native woman and thus attempts to reconcile the division Ysabinda inscribed between Europe and her "Eastern Groves." The English are made to suffer "like Ladies" as they have "an Oyl'd Cloath put underneath [their] Chins, then Water pour'd above; which either [they] must drink or must not breath" (5.396). Even the region's natural resources are brought to bear to remind the English of their defeat: "we have two Elements at your Service," Harmon preens, "Fire, as well as Water; certain things call'd Matches to be ty'd to your Fingers ends, which are as soveraign as Nutmegs, to quicken your short Memories" (5.396). In the final moments of the play, Fiscal echoes Harmon, "They shou'd have Fires of Cloves and Cinamon, we wou'd cut down whole Groves to Honour 'em, and be at cost to burn 'em nobly" (5.402). Despite their torture, the English do "not confess one word to shame [their] countrey" (5.398).[61] Even in this final act wherein the English find themselves utterly victimized by the Dutch, the history of Anglo-Dutch proximity enters to figure England and the Netherlands as two spaces always potentially entangled by the intimate relations of their people. An English page, put to the torture of Fire, boasts, "Sure you think my Father got me of

some Dutch Woman, and that I am but a half straine courage; but you shall find that I am all o're English, as well in Fire as Water" (5.397). In this moment, the paradox of Anglo-Dutch proximate relations is writ large. The rub of the Page's claim to being all over English is that beneath this assertion lurks the long history of Anglo-Dutch friendship, alliance, intimacy, and kinship that makes real the possibility that in murdering the English crew at Amboyna, the Dutch inadvertently slay their kin. The Page implicitly reminds Dryden's audience that England had once provided refuge and succor to the Dutch and, in so doing, had yoked together the fate of England and the Netherlands, if but for a while. The massacre of the English at Amboyna, unfolding before their eyes, reminds the English now only of Dutch "ingratitude" for England's offer of safe harbor. So too it raises the question, yet again, of what it might mean to be "all o'er English."

Finally, as "the scene opens, and discovers the English Tortur'd, and the Dutch tormenting them," Towerson's men literally share the same space on the stage that Ysabinda last occupied when in act four the scene was drawn to discover Ysabinda bound and ravished. Despite Towerson's protests that, "we are not here your Subjects, but your Partners; and that Supremacy of power you claim, extends but to the Natives, not to us," the Dutch prove otherwise (5.339). In their subjection to the Dutch, the English are made to share the humiliation of "the natives." This subjection rehearses a familiar trope in English imperial discourses, particularly travel writing and literature, that of the vilified *other* European. As Bridget Orr has demonstrated in *Empire on the English Stage 1660-1714,* there is a "strong tendency to figure English colonial activity indirectly and in the context of a comparison by which another European empire suffers."[62] Similarly, Louis Montrose has shown that in the "discourse of discovery" within New World travel writing, the *other* European is the Spaniard whose "atrocities against the Indians" allowed the Englishman, Sir Walter Ralegh, to "represent his own imperialist venture as a holy and humanitarian war of liberation against Spanish oppression."[63] For Dryden, it is of course the Dutch whose atrocities against the East Indian, Ysabinda, and then against the English themselves

enable the English and England to disavow, *albeit* imperfectly, the negative aspects of colonization. The Dutch are ultimately represented, in Towerson's terms, "as if not made of the same Mould . . . Not Christians, nor Allies, nor Partners . . . But as if Beasts, transfix'd on Theatres" (5.401). Towerson thus renounces the approximations and correspondences that have so long been a constitutive part of thinking Dutch in early modern English culture. In the play's final moments, an aporetic tension is sparked in Towerson between what has been and what has come to characterize Anglo-Dutch relations. Forced to imagine a new vocabulary for England's relations with the Dutch, Towerson grasps at the tragic negative to articulate the apocalypse of this "friendship": "Not Christians, nor Allies, nor Partners," the Dutch emerge instead as if "made of another Mould" (Ibid). Riddled with negations, Towerson's speech suggests that he cannot yet articulate a new vision, a new lexicon and analytic, for representing Anglo-Dutch relations. He can only speak the death of the double vision he once knew. As the play concludes, the Dutch are represented not merely as a different *national* kind; they have so debased themselves in their aggression toward the English that they have shown themselves to be "creatures of another kind." Dryden's play thus works to exfoliate the discourses of Protestant alliance and cultural "friendship" from the lexicon of Anglo-Dutch relations by demonstrating that such notions of affiliation are but outdated chimeras of the English imagination, nullified by the Dutch at Amboyna.

[1] The Spice Islands, or "Spiceries" is a way of referring to the "profusion of islands which lie scattered in the seas south of the Philippines, east of Borneo and Java, north of Australia, and west of New Guinea" (Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 5 vols. [Chicago, 1965] 1:2.592.) Though I use the term when referring to this collections of islands, historians of southeast Asian history caution that the term casts a seeming coherence across what was and remains a diverse collection of cultures in the Indonesian archipelago, see Anthony Reid, "Introduction," and Leonard Y. Andaya, "Cultural State Formation in Eastern Indonesia," *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief,* ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

[2] John Dryden, *Amboyna Or, The Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants,* ed. Montague Summers, *Dryden: The Dramatic Works* Vol. 3 (New York: Gordian Press, 1968) 1.360. All references are to this edition and volume and are cited as act and page number.

[3] This agreement applied to all of the spices of the East Indies, except for the pepper trade of Java, which was to be distributed evenly between the Dutch and English. For more on the "Treaty of Defense" (July 1619), see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 268-9.

[4] The English East India Company frames their interest in the East as an investment in "fair and free commerce" in the letter to the reader that prefaces *A True Relation*, *of the Unjust, Cruell and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1624) A3r. For a discussion of the factors that determined the signing of the 1619 Treaty, see Vincent C. Loth, "Armed Incidents and Unpaid Bills: Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the Banda Islands in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 29.4 (1995): 705-40, esp. pp. 717-22.

[5] Shankar Raman, *Framing India: The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern* Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) 234.

[6] Robert Markley, "Violence and Profits on the Restoration Stage: Trade, Nationalism, and Insecurity in Dryden's *Amboyna,*" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22 (February 1998): 9. A somewhat reworked version of this essay appears in Markley's monograph, *The Far East and the English Imagination 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 143-76. I refer to Markley 1998 throughout.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Both Markley and Raman emphasize the play's imperfect efforts in constituting what Markley characterizes as "a fiction of an essential, transhistorical national identity" for the English. Markley argues that *Amboyna* reveals instead, "the inconsistencies, gaps, and anxieties" of such a project (3). In this chapter, I concur with Markley on this larger point but differ with his assessment of the role Ysabinda plays in the process of revealing such inconsistencies and anxieties.

[9] See Cynthia Lowenthal, *Performing Identities on the Restoration Stage* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003) 35-75.

[10] This characterization has prevailed from George Edmundson's 1911 work, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) through recent work, including *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* Vol 1, Part 2, From c.1500- c.1800, ed. Nicolas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For an important critique of the economic thesis driving most notions of Anglo-Dutch rivalry, see Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and his "From Butterboxes to Woodenshoes: The shift in English popular sentiment from anti-Dutch to anti-French in the 1670s," *The Historical Journal* 38.2 (1995): 333-361.

[11] In other words, the emphasis on rivalry, so often employed to frame Anglo-Dutch relations, risks projecting an effect generated by the complex influences shaping Anglo-Dutch relations as the cause structuring those relations.

[12] Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations* 33 (Winter, 1991) 17-18.

[13] Here I am thinking of Richard Verstegan's argument regarding the historical relatedness—the racial kinship—of the English and Dutch, discussed in chapter two.

[14] The full title of Scott's work is, *An exact discourse of the subtilties, fashishions [sic], pollicies, religion, and ceremonies of the East Indians as well Chyneses as Iauans, there abyding and dweling. Together with the manner of trading with those people, as well by vs English, as by the Hollanders: as also what hath happened to the English nation at Bantan in the East Indies, since the 2. of February 1602. vntil the 6. of October 1605. Whereunto is added a briefe discription of Iaua Maior. Written by Edmund Scott, resident there, and in other places neere adioyng [sic], the space of three yeeres and a halfe* (London, 1606). The first English account of an East India Company voyage, "*A true and large discourse of the voyage*," published in 1603 without a preface, introduction, or dedication, was written by one of the crew of the *Ascension* on the first East India Company voyage. Thirty-four pages in length, the journal is primarily concerned with navigation and trade, though it occasionally sketches portraits of cultural encounters with the people and rulers of Bantam. Scott's *Exact Discourse* and the anonymous *Last East Indian Voyage,* both accounts of the second voyage, were published in London in 1606, following the return of the second East India Company fleet. For a complete bibliography of early works relating to the East India Company ventures, see *Asia in the Making of Europe,* eds., Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 3.1: 547-69; also, John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965) 173-191.

[15] The dates of the first decade of English East India Company outward-bound ventures were: 1601, 1604, 1607, 1608, 1609, and 1610. For a complete list of EIC ventures, the ships that sailed, their destinations, and return dates, see K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of An Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640* (London: Frank Caas & Co. Ltd., 1965) 226-232.

[16] Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse* (London, 1606) 6. Hereafter page numbers will be given in text.

[17] In order to avoid confusion about the people to whom Scott refers in his text, I will use the early modern terminology "Javan" rather than "Javanese" for the people of Bantam. "Javanese is technically inaccurate, since the people of Bantam were properly speaking Sundanese," (Michael Neill, "Putting History to the Question: An Episode of Torture at Bantam in Java, 1604," *English Literary Renaissance* (25) 1995: 52 n.9). Though I do not discuss Neill's essay or the "episode" addressed in it, his essay offers an important corollary to the history and discourse discussed in this chapter.

[18] The work's full title is: *The last East-Indian voyage Containing much varietie of the state of the seuerall kingdomes where they haue traded: with the letters of three seuerall Kings to the Kings Maiestie of England, begun by one of the voyage: since continued out of the faithfull obseruations of them that are come home*. It is often attributed to Middleton himself.

[19] Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Early Portuguese Perceptions of the 'Dutch Threat' in Asia," *Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders in Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, eds., Ernest Van Veen and Leonard Blusse (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005) 170.

[20] The I-series, *Records Relating to Other European Powers in India 1475-1824*, in the Asia, Pacific, and African Collections of the British Library is a rich manuscript resource of Dutch accounts regarding their relations in the Spice Islands and Asia. In the late 1900s, Frederick Charles Danvers, then Registrar and Superintendent of the Records of the India Office, examined and drew up a report of the Dutch records

regarding activities in the East. The I-series, housed in the British Library, was translated out of Dutch and into English. I/3 are manuscript translations of the Dutch and Portuguese records. Volumes (1-106) are organized chronologically; I/3/86 is the manuscript index of the I-series. I have read volumes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14, relating to Dutch activities in the East spanning the years 1602-1626. In citing the manuscript volumes, I will refer to the series (I/3), volume number (2-14), and to the number that Charles Danvers assigned to each letter, which he penciled at the top of each letter in roman numerals.

[21] Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997) 5.1.349. Hereafter, cited in text.

[22] Of course, what is also interesting about this crisis is the possibility that "Englishmen" *is* functioning just as the people on Bantam mean for it to. Scott is unable to confront the idea that intra-European national difference might *not matter* to those on Bantam who trade with and live alongside the English and Dutch, both colonizers on Bantam.

[23] Quoted in Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 55-56.

[24] Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia 1600-1834* (London: The British Library, 2002) 48-54.

[25] For a broad cultural overview of Southeast Asian exchange with Europeans, see *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*: *Volume One, Part Two, From c. 1500-c.1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rpt 1999). On the Dutch VOC and English EIC engagements in the Moluccas, see *Asia in the Making of Europe*, eds., Lach and Van Kley, 3.1: 40-88. Also, online, see TANAP.net (*Toward a New age of Partnership in Dutch East India Company Archives and Researc*h), which offers access to VOC archives from around the world.

[26] Karen Chancey, "The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1632," *Albion* 30, 4 (Winter 1999): 588.

[27] For an insightful reading of the relation of the Amboyna massacre pamphlet debates to the making of an early modern public sphere, see Andrew Fleck, "Deep Designs of Empire: English Representations of the Dutch from the Armada to the Glorious Revolution," Diss. Claremont Graduate University, 2000: 190-243.

[28] *News out of East India,* a ballad summarizing the pamphlets of 1624, was circulated that same year (reprinted in *A Pepysian Garland: Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971], 200-06). The ballad's frontispiece is identical to that of *A True Relation*. Walter Mountfort's manuscript play, *The Launching of the Mary or The Seaman's Honest Wife*, which deals with the massacre, was prepared for the stage in 1625 but suppressed by the Privy Council (Malone Society Reprint, 1933). A Dutch apologia entitled, *A True Declaration of the News Concerning a Conspiracy Discovered in the Island of Amboyna and the Punishment that followed thereof*, appeared in London in English in 1628. It was reprinted and refuted in *A Remonstrance of the Directors of the Netherlands East-India Company. . . and the Reply of the English East India Company to the Said Remonstrance and Defence* (London, 1632). English pamphlets describing the massacre appear in 1651, 1653, 1665 and 1672: *Bloody News of the East-Indies, being a Relation and Perfect Abstract of the Barbarous Proceedings of the Dutch against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1651); *A Memento for Holland, or a True and Exact History of the Cruelties used on the English Merchants Residing in Amboyna* (London, 1653); Abraham Woofe, *The Tyranny of the Dutch against the English* (London, 1653); *A True and Compendious Narration, Or, Second Part of Amboyna* (London, 1665); *The Emblem of Ingratitude, a True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1672). Summers concludes that John Dryden "doubtless had perused the narrative 'Cruelty of the Dutch in Amboyna' which is given at some length (pp. 576-78) in Sir William Sanderson's 'A Compleat History Of the Lives and Reigns Of Mary Queen of Scotland, And her Son and Successor, James…,' folio, 1656. Most

of Dryden's details, however, are directly derived from *A True Relation*…1624" and "*A True and Compendious Narration; Or (Second Part of Amboyna*)…1665" (*Dryden: The Dramatic Works,* 3.345).

Visual imagery of the massacre was splashed as frontispieces across of many of these pamphlets, beginning with the 1624 *True Relation*. The identical image appears on the ballad published that same year. An anonymous engraving dating to 1649 depicts the murder of the British at Ambon using the familiar iconography of the woodcut (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam inventory no. RP-P-OB-75-328); this image can be viewed on the Atlas of Mutual Heritage website, available through the Nationaal Archief at, www.nationaalarchief.nl/amh/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=en&id=2065#%23tab2

[29] Robert Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Joseph, or the Crueltie to a Brother* (London, 1625).

[30] The letter is unpaginated.

[31] Quoted from the 1672 *The Emblem of Ingratitude*; the text is a copy of the 1624 Letter to the Reader in *A True Relation*.

[32] The Dutch had reason to be concerned that any one of the many trading nations on Amboyna might turn against them. They recognized that their own success in capturing the Portuguese fort at Amboyna had depended upon the indigenous population turning against the Portuguese. For a discussion of the "psychological impact" of the Dutch usurpation of the Portuguese fort at Amboyna, see Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Early Portuguese Perceptions of the Dutch threat in Asia" 178.

[33] On the impracticability of the supposed plot, see D.K. Bassett, *"The Amboyna Massacre of 1623*," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (1) 1960: 1-19. Incidentally, many of Bassett's conclusions are drawn from ideas advanced by the English in *The Answer unto the Dutch Pamphlet, Made in Defence of the Unjust and Barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna in the East-Indies by the Hollanders there* (London, 1624).

[34] On the Anglo-Dutch wars, see J. R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1996; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 713-722, 766-774, 785, 796-7, 812-13; D. R. Hainsworth and Christine Churches, *The Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars 1652-1674* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Pub., 1998); Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism,* 1996. On the relation of the Dutch wars and English ideas regarding British identity, see Peter Furtado, "National Pride in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed. Raphael Samuel. (London: Routledge, 1989), 44-56.

[35] Beamont, *The Emblem of ingratitude a true relation of the unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna in the East-Indies, by the Netherlandish governour &; council there : also a farther account of the deceit, cruelty, and tyranny of the Dutch against the English, and several others, from their first to their present estate, with remarks upon the whole matter: faithfully collected from antient* [sic] *and modern records* (London 1672).

[36] See Derek Hughes, *English Drama 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 91.

[37] Summers notes that the play is entered into the Stationer's books 26 June 1673, and that "it is probably correct to assign the original performance of this tragedy to a date no later than the first week of the preceding May" (347).

[38] *Dedication to the Right Honourable Lord Clifford of Chudleigh*, ed. Summers, 350.

[39] Regarding the play's scholarly reception, Summer's writes, "it has been called 'unworthy'; I should prefer to term it 'official'" (347). Louis I. Bredvold finds that "no one cares to urge that *Amboyna* has literary merit" ("Political Aspects of Dryden's *Amboyna* and *The Spanish Fryar*," reprinted in *Essential*

Articles for the Study of John Dryden, ed. H. T. Swedenberg [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966] 300). More recently, the play has been characterized as a "hack work" (Hughes 91).

[40] *Amboyna* would have been a somewhat shocking spectacle of horror for audiences in the early 1670s, as "the real glut of stage horror made its appearance after 1678" (Jean I. Marsden, "Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos," *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000] 179).

[41] On Dryden's sources, see Summers 345.

[42] Colin Visser suggests that Dryden derived the name Ysabinda from a misreading of the name Tsabinda—a Japanese man arrested at Amboyna—whose name appears in the 1672 *Emblem of Ingratitude*. See Colin Visser, "John Dryden's *Amboyna* at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1673," *Restoration and 18th Century Theater Research* 15 (1) 1976: 1-11.

[43] As such, critical readings of Dryden's *Amboyna* support Bridget Orr's more global assessment that Restoration drama demonstrates a "strong tendency to figure English colonial activity indirectly and in the context of a comparison by which another European empire suffers" and that a "repeated pattern of disavowal in the representation of colonization is symptomatic of the ambivalence, indeed contradictions, which . . . riddle[d] English imperial ideology" (Bridgett Orr, *Empire on the English Stage 1660-1714* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001] 280).

[44] Markley 9. Markley develops this binary by demonstrating how English class antagonism, particularly the vilification of the upstart merchant who was seen as draining the nation's resources in risky EIC ventures, is displaced onto Dutch boors (14). Similarly, for Shankar Raman, the struggle between Towerson and Harman for Ysabinda aims, "first to make explicit the qualitative difference between their respective desires, and, second, to establish the ethical superiority of the English position . . . the brutality and illegality [of the crime against Ysabinda] represent the logical culmination of a Dutch mercantilism governed solely by the category of self-interest" (212-213).

[45] Raman 210.

[46] Raman 203.

[47] Raman 212.

[48] Raman 230; 235.

[49] Markley argues that his national distinction allows class antagonisms *within* England to be displaced onto Dutch boors (14).

[50] While I find persuasive Robert Markley's assertion that "*Amboyna* reveals . . . the inconsistencies, gaps, and anxieties that constitute the fiction of an essential transhistorical national identity" (3); I want to suggest that Ysabinda not only serves as a "symptom of Dryden's recasting of international economic conflict into a binary political morality," she also functions to deconstruct that binary, collapsing English and Dutch national identity into a portrait of shared colonial aggression.

[51] Lach and Van Kley assert, "it was this emphasis upon *control* and *monopoly* which characterized the VOC's policies at all levels. The Seventeen were determined to buy the fine spices at fixed prices, exclude all others from the commerce, and manage the supplies put on the market in Europe in the hope of selling them at constant prices" (*Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3.1:64).

[52] The VOC was, in fact, interested in controlling Amboyna's clove trade at the time of the Amboyna massacre:

> Met by Iberian, English, and local Asian resistance, the Dutch painfully and slowly enforced an effective control over the Banda Islands, Amboina, Ceram, and the Moluccas. The Bandas, completely conquered by the Dutch in 1621, had long supplied nutmeg and mace in exchange for foodstuffs and textiles. Once they were taken over by the Dutch colonists the Company possessed complete control over nutmeg and mace production. In the meantime the Company sought to concentrate clove production by limiting it to the villages of Amboina and by destroying the trees on the nearby and much larger island of Ceram. This decision was based on the conviction that Amboina could produce enough by itself to meet the combined demand of Europe and Asia, and that by limiting cultivation to Amboina the Company could easily monopolize the trade and set the purchase and sale prices of the cloves." (*Asia in the Making of Europe*, eds., Lach and Van Kley, 3.1:68)

[53] Fiscal's logic also writes out of the trade equation the significance of Dutch and English trade within Asiatic trade networks.

[54] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company* (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd, 1965) 140-172.

[55] Ibid., 167-8.

[56] *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1622-1624*, quoted in Chaudhuri 170.

[57] Historians argue that the Amboyna massacre did not *cause* the English withdrawal from Amboyna but marked the end of a complex set of events in which they were driven out:

> It should not be assumed, however, that the English withdrawal in 1623 from the Spiceries, Japan, and Siam resulted from the "massacre"; it was rather the Company's earlier disillusionment with the unwillingness of the Dutch to abide by the Accord in the Indonesian region that prompted the directors in London to order the abandonment of factories unable to operate at profit" (*Asia in the Making of Europe,* eds., Lach and Van Kley, 3.1:77).

Even so, the massacre was long represented in the pamphlet literature as a *cause* of England's failed colonial enterprises in the Spice Islands.

[58] The play blurs meaningful historical distinctions between Spanish and Portuguese colonial engagement in Amboyna. Julia's "Spanish" identity is meant to identify her as a part of the Portuguese and, broadly speaking, Iberian history at Amboyna.

[59] See Mary Floyd-Wilson's *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*. Following this exchange, Julia invites the Dutchman and the Englishman to express their thoughts about one another's nations, which predictably catalyzes equally negative characterizations of Dutch and English people. In both cases, the English and Dutch *as merchants* becomes the focus of the national portrait. Unlike their mutual characterization of the Spaniard, Anglo-Dutch antipathy is not expressed as a racial difference.

[60] Here I am arguing for a very different reading than that advanced in *Framing India*, wherein the "invisibility" of Ysabinda's rape is understood to suppress "the violence of colonial domination":

> In distinguishing the two nations, Dryden opposes the extralegal and uncivilized act of Dutch rape to English marriage, the socially sanctioned form of colonial intercourse. But as a form of violence that the Dutch and the English both participate in, the rape has to be subordinated to what really matters: the production of an intra-European difference. That we do not see the rape effects just such a subordination . . . the invisibility of the rape ensures that the violence of colonial domination remains concealed, unable to interfere with or detract from the spectacle of national humiliation [that follows]. (Raman 235)

I read Ysabinda's speech as far less successful in subordinating Indian / European; colonized / colonizer difference to intra-European difference than critics have generally argued.

[61] This line is spoken by an unnamed "English woman" who is the third female character invented by Dryden. She makes only a brief appearance during the torture scene.

[62] Orr 280.

[63] Montrose 17.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Future Directions

"England is always discovered elsewhere, defined by the encounter with the Other," writes Michael Neill in a 1994 *Shakespeare Quarterly* essay focusing on how the early modern English understood their linguistic and national relations with the Irish.[1] That same year Lynda Boose, writing on ideas of race in early modern England, asserted: "to chart early modern England's discourse of racial difference, we clearly need a more detailed cartography of what the English assumed within notions of the same."[2] Taken together, these essays urged on a critical conversation regarding how the early modern period was formative in structuring categories of national, racial, and ethnic identities in the British Isles. Set side by side, however, their assertions pose an epistemological problem that the methodology of my dissertation has attempted to work through. On the one hand, in claiming that England is "defined by the encounter with the Other," Neill suggests that cultural difference is out there, that it is elsewhere, and that it is something waiting to be encountered. In so arguing, Neill implicitly affirms the post-modern insight that "to exist is to be called into being in relation to an otherness",[3] and that social identity "lies in difference."[4] On the other hand, Boose's call, for further attention to "what the English assumed within notions of the same," imagines that there might also have been a less definitively oppositional paradigm informing English epistemologies of race. The project of *Double Dutch,* so indebted to this scholarship on emerging notions of English identity, grew out of the space between these two vantage points onto early modern English identity. Throughout, I have explored constructions of Anglo-Dutch ethnic difference and sameness as correlates in the making of early modern English identity.

Behind all new scholarship lie questions that others have asked, questions that have a way of sticking with you and transforming as a project develops. For me, Lynda Boose's call for a cartography of English notions of the same sparked a number of questions, not the least of which is *how* we might recognize and read for sameness. Where might we turn to discover notions of the same? I began this project wondering whether ideas about ethnic sameness reside within notions of Englishness or if sameness is also discovered elsewhere and in encounters. Analytically speaking, these questions kicked up another issue that I feel literary critics are particularly well poised to address, and that is whether sameness and difference share discursive and representational terrains. At the inception of this project, I was fascinated especially by what I saw as cultural doubles, doppelgangers, and copies. As I began exploring instances of cultural doubling, I wondered whether and how it might have agitated emerging notions of Englishness, for instance, that the architectural manifestation of London's commercial enterprise was a copy of *Antwerp's* Exchange? Why was it that "going Dutch" in theatrical comedy involved such *minor* phonetic shifts in linguistic performance? In what ways did the English differentiate themselves from their Dutch rivals and distinguish themselves *as English* in the context of imperial endeavors in the East Indies? When might it have been advantageous to pass as Dutch in London or to allow oneself to be mistaken for the Dutch in the Spice Islands? With these questions in mind, I set out to explore whether the Anglo-Dutch relation might provide us with an archive for an early modern hermeneutics of the same. As I began pressing on instances of what I saw as cultural doubling, I discovered the way in which the critical debate regarding identity had implicitly set up a continuum—with sameness on one end and difference on another—which frustrated the complexities of my archive. The Anglo-Dutch relation kept sliding along this continuum, not only never arriving fully at one end or the other, but also erupting out of the tensions between perceived resemblances and differences. My archive was calling out for a new conceptual framework.

In "thinking Dutch" with the early modern English, I began understanding Anglo-Dutch relations less in terms of difference and sameness and increasingly in terms of proximity and approximation. In cultural performances (in London theaters, civic pageantry, and ceremonies of distinction in the East Indies), on playbook and dictionary pages, and in and around London's commercial architecture, the proximate relations of the English and the Dutch were writ-large. In various modes of cultural production, English representations of Dutchness (and of Anglo-Dutch relations) revealed themselves to be meditations on the elasticity of the self / other divide. In this way, the cultural productions explored in this project provide more than an archive from which we might sketch a social history of Anglo-Dutch relations; they reveal the fault lines of Englishness in the making. Throughout *Double Dutch*, I have been tracing the ways in which English cultural performances of Anglo-Dutch relations are riddled with deconstructive as well as culturally constructive energies. The broad range of archives that I have explored reveal a pattern whereby English socio-political efforts at cultural, ethnic, and national distinction are almost always tethered to ideas of Anglo-Dutch religious affiliation and cultural kinship. Even commercial and imperial rivalries, shot through with an urgency of national self-definition, rendered the English and Dutch approximated kinds. Without a history of warring monarchs, or a clear religious divide between the two lands (like that between Protestant England and Catholic France, Spain, and Scotland), the English were bereft of the shorthand strategies by which they drew many of their most salient cultural and national distinctions. The fact that the Dutch had been *invited* to take refuge in England following the Spanish Fury at Antwerp and that they were recruited into England for their skills as weavers, masons, and architects, further perplexed efforts to cast the Dutch merely as interlopers or religiously deviant Others. Throughout the early modern period, the English were hard pressed to define the Dutch as un-English along any one particular axis.

Even so, as Sir Philip Sidney observed in *The Defence of Poesy*, the English loved to laugh at the cultural differences of foreigners, especially foreigners' speech on the English stage.[5]

The stage Dutch that was spoken on London stages was by no means an exception to Sidney's keen observation. However, in considering the ways in which ideas about early modern ethnic and national identity emerge and take hold, I have argued that it is important to chart not only *what* was so funny to the English audience and the playwrights who wrote for them (for instance, the rhyme and cadence of stage Dutch: "slowpin frokin"), but *how* jokes worked too. For, often times, a seeming difference (such as a linguistic performance of inauthentic stage-Dutch) sparks laughter not at Dutch characters on stage, but at the in-authenticity of an English character that attempts to sound Dutch. In carefully tracing how laughter finds its object in early modern cultural performances, we discover how slippery the signifiers of ethnic and national identity were in early modern England. This is true across varied archives: from city comedies to playbook pages, to London's Royal Exchange and Dutch sponsored pageants, to impromptu performances in the Spice Islands. By exploring varied cultural performances, *Double Dutch* demonstrates the many ways in which identities that exist in proximity to one another become approximated identities when rendered in cultural performance.

This project delves into cross-disciplinary archives in order to consider, as broadly as possible, the various strategies by which cultural performances were shaped by and were shaping ideas of ethnic and national identity. In chapter one, I trace how the genre of city comedy was producing and revealing English anxieties about ethnic interchangeability with their nearest neighbors. In exploring three city comedies from the turn of the seventeenth century, I find that language, diet, clothing, and religious belief were important and salient signifiers of ethnic identity. Minor differences mattered in manifesting one's Englishness on the London stage; even so, the signifiers of such minor difference were often highly plastic, easily jumbled, and sometimes unwittingly appropriated. "Going Dutch in London City Comedy" demonstrates the various ways in which performances that approximate Englishness and Dutchness raise the specter of cultural and ethnic interchangeability. On the English stage, this potential interchangeability was being explored and constituted through puns, word play, bawdy and

double entendres—all discursive and rhetorical operations that worked to jumble the signifiers of Englishness and Dutchness. From the onset of chapter one, I argue that it is important that we not limit our understanding of the Anglo-Dutch relation to the English people and the Dutch people *per se*. Rather, in reading for how the theater was "Dutching" English identified characters, and how "Dutchness" as a collection of signifiers was being produced *in relation to* signifiers of Englishness, we come closer to understanding how ethnicity was being produced in the theaters of London. "Going Dutch" reveals just how unsettled ethnicity was in the early modern Anglo-Dutch context.

Chapter two continues to press on the category of ethnic identity, focusing throughout on how the English understood their linguistic relations to the Dutch. The chapter considers three archives: the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century philological debates regarding the history of English, the performance of Dutch speech on the English stage, and the typographic arrangements of Dutch and English in a collection of printed stage plays, Anglo-Dutch dictionaries, and grammars. I reveal the ways in which English antiquarians were re-imaging English cultural and linguistic history, reorienting English toward its "Saxon heritage," with an important effect being that the English and the Dutch were rendered not only proximate, but *related* peoples. In the theaters, stage Dutch was not simply another foreign tongue, performed as broken English. Rather, I argue that the theater was doubling the kinds of Dutch spoken in performance. This doubling served as a linguistics lesson for English audiences as they were enjoined to affirm the phonetic proximities between English and authentic stage Dutch, and to disavow, even as they laughed along with, comic caricaturizations of inauthentic Dutch speech. Finally, in considering the typographic arrangements of playbooks and Anglo-Dutch dictionaries and grammars, "By Common Language Resembled" demonstrates the ways in which experiments with print were introducing questions about the extent to which language could attest and stabilize ethnic or national identity.

Chapter three explores the intersections of architecture and civic pageantry to ask how the Dutch who were living in London mobilized the poetic geography of London's landscape in order to represent their belongedness. Like the Dutch residents of London (who were a doubly-situated people: of London but not from London) monuments, paradoxically, could also be doubly situated. "A Doppelganger Built In" uncovers the double meaning that adhered to London's first architectural commercial center. Initially known as Gresham's Burse, Queen Elizabeth's renaming of it as the Royal Exchange transformed the building into an English denizen. Through their participation in London pageantry, the Dutch strategically mobilized the site's double history (as once Dutch, now denizen). In so doing, the Dutch foregrounded and revitalized the doppelganger effect that had long adhered to London's urban landscape. In linking the building's naturalization to their own enfranchisement as Dutch denizens, the Dutch community creatively frustrated distinctions that depended upon discursive and geographic references framed by a logic of here or there, us or them, home or abroad. Moving beyond the city's urban architecture as a site of cultural performance, I trace how in other civic pageants, in which the Dutch community did not play a role, "the Royal Exchange" remained a signifier of Anglo-Dutch commercial competition, far beyond the confines of northern Europe.

The final chapter moves beyond the northern European context, following the Anglo-Dutch relation to the East Indies, where, I argue, the provisional, relational, and fluidly defined distinctions between the English and the Dutch created a crisis of identity in the East Indies. There, the English and the Dutch find themselves rendered interchangeable, both by indigenous people in the Indonesian archipelago and by other Europeans. English identity is both mistaken for Dutch identity and is strategically usurped by the Dutch. In Dutch and English letters, together with English-authored travel accounts, this crisis of Anglo-Dutch interchangeability catalyzes concerns about the representational legitimacy of ethnic and national identity. "Dangerous Transplantations" finds that the English responded to this crisis by turning to performance, on the one hand, in the East Indies (in what I call ceremonies of distinction) and, on the other, in London

theaters after the Restoration. English attempts to make a difference between English and Dutch ethnic, national, and colonial identities result in imperfectly suppressing the similarities that had rendered them interchangeable with the Dutch in the East and had long approximated them back home.

Double Dutch argues that, despite a lack of literary critical interest in the Anglo-Dutch social history of the early modern era, imagining Englishness indeed involved sustained reflections on what it meant to be approximately alike with one's Netherlandish neighbors. My dissertation has come to intervene in debates on early modern English ethnic and national identity by practicing what I call an analytic double vision—a perspective onto English identity that attempts to trace and to keep in play the movement between ideas of differentiation and similitude in the construction of English ethnicity. I have argued that, historically speaking, early modern England's relations to its Dutch neighbors *involved* a cultural double vision whereby Englishness and Dutchness come into view through a process of drawing distinctions between as well as charting similarities across the Anglo-Dutch relation. This double vision was engendered by both real and imagined proximities between the English and the Dutch. In the northern European context, Anglo-Dutch geographic propinquity engendered English concerns not only about the porosity of borders but the potential overlap of English and Dutch commercial, religious, even political cultures. Demographically, the Dutch constituted the largest alien population within early modern London. The Dutch were neighbors just beyond and already within England. They were literally doubly situated—not simply a people encountered beyond the Pale or at Ocean's edge. This literal proximity was sometimes positively figured: the Dutch were England's "nearest neighbors" whose "common" Protestant affiliations and shared anti-Spanish politics rendered them "friends." Their shared linguistic history revealed them to be "kin." But proximity incited anxieties too and the English struggled to isolate specific terms that would differentiate them from their near neighbors. Interestingly, even in instances in which the English *aimed* precisely at cultural, ethnic, and national distinction (for instance, during

ceremonies of distinction in the East Indies), it was very often the connectedness and proximity of Anglo-Dutch relations that remained in evidence. This, in fact, was the double bind of imagining Anglo-Dutch relations with a cultural double vision.

Double Dutch has sought to demonstrate just how uncanny and strange proximate relations were in the early modern world, particularly in the northern European context. The double vision analytic that I have practiced throughout brings into view the chiastic interplay between ethnic difference and sameness and thus challenges the notion that similitude and distinction operate as opposed poles that structure a continuum of identity. Instead, what we have discovered are cultural ideas of approximation. If approximation is a notion that implies the relational thinking that brings it about, then to read for the ways in which cultural performances imagine approximation is to develop a perspective that holds in view difference, similitude, and potential interchangeability all at once. In other words, in exploring cultural performances for how they imagine identities as approximated, I have been uncovering the dynamics of the chiastic interplay through which ethnic identities were forged, contested, and revised. In so doing, I hope to have shed light on the troubling provisionality and unsettling fluidity of English and Dutch ethnic identity in early modern English culture.

In closing, I want to suggest that the chiastic tension that I have explored throughout this project may indeed structure other histories of ethnic relations and other ideologies of identity than those considered here. While the critical pay off of *Double Dutch* relates most particularly to the under-studied field of early modern Anglo-Dutch ethnic and national relations, I would venture that a double vision analytic, engendered by "thinking Dutch" with the early moderns, may help to open up new perspectives onto other ethnic relations and other historical moments.[6] What might come to light about early modern Anglo-Irish relations, for instance, if we re-read this well researched and historically important ethnic relation through a double vision analytic? Future scholarship will open up new questions too: how might we expand work on proximate relations and ethnicity to include more than two ethnic kinds in our analysis? As we further

historicize notions of resemblance and approximation, it will be essential to continue to ask how the critical project of historicizing ethnic, racial, national, class, and gender difference will come to bear on our understanding of how sameness and approximations are constructed. The scholarly project I am calling for will not be a neat one; it could take many tacks. Tidy conclusions may need to be jettisoned as we work toward nuanced, complex, historically grounded, yet theoretically ambitious understandings of ethnic history and the proximate relations that have shaped it. It is my hope that future work on identity in the fields of literary studies, history, and anthropology will profit from approaching the archives with a cultural double vision, and that in our collective efforts to historicize cultural constructions of identity, we will continue to think theoretically and historically about approximation.

[1] Michael Neill, "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45.1 (1994): 1-32.

[2] Lynda Boose, "The Getting of a Lawful Race: Racial Discourse in Early Modern England and the Unrepresentable Black Woman," *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994) 38.

[3] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 44.

[4] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) 479.

[5] *Sir Philip Sidney: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 245.

[6] This project would be a constitutive part of what Stuart Hall has called for in his essay "New Ethnicities." Hall calls for a new politics of representation that "sets in motion an ideological contestation around the term ethnicity." In order to begin this project, Hall contends that "we will have to re-theorize the concept of difference" ("New Ethnicities," *Identities: Race, Class, Gender, and Nationality.* Eds. Linda Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003: 90-95).

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