

**Pamphlet literature and the Anglo-Spanish war: A study of anti-Spanish sentiment in
England between 1580 and 1590**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in English pamphlet literature printed between 1580 and 1590. The study identifies the negative traits that were most commonly associated with the Spanish: dishonesty; brutality; cowardice and pride, exploring why these were regularly ascribed to them in the 1580s. Focusing on texts that were less than ninety-six pages in length, the thesis establishes that the pamphlets were accessible to a broad section of English society, suggesting that the ideas within were widely disseminated in late Tudor England. The investigation demonstrates that the anti-Spanish sentiment present in the texts was reflective of the political climate in England. After decades of amicable diplomacy, Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorated rapidly in the late 1570s. The project shows that this was instrumental in the development of English expansionism, as there was no longer the need to appease King Philip II, and much of the anti-Spanish sentiment at the start of the 1580s was aimed at encouraging investment in voyages of exploration. The study demonstrates that as relations worsened, leading to the declaration of war in 1585, the focus of anti-Spanish sentiment shifted. The introduction of ‘cowardice’ and ‘pride’ in the middle years of the decade suggests that the dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes were intended to bolster English resolve as the threat posed by Spain grew. However, after the attack of the Armada, these negative traits were still being associated with the Spanish in pamphlets literature. The thesis explores why this was the case, establishing that texts about Spanish colonial success and English voyages of discovery, less prevalent in the middle years of the decade, were revived at the end of the 1580s. This project identifies a developing sense of an English identity between 1580 and 1590, built on colonial aspirations, conceived in opposition to the Spanish method of conquest and colonisation.

Conventions and Standardisations

In all quotations the original spellings have been reproduced, modernising ‘i’ to ‘j’, ‘u’ to ‘v’, ‘vv’ to ‘w’ where relevant. Uses of long s (ſ) have been modified to ‘s’. Common abbreviations such as y^e and y^t have been modernised in all cases. Pagination has been standardised: Br = B1r; Biiir/B.ii.r = B2r, and so forth.

Each pamphlet title has been reproduced in full in the first instance and shortened thereafter. These shortened versions have been silently capitalised in the text for clarity and readability.

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Introduction

This thesis will investigate how the anti-Spanish rhetoric found in pamphlet literature printed in the 1580s demonstrates that the English idea of ‘self’ was constructed in opposition to the Spanish ‘other’ by exploring how the growing hostilities between the two countries was reflected in these short texts. By analysing the pamphlets produced between 1580 and 1590 this thesis will demonstrate that there was a close association between the political relations between England and Spain and the increasing hostility shown towards them in the pamphlet literature of that decade. The term ‘pamphlet’ is defined according to the work of Joad Raymond, who has identified they were usually made from between one and twelve sheets of paper, folded twice to produce a ‘quarto’ format, which equated to between eight and ninety-six pages.¹ However, Paul Voss has defined a further category – the ‘news pamphlet’ – which would only use one or two sheets of paper, producing a text between eight and sixteen pages long or, according to Richard Streckfuss, between 3,000 and 50,000 words.² Alexandra Halsaz discusses this problematic nature of categorically defining pamphlets, remarking that a pamphlet was not a ‘clear unit of trade production’ but rather should be viewed as a ‘continuum’ in which the pamphlet ‘slides into bookness’ at one end of the scale and is potentially interchangeable with the broadside ballad at the other.³ Halsaz suggests this is due to fact that a printing ‘job’ was measured in sheets of paper rather than the classification of the publication (into ballad, pamphlet or book), and therefore the categories are open to interpretation, highlighting that sermons, or battle and criminal reports, may be less likely to

¹ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p.5.

² Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spencer, Marlow & the Birth of British Journalism* (Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh, 2001), p.18; Richard Streckfuss, ‘News before Newspapers’ *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75: 1, (1998), p.84.

³ Alexandra Halsaz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), p.3.

be called a ‘pamphlet’ than a collection of tales or jests in early modern England.⁴ Due to the differing views of what might be termed a ‘pamphlet’, this investigation will utilise Voss’ category of ‘news pamphlets’ that will include battle reports, and Raymond’s definition of a pamphlet more broadly. Therefore, the study will examine a range of cheaply-printed works, from five-page news pamphlets to ninety-six page discourses, exploring how the format, length and content of these texts was ideal for the dissemination of anti-Spanish sentiment found within.

The project will determine how the emphasis on the negative traits of dishonesty, cruelty, pride, and cowardice, associated with the Spaniard, changed over the course of the decade, and that the variations in anti-Spanish rhetoric were directly influenced by Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations surrounding the outbreak of war in 1585. Further, it will be established that these negative traits were infused with meaning from the Hispanophobic attitudes already circulating throughout Europe at the time – the foundations of the ‘Black Legend’ of Spanish cruelty. This project will also illuminate the interconnectedness of anti-Spanish sentiment, Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, and the development of a nascent English imperial identity. Donald Beecher has argued that the work of Richard Hakluyt, the eminent English cosmographer, formed the foundation of English navigational travel writing and that his *Divers Voyages*, printed in 1582, was an innovative piece of literature that was the first to articulate an idea of an ‘English mercantile and colonial destiny’ that was in the process of being made manifest in the closing years of the sixteenth century.⁵ Richard Helgerson also discusses the importance of Hakluyt’s work in *Forms of Nationhood*, but his focus is on Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* – the much expanded 1589 version of the earlier *Divers Voyages*. Helgerson’s book concentrates on works produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that were

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Donald Beecher, ‘The Legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan Trader and Translator’ in *Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006). [Accessed 3/8/2020] www.jstor.org/stable/24416746. P.321.

‘massive in size and scope’, noting that the authors of works that ‘wrote England’ were seemingly agreed that ‘England needed to be written in large, comprehensive, and foundational works’.⁶ However, this study will show that Hakluyt’s earlier works, along with several other ephemeral and ostensibly inconsequential shorter texts, were peppered with anti-Spanish sentiment that was fundamental in the creation of a Spanish colonial ‘other’ that provided the spur for English exploration and imperial aspirations in the early 1580s. Furthermore, the study will establish that the commencement of the Anglo-Spanish war engendered a subtle change in the ways that anti-Spanish tropes were being employed in English pamphlets in order to disseminate Hispanophobic attitudes. The focus on disparaging Spain’s religious allegiance and emulating their colonial success, evident in the opening years of the decade, changed as hostilities between the two countries developed. Pamphlets recounting Spain’s navigational and colonial accomplishments, encouraging English emulation, were not printed between 1584 and 1589 when the priority for seagoing vessels was domestic defence rather than exploration. Thus, this project will demonstrate that as Anglo-Spanish relations soured and hostilities increased, references to Spain’s seafaring competence and achievements were replaced by tales of Spanish pride, cowardice and ineptitude in order to bolster the English in the face of Spanish hostility.

Background

In the 1520s relations between England and Spain were amicable, with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V visiting Henry VIII in 1522 to sign a treaty agreeing the joint invasion of France, and to discuss the details of Charles’ proposed marriage to princess Mary.⁷ In the early 1530s, Henry VIII’s break with Rome and subsequent marriage to Anne Boleyn strained

⁶ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), pp.1-6.

⁷ Alexander Samson, ‘A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century’ *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39:1 (2009), p.70.

relations between Henry and Charles, a situation exacerbated by the Pope's attempts to reconcile the great Catholic powers of Spain and France, resulting in the Truce of Nice in 1538.⁸ However, this diplomatic turn did not last, and enmity between the French King Francis and Charles V rose again, putting Anglo-Spanish relations back on track. In 1543, Henry made an accord with Charles V in which the two rulers swore to each other 'peace and friendship and the maintenance of the ancient trade agreements', along with promises to assist each other in the event of a French attack on their respective territories.⁹ Trade relations, and Charles' need for English assistance against the French, were a large part of the basis for Anglo-Spanish amity in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Therefore, Anglo-Spanish relations before 1550 consisted of a friendship of convenience for both parties.

In the second half of the century, however, this friendship turned to distrust. Political and economic rivalry, coupled with post-Reformation religious divisions, came to the fore.¹¹ After the death of Queen Mary in 1558, Phillip II, now King of Spain, briefly entertained a marriage alliance with Queen Elizabeth, but her delay in answering led him to abandon the proposal and instead marry Elisabeth of Valois, in what Michael Questier notes was both 'a by-product of and dynastic underpinning for the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis'.¹² The peace treaty, according to Glenn Richardson, was only agreed because both Elizabeth's resources, and those of the French King Henri, had been exhausted, but the relative peace between the two countries was

⁸ R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Emergence of the English Nation, 1485-1588* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1966), pp.122-140 gives a detailed account of the relationship between England and Spain in the 1530s, and the evident political undercurrents of the changing diplomatic relations between the two.

⁹ Wernham, *Before the Armada*, pp.152-3.

¹⁰ For a succinct overview of the importance of commerce in Anglo-Spanish relations before Queen Mary's accession in 1553, see Samson, 'A Fine Romance', pp.78-82.

¹¹ Francisco J. Borge, *A New World for a New Nation* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2007), p.30 discusses the 'return to [an] expansionist mood' after Elizabeth's accession. Kris Lane and Robert Levine, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500-1750* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2015), pp.33-37 details how the economic gain from slaving in the Indies was capitalised on in the 1560s by many southwestern merchant families, the most famous being the Hawkins family.

¹² Harry Kelsey, *Philip of Spain, King of England: The Forgotten Sovereign* (I.B.Tauris, London, 2012), pp.154-55; Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics & the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2019), pp.17-18.

maintained in the 1560s and 1570s, as France was ‘far too busy tearing their own realm apart to mount an invasion of England’.¹³ However, Jane Dawson notes that the new dynastic alliance between the two Catholic powers made it ‘conceivable that France and Spain [...] might combine against the heretical Elizabethan regime’, and thus the spectre of a ‘great Catholic conspiracy cast a shadow over England’s statesmen’ and dominated their diplomatic outlook for the remainder of Elizabeth’s reign.¹⁴ This increased concern about the threat posed by Spain was coupled with the desire to partake in the lucrative slave trade in the Indies. The encroachment on the African slave trade in the Indies by John Hawkins and his crew resulted in Spanish reprisals in the form of an attack on the English at San Juan de Ulúa in 1568, following Hawkins’ third voyage to trade African slaves.¹⁵ Francisco Borge notes that Philip II strictly prohibited slave trading by foreign nations in Spanish territories, such as the Indies, and Hawkins’ activities undoubtedly riled the Spanish monarch.¹⁶ Moreover, as Claire Jowitt has remarked, although the two countries were officially at peace, the actions of the pirates steadily undermined diplomatic relations between the early 1560s and 1585, and despite Elizabeth’s denials of involvement, her connection with the practice ‘remained ambiguous’.¹⁷ Yet Mark Hanna notes that Elizabeth publicly opposed these piratical acts and executed several culprits, suggesting that she was attempting to minimise the damage to Anglo-Spanish relations and maintain a diplomatic peace with the mighty Spanish Empire.¹⁸

¹³ Glenn Richardson, *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2008), p.119.

¹⁴ Jane E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002), p.3.

¹⁵ Kris Lane and Robert Levine, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500-1750* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2015), p.39.

¹⁶ Borge, *A New World*, p.30.

¹⁷ Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2013), p.165.

¹⁸ Mark G. Hanna, *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740* (UNC Press Books, Chapel Hill, 2015), p.22.

Despite Elizabeth's apparent reprisals, these English infractions into Spanish territory were continued by Drake, among others, in the 1570s.¹⁹ However, Elizabeth still tried to maintain the fragile Anglo-Spanish peace by seemingly assisting the cause of the Spanish in the Netherlands, banning bands of piratical Protestant rebels, the Sea Beggars, from English ports in 1572.²⁰ Furthermore, when the Sea Beggars made alliances with the French at Brill with the intention of joining the fight against the Spanish, she sent a small force of volunteers to Flushing to defend it from falling under the control of the French.²¹ Yet it was becoming increasingly apparent that the commercial relationship between England and the Spanish did not provide the necessity for diplomatic peace as it had done in the past. Pauline Croft highlights the temporary trade embargo that was imposed on the English by Cardinal Granvelle in 1563 in retaliation to the English privateers hovering off the coast of Spain, and further embargoes imposed by Alva in 1568 that closed all English ports to Spanish trade until 1573.²² Furthermore, the sack of Antwerp in 1576 drove out the few remaining English merchants out of the city, and Susan Doran notes that there can be 'little doubt that the disturbance to commerce [...] helped to impair the political relationship [as] the government no longer had to refrain from annoying Philip out of fear that he would harm English trade'.²³ However, in *The Spanish Company* Croft identifies that the official reopening of ports to English trade in 1573 was warmly welcomed in London.²⁴ Moreover, Croft identifies that the Iberian trade had once again become prosperous and was expanding, leading to the charter for The Spanish Company being granted in July 1577, which suggests that the relations were once again returning to

¹⁹ Lane and Levine, *Pillaging the Empire*, pp.41-43;

²⁰ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2000), p.31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.

²² Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560-1700* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017), p.107.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.34.

²⁴ Pauline Croft (ed) *The Spanish Company* (London: London Record Society, 1973), vii-xxix. *British History Online*. [Accessed September 28, 2020 – individual page numbers unavailable in this format] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol9/vii-xxix>.

amity.²⁵ However, this did not last and the Company was beset by complications almost immediately, with Croft remarking that just months after its foundation the situation in the Netherlands ‘led Don John of Austria to urge Philip II to embark on a war of commercial attrition’ against England and the rebels.²⁶ Moreover, Francis Drake’s illicit South Sea exploits in 1579 aggravated Anglo-Spanish diplomacy and complicated matters for The Spanish Company further as several members of the privy council, and indeed the Queen herself, were shareholders in Drake’s expedition.²⁷ Therefore, the concerns of new embargoes or the potential for war, raised by the merchants of The Spanish Company and exacerbated by the threats of the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza, fell on deaf ears and the silver bullion captured by Drake was not returned as requested. Croft notes, however, that the response asserted by Mendoza - that the Spanish would declare war over this matter - had not taken effect by the end of 1581, and the merchants had become ‘uniformly hostile’ to the ambassador, informing Burghley that they had ‘just occasion to fear’ his ‘malice and deceiving mind’.²⁸ Along with this, the aggressive foreign policy of Cardinal Granvelle marked the Spanish outlook on Europe after 1580 with him urging seizure of all English ships in Iberian ports, suggesting that Anglo-Spanish relations were deteriorating rapidly at the beginning of the decade.²⁹ This change in economic and diplomatic relations is evident in the increase in pamphlets that included anti-Spanish sentiment in the final two decades of Elizabeth’s reign. This thesis will therefore explore how closely the anti-Spanish sentiment present in the pamphlets was related to both religious and political developments throughout the 1580s, and the impact that these developments had on England’s burgeoning imperial aspirations.

²⁵ Croft, *The Spanish Company*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The study will also explore how the English translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas' polemical tract *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies) was a pivotal text in the construction of the Spanish 'other' in the 1580s, and will demonstrate that Las Casas' text was integral in the dissemination of the 'Black Legend' that was propagated in Europe for centuries after his text was first printed. *Brevísima Relación* was first printed in Seville in 1552 after the Valladolid debate in 1550 between Las Casas and the imperial chronicler Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda.³⁰ In his biography of Las Casas, Manuel Giménez Fernández describes the Valladolid debate with clarity, noting that Sepúlveda was a proponent of the Aristotelian thesis of 'natural slavery', which he used to demonstrate the rights of people (in this case the Spanish) to enslave those whom they judged mentally inferior.³¹ In the debate, Sepúlveda spent three hours summarising his work, *Democrates*, after which Las Casas took the floor and spent five days reading his *Argumentum Apologiae* – a 500 page work that gathered together all his theses from his years lobbying for the rights of the natives.³² Fernández suggests that Las Casas' increased favour with the Crown was proof of his victory in the debate, and with this support he sent twelve Dominican missionary recruits to Honduras, supplied with 'brief treatises (not intended for sale to the public) which would clarify all the questions they had debated in Valladolid'.³³ One of the treatises that Las Casas had printed for the missionaries was his *Brevísima Relación*, a work Santa Arias and Eyda M. Merediz have implicated in the creation of the 'Black Legend' due to its reproduction throughout Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century and beyond.³⁴ Although Las Casas' polemic was produced to demonstrate to the Spanish monarch, Charles V, and his advisors that the atrocities happening in the 'New

³⁰ For a detailed account of Las Casas' work to change the practices of the Spanish colonists see Fernández, 'Fray Bartolomé', pp.74-107.

³¹ Fernández, 'Fray Bartolomé', p.108.

³² *Ibid.*, p.109.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.111.

³⁴ Santa Arias and Eyda M. Merediz, *Approaches to teaching the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* (Modern Language Association of America, New York, 2008), p.43.

World' needed to be stopped, the stories within detailing the excessive brutality and greed displayed by the Spanish colonisers were prime for appropriation by the enemies of Spain in the religious wars of the late sixteenth century.

The first reproduction of *Brevíssima Relación* was an anonymous Dutch translation published in the Spanish Netherlands in 1578, twenty-seven years after the original Spanish edition.³⁵

This indicates that the translation was produced in reaction to the political situation in the Low Countries, in which the Dutch Protestants were rebelling against their Spanish rulers in an attempt to maintain their religious freedoms. The brief preface to this edition explains the reason for translation: to ensure that 'such plagues and wrath of God [evident in the destruction of the Indies] never befall us' – a statement that Jeremy Lawrance posits was intended as a 'nationalist rally cry', inspiring the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands to vigilance against the Spanish invaders in the aftermath of the Spanish Fury at Antwerp in 1576.³⁶ The following year a second translation by Jacques de Migrode was printed and his new title, *Tyrannies and cruelties of the Spaniards perpetrated in the West Indies*, indicates the propagandist intent.³⁷

Furthermore, Migrode wrote a thirteen-page preface in which he stated that he produced the text, dedicated to the Low Countries, for two reasons:

[so they] may begin to think upon Gods judgements: and refrain from their wickedness and vice [and] that they might also consider with what enemy they are to deale [...] what [state] they are likely to be at, when through their recklesnesse, quarrels, controversies, and partialities themselves have opened the way to such an enemy [...]³⁸

This suggests that by arguing among themselves about the doctrines of the reformed religion, the Dutch had weakened themselves, and therefore allowed the Spanish to strengthen the Catholic position in the Netherlands. Thus, considering the religious divisions in France in the

³⁵ Lawrance, *Spanish Conquest*, p.23.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.24.

³⁷ Bartolomé de las Casas trans Jacques de Migrode, *Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols* (Francoise de Ravelenghien, Antwerp, 1579).

³⁸ Bartolomé de las Casas trans. M.M.S., *The Spanish Colonie* (William Broome, London, 1583), ¶2v.

1570s, and the formation of the Catholic league in 1576, it seems that this appropriation of Las Casas' treatise was intended as a similar 'nationalist rally cry' for the French Protestants in the face of the new threat from the Franco-Spanish Catholic alliance.

The 1579 edition was reproduced again in an English translation by the unidentified 'M.M.S', titled *The Spanish Colonie*. This version was not introduced by the English translator, instead keeping the original Miggrode preface that was translated into English. The text was printed in 1583 after Marquis Álvaro de Bazán de Sant Cruz conquered the island of Terceira, cementing Spain's conquest of Portugal, and consequently the expansion of Spain's Empire in Europe. Shortly after this, Santa Cruz turned his attentions to England, writing to Philip to propose the feasibility of a maritime expedition against England, the first firm proposition of the Armada attack.³⁹ It is therefore evident that this edition was again produced in response to the political developments in Europe, in this case the perceived threat posed by Spain to English shores. The utility of Las Casas' original text, and the reason for its longevity as a piece of anti-Spanish propaganda, lies in its authorship. Antonio Sánchez Jiménez argues that Las Casas' *Brevísima Relación* gave the illusion of objectivity as a Spanish source of the 'Black Legend', but is careful to note that this work also led to the acknowledgement of the Spanish as the first nation to recognise its own atrocities committed in the acquisition of colonial territory.⁴⁰ However, due to the perceived objectivity of Las Casas' polemical work, this distinction was lost in the Protestant propagandist translations produced in the later decades of the sixteenth century - if a Spanish Catholic friar was portraying his own countrymen in this light, then it was surely a testament to the true nature of the Spaniard in the eyes of Elizabethan religious reformers. The central accusations that Las Casas levelled against the colonists were of excessive brutality,

³⁹ Francisco de Cuellar, *God's Obvious Design: Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988: with an Edition and Translation of the Account of Francisco de Cuéllar* (Tamesis Books, London, 1990), p.17.

⁴⁰ Antonio Sánchez Jiménez (ed), *Leyenda Negra: la batalla sobre la imagen de España en tiempos de Lope de Vega* (Cátedra, Madrid, 2016), p.61.

greed, laziness, and the dishonesty with which the Spanish Conquest was carried out. Las Casas maintained that the original intent of the conquest – the conversion of the heathen inhabitants by the Spanish Christians – was in no way attempted from the outset, but rather that the Spanish

have not done in those quarters these 40. yeres be past, neither yet doe at this present, ought els save teare them in peeces, kill them, martyre them, afflict them, torment them, & destroy them by straunge sortes of cruelties never neither seene, nor reade, nor hearde of the like [...]⁴¹

These accusations were to form a cornerstone of the ‘Black Legend’, but they were perpetuating some of the Hispanophobic attitudes already present in Europe several decades before the widespread publication of *Brevísima Relación*. The cruelty of the Spaniards was identified as early as the thirteenth century, while further stereotypical negative Spanish traits were conceived by the Italians in the middle ages in response to Mediterranean commerce.⁴² Sánchez argues that the traits of avarice and cunning developed out of the commercial rivalry between the Italians and the Catalans, with the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini constantly accusing King Ferdinand of cupidity – a trait that lent itself well to the portrayal of the conquistadors and their thirst for gold in the colonisation of the Americas.⁴³ Furthermore, the trait of cunning in a negative sense - suggesting underhandedness or deception - was also ascribed to the Spanish by the Italian merchants and was justified ‘scientifically’ by the influence of Spain’s climate on their national character.⁴⁴ Sánchez notes that this deceptive nature was also connected to the early modern view of the African and the Jew, suggesting that in late medieval Europe the creation of the Spanish nation was already linked with negative Moorish and Jewish traits.⁴⁵ However, Sánchez, Eric Griffin, and J.N. Hillgarth concur with K. W. Swart who argues that the later Dutch version of the ‘Black Legend’, was ‘markedly different from the Italian prototype’, arguing that the Dutch were more concerned with

⁴¹ Casas, *Colonie*, pp.A1v-A2r.

⁴² Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.40.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.41.

⁴⁵ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.42.

developing the theme of the innate cruelty of the Spanish, as well as Spain's plan for a universal empire and the 'diabolical machinations' of the Spanish Inquisition.⁴⁶ Although Sánchez is careful to establish that these ideas of Spanish deceit, cruelty and greed were not first perpetuated by the Dutch, he does agree that William of Orange's *Apologie [or Defense] Against the Proclamation and Edict Published by the King of Spaine*, printed in 1581, was central to the development and dissemination of the 'Black Legend' in the late sixteenth century.⁴⁷ Thus, the Dutch created the version of the 'Black Legend' that was the most enduring – the characterisation of the Spanish as excessively brutal, greedy, and naturally duplicitous (especially in regards to religion) – attributes that were based, at least in part, on Las Casas' account of Spanish behaviours in the 'New World', as well as the contemporary Spanish occupation in the Low Countries during the Eighty Years War.

This thesis will consider Las Casas' polemic alongside the pamphlets that denigrated the Spaniards in the 1580s in England, discussing the themes that are most prevalent in the texts identified for investigation. Although the translation of the *Brevísima Relación* is 150 pages long, and therefore considerably longer than Raymond's definition of a pamphlet, it has been included in this investigation due to its impact on the pamphlets that followed.⁴⁸ Three of the four traits under investigation – dishonesty, brutality, and pride, were all associated with the Spanish more frequently in the 1580s than in previous decades, while military ineptitude and cowardice were not associated with the Spaniard at all until the middle of the decade. Thus, while the deteriorating diplomatic relations between England and Spain were key in shaping the image of the Spaniard being portrayed in the pamphlet literature, the influence of Las Casas' treatise on the content of the texts after 1585 suggests that it was also integral to the shaping of

⁴⁶ K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War' in J.S. Bromley and E.K. Kossmann (eds) *Britain and the Netherlands Vol V* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1975), pp.36-8.

⁴⁷ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, pp.31-33.

⁴⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets*, p.5.

English Hispanophobia in this decade. This thesis will demonstrate that close reading of the texts provided eight examples of pamphlets produced between 1586 and 1589 that utilised Las Casas' hyperbolic language to support their anti-Spanish content.⁴⁹ Furthermore, if we consider that Las Casas' polemic was reprinted and appropriated for over a century after the first English translation of his treatise, it is apparent that the anti-Spanish themes within were disseminated widely, forming the basis for the negative traits ascribed to the Spanish in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁰ Moreover, the immediacy with which the traits that Las Casas described were reproduced in the pamphlets (the first two being in 1586, thirty-four years after the original edition in 1552 yet only three after *The Spanish Colonie*), indicates that the contents of the English translation of *Brevísima Relación* should be central to any consideration of Hispanophobia in 1580s England.

Literature Review

This thesis establishes that there was a subtle but significant change in the portrayal of the Spaniard in England in the 1580s, a topic that has been discussed at length by Eric Griffin.⁵¹ Griffin argues that while it was the language and imagery in Las Casas' *Brevísima Relación*

⁴⁹ Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turk* (Robert Waldegrave, London, 1586); Anon., *An historicall discourse, or rather a tragicall historie of the citie of Antwerpe, since the departure of king Phillip king of Spaine out of Netherland, till this present yeare, 1586* (John Windet, London, 1586); Thomas Greepe, *The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant exploiters atchived and doone by that valiaunt Knight, Syr Fraunces Drake* (John Charlewood for Tho Hackett, London, 1587); William Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England* (John Wolfe, London, 1587); Anon., *The Holy Bull and Crusado of Rome* (John Wolfe, London, 1588); Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado* (Roger Ward for Tho Cadman, London, 1589); Anon. trans Robert Ashley, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*. (John Wolfe, London, 1589); Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes VVest Indian voyage*. (Richard Field, London, 1589).

⁵⁰ Bartolomé de Las Casas trans. J.P., *The Tears of the Indians* (J.C. for Nathaniel Brooke, London, 1656); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Popery Truly Display'd in its Bloody Colours* (R. Hewson, London, 1589); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *An Account of the First Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America* (J. Darby for D. Brown, London, 1599).

⁵¹ Eric Griffin, 'From Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing "the Spaniard" in the Old World and the New', *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2:1 (2002), pp.69-116; Eric Griffin, 'The Specter of Spain in John Smith's Colonial Writing' in Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (eds) *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005); Eric Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard": Post-Armada Hispanophobia and English Renaissance Drama' in Barbara Fuchs, Emily Weissbourd (eds) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2015); Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009).

that ‘would portend anti-Spanish diatribes’, it was actually William of Orange’s *Apologie*, first printed in England in 1581, that laid the foundations for a rhetorical strategy that explained acts of Spanish cruelty as a function of their ethnicity, rather than the critique of their colonial ethics that Las Casas presented in his original text.⁵² Griffin notes that in *Apologie* William states he ‘will no more wonder’ at the cruelty of the Spaniards due to the fact that ‘the greatest parte of the Spanyardes’, especially the noble men, ‘are of the blood of the Moors and the Jews’, suggesting that the ‘mixed blood of Iberian culture’ became a sign of both religious and ‘racial’ corruption.⁵³ However, J.N. Hillgarth argues that it was Phillipe de Marnix de Sainte Aldegonade that first posited a racial aspect of Hispanophobia in the late sixteenth century. Hillgarth cites a speech written in 1578 for delivery to the Diet of Worms in which Marnix derived the ‘pedigree’ of Spaniards ‘from the Moors and the Saracens, of late through force and vigour of the inquisition forced unwillingly to professe Christian Religion’, and doubted ‘whether [the Spanish] yoke be any whit more tolerable than the Turkish bondage’.⁵⁴ This association of the Spanish nature with Turkish cruelty is echoed in William’s *Apology* when he states that he has ‘always esteemed the Duke of Alva [...] as one who hath willingly bathed himself in our blood, and in the blood of all Christians, carying closely a Turkische hearte within him’.⁵⁵ Thus there is a precedent for the racialisation of anti-Spanish sentiment in Northern Europe, beginning in the latter half of the 1570s, that attributes the cruel nature of the Spaniard to their genealogy, associating them with the Jewish and Islamic peoples who had inhabited

⁵² Eric Griffin, ‘The Specter of Spain in John Smith’s Colonial Writing’ in Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (eds) *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005), p.117.

⁵³ Griffin, ‘The Specter of Spain in John Smith’s Colonial Writing’, p.117.

⁵⁴ J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth*, (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2000), p.314.

⁵⁵ Pierre Loyseleur, *The apologie or defence of the most noble Prince William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange* (sine nominee, Delft, 1581), 14r.

Spain for centuries and highlighting the ‘mixed blood’ of Iberian culture to construct a Spanish ‘other’ based on their religious and ‘racial’ corruption.⁵⁶

These widespread prejudices came to be known as the ‘Black Legend’, a term first coined by Julian Juderías in his 1914 work *La leyenda negra*, thus reference to the term in this much earlier period may be considered anachronistic.⁵⁷ Yet if we consider Juderías’ definition, that

the atmosphere created by the fantastical stories about our fatherland, [...] the grotesque descriptions made [...] of the character of the Spanish as individuals and as a collective; the denial or at least the systematic ignoring of everything that is advantageous and honourable in the various manifestations of our culture and art; the accusations constantly levelled against Spain [...] which are based on depictions of events that are exaggerated, incorrectly interpreted or indeed entirely false [...]⁵⁸

it is apparent that it works as a descriptor for the attitudes apparent in the early 1580s as well as the following centuries to which it pertains. This phenomenon has also been explored in detail by Sverker Arnoldsson and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez. Arnoldsson presented a more balanced explanation of the ‘Black Legend’, stating that it was ‘unfavourable concepts about the Spanish people and about the value of their contribution to History’, whereas Sánchez defines it simply as ‘the anti-Hispanic stereotypes that flourished in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’.⁵⁹ Sánchez also remarks that the term is somewhat problematic, referencing the work of Jesús María Usunáriz who argues that ‘propaganda’ be used as a term instead of the ‘Black Legend’, not only because it is anachronistic but also because it ignores the fact that there was Hispanophilia as well as Hispanophobia in early modern Europe.⁶⁰ However, Sánchez chooses to use the term as it is useful and much more specific than simply

⁵⁶ Griffin, ‘The Specter of Spain in John Smith’s Colonial Writing’, p.117.

⁵⁷ Julian Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia política y religiosa en los países civilizados* (Tip. De la Rev. de Arch., Bibl. Y Museos, Madrid, 1914).

⁵⁸ Friedrich Edelmayer, ‘The “Leyenda Negra” and the Circulation of Anti-Catholic and Anti-Spanish Prejudices’ in *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Institute of European History (IEG), (2011). <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/edelmayerf-2010-en> [Accessed 07/12/2017].

⁵⁹ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.17 and p.25.

⁶⁰ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.27.

‘propaganda’, and proceeds to identify the characteristics that are central to the ‘Black Legend’: avarice, cunning, pride, cruelty, lust, Jewish blood and fanaticism, clarifying that this ‘war of words’ was in essence political propaganda.⁶¹ Quoting Joseph Pérez, Sánchez notes that the early iterations of the ‘Black Legend’ were propagandist efforts intended to ‘combat the imperialist actions of the Austrian House of Spain’, suggesting that these negative traits were historically associated with Spain’s imperial expansion.⁶²

Sánchez’s work explores the origins of the association of the Spanish with Moors and Jews in greater detail than Griffin or Hillgarth, remarking that there were negative opinions circulating about the people of Spain as early as the thirteenth century.⁶³ Sánchez references an anonymous author of a pilgrimage guide to Santiago de Compostela who insisted upon the cruelty of the Spaniard, an already accepted ‘trait’, but notes that the guide added a series of other negative characteristics: lust, viciousness, drunkenness and dark skin.⁶⁴ Sánchez argues that these were similar to traits attributed to Africans at the time, suggesting that there was already an insinuation that the Spanish were ethnically associated with the Islamic Moors and Saracens, and that these stereotypes were then later added to the ‘Black Legend’.⁶⁵ Moreover, Sánchez identifies that the perceived religious corruption of the Spanish was incorporated into the ‘Black Legend’ by the time the Habsburgs took the throne in 1516, as the suggestion that Spanish blood was ‘mixed’ with Jewish was already circulating Europe – a prejudice that was advanced by Martin Luther who also propagated the idea that the Spaniards were ‘of Jewish race’.⁶⁶ Sánchez further notes that the works of Eric Griffin and Barbara Fuchs in particular demonstrate that during the Golden Age, to other Europeans, the Spanish were a dark and Semitic race – culturally, religiously and racially, identifying that physical descriptions of

⁶¹ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.17 and p.27.

⁶² Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.23.

⁶³ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.29.

⁶⁴ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.29.

⁶⁵ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.29.

⁶⁶ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.32 and p.57.

Spaniards included not only darkness of skin but a focus on ‘Semitic noses’ that fed into the ‘Black Legend’.⁶⁷

As has been demonstrated, Hispanophobia in the second half of the sixteenth century has been intrinsically linked to the creation and dissemination of the ‘Black Legend’, and while work pertaining to the ‘Black Legend’ is voluminous, there is a lack of research into Hispanophobic attitudes in Elizabethan England printed in English, especially in regard to the anti-Spanish language used in the propaganda produced in the 1580s, and the impact that this may have had on the development of an English ‘self’.⁶⁸ William Maltby’s book *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* discusses the ‘anti-Hispanic’ sentiment present in pamphlets printed in England, but the scope of his work means that he only has a single chapter about the Armada, and therefore can only examine a small number of the texts printed in the 1580s.⁶⁹ While he argues that the Armada was ‘the high-water mark of English anti-Hispanism’, his evaluation of the texts betray his desire to re-frame this from a Hispanophilic standpoint. For example, he states that the English ‘implied Spanish incompetence by exaggerating the size of the invasion force’, quoting examples from several sources that support this assertion.⁷⁰ However, he picks examples from the sources without providing context, and only comments on the Spaniards’ brags regarding their fleet briefly,

⁶⁷ Sánchez, *Leyenda*, p.58.

⁶⁸ Benjamin Keen, ‘The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities’ *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969); Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, Maureen Quilligan *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2008); Santa Arias and Eyda M. Merediz, *Approaches to teaching the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* (Modern Language Association of America, New York, 2008); E. Shaskan Bumas, ‘The Cannibal Butcher Shop: Protestant uses of Las Casas’s Brevissima Relación in Europe and the American colonies’ *Early American Literature*, 35:2 (2000); Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (Knopf, New York, 1971); María De Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2005).

The author is aware of José Martínez Torrejón’s work on the reception of Las Casas’ work in England. Unfortunately, due to linguistic capabilities and the time constraints of this project it was not possible to review the Real Academia Española 2013 edition of *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* and work the conclusions into the doctorate.

⁶⁹ William Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Duke University Press, Durham, 1971), p.3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.78.

demonstrating his desire to rehabilitate the Spanish reputation.⁷¹ Moreover, although he rightly identifies that the traits of cowardice and incompetence were first discussed in the 1580s, he does not reference the texts, or consider the context in which these accusations were made.⁷² Mark Sanchez also notes this failing in his 2004 doctoral thesis, *Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603*, noting that Maltby's methodological approach tends towards 'plundering texts' with little regard for their context in order to 'prove his own ultra-defensive, pro-Hispanic conclusions'.⁷³

Sanchez builds on prior research conducted by A.W.S. Samson, whose doctoral thesis, *The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England: political economies and culture, 1553-1557*, explores whether anti-Spanish sentiment was a central cause of the Wyatt rebellion, and discusses the extent to which Hispanophobia can really be seen as a reflection of national feeling in Marian England.⁷⁴ In his introduction, Samson posits that the origins of anti-Spanish sentiment in the early modern period in England were 'political and concerned with the jealousy born of intensely personal political relationships characteristic in this period, rather than some form of national resistance', arguing that attempting to provide cultural explanations of Hispanophobia in this period would produce 'anachronistic readings of history'.⁷⁵ Samson suggests that the Wyatt rebellion was not 'an expression of nationalist imperatives', noting the problematic use of the term nation in this context.⁷⁶ He argues that the 'intense localism of personal allegiances' and 'personal oaths of fidelity to [...] the sovereign' (in this case a Spaniard) pose significant problems when

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Maltby, *Black Legend*, p.77.

⁷³ Mark G. Sanchez, *Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603* (PhD Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2004), p.3. <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.414874> [accessed 12/07/2019]

⁷⁴ Alexander Samson, *The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England: political economies and culture, 1553-1557* (PhD Dissertation, Queen Mary University of London, 1999). <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.313305> [Accessed 13/07/19].

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.10.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.137

identifying the Wyatt rebellion as an expression of nationalist feeling, and accordingly, anti-Spanish sentiment in Marian England.⁷⁷ Samson interrogates a wide range of texts, considering both English and Spanish sources, including books, letters, diaries, plays and official reports as well as pamphlets, concluding that '[a]nti-Spanish sentiment did not exist as such in mid-Tudor England', as 'specific prejudices' on a national level could not have developed successfully in Marian England.⁷⁸

Mark Sanchez does find association between anti-Spanish texts and the reinforcement of English religious and national identity, arguing that 'both Marian and Elizabethan anti-Hispanism [were] a direct textual expression of the English Protestant imagination'.⁷⁹ Sanchez focuses on English language texts, and utilises non-canonical works to a greater extent than Samson, considering 'all anti-Spanish texts as literary propaganda'.⁸⁰ He discusses the sensational nature of the language used in English translations as a 'sure-fire method of unlocking English opinion into supporting a war against Spain', arguing that Hispanophobia was a reaction to 'Spain's increasing militarism on the European continent and the threat which this posed to England's national security'.⁸¹ His consideration of a comprehensive range of texts, rather than just cheaply printed works, means that although he identifies the pervasiveness of Hispanophobia in the second half of Elizabeth's reign, and how this might elicit 'a nationalistic spirit', it is not developed to consider how individual traits might play into this development, and who these ideas may have reached.⁸² Moreover, although he argues that much of the anti-Spanish sentiment in the later Elizabethan period was intended to garner support for the war 'by fomenting what could be described as a militantly nationalistic

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.157.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.259.

⁷⁹ Sanchez, *Anti-Spanish sentiment*, p.7.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.7.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.85.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 117 and 119.

consciousness’, he neglects to identify the audience for the texts, and therefore cannot plausibly claim that the sentiment within had impact on a national level.⁸³ Sanchez does, however, demonstrate how anti-Spanish discourse is often linked with the burgeoning sense of an English Protestant identity that had little to do with Spain itself, but neglects to comment on the importance of this in England’s imperial aspirations, and does not qualify how he has determined that this ‘Protestant identity’ was shared by all Englishmen.⁸⁴

Hannah Leah Crummé’s 2015 doctoral thesis, *The Political Use of the Spanish Language in Elizabethan England: 1580-1596*, considers how English use of the Spanish language reflected the deteriorating Anglo-Spanish relationship, commenting on the political utility of the vernacular.⁸⁵ Crummé investigates how the English ‘imitated, appropriated and translated the Spanish language, [occasionally] satirising Spaniards’, suggesting that these ‘forms of comparison’ helped the English to define themselves.⁸⁶ Focusing on works produced and patronised by Abraham Fraunce, Gabriel Harvey, the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Essex, she posits that tensions following the Armada attack led to authors imagining England ‘in relief against Spain’, and her work effectively uncovers how the Anglo-Spanish war effected the use of Spanish texts in England in the second half of Elizabeth’s reign, noting that they ‘may have been conscious of the political implications of the use of the vernacular’.⁸⁷ However, Crummé focuses on the scholarly and political implications of the texts, paying little attention to the effects that the printed works may have had on broader English society, arguing that there was not enough unity in the portrayals of each nation to have helped shape a nascent sense of an English idea of ‘self’. Moreover, although Crummé’s work considers how the use of Spanish

⁸³ Ibid., p.118.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.8, 157-220.

⁸⁵ Hannah Leah Crummé, *The Political Use of the Spanish Language in Elizabethan England: 1580-1596* (Doctoral Thesis, Kings College London, 2015) https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/ws/files/44078934/2015_Crumm_Hannah_Leah_0827447_thesis.pdf [accessed 07/01/2018]

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.5.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.25 and 159.

vernacular and translations can inform us of the political climate in England, she does not consider the language used to deride the Spanish during this period, and how that may have developed the idea of the dangerous Spanish ‘other’ in the developing English public sphere. Crummé also considers the influence of Lord Burghley’s propagandist pamphlets in ‘The Impact of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester’s Spanish-Speaking Secretariats’, noting that ‘Burghley shaped public opinion regarding Spain almost exclusively through pamphlets’, and citing his involvement in the publication of several texts in the 1580s.⁸⁸ Crummé discusses how Burghley’s propaganda ‘began the establishment of the ‘black legend’ in England’, and highlights that the emphasis on cowardice and villainy in the pamphlets produces ‘exactly the Spanish enemy that Burghley desires’, but does not expand on the use of cowardice within the text or how the inclusion of this trait may have impacted the reader or hearer’s construction of the Spanish ‘other’.⁸⁹

In her work *The Poetics of Piracy*, Barbara Fuchs considers the ways in which the English admired and emulated Spanish texts in the early modern period, discussing translations of literary works along with geographies, manuals for navigation and military treatises. Like Crummé, Fuchs considers the impact of the Spanish language in England, suggesting that appreciation for the Spanish language was closely tied with the appreciation of Spain itself. Fuchs also discusses Gabriel Harvey who, in his 1590 translation of *The Spanish Grammar*, admired the role that the Spanish language played in Spain’s imperium, noting that ‘wherever [the Spanish] monarchy has ruled, their language has done the same’.⁹⁰ Thus, her book presents

⁸⁸ Hannah Leah Crummé, ‘The Impact of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester’s Spanish-Speaking Secretariats’, *Sederi* 21 (2011), pp.10-13.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.10 and 13. It should be noted that the concept of cowardice is seemingly framed differently by Crummé than the author, as she is apparently referring to the deceitful nature of the attack on William of Orange showing Jágueri’s cowardice. However, this investigation will consider cowardice only in its overt examples (when the Spanish are shown to lose through martial ineptitude or actual flight from a situation), rather than the implied cowardice of nefarious acts.

⁹⁰ Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2013), pp.3-4.

a reading of this *imitatio* of Spain as a ‘historically situated practice, coterminous with imperial competition and national self-definition’.⁹¹ Furthermore, Fuchs links this with the concept of *Translatio imperii studiique*, the theory that a transferral of rule assisted a transferral of culture, and vice versa: ‘The transferal of power also conveys the reestablishment of culture - as fictionalized in and transmitted by literature - which establishes each new imperial power as the new stronghold of the culturally elite’.⁹² Traditionally, Renaissance humanists have used *Translatio studii* to chart their own descent from Rome, which Marian Rothstein posits was based on the assumption that ‘human learning and the potential for human learning’ originated in Greece, then spread to Rome; the court of Charlemagne; and from there to fourteenth-century Italy.⁹³ Fuchs argues that only recently has the cultural competition between Spain and England been studied to understand the interdependence of empire and culture in this period, noting that while England also turned to Italian sources there was not the same ‘competitiveness or frank aggression as was present in the Spanish translations’.⁹⁴ Thus, by using this framework, Fuchs attempts to assess how ‘contemporary imperial and cultural competition undergirds the complex relations between England and Spain in the early modern period’, arguing that the *imitatio* of Spanish texts provides evidence for the ‘emergence of a national canon for England in the context of its rivalry with Spain – a model constantly emulated even as it was disavowed’.⁹⁵

Fuchs notes that ‘the complexity of transnational literary relations in early modern England [...] has been marked by the long-term occlusion and disavowal of Spanish influence’ which affected the cultural landscape in Elizabethan and Jacobean England and beyond.⁹⁶ She argues

⁹¹ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.4.

⁹² Sunhee Kim Gertz, ‘Translatio studii et imperii: Sir Gawain as literary critic’, *Semiotica*, Volume 63, Issue 1-2. (2009): 185-204.

⁹³ Marian Rothstein, ‘Etymology, Genealogy, and the Immutability of Origins’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Summer, 1990), pp. 332- 347 p.334

⁹⁴ Fuchs, *Poetics*, pp.4-7.

⁹⁵ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.4.

⁹⁶ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.9.

that English translations of Spanish works are constructed in a way that ‘glorifies conflict while minimising influence’ and, moreover, that when popular Spanish works were translated, these ‘borrowings’ from Spanish literary forms were framed as ‘a triumphal taking’, designed to both lessen the impact of Spanish influence and demonstrate the superiority of the English in both literary and imperial affairs.⁹⁷ Fuchs states that her goal is to ‘demonstrate the productivity of the Spanish connection for English literature: Spain, [she argues], is not just a rival but an irresistible source’.⁹⁸ However, this ‘source’ is not framed in a strictly literary sphere, as geographies, navigational manuals and reports from Spain are shown to provide motivation for English imperial aspirations as well, charting how appropriation of Spanish texts proved productive in an English context. Fuchs identifies that literary translations of Spanish texts continued unabated during the Anglo-Spanish war, asserting that the desire to enrich vernacular English through translation was linked with an ‘insistently nationalistic and pragmatic corpus’ which, it could be argued, highlights the close association between political developments and the Hispanophobia that was being developed through translated pamphlets in late Elizabethan England.⁹⁹ Fuchs begins by looking at translations of Spanish military and navigational texts, discussing among others, translations of Spanish navigational documents in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* and John Frampton’s translations of several Spanish geographical and navigational texts between 1578 and 1581.¹⁰⁰ Fuchs highlights how both men were keen to vaunt the ‘secret’ nature of the Spanish works, suggesting that this disclosure of the enemy’s ‘private cache’ of knowledge is an act of ‘strategic intelligencing’, making the translator a full participant in the imperial project.¹⁰¹ While she highlights that there are clearly translations that do not fit this model, such as Counter-Reformation tracts, Fuchs

⁹⁷ Fuchs, *Poetics*, pp.6-7.

⁹⁸ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.12.

⁹⁹ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.16.

¹⁰⁰ Fuchs, *Poetics*, pp.24-25.

¹⁰¹ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.26.

argues that there are a broad range of texts ‘beyond the explicitly imperial’ that frame translation as a powerful tool utilised for the ‘national good’ that displays significant overlap between mercantile, military and humanist spheres.¹⁰²

Eric J. Griffin’s book, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain* discusses the role played by drama in the dissemination of anti-Spanish sentiment from the late 1580s onwards.¹⁰³

Griffin’s introduction considers the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in the second half of Elizabeth’s reign and beyond, and his argument aims to demonstrate that the ‘Black Legend’ was ‘far more pervasive in early modern English public culture, and more important to England’s emerging sense of nationhood’ than the historiography of the subject suggests.¹⁰⁴ As

noted above, there is a lack of scholarship regarding the subject, and Griffin’s work provides a useful reassessment of the importance of English Hispanophobia in the late sixteenth century.

Griffin suggests that uses of Las Casas’ work display an emerging English discourse that presented English nationhood as something distinctly ‘not-Spanish’, but disagrees that this can be seen as the starting point for English colonial aspirations in the ‘New World’.¹⁰⁵ One of the

central concepts of Griffin’s work is the turn from ‘ethos’ to ‘ethnos’ in the anti-Spanish rhetoric printed in the 1580s and 1590s. Griffin characterises this theory as a shift in how the

‘other’ was portrayed – the discourse regarding ‘ethos’ recognised that although the two countries may be at odds, there was a possibility of compromise or reconciliation; whereas the

concept of ‘ethnos’ highlights the emerging ideas of racial difference, portraying the Spanish as fundamentally different on a genealogical level and making them essentially incompatible

with an emerging sense of English nationality.¹⁰⁶ Griffin argues that this ethnic portrayal of the

¹⁰² Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.27.

¹⁰³ Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain : Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.47-48.

¹⁰⁶ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.2.

Spanish became particularly significant in England in the final decade of the sixteenth century, remarking that before 1588 the argument for ‘ethnos’ over ‘ethos’ was neither dominant nor officially authorised.¹⁰⁷ However, Thomas Scanlan asserts that this ethnic portrayal was built on the accusations of ‘more than Turkish cruelty’ levelled at the Spanish in *The Spanish Colonie*.¹⁰⁸ Both Griffin and Scanlan agree that adaptations of Las Casas’ polemic demonstrate that the English were attempting to ‘articulate some sense of being ‘not-Spanish’, with Scanlan highlighting the associations between translations of Las Casas and Hakluyt’s 1584 manuscript *Discourse of Western Planting*.¹⁰⁹ Scanlan contends that the prefaces to both works were persistent in their focus on the cruelty of the Spanish toward the Indigenous peoples, creating the ‘crucial link’ between the behaviour of the colonisers and their identities.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Scanlan argues that the early, racialised translations of Las Casas show that ‘Spanish colonisation – or, more precisely, the Spanish treatment of the native populations in the colonial setting – could be made to signify something about the Spanish nation’.¹¹¹ This thesis will argue that Las Casas’ text marked the beginnings of the construction of the Spanish ‘other’ that was based on ethnic characteristics rather than religiopolitical differences. The traits of cruelty, dishonesty, and pride that Las Casas ascribed to the conquistadors were repeated frequently in the pamphlet literature in the second half of the decade and were key to the construction of the Spanish ‘other’ needed for the defence of England during the Anglo-Spanish war.

Griffin highlights that traditional historiography of Anglo-Spanish relations has considered the antipathy toward the Spaniards as born from ‘some vaguely remembered sense of Spain as England’s ‘traditional enemy’, or by appeal to the ‘natural’ xenophobia of an island people’.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.48.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge University Press, 16 Sep 1999), p.1.

¹⁰⁹ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.48.

¹¹⁰ Scanlan, *Colonial Writing*, p.9.

¹¹¹ Scanlan, *Colonial Writing*, p.19.

¹¹² Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.28.

The more broadly xenophobic attitudes of early modern London have been explored by Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock in 'Popular Xenophobia'. Birchwood and Dimmock identify the problems with the idea of a 'natural' English xenophobia, identifying the multifaceted ways in which 'strangers' were both vilified and emulated in Elizabethan London. Using the example of William Harrison's *Description of England* from 1587, Birchwood and Dimmock highlight the issue that some early modern Londoners took with 'strangers', notably the idea that the wholesale acceptance and mimicking of foreign influences such as 'the Spanish guise... the French toys... the Turkish manner... the Morisco gowns [and] the Barbarian sleeves' had left the English with no identity of their own, merely the ability to ape others.¹¹³ Moreover, they note that anti-foreign feeling was inherently linked to ideas of indolence which in turn, led to economic hardship for Londoners due to both foreign imports and 'economic migrants'.¹¹⁴ Birchwood and Dimmock argue that closing years of the sixteenth century saw a 'rapid growth in the population of immigrant residents and workers from the Continent' notably French and Dutch Protestants escaping religious persecution.¹¹⁵ Thus, they identify that anti-foreign attitudes were focused towards those who might otherwise have been considered allies in the European religious wars of the later sixteenth century, sparking 'sporadic hostility' towards these groups.¹¹⁶ This illuminates the complicated nature of early modern English xenophobia, as Birchwood and Dimmock argue that the anti-foreign feeling in England was closely associated with political relations throughout the Elizabethan reign, remarking that the threat of anti-alien riots in 1588, 1593 and 1595 were born from economic tension perceived to be caused by foreign denizens.¹¹⁷ Although much of their work centres

¹¹³ Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock, 'Popular Xenophobia' in Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, Abigail Shinn (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2014), p.207.

¹¹⁴ Birchwood and Dimmock, 'Popular Xenophobia', pp.207.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.212.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.212.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.210.

around the idea of ‘popular xenophobia’ being closely linked with ‘strangers’ resident in England and the perceived effect this had on the economic standing of the English commons, they identify that the most evident source of resentment towards foreigners in these closing years of the century was the Spanish threat, suggesting a change from internal to external threat was undoubtedly related to the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations of the closing decades of the sixteenth century.¹¹⁸ Thus it can be argued that the work of Birchwood and Dimmock suggests, as does Griffin’s chapter ‘Ethos to Ethnos’, that the simplistic version of the emergence of an English nation in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, one that attributes national sentiment to a ‘natural’ xenophobia of the English, does not consider the various ways that England and Spain participated together in a ‘larger cultural system’.¹¹⁹ Quoting Walker Connor, Griffin argues that people must ‘know ethnically what they are not before they can know what they are’, mentioning a myriad possible ‘nots’ that can be found in texts from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, Griffin suggests that it was ‘not-Spanishness’ that gave the English their ‘surest sense of identity’ – specifically an ‘ideologically motivated forging of what it meant to be ethnically Spanish’.¹²¹

When considering the turn from ‘ethos’ to ‘ethnos’ proposed by Griffin, the conflation of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric in the pamphlet literature of the 1580s is problematic. As David J. Weber has argued, the Spanish traits on which the ‘Black Legend’ was formed were intrinsically linked with religious ideology, noting that these perceptions of the Spanish ‘reached full flower in the sixteenth century among Protestants in northern Europe, where it had taken the form of propaganda against Spain’s militant Catholicism and its highly successful imperialism’.¹²² Thus, it must be understood that traits associated with the ‘Black Legend’ were

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.213.

¹¹⁹ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.28.

¹²⁰ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.29.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, p.336.

inextricably linked with Catholicism in late Elizabethan England. The high survival rate of Catholicism in England has been discussed at length by Alexandra Walsham, Christopher Haigh, Francis Young and Arnold Pritchard, amongst many others, while recent revisions in the historiography discuss that English Catholic survival can only be considered as part of a wider pattern of ‘British’ Reformations as discussed by John Kerrigan and Ian Hazlett.¹²³ Discussion of the broader network of English Colleges abroad and how their publications affected Hispanophobia in England is beyond the scope of this investigation, but would be viable to consider in future research projects. Yet for the purposes of this study it is important to recognise that there was often conflation of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiment in the Protestant propaganda of the 1580s. This thesis will demonstrate that over the course of the decade specifically anti-Spanish sentiment was employed alongside more broadly anti-Catholic rhetoric to further deride the Spanish, and that this also reflected the religiopolitical environment in England. Alison Shell has investigated the survival of Catholicism in England between 1558 and 1660 through the lens of works of English literary imagination, identifying the differences between Catholic loyalists and the English Jesuits. Shell notes that English Jesuits attracted contempt from English Catholics for their newness, but because Catholicism prevailed in medieval England, the two have tended to be handcuffed together in discussions of Catholicism under the Tudors and Stuarts.¹²⁴ Moreover, Shell identifies that Jesuits tended to be identified not just with Spanish interests, but also with a concern to uphold the Pope's temporal power.¹²⁵ Shell argues that Catholic authors of anti-Jesuit propaganda made a point

¹²³ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1999); Christopher Haigh (ed), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge University press, Cambridge, 1988); Francis Young, ‘The Bishop’s Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577–1597’ *British Catholic History* 32:2 (2014), Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1979), John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: literature, history, and politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008), Ian Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (T&T Clarke Ltd, London, 2003)

¹²⁴ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999), p.9.

¹²⁵ Shell, *Catholicism*, p.134.

of stressing their own loyalty to the Crown as the natural counterbalance to this polemical identification, a standpoint that can also be seen in some of the pamphlets under investigation in this study.¹²⁶ The thesis will demonstrate that the pamphlets in the early years of the decade focused on the threat posed by Jesuit missionaries in England, and that they suggested a close association between the Spanish and the Society of Jesus, suggesting an attempt to divorce loyal English Catholic nobles from the ‘traitorous’ Jesuits who professed allegiance to the Pope, rather than the monarch. Taking this into account, there is an unavoidable crossover between anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish themes in the pamphlets under investigation which has, where pertinent, been identified in the pamphlet analysis.

The link between Las Casas’ treatise and the English imperial aspirations promoted by the prominent geographer and expansionist proponent, Richard Hakluyt is made explicit in D.B. Quinn and Alison Quinn’s commentary on his work, *A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584*.¹²⁷ Quinn and Quinn note the manuscript’s ‘significance as an exposition of the objectives of English expansion and of the means to attain them’, and chapter eleven of the work is devoted to the cruelty of the Spanish method of colonisation, based almost wholly on Las Casas’ text.¹²⁸ Anna Suranyi discusses the association between the writing of Hakluyt and ‘national’ imperial aspirations, stating that ‘[t]he identification of difference and the development of a sense of national identity were inextricably intertwined’.¹²⁹ She argues that in his *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt used specific words to shape meaning, and the repeated use of the words ‘our and

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Richard Hakluyt, D.B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds), *Discourse of Western Planting, facsimile, with commentary* (Hakluyt Society, 1993)

¹²⁸ Ibid., xv.

¹²⁹ Anna Suranyi, ‘An ‘Ardent Love of My Countrey’: Travel Literature and National Identity in Early Modern England’ in Lorna Fitzsimmons (ed) *Identities in Early Modern English Writing: Religion, Gender, Nation* (Brepolis, Turnhout, 2014), p.167.

‘we’, as well as ‘our nation/country’, promoted ‘a sense of mutual English sense and purpose’, and thus his text constructed a sense of ‘mutual Englishness’.¹³⁰

Although the terms pertaining to the idea of ‘Englishness’, such as ‘nation’ and ‘national consciousness’, are notoriously hard to define, Hugh Seton-Watson argues that ‘a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they have formed one’.¹³¹ He argues that it is not necessary that the entire population should feel or behave this way, and furthermore, that this cannot be measured quantitatively by suggesting a minimum percentage of a population that must be affected.¹³² He suggests therefore, that when a ‘significant number of people’ consider themselves part of a nation, or behave in a manner that reflects this belief, they possess ‘national consciousness’, but this can only be achieved if there is sufficient propagandist material to disseminate national consciousness to the broad strata of the population below the elites.¹³³ This theory is supported in more recent work by Anthony Smith, who suggests that a nation is ‘a named human population occupying an historic territory and sharing common myths and memories, a public culture, and common laws and customs for all members’.¹³⁴ Benedict Anderson’s research added further nuance to Seton-Watson’s point, noting that vernacular ‘print-languages’ laid the foundations for the construction of national consciousness by creating ‘unified fields of exchange and communication’ (or, in Smith’s terms, a ‘public culture’) which, in turn, made societies aware of the hundreds of thousands of people in their language-field, creating a sense

¹³⁰ Richard Hakluyt, *The principall nauigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1589).

¹³¹ Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Methuen, London, 1977), p.5.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), p.23. Montserrat Guibernau, ‘Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment’ *Nations and Nationalism* 10:1/2 (2004), pp.125-141 provides a thorough examination of Smith’s theories, with pp.127-129 giving particularly relevant critique of Smith’s most recent work.

of belonging to the group that shares that particular printed vernacular – in this case, English.¹³⁵ Seton-Watson also notes that the formation of the English language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was ‘a factor of decisive importance for English national consciousness’.¹³⁶ Furthermore, Anderson suggests that the expansion of the print market gave a new ‘fixity’ to language, making the book a permanent form that was no longer subject to the ‘unconscious modernising’ of monastic scribes.¹³⁷ This fixity, he argues, helped to build the ‘image of antiquity’ that is considered central to the subjective and unifying idea of ‘nation’, and therefore integral to the concept of a national consciousness.¹³⁸ This argument echoes the ideas of J.G.A. Pocock who also linked the ideas of ‘nation’ and ‘national consciousness’ with antiquity, suggesting that this mental construct ‘attracts to itself myths and symbolic stories suggestive of a common past which may or may not be related to the institutional pasts’.¹³⁹ The importance of a shared history, real or constructed, is also highlighted by Seton-Watson when he comments that a nation is a community ‘bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness’.¹⁴⁰

The utilisation of an English ‘print-language’ and the association of the late sixteenth century English society with their ancestors is evident in the anti-Spanish propaganda produced in London in the 1580s. Richard Helgerson highlights this connection in his seminal work, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, which aims to identify the development of an English national consciousness by close reading of the works of a generation of young Elizabethan men, born between 1551 and 1564.¹⁴¹ The relevance of this, he argues, is because

¹³⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities (New Edition)* (Verso, London, 2006), p.44. This work was first published in 1983.

¹³⁶ Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, p.29.

¹³⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.44.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ J.G.A. Pocock, ‘England’ in Orest Ranum (ed) *National Consciousness, History, and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975), p.99

¹⁴⁰ Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, p.1.

¹⁴¹ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), p.1.

‘to men born in the 1550s and 1560s, things English came to matter with a special intensity both because England itself mattered more than it had and other sources of identity and cultural authority mattered less’, noting that a half century earlier the sufficiency of the English language and of English cultural institutions generally would not have mattered so much.¹⁴² Quoting G.R. Elton, Helgerson suggests that the separation of church and state under Henry VIII heralded the creation of the modern sovereign-state in which the crown triumphed over its rivals and parliamentary statute over the abstract law of Christendom – changes that were ‘variously reaffirmed and resisted’ over the next half century leading to a ‘growing and widespread anxiety... concerning England’s cultural identity’.¹⁴³ Helgerson argues that this newly developed sovereign state placed greater burden on a national sense of identity and evidence of national accomplishments could not match the expectations of the developing imperial narrative.¹⁴⁴ Helgerson argues that the younger Elizabethans with whom he concerns himself (principally Spencer, Coke, Speed, Drayton, Hakluyt and Hooker) were ‘writing the nation’ with the agreed idea that England needed to be written in large, comprehensive, and foundational works, and that ‘they were the ones to do the writing’, thus he does not concern himself with smaller literary works such as pamphlets.¹⁴⁵

Helgerson’s work is divided into six chapters that correspond with the six different ‘forms’ of text that he argues are as much ‘agents as they are structures’ when considering how they influenced the development of an English sense of identity.¹⁴⁶ Chapter one discusses the mid-century controversy over rhyme and poetic meter, a distinction that he links with the power structure of Elizabethan government when he notes that ‘English rime follows the lead of the court, while quantitative verse is left to take the path that leads away from power’, citing the

¹⁴² Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.3.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

perceived ‘civilising’ nature of classical verse, as opposed to the barbarity of the English language.¹⁴⁷ Helgerson highlights this dichotomy in his second chapter which focuses on legal discourse, suggesting that the battle between classical/Roman and barbaric/English was even more intense in legal thought than that found in poetry. Again, Helgerson notes the associations with power structures, in this instance highlighting the differing positions of Francis Bacon and Edward Coke. In his *De Augmentis Scientiarum* Bacon argues for the amendment and reduction of English law under Justinian principals and that this rewriting of the law was a privilege belonging essentially to the monarch, whereas in his *Reports* Coke wrote up ‘the unwritten law... made by the English people out of their own wisdom and experience’, stating that ‘Kings did not make the law... nor are Kings fit to interpret or apply it’.¹⁴⁸

Chapters three and four turn to the role of chorography and voyage respectively. Regarding chorography, Helgerson argues that maps made people aware of their ‘local and national identity’, and that they showed ‘royal authority – or at least its insignia – to be a merely ornamental adjunct to that country’, creating a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler.¹⁴⁹ Helgerson juxtaposes this with the work of Richard Hakluyt’s collection of voyages, noting that these expeditions were frequently financed by kings, and therefore monarchs were a necessary inclusion in Hakluyt’s texts, and consequently in the national sense of identity being constructed through the writings. However, Hakluyt’s text also includes merchants of the middling sort, who are given voices as the actors and authors of their adventures, in some ways expanding the works that ‘wrote the nation’ beyond the initial ‘large, comprehensive, and foundational works’ that he mentions in his introduction, as these shorter treatises were included in the larger work.¹⁵⁰ Helgerson highlights in particular how the work of Hakluyt

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.34.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 74-75 and p.98.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.114.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p.4.

emphasised England's differences from Spain in order to distinguish England specifically, arguing that 'England defines itself in opposition to Spanish tyranny, Spanish cruelty, and Spanish ambition'.¹⁵¹ Thus in this instance, in order to develop the national sense of self that he refers to in the introduction, Helgerson is suggesting that something other than the self must be identified, and in this period, that 'other' was the Spanish.¹⁵²

In chapter five Helgerson turns to the nascent form of Elizabethan plays, discussing Shakespeare's history plays in contrast with the more populist works of the Henslowe group. Again, Helgerson proposes that the question of royal authority and monarchical power is at the heart of this form in the writing of the nation. He argues that Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, began to consider itself 'elite' while Henslowe's theatre was concerned with the problematics of subjecthood, considering whether 'the subject can maintain a degree of autonomy and individual or communal integrity in the face of the growing power of the monarchic state'.¹⁵³ Finally, Helgerson discusses these populist tendencies in relation to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, highlighting how the faith and sufferings of individuals are elevated against the hierarchy of the Church, once again showing how the writing of the nation revolved around questioning and opposing traditional power structures in England. Throughout the book Helgerson demonstrates how in each 'form' of nationhood the nation is defined in an array of different ways. From poetry to plays, legal writings to navigational tracts, Helgerson shows how the boundaries change as different groups or ideologies are included or excluded and articulates the involved process through which the idea of the English nation was formed.

It is apparent that pamphlets highlighting the 'otherness' of the Spaniard often also extolled the virtues of the English 'self', developing an idea of 'Englishness' that was built on opposition

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.185.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.4.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.239.

to the hegemony of the Spanish Empire in Europe and beyond. The concept of the ‘other’ was first proposed by Hegel in 1807, when he theorised that ‘by knowing the other, the self has the power to give or withhold recognition, so as to be constituted as self at the same time’.¹⁵⁴ It therefore seems possible that by presenting the Spaniard as the barbarous ‘other’, the anti-Spanish sentiment present in the pamphlets of the period was helping to construct an idea of the English ‘self’. This nascent idea of an English ‘self’ can be seen in pamphlets in which their language or content indicates a nationalist sentiment. Adrian Hastings argues that nationalist sentiment (the logical end of the path of national consciousness) comes into being when people believe that their culture is particularly valuable and needs to be defended at any cost.¹⁵⁵ This means that it usually manifests when ‘a particular nation or ethnicity feels itself threatened in regard to its own proper character, extent or importance [...] by eternal attack’, and additionally that ‘nationalism can also be stoked up to fuel [...] expansionist imperialism [...] though this is still likely to be done under the guise of an imagined threat or grievance’.¹⁵⁶ Although the threat posed by Spain was hardly ‘imagined’ in England in the 1580s, it seems that it is plausible that the reporting of this threat in pamphlets could indeed have helped to form a national consciousness regarding the ‘otherness’ of the Spaniard, an idea useful to propagate in defence of the realm.

It can be argued then, that the developing vernacular print culture in the sixteenth century, coupled with the ongoing and elevated threat posed by Spain in the 1580s, provided the components of which scholars have defined as a national consciousness could be formed.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1999), p.3.

¹⁵⁵ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), p.4.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁵⁷ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The impact of Printing 1450-1800* (Verso, London, 2010), p.262 gives the figures for England, suggesting that 26,000 editions had been printed before 1640, of which approximately 10,000 were printed in the sixteenth century. If we consider Paul Voss’ figure of 750 to be an average print run (see above ‘Print’ section), then it is possible that 7,500,000 texts were produced in the

However, the extent of public engagement with the materials necessary to create a national consciousness is questionable, especially if we consider the ‘public sphere’ defined by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.¹⁵⁸ Habermas argued that there were certain components without which the public sphere could not develop: a place for public discourse (such as English coffee houses, of which there were 3000 in London at the start of the eighteenth century); a sense that those partaking in the discourse had equality of status and thus common interest in truth or right policy (although not fully realised, the ‘suspension of reality’ and ‘acceptance of the given roles’ equated to this); the recourse to rational argument as the sole arbiter of issues, and the idea that the emerging public, through access to cultural products (such as books and plays) had the potential to play an active role in the shaping of public opinion.¹⁵⁹ Due to the predications identified, Habermas argued that the public sphere could not have developed before the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁰ While this definition of a ‘public sphere’ cannot be applied to discussions of Elizabethan England, the revisions made by Peter Lake and Michael Questier when considering texts produced in the early 1580s are applicable in this study. Lake and Questier have appropriated the term

for different purposes, using it to refer to the spaces (both conceptual and practical) created by the particular politico-religious circumstances of Elizabeth’s reign for ‘public’ debate and discourse on a number of topics central to the future and purpose of the regime.¹⁶¹

They also define the term ‘public’, noting that it pertains to ‘messages sent through a variety of media’ (print, manuscripts and public performances); that the ‘message sending or case

English vernacular 1500-1600, suggesting that there was ample material on which a national consciousness could develop.

¹⁵⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (John Wiley & Sons, Oxford, 2015)

¹⁵⁹ Craig Calhoun, ‘Introduction’ in Craig J. Calhoun (ed) *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (MIT Press, Cambridge, 1992), pp.12-13.

¹⁶⁰ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p.16.

¹⁶¹ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists, and the ‘Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context’ *The Journal of Modern History*, 72:3 (2000), p.590.

making' is related to general public interest.¹⁶² Moreover, Lake and Questier identify that the 'message or pitch' is generally framed by truth or interest, thus 'calling into being a public both legitimately interested in and able to consider [...] the question or issue at hand'.¹⁶³ This appropriation of the term 'public sphere' will be what is referred to throughout this investigation, as the public being discussed were undoubtedly interested in the developments in Anglo-Spanish relations in this decade, and surely would have considered the potential outcomes of any political and diplomatic changes that they had access to via the news pamphlets.

Anne Lake Prescott has also reassessed Habermas' theory in her investigation of pamphlets reporting the developments in France during the last two decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁴ She suggests that in this period a 'print-created proto-public [sphere]' was thought (by the printers) to enjoy 'not just reasoned argument [...], the spectacle of horror that might stir compassion, [or] heroic military news, but slime, particularly polemics and satire exploiting slime'.¹⁶⁵ By 'slime' she refers to her theory that

both publics and nations can be partly constituted, when print is involved, by minor and even disreputable genres that encourage not rational discourse of elite emulation but shared scorn and a related taste for polemics and satire.¹⁶⁶

Taking all these points into account, it is reasonable to suggest that the anti-Spanish propaganda produced in the 1580s, when the threat posed by Spain was increasing and therefore a matter of interest, would be considered and discussed throughout English society, and therefore was part of an early modern public sphere as described by Lake and Questier. Also, the salacious and scornful nature of these 'slime' texts, describing the Spaniards' excessive brutality and

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Anne Lake Prescott, 'Perverse Delights: Cross Channel Trash Talk and Identity Publics' in Paul Yachnin, Marlene Eberhart (eds), *Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe* (University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 2015).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.80.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.78.

their inherent dishonesty, means that they were prime for transition from print to ‘semiprivate conversation over ale in public houses’, further shoring up the suggestion that these were part of a public sphere, albeit a slightly different incarnation than the one posited by Habermas.¹⁶⁷ However, it is noteworthy that Prescott suggests the pamphlets were produced by printers who were publishing texts that they thought the emerging public sphere would enjoy. While this is a valid assertion, when investigating how anti-Spanish sentiment in pamphlet literature was reflective of the political climate, the role played by government intervention must be considered. Eric Griffin suggests that Habermas’ model is not applicable in England at this time due to governmental restraints, instead arguing that the structural relationships posited by José Antonio Maravall in his study of Golden Age Spain may be more applicable here. Maravall argued that in Spain a ‘conservative’ ruling class imbued with a ‘consciousness of crisis’ began to ‘guide’ a growing urban populace within a ‘conflictive’ social climate through the workings of ‘mass media’ mobilised in the service of the state, placing emphasis on the role played by print, theatrical, and visual mediation.¹⁶⁸ Taking his theory into account, the assertion that the pamphlets under investigation in this thesis were ‘popular’ due to their content problematic as in some instances, such as the pamphlets sponsored by Lord Burghley, as the printer would not have been producing these purely for profit due to popularity. However, it is entirely plausible that propagandists such as Burgley appropriated the themes of news and opinion pamphlets (such as the news of Orange’s death, or treatises about honesty and deceit), already seemingly popular, in order to make the content more Hispanophobic to serve their ends. Thus, this study will elucidate how the anti-Spanish sentiment found in the pamphlet literature of the 1580s changed as the political and diplomatic boundaries shifted and

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain : Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009), p.43.

different groups or ideologies were included or excluded in the national narrative being constructed.

Methodology

As this project explores how the anti-Spanish sentiment in pamphlet literature of the 1580s promoted Hispanophobia in England in order to counter the growing threat posed by Spain, it is important to clarify how the terms ‘anti-Spanish sentiment’ and ‘Hispanophobia’ are being defined and used. In *Mary and Philip*, Alexander Samson defines anti-Spanish sentiment as ‘English hostility toward the objectionable character of the individual Spaniard’, whereas he implies that Hispanophobia is more broadly applicable to ‘English hostility towards Spain and the Spanish’.¹⁶⁹ This differentiation is illustrated by Eric Griffin when he notes that pamphlets were important agencies for the dissemination of anti-Spanish sentiment, yet the Hispanophobic attitudes they inculcated were possibly more effectually delivered in the period’s drama, suggesting that the portrayal of the negative traits of the individual Spaniard was a means by which an antipathy towards the Spanish more generally could be instilled in the developing English public sphere.¹⁷⁰ Thus, this thesis contends that by implying that the Spaniard was dishonest, brutal, prideful and cowardly, the anti-Spanish sentiment contained within the pamphlets promoted more broadly Hispanophobic attitudes throughout England, creating a strong dislike or distrust of the Spanish. While the traits being ascribed to the Spanish were not new in Continental Europe in the 1580s, this thesis will establish that these were employed in specific ways in England during this period to construct a Spanish ‘other’ that was used to develop English imperial aspirations and a cohesive national consciousness during a

¹⁶⁹ Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip : The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2020), p.137.

¹⁷⁰ Eric Griffin, ‘Copying “the Anti-Spaniard”: Post-Armada Hispanophobia and English Renaissance Drama’ in *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2015), p.192

period when Spanish domination was a growing threat to English shores. It will be established that this Hispanophobia performed two broad roles relating to domestic defence and external expansion, both of which contributed to a developing sense of identity in England at the end of the Tudor period. The project will explore how these two themes were inextricably intertwined in the 1580s, and that both were underpinned by the creation of a Spanish ‘other’ against which the English ‘self’ could be conceived.

Pamphlets have been chosen for the basis of this study because they can be reliably dated (thanks to the detailed records of the Stationers Company) and they were widely accessible in late sixteenth century England.¹⁷¹ However, it must be noted that other cultural forms were also significant in the dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes and identity creation during this period. While ballads can be placed in the same category as pamphlets regarding their audience and potential for disseminating anti-Spanish sentiment, they are problematic due to the lack of extant sources that can be reliably dated. As this thesis is primarily concerned with exploring the association between time specific political events and the representation of the Spanish in print, it is important that texts can be attributed to the year of printing. However, most ballads were not reliably dated, as is evident from a note in *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* in August 1586 stating that

It is very noticeable that within about a week some 180 ballads were licensed or rather brought under the official cognizance of the Wardens. Of course, most of them were printed a long time before; and there must have been some strong reason occasioning their now being entered, re-entered, or filed at Stationers' Hall'.¹⁷²

A further note is added in the same month discussing one-hundred and twenty-three ballads were registered to Richard Jones but ‘the Clerk did not preserve a copy of R. Jones' list in this

¹⁷¹ Kevin Williams, *Read All about It! : A History of the British Newspaper* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2010), p.29; Tessa watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), p.272; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (), p.252 all discuss the potential for dissemination of cheaply printed texts along established trade routes in early modern England.

¹⁷² Edward Arber (ed), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* (Privately Printed, London, 1875), p.208b.

Register.¹⁷³ Thus, there are at least three-hundred ballads that we do not even have titles or first lines for, meaning that it is impossible to discover whether these sources were disseminating anti-Spanish sentiment or what the impact of this may have been.

There is also a lack of extant ballads more generally this period. Surveys of the Bodleian Broadside Ballads Database, the English Broadside Ballad Archive, and Early English Books Online found that thirty-eight ballads are extant between 1580 and 1590, but only two of these contain content pertaining to the Spanish.¹⁷⁴ Yet a survey of the decade in the *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationer's Company* finds three-hundred and eighty-eight ballads were licensed,¹⁷⁵ nineteen of which seem potentially relevant for this thesis, but only two - *A ballade of the strange whippes whiche the Spanyards had prepared for the Englishemen and women* and *Th[e] Jobteyninge of the galcazzo wherein Don PEBRO DE VAL[E]EZ was Chief* have survived.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, ballads have not been included as a specific category in this investigation due to the lack of reliably dated, extant sources available.

¹⁷³ Arber, *Transcript*, p.209b.

¹⁷⁴ Bodleian Broadside Ballads Online lists only two extant ballads printed in the 1580s, neither of which discuss the Spanish. The English Broadside Ballad online database lists twenty entries between 1580-1590 but, again, these do not include any specifically discussing the Spanish or their nature.

<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/?query=adv&d=1550>;

https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/search_combined/?ebid=&t=&ft=&dt=1580-1590&estc=&tst=&tts=&au=
[Accessed 03/04/2017 and 31/08/2020];

<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/results?terms=ballad&fuzzy&date=1580-1590&undated=exclude&variant=variant> [Accessed 31/08/2020].

¹⁷⁵ Arber, *Transcript*, pp.165 - 268b.

¹⁷⁶ The titles of potential interest in Arber's *Transcript* are: *A gentle Jyrke for the Jesuit* (Richard Jones, February 1581); *A freindly admonition for all wilfull papistes in Englande &c* (John Wolfe, June 1582); *A brave encouragement made by A soldier when he went into Ireland, wherein he harteneth his fellowe soldier's to be Couragious againste their enemies* (Henry Carre, May 1583); *Betwene a Spanishe gent[leman] and an English gentlewoman* (Edward Aldee, August 1586); *The crueltie of ye Spaniardes toward th [e] Indians* (Edward Aldee, August 1586); *The Victory of ye ' Prynrose' against the Spanyardes and th[e] escape of the ' Violet'* (Henry Carre, August 1586); *The Commons crye of England against the queenes maiesties Enemyes* (Roberte Robinson, August 1586); *A proper newe ballaid which settes in our viewe the manifold daungers that are like t[o] Jenseue* (Edward Aldee, August 1586); *A ballad of Encoragement to English soldiours valyantly to behave them selves in Defence of the true religion and their Cuntrey* (John Wolfe, August 1588); *A ballade of the strange whippes whiche the Spanyards had prepared for the Englishemen and women* (Thomas Orwyn, August 1588); *Th[e] Jobteyninge of the galcazzo wherein Don PEBRO DE VAL[E]EZ was Chief* (John Wolfe, August 1588); *The late wonderfull dystres whiche the Spanishe Navye sustayned yn the late fighte in the Sea, and upon the west coaste of Ireland in this moneth of September 1588.* (John Wolfe, August 1588); *A Ballad of thanks gyvinge vnto GOD, for his mercy toward hir majestie* (Henry Kirkham, October 1588); *A new ballad of*

Plays are also omitted from this study, again due to the problematic nature of dating these. Andy Kesson notes that many of the plays that are central to this period of theatre history can only be dated somewhere between 1585 and 1592, quoting *Arden of Faversham*, *Dr Faustus* and Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* as examples and further emphasising that 'the majority of possible 1580s plays are also possible 1590s plays'.¹⁷⁷ While there is no doubt that the content of *The Spanish Tragedy*, which is based on events surrounding the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580, addresses issues of identity and empire, the extent to which these ideas were disseminated before the 1590s is uncertain as there is no verifiable evidence for when the play was first actually performed.¹⁷⁸ Due to the unreliable dating of the original performance of the work, any discussion of *The Spanish Tragedy* in relation to the specific political developments of the latter years of the decade would be vague at best, and irrelevant or unfounded at worst. A further reason plays have been omitted is the range of sources and associated analysis that can be comprehensively considered within the project's limits. As anti-Spanish feeling increased throughout the decade, and particularly in the post-Armada years, there was an increase in plays being written that dealt with Spain and Spanishness. Lucas Erne has noted that *Edward III*, *Midas*, and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, which all referenced the Armada attack, were written around 1588 (although again, we have no record of whether these were staged in the 1580s), while *The Battell of Alcazar*, which looked back to

the glorious victory of CHRIST JESUS, as was late scene by th[e']ouerthrowe of the Spanyardes (H. Carre, November 1588); *A ballad of the most happie Victory obtained Over the Spaniardes and yeir [their] overthrowe in July last 1588* (H. Carre, November 1588); *A Joyfull ballad of the Roiall entrance of Quene ELIZABETH into her cyty of London the [] Day of November 1588 and of the solemnity used by her majestie to the glory of GOD for the wonderful overthrowe of the Spaniardes []* (John Wolfe, November 1588); *A Dytty of the exploit of Th[e]rle of CUMBERLAND on the Sea in October 1588. And of th[e]overthrowe of 1600 Spaniardes in Ir[e]land* (John Wolfe, November 1588); *A newe ballad of Englandes joy and delight, In the back Rebound of the Spanyardes spygt* (Ric Jones, November 1588) *A Trewe Saylers songe against Spanyshe pryde* (Thomas Orwyn, March 1590); *A proper newe ballad conteyninge newes from Spayne, Rome, and Geneva* (William Wrighte, April 1590).

¹⁷⁷ Andy Kesson, 'Playhouses, Plays, and Theater History' in *Shakespeare Studies*, Vol. 45 (2017), p.21. For an in-depth overview of the dating of *The Spanish Tragedy*, see Lucas Erne, *Beyond 'The Spanish Tragedy': A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001), p.56.

¹⁷⁸ Erne, *Beyond 'The Spanish Tragedy'*, pp.90-91.

the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580, was potentially written around 1589.¹⁷⁹ To fully analyse the dramatic devices, allegorical references and anti-Spanish inferences employed in these works would be beyond the scope of this project, but there is copious historiography that can be considered alongside this thesis that explores the role played by the anti-Spanish sentiment in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays and how this, along with pamphlets and ballads, may have helped to develop the emerging sense of national identity in England.¹⁸⁰

The subject of popularity and the influence of ‘popular’ forms of culture such as plays, ballads, and pamphlets in this period is challenging as we have no record of the movements or thoughts of the lower orders of society. It would be problematic to claim to understand who went to see Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy* in the latter years of the 1580s, or who read or heard the contents of *The Spanish Colonie* and what effect this had on their conceptions of the Spanish. However, by exploring what could be considered ‘popular’ in Elizabethan England, we can at least gain a better understanding of how the contents may have had a bearing on the construction of a national consciousness. Numerous historians have attempted to define ‘popularity’ in terms of early modern books and their readership, yet many only consider this in relation to the particular format of print that they are investigating. For example, in *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, Ian Green attempted to define the most popular religious works by looking at those that achieved more than five editions over the course of thirty years.¹⁸¹ However, this can only inform us regarding the popularity of this religious genre. Moreover, as Andy Kesson and Emma Smith have pointed out, historians tend to disregard texts that were

¹⁷⁹ Erne, *Beyond ‘The Spanish Tragedy’*, p.56; Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.68.

¹⁸⁰ Still the most thorough work on Hispanophobic attitudes in drama at in late Tudor and Stuart England is Eric Griffin’s *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*. However, the anti-Spanish content of dramatic works in the period is also discussed at length by Barbera Fuchs in *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2013), Joachim Küpper, Leonie Pawlita (eds) *Theatre Cultures within Globalising Empires: Looking at Early Modern England and Spain* (De Gruyter, Berlin, 2018), Barbara Fuchs, Emily Weissbourd (eds) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2015).

¹⁸¹ Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642* (Arnold, London, 2003), p.163.

not reprinted, considering them to be commercial failures, but this may simply indicate a book that sold moderately well, or a printer who had become involved in other ventures, making this an unreliable guide to popularity.¹⁸² In *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, Tessa Watt commented that for a text to become popular in this period, it needed to blend the literate with other forms of media, such as plays or broadside ballads.¹⁸³ Although her book explores some pamphlets and chapbooks, she was also investigating transmission of religion. Furthermore, she focuses mostly on the trade in broadside ballads and woodcuts, therefore the ‘popular’ forms of cheap print that she discusses are not representative of the broader pamphlet market.

The studies produced by Green and Watt negate another area of popularity, namely texts that dealt with ‘extreme topicality’, as Smith and Kesson call it, such as the news pamphlets under investigation in this study.¹⁸⁴ It seems, then, that there is little hope of ascertaining the ‘popularity’ of the Hispanophobic propaganda pamphlets of the 1580s, but it is possible to refer to print popularity in this period. Joad Raymond tackled this problematic question - of whether any print can be truly popular in a largely illiterate society - when he remarked that print culture can be described as ‘popular’ not because it was the voice of the people, nor necessarily because it was widely read among the people or reflected their views, but because the people were understood to be involved in the publicity dynamic, the dynamic by which print came to play a part in public life [...]¹⁸⁵ It will therefore be argued that the majority of pamphlets describing the Spanish printed in London in the 1580s were produced with the audience in mind, whether to influence their personal beliefs or simply turn a profit, and thus could be seen to be ‘popular’ in the sense that they played a part in the public life of the Elizabethans. These small texts were

¹⁸² Emma Smith & Andy Kesson, ‘Introduction: Towards a Definition of Print Popularity’ in Emma Smith, Andy Kesson James Daybell and Adam Smyth (eds) *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Taylor & Francis Group, Farnham, 2013), p.9.

¹⁸³ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), p.7.

¹⁸⁴ Smith & Kesson, ‘Introduction’, p.9.

¹⁸⁵ Joad Raymond ‘Introduction’ in Joad Raymond (ed) *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011), p.6.

potentially widely disseminated, creating a proto-public sphere in which the anti-Spanish contents could be transmitted in English society. This thesis contends that the pamphlets produced in London in the 1580s were popular print, with the potential to disseminate the Hispanophobic attitudes contained within throughout this developing public sphere in England. Negative traits that were inherently associated with the Spanish will be explored in order to determine the extent to which this helped to create an idea of the English 'self' in the pamphlets, and wider public sphere, in opposition to the construction of the Spanish 'other'.

Ascertaining literacy levels is also problematic in this period. In his chapter about measuring Elizabethan and Stuart literacy, David Cressy suggests a number of ways that this could be achieved: considering remarks made by contemporary commentators (which are contradictory), looking at book production and ownership, and through the study of education.¹⁸⁶ He also makes a case for the study of signatures, but notes that this is unsatisfactory as some who could sign their name may not have been able to read and, more importantly, there were many factors which may have led to a literate person making a simple mark: incapacity or illness, injury, the fact that most were illiterate so 'plain dealing men' used marks to show their honesty, and even the idea that the mark was a symbol of the Holy Cross, and was thus a profession of piety.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, although we know that almost seventy percent of English men, and ninety percent of English women could not write their own names by the mid-seventeenth century, this is not a useful guide for the number of people who may have been able to read pamphlets.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, Elizabeth Eisenstein noted that although most rural villagers probably belonged to an exclusively hearing public until the nineteenth century, there was likely an 'exceptionally literate villager' who read the chap books and ballad sheets

¹⁸⁶ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006), pp.42-55.

¹⁸⁷ Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, pp.55-59.

¹⁸⁸ David Cressy, 'Literature in context: Meaning and measurement in early modern England' in John Brewer, Roy Porter (eds) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (Routledge, Abingdon, 1994), p.305.

distributed by peddlers out loud to the local inhabitants.¹⁸⁹ Tessa Watt expands on this idea when she notes that as oral culture passed into print via the medium of broadside ballads, so printed stories seeped into oral culture. Books bought by the country gentry were read aloud in the presence of ‘honest neighbours’, who then might retell them in inns and alehouses – ‘the centres for the exchange of news, jokes and merry tales’.¹⁹⁰ Thus, although it is unclear to what extent the contents of pamphlets were disseminated throughout English society, it can be stated with certainty that they were accessible to more than simply those who could afford to buy them, or were able to read them. Furthermore, although print runs for these ephemeral documents are hard to estimate, Paul Voss has suggested that an average of between 700 and 800 copies per quarto is a reasonable figure.¹⁹¹ It therefore seems plausible to suggest that the quantity of texts printed, combined with their accessibility, meant that the anti-Spanish rhetoric contained within could reach a broad section of society in this decade.

When investigating the audience for these anti-Spanish texts, it is necessary to consider what made these pamphlets profitable, and therefore a commercially feasible enterprise, as the printers were undoubtedly concerned with making a profit. Alexandra Halasz has argued that an economically viable operation needed to print texts that could be produced and sold quickly, and maintain a constant use of equipment and labour, as well as creating a ‘cash flow’, and pamphlets pertaining to current events would have provided all three.¹⁹² Sandra Clarke suggests that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the reporting of current affairs was gaining popularity among the publishers of cheap print – a position supported by Richard Streckfuss’ observation that the prolific and profit-minded Elizabethan printer John Wolfe ‘had a hand in the printing of twenty-one pamphlets concerning the Armada’, and a further 100 translations from foreign

¹⁸⁹ Einstein, *Revolution*, p.103.

¹⁹⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.258.

¹⁹¹ Voss, *Elizabethan*, p.14.

¹⁹² Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), p.15.

news books.¹⁹³ Raymond also remarks on this increasing interest in news in late Elizabethan England, boldly stating that '[e]verything changed once the war with Spain became open', and that from the mid-1580s onwards the desire for news and, accordingly, the number of news pamphlets, increased rapidly.¹⁹⁴ Thus, this project will consider texts that were potentially widely accessible and 'popular' due to their topicality in order to ascertain to what extent the anti-Spanish sentiment within can be seen to reflect the Anglo-Spanish political developments in the 1580s in England.

This thesis will closely interrogate forty-four pamphlets printed in England between 1580 and 1590 that specifically discuss the Spanish. It will explore how the use of language, combined with the format of the texts and the context in which they were printed, could have instilled the concept of the Spanish 'other' in an English nationalist narrative. If we consider Paul Voss' estimates regarding print runs for pamphlets, taking the mean figure of 750 per print run, it is apparent that there were potentially 33,000 pamphlets spreading anti-Spanish propaganda in circulation in England in the 1580s.¹⁹⁵ The investigation identifies that themes associated with the 'Black Legend' – brutality, dishonesty and pride – were used extensively in the Hispanophobic propaganda printed in the 1580s, as well as the emergence of the trait of cowardice in the middle years of the decade. As this thesis is only investigating pamphlets (with the exception of some larger works that provide context), it will be demonstrated that these texts, which were potentially accessible to all levels of society, instigated the construction of an English 'self' that was conceived in opposition to the Spanish 'other'.

Once the pamphlets under analysis were determined, the most prevalent traits in each were identified. The study finds that the trait of dishonesty was present in all the pamphlets that

¹⁹³ Sandra Clarke, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (The Athlone Press Ltd, London, 1983), p.38; Streckfuss, 'News before Newspapers', p.85.

¹⁹⁴ Joad Raymond, *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2013), p.19.

¹⁹⁵ Voss, *Elizabethan*, p.14

discuss the Spanish in this period, and brutality was featured in the majority printed after 1583. Greed was also apparent in several texts, but this was often secondary to another trait. However, the traits of cowardice and pride seem to have been developed in or after 1585 in the English pamphlets, corresponding with the outbreak of war. The suggestion that the Spanish were cowardly, or at least martially inept, is present in approximately a third of the pamphlets printed in London between 1585 and 1590, while the sin of pride is associated with the Spaniard in many texts printed after 1584. The study will demonstrate that the pamphlets were reflective of the political climate in which they were produced. It will be demonstrated that the format of the texts, coupled with their propagandist content, can be seen to have developed a sense of English 'self' in opposition to the Spanish 'other'.

This investigation does not suggest that there was a single, united sense of Englishness that could be classed as a 'national identity' in the 1580s but that there was sufficient propagandist material, widely accessible and printed in the vernacular, to identify that there was a rudimentary national consciousness. Moreover, it will demonstrate how the pamphlets reflected the political relationship between England and Spain, in some cases showing how the intended role of anti-Spanish sentiment could subtly change year-by-year. The thesis is presented chronologically for clarity, and to demonstrate the progression of anti-Spanish rhetoric in relation to the political developments and worsening relations in the years surrounding the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war. The framing of each motif discussed in relation to the Spanish (dishonesty, brutality, pride and cowardice) changed across the period, and this thesis will demonstrate that this was in direct relation to changes in the political landscape, as well as the evidence of a growing desire for English exploration in competition with Spanish colonies in the 'New World'. Therefore, a chronological structure aids clarity in presenting how these changes in focus or emphasis can be seen as a direct response to the diplomatic relations between the two powers. There are pamphlets that discuss the same subject

that are discussed in different chapters, due to the timing of publication, such as Bigges (1589) and Greepe (1587).¹⁹⁶ While a thematic structure would allow comparison of these side-by-side, the chronological structure demonstrates how the same events were presented differently, with the focus of the pamphlets and the use of negative traits associated with the Spanish reflecting the shifting priorities of the authors in relation to the political developments across the decade. Thus, this structure highlights how the framing of themes of brutality, dishonesty, pride and cowardice was closely associated with the events surrounding the start of the Anglo-Spanish war by highlighting the nuanced way in which they reflected the development of hostilities and the imperial goals of the English expansionists.

Chapter One, 'A Warning for England', will begin this investigation by introducing the prevalent negative traits in the pamphlets produced between 1580 and 1583. In the opening years of the decade, the trait of dishonesty was the most commonly associated with the Spanish. The arrival of the Jesuits in the summer of 1580 will be explored as the most pressing threat to English shores at this time, and therefore the clandestine actions of this sect influenced the presentation of the nature of the Spanish more broadly in the pamphlets. Texts concerning the Spanish political machinations in the Low Countries reinforced the association of the Spaniard with deceit, and the underhanded actions of William of Orange's would-be assassins in 1582 provided further evidence that the Spanish were dangerously untrustworthy. The assassination attempt also provided the opportunity for the Elizabethan pamphleteers to present the Spanish as both brutal and avaricious. Yet these traits, especially that of brutality, were not utilised to their fullest extent until the publication of *The Spanish Colonie*, the first English translation of Las Casas' treatise. Thus, this chapter will establish that the pamphlets printed at the start of

¹⁹⁶ Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage*. (Richard Field, London, 1589); Thomas Greepe, *The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant employtes atchived and doone by that valiaunt Knight, Syr Fraunces Drake* (John Charlewood for Tho Hackett, London, 1587).

the decade, which included translations of continental literature deriding the Spanish, were intended as a warning to the English about the nefarious nature of both the Spaniard and his religion. Furthermore, the chapter will demonstrate that the hyperbolic language used to describe Spanish brutality in their ‘New World’ colonies reinvigorated English colonial aspirations by allowing the proponents of exploration to begin to create a specifically ‘English’ method of colonisation, based on emulation of Spanish achievements but framed in direct opposition to the Spanish.

Chapter Two, ‘Othering the Enemy’, discusses the pamphlets printed in the years 1584-1586. It begins by considering how the brutal and greedy nature of the Spanish, highlighted by Las Casas’ polemic, was utilised by Richard Hakluyt to further develop the Spanish ‘other’ and consequently promote Hakluyt’s theories regarding English Protestant colonisation that he presented to the Queen in 1584. However, this chapter will demonstrate that the commencement of hostilities in 1585 seemed to halt any further promotion of English exploration in cheap print as the physical threat posed by Spain to English shores grew. The theme of pride will be introduced in this chapter, being first utilised by Hakluyt to promote English voyages. The focus swiftly changed however, insinuating that the prideful Spanish would inevitably suffer a downfall, following the biblical adage ‘pride goeth before destruction’ – a useful message to disseminate when the Spanish military had set their sights on England.¹⁹⁷ This new trait is coupled with the introduction of cowardice, also associated with the Spanish, a more unusual accusation that has not been considered in depth in research into English Hispanophobia prior to this investigation. The short news pamphlets that related the escape of English ships from the Spanish embargo in 1585 presented the Spanish as

¹⁹⁷ Proverbs 16:18, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languges. VVith moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (s.n., Geneva, 1562), p.242.

incompetent, and downright cowardly in the case of the escape of the English ship *The Violet*. The trait of Spanish brutality is developed further in this chapter, and the first direct reference in print to Las Casas' text is made in 1586's *Baptizing of a Turk*. Furthermore, the chapter will begin to explore the ways in which this 'othering' of the Spaniard may have sown the seeds for the construction of the English 'self' in the national consciousness.

Chapter Three, 'A necessary national narrative', considers how the portrayal of the Spanish, and the development of the Spanish 'other', was utilised to bolster English resolve in the face of the ever-present threat of Spanish invasion. Elizabeth's advisors were aware of Spanish plans for attack at the beginning of 1587, thus this chapter presents the theory that Hispanophobic themes were developed in a way that would provide some form of unity in the national consciousness, strengthening the idea of the English 'self'. The trait of cowardice was prominent in the years 1587-1588 which, it will be argued, was a reaction to the perceived imminence of the attack of the Armada. Spain had posed a significant threat to England for at least three years by this point, and defence of the realm would undoubtedly have been a priority for a wide section of society, creating conditions that were integral to the development of a national consciousness. The chapter will also highlight how the cowardice of the Spanish was juxtaposed with the loyalty of English Catholics, particularly in the propagandist pamphlet produced at the behest of Lord Burghley, suggesting that the themes in the pamphlets in the year of the Armada were certainly influenced by the political developments, and can even be seen to be attempting to create unity based on national, rather than religious loyalties. The advancement of the trait of pride will also be discussed in response to the Armada attack, with the notion that pride comes before a fall being fully exploited in the aftermath, and many of the texts mocking the Spanish for this. The chapter argues that this fostered the development of an English 'self' by highlighting the providential aspect of the English victory, and also provided further 'evidence' for the proponents of English colonisation that the Spanish Empire was in

its inevitable decline, and there was a case to be made for the English to develop their imperial aspirations now that the threat of invasion had passed.

Chapter Four, 'Towards an English Empire', will investigate the anti-Spanish sentiment in the pamphlets produced in 1589 and 1590, in order to explore whether the defeat of the Spanish fleet impacted how the Spaniard was portrayed in cheap print. Here, the trait of dishonesty is pushed to the fore again. The presentation of 'Spanish dishonesty' was closely related to both pride and the certain downfall that would follow. Moreover, in 1589 and 1590 Spanish pride and dishonesty were increasingly presented as natural traits inherited from their ancestors, demonstrating the turn from 'ethos' to 'ethnos' in the English perceptions of the Spanish. This, it will be argued, helped to cement the 'Black Legend' in the English national consciousness, as did the continued use of Las Casas when discussing Spanish brutality. This chapter will also explore why the trait of cowardice was still present when its usefulness in defence of the realm could be seen to have passed. Elizabeth's advisors were divided in their opinion of the Spanish returning, and the martial prowess of the Spanish prior to the 1580s made this an unusual accusation to be levelled at them. It is therefore surprising that this trait was as prevalent, as it was immediately after the Spanish defeat, but this chapter will demonstrate that this was partly to mock the Spaniard, continuing the 'othering' of the enemy, and also maintaining an English sense of superiority, as the promotion of exploration and colonisation was reinvigorated now that the threat of invasion had passed.

This thesis will therefore demonstrate that the anti-Spanish sentiment in the pamphlets printed in England in the 1580s was closely related to the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations of the decade, providing a warning against Spanish infiltration and invasion along with the promotion of an English imperial identity that was marked by its desire to emulate Spanish colonial achievements. By exploring the association of the Spaniard with the negative traits of dishonesty, brutality, cowardice and pride, this study will propose that anti-Spanish sentiment

constructed the image of the Spanish 'other' in the English national consciousness, and established the negative traits associated with the Spanish for centuries to come. Furthermore, it will contend that the Spanish 'other' was conceived to elicit different reactions from the audience, depending on whether the threat posed by Spain was spiritual or physical, and that it was employed to develop an English sense of 'self', useful for both domestic defence and external expansion.

Chapter 1 A Warning for England

In the opening weeks of 1580 the death of Portugal's heirless King Henri created a succession crisis, with both Prior António of Cato and King Philip II of Spain laying claim to the crown.¹ Although Don António was illegitimate he still had popular support, but Philip's skill and wealth appealed to the nobility and urban elite and he easily defeated Don António's poorly equipped forces. This resulted in the annexation of Portugal, its trade routes, colonies and military to Spain which, as R.B. Wernham explains, greatly increased Spain's economic and naval power and the threat that it posed to England at the start of the decade.² This, however, was not the only danger posed by Spain to England in 1580. The first Jesuit mission to be sent to England left Rome in April 1580 and one of their number, Edmund Campion, was arrested in July the following year.³ Thomas McCoog notes that the first pamphlet to address the threat posed by these missionaries was in response to a clandestine text printed by Thomas Pounce in July 1580, signifying the deceitful nature of the Jesuits.⁴ It is noteworthy that in these opening years of the decade, as the power of the Spanish Empire grew in Europe and the Jesuits arrived on English shores, many of the pamphlets containing anti-Spanish sentiment were intended as a warning for the English about the increasing danger posed by Spain, propagating ideas about the dishonesty and greed of the Spanish, traits closely associated with both their imperial aspirations and their religion.

This chapter identifies the most common traits associated with the Spanish in the pamphlets produced between 1580 and 1583. It will demonstrate that dishonesty was the predominant

¹ James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia Under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2008), pp.10-11.

² Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, pp.11-12; R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Emergence of the English Nation, 1485-1588* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1966), p.356.

³ Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Ashgate Publishing, Farnham, 2013), p.4.

⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Introduction' in Thomas M. McCoog (ed) *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896-1996)* (Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge, 1996), p.xxi.

theme in the opening years, and that this was closely linked with concerns about the arrival of the Jesuits in England. However, there was also a strong emphasis on the political deceit of the Spanish, and the chapter will begin by interrogating the pamphlets that discussed this in relation to the hostilities between the Spanish and the Dutch. As Peter Limm has remarked, the political reforms that the Spanish introduced to the Netherlands were beneficial to the Dutch, but the pamphlets present these as Dutch subjugation, achieved by excessive violence.⁵ This chapter will explore how these reports, both domestic and foreign, were intended to provide a warning for the English and, therefore, were relevant to the English in the 1580s. Furthermore, the role that this imported Hispanophobia could have played in the conception of the Spanish ‘other’ will be investigated. It will be argued that these pamphlets highlighted the deception of both the Spanish and their religion, conflating anti-Spanish sentiment and anti-Catholicism. As Richard Streckfuss has demonstrated, interest in current news was increasing in this period, and as these pamphlets were relating the latest news, both foreign and domestic, they were ideal for the dissemination of Hispanophobic ideas.⁶

The chapter will examine how this developing desire for time-sensitive, news related pamphlets was accompanied by a growing enthusiasm for reports of exploration and navigation. This section will consider how reproductions of Spanish colonial accounts could be seen to be promoting English imperial aspirations by emulating Spanish achievements, and the ways in which Richard Hakluyt utilised exclusively English examples of historic voyages to promote English expansion in direct competition with the Spanish. Finally, the chapter will examine how the translation and publication of Bartolomé de Las Casas’ *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies* changed the focus of anti-Spanish sentiment, introducing the trait of brutality in 1583. As Jeremy Lawrance has demonstrated, by replacing the word ‘Christians’

⁵ Peter Limm, *The Dutch Revolt 1559 – 1648* (Routledge, Abingdon, 1989), p.33.

⁶ Richard Streckfuss, ‘News Before Newspapers’, *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75:1 (1998), p.93.

with ‘Spanish’ or ‘Spaniards’, Las Casas’ polemic presented the brutal deeds of the conquistadors as a uniquely Spanish trait.⁷ It will be argued that this reflected the political climate at the time, as there was concern that the Spanish may turn their attention from the Low Countries to English shores.⁸ The chapter, therefore, will lay the foundations for further discussion of how the traits of dishonesty and brutality, coupled with the theme of exploration and navigation, were developed over the course of the 1580s, and how the focus of these changed to reflect the political situation in England in later years.

Dishonesty

The trait of dishonesty was the most prevalent in the pamphlets of the 1580s that discussed the nature of the Spanish, but the association of this trait changed throughout the decade. Between 1580 and 1583 dishonesty was associated with both Spanish political manoeuvres in the Low Countries and their association with Catholicism, in particular the Jesuits, demonstrating the interconnectedness of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment in the opening years of the decade. One of the first pamphlets of the decade to include anti-Spanish rhetoric was *Newes from Antwerp*, a translation of a Dutch text, printed in London on 10 August 1580, that discusses the political deceit of the Spanish and their allies in the Spanish Netherlands. On the title page it is stated that the text contains ‘a special view of the present affayres of the lowe Countreyes: Revealed and brought to lyght, by sundrie late intercepted Letters, of certaine vizarded and counterfeyt Countreyemen of the same Countreyes’, and that it was ‘Translated [...] According to the originall copie, printed at Antwerp, by William Riviere’.⁹ No further information can be found about Riviere, but the London edition was printed by John Charlewood who, in 1581, styled himself servant or printer ‘to the right honourable Earl of

⁷ Jeremy Lawrance, *Spanish Conquest Protestant Prejudice: Las Casas and the Black Legend* (Critical, Cultural and Communications Press, Nottingham, 2009), p.23.

⁸ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Routledge, London, 2002), p.35.

⁹ Fredericke, abbot of Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp* (John Charlewood, London, 1580), A1r.

Arundel'.¹⁰ This suggests that he may have had Roman Catholic connections, but the large number of Protestant sermons he printed in his career, along with the eclectic nature of his printing, suggests that this did not determine his output and therefore provides little insight into his motivations.

The pamphlet relates the contents of letters from the Abbot of Morolles, and Jasper Schets, both nationals of the Low Countries, to Cardinal Granvelle and Provost Foncke respectively. Frédéric d'Yve was the Abbott and Lord of Maroilles in northern France, a diplomat and advisor to Philip II, and Gaspar Schetz was Lord of Grobbendonk (a municipality in Antwerp) and Hereditary Marshal of Brabant.¹¹ Schetz was also a rich Antwerp merchant-banker who later became treasurer-general of Philip II.¹² Although Provost Foncke's identity is unclear, we know that Granvelle was Philip's Secretary of State at the time and the contents of the letters were mostly updates from the Spanish Netherlands, discussing the interactions between the United Provinces and the Spanish allies, originally translated for publication in the Low Countries. As suggested by the title page, the text demonstrates the dishonesty of the authors and that, due to this deceitful nature, the Low Countries 'may not any longer looke for peace with the king of Spain, except we will yet suffer ourselves to be burnt', insinuating that peace with Spain is not possible without harm to the Low Countries.¹³ The letters themselves are updates from the Spanish Netherlands, reporting the actions of the Dutch rebels under William of Orange's command, the victories achieved by the Spanish, and recommendations for future action. The preface 'to the Reader' – again a translation of the Dutch version of the text -

¹⁰ John Nicholls, *The oration and sermon made at Rome* (John Charlewood, servant to the right honourable, the Earle of Arundell, London, 1581).

¹¹ Yve, Frederick d's (1540-1599) at <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb14573866w> with reference to a French publication: G.-G. Sury, *Frédéric d'Yve alias Fredericq abbé et seigneur de Maroilles* (Y. Criez, 2004); Alphonse Wauters, "Grobbendonck (Gaspar Schets, Seigneur de)", *Biographie Nationale de Belgique, vol. 8* (Brussels, 1885), 314-324. As all biographical information is in French the information has been accessed via https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaspard_II_Schetz#cite_note-1

¹² Guido Marnef, *Gresham and Antwerp*, lecture delivered 19/06/2008 at Gresham College. Transcript available at <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/gresham-and-antwerp>

¹³ *Ibid.*, A2v.

suggests that under the guise of making peace with Spain, certain of these ‘counterfeit’ countrymen ‘doo feede us with a vayne hope of peace [...] Hoping, that as already under coulour of peace, they have divided the provinces of Artoys, and Haynault from us’, and that they will continue to do this until the other united provinces are divided, and thus weakened to the onslaught of Spanish Catholic power.¹⁴ This is implying that peace with Spain will only be achieved by the subjugation of all the provinces of the Low Countries to Spanish Catholic control, as was the case with ‘Artoys’ (Artois) and ‘Haynault’ (Hainault). Monica Stensland provides a summary of the importance of this divide between the provinces, noting that in Autumn 1578 the States of Hainault invited the province of Artois ‘to join them [...] in defence of the Catholic faith’.¹⁵ This alliance was in opposition to the Prince of Orange’s proposition of ‘Religionsvrede’, an act of toleration that allowed freedom of worship, providing there were one hundred families or more in that region who wished to practice the doctrine of the alternate denomination.¹⁶ It is therefore apparent that the text is highlighting the divisions between national and religious loyalty by suggesting that Artois and Hainault were ascribing to Spanish Catholic hegemony, eschewing many of their countrymen in order to maintain peace with Spain. Moreover, Morolles states that he has often repeated in his ‘former Letters, that to have peace, it is expedient to have more: or to make better warre against them, then hath bene made hytherto’, insinuating that by peace he is referring to lack of opposition, achieved by further attacking the rebellious Dutch Protestants.¹⁷

It is noteworthy that the author adds a marginal note to this section of the letter, next to the mention of peace, simply stating ‘To deceyve them’, further embedding the idea that any profession of peaceful intentions by the Spanish and their allies is dishonest, as it is manifest

¹⁴ Ibid. A2v-A2r.

¹⁵ Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2012), p.89.

¹⁶ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, p.86.

¹⁷ Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp*, B1r.

in war and eventual submission to Spanish religious control.¹⁸ However, there were beneficial outcomes for the Dutch under Spanish rule. Peter Limm notes that the development of the bishopric scheme in the 1560s, coupled with the development of the legal system, was beneficial to the people of the Low Countries.¹⁹ Limm discusses how the Duke of Alva aimed to standardise legal procedures, unify criminal law and its methods of trying criminals in the provinces, as well as codifying many customary laws.²⁰ Yet at the time the Dutch objected to these developments as it was seen as an encroachment on their civil liberties, and the Dutch pamphleteers of the 1560s utilised this ill-feeling to further disseminate anti-Spanish feeling in the Low Countries.²¹ K.W. Swart identifies that Alva's constructive reforms were overlooked in favour of tales of the harshness of his tyrannical rule, which were greatly exaggerated in the texts.²² Thus, it is apparent that the Hispanophobic attitudes of the Dutch in the 1560s were produced in response to religiopolitical developments, a pattern that was replicated in the pamphlets of England in the 1580s when the 'liberties' of the English Protestants were perceived to be under threat from Spanish invasion.

As discussed, *Newes from Antwerp* was translated and printed in London in 1580 and reproduced several letters from the Abbott of Marolles and Jasper Schets. However, the deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations in the 1570s, and the arrival of English Jesuits in 1580, meant that the alleged political subterfuge described in the letters was also a warning for English Protestants to be wary of their Catholic countrymen, lest they divide the English population and thus weaken the defences against the Catholic missions. Therefore this

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Limm, *Dutch Revolt*, p.33.

²⁰ Ibid., p.33. An analysis of *The Joyfull Entry of the Dukedom of Brabant* on pages 11-13 provides further discussion of the opposition to Spanish rule based on the destruction of 'privileges and civil liberties'.

²¹ Ibid., p.33, K.W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War' in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (eds) *Britain and the Netherlands Vol V* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1975), p.36, Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560-1700* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013), pp.41-50 also discusses the circulation of pamphlets about the Dutch Revolt.

²² Swart, 'The Black Legend', p.55.

pamphlet, informing of the duplicitous Spanish and their greedy foreign allies, could have been influential as a piece of anti-Spanish propaganda, as in the late 1570s Anglo-Spanish relations were precarious. The sack of Antwerp in 1576, also known as the ‘Spanish Fury’, had driven most English merchants from the Low Countries.²³ According to Susan Doran, the loss of the profitable trade in the Low Countries, due to the instability brought about by the Spanish military actions, meant that Elizabeth no longer needed to ‘refrain from annoying the Spanish monarch’ for fear of losing valuable trading income, and had begun covertly providing assistance to the Dutch Protestant rebels.²⁴ Doran suggests that by the end of the 1570s Elizabeth’s advisors were keen to point out that the Dutch Protestants were in danger of their lives, and that as soon as the Spanish had crushed the rebellion over there, they would embark on an invasion of England.²⁵ Thus the warnings of the Dutch author would have struck a chord with those Englishmen who were concerned by the recent arrival of the Jesuits, and warnings against trusting the amity of the Spanish and their allies would have been prudent to maintain vigilance against the apparent threat of Catholic infiltration. It also makes clear that the united Protestant provinces must ‘make good provision to defend ourselves valiantly by all means possible, yea, to repulse the force that we see repaying for our ruine: Specially, if the Spaniards obtaine the kingdom of Portugall. Which God forbid.’²⁶ R.B. Wernham elucidates the significance of this, noting that Spain now controlled Portugal’s coast and had access to both the spice trade and the African coast.²⁷ Moreover, Philip now had control of Portugal’s navy, complete with dockyards and skilled mariners, meaning that Spain’s naval power was almost equal in numbers to the English royal navy.²⁸ With the death of the Portuguese king, and the ascension of Philip to the position, the increased power of Spain’s military and

²³ Doran, *Elizabeth I*, pp.33-34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.35.

²⁶ Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp*, A2r.

²⁷ Wernham, *Before the Armada*, p.356.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.357.

economy presented an increased threat to both the Low Countries and Protestant England. Thus, the warnings in the preface about the ‘vizarded countrymen’ were intended as a cautionary tale for the English, in the event that Spain might turn her attention to English shores, that they should be aware of the covert threat also posed by the English Catholic allies to the Spanish.

The text itself is thirty-six pages long, placing it firmly within the remit of pamphlet literature in the 1580s and, apart from the short preface, is a reproduction of the letters sent by the Abbott of Mariolles and Sechts. Gary Schneider has identified that *Newes from Antwerp* was a faithful translation of *Lettres Interceptes de Quelques Patriots Masqués*, printed in Antwerp in 1580, including the prefatory matter and marginal annotations that occur throughout.²⁹ As noted, the contents of the letters related the religious and political machinations of the Spanish in the Low Countries and, as Schneider notes, for the Elizabethan government ‘the publication of an enemy’s letters [...] was a powerful persuasive tool, since it could be claimed that [they] were transparent windows on thought and motive’ and that ‘throughout the sixteenth century printed letters were used as propagandist tools’.³⁰ Thus it is plausible that they would have been familiar to consumers at all levels of society and therefore an effective means of disseminating propagandist ideas. Furthermore, the annotations provided by the translator highlight the points in the text that he wants to convey to the reader, clarifying the intended message of the pamphlet. For example, the third letter from the Abbot of Morolles to King Philip is a lengthy appreciation of the abbot’s recent appointment to the Counsel of State. This would suggest the traitorous nature of the Abbot, yet the translator added marginal notes to point to his deceitful political manoeuvres. When he maintains that he will uphold the Spanish laws and religion in

²⁹ Gary Schneider, ‘Propaganda, Patriotism, and News: Printing Discovered and Intercepted Letters In England, 1571–1600’ in *The Journal of Epistolary Studies* Vol. 1 No. 1 (2019), p.60.

³⁰ Gary Schneider, ‘Letters in Print’ in Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr and Alan Stewart (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of English Renaissance Literature* (Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2017), pp.592-595.

the face of adversity from his fellow countrymen, which he discusses over two pages, the translator provides short points for the reader to reference, with annotations such as ‘My Lord Abbot [...] betrayeth his companions, accusing them to the Spaniards’.³¹ Furthermore, when the Abbot notes the ‘sleyghts and wyles of the sayde Prince [of Orange], being so subtill and suche a foxe, and the inconstancy, & covetousnesse of some in the world [...]’, the author adds the marginal note that

thou thoughtest to be a more crafty foxe, when you diddest countermine with thy complices in the counsel of estate. And when under shadowe of thy Ambassadorship, thou madest thy boasts with thy compices, to make him fall into the trap with all the good countrymen, specially, those of the Religion.³²

It can be seen, then, that there was an implied anti-Spanish sentiment in this text, intended to lay bare the treacherous and duplicitous nature of the Spanish and their allies to the reader or hearer. Thus it is apparent that the aim of the text was to demonstrate the untrustworthiness of the elites who were allied to Spain, and its reproduction in England provided a similar warning – that the remaining Catholics, especially those in positions of power who were potential Spanish allies, were to be viewed with mistrust in the event of Spanish invasion. It might be argued, then, that the overriding sentiment was that of anti-Catholicism. However, it is clear from the preface and some of the marginal notes that the Spanish are seen to be the instigators and financiers behind the actions of Morolles and Schets. The preface warns that the reader

shalt know [...] by these Letters, that we may not any longer looke for peace with the king of Spayne, except we will yet suffer our selves to be burnt. And therefore it remayneth that we make good provision to defend our selves valiauntly by all meanes possyble, yea, to repulse the force that we see repaying for our ruine:³³

Thus, the danger presented by the Catholics is intrinsically linked with the Spanish forces from the outset. Moreover, on the first page of the first letter the translator notes that ‘the

³¹ Morolles, *Antwerp*, B3r.

³² *Ibid.*, A3v.

³³ *Ibid.*, A2v.

Conspiracies of the Monkes with the Spaniards shall be discovered’, reinforcing this idea that the duplicitous countrymen are being guided by the wishes of the Spanish rather than their faith.³⁴

Like *Newes from Antwerp, Letters conteyning sundry devises*, printed for Thomas Charde in 1582, also relates the correspondence of Cardinal Granvelle, the key advisor to Philip II regarding Spain’s international affairs in the 1570s and ‘80s who, it has been suggested by Martin van Gelderen, was behind Philip’s Proclamation declaring William of Orange an outlaw and calling for his assassination.³⁵ Yet it is likely that this connection between Granvelle and the development of Spain’s foreign policy would only have been apparent to those who had access to such information through their social or political standing, essentially the upper echelons of English society, meaning that this text would have limited utility in the dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes. However, the Proclamation against William of Orange by Phillip II, and William’s subsequent *Apologie*, were well known, as William’s reply ran to two editions, printed in 1581 and 1584, thus any texts carrying news of this would likely have also been popular due to their relevance to current affairs.³⁶ Gary Schneider has identified that this collection of letters, along with those in *Newes from Antwerp*, were not published as propaganda but rather were intended simply as news reportage and, therefore, likely printed for profit.³⁷ Yet it should be noted that, as a news-based pamphlet, *Letters conteyning sundry devises* was somewhat behind the times, as the assault on William was also discussed in *A true discourse of the assault committed vpon the person of the most noble prince, William Prince of Orange, Countie of Nassau, Marquesse de la Vere &c. by Iohn Iauregui Spaniarde*, which

³⁴ Morolles, *Antwerp*, A3r.

³⁵ Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, *Letters conteyning sundry devises, touching the state of Flaunders and Portingall: Written by Card. Granvelle and others, and lately intercepted and published* (Thomas Dawson for Thomas Chard, London, 1582); Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002), p.151.

³⁶ For discussion of early modern popularity and print culture see Introduction, pp.53-55.

³⁷ Schneider, ‘Propaganda, Patriotism, and News’, p.61.

was registered with the Stationer's Company on 12 April 1582, three months earlier.³⁸ As has been discussed by Alexandra Walsham, Peter Lake and Michael Questier, and Richard Streckfuss, there was an increasing interest in all kinds of news in this period. Walsham discusses the profitability of news pamphlets in early modern England, suggesting their popularity, while Lake and Questier note that 'murder pamphlets' were produced frequently between 1580 and 1640, suggesting that this form of news was popular.³⁹ However, it is important to consider here that the authorship of this pamphlet is unclear, and Hannah Leah Crummé identifies that *A true discourse of the assault* was a propaganda pamphlet produced by Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, suggesting that the pamphlet was not produced for profit but rather its potential for disseminating the Hispanophobic attitudes as authorised by the government.⁴⁰ Crummé notes that the pamphlet makes clear that the assassination was only possible due to the Spanish perpetrator having 'surprised' Orange, highlighting the trickery and deception involved in the act.⁴¹ Moreover, the anti-Spanish sentiment is virulent in the preface 'To the Reader', which states that 'the credit and truth of this discourse [is] so plaine and sufficient, that neither all the Spaniards in the world, nor all their favourites [...] shall be able justlie any maner of way, to impugne or disgrace the same'.⁴² Thus, as Crummé demonstrates, the rhetoric in the pamphlet creates 'exactly the Spanish enemy Burghley desires' that can be widely disseminated due to the increasing popularity of news reports in this period.⁴³

³⁸ Edward Arber (ed), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, Volume II* (Privately Printed, London, 1875), pp.188b and 190b

³⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), p.44; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2002), pp.3-4.

⁴⁰ Hannah Leah Crummé, 'The Impact of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester's Spanish-Speaking Secretariats', *Sederi* 21 (2011), p.12.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁴² John Jáuregui, *A true discourse of the assault committed upon the person of the most noble prince, William Prince of Orange, Countie of Nassau, Marquesse de la Vere &c. by John Jauregui Spaniarde* (Thomas Charde for William Broome, London, 1582), ¶2.

⁴³ Crummé, 'The Impact of Lord Burghley', p.13.

The theme of dishonesty, framed by Spain's international relations, was also apparent in *The joyfull entrie of the Dukedome of Brabant*, printed by Robert Waldegrave in London in 1581, which highlighted the concerns with the growing influence of both the Spanish monarchy and papal jurisdiction in the Low Countries.⁴⁴ The text is simply a reproduction of the articles that Charles V and Prince Philip agreed to upon their entry 'joyful entry' to Brabant in 1549. A 'joyful' or 'joyous' entry was a ceremonial city entrance by a monarch, orchestrated by city officials to show the citizens' loyalty and affection for their rulers and common throughout Europe in the late medieval and early modern period.⁴⁵ However, as discussed by Maarten M.K. Vermeir, the Duchy of Brabant was unique in its adherence to

a particular political system - the earliest form of 'parliamentary democracy' in early modern Europe - embedded in the political culture of the Duchy of Brabant and its constitution, named the 'Joyous Entry' [...] they [the monarchs] were bound, from a constitutional perspective, by their 'Joyous Entry' [...] A 'Joyous Entry' was written at the beginning of every new regency: to become a lawful Duke of Brabant and enter the four 'Capitals' joyously [...] the aspirant prince needed to seal and affirm by oath this constitution of the Duchy of Brabant.⁴⁶

As noted, the text itself appears to be a reproduction of the affirmation made by Philip II on his 'Joyful Entry' to Brabant in 1549 with Charles V, as the title page suggests that within the reader will find 'the Articles agreed upon [...] confirmed by the Emperour Charles the Fifte, and solemnly Sworne by Philippe'.⁴⁷ Indeed, the heading on the first page states that the text is relating 'The establishing of the King of Spaine, in government of the Lowe countreys upon those Articles following, to which he is most solemply sworne'.⁴⁸ The content relates each of the fifty-eight items to which Charles V consented, many of which relate to the self-governance

⁴⁴ R.V.S., *The ioyfull entrie of the Dukedome of Brabant & the articles agreed upon, and graunted by their lordes, and confirmed by the Emperour Charles the Fifte, and solemnly sworne by Philippe his sonne King of Spaine. Anno 1549.* (Robert Waldegrave, London, 1581). For discussion of Waldegrave see below, p.61.

⁴⁵ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995), p.61.

⁴⁶ Maarten M.K. Vermeir, 'Brabantia: decoding the main characters of Utopia', *Moreana* 49:1-2 (2012), pp.151-55.

⁴⁷ R.V.S., *The Joyfull Entrie*, A1r.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, A2v.

of the region by native inhabitants, yet the first article can be seen to illustrate the dishonest nature of the political compacts made by the Spanish crown. Item one of the Joyful Entry states that Charles and Philip

shall not do nor suffer to be done to [the inhabitants of Brabant], any force and wil in any wise, and that we shal not meddle ourselves, nor suffer to be medled with the foraine lawes and judgements.⁴⁹

However, in the early 1560s Philip began the reform of the bishoprics, a plan that would increase the king's influence in matters of the Church, and something that he had been preparing for some time, according to Graham Darby.⁵⁰ This was significant as it placed the administration of justice in the hands of the bishops, many of them foreigners and most of them monks, which was breaking the promise made by the Spanish monarchs that the laws and privileges of Brabant would not be meddled with by foreign powers. Martin van Gelderen recounts the reaction to this in Brabant, discussing how on 5 April 1566 about 300 nobles marched through the streets of Brussels, and their main objective was to save the Low Countries from falling under the yoke of the Inquisition.⁵¹ Gelderen notes how the Brabant towns pointed out with great vigour that the religious policy of the government was 'in diverse respects, concerning the introduction of the clerical Inquisition as well as diverse points of the Concilium [of Trent], explicitly and directly against the Joyous Entry of our Lord the King and the old rights, usages, customs and privileges of the country of Brabant, as diverse good documents show'.⁵² In particular the article of the Joyous Entry forbidding the clergy to administer justice in Brabant was violated by the government's plans.⁵³ Thus, the eventual

⁴⁹ Ibid., A3v.

⁵⁰ Henk van Nierop, 'The nobles and the revolt' in Graham Darby (ed), *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (Psychology Press, Hove, 2001), p.59.

⁵¹ van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, p.110.

⁵² Ibid., p.112.

⁵³ Ibid.

publication of these plans showed how the king ‘in no wise’ upheld the promises made to the Dutch people,

but to the contrary, in place of getting and preserving of Priviledges and liberties, they are through the inspiration of the Pope and his allyed, with all crueltie and Tyrannie, broken, taken away, & totally voyd.⁵⁴

Thus the affirmation that Philip swore, stating that he would not suffer the inhabitants of Brabant to be meddled with by foreign laws and judgements, was seemingly proven to be false, and he had reneged on this first article in the eyes of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. This is made clear in the text, which states that these articles were reproduced in order to

Set forth to the viewe of al lovers of the trueth, who openly may see therein, how the same in no wise is performed [...]⁵⁵

Therefore, it seems that the publication of this document at the start of the 1580s was intended as a warning to the English about the nefarious nature of the Spanish, suggesting that their political manoeuvres are historically deceitful and therefore they should not be trusted. This text, then, demonstrated the duplicitous nature of Philip II, and would have been a useful piece of anti-Spanish propaganda in the Low Countries, but this does not explain why the pamphlet was reproduced for the English market, or what role the anti-Spanish sentiment conveyed might play in English society.

The print market was run primarily for profit in this period, and therefore discovering printers’ motives can be difficult, but it can be argued that the printer of this pamphlet mainly published works that aligned with his ideology. Robert Waldegrave printed thirty-seven books and pamphlets in the 1580s, the majority of which were religious titles. In her detailed review of Waldegrave’s work, Katherine S. Van Eerde notes that he made a prominent name for himself

⁵⁴ R.V.S., *The Joyfull Entrie*, A1r.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

as a printer of ‘Puritan’ works in his ten years of active printing in London.⁵⁶ By printing the articles that were meant to be upheld by Philip, the pamphlet is implying the apparently unjust treatment of the Dutch Protestants under Hapsburg rule, as these were not upheld. Therefore this text may have been chosen by Waldegrave to promote the just cause of the Dutch rebels, as Elizabeth was still cautious in her support of them at the time of printing.⁵⁷ Thus, this instance of anti-Spanish sentiment was closely linked with anti-Catholicism and the promotion of the Protestant cause throughout Europe. This reproduction of public documents (petitions, treaties and the like) was common in Dutch print concerning the Dutch Revolt, and of the thirty-six pamphlets published in London that related to the Revolt, twenty-six were translated from Dutch or French, the two main languages of the Low Countries.⁵⁸ This suggests that polemical texts such as *The Joyfull Entrie* would have been recognisable to the consumers of English cheap print. However, it seems that the efficacy of this document as easily disseminated Hispanophobic propaganda lies wholly in the assertions on the title page and preface, as the details of how the Spanish had not upheld this constitution, and thus had deceived the Dutch, are unlikely to have been apparent to the semi-literate and illiterate who came into contact with the text. As has been noted by Hugh Dunthorne, fifteen tracts relating the contents of various significant documents from the Low Countries were translated and printed in England after 1566, but these were often complex and convoluted, and were published with little or no introductory preface.⁵⁹ This begs the question, he continues, whether Elizabethan Londoners could really have understood the medieval text of *The Joyfull Entrie* without ‘a word of explanation as to its constitutional significance’.⁶⁰ It seems, therefore, that the Hispanophobic attitude implied by this text was pitched for the middling sort and above –

⁵⁶ Katherine S. Van Eerde, “Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link Between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland” *Renaissance Quarterly* 34: 1 (1981), p.44.

⁵⁷ Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, (Routledge, Abingdon, 2014), p.99

⁵⁸ Dunthorne, *Britain*, p.8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

those, such as merchants, who were already aware of the situation in the Low Countries, and could be called on for support against the Spanish if hostilities escalated as anticipated.

It was not only the Spanish political actors that were being portrayed as deceitful and dangerous, but their religious orders also. Although *A true discourse of the assault committed upon [...] William of Orange* is primarily concerned with the ‘wicked and cruel deede’ performed upon the Prince of Orange, and was written to impart the ‘truth’ of the matter, there is also a religious aspect conveyed in the text.⁶¹ The pamphlet was printed by Thomas Charde, who also printed *Sundry devises*, and was attributed to the perpetrator Jáuregui.⁶² The text is an account of the attempted assassination of William Prince of Orange by ‘John Jauregui’ in March 1582. In the text the author states that after a dinner that ‘was passed & spent with many honest communications & speeches’, one of which discussed ‘the cruelties committed by the Spaniardes in these low Countries’, the Prince withdrew ‘intending to go into his bedde Chamber with the sayd Lords and gentlemen’.⁶³ It is recounted that as he passed by a tapestry depicting Spanish soldiers ‘a yong man of low stature shot at the sayd Prince with a dagge, charged with one only pellet, the shot wherof hit him vnder the right eare, & passed through the pallet of his mouth and came forth at his left chéeke, néere vnto his vpper iaw bone’.⁶⁴ The text then relates the discovery of the murder plot, noting that the ‘Murtherer was of the house of a Spaniard, named Jasper d’Anastro’, and that all members of his house should be committed to prison although he himself had already fled ‘toward Bruges’.⁶⁵ It is then discussed how the household held Catholic Mass in secret, and several letters and papers found on Jauregui provide a prayer for the successful completion of the deed, a letter detailing the escape route

⁶¹ Jáuregui, *A true discourse*, ¶2r.

⁶² See p.73.

⁶³ Jáuregui, *A true discourse* A2v.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Jáuregui, *A true discourse* A3v.

back to Spain for the perpetrators, and two letters of exchange for 2000. crownes and 877 crownes, presumably for payment of the assassin.⁶⁶

The religious ideology within the text is highlighted in the preface ‘To the Reader’ laments the ‘horrible facte, committed against that godlye and great person’, implying the righteousness of William’s Protestant faith.⁶⁷ The religious foundations of this act, and the dangers of such, are laid out more plainly later in the preface. The anonymous English author/translator/editor of the text suggests that ‘it is to be thought, that we have too too manie, of that same Jesuiticall sect’, whilst the artifacts about the murderer include an image of ‘our Ladie Marie’ made by the Jesuites at ‘Madrill’, suggesting that he too was part of this apparently deceitful order.⁶⁸ This concern with the subterfuge of the newly arrived sect of Jesuits in England is apparent from the beginning of the decade when Edmund Campion and his companions first arrived. Thus, with the recent expansion of the Spanish Empire into Portugal, the threat posed by Spain in 1580 was twofold, and the concerns regarding this new spiritual infiltration were reflected in the pamphlets printed in the opening years of the decade. Thomas McCoog identifies that the first pamphlet to address the new threat posed by the Jesuits was a reply to an *Apologiae* written by Campion and released publicly by Thomas Pounce in July 1580.⁶⁹ Campion’s *Apologiae* was intended to inform the English reader or hearer about his journey from Germany at the behest of his superiors, and lay out his ‘nyne poynts, or articles, directly, truely and resolutely opening my full enterprize and purpose’.⁷⁰ Campion discusses his faith and shunning of ‘worldly Felicities’, and his mission

to preach the Gospell, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reforme sinners, to confute errors, and in briefe to trie all armoure spirituall agaynst foule

⁶⁶ Jáuregui, *A true discourse* Br, C3r, C3v-C4r.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ¶2r.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ¶2v and C2r.

⁶⁹ McCoog, ‘Introduction’, p.xxi.

⁷⁰ Edmund Campion, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite* (Thomas Marsh, London, 1581), Br.

vice and proude ignoraunce, wherewith many of my deare Countreyemen are abused.⁷¹

This statement was written to refute various libels being spread by the government about Campion and his fellow Jesuits, and was only intended to be released in the event of their capture, yet Pounce made copies and distributed them amongst Catholics.⁷² This ‘Brag’ or ‘Challenge’, as it came to be known, gained immediate notoriety, leading William Charke to publish *An answere to a seditious Pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite, conteyning ix. Articles heere inserted and set downe at large, with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect* in December 1580.⁷³

William Charke was a religious controversialist and anti-Catholic polemicist who was employed with John Walker to attempt to convert Campion whilst he was imprisoned in the Tower.⁷⁴ Charke’s pamphlet provided opinions on the nine points that Campion addresses in his ‘Brag’ but, importantly, was sold together with his translation of Christian Franken’s *A conference or Dialogue discovering the sect of Jesuites: most profitable for all Christendome rightly to knowe their religion*. Franken had been a member of the Society of Jesus until his renunciation of Catholicism in 1579 after he had been convinced by Paul Florence of the ‘wicked maskes and deceites’ of the institution of the Catholic Church.⁷⁵ Charke’s reply to the nine points are simply an answer to Campion’s tract, and therefore concentrate on Campion’s points directly. They are devoid of any specifically anti-Spanish sentiment, but rather present a broadly anti-Catholic standpoint. The translation of Franken, however, directly associates the

⁷¹ Campion, *bragge*, B2v and Er.

⁷² Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: Our Way of Proceeding?* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1996), p.146.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Richard L. Greaves, ‘Charke, William (d. 1617), religious controversialist’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). [Accessed 03/08/2020]

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5142>.

⁷⁵ Ibid., William Charke, *An answere to a seditious Pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite, conteyning ix. Articles heere inserted and set downe at large, with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect* (Christopher Barker, London, 1580), F1r.

Spanish with the Jesuits, stating that there are ‘many moe and more singular marks of the Jesuiticall holines in Spaniards and Italians then in Germanes, Frenchmen or other nations’.⁷⁶ In the dialogue, Paul separates the traits of the Spaniards from those of the Italians. He suggests that the Italians have always had a ‘natural inclination’ to hypocrisy and superstition due to their historical propensity to ‘admit many gods’, and that this has ‘powered many things into Christian religion, out of this their cuppe of fornication : and have almost altogether infected it with deadly poison’.⁷⁷ It is further suggested that this poisoned cup has ‘enticed, deceived and made drunken with delight’ the majority of Christendom, suggesting that the innumerable saints of the Catholic faith are simply a continuation of the multitude of Romish gods, thus placing the blame for the superstitions of the Catholic Church wholly on the Italians.⁷⁸ This metaphor of being drunk on the poison of Romish religion relates directly to Paul’s discussion of the Spanish, as he claims that the most susceptible to this ‘Jesuiticall holines’ are ‘sottish and servile men’ meaning that they were stupefied as if with drink, leading them to obey their superiors with slavish dedication – traits which he firmly associates with the Spanish.⁷⁹ This is noteworthy if we consider Alison Shell’s work on the survival of Catholicism in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. In *Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* Shell discusses the abundant literary evidence of Catholic loyalism in Elizabethan England, noting that there were ‘myriad ways in which English Catholics strove to show their support for the Queen despite their confessional position’, focusing on evidence from forms of imaginative writing such as poetry and drama and, occasionally, controversial religious texts and sermons.⁸⁰ Shell discusses the issue of obedience and loyalty, arguing that conflicts between monarchical and papal interest had a particular relevance to the arrival of the English

⁷⁶ Charke, *Seditious Pamphlet*, F5r.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, F6r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999), p.134.

Jesuits, unique among the Catholic intelligensia in having made vows of obedience to the Pope.⁸¹ Shell asserts that this allegiance to papal authority gave both lay and ordained Catholics a good reason to distrust the Jesuits and therefore anti-Jesuit sentiment is present in many of the clerical quarrels which arose in the 1580s and 1590s.⁸² Moreover, the increased threat of Catholic infiltration led to harsher fines and penalties for Catholics more broadly, with recusancy fines raised to £20 by the ‘act to retain the Queen’s Majesty’s subjects in their due obedience’ in 1581.⁸³ This act made treasonous anyone who coerced subjects to pledge allegiance to the Pope, or draw allegiance away from the Queen, and was thus likely instigated by the arrival of the Jesuits and their problematic Papal allegiances.⁸⁴ It is apparent, then, that English Catholic loyalists were being heavily financially penalised due to the threat posed by the Jesuits and were therefore at odds with the Catholic missionaries, preferring to reconcile obedience to the reigning monarch with the practice of Catholicism rather than submit to Papal authority.⁸⁵ As Shell points out, Catholic loyalist writers during Elizabeth’s reign were among the English monarchy’s ‘most vehement defenders’.⁸⁶ This is significant when we consider that the polemics discussing the Campion tract, and the pamphlet relating the attack on William of Orange (discussed above), all associate the Spanish with the Jesuits, potentially attempting to cement the association between religious dishonesty and disloyalty with the Spanish while distancing Catholic loyalism from the subversive Jesuit sect.

As Franken’s account of the nature of the Spaniard proceeds it verges on pitiful, as he explains that ‘there is no other cause hereof to be found in the Spaniard [for his adherence to Catholicism and the Jesuits], then his servile education in Christian religion’, arguing that the hold of the

⁸¹ Shell, *Catholicism*, p.113.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ A. Marotti, *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Springer, New York, 1999), p.25.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Shell, *Catholicism*, p.113.

⁸⁶ Shell, *Catholicism*, p.115.

Inquisition is so great in Spain that the Spaniards' whole life cycle is beholden to them, from being encouraged to denounce their parents as children to the potential of being denounced as heretics themselves in adulthood.⁸⁷ 'Therefore', he argues, 'the Spanish nation [is] borne and brought up in this infinite servitude of their mindes', and their tendency to be hot and ill-tempered means that 'they must be most fervent in their religion', perhaps suggesting that the violence with which the Spanish propagate their faith is merely a by-product of their 'servile' and 'choleric' temperament, exacerbated by the influence of the Italians and the 'Popes of Rome'.⁸⁸ This portrayal of the Spaniards' as ill-educated with regards to religion may have been intended simply to deride the Catholic Church, by suggesting that unlike the Protestant faith, no personal comprehension or introspection was required. However, the addition of this specifically Hispanophobic dialogue to the anti-Catholic *Seditious Pamphlet* would have developed the idea of the 'otherness' of the Spanish in particular, rather than the Roman Catholics in general.

It is noteworthy that the Charke pamphlet printed in 1580 is dated 'Decembris.17.' on the title page, as the next pamphlet to discuss the topic, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite* by Meredith Hanmer, was licenced to Thomas Marsh on 3 January 1581, a mere fortnight after the Charke pamphlet. As several historians, such as Walsham and Streckfuss, have already identified, the early modern print market was, like all business, run primarily for profit and news was an ephemeral yet popular commodity in this period.⁸⁹ As stated, Campion's *Brag* had achieved instant notoriety due to its clandestine topic, yet many English Protestant theologians claimed that they were unable to answer Campion's challenge

⁸⁷ Ibid., F5r – v.

⁸⁸ Ibid., F5v.

⁸⁹ Walsham, *Providence*, p.44; Streckfuss, 'News', p.93.

as the Queen had forbidden further disputations on matters that had long been settled.⁹⁰ Thus it can be assumed that any rejoinder printed would have been of interest to the burgeoning public sphere. As Peter Marshall has noted, from the pulpit, and in print, government supporters waged a clamorous anti-Campion campaign, to win over ‘public opinion’, suggesting that these pamphlets were potentially influential propaganda tools due to their apparent popularity.⁹¹ It is therefore unsurprising that there was competition to be the first to publish on this matter. While this suggests that the controversy caused by the arrival of the Jesuits was a popular topic for the cheap print market, it also provides further insight into the problematic concept of popularity in early modern English pamphleteering.⁹² Another edition of Charke’s *Seditious Pamphlet* was printed in 1581, with the date removed from the title page. Although we do not know how soon after the appearance of Hamner’s text this was printed, as it is not in the Stationers Register (presumably as it was already licenced to Christopher Barker on 20 December 1580), the fact that it was produced relatively quickly after the first edition points to the popularity of the subject matter. It is possible that this was printed for profit as much as propaganda, and although still in octavo format, the text was eight pages longer than the first edition. Thus it seems that the extra printing expense may have been justified by the fast-selling nature of the pamphlet, a possible explanation for the second edition of Charke’s work. However, the significance of this edition with regards to popularity may be found in the fact that the format of the text changed. Charke’s original pamphlet is his reply to Campion, having no reference in the text to the original Articles published by Campion, whereas Hamner’s

⁹⁰ Thomas M. McCoog, “‘Playing the Champion’: The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission” in Thomas M. McCoog (ed), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits : Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896-1996)* (Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge, 1996), p.129.

⁹¹ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017), p.534.

⁹² Emma Smith & Andy Kesson, ‘Introduction: Towards a Definition of Print Popularity’ in Emma Smith, Andy Kesson James Daybell and Adam Smyth (eds) *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Taylor & Francis Group, Farnham, 2013), p.9.

rejoinder includes the Articles and replies to them point by point. This format was adopted in the second edition of Charke's pamphlet – his original text remains the same yet is interspersed with Campion's nine points at the start of the relevant sections, hence the longer format of this edition. The only plausible reason for this updated edition, so soon after the first and incurring extra cost, would be the popularity of Hamner's text. The inclusion of the original Articles would have made the contents of each text more accessible to a larger audience, allowing those who could not afford to buy both Campion's *Brag* and Charke's *Answer* an opportunity to own both. Furthermore, the question and answer format would potentially have made the contents more comprehensible. The relevant points could be referenced when reading the 'answer', making it more suitable for discussion in a social context also, as it links the text with a more recognisable oral format of question and answer dialogue, as used at all levels of society in catechisms.⁹³ Therefore, a wider audience could have been attracted by the format of the second edition, presenting the original evidence followed by the response, as it mimicked the familiar question and answer format of catechisms. Furthermore, as Lake and Questier have argued, time-sensitive news was popular, thus this aspect of the material may provide some justification for the labelling of the Charke pamphlet as popular, and therefore ideal for the dissemination of the Hispanophobia within.⁹⁴ It should be noted, however, that the inclusion of the Franken translation in Charke's rebuttal made this pamphlet twice as long as the Hamner edition – running to one hundred and twenty pages versus the fifty-two page Hamner tract. The shorter pamphlet would have been cheaper to purchase, and thus reached a broader audience than Charke, meaning that the specifically anti-Spanish aspect may not have been as widely disseminated as the anti-Catholic message of Hamner's text.

⁹³ For an in-depth discussion on the form and use of catechisms, see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: catechism and catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996), pp.13-21

⁹⁴ Lake and Questier, *Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat*, p.14.

In the pamphlets focusing on the dishonest nature of the Spaniards and their religion, there is also a link with the trait of greed or covetousness. If we return to *Newes from Antwerp*, we can see that the Abbot of Morolles is not only presented as dishonest, but his duplicitous nature is due to his desire for power. When his betrayal of his fellow countrymen is highlighted by the translator/creator of the text, it is suggested that due to his ‘ambition and covetousness’ the Lord Abbot ‘betrayeth his companions, accusing them to the Spaniards’.⁹⁵ This combination of deceit and covetousness is also highlighted when the Abbot is discussing the Prince of Orange and his followers. As was discussed above, when the Abbot attacks the ‘sleyghts and wyles’ of the Prince, suggesting that he is ‘so subtyll and such a Foxe’ and his fellow countrymen display ‘inconstancy, & covetousness’, the annotation states

Yet, thou thoughtest to be a more crafty Foxe, when thou diddest counterminne with thy complices in the counsel of estate. And when under shadow of thy Ambassadorship, thou madest thy boasts with thy complices, to make him fall into the trap with all good countrymen, specially, those of the Religion.⁹⁶

The same letter then discusses how this ‘inconsistency and covetousness’ has led them to sell their souls for merit, to which the annotation comments ‘Wyttness the foure thousand Duckats of Pencion, that the Duke of Terra Nova hath promised thee’.⁹⁷ It is therefore apparent that this text is suggesting that any loyalty displayed by the Spanish religious allies is borne from greed and ambition, rather than moral character. Although this trait is being attributed to the Dutch allies of the Spanish, their complicity with the Spanish in this text may have been enough to infer guilt by association.

These traits, however, are more overtly ascribed to the Spanish in *A true discourse of the assault committed upon [...] William of Orange*, in which it is discussed how, upon searching the assassin, there

⁹⁵ Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp*, B3r.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, A3v.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* The reference is marked within the Latin phrase ‘Quos merito leues indicare poteram habentes etiam animam venalem’. It is assumed that the implication of greed in the annotation is sufficient to infer the sentiment to those who would not be able to translate the text.

were founde two letters of exchange, the one of 2000. crownes, and the other of 877. with letters of advice, all in Spanish, and by Spaniards: the bookes were of services to be performed at certain set hours: also one Jesuits Catechisme⁹⁸

This section links together several of the negative traits being associated with the Spanish in these opening years of the 1580s. The act itself displays both their treacherous nature and brutality, and the payment for assassination references their greed. Moreover, the reader is told that the documents of payment and instruction were written ‘all in Spanish, and by Spaniards’.⁹⁹ The Spaniards’ religion is also associated with the trait of greed being presented here, implied by the discovery of religious books alongside the letters of exchange. The inclusion of the Jesuits’ Catechism narrows this religious association further, drawing attention to the threat posed by the Jesuits to Protestant rulers, a particularly pertinent point when we consider the pamphlets already produced about this newly arrived threat to England. At ninety-six pages this text was long in comparison to many under investigation in this project, and thus would likely have been more expensive. However, this would not necessarily have impacted its efficacy for disseminating the anti-Spanish sentiment within. The time-sensitive nature of the content, being a report of current events, would have made this a popular text. Moreover, the scandalous subject matter made it ideal for oral dissemination, as it was likely the topic of choice discussed in taverns and church porches, especially as there appears to have been some uncertainty regarding the fate of Prince William.¹⁰⁰ If we consider this alongside the strong anti-Spanish aspect of the text, we can see that this pamphlet was particularly useful in ‘othering’ the Spaniard. The extreme Hispanophobia is apparent from the start, when the preface ‘To the Reader’ states that

A Spaniarde was the first broacher of it, by publishing that horrible proscruption which by the Princes Apologie is fullie aunswered [...] And as a Spaniarde devised it, and a Spaniarde performed it [...]¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Jáuregui, *A true discourse*, B1r.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ A letter from Cardinal Granvelle, dated 12 April and reproduced in *Letters conteyning sundry devises*, A2r, notes that ‘The Prince of Oranges death will alter many of their [the Dutch rebels] mindes’.

¹⁰¹ Jáuregui, *A true discourse*, ¶2v.

The text, as we have seen, was concerned with the attempted assassination of the Prince of Orange, apparently at the behest of Philip II. The fact that this act is firmly attributed to the Spanish – from the idea, to the financing and logistics, and down to the actual perpetrator, makes this the strongest piece of Hispanophobic propaganda considered so far in this chapter. The idea that a Spanish Catholic plot had led to the (almost) successful assassination of a Protestant head of state would surely have led to greater vigilance among the English population with regards to both the Spanish and the Catholic communities in England. Thus, this pamphlet, presenting the deceitful, brutal and greedy nature of the Spanish reinforced the need for the English to seriously consider the threat posed by Spain in these opening years of the 1580s, before any serious suggestion that the Spanish invasion was on the horizon.

The theme of treachery, and the deceptive nature of the Spaniard, is present in the majority of pamphlets printed at the start of the decade and is continued in cheap print throughout the period under investigation. It has also been intrinsically linked with greed, as we have seen in *A true discourse*, discussed above. However, the accusations of dishonesty, and its association with avarice and greed, is more apparent and holds greater meaning in *The Spanish Colonie* than the examples discussed so far, as it is associated with the religious foundations of the Spanish conquest.¹⁰² As discussed in the introduction, *Colonie* is a translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Brevisima Relacion De La Destruccion De Las Indias*, originally printed in Seville in 1552.¹⁰³ Las Casas was a Dominican friar who, according to Lawrence Clayton, was 'the most prominent defender of the Amerindians [who] challenged the Spanish claims to sovereignty and dominion in the Indies at every step'.¹⁰⁴ The text is an English translation of Jacques de Migrode's *Tyrannies et cruauitez des Espagnols*, complete with the French author's

¹⁰² Bartolomé de las Casas trans. M.M.S., *The Spanish Colonie* (William Broome, London, 1583).

¹⁰³ Introduction, p.16.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence A. Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Biography* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012), p.5.

preface ‘To the Reader’.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately the translator identifies himself only as M.M.S., and there is no record of any other works translated by him so his identity, and therefore motive for translation, is undiscoverable. Las Casas’ original text was intended to inform the Spanish monarchy about the atrocities committed against the indigenous population of the ‘New World’ by the Spaniards. In his prologue, dedicated to Prince Philip, Las Casas’ asks that the prince might be mooved most earnestly to desire his Majestie, not to graunt or permit to those tyrantes such conquestes as they have found out, and which they do so name, (whereinto if they might be suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselues, & being made against this Indian, peaceable, lowly & milde nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all lawes either naturall, humane or divine, vtterly condemned, detested and accursed.¹⁰⁶

Las Casas stated that the purpose of colonisation, and the cause of the decimation of the native population, was simply the desire of the conquistadors and their patrons to gain power and wealth for both themselves and their nation.¹⁰⁷ This is significant when assessing the portrayal of dishonesty as the Papal Bull *Inter Caetera divina*, issued in 1493, granted King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella license to colonise the Americas with the singular purpose that they ‘might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants’, and Las Casas recognised in his polemic that ‘the destruction of these iles and lands, beganne after the decease of the most gracious Queene [...] Isabell’.¹⁰⁸ Thus it can be argued that this text presented the colonising practices of the Spanish monarchs after Isabella’s death in 1504 as deceitful, as it suggested that ‘the Spanishe have destroyed such an infinite of soules [...] to gette gold’, and that so many millions of natives died ‘without faith and without

¹⁰⁵ Las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie*, ¶₂r. The French author is incorrectly identified as ‘James Aliggrodo’.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, ¶₃r.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, A2v.

¹⁰⁸ Frances Gardiner Davenport, Charles Oscar Paullin (eds), *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., New Jersey, 2004), p.61; ¹⁰⁸ Casas, *Colonie*, B3r.

sacraments'.¹⁰⁹ This allegation is presented again in the following section, 'Of the firme land', in which it is stated that the governor 'surpassed all others whiche came before him [...] by slaying and murdering [the inhabitants] and sending them to hell'.¹¹⁰ This insinuates that the Spanish slaughtered the inhabitants before any attempt to convert them, consigning them to eternal damnation, yet their justification for conquest and colonisation was the propagation of the Catholic faith to the indigenous peoples. Therefore, the text is implying that the Spanish conquest of the Americas was unjustified, as they are placing their profits above the propagation of Catholicism. It seems, then, that the publication of this polemic in English in 1583 could have been a means to encourage the patrons of English exploration. By highlighting the unjust nature of Catholic colonisation methods, it can be argued that the text was inferring the preferential methods that could be employed with the development of Protestant 'planting'. It can further be contended that the link between Spanish colonisation and the traits of treachery and greed was, when consumed by the English Protestant reader, a means by which the Spanish Catholic 'other' might be further cemented. This association of Catholicism with greed was not a new perception, and criticism of the clergy's greed and attachment to worldly goods can be found in the works of Erasmus, himself a Catholic, and implied by the calls for reform of the religious orders in the late Middle Ages.¹¹¹ However, by placing this trait in the context of the conquest of the Americas, and associating it directly with the Spanish, this pamphlet reinforced both the spiritual and temporal threat posed by the Spanish 'other' in particular – not only were they increasing the numbers of adherents to the Catholic faith, at least in theory, but they were also generating wealth with which the Spanish could increase their military capabilities. Thus the anti-Spanish sentiment in this pamphlet had a dual role – the portrayal of

¹⁰⁹ Casas, *Colonie*, A2v.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, C1r.

¹¹¹ Marie Dentière, *Epistle to Marguerite de Navarre and Preface to a Sermon by John Calvin*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007), p.28.

greed highlighted the wealth to be gained from ‘New World’ colonies, and spurred the English to conceive of a method of colonisation that was both profitable and just, while the brutality of the Spanish showed the dangers of the potential Spanish invasion.¹¹²

Exploration and Navigation

By investigating the theme of English exploration and navigation we can see the ways in which the English drew on Spanish colonial success. The diplomatic relationship between the two countries was reflected in the ways that Spanish achievement in this area was recognised, emulated, and later disavowed in the pamphlet literature of the 1580s, demonstrating that the growing hostilities changed the way that Spanish success was credited in English translations of their navigational treatises. In the opening years of the decade, emulation of Spanish success was encouraged by the publication of translated works by Agustín de Zárate and Pedro de Medina, yet the preface to the latter suggests that there was growing distain for the Spanish and that this emulation was masked by repudiation of the text’s Spanish origins. Moreover, English navigational success was being promoted in the pamphlets between 1580-1583, demonstrating that English imperial aspirations were being built on the foundations of these Spanish colonial achievements.

The increased interest in time-sensitive, news-related pamphlets, such as the texts discussing the arrival of the Jesuits, or the attempted assassination of Orange, was accompanied by a growing demand for news regarding exploration. Of course, there had always been an interest in tales of foreign lands, as the reproduction and circulation of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* suggests. Most surviving copies of *The Book of John Mandeville* tell us that it was produced in 1356 or 1357.¹¹³ Within approximately fifty years it was circulating widely

¹¹² Doran, *Elizabeth I*, pp.33-34 discusses the concerns that Elizabeth’s advisors had about Spanish invasion at the end of the 1570s; Nuno Ornelas Martins, *The Cambridge Revival of Political Economy* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2013), p.315 notes that a letter from Marquis Álvaro de Bazán de Sant Cruz proposed the Armada attack in 1583.

¹¹³ Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The “travels” of Sir John Mandeville* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1997), p.6.

throughout Europe, having been translated into eight languages – French, Czech, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin and, of course, English.¹¹⁴ *The Book* was produced and circulated in Latin Christendom at a particularly ‘inauspicious moment’ according to Iain Macleod Higgins, as the fall of Acre in 1291 had marked the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Great Schism of 1378 divided the European powers between pro-Roman and Pro-Avignonese camps, leading to increasing agitation for reform and social unrest.¹¹⁵ Thus it is unsurprising that *The Book*, with its ‘celebration of “universal” religious devotion, critique of contemporary Christian failings, and intermittent prophecies of Christian world dominion’, was popular amongst readers and hearers keen for a return to a powerful and united Christian world.¹¹⁶ In the early days of the printed word, *The Book* made the transition from script to print, having been translated and printed in eight languages before 1515, and had reached some sixty printings by 1600.¹¹⁷ It can be argued, then, that the tales highlighting the failings of Christianity, and the potential for a new, united Christian Church, would have been equally as poignant and popular among an English society divided by religious opinion as they were in the time of the Great Schism. However, the market for travel-related texts was not confined to reiterations of medieval voyages and the prophetic nature of these.

By the 1580s, the English had begun to show a developing interest in exploration and expansion, demonstrated by the pamphlets printed in the opening years of the decade. Arguably the first indication of the extent of Elizabethan desire for exploration was Francis Drake’s voyage to circumnavigate the globe, yet this was not reflected in the pamphlets produced on his return in 1580. David Quinn notes that although Drake returned to England with an illustrated journal, it was surrendered to the Queen and the details were suppressed,

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.8.

and no accounts of the voyage appeared in print until a short and heavily censored relation appeared in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations* in 1589.¹¹⁸ In his essay 'Sir Francis Drake Revived: From Letters to Legend', W. T. Jewkes suggests the Queen 'withheld the record of Drake's circumnavigation so that it could not be published', noting that this censorship of Drake's voyage was probably due to the fear that 'some other nation' may profit from it.¹¹⁹ This assumption is supported by the fact that publications by foreign explorers, such as the voyages to the 'New World' by Spain and Portugal, were allowed, perhaps intended to act as a spur for England's expansionist policies. It is noteworthy that *The Arte of Navigation* by Pedro de Medina was first translated in 1581, almost forty years after it was originally written.¹²⁰ The work is a compendium of Spanish navigational knowledge, and the title page advertises that the contents are 'very profitable for all kind of Mariners' and that the text was written 'by (master Peter de Medina) directed to the right excellent and renowned Lord, don Philippe, prince of Spaine, and of both Siciles. And nowe newly translated out of Spanish into English by John Frampton'.¹²¹ Although the work is one hundred and seventy-four pages, and thus falls outside the parameters of what constitutes a pamphlet, it is pertinent as it informs of the intellectual climate in Elizabethan England and demonstrates how the translation of these works was associated with the political developments in the 1580s. Whilst translating this work could be seen as laudatory the translator, John Frampton, makes it clear that he holds little admiration for the Spanish, noting that he only translated the text because he was

forced by friendship, and also moued by persuasion of certaine pylottes, and Masters of shippes, [and so he translated] this booke of the arte of Navigation, compiled by Master Peter de Medina a spaniarde [...]¹²²

¹¹⁸ David B. Quinn, 'Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage' in Norman J.W. Thrower (ed), *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth* (University of California Press, Berkley, 1984), p.38; W.T. Jewkes, 'Sir Francis Drake Revived' in Norman J.W. Thrower (ed), *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage* (University of California Press, Berkley, 1984), p.116.

¹¹⁹ W.T. Jewkes, 'Sir Francis Drake Revived', p.116.

¹²⁰ Pedro de Medina, *The Arte of Navigation* (Thomas Dawson, London, 1581).

¹²¹ Ibid., Title Page.

¹²² Ibid., ¶2r.

This makes it apparent that he would not have chosen to translate this text if it were not for the persuasion of his acquaintances, presumably due to its Spanish origins. Frampton ‘had been a merchant adventurer to Seville from the late 1550s, a translator of some accomplishment (with qualifications), and a man who stated before Hakluyt many of the nationalist, mercantile and explorational goals, implicit and overt, conveyed through Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589)’.¹²³ It is apparent that his dismissal of the original author, suggesting some antipathy towards the Spanish, is seemingly justified as Frampton suffered at the hands of the Inquisition during a commercial trading voyage in late 1559.¹²⁴ He was arrested by the Holy Office in Málaga, and all the money in his possession and his chest of personal effects was sequestered, leading him to feel great animosity towards the Spanish.¹²⁵ Thus we see here an example of Barbara Fuchs’ theory of ‘disavowed emulation’ in which she argues that translations were constructed in a way that ‘glorifies conflict while minimising influence’ and, moreover, that when popular Spanish works were translated, these ‘borrowings’ from Spanish literary forms were framed as ‘a triumphal taking’, designed to both lessen the impact of Spanish influence and demonstrate the superiority of the English in both literary and imperial affairs.¹²⁶ Frampton chooses to translate the Spanish text for the beneficial influence it would have on English expansion, but is clear from his dismissal of the Spanish author that the text was not translated out of admiration for the Spanish but rather at the behest of English acquaintances. He further explained that he was also motivated to publish the manual in England

because [it] is so principalle that in our time, the like in all respectes hath not beene sette forth in our tongue, considering it instructeth, and teacheth all the whole arte

¹²³ Donald Beecher, ‘The Legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan Trader and Translator’ in *Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006): 320-39. Accessed August 3, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/24416746. P.321.

¹²⁴ Lawrence C. Wroth, ‘An Elizabethan Merchant and Man of Letters’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17:4 (1954), pp.302-303.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.303.

¹²⁶ Fuchs, *Poetics*, pp.6-7.

of Navigation [and is] necessary for the Mariner, [...the text is] comparable to a glasse, wherein all the course of the worlde, [...] are to bee seene, and knowne.¹²⁷

Thus it seems that Frampton was driven by the ways in which this Spanish text would benefit the English merchants and mariners, giving them access to the full extent of knowledge enjoyed by their Spanish counterparts. The reasoning behind this is clear when he explains that he believes

[...] they shall gather much fruite theer by, and that [...] these sciences shall remaine aswell in our countries as in any other [...] And seing this worke so necessary for the common wealth [...] I tooke in hande to translate this booke, being perused and allowed by the chiefe Pilot, & learned Cosmographers of the famous contractacion house of Sevil for the increase & knowledge of matters of Navigation, for the subjects of Spaine, which worke so excellent tried & approved by the learned: And for this our England so fit [...]¹²⁸

It is therefore apparent that there was a nationalistic agenda behind the translation of Medina's work based on emulation of Spain's prior navigational achievements. Frampton states that this book was approved by the best mariners and navigation experts in Seville, profiting all Spanish subjects, and therefore Frampton has translated it so that the English could emulate Spanish success and benefit economically from their navigational knowledge.

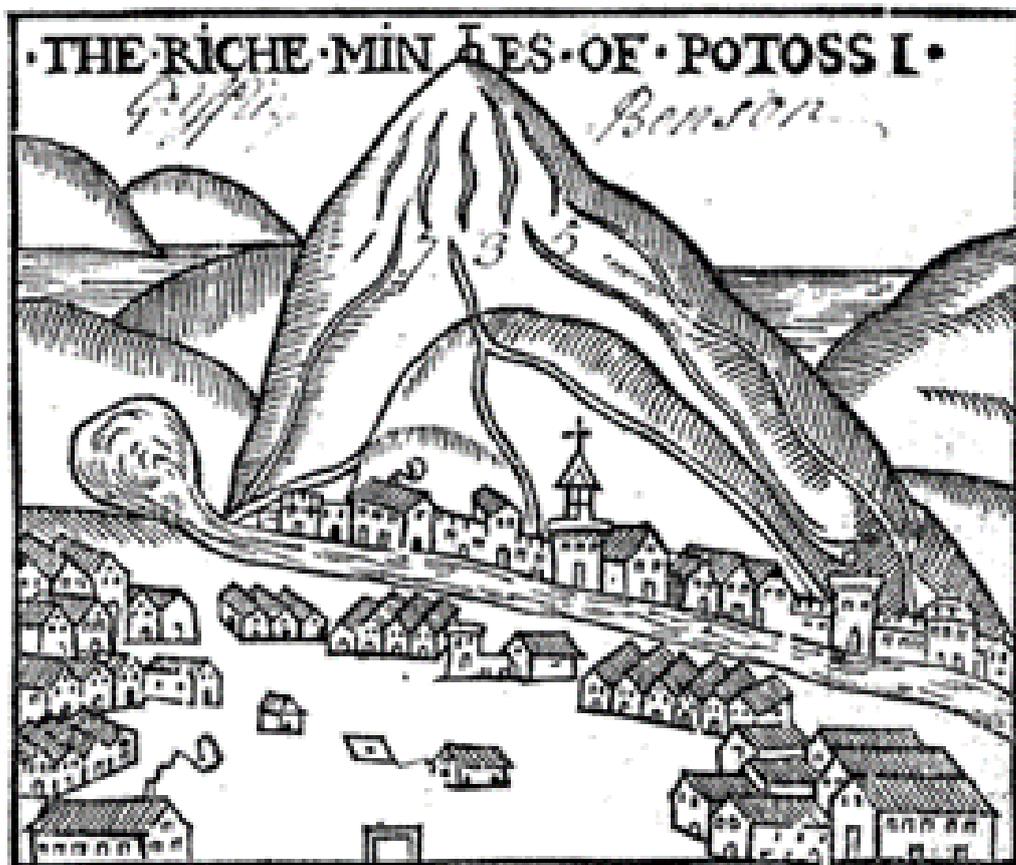
Furthermore, in 1581 a translation of Agustin de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, originally printed in Antwerp in 1555, was published under the title *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru, and the navigation in the South Sea, along that coast. And also of the ritche Mines of Potosi*.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Medina, *Arte*, ¶2r.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, ¶2r.

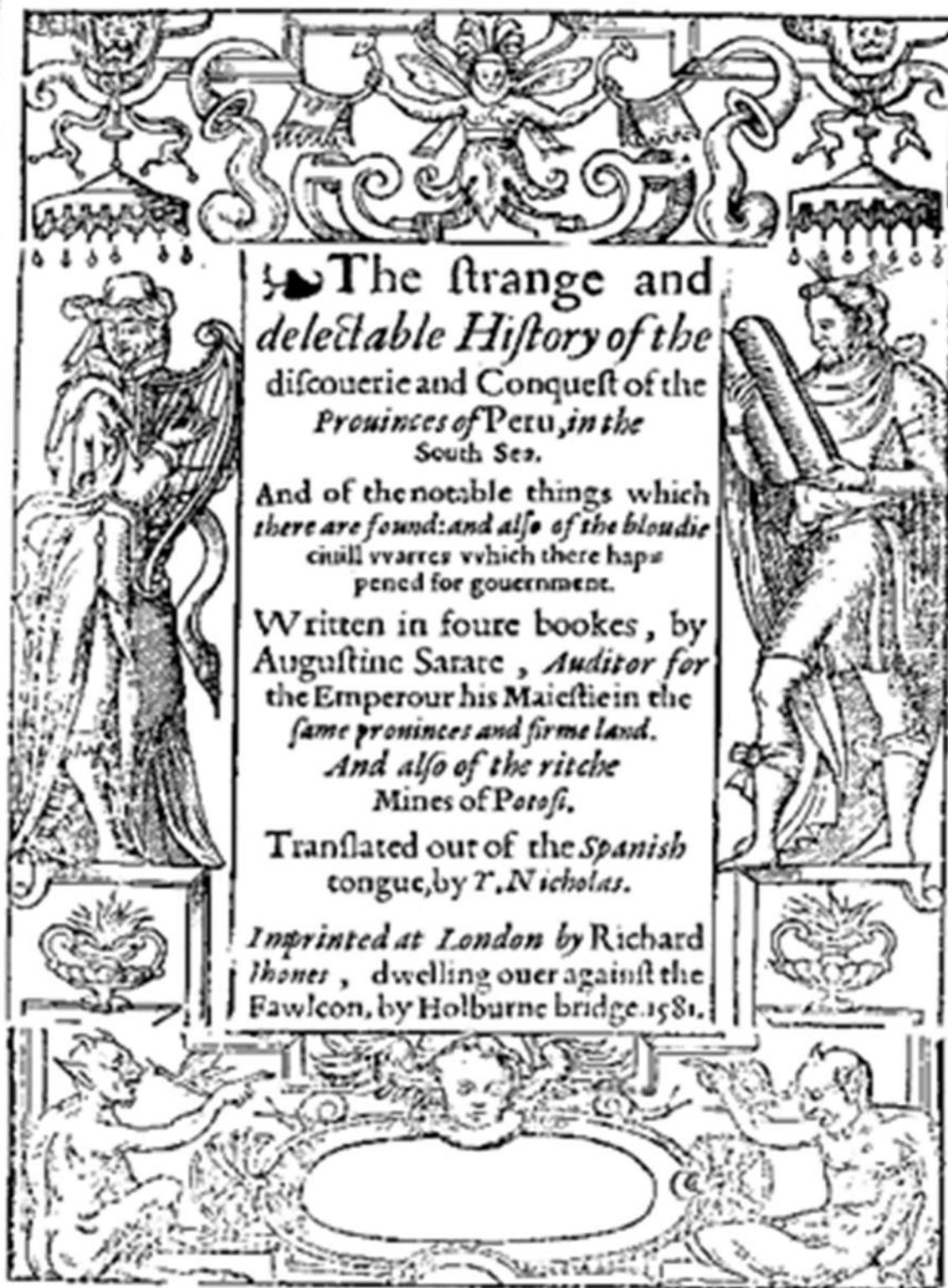
¹²⁹ Agustin de Zárate, *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru, and the navigation in the South Sea, along that coast*. (John Charlewood, William How, and John Kingston for Richard Jhones, London, 1581).

THE
DISCOVERIE AND CONQVEST
of the Prouinces of *P E R U*, and
the Navigation in the South
Sea, along that Coast.
And also of the ritche Mines
of *POTOSI*.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, Febru 6. 1581.

130 Figure 1



131 Figure 2

¹³¹ Zárate, *Peru*, A2r, showing original frontispiece.

As shown in figure 1, this is one of the few sources in the pamphlets under investigation to include a woodcut on the title page, depicting a town, complete with a Christian church, nestling under Potosí mountain, over which is written 'THE RICHE MINES OF POTOSI'. The text is a translation of Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, one of the early Spanish chronicles describing events in Peru from the period of the first plans for its exploration by Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro to the year 1550, when order had been restored after the series of civil and Indigenous wars and the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion.¹³² Zárate was a chronicler who held various positions in the Spanish administration: he acted as secretary of the Council of Castile until, in 1543, he was appointed royal accountant of the Crown Accounts in Peru and travelled with the navy of Viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela.¹³³ Once in Peru, he supported the rebellion of the encomenderos led by Gonzalo Pizarro, an act which Dorothy McMahon suggested was potentially the reason for his text, noting that 'he may have written [Historia] originally as something of an apology for his own acts while serving as auditor in Peru'.¹³⁴

The book was translated into English by Thomas Nicholas, a shipowner and translator who, like Frampton, had spent many years in Spanish territory as the English factor in Tenerife where he had been arrested by the Inquisition. Like Frampton, he too had goods confiscated.¹³⁵ According to R.C.D. Baldwin, during his time in Spain he began to translate works that would inform the privy council's strategic reappraisals of the military and financial strength of the Spanish monarchy.¹³⁶ As Beecher points out, 'the act of revealing to one's own nation the

¹³² Dorothy McMahon, 'Some Observations on the Spanish and Foreign Editions of Zárate's "Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú"' in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Second Quarter, 1955), p.95. pp. 95-111

¹³³ 'Zárate, Agustín de Valladolid, Historiador, cronista y funcionario' at <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/6534/agustin-de-zarate> translated by the author.

¹³⁴ McMahon, 'Some Observations', p.96.

¹³⁵ Beecher, 'The Legacy of John Frampton', p.334.

¹³⁶ R.C.D. Baldwin, 'Nicholls, Thomas' at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/> [Accessed 04/08/20]

private cache of knowledge of an enemy nation makes translating an act of strategic intelligencing’, and the translator a full participant in the imperial project.¹³⁷ It can be argued, then, that the admiration for and subsequent *imitatio* of Spanish texts discussed by Barbara Fuchs is clearly evident in the navigational texts produced at the start of the decade.¹³⁸ However, it is apparent that not all translated texts were obvious in their attempt to dismiss or disparage the original Spanish source as this pamphlet clearly ascribes the text to the original Spanish author without comment on the Spanish origins of the text. It is worthy of note here that the printer, John Charlewood, may also have shared an interest in advancing England’s imperial goals by utilising Spanish methods. He began his career printing only ‘ballads and small things’, and was fined several times in the late 1570s for printing books concerning foreign reports that were not licenced, although after Spring 1580 he ‘appears to have behaved very orderly’.¹³⁹ As discussed above, Charlewood had Catholic ties but printed works on an array of topics, suggesting that his practice was economically rather than ideologically driven, meaning that it is often not possible to discover his motivations for printing.¹⁴⁰ However, in this instance it is possible that his printing of unlicensed ‘foreign reports’ may have brought him into contact with the translation work of Nicholas. It is also apparent that Charlewood’s interest in foreign news developed a nationalistic aspect as the two other pamphlets printed by him in this decade were George Peckham’s *A true reporte, of the late discoueries, [...] by that valiaunt and worthye gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight*, promoting English overseas expansion, and Thomas Greepe’s *The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant employtes atchived and doone by that valiaunt Knight, Syr Fraunces Drake*, which recounted

¹³⁷ Donald Beecher, ‘The Legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan Trader and Translator’, *Renaissance Studies* 20:3 (2006) 320– 39 (p332)

¹³⁸ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.4.

¹³⁹ Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical antiquities; or the history of printing in England, Scotland and Ireland: containing memoirs of our ancient printers, and a register of the books printed by them.* (Printed for the editor, London, 1786), p1093

¹⁴⁰ See discussion of *Newes from Antwerp*, p.67.

Drake's privateering success against the Spanish in the South Sea.¹⁴¹ Thus, it seems that Charlewood may have printed this pamphlet in order to encourage English exploration or privateering ventures to challenge the Spanish in the 'New World'.

That this work was translated to challenge Spanish might in Europe and the Americas is apparent in Nicholas' prefatory epistle:

I may at this day [...] boldlie write that, where the Spanish and Portingall Naciones dare glorie of their discoveries & Navigacions, with great commendations of their Captaines, Colon Vasco dela Gama, Magalanez, Hernando Cortez: Don Francisco Pizarro, & Don Diego de Almagro. Now may our most gracious Queen, most iustly compare withall the Princes of the world, both for discovery & navegacion.¹⁴²

It is clear from the extract that Nicholas was translating this work to promote English exploration by emulating the success of Spain. However the title page, with its suggestion of intelligence about the discovery of Peru, the navigation of the South Seas, and the riches to be found at Potosí, suggests that the pamphlet may be encouraging incursions into the South Seas to achieve the 'reappraisals' of Spain's military and financial strength that Baldwin discusses. The timing of this pamphlet is especially interesting if we consider the closely guarded movements of Francis Drake between 1577 and 1580. As discussed in chapter one the details of Drake's circumnavigation were a closely guarded secret, even after his return to England.¹⁴³ However, we know that Drake anchored in the Peruvian port of Callao in February 1579, as well as visiting the ports of Paita and Arica the same month, before he set sail in pursuit of the treasure galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion* (nicknamed *Cacafuego* by the English privateers), carrying treasure from the Potosí mines bound for Panama.¹⁴⁴ Drake captured the *Concepcion* in early March, acquiring 1.300 bars of silver along with chests full of silver coin

¹⁴¹ Peckham's *A true reporte* is discussed below on p.119, and Greepe's *The true and perfect Newes* is analysed in chapter three, p.185.

¹⁴² Agustín de Zárate, *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru*, (John Charlewood, William How, and John Kingston for Richard Jhones, London, 1581), Aiiiiv.

¹⁴³ See chapter one, p95.

¹⁴⁴ Peter T. Bradley, *Spain and the Defence of Peru, 1579-1700* (Lulu Publishing Inc., Morrisville, 2009), pp.7-14.

and eighty ponds of gold, as well as a large quantity of unregistered treasure.¹⁴⁵ Thus, Nicholas' translation may have had a dual purpose. He was clearly advertising the success that the Spanish had in Peru, encouraging English voyages; yet it is also possible that, through his translation work in Spain, he was aware of Drake's success and was thus also implying the quantities of Spanish silver and gold that may be obtained by any merchants interested in the wealth to be gained by privateering voyages. It is noteworthy that this incursion into the South Seas in 1579 instigated the development of an armed fleet to accompany future Spanish treasure ships on their voyages. This was the basis of what would later be named the *Armada del Mar del Sur* (the 'Fleet of the South Seas'), a group of armed Spanish vessels sailing to Panama in convoy that Peter Bradley suggests came into being in 1581 – coincidentally the same year that the pamphlet was printed in England.¹⁴⁶

The following year Richard Hakluyt published his *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America* with 'two mappes annexed hereunto for the plainer understanding of the whole matter' advertised on the title page.¹⁴⁷ According to Peter Mancall, Hakluyt was ordained sometime between 1577-1580 and joined the Theologi of Christ Church, a group of twenty scholars who planned a life in the ministry.¹⁴⁸ However, if we take Hakluyt's writings to reflect his interests, it is apparent that his passion for geography soon overtook his clerical commitment, and his inclusion of detailed maps attests to this assumption.¹⁴⁹ Again, it seems that this collection was produced to encourage English exploration, as the contents relating 'the maritime record of our own men' may have spurred the emerging group of English merchant explorers to undertake

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Bawlf, *The Secret Voyage of Sir Francis Drake* (D & M Publishers, Vancouver, 2009), p.144.

¹⁴⁶ Bradley, *Spain and the Defence of Peru*, p.22.

¹⁴⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (Thomas Woodcocke, London, 1582).

¹⁴⁸ Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (Yale University Press, London, 2010), p.72.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

their own expeditions.¹⁵⁰ Little is known of the printer Thomas Woodcocke's life and printing practices, but *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* notes that 'He seems to have printed little himself; for most of his books, (eleven in number) appear to have been printed for him.'¹⁵¹ The Short Title Catalogue lists forty-nine books and pamphlets, mostly printed for Woodcocke, the majority of which are printed sermons and religious treatises as well as the works of John Calvin and Martin Luther.¹⁵² However, there are also histories, treatises on hunting and shooting, beekeeping, and one other work regarding seafaring entitled *A booke called the treasure for traveilers*.¹⁵³ *Treasure for traveilers* included details about how to use an astrolabe and other navigational equipment, understanding longitude and latitude, and the 'natural causes of sand and rockes in the sea'.¹⁵⁴ It can be argued, therefore, that Woodcocke seems to have shared Hakluyt's passions for theology and geography.

Rather than simply promoting English exploration as a whole, the publication of *Divers Voyages* was intended to support the voyage that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was planning for the following year, and it appears that it may have gone some way to achieving this goal.¹⁵⁵ Anthony Payne notes that on 22 May 1582, the day after it was licensed, Sir Edmund Brundenell bought a copy and, soon after, signed up to join Gilbert's colonising expedition, and Philip Sidney remarked in his correspondence with Sir Edward Stafford that he was 'haulf perswaded to enter into the journey [...] whereunto your Mr Hackluit hath served for a very

¹⁵⁰ D.B. Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook Volume 1* (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1974), p.5; For a brief overview of Hakluyt's use of historical sources to promote English exploration, see J.H. Parry, 'Hakluyt's view of British history' in Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp.3-7.

¹⁵¹ Charles Henry Timperley, *A dictionary of printers and printing: with the progress of literature; ancient and modern* (H. Johnson, London, 1829) p.417

¹⁵² Works accessed via Early English Books Online at <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/results?terms=thomas%20woodcocke&offset=60> [14/08/2020]

¹⁵³ William Bourne, *A booke called the treasure for traveilers*. (Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke, London, 1578).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, *3v.

¹⁵⁵ Francisco J. Borge, *A New World for a New Nation: The Promotion of America in Early Modern England* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2007), p.71.

good trumpet'.¹⁵⁶ The voyage was seemingly successful, and Gilbert 'proclaimed the Countrey to be under the English regency'.¹⁵⁷ However, this initial success turned into failure as Gilbert was drowned when his ship was wrecked on his return to England. The costliness of this, and several other shipwrecks during the course of his expedition, meant that Newfoundland was temporarily abandoned as an English colony.¹⁵⁸ Yet the fact that this voyage took place at all suggests that the market in cheaply printed texts influenced early English exploration. Gilbert had received the letters patent necessary to start his colony from Queen Elizabeth in 1578, and set sail in September of that year.¹⁵⁹ Rocky M. Mirza has suggested that after this, and a second attempt in the November, failed to cross the Atlantic, Gilbert struggled to raise the finances to embark on his third attempt, as Elizabethan seafarers were primarily responsible for financing their own expeditions, rewarding themselves from the proceeds of plunder.¹⁶⁰ Thus, Gilbert's failed, and his unprofitable ventures made any future voyages unappealing to potential investors. However, after the publication of *Divers Voyages* by Hakluyt in support of this voyage, it seems that he was more successful in promoting the benefits of his venture, and therefore gained the financial backing of several merchants meaning he was able to mount his final attempt in 1583.¹⁶¹

It appears that Hakluyt had a dual agenda when promoting English expansion, linked with both economic gain and identity creation in the 'othering' of the Spaniard. As discussed above Hakluyt was a godly man, but by 1580 his commitment to theology was overtaken by his interest in geography and, it seems, a dedication to promoting English imperial expansion.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A guide to his books and to those associated with him 1580-1625* (Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London, 2008), p.7.

¹⁵⁷ Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p.103.

¹⁵⁸ Richard Clarke, 'The Casting Away of the *Delight* (1583)' in Rainer Baehre (ed), *Outrageous Seas: Shipwreck and Survival in the Waters Off Newfoundland, 1583-1893* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Ontario, 1999), p.64.

¹⁵⁹ Rocky M. Mirza, *The Rise and Fall of the American Empire: A Re-Interpretation of History, Economics and Philosophy: 1492-2006* (Trafford Publishing, Bloomington, 2007), p.66.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.66. Cawley, *Colonies in Conflict*, p.42

¹⁶¹ Mirza, *The Rise and Fall*, p.66.

¹⁶² Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p.72.

In fact, Donald Beecher has argued that the credit for the founding of English navigational travel writing must be given to Richard Hakluyt, noting that *Divers Voyages* was the first instance of ‘a major new mode of literature that expressed the English mercantile and colonial destiny that was in the process of being made manifest in the latter years of the sixteenth century’.¹⁶³ His first publication was a collection of documents relating to exploration, written over the course of the sixteenth century. In his dedicatory preface, Hakluyt remarks that

after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portingales [in America], that wee of Englande could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places, as are left as yet unpossessed of them. But againe when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portingales time to be out of date, & that the nakednesse of the Spaniards, and their long hidden secretes are nowe at length espied, whereby they went about to delude the worlde, I conceive great hope, that the time approacheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if wee will our selves) both with the spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet undiscovered.¹⁶⁴

Thus, Hakluyt’s reasoning for promoting overseas expeditions was seemingly born from the desire to compete on an economic and material level with the vast Spanish Empire and, therefore, was the beginning of the creation of an English imperial identity. In the section above he insinuates that the methods adopted by the Spanish are undesirable and dishonest – an observation likely based on their professed spiritual goal of conversion versus their apparent goal of economic wealth, as related by Las Casas. Thus his reference to the ‘nakednesse of Spaniards’ suggests that their lies have been stripped away, and the naked truth that their colonisation was as much for profit as propagation is now clear to the world.¹⁶⁵ This association of the Spanish with dishonesty is apparent throughout the decade, and as noted above, was linked with both their political and religious identity. Thus, for a godly man such as Hakluyt, the practices of the Church, and the Spanish conquest, provided a spiritual dimension to his

¹⁶³ Donald Beecher, ‘The Legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan Trader and Translator’ in *Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006): 320-39. Accessed August 3, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/24416746. P.321.

¹⁶⁴ Hakluyt, *Divers*, ¶r.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

theories on exploration, giving rise to his ideas regarding an English method of colonisation based on the values of honesty and justice, ideas apparent in his collection.

Although the translation of Las Casas had not been published in England when Hakluyt compiled *Divers Voyages*, there were already recent translations in French and Dutch that educated men such as him and his cousin would have had access to. F.M. Rogers notes that Hakluyt's time in Paris as, where he was based between 1583 and 1588, provided him with 'appropriate experience [...] and a wide network of contacts with merchants and mariners' that allowed him to develop his ideas about English exploration and colonisation.¹⁶⁶ It seems that Hakluyt's distaste for the Spanish method of colonisation was not only based on their dishonesty, but also the brutality with which the Spanish treated the Amerindians, as was related in *The Spanish Colonie*. For example, Las Casas told of how it

hath been always their [the Spaniards] customary maner of doying, in every the regions which they have entred into, to execute incontinent upon their first arrivall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the ende, that those poore and innocent lambes should tremble for feare whiche they should have of them [...]¹⁶⁷

This idea of ruling by fear was clearly in opposition to how Hakluyt envisaged the proper method of colonisation. In *Divers Voyages* he reproduced the work of his cousin and mentor, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, in which it is argued that

Nothing is more to be indevoured with the Inland people than familiaritie. For so may you best discover al the natural commodities of their country, and also all their wants, all their strengthes, all their weaknesse [...] which knowen, you may woorke with many great effectes of greatest consequence.¹⁶⁸

The inclusion of this work in Hakluyt's pamphlet suggests that he shared the views of his cousin, and highlights the problematic relationship between England and Spain. Richard Helgerson notes that the ideological relation of England to Spain is complicated by 'an

¹⁶⁶ F.M. Rogers, 'Hakluyt as translator' in D.B. Quinn (ed) *The Hakluyt Handbook, Volume 1* (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1974), p.37.

¹⁶⁷ Casas, *Colonie*, D2v.

¹⁶⁸ E.G.R. Taylor (ed), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, Volumes 1-2* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2017), p.118; Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, K2r.

awkward mix of similarity and difference’, highlighting that although England had an active merchant class who would be keen to achieve the foreign trade enjoyed by the Spanish there was also a strong aristocratic identity ‘whose most glorious memories were of feudal conquest and crusading zeal’.¹⁶⁹ Thus, Hakluyt’s work presenting the achievements of previous English explorers details these ‘glorious memories’ and, it can be argued, rekindled the English crusading zeal by presenting an opportunity to spread the Protestant faith in the ‘New World’. Moreover, this insistence that the native peoples be treated with amity further constructs the ‘otherness’ of the Spanish method of colonisation by opposing their brutal approach, thus creating an English ideal of peaceful settlement and conversion.

Brutality

The trait of brutality, presented in its most extreme form, was associated with the Spaniards throughout the decade, and the representation of this trait remained constant throughout the decade. Moreover, this trait was invoked to promote both domestic defence and external expansion depending on the timing of its inclusion within the pamphlet literature. In these opening years of the decade, it was the brutality of Spain’s colonial enterprises that the pamphlets focused on in order to promote English imperial aspirations. While the examples of greed and dishonesty that have been discussed began to lay the foundations on which the Spanish ‘other’ could be constructed in early modern England, it was the presentation of the brutal nature of the Spaniard that arguably changed the presentation of anti-Spanish sentiment in this period and cemented their ‘otherness’. Traits such as cruelty and tyranny had been attributed to the Spanish in texts prior to this, but as in *The Joyfull Entrie*, this was mostly

¹⁶⁹ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), pp182-3.

related to their political manoeuvrings within their European territories.¹⁷⁰ As discussed by Peter Limm in *The Dutch Revolt*, there was a torrent of anti-Spanish propaganda produced in the late 1560s and throughout the 1570s, instigated by the legislative reforms enacted by Alva and his implementation of the bishopric scheme of 1559.¹⁷¹ This takeover of Dutch state and religious institutions by foreign powers was seen to be a direct violation of the promises of the Spanish monarch to uphold the liberties and privileges of the Dutch people in his Joyful Entry of 1549, as discussed in the dishonesty section above. Limm notes that the pamphlets produced were intended to portray Alva and Philip II as ‘evil men intent on destroying the many liberties that the Netherlands enjoyed’, and that this propaganda campaign was just as much to turn foreign opinion against them as it was to bolster the Netherlanders to fight against the encroaching power of the new regime.¹⁷²

It seems, then, that these Dutch forerunners laid the way for the development of Hispanophobic propaganda in the English pamphlets of the 1580s by propagating the violent and unjust nature of the Spanish military offensive in the Netherlands. In *Newes from Antwerp*, analysed in the dishonesty section above, the author discussed how the areas of Artois and Hainault were separated from the Dutch territories and reabsorbed into the Spanish Netherlands by the deceitful religiopolitical manoeuvres of the Spanish allies in the Low Countries, taking advantage of the religious divisions in the provinces.¹⁷³ As discussed above, in Autumn 1578 the States of Hainault, who had been part of the Spanish Netherlands since 1566, invited the

¹⁷⁰ The political deception and religious oppression allegedly performed by the Spanish in the Low Countries, being contrary to the articles agreed in the *Joyfull Entry*, are presented in pamphlets produced in the 1570s also, such as; William, Prince of Orange, *A supplication to the Kings Maiestie of Spayne, made by the Prince of Orange, the states of Holland and Zeland, with all other his faithfull subiectes of the low Countreys, presently suppressed by the tyranny of the Duke of Alba and Spaniards*. (Henry Middleton, London, 1573) and Anon., *A iustification or cleering of the Prince of Orendge agaynst the false sclanders, wherewith his ilwillers goe about to charge him wrongfully. Translated out of French by Arthur Goldyng* (John Day, London, 1575).

¹⁷¹ Limm, *Dutch Revolt*, p.33.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp*, A2v.-A2r.

province of Artois ‘to join them [...] in defence of the Catholic faith’.¹⁷⁴ On 6 January 1579 the Union of Arras was formed between the provinces of Hainault and Artois and the towns of Douai, Lille, and Orchies, who had agreed to come to terms with Parma and join the Spanish Netherlands.¹⁷⁵ In response, Deputies from Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Groningen signed a treaty at Uterecht on 23 January 1579, in which they agreed mutual assistance and defence, agreeing to act ‘as if they were but one province’ in matters of war.¹⁷⁶ The creation of these two unions were the first step towards a permanent division of the Netherlands along religious lines. So, when the author notes that counterfeit countrymen ‘doo feede us with a vayne hope of peace [...] Hoping, that as already under coulour of peace, they have divided the provinces of Artoys, and Haynault from us’, he is suggesting that the Dutch states had been divided by their religious loyalties, and thus weakened in their struggle against the Spanish.¹⁷⁷ This sentiment is reiterated in the preface ‘To the Reader’ in *The Spanish Colonie* in which the original French translator, Jacques de Miggrode, states that the Dutch should

begin to think upon Gods judgements: and refrain from their wickedness and vice [and] that they might also consider with what enemie they are to deale [...] what [state] they are likely to bee at, when through their rechlesnesse, quarrels, controversies, and partialities themselves have opened the way to such enemies [...].¹⁷⁸

This is noteworthy as it demonstrates how the anti-Spanish sentiment in the account of the Spanish conquest was appropriated by the pamphleteers to reflect the political situation in Northern Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. By evoking the deeds of the Spaniard against the indigenous population of the ‘New World’ alongside the troubles experienced by the Dutch, Miggrode is warning that if they continue to argue amongst themselves, the potential

¹⁷⁴ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, p.89, see p.68 above.

¹⁷⁵ Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002), p.114.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Casas, *Colonie*, ¶3r.

for Spanish victory is greatly increased – a sentiment that the English translator, M.M.S., clearly thought was also applicable to the English in this period as he chose to keep the French front matter rather than produce his own.

However, *The Spanish Colonie* introduced a new and, arguably, more aggressive strain of Hispanophobia than the examples discussed previously in this chapter – an account of the extreme Spanish brutality used by the conquistadors, written by a Spanish friar. Thus, as the actions of the conquistadors were being related and condemned by one of their own countrymen, and a prominent member of their Church, this was an exceptionally effective tool for the propagandists to use as evidence of the excessive violence of the Spanish. For example, the first section of *The Spanish Colonie*, ‘Of the Ile of Hispaniola’, discussed how the Spanish entered into the towns and did not spare children, the elderly, pregnant women or mothers, ‘but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces [...]’¹⁷⁹ The account then describes how the Spanish decapitated and disembowelled the inhabitants for ‘sport’, smashed children’s skulls against cliffs, and slowly roasted ‘Lords’ over fires.¹⁸⁰ It is noteworthy that the section begins by stating that Hispaniola was the first island where the ‘Spaniards’ arrived and began their slaughters of the people, yet the original text by Las Casas states that ‘En la isla Española, que fué la primera, como dijimos, donde entraron cristianos e comenzaron los grandes estragos e perdiciones destas gentes e que primero destruyeron y despoblaron, comenzando los cristianos a tomar las mujeres’.¹⁸¹ This change in the translation of the original would have impacted how it was interpreted, and added weight to the Hispanophobic content within. By replacing the word ‘Christians’ with ‘Spaniards’ throughout the text, Miggrode changed the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., A3v.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ This quote, from the original Spanish text of Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Red ediciones, Barcelona, 2017), p.16, translates as ‘On the Isle of Hispaniola, that it was the first, as we said, where Christians entered and began the great ravages and perditions of these people who first destroyed and depopulated, the Christians beginning to take the women [...]’ The translation, with the word Christian replaced with Spaniard, is in Casas, *Colonie*, A3r.

focus of the original from a critique of Christian conversion in the Americas to an attack on the Spanish colonisation methods in particular.

As the translation of this into French in 1579 was likely intended to inspire French support for the Dutch Protestant rebels against the Spanish, it was beneficial to portray the Spanish as brutally unjust. This was also the case with its translation into English in 1583, and warnings about the Spanish that were included in the preface were equally as poignant in England at this time. As discussed above, there is no trace of who the translator, M.M.S., was, and therefore we do not know if they were working from the Spanish original or the French translation.¹⁸² It seems, however, that the emphasised anti-Spanish sentiment in this text, namely the mistranslation of ‘Christians’ to ‘Spaniards’, was intended in the English version to evoke a similar audience reaction to the French text, providing a warning for England about the threat posed by Spain and the weakness of a religiously divided society in the face of this threat. While warnings about the arrival of the Jesuits and the annexation of Portugal made Spain the most present danger to English shores at the beginning of the decade, 1583 saw a more dangerous threat posed to English shores. When Marquis Álvaro de Bazán de Sant Cruz conquered the island of Terceira, cementing Spain’s conquest of Portugal, he commandeered the Portuguese fleet – ships that were exceptionally well-constructed and manned by Portuguese crews well-accustomed to sailing the Atlantic, forming the core of Philip’s Atlantic fleet.¹⁸³ Once the Portuguese conquest had been completed, Santa Cruz turned his attentions to England, writing to Philip to propose the feasibility of a maritime expedition against England, the first firm proposition of the Armada attack.¹⁸⁴ Although we have no record that news of this proposed expedition was made public in England, and the exact printing date of *The*

¹⁸² See p.91.

¹⁸³ Francisco de Cuellar, *God's Obvious Design: Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988: with an Edition and Translation of the Account of Francisco de Cuéllar* (Tamesis Books, London, 1990),p.17

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

Spanish Colonie is not clear, it is apparent that increased emphasis on anti-Spanish sentiment, apparent in the repeated use of the trait of brutality in the text, reflected the elevated threat posed by Spain in 1583. Therefore, the direct translation of the French edition was applicable in England at this time, warning the religiously divided English that ‘they might also consider with what enemie they are to deale [...] what [state] they are likely to bee at, when through their rechlesnesse, quarrels, controversies, and partialities themselves have opened the way to such enemies [...]’.¹⁸⁵ These ‘quarrels, controversies, and partialities’ can be seen in the disputes over Spanish trade that were occurring at the turn of the decade. As Pauline Croft has discussed in her thorough overview of ‘The Spanish Company’ Drake’s actions in the South Seas in 1579, which resulted in his return with Spanish silver bullion taken from the Spanish *Cacafuego*, created tension between the merchants of the Company and the privy council due to the ‘real probability of retaliation by Philip II through the seizure of English property in Spain’.¹⁸⁶ Croft notes that it was not just the merchants in The Spanish Company that opposed Drake’s actions - many in the City of London thought they did little except harm the numerous established trades that depended on peaceful Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, suggesting that there were divisions among economic interests as well as religious ones.¹⁸⁷ The Spanish Ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, encouraged fears that Spain would go to war to recoup their losses and used the disgruntled members of The Spanish Company to petition the privy council, dividing the English merchant class between those who had invested in Drake’s circumnavigation and those who opposed it.¹⁸⁸ Therefore it can be seen that these quarrels and

¹⁸⁵ Casas, *Colonie*, ¶3r.

¹⁸⁶ Pauline Croft, ‘Introduction: The first Spanish company, 1530-85’, in Pamela Croft (ed) *The Spanish Company* (London: London Record Society, 1973), vii-xxix. *British History Online*. [Accessed September 28, 2020] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol9/vii-xxix>.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

controversies had the potential to weaken English resolve in the event of Spanish retaliation, giving meaning to Miggrode's translated works in England.

While it seems that the publication of this polemic was intended to show the physical danger posed by the ever-growing Spanish Empire, the text also implied the threat to reformed religious ideology in England. Although Miggrode changed the wording in his translation from 'los Christianos' to 'les Espagnols' which, in turn, was translated as 'the Spaniards' in the English edition, this may not necessarily have altered the religious inference for the audience. As seen in the extract above, Las Casas suggests that the foundation of conquest of the Americas was spiritual conversion and, until her death in 1504, Queen Isabella was the champion of this Catholic crusade. In 1503 she detailed instructions to Nicolás de Ovando, the first royal governor of Espanola, stating that

we desire that the Indians be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith and their souls be saved and because this is the greatest benefit that we can desire for them, for this end it is necessary that they be instructed in the things of our faith, [...] and you will take much care you see that this is accomplished [...] Because for mining gold and performing other work which we have ordered done, it will be necessary to make use of the services of the Indians, compelling them to work in the things of our service, paying each one a wage which appears just to you [...]¹⁸⁹

Although Las Casas' polemic suggests that this was not carried out by the conquistadors after this time, the election of Charles V to Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, and his subsequent papal coronation in 1530, cemented the primacy of Spain in the defence and propagation of Catholicism in the European context. Furthermore, the marriage of Philip II to Queen Mary, and their suppression of Protestantism in England, placed the Spanish at the forefront of the Counter-Reformation in Europe, and the long-standing Spanish campaigns against the Dutch Protestants ensured that this standing was maintained until the period under investigation. It can be contended, then, that this legacy would have linked the terms 'Spanish' and 'Catholic'

¹⁸⁹ Lyle N. McAllister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700, Volume 3* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984), pp.108-9.

in the English consciousness in the latter decades of the sixteenth century. Thus, as suggested, it seems that that the text was inferring that the Catholic approach to conversion was both unjust and brutal, preferring the method of subjugation and oppression to the use of amity and ‘familiaritie’, as proposed by the Hakluyts in *Divers Voyages*.¹⁹⁰

However, it is also apparent that a further dimension can be found in Miggrode’s preface to his translation. Miggrode reinforces the ethnic typologies first suggested by William of Orange in his *Apologie*, highlighting that the behaviour of the Spanish in the ‘New World’ can be attributed to ‘their firste fathers the Gothes’ and ‘their second progenitors the Sarazens’.¹⁹¹ This inclusion of references to the Goths and Saracens is interesting because, as Susan Reynolds notes in ‘Our Forefathers?’, barbarians generally occupy an important place at or near the beginning of most ‘national histories’, and the Visigothic ancestry of the Spanish was certainly central to Spain’s carefully constructed national history. J.N. Hillgarth provides a comprehensive account of how the Histories of Spain produced in the sixteenth century provided an ancient and noble ancestry for the Spanish.¹⁹² He discusses the 1582 work of Julian del Castillo, in which he notes that Castillo calculated that the Goths had reigned over Spain for 1177 years, and was now ruled by Philip II – its eighty-first Gothic ruler.¹⁹³ This use of an historical framework to provide a nationalist view of history is also apparent in the English pamphlets produced in the 1580s. The ways in which this lay the foundations of an English national consciousness, built in opposition to Spain, will be discussed further in chapters three and four. However, it is useful to note here that J.G.A. Pocock argues that ‘national consciousness’ is necessarily associated with antiquity, as this mental construct

¹⁹⁰ Taylor, *Original Writings*, p.118.

¹⁹¹ Casas, *Colonie*, ¶2r.

¹⁹² J.N Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in history and legend* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Ontario, 2009), pp.140-159.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

‘attracts to itself myths and symbolic stories suggestive of a common past’.¹⁹⁴ This method of placing a nation within an historical framework could also be utilised to highlight ‘otherness’, as is the case here. By linking the Spanish with their barbaric past in the preface, Miggrode (and the subsequent translations of his work), created an idea of the Spanish ‘other’ that was barbaric by nature, evident from their barbarian origins. Thus, although the Spaniards were inherently linked with the Catholic Church in early modern Europe, it is apparent that there was an ethnic dimension to their brutality that was insinuated by Miggrode’s translation. It can be argued that this was the beginning of a racialised attack on the Spanish, the turn that Eric Griffin characterises as the move from ethos to ethnos. Griffin argues that

the discourse regarding ethos recognised that although the two countries may be at odds, there was a possibility of compromise or reconciliation; whereas the concept of ethnos highlights the emerging ideas of racial difference, portraying the Spanish as fundamentally different on a genealogical level and making them essentially incompatible with an emerging sense of English nationality.¹⁹⁵

It can therefore be argued that was the barbaric ethnic ancestry of the Spanish rather than their religiopolitical ideology that determined the rhetoric used to spread Hispanophobia. Griffin suggests that in the late 1570s ‘Orange and his co-religionists added a discursive formation clearly not present in *Las Casas*, which located the root of [Spanish] cruelty in Spain’s ethnicity’.¹⁹⁶ Yet the reproduction of Miggrode’s preface reinforces the ethnic typologies introduced by Orange by introducing the behaviour of the Spanish in the ‘New World’ as a consequence of their ethnic identity, rooted in the barbaric Goths and Saracens, meaning that while *Las Casas*’ original text did not present the ethnic dimension of Hispanophobia, the translation by Miggrode clearly associates the brutality of the Spanish with their ethnic identity.

¹⁹⁴ J.G.A Pocock, ‘England’ in Orest Ranum (ed) *National Consciousness, History and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975), p.99.

¹⁹⁵ Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain : Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009), pp.47-48.

¹⁹⁶ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.47.

Therefore, the anti-Spanish sentiment in *The Spanish Colonie* further developed the concept of the Spanish ‘other’ in England and introduced an ethnic element to this construct, presenting the Spaniard’s inherited brutality alongside his dishonest and greedy nature. Although this text is the longest under investigation in this project – at one hundred and fifty pages it does not fall within the remit of ‘pamphlet’ – its efficacy for the dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes is clear. The references to, and appropriation of, the original polemic will be discussed in the following chapters, demonstrating the influence of his work throughout the 1580s.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, the hyperbolic and emotive language used by Las Casas, coupled with the detailed and exaggerated accounts of the atrocities committed against the inhabitants of the ‘New world’, made the text sensational. This, coupled with the recent expansion of Spain’s Empire and the threat posed by their increasing dominance in Europe, made the subject matter relevant to current affairs, which suggests that the contents were ideal for oral dissemination. Consequently, the role played by this text in the propagation of Hispanophobia justifies its inclusion in this investigation, as the ideas contained were repeated, reimagined and reused throughout English society as a means to demonise the Spanish and their colonial practices for decades to come.

The supposition that the text was suggesting a right and a wrong way to colonise the Americas to the reader is supported by the publication of George Peckham’s *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found landes: by that valiaunt and worthye gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* in 1583 which, unlike Las Casas’ polemic, was clearly intending to show the ‘right’ way to explore and

¹⁹⁷ For the contemporary legacy of Las Casas’s original polemic, the reader can refer to Bartolomé de las Casas trans J.P., *The Tears of the Indians* (J.C. for Nath. Brook, London, 1656); Bartolomé de las Casas, *Popery Truly Display’d in its Bloody Colours* (R. Hewson, London, 1689) and Bartolomé de las Casas, *An Account of the First Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America* (J. Darby, London, 1699).

colonise the ‘New World’.¹⁹⁸ Gilbert had been granted license from the Queen to start a colony for English subjects in the Americas in 1578 and, after two aborted attempts, managed to finance his third voyage and sail for Newfoundland in June 1583.¹⁹⁹ Peckham was a wealthy Catholic who was seeking refuge on foreign shores from the increased financial penalties being imposed on English Catholics in the early 1580s, and had secured a prominent position on Gilbert’s voyage.²⁰⁰ The pamphlet is a promotional effort that focuses on the benefits of trade and colonisation in the ‘New World’, and the means by which this could be achieved. The pamphlet is divided into eight chapters:

- 1 The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is containd.
- 2 The seconde Chapter, sheweth that it is lawfull & necessary, to trade and traficke with the Savages. And to plant in theyr Countreys. And devideth planting into two sortes.
- 3 The third Chapter, dooth shewe the lawfull Title, which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath unto those Countreys, which through the ayde of almighty GOD are to be inhabited.
- 4 The fourth Chapter sheweth, how that the trade, traficke and planting in those Countreys, is likely to proove very profitable to the whole Realme in generall.
- 5 The fift Chapter, sheweth that the trading and planting in those Countreys, is likely to proove to the perticuler profit of all the Adventurers.
- 6 The sixt Chapter, sheweth that the traficke and planting in those Countreys, shall bee unto the Savages themselues very beneficiall and gainfull.
- 7 The seaventh Chapter, sheweth that the planting there is not a matter of such charge or diffyculty, as many woulde make it seeme to bee.
- 8 The Contents of Articles of Assuraunce, between the Principal assignes of Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, & the foure sortes of Adventurers, with them in the voyage for the Westerne Discoveries.²⁰¹

As can be seen, the majority of this work appears to be dedicated to advancing methods of trading and planting, with all but chapters three and eight suggesting the benefits of peaceable

¹⁹⁸ George Peckham, *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found landes: by that valiaunt and worthye gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* (John Charlewood for John Hinde, London, 1583).

¹⁹⁹ Mirza, *Rise and Fall*, p.66.

²⁰⁰ Robert A. Williams Jr, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992), p.159.

²⁰¹ Peckham, *A true reporte*, x3r.

colonisation and trade. Of these, chapter two details how this is to be achieved. It is suggested that there are two sorts of planting:

The first, when Christians by the good likeing and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The seconde, when Christians beeing unjustly repulsed, doo seeke to attaine and maintaine the right for which they doo come.²⁰²

Peckham suggests that the best way to achieve an amicable outcome upon arrival to a new territory is to approach the natives using

all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence. As letting them to understand, howe they came not to theyr hurt, but for theyr good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traficke with them for theyr owne commoditie, without molesting or greiving them any way, which must not be doone by wordes onely but also by deedes.²⁰³

If this is compared to the portrayals of Spanish colonial practice found in *The Spanish Colonie*, it is apparent that this is presenting a more peaceful method of colonisation in opposition to the brutal methods of the Spanish. Richard Helgerson argues that this model for a peaceful method of colonisation reveals both the intensity of the preoccupation with Spain and the ‘conceptual problems’ that arose from it.²⁰⁴ Helgerson paraphrases Peckham’s *True Report* to illustrate how it was born from the desire to emulate Spain’s success, as Peckham asks

Why should we be dismayed more than were the Spaniards, who have been able in these last few years to conquer, possess, and enjoy so large a tract of the earth...? Shall we... doubt [God] will be less ready to assist our nation... than he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro?²⁰⁵

However, Helgerson notes that although England could not feel comfortable to unconditionally imitate the Spanish model of expansion due to the political climate, they would be equally uncomfortable completely repudiating the Spanish, an assertion echoed by Barbera Fuchs with

²⁰² Ibid., C2r.

²⁰³ Ibid., C2v.

²⁰⁴ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), p.183.

²⁰⁵ Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.183.

her theory of ‘disavowed emulation’ which suggests that the emulation of great Spanish literary works was masked by the occlusion of the Spanish original work that influenced them.²⁰⁶ Thus Peckham bases his justification and methods for colonisation on the successful examples of Spanish conquest, but differentiates his method from the Spanish by stressing the importance of a peaceful method of planting as opposed to the Spaniards’ seemingly questionable use of the *requerimiento* in which, according to Las Casas, they would announce there is ‘one God, one Pope, and one king of Castile’ and that the native peoples should immediately come and pay homage or the Spaniards will attack them and make them slaves.²⁰⁷ However, they did this in the early hours of the morning, and ‘at the fourth watch [...] they set upon the place, casting fire on the houses’ in which the natives still slept.²⁰⁸ Thus it can be argued that the Peckham treatise is putting forth the just and honourable way to subdue the native population which, it could be suggested, was intended to present a peaceful ‘English’ approach as opposed to the unjust and deceitful manner in which the Spanish attack and subjugate them. It is also argued by Peckham that if the native inhabitants are unwilling to submit to the colonisers, it is

no breache of equitye for the Christians to defende themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doo whatsoever is necessary for the attayning of theyr safety: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distreses, to resist violence with violence.²⁰⁹

Robert Williams has identified that the these ‘Lawes’ that Peckham refers to, governing trade and colonisation in the ‘New World’, are those which Francisco de Vitoria posited in his 1532 lecture ‘On the Indians Lately Discovered’.²¹⁰ According to Anthony Pagden, Vitoria, a Spanish Dominican friar, was attempting to create a ‘new, supra-national judicial order’ that would offer some legitimacy for the Spanish conquest by presenting this ‘Law of Nations’ which Alexander Samson suggests provided ‘the *ius communicandi* or *ius peregrinandi*, the

²⁰⁶ Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.183; Fuchs, *Poetics*, pp.4-5.

²⁰⁷ Casas, *Colonie*, C2r.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Peckham, *A true reporte*, C3v.

²¹⁰ Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*, p.168.

right to travel, use harbours and rivers, trade and settle ‘unoccupied’ territory’, and that these ‘were the only possible grounds for the Spanish presence in the Americas beyond the subsequent right of self-defence’.²¹¹ Thus it is evident that Peckham was also concerned with the lawfulness of colonisation and defers to the Spanish precedent in this discourse. However, he is reluctant to attribute these ideas to Vitoria’s original template, again demonstrating Fuchs theory of ‘disavowed emulation’ discussed in the introduction above.²¹² Thus, the above statement by Peckham implies that the English were most concerned with the perceptibly just nature of their expeditions, and to reserve the use of violence for retaliation and the safety of their men, quite the opposite of the portrayal of the brutality of the Spaniards in *The Spanish Colonie*. It is noteworthy that both the Hakluyt and Peckham texts could be classed as Anglophile propaganda, promoting an ‘English’ method of colonisation in opposition to the alleged brutality of the Spanish. It has been suggested that *Divers Voyages* was intended as both a handbook and advertisement for Gilbert’s proposed voyage, whilst Peckham was a recently imprisoned Catholic who had arranged to emigrate to America under Gilbert’s patent.²¹³ Peckham’s Catholic allegiance is particularly striking as it can be argued that there is a clear separation of religious and national identity here. Peckham asks whether ‘[God] will be less ready to assist our nation... than he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro?’, suggesting that his primary incentive is the advancement of English imperial aspirations, and that God will assist the achievement of these goals regardless of the national Protestant faith.²¹⁴ Thus, Peckham appears to be placing greater emphasis on

²¹¹ Anthony Pagden, ‘Introduction: Francisco de Vitoria and the Origins of the Modern Global Order’ in José María Beneyto, Justo Corti Varela (eds), *At the Origins of Modernity: Francisco de Vitoria and the Discovery of International Law* (Springer, New York, 2017), p.1; Alexander Samson, ‘Being Spanish in the Early Modern World’ in Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez (ed), *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)* (Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2020), p.56.

²¹² Introduction, p.32.

²¹³ Mirza, *Rise and Fall*, p.66; David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (A&C Black, New York, 1990), p.231; Robert A. Williams Jr, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992), p.159.

²¹⁴ Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.183.

his national allegiance rather than his Catholic faith. This suggests that a primary role of anti-Spanish sentiment in Peckham's promotional treatise was to encourage the imperial aspirations of the English elite, an idea that will be explored further in chapter two.

Conclusions

The anti-Spanish sentiment found in the pamphlets printed at the start of the decade emphasised the dishonesty of the Spanish, focusing on the deceit of Spanish political actors and their allies in the Low Countries, which reflected the concerns of the English regarding the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries to England in 1580, and the annexation of Portugal to the Spanish Empire in the same year. Thus, the reports of Spanish political and religious deceit on the continent seem to have been intended as a warning to the English, highlighting the danger that the Spanish Empire potentially posed to England as diplomatic relations deteriorated and their territorial conquests increased, suggesting that this narrative was being created for domestic defence. Moreover, the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries created divisions between continental Catholicism and English loyalist Catholics keen to establish their loyalty to the monarch, creating a division that highlighted the growing division between Catholics who chose to pledge their allegiance to the Queen and those who aligned themselves with the Jesuit missionaries who were being portrayed by the texts as Spanish influenced. As discussed, the authorship of the Jáuregui pamphlet is unclear and it was likely a propaganda pamphlet produced by Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, suggesting that the contents, which painted the Spaniard as naturally deceptive, provide evidence of an officially authorised construction of the negative trait based on their ethnic identity.²¹⁵

The trait of brutality was also present in the texts reporting on the Dutch Revolt, yet this was not portrayed as excessive or unique to the Spanish until the publication of *The Spanish Colonie*

²¹⁵ Crummé, 'The Impact of Lord Burghley', p.55.

in 1583. The presentation of this trait as specifically Spanish, and the associations made with the Goths and Saracens, suggests that that this was the first text to propose an ethnic dimension of Spanish brutality, marking the beginning of the shift from ethos to ethnos. In the same year Spain finally completed the conquest of Portugal, and the translation of this anti-Spanish tract, complete with original preface, was intended to warn the English about the brutal nature of Spanish colonisers as the threat posed by the Spanish Empire was growing. Furthermore, the first suggestion of an English invasion was made by Álvaro de Bazán, demonstrating that the Spanish posed a military threat alongside the perceived spiritual threat of the Jesuit missionaries. Thus this portrayal of extreme barbarity helped to create the idea of a Spanish ‘other’, one that the English needed to be more wary of than in previous decades. The development of the dishonest and brutal Spanish ‘other’, and the motives behind this, will be explored in chapter two.

This creation of a Spanish ‘other’ was also useful in the promotion of English voyages of exploration, which were gaining momentum at the start of the 1580s. The translation of Zárate’s *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru* in 1581 displayed the wealth that could be gained by embarking on expeditions to colonise the ‘New World’, and the translation of Medina’s *Arte of Navigation* provided the instruction to achieve this. The following year, Hakluyt published *Divers Voyages*, a pamphlet intended to extol the achievements of England’s seafaring past and encourage further voyages. While these texts were not specifically anti-Spanish in nature, they provide evidence that there was a developing interest in English imperial ventures, and that this was intertwined with the desire to emulate prior achievements of the Spanish from the beginning of the century. Moreover, the pamphlet produced by Peckham appears to be including Catholic loyalists into the national narrative, a conceptual division that was apparent in the literature produced in the later years of the decade. The utility of Spanish colonial success to encourage English voyages was continued in 1584,

but the focus changed from emulation to derision, a development that will be discussed further in chapter two.

Chapter 2: ‘Othering’ the enemy

This chapter will explore the continuation of the negative traits of dishonesty and brutality in the pamphlets printed between 1584 and 1586. It will demonstrate that the focus of Hispanophobia changed, and that this was closely related to the political climate of the time. In the middle years of the decade Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorated rapidly, and the situation in the Low Countries exacerbated this. Peter Marshall notes that in 1584, in the wake of the assassination of William of Orange, the privy council met to discuss the issue of aid in the Netherlands, and address Burghley’s question: ‘If her Majesty shall not take [the Dutch] into her defence then what shall she do or provide for her own surety against the King of Spain’s malice and forces, which he shall offer against this realm, when he hath subdued Holland and Zealand?’¹ Thus, the threat posed by Spain had already become a serious consideration before the commencement of hostilities in the middle of the decade, and anti-Spanish sentiment was utilised to disseminate Hispanophobic ideas in order to bolster English resolve for the potential war ahead. This chapter will establish how this increased threat influenced the development of the Spanish ‘other’ in this decade, a useful trope that naturally promoted the conception of an English ‘self’ in opposition, and consequently, a rudimentary form of nationalist sentiment. The chapter investigates the continuation of the traits of dishonesty and greed levelled at the Spanish, and the changing nature of their association with navigation and exploration, which reflected the priorities of a nation at war. It will be argued that in 1584 the Hispanophobic content of Richard Hakluyt’s manuscript, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, was intended to garner support for English voyages of exploration to the ‘New World’, born from the desire to compete economically with the Spanish.² As Peter Mancall has identified,

¹ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017), p.556.

² Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (Press of John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, 1877).

Hakluyt's texts produced in the 1580s suggested that his commitment to the Protestant faith was rivalled only by his passion for overseas exploration, arguing that this 'othering' of the Spanish was founded on a nationalist ideology and desire to further English imperial aspirations.³ Yet this was the only text produced that discussed English exploration in the 'New World' before 1589. Thus, the chapter analyses whether the texts support Karen Ordahl Kupperman's suggestion that the resources and financing required for war after the summer of 1585 meant that the promotion of voyages of exploration was counter-productive.⁴ At a time when the defence of England was a pressing matter all available resources needed to be employed in this, and the lack of pamphlets about Raleigh's ventures again demonstrates how the anti-Spanish sentiment in the texts was closely linked to the political climate.

This chapter also considers how the trait of pride began to appear in the pamphlets printed between 1584 and 1586, first noticed in Chapter VII of Hakluyt's *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* which asks 'What speciall meanes may bring King Phillippe from his high throne'.⁵ While Hakluyt's text specifically discusses the pride of Philip II, the pride of the Spanish more generally is also discussed in the pamphlets produced in 1585 and 1586. These accusations of pride were included to illustrate the weakness of the Spanish, as each instance is followed by some form of disgrace for the Spaniard in question. It will be argued that this evoked the biblical adage that 'Pride goeth before destruction', an assertion that will be returned to in subsequent chapters as the theme becomes more prominent. While the theme of dishonesty is continued, its focus changes from concern regarding Jesuit missionaries infiltrating England to the threat posed by the Spanish and their allies already residing in the country. In this chapter there is also the first example of cowardice being ascribed to the

³ Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (Yale University Press, London, 2010), p.72.

⁴ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, 2007), p.23.

⁵ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.4.

Spanish, and its association with Spanish pride reinforces the argument that the texts were intended to demonstrate that the Spanish were weaker than their boasts suggest, and that their demise was inevitable. This theme is often juxtaposed with the bravery and moral fortitude of the English, suggesting it was an attempt to fortify the English resolve to repel the coming Spanish attack, and further develop the idea of the ‘otherness’ of the Spaniard. The chapter also demonstrates that this ‘othering’ of the enemy was the intent behind the amplification of the theme of brutality between 1584 and 1586, and the integral role that Las Casas’ polemic played in the propagation of this trait in the subsequent texts. Thus, this chapter will explore how the continuity of the themes from the previous chapter, coupled with the introduction of new traits, may have helped to cement the idea of the Spanish ‘other’ in the English mind, in order to fortify English resolve in the event of a Spanish invasion.

Navigation and Exploration

As discussed in chapter one, some of the pamphlets printed in London in the early 1580s reflected the growing interest shown in travel and exploration. *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America* reproduced accounts of English expeditions in the preceding century, while *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru* conveyed the wealth being gained by those countries that had colonised parts of the ‘New World’. The Spanish had been successful in both exploration and colonisation since the beginning of the sixteenth century, so it is unsurprising to find that there were works recounting Spanish achievements in this area produced in the 1580s. Although this emulation continued with the printing of Hernando Cortés’ *The Arte of Navigation*, the contents of Richard Hakluyt’s *Discourse of Western Planting* was disparaging of Spanish colonial methods, suggesting that English settlements in the ‘New world’ would be preferable. Thus we can see the beginnings of an English imperial identity being built in opposition to Spanish colonial practices.

In 1584 the fourth edition of Richard Eden's translation of *The Arte of Navigation* by Hernando Cortés' youngest son, Martín Cortés, was printed - a publication that could be conceived as admiring of the Spanish.⁶ Cortés' original work was a navigational treatise that discussed 'the composition of the worlde: And the universall principles for the arte of navigation' including geometry and map-making, weather, winds and tides, and astronomical techniques for navigation.⁷ This text was one hundred and ninety pages, making it a substantial work that falls outside the remit of pamphleteering under investigation here. Yet it is necessary to consider the popularity of this work, as it provides context for the intellectual climate surrounding the anti-Spanish sentiment found in pamphlets in the 1580s, chiefly the developing interest in English expansionism. Between 1509 and 1550, English exploration stagnated.⁸ Kenneth Andrews argues that after the early voyages of discovery by Sebastian Cabot to the north-eastern coast of North America, the English achieved 'nothing to compare with the work of Fagundes for Portugal [...] or Gomes for Spain', and the lack of support from the London merchants for Cabot's later project of 1520 was instrumental in the declining interest in expeditions until the middle of the century.⁹ However, with the creation of the Muscovy Company English interest in overseas trade and expansion was renewed. The Muscovy Company was formed in 1555 after Richard Chancellor made the voyage between the Atlantic and the White Sea, opening up the northern sea-route as a regular commercial highway that increased trade between Russia and the West, exporting tallow, furs, felt, cordage, ships' masts, and hemp from Russia and importing various English goods into the country.¹⁰

⁶ Martín Cortés trans. Richard Eden, *The Arte of Navigation* (Richard Jugge, London, 1561).

⁷ *Ibid.*, A4v.

⁸ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire 1480-1630* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984), p.56.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Mansel G. Blackford, *The Rise of Modern Business: Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan, and China (Third Edition)* (UNC Press Books, Orange Co., 2012), p.19; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p.69.

In 1561 The Muscovy Company paid Richard Eden, a friend of Chancellor and Sebastian Cabot, to translate *Arte de Navegar* into English in order ‘to have more store of skilful pilots’ and, according to Sandra Young, the translation became the ‘central navigational treatise directing English seafaring into the seventeenth century’.¹¹ Eden’s prefatory dedication established the intended audience:

To the right woorshipful Syr Wylliam Garerd Knyght, and Maister Thomas Lodge, Aldermen of the Citie of London and governours of the honorable Fellowship or Societie, as well as certayne of the Nobilitie, as of Merchants Adventurers, for the discovery of Lands, Territories, Ilands, & Signories unknowen, and not before their fyrst adventure or enterpryse by Sea or Navigation commonly frequented.¹²

Thus it is apparent that this text was intended for the instruction of potential adventurers to further England’s exploratory voyages for the advancement of English trade, and those who may finance these expeditions. The first edition of *The Arte of Navigation* was printed in 1561, and it ran to eight editions, the last of which was printed in London in 1630.¹³ Moreover, William Bourne’s *A Regiment for the Sea* drew heavily on Eden’s translation, and was again a successful text that achieved two editions, the first in 1574 and the second in 1580.¹⁴ As discussed in chapter one, a second *Arte of Navigation*, this one written by the Spaniard Pedro de Medina in 1545, was first translated into English in 1581.¹⁵ The popularity of these books illustrates the complicated nature of the relationship between England and Spain in the latter half of the sixteenth century and beyond. Although the negative traits of dishonesty and brutality were associated with the Spanish throughout the 1580s, the reproduction of navigational manuals in this decade supports there was also appreciation of their skill in these

¹¹ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p.69; Sandra Young, *The Early Modern Global South in Print: Textual Form and the Production of Human Difference as Knowledge*, (Routledge, 2016), p.82.

¹² Cortés, *The arte of navigation*, ¶iir.

¹³ Martín Cortés, *The Arte of Navigation* (Richard Jugge, London, 1561); (Richard Jugge, London, 1572); (Richard Jugge, London, 1579); (Widow of Richard Jugge, London, 1584); (Abel Jeffries, London, 1589); (Edw Alde for Hugh Astley, London, 1596); (William Stansby for John Tapp, London, 1615); (B. Alsop and T. Fawcet for J.Tapp, 1630).

¹⁴ Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p.342.

¹⁵ Pedro de Medina, *The Arte of Navigation* (Thomas Dawson, London, 1581).

areas. The prefaces to each *Arte* provide clues regarding the differing motivation for their production. Cortés' *Arte* was translated and printed in London a mere ten years after its first publication in 1551, and Richard Eden published this to show that

in manner all the late discoveryes both of the Spanyards and Portugales, had theyr beginnings of such small conjectures, with uncertayne hope [...] untyll God and good happe, by the constant travayle and valiant minde [...] if such as fyrst attempted the same, gave them to enjoy that they hoped for.¹⁶

This implication that the Spaniards grew their empire from humble beginnings was perhaps intended as a spur to the English. Eden's optimism for future English voyages, based on the previous success of Spanish ventures, was not surprising as he was in employ of the Earl of Northumberland in 1552, translating colonial literature to promote English expansion, and he continued to do so in the reign of Mary until 1555.¹⁷ It is notable that, even after Elizabeth's accession, the work printed in 1561 keeps Eden's laudatory tone and utilises language that does not convey any particular anti-Spanish sentiment. This suggests that in the early Elizabethan period the focus was on recognition of Spanish achievements, potentially as a means to inspire English merchant adventurers to emulate them. However, as discussed in chapter one, the translator of the first Spanish navigational treatise to be published in the 1580s, Medina's *Arte of Navigation*, was clear that his motivation was born from the desire to acquire the economic benefits enjoyed by Spain, but is in no way laudatory to the Spanish, again demonstrating Fuchs' theory of 'disavowed emulation' in which there were a number of 'rhetorical operations' at play in the translation of Spanish works into English, highlighting 'domestication, disavowal, or occlusion of Spanish sources' as well as the efforts made to outdo the original.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cortés, *Arte*, ¶3v. (Each edition of Cortés' text in the 1580s reproduced the original preface written by Eden in 1561).

¹⁷ Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), p.85.

¹⁸ Fuchs, *Poetics*, p.6.

Thus, the political climate was affecting the role played by Hispanophobia in the production of these navigational texts, as it is apparent that the popularity of these publications was driven by concern and competition as much as appreciation of Spanish seafaring skill – as fears about the power of Spain grew, so did the anti-Spanish connotations of texts. The annexation of Portugal had increased the power of Spain and given them access to Portuguese trading routes and military resources.¹⁹ Thus, Spain had increased its monopoly in the Americas and become an even bigger threat to its European neighbours. Therefore, the increased access that Spain had to trade and resources after the absorption of Portugal into the Empire spurred a renewed interest in the advancement of English navigational skill and, correspondingly, a renewed interest in Cortés's work. It is apparent that this was part of the rationale behind the first translation of this text in 1561. As has been noted by David Waters, the first English edition of *The Arte of Navigation* was translated at the behest of the Chief Pilot of the English Muscovy Company, Stephen Borough, suggesting that improved overseas trade was the initial aim of the publication.²⁰ As Kenneth R. Andrews has argued, the English 'apprenticed themselves to the Iberians in the art of navigation', and when they eventually took interest in 'extra-European enterprise, they were chiefly reacting to [...] change in the economic and political relations between England and the Continent'.²¹ Furthermore, R.M. Smuts has argued that there was a 'strong emphasis in Tudor elite culture on the application of learning acquired through books in active service to the commonwealth', and men such as Hakluyt were 'employing highly specialised forms of knowledge to shape and promote initiatives by the Crown and individual councillors acting on their own'.²² Thus, as Anglo-Iberian relations soured towards the middle

¹⁹ R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Emergence of the English Nation, 1485-1588* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1966), p.356.

²⁰ David Waters, 'The Iberian Bases of the English Art of Navigation in the Sixteenth Century' *Revista de Univesidade de Comibra*, XXIV (1971), p.15.

²¹ Andrews, *Trade*, p.3.

²² R.M. Smuts, 'Pirates, Politicians, and Urban Intellectuals: Toward a Cultural History of the Atlantic Frontier' in Leonard von Morzé (ed), *Cities and the Circulation of Culture in the Atlantic World: From the Early Modern to Modernism* (Springer, New York, 2017), p.92.

of the 1580s, the potential for English economic advancement based on their own colonial aspirations had become intertwined with the anti-Spanish narrative present at the start of the period, as is evident by the publication of Spanish navigational treatises alongside the works denigrating the nature of the Spaniard.

The idea that the increased interest in travel and navigation was spurred by competition with the Spanish, and a desire to share in the profits of newly discovered territories, is supported by the production of Richard Hakluyt's second work regarding the topic in 1584. As discussed in chapter one, Hakluyt's first work promoting English colonisation was produced to encourage support for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition. Yet Gilbert ultimately failed to establish his colony, leading Hakluyt to write a further text regarding travel and navigation, this time promoting the enterprise of Walter Raleigh. His manuscript was addressed directly to the Queen, and he presented *A particular discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted* to her in October 1584.²³ The text detailed Hakluyt's ideas to colonise North America and was introduced by a list of chapters, giving the Queen a synopsis of the argument that Hakluyt was putting forward for the undertaking of English colonial expeditions. It was also, according to Francisco J Borge, 'a flagrant attack on Spain and a systematic summary of the reasons why Raleigh's plans deserved to be approved by the queen, supported by wealthy investors, and generally applauded by the English population'.²⁴ Hakluyt's interest in developing English exploration was born from a desire to compete with Spain economically, and also to improve on Spanish methods of colonisation, which he perceived to be excessively violent and lacking in religious instruction - the professed basis for

²³ Richard Hakluyt, D.B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds), *Discourse of Western Planting, facsimile, with commentary* (Hakluyt Society, 1993), p.xv. References to Hakluyt's text will be taken from the readily available first printed edition of his manuscript *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (Press of John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, 1877).

²⁴ Borge, *A New World*, p.78

the Spanish conquest.²⁵ While *Divers Voyages* was a collection of works intended to inspire English adventurers to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, this second work was much more direct about both the benefit of colonisation for the English, and his opposition to Spanish colonial practices. The Hispanophobic themes in *Discourse* are a continuation of those already considered in the previous chapter – the dishonesty associated with the Spanish is apparent in Chapter VIII, which claims to show ‘[t]hat the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothings so large as ys generally ymaged’, and that the forces which hold such lands are not so large as has been ‘falsly geven oute by the popishe clergy and others[...] to terrifie the princes of the relligion’, suggesting that the Spanish and their allies spread false information regarding the extent of their colonies.²⁶ The cruelty of the Spanish is also referred to, with Chapter XI arguing ‘[t]hat the Spaniards have executed moste outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies’.²⁷ The suggestion that the Spanish displayed ‘more than Turkish cruelty’ was not a new concept and can be traced back to the mid-sixteenth century. Most notably, though, it was an accusation made by Las Casas when he argued that the Spanish conquest was ‘really and truly nothing other than a series of violent incursions into the territory by these cruel tyrants: incursions condemned not only in the eyes of God but also by law, and in practice far worse than the assaults mounted by the Turk’, suggesting that Hakluyt’s propagandist rhetoric was drawn, in part, from the polemical writings of Las Casas.²⁸ However, the first two chapters are focused on the spiritual aspect of English voyages of exploration, summarised as:

- I. That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thirlargemente of the gospel of Christe, whereunto the princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bounde, amongst whom her Majestie ys principall.

²⁵ Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (Thomas Woodcocke, London, 1582), ¶r.

²⁶ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.4.

²⁸ Anthony Pagden, and Bartolome de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (Penguin Books Ltd, London, 2004), p.107.

- II. That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their religion and conscience and consequently their obedience to her Majestie.²⁹

This gives the impression that Hakluyt's primary purpose was the propagation of the Protestant faith, a view supported by Karen Ordahl Kupperman when she notes that at 'the top of their list of goals, as for most promoters, was the pious wish to convert the Indians to the true faith'.³⁰ Yet the remaining chapter headings may call this supposition into question. Immediately after these opening godly intentions are stated, the reader is told that Chapter III will detail how 'this western voyage will yelde unto us all the comodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to travel, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades', whereas Chapter V will show that 'this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spayne, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure [...] one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde land.'³¹ This gives credence to David Harris Sacks' observation that Hakluyt's motives were material and economic, based on Hakluyt's observations that colonies would improve trade in foreign commodities, employ 'nombres of idle men', increase customs revenues, and encourage maintenance of the Navy (and, therefore, the employment of mariners and shipwrights).³² Furthermore, Hakluyt is driven by the notion that

This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowing over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time [...] wee by plantinge shall lett him from making more short and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purported places of our plantinge [...]³³

²⁹ Ibid., p.3.

³⁰ Kupperman, *Roanoke*, p.29.

³¹ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.3.

³² David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World' in Peter C. Mancall (ed), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2007), p.423. Hakluyt, *Discourse*, pp.4-5.

³³ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.154.

If we consider this in conjunction with the content of Chapter VII, which is concerned with ‘What speciall meanes may bring King Phillippe from his high throne’, it seems that the theme of Spanish pride is being emphasised in order to support the promotion of English expansion – the pride of the Spanish generally, and Philip specifically, stating that he needs to be knocked from his ‘high throne’, an observation that will be explored further in the section discussing Spanish pride.³⁴

Hakluyt’s manuscript was produced primarily for consideration by the Queen and her advisors and was not committed to print until 1877. It therefore falls outside of the remit for this investigation, yet the contents provide the context necessary when considering the intended role of anti-Spanish sentiment in pamphlets of the 1580s and its close relationship to political developments of the decade. As Susan Doran has noted, the breakdown of English trade in the Netherlands had negated the need for the English to exercise caution when it came to the matter of Anglo-Spanish relations.³⁵ This meant that the English could develop their colonial aspirations in direct competition with the Spanish without fear of disrupting the already established and hitherto secure trade in the Low Countries. This is evident in the concerted effort that Hakluyt was exerting in promoting the benefits of exploration and colonisation in the Americas, producing works to garner both public interest and private financing over the course of two years, and renewing his efforts after the failure of Gilbert’s voyage. Hakluyt’s works are an important inclusion in this study, as they demonstrate the burgeoning desire among some English elites to develop overseas expansion. Furthermore, they demonstrate that in the 1580s this was increasingly being promoted as oppositional to the Spanish - the English colonial endeavour would not only benefit the nation economically, but would also would ‘staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowing over all the face of that waste firme of America’,

³⁴ Ibid., p.4.

³⁵ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Routledge, London, 2002), p.33.

stemming his power while increasing that of England.³⁶ As the perceived threat posed by Spain grew in the opening years of the 1580s, and the suggestion that Philip could turn his attention to England was beginning to circulate, Hispanophobia would have been useful to disseminate in defence of the realm.³⁷ The promotion of exploration directed at quelling the pride of the Spanish, and stemming their seemingly ever-expanding Empire, would have been useful to further develop the Spanish ‘other’ and stimulate the fortitude of the English in preparation for an increase in Spanish hostilities. However, it should be noted that no actual pamphlets specifically associating the Spanish with exploration and navigation were printed between 1584 and 1586. Also, the manuscript produced by Hakluyt, finished in the Autumn of 1584, was the last text to associate the Spanish with these motifs until the publication of *Principall Navigations* in 1589.³⁸ Although Sir Walter Raleigh continued to promote and finance voyages to North America, sending an expedition under Sir Richard Greenville to Roanoke in April 1585, this was not reported in any pamphlets until 1588.³⁹ It might therefore be argued that ‘othering’ the Spaniard by associating anti-Spanish sentiment with Spanish colonial achievements was no longer a useful propagandist tool when the threat posed by Spain was increasing in Northern Europe. Karen Ordahl Kupperman contends that the colonial expeditions were secondary concerns to the English when other matters, particularly those associated with naval war, were perceived as pressing.⁴⁰ In the summer of 1585 war broke out between England and Spain, and while othering the Spaniard was still a useful as a means to encourage English unity in the face of imminent attack, the resources and financing for voyages of exploration were needed more pressingly to defend English shores, potentially explaining

³⁶ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.55.

³⁷ Francisco de Cuellar, *God's Obvious Design: Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988: with an Edition and Translation of the Account of Francisco de Cuéllar* (Tamesis Books, London, 1990), p.17.

³⁸ Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1589).

³⁹ Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (R. Robinson, London, 1588).

⁴⁰ Kupperman, *Roanoke*, p.23.

the lack of promotional pamphlets between 1584 and 1586. Thus Raleigh's second fleet, intended to depart England in June 1585 with supplies for the new colony, was diverted to Newfoundland to warn of the embargo of English ships in Spanish ports, and inform the English merchants and seamen that the war with Spain had commenced and all trading with the Spanish must cease.⁴¹ It is therefore apparent that the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in 'othering' the Spaniard changed in relation to the political situation in England in the mid-1580s. When Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations were perceived as stable the 'othering' of the Spaniard, in conjunction with production of Spanish navigational knowledge, was useful to promote English colonial enterprise. However, when the political relationship between the two countries descended into war, and colonial aspirations became a secondary concern, the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment can be seen to change from challenging Spanish hegemony to defence against Spanish might, and the lack of texts produced about Raleigh's Roanoke colony at a time when English colonial practice was being encouraged can be seen to support this theory.

Pride

Although the association of the Spanish with pride was well established in early modern Europe, this investigation has found that it was not discussed in relation to the Spanish before the middle of the decade in England. It therefore seems that this was introduced in the pamphlet literature of the mid-1580s to imply that Spain's colonial success inculcated a sense of pride in their achievements, highlighted by the allusion to the proud nature of King Philip II in Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*, discussed above. The chapter synopsis in *Discourse* details that the seventh section will consider 'What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his high throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours, wherewithal is shewed

⁴¹ Ibid.

his weakens in the West Indies'.⁴² This image of Philip on his high throne is implying his prideful nature, and Hakluyt's rhetoric is encouraging voyages that would challenge Spain's colonial territories, thus damaging his pride. Although *Discourse* was unpublished in this period, the theme of pride in relation to Philip and his countrymen can be found with increasing emphasis in the cheap print after 1585. Kiril Petkov explains that in Judeo-Christian thought pride is the point where humans defy God by 'departing from the underlying doctrine of Scripture: the hegemonic supremacy of the divine'.⁴³ Moreover, in her work on humility in early modern England, Jennifer Clement identifies that texts in this period present a 'deeply negative' view of pride due to the influence of Augustine's works, in which 'the fundamental sin is always pride'.⁴⁴ Clement further notes that God's 'overwhelming superiority to humanity' meant that there was no justification for the sin of pride for, as Petrov implies, no one can challenge the divine superiority of God.⁴⁵ Moreover, Petrov argues that pride is intrinsically linked to appropriation of power, as power can only be delegated by God.⁴⁶ Therefore, because God 'worked for a moral world', anyone who claimed power illicitly was immoral.⁴⁷

The association of this negative trait with the Spanish monarch is utilised in *The explanation of the true and lavvful right and tytle, of the most excellent prince, Anthonie the first of that name*, a propagandist effort in which the proud nature of Philip is linked with the extent of his empire.⁴⁸ This pamphlet considers the Portuguese succession crisis, and the war between Phillip of Spain and Don António for possession of the Portuguese crown. As suggested by the

⁴² Hakluyt, *Discourse*, p.4.

⁴³ Kiril Petkov, 'The Cultural Career of a 'Minor' Vice: Arrogance in the Medieval Treatise on Sin' in Richard Newhauser, Susan Janet Ridyard (eds) *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2012), p.45.

⁴⁴ Jennifer Clement, *Reading Humility in Early Modern England* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2016), p.27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.26; Petrov, 'Cultural Career', p.45.

⁴⁶ Petrov, 'Cultural Career', p.45.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ António, *The explanation. of the true and lavvful right and tytle, of the most excellent prince, Anthonie the first of that name* (Christopher Plantyn, Leyden, 1585).

title page, this text presents the ancestral lineage of Don António, which confirmed his rightful claim as the Portuguese monarch providing that the marriage of his father, Lodowicke, was proved legitimate. The text details the machinations of the Portuguese King Henri, who appointed ‘certaine Judges’ to determine who had the right to succession after his death.⁴⁹ The author of the treatise, which was created at the behest of the ambassador to Don António, stated that all the princes and potentates who laid claim to the Portuguese crown sent their ambassadors with their ‘rightes and tytles which they pretended to the said kingdome, Except onley Phillip King of Castile’.⁵⁰ It is then related that Phillip did not acknowledge the power of any judge on earth to decide the right of succession, only accepting the judgement of heaven.⁵¹ Furthermore, it is stated that Philip claimed that

hee was sufficiently informed by his best learned lawyers in his owne kingdome, that there was no other personage in the world saving onely himselfe that had lawfull right to succede in the sayde kingdome of Portugall after the death of the sayde King Henry, which right in case it shoulde be denyed unto him, that hee woulde obtaine the kingdome by force of armes.⁵²

Thus the pamphlet is implying that Philip’s pride was the driving force behind this last push to expand his empire. His supposition that the throne of Portugal was his rightful seat, coupled with the arrogant assumption that he would capture it by force if this is not honoured, displayed the extent of his proud nature to those who came into contact with the text. The use of the theme in this text is interesting, as Philip claims that he would not accept the judgement of man, only God, yet he proceeds to state that it is his lawyers who have proclaimed that he is the rightful heir, and he would use force if this judgement was not enacted. This implies that his sense of superiority in this situation is derived from his worldly lineage rather than the divine judgement that he claims to adhere to. Thus, his seemingly illicit claim to power in

⁴⁹ Ibid., B1r.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

Portugal could be judged immoral in the eyes of the English if it is considered in relation to Petrov's suggestion that power taken against the delegation of God 'constituted immorality' in the early modern mind.⁵³ Of course, it can be argued that Philip indeed held a right to the title as Don António was indeed deemed illegitimate, and his assumption of military victory was not arrogant as he indeed achieved this, but this is incidental as it is the propagandist portrayal of his proud nature that is significant with this text. By presenting the alleged evidence that Don António held the right to the title, alongside Philip's apparent disregard for the due process ascribed by King Henri and the threat to take the throne by force if he were opposed, this pamphlet is implying that Philip's claim to the title was false and his actions driven by prideful disregard for the rights to the claim of the other 'princes and potentates who laid claim to the Portuguese crown'.

The trait of pride is associated with the Spanish in several other texts in the middle years of the decade. In *An historicall discourse, or rather a tragicall historie of the citie of Antwerpe*, which recounts the outbreak of the Dutch revolt, the anonymous author notes that upon completion of his citadel in Antwerp in 1568, the Duke of Alva 'in the midst of the said castell [...] caused a victorious and triumphant Image of himself to be made, cast of the copper of the artillarie which he tooke from his enimies, and the same to be raised upon a pedestal of marble beautified with manie goodlie figures'.⁵⁴ Moreover, as described by Limm, he had the statue engraved with the motto: 'To the Duke of Alva [...] who extirpated sedition, reduced rebellion, restored religion, secured justice and established peace', displaying his seemingly inflated sense of self-importance and pride.⁵⁵ However, in 1573 the Duke was dismissed from office in

⁵³ Ibid., B1r.

⁵⁴ Anon, *An historicall discourse, or rather a tragicall historie of the citie of Antwerpe, since the departure of king Phillip king of Spaine out of Netherland, till this present yeare, 1586* (John Windet, London, 1586), C3r.

⁵⁵ Peter Limm, *The Dutch Revolt 1559 – 1648* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2014), p.33.

the Low Countries and recalled to Spain, disgraced.⁵⁶ The violent exploits of Alva in France and the Low Countries were common knowledge to English Protestants; twenty seven texts printed in London between 1560 and 1580 discussed him, and his reputation as a ‘dreadfull and renowned chieftaine of the Papistes’ would have been well known by the time *An Historicall Discourse* went to print.⁵⁷ It can be argued, then, that this instance is Protestant propaganda intended to highlight Alva’s misplaced pride in his own abilities, as his downfall that swiftly followed. This is the first allusion in the texts to the biblical adage, ‘Pride *goeth* before destruction, and an high mind before the fall’, as Alva’s prideful statement that he has brought peace and justice to the Low Countries was followed by his recall to Spain in disgrace.⁵⁸ His attempt to implement a system of permanent taxes was unpopular and, according to E.H. Kossmann, Alva’s ‘superficially simple, logical and modern’ system of government was ultimately ‘impracticable and unrealistic’, leading to growing resistance to Alva’s regime and his eventual recall to Spain in 1573.⁵⁹ Although this instance of pride is from the early years of the Dutch Revolt, it serves to illustrate that the idea that pride comes before a fall had already been associated with the Spanish prior to its introduction to English pamphlets in 1585 but, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, this appeared with increasing regularity in the texts as the Anglo-Spanish political relationship deteriorated into open war.

The trait of pride is also present in *The Baptizing of a Turk*, the reproduction of a sermon preached by Meredith Hanmer at Saint Catherine’s-by-the-tower in October 1586 when Chinano, a Turk born in Negroponte, was baptised. *The Baptizing of a Turk* makes a single,

⁵⁶ E. H. Kossmann, A. F. Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Cambridge University press, Cambridge, 1974), p.106.

⁵⁷ Geoffrey Gates, *The defence of militarie profession* (Henry Middleton for Iohn Harison, London, 1579), D1v.

⁵⁸ Proverbs 16:18, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languges. VVith moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (s.n., Geneva, 1562), p.242.

⁵⁹ Kossmann, Mellink, *Texts*, pp.13-14.

brief comment regarding pride, stating that the ‘great Turk at Constantinople laugheth at the pope & his prelates to scorn for their pride, the Christian churches he revileth, and not without cause for their idols and images’.⁶⁰ Rebecca Anne Goetz suggests that Hanmer saw this as a religious victory for England, indicating that the tide was turning in the battle against heathens and idolaters in a country that considered itself ‘surrounded [...] by false Christians (Catholics)’ and ‘the avowedly non-Christian’.⁶¹ Although Quinn agrees that this was intended to propagate the victory of the baptising of a heathen, he argues that Hanmer was specifically developing the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish narrative of the early to mid-1580s.⁶² He proposes that Hanmer was utilising this conversion to ‘answer’ the Catholic propagandists who had, since the 1560s, been inquiring why the allegedly universal Protestant Church had failed to convert anyone outside the British Isles.⁶³ Thus, this was an opportunity to not only show that the Church of England inclusive and able to convert non-Christians, but also to propagate ideas that the Catholic Church was idolatrous and greedy, and its Spanish adherents unusually cruel and brutal. Thus, this text does not level the accusation of pride at the Spaniards in particular, but rather points to the prideful nature of the Catholic Church in general, and the anti-Spanish sentiment here is reliant on the assumption that the Spanish would have been inherently associated with the Catholic Church as a whole in this case. Moreover, in this section the Protestant author, Meredith Hanmer, seems to have greater respect for the barbarian Turks than the Spanish ‘other’. He notes that

[t]he Nigros in the kingdome of Senega, beeing of the faith of Mahomet [...] are not malicious nether stubbornely bent against the Christians: ‘They are delighted with the behaviour of the Christians, and they gather our faith and religion to be the holier and the better [...]’⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Hanmer, *Baptizing*, E5r.

⁶¹ Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (JHU Press, Baltimore, 2012), p.18.

⁶² Quinn, *Explorers*, p.203.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Hanmer, *Baptizing of a Turk*, E4r.

This suggests that there is a mutual understanding of the foundations of religious morality between the English and the members of the Islamic faith, and the imagery and idolatry of the Catholic faith is abhorrent to Protestants and Muslims alike. It seems, then, that the central role of this relatively lengthy text was to vilify Catholicism, but it placed a specific emphasis on the Spanish as it is claimed that the Turk in ‘his captivity in Spayne, received not the Christian fayth’.⁶⁵ John Chesworth goes so far as to claim that the predominant reason that Hanmer published the text was to show that the Turk had not converted to Catholicism in his lengthy captivity by the Spanish, but was influenced by the ‘good example’ of the English and subsequently chose to convert to Protestantism.⁶⁶ Thus it is apparent that, although the Spanish are not referenced until page seventy-one, approximately three-quarters of the way into the tract, the role of the text was, in part at least, to spread Hispanophobic attitudes. Furthermore, the Hispanophobia present is once again juxtaposed with the apparent superiority of the English and their reformed religion, showing that this theme, intended to bolster the English resolve in the face of the power of Spain, was present in texts dealing with pride as well as those concerned with exploration, such as Hakluyt’s *Discourse*.

Pride is also discussed in *The honourable reputation of a souldier*, where it is directly associated with the Spanish nature. *Honourable Reputation* was written by George Whetstone, who was the son of a wealthy merchant and a prolific author, and his text was conceived as part of his larger moralising work *The English Mirror*.⁶⁷ The main body of the text recounts the honourable deeds of the Roman military leaders, and is intended as a handbook for soldiers, but focuses on their ‘morall government’ rather than military expertise, and the Epistle Dedicatory includes an anecdotal account of a meeting between an Englishman and a Spanish

⁶⁵ Ibid, E3v.

⁶⁶ John Chesworth, ‘Meredith Hanmer’ in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds) *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Volume 8. Northern and Eastern Europe (1600-1700)* (Brill, Leiden, 2016), pp.74-75.

⁶⁷ For a detailed study of George Whetstone’s life and works, see Thomas Izard, *George Whetstone: Mid-Elizabethan Man of Letters* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1942); George Whetstone, *The English Myrror* (J. Windet for G. Seton, London, 1586).

soldier.⁶⁸ It is reported that, in Milan in 1580, a company of French and English at dinner were joined by ‘a haughtie proude Spaniard, [who] came and sat him downe by us’.⁶⁹ When asked why the King of Spain was amassing an army in the port of Lisbon, ‘[t]he Spaniard forthwith made this proude & insolent aunswere: Ah Sir, the time nowe draweth neare, that we shall have the spoile of rich England that we shall embrace their faire wives, and make havocke of their [l]ong gathered riches’.⁷⁰ Once again, we see that the proud demeanour of the Spanish is rooted in their military might, with the Spaniard bragging about the imminent fall of England to the Spanish. It is also apparent that the text is implying that the greed of the Spanish is the underpinning for their proposed invasion, as the only concern of the Spaniard appears to be taking the wealth and women of England, once again linking the traits of greed and dishonesty as was the case with *Newes from Antwerp* and *A true discourse of the assault committed vpon [...] William of Orange*, discussed in chapter one. The timing of this text, being printed in 1585 along with *The explanation* and *An Historicall Discourse*, may provide evidence of the role of this Hispanophobic motif in the pamphlets of the 1580s, as in this year the hostilities between England and Spain reached their climax with the outbreak of war. For all his proud boasts and bragging, the Spaniard in *Reputation* is revealed as a coward when he flees from the duel that he has challenged the Englishman to, whilst the Duke of Alva falls from grace after his proudest moment in *An Historicall Discourse*.⁷¹ With the embargo placed on English Ships by Philip leading to the outbreak of war in 1585, the threat posed by the Spanish was more present than earlier in the decade, and the inclusion of the trait of pride in the anti-Spanish sentiment in these texts may have been intended to both bolster and reassure the people of England when facing of the Spanish Empire. It would have been well known that, according to the Bible,

⁶⁸ George Whetstone, *The honorable reputation of a souldier* (Richard Jones, London, 1585), A2r.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

‘Pride *goeth* before destruction, and an high mind before the fall’, thus, as mentioned above, it is plausible that the new emphasis on the pride of the Spanish may have been intended to suggest that they would soon experience the fall of their empire, presumably at the hands of the Protestant English.⁷²

Dishonesty

In the opening years of the decade the trait of dishonesty was associated with both the Spaniards links with the Jesuits and their colonisation of the ‘New World’. Between 1584 and 1586 this association with their religion was still apparent, as was the insinuation that the Spanish conquest was a deceitful enterprise, but there was also the introduction of the idea of deceit regarding Spanish military might that was clearly associated with the perceived increasing threat posed to English shores. Increasingly, there was an insinuation that Spanish might was overstated, an implication that would have helped to bolster the English if an attack was indeed imminent, effecting this subtle change in the presentation of the trait. It is apparent that the short section relating to the Spanish in Whetstone’s moralistic military manual *The honorable reputation* was intended to show the trait of dishonesty along with that of pride, perhaps intended to promote a sense of confidence in the English by suggesting that the Spanish were simply ‘boasting’ regarding their Armada . When asked about the ships being amassed at Lisbon, the Spaniard replies that it is for the invasion of England.⁷³ However, the pamphlet was printed in 1585, and is referencing the events of 1580. It would have been known by this time that the fleet described was, in fact, part of the annexation of Portugal by Spain, begun in 1580, and thus the pamphlet exposed the deceit for what it was: an empty boast. As we have seen, the impending attack on Portugal was alluded to in *Newes from Antwerp* when the author, in his preface, suggests the Spain needs to be repulsed at all costs, ‘[s]pecially, if the Spaniards

⁷² Proverbs 16:18, *The Bible*, p.242.

⁷³ Whetstone, *Reputation*, Aiiir.

obtaine the kingdom of Portugall. Which God forbyd.’⁷⁴ Furthermore, the ultimate defeat of Don António on Terceira is related in *A memoriall of the famous monuments and charitable almesdeedes of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe esquire*, suggesting that the invasion of Portugal by the Spanish in 1580 was known to the English population, and that part of the intent of this section of the pamphlet was to expose the brags and lies of the Spaniard.⁷⁵ It might be suggested then, that the traits of pride and dishonesty were combined in order to inspire the English in these early years of war, when the might of the Spanish military far outweighed the English defences. By insinuating that the Spanish were lying about their military manoeuvres alongside descriptions of the Spaniards’ proud but ultimately cowardly nature, the pamphlet is implying that the Spanish are not as strong as they present themselves to be, further bolstering the English against the potential invasion.

In *A Discoverie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the realme*, by Francis Throckmorton, printed in 1584, dishonesty is attributed to the most prominent Spaniard in the realm, Bernadino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador.⁷⁶ The pamphlet is a reproduction of two letters that recount the details of the plot to remove the Queen along with details of Throckmorton’s confession and arraignment. In the pamphlet it is suggested that the plot to remove Elizabeth from the throne, and replace her with Mary, Queen of Scots, was in part facilitated by the ambassador, as he could deal with the arrangements for ‘a convenient partie’ to join with the invading Spanish force.⁷⁷ In John Bossy’s study of an Elizabethan spying operation, he noted that in October 1583 Throckmorton was compiling a list of Catholic gentlemen who might be relied on in the event of an invasion, and places where

⁷⁴ Morolles, *Newes from Antwerp*, A2r.

⁷⁵ Abraham Fleming, *A memoriall of the famous monuments and charitable almesdeedes of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe esquire* (Henrie Denham, London, 1580).

⁷⁶ Anon., *A Discoverie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Majestie and the Realme*, by Francis Throckmorton (Christopher Barker, London, 1584).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, A3r.

the invasion force might land, as it was Mendoza who was the driving force behind the plot to usurp Elizabeth with Mary Queen of Scots.⁷⁸ It is apparent that Throckmorton was concerned to not be seen as a ‘sunder of men, lest hee might be discovered, and so endanger himself & the enterprise’, and therefore he compiles a list for the ambassador on ‘howe and with whome to deale’.⁷⁹ Mendoza then delegated this task to Charles Paget who, according to Throckmorton’s testimony, ‘had been in Sussex in order to sound some Noblemen and gentlemen’ about their cooperation in the Enterprise’.⁸⁰ It appears, from this text, that the previous concerns regarding the threat posed by the Jesuits and Catholic infiltration had now increased, as Mendoza was now seemingly complicit in the orchestration of a Catholic plot to liberate Mary, Queen of Scots. Thus, the accusation of dishonesty was being levelled at the Spanish and their allies from all stations – from an unnamed traveller to the Ambassador, encompassing both the clandestine and public figures alike.

In *The Spanish Colonie* there was reference to the dishonesty of the conquistadors in their apparent ambivalence in the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith despite this being the professed goal of the conquest of the Americas. This theme was also present in *The Baptizing of a Turk*, published in 1586. In the pamphlet a Turk, having been first captured by the Spanish, and then ‘found at Carthagina’ by Francis Drake, is brought to England where he allegedly decided he would become a Christian.⁸¹ When

hee was demaunded why for the space of 25. yeares, being the time of his captivity in Spayne, hee received not the Christian fayth [...] his aunswere was: that he had beene by a Friar sollicitated thereto, & that he heard no more of him but the name of Christ, without instruction, or opening to his comfort any point of the faith.⁸²

⁷⁸ John Bossy, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2002), p.78.

⁷⁹ Anon., *A Discoverie of the treasons*, A3r.

⁸⁰ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1995), pp.119-20.

⁸¹ Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turk* (Robert Waldegrave, London, 1586), E3r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, E4r.

This apparent disregard for the spiritual wellbeing of their captive is reminiscent of the evidence given by Las Casas against the Spanish conquistadors in *The Spanish Colonie*. He argues that

[the Spaniards] have never had any respect [for the natives], or made any more account of [them...] than of beasts [...] but less than of the mire of the streets, even as much care is it that they have had of their lives and their souls. And by this means have died so many Millions without faith and without sacraments.⁸³

Thus, the pamphlets regarding acts of Spanish conquest are suggesting that the Spanish were dishonest when it came to their justification for expansion of the empire. As stated in chapter one, the Papal Bull of 1493 was clear that spiritual conversion of heathen inhabitants of newly discovered territory was the primary concern, yet it appears that this was disregarded by the Spanish in the ‘New World’. According to Lesley Byrd Simpson, after the failure of Columbus’s attempts to build a stable colony in Spain’s new territories, Queen Isabella’s piety and pragmatism led her to instruct her newly appointed governor, Fray Nicolás de Ovando, regarding the acceptable treatment of the indigenous peoples – an act which Simpson calls ‘the first thoughtful attempt to regulate Spanish-Indian relations’.⁸⁴ These instructions were clearly intended to protect the native inhabitants, and ensure their religious instruction and freedom from ‘robbery and abuse’.⁸⁵ Yet there was a need to consider the practicalities of the conquest and, as discussed in the previous chapter, Isabella noted that ‘[s]ince it will be necessary, in order to mine gold and carry out other works which we have ordered [...] you will compel [the inhabitants] to work in our service’.⁸⁶ However, the calibre of the men who embarked on the voyages to the ‘New World’, especially in the early years of conquest, might explain the lack of dedication in their religious responsibilities to the natives, and the continued use of coerced

⁸³ Casas, *Colonie*, A2v.

⁸⁴ Lesley in *New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Paperback edition) (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982), p.9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.9; for a more detailed breakdown of the instructions of Isabella to Oviando see the first chapter, ‘The Indian Legislation of Isabella’, pp.1-15.

⁸⁶ Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda.*, pp.9-10.

labour. The extract above, stating that the inhabitants were seen as inferior to even beasts, is taken from the section of Las Casas' text relating the actions of the Spanish on the Isle of Hispaniola, the first to be settled by Columbus in the final months of 1492.⁸⁷ It has been suggested by Byrd Simpson that 'the men who went to [Hispaniola] in the first ten years were the choicest selection of riffraff ever brought together', and that their ranks consisted of broken noblemen, ex-soldiers, criminals and convicts.⁸⁸ This position has been challenged by James Lockhart in his study of the 168 Spaniards present in Cajamarca, although his investigation concentrates on a later generation of conquistadors in 1532.⁸⁹ However, as there is little detailed research on the colonists as individuals Lockhart's study is invaluable. It shows that in Peru, the majority of the Spanish colonists were not the 'footloose mercenary or professional soldier' that their legacy has turned them into, but that they were simply ordinary Spaniards who hoped to return home and start families once they had gained enough 'liquid wealth' to do so.⁹⁰ Moreover, the study demonstrates the diversity of backgrounds that the colonists came from, noting their geographical origins, ages, social standing and literacy levels in order to revise the prevailing opinion as presented by Byrd Simpson.⁹¹ Alistair Hennessy also considers Lockhart's work when he notes that there is a lack of research into the topic, encouraging the kind of broad generalisation and stereotyping apparent in the historiography about the conquistadors.⁹² However, Hennessy is not attempting to simply refute previous research and he provides a balanced evaluation of the conquistadors, speculating that 'those who valued honour and military prowess more than material gain' could gain the psychological satisfaction

⁸⁷ Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (eds), *The Essential Diaz: Selections from The Conquest of New Spain* (Hackett Publishing, Indianapolis, 2014), p.xiii.

⁸⁸ Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda*, p.7.

⁸⁹ James Lockhart, *The men of Cajamarca: a social and biographical study of the first conquerors of Peru* (University of Texas Press, 1972).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-43.

⁹² Alistair Hennessy, 'The Nature of the Conquest and the Conquistadors' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 81 (1993), p.13.

of service in the Italian Wars, insinuating that the Spaniards who travelled to the ‘New World’ must have had economic motivation.⁹³ He proceeds to note that ‘very few conquistadors showed any interest in Central America once the initial gold beds had been exhausted’, again suggesting that profit was the driving force behind the decision to travel to the Americas, regardless of social standing.⁹⁴ It is therefore unsurprising that the priority of the settlers was to exploit the natural resources of the island, but the portrayal of them as ruthless ex-convicts and immoral noblemen and soldiers is not fully supported by the historiography. However, this was the accepted rhetoric in England at the time thanks to Las Casas’ polemic, and the repetition of a similar stereotype in Byrd Simpson’s work almost four hundred years later demonstrates the influence of Las Casas’ text. The section quoted above from Las Casas relates to the Spaniards use of native labour in the mining of minerals, the intensity of the work often leading to the death of the labourers.⁹⁵ While the brutal nature of the Spaniard behind this atrocity may be called into question given the revised position on this matter, the importance of this debate lies in the fact that this brutal treatment and coerced labour seemed to occur before any of the natives had received any religious instruction, suggesting that the only concern of the Spanish conquistadors was gold rather than God and thus highlighting apparently dishonest justification for conquest.

This assumption is reinforced in the pamphlet *Politique discourses upon trueth and lying*, the translation of a French work by Edward Hoby, the nephew of Lord Burghley, that was also published in 1586. The text itself discusses lying and dishonesty in general terms and how rhetoric can be employed to present falsehoods. In the text the original author, Matthieu Coignet, considers the evidence presented by

Jerosme Beuzo [also known as Girolamo Benzoni...] who wrote of the West Indies, having remained there above fifteen yeres with the Spanyards, sheweth how far the

⁹³ Ibid., p.15.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.16.

⁹⁵ Casas, *Colonie*, A2r.

Spanish Chroniclers have spared the truth, & do go about to cover the cruelties, inconstancies, and villanies of their nation [...] ⁹⁶

Although Benzoni's work does highlight the cruelty, avarice and excess of the Spanish in the 'New World', it is more balanced in its portrayal of the conquest as he also 'eulogises the constancy and courage of the Spaniards'.⁹⁷ Michiel van Groesen points out that, unlike the work of Las Casas, the Benzoni volumes did not focus solely on Spanish tyranny and greed, with approximately one third of the seventy-eight texts discussed the in-fighting among the conquistadors and the struggle for supremacy in the Caribbean between Spain and France.⁹⁸ However, the presentation of Benzoni's work in *Politique discourses* focuses on the aspects of his work that reflect the content of Las Casas' polemic, that they were simply villainous, and 'spared the truth' in order to protect the pious image of the Spanish nation. Thus it is apparent that this section of the work was produced as a piece of anti-Spanish propaganda intended to highlight their dishonesty. Moreover, due to the close association of the translator with Lord Burghley, it is entirely plausible that this was an authorised propagandist piece supported by the government's ideology. The deceit of the Spaniard is further cemented in Coignet's argument that

Lopes a Spaniard and Beuzo a Millannese, and other that have written of the historie of America and the West Indies, have beene constrayned to confesse, that the crueltie, covetousnesse, blasphemies and wickednesse of the Spaniardes hath altogether alienated the poore Indians from the religion, which the said Spaniards gave out they held for true, who did not long enjoye those goods, which by detestable meanes they had there gathered. And all men write, that they were lesse worthe then the Idolatrous Indians.⁹⁹

This section considers how the chroniclers of the Americas have been compelled to 'confess' that the actions of the Spaniards were based on their cruel and greedy nature, rather than the

⁹⁶ Matthieu Coignet, *Politique discourses upon truth and lying* (John Windet for Ralph Newberie, London, 1586), C3r.

⁹⁷ George Wilson Bridges, *The annals of Jamaica, Volume 1* (J. Murray, London, 1828), p.8.

⁹⁸ Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Brill, Leiden, 2008), p.250.

⁹⁹ Coignet, *Discourses*, B4r.

propagation of the Catholic faith. This, in turn, has alienated the natives, leaving them unwilling to engage with the doctrines of Catholicism. Thus, once again, the justification for conquest is being questioned, as the covetous Spanish are seemingly placing profit above the spiritual wellbeing of the indigenous Caribbeans, highlighting the dishonesty on which the conquest was based. Isabella was a pious monarch who was concerned with the treatment of her 'New World' vassals and, as noted by David Sowell, the contract agreed upon by Isabella with Columbus clearly stipulated the importance of God to his expedition.¹⁰⁰ However, this early display of moral conscience by the Spanish monarch did not fit with the narrative being presented in English cheap print in the mid-1580s – that cruelty and avarice were firmly underpinning the Spanish conquest. Thus, by referencing the work of Benzoni and his contemporaries, and associating this with Las Casas' portrayal of the dishonesty and greed of the conquistadors, the pamphlets were reinforcing the 'otherness' of the Spaniard.

It is therefore apparent that the negative portrayal of the Spanish was being intentionally exacerbated and then transmitted by authors and translators. As discussed above, George Whetstone was the son of a wealthy merchant and a prolific author, and his text was conceived as part of his larger moralising work *The English Mirror*.¹⁰¹ The English translator of Coignet's *Politique discourses*, Sir Edward Hoby, also wrote several tracts against the Catholics.¹⁰² Therefore, the alleged dishonesty of the Spanish conquest, and the Spaniard more generally (in Whetstone's *Honorable Reputation*), was being disseminated widely as anti-Spanish propaganda at this time. Yet these two pamphlets only achieved one edition, so we are unable

¹⁰⁰ David Sowell, 'Las Casas and the Struggle for Justice in the Indies' in *Juaniana Voices* (Volume 1, 1993), p.56.

¹⁰¹ For a detailed study of George Whetstone's life and works, see Thomas Izard, *George Whetstone: Mid-Elizabethan Man of Letters* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1942); George Whetstone, *The English Myrror* (J. Windet for G. Seton, London, 1586).

¹⁰² Nathan Probasco, 'Ann Aucher [Ager] Gilbert' in Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet and Jo Eldridge Carney (eds) *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500-1650* (Taylor and Francis, Oxford, 2016), p.151; J.C.H/M.A.P, '*HOBY, Edward (1560-1617), of Bisham, Berks. and Queenborough Castle, Kent*' via <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/hoby-edward-1560-1617> [Accessed 07/12/2017].

to ascertain the extent of their popularity and influence, or their reach in early modern England. The *Francis Throckmorton* pamphlet, however, ran to four editions, suggesting that it was widely circulated at the time, and therefore so was the anti-Spanish sentiment contained within. This may be due to the length of the pamphlet, as it was only thirty pages, and thus the cheapest of those considered in this section. It could also have been due to the content, as it focused on current news which Joad Raymond has shown to be increasingly popular over the course of the 1580s.¹⁰³ Raymond suggests that English involvement in Continental wars, and the faring of Protestants in France and the Low Countries, led to a developing interest in current news pamphlets, while Paul Voss notes that the Elizabethans actively sought the most current news available.¹⁰⁴ Whichever was the case, it is clear that the message regarding the dishonesty of the Spanish, and the underhand nature of their English accomplices, was being successfully disseminated at a time when the threat to English shores was increasing, suggesting that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment in the cheaply printed pamphlets of the 1580s was motivated in part by imperial aspirations, as was apparent in Hakluyt's *Discourse*, and also in defence of the realm. By presenting the 'otherness' of the Spanish in their dishonest justification of the conquest, the pamphlets implied that they were unworthy colonisers, and the dangers presented by Spanish Catholic allies would have alerted the reader or hearer to the threat posed by the Spanish at home.

Brutality

As noted in chapter one, the secondary trait of greed is often present alongside both that of brutality and dishonesty in the pamphlets under investigation, and this was perpetuated in the pamphlets produced between 1584 and 1586 in order to denigrate the Spanish conquest and

¹⁰³ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p.99.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.99-100; Paul Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe & the Birth of British Journalism* (Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh, 2001), p.13.

encourage English exploration and colonisation in opposition to this. However, with the commencement of the Anglo-Spanish war it is apparent that there was also a return to the references about Spanish brutality in the Low countries, suggesting again that a subtle change in the presentation of these traits was closely associated with political developments in the 1580s. As ideas about English exploration were eschewed due to naval resources being channelled into domestic defence, tales about Spanish military brutality in the Low Countries were utilised to provide a warning for the English, intended to bolster national feeling in the face of the outbreak of war between the two countries.

Politique discourses, discussed in the previous section, is an example of how the deceit assigned to the Spanish is shown side by side with avarice – their apparent motivation for their ‘New World’ exploration. Similarly, in *The Baptizing of a Turk*, published in 1586, the trope of avarice is once again present, yet it is not directly associated with the Spanish, but rather their faith - a theme that we have seen in the some of the sources considered in chapter one. Yet this association of the Spaniards with excessive greed is also reflective of the attitudes presented in *The Spanish Colonie*, discussed in chapter one. Such was the novelty of the extreme violence ascribed to the Spanish in this text, it was referenced by Hamner directly when he suggests ‘he that will have a view of the crueltie of the Spaniard, let him read The Spanish Colonie [...]’.¹⁰⁵ This close association of greed and excessive brutality in relation to the Spanish was first posited by Las Casas in his original treatise *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, published in Seville in 1552.¹⁰⁶ However, this was not translated into English until 1583.¹⁰⁷ If we consider that the specific reference to the tract made by Hamner was printed three years later, it is plausible that the first half of this decade may have been when we can find the first traces of the ‘Black Legend’ in England - the negative accusations

¹⁰⁵ Hamner, *Baptizing*, E4v.

¹⁰⁶ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Sebastian Trugillo, Seville, 1552).

¹⁰⁷ Bartolomé de las Casas trans. M.M.S., *The Spanish Colonie* (William Broome, London, 1583).

constantly levelled against Spain that were based on depictions of events that were ‘exaggerated, incorrectly interpreted or indeed entirely false’.¹⁰⁸ This can be seen in the section discussed from *Politique discourses* above, in which the seemingly more balanced view presented by Benzoni is referenced by Coignet, but greatly reduced in order to only convey the negative aspects of the Spanish character. Similarly, *The Spanish Colonie* intentionally exaggerates both the cruelty of the Spanish and the innocence of the natives, in order to demonstrate the barbarous nature of the Spaniard to its fullest extent, whilst Hamner suggests that the Spanish are the cruellest of all the Christian nations.¹⁰⁹ Thus when Hamner connects his text with Las Casas by directly referencing *The Spanish Colonie*, he raises the potential for dissemination of the theme of Spanish cruelty, as those who read it that had not come into contact with the work of Las Casas would be more likely to investigate the contents of his polemic, further spreading Hispanophobic sentiment in English society.

Echoes of *The Spanish Colonie* can also be found in *An Historicall Discourse*, a pamphlet that details events in the Low Countries after the arrival of the Duke of Alva, also published in 1586 and discussed in the above pride section. When discussing the recall of the Duke of Alva, the author states that ‘the countrie whom he found wealthie and well inhabited, wasted and dispeopled, whome he found quiet and in peace, in preparation for warres’.¹¹⁰ However, this accusation that the fertile and populous Low Countries had been ‘dispeopled’ and laid to waste by Alva is challenged by K.W. Swart who discusses how, during his six-year administration, Alva executed no more than 2000 to 4000 persons, a far cry from the pamphlet’s hyperbolic claims.¹¹¹ Moreover, Swart asserts that much of the brutality enacted by the Spanish Army

¹⁰⁸ Edelmayr, Friedrich: The "Leyenda Negra" and the Circulation of Anti-Catholic and Anti-Spanish Prejudices, in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2011-06-29. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/edelmayerf-2010-en>URN: <urn:nbn:de:0159-2011051268> [Accessed 07/12/2017].

¹⁰⁹ Hamner, *Baptizing*, E4v-E5r.

¹¹⁰ Anon, *An Historicall Discourse*, D3v.

¹¹¹ K.W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War' in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands Volume V: Some Political Mythologies* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1975), p.47.

during the Dutch Revolt should be laid at the feet of mercenaries, often of German or even native Walloon birth demonstrating how, in the reporting of events, the Spanish actors were misrepresented to appear as the villains.¹¹² Although Las Casas provides a much lengthier and exaggerated account of the actions of the conquistadors in the first forty years of the conquest, the sentiment is essentially the same. Las Casas states that above three million souls inhabit the island of Hispaniola, yet at the time of writing ‘there are not nowe two hundredth natives of the countrey’.¹¹³ Likewise, Cuba ‘is at this day [...] al wast’, while St. Johns and Jamaica, which were once ‘very firtil, and very fayre: are desolate’, and more than thirty other isles near them have been ‘dispeopled and [...] laid waste’.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the reports of excessive brutality are also restated in later works. In his handbook discussing the ‘moral government’ of soldiers, *Honourable Reputation*, Whetstone postulates that

When God delivereth any Cittie or towne into their [the Catholics] hands, they (especially the Spaniard and the Italian) take small compassion of the Inhabitantes afflictions: but to injurie them in the hiest extremitie, as the sweetest part of their spoile, they most impiously, and barbarously abuse honest matrones & deflower their daughters: Which unpardonable and unsufferable offences, the vengeance of God still followeth: and therefore this Turkish wickednes, that stinketh before god & man, is to be banished or rather to be punished in every Christian Army.¹¹⁵

As has been highlighted in the discussion of *The Baptizing of a Turk* above, the imagery of brutality employed by Las Casas was being utilised to increase the impact of anti-Spanish sentiment in the texts produced in London after 1583, and the passage in *Honourable Reputation* is a case in point.¹¹⁶ The reference to ‘Turkish wickedness’ in this text echoes the sentiment apparent in the Las Casas’ work when it is suggested that the acts of cruelty performed by ‘barbarous [Spanish] tyrantes, [...] are worsen then those which are done by the Turke to destroy the church of Christ’, and the English translation in which it is noted that the

¹¹² Ibid., p.48.

¹¹³ Casas, *Colonie*, A2r.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Whetstone, *Reputation*, D1r.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

behaviour of the Spanish in the ‘New World’ can be attributed to ‘their firste fathers the Gothes’ and ‘their second progenitors the Sarazens’.¹¹⁷ It is apparent, then, that *Honourable Reputation* was reinforcing the newly conceived ethnic dimension in the construction of the Spanish ‘other’ discussed by Eric Griffin. Griffin has identified that William of Orange’s *Apology*, printed in 1580, was the first document to explicitly attribute the Spaniards’ excessive brutality to the fact that they ‘are of the blood of the Moors and the Jews’, and that this ‘mixed blood of Iberian culture’, became a sign of their ‘racial corruption’.¹¹⁸ Orange reinforces this by highlighting the association of the Spanish nature with Turkish cruelty when he states that ‘the Duke of Alva [...] hath willingly bathed himself in our blood, and in the blood of all Christians, carying closely a Turkishe hearte within him’.¹¹⁹ Thus it is apparent that the reference to ‘Turkishe wickedness’ in *Honourable Reputation* is perpetuating the developing narrative that the ‘otherness’ of the Spanish brutality is founded in this ethnic division that is irreconcilable with English mentalities.

It is becoming clear that the brutality of the Spaniards was greatly exaggerated by Las Casas, and his rhetoric was utilised by numerous authors in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²⁰ However, when discussing *Honourable Reputation* it seems that Whetstone’s accusations are perhaps justified when he suggests that the soldiers ‘abuse honest matrones & deflower their daughters’.¹²¹ Swart maintains that there was ‘much truth’ in the widespread accusations of rape, and that it is likely that syphilis – also known as the Spanish Pox in much of Europe – was probably spread by the Spaniards.¹²² This violence against women described in the above quote is highlighted by Las Casas in the opening pages of his polemic, when he

¹¹⁷ Casas, *Colonie*, D2r and ¶2r.

¹¹⁸ Griffin, ‘The Specter of Spain in John Smith’s Colonial Writing’, p.117.

¹¹⁹ Pierre Loyseleur, *The apologie or defence of the most noble Prince William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange* (sine nomine, Delft, 1581), I4r.

¹²⁰ See above, pp.96-97.

¹²¹ Whetstone, *Reputation*, D1r.

¹²² Swart, ‘The Black Legend’, pp.49-50.

recounts how ‘a Spanische Captaine durst adventure to ravish forcibly the wife of the greatest king’.¹²³ He also notes the pleasure that the Spanish take in their cruelty when he describes who they torment, and how, as he states that they spared

neyther children, nor old men, neither women with childe, neyther them that lay in, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces [...] They layed wagers with such as with one thrust of a sword would paunche or bowell a manin the middest, or with one blow of a sword would most redily and most deliverly cut off his head [...]¹²⁴

Thus we can see how pamphlets printed in the years following the English edition of *The Spanish Colonie* perpetuated the themes presented by Las Casas, and reinforced the association of the Spanish with both greed and brutality, as well as the association between the two traits themselves. However, it is becoming clear that the presentation of the traits, and the implications of Spanish brutality and dishonesty for the English people, changed with the political developments of the 1580s. In 1584 brutality and greed were utilised to disparage the Spanish method of colonisation, suggesting that it was inferior to that which might be undertaken by the English. Yet in 1586, when Anglo-Spanish relations had deteriorated into outright war, the pamphlets echoed the polemical arguments presented in the opening years of the decade, warning again that if the Spanish invade and settle they will pay little attention to the inhabitants ‘afflictions’, but will treat them barbarously.¹²⁵ Thus we see again the negative traits being utilised to warn the English - by ‘othering’ the Spaniard in this way, the pamphlets were highlighting the potential destruction of a Spanish invasion and, therefore, were presenting a warning to the English, inspiring them to defend their country in the face of the Spanish threat.

¹²³ Casas, *Colonie*, A3r.

¹²⁴ Casas, *Colonie*, A3v.

¹²⁵ Whetstone, *Reputation*, D1r.

Cowardice

The trait of cowardice, on occasion conflated with ineptitude, was introduced in pamphlet literature in 1585, the year that the Anglo-Spanish war commenced. The traits discussed so far have all been closely associated with those present in the development of the ‘Black Legend’, but the introduction of cowardice marks a departure from this. As has been discussed, the Spanish were reputedly militaristic, as was evident in their completion of the Reconquista and their religious conflicts in Europe during the sixteenth century, therefore accusations of military cowardice seem surprising. However, the timing of this suggests that this trait was invoked purely in order to help to bolster English courage in the face of Spanish invasion, demonstrating that this was inextricably linked with the political developments of the decade. *The honorable reputation of a souldier*, *The Primrose of London*, and *The general imbarment of English ships*, all printed in 1585, remark on the dishonourable and cowardly nature of the Spanish. At five and nine pages long respectively, *Primrose* and *General Imbarment* can be classed as what Paul Voss has named ‘news quartos’, a genre that became popular in the 1580s as literate Elizabethans eagerly sought the most current news available.¹²⁶ This is significant as the most costly part of the printing process was the paper, suggesting that these would have been the most affordable texts in the collection being investigated.¹²⁷ Affordability and accessibility were different in this period, as many people were still illiterate and thus hearing these pamphlets made them accessible, even if those hearing could not afford them. However, if a pamphlet was affordable and contained sensational and current content, as both *Primrose* and *General Imbarment* did, it stands to reason that the anti-Spanish sentiment contained within would reach the widest audience possible.

¹²⁶ Voss, *Elizabethan*, p.13 and 18.

¹²⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets* p.72.

Whetstone's *The honorable reputation of a souldier* was a moralistic pamphlet that discussed the proper conduct of soldiers by presenting the humble beginnings and honourable military practices of several Roman military leaders.¹²⁸ The focus of the text is the magnanimous way that these leaders treated both their men and their conquered subjects. In the text it is stated that

If any man brought the Romaines tydings of some Province revolted, or of any other just cause of warre: the Senate first sent to the Offenders, frendly requiring them to returne to their obedience: & if they continued their contempt, they then created their Captaines for this expedition: But before any prosecution, they caused their Sacrificators to make praier unto the gods: after this, the Senate assembled themselves, and went unto the Temple of Jupiter, and there solemly swore, that so often as the enemy (against whom they moved war) would seeke new conditions, or crave pardon for their offences committed, that their clemency should at no time be denied.¹²⁹

Thus, the pamphlet is implying that an honourable soldier will show compassion to his conquered subjects, and highlights the religious observances adhered to by the conquerors. This behaviour is the opposite of that which Las Casas reported of the Spanish, suggesting that this pamphlet was intended, in part, to infer the dishonourable nature of Spanish soldiers. This assumption is supported by Whetstone's dedicatory epistle, which recounts a personal encounter with a Spaniard while travelling through Italy. He recalls how the 'haughtie proud Spaniard' sat with them at dinner, and bragged to the company how the Spanish would soon 'have the spoile of rich England', and that they 'shall embrace their faire wives, and make havocke of their [l]ong gathered riches'.¹³⁰ When he discovers that there is an Englishman in the company who has 'toilerated these his words', he proceeds to spitefully bait the gentleman until he provokes his temper, which it seems 'compelled the Spaniard to offer combat'.¹³¹ The two arrange to meet 'the next morning by six of the clocke, [when the Englishman should] be ready to crosse the River of Poo [Po], with the Spaniard, to commit eithers cause to God, and

¹²⁸ Whetstone, *Reputation*, B1v-B2r provides a list of ancient kings and Roman Emperors with their modest beginnings.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, C1r.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, A3r.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

their swords'.¹³² However, Whetstone reports that 'by breake of the daye, the Spaniards brags vanished like bubbles, & he himselfe slipt away without giving any bon-giorno, so that the English Gentleman could have no further revenge'.¹³³ This short account of Whetstone's experience provides examples of several of the negative traits under investigation. The most apparent is the proud nature ascribed to the Spanish, coupled with the arrogance with which the Spaniard discusses the outcome of the apparently imminent invasion of England. This suggestion that his bravado is merely bluster, and that he reneged on his pledge to duel, is important as it suggests cowardice on the part of the Spaniard, a trait not discussed in the texts printed before 1585 as far as this investigation has found. When considering the implication of the Spaniard's retreat in this scenario, it is necessary to understand that the concept of duelling was complicated in this period. It was a practice born from ideas of honour and civility which was reserved for the elite orders of society, that often adhered to set rules in order to separate it from the street fighting of the lower orders.¹³⁴ However, Courtney Erin Thomas argues that there was also the notion that a civil and honourable gentleman was measured, and avoidance of a duel displayed self-mastery and was thus desirable in early modern England.¹³⁵ Thus it seems dangerous to imply too much when regarding this small section of the text. Yet it appears that, in this case, the avoidance of duelling by the Spaniard is being mocked, and the covert manner of his departure infers his dishonourable and cowardly nature.

It could be suggested that the allegation of cowardice in *Reputation* was an anomaly. As it seems to be a personal account rather than reported news, it is possible that Whetstone took a dislike to this particular Spaniard, and thus decided to lambast him in print. Yet this seems unlikely, as the inclusion of this anecdote in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Sir William Russell

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Courtney Erin Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honor, I Lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), p.33.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.35.

suggests that the purpose of this tract was to juxtapose examples of honourable martial conduct, which make up the bulk of the text, with the dishonourable and cowardly deeds of the Spanish. Whetstone notes that *Reputation* was part of his larger work *The English Mirour*, but due to the length of the text,

[he] cannot have it speedily printed: and for that occasion now (at this present) maketh passage for this subject [...] Therefore [...] I reverently submit my travel [...] which medleth no whit with Militarie execution, but altogether with Morall government, necessarie for a perfect Souldier.¹³⁶

This provides a clue to the intended role of the text, and the anti-Spanish sentiment within. The martial ability of the Spanish had not been called into question before this, and the reproduction of *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* in 1582 provides evidence that the ‘Militarie execution’ of the Spaniards was not yet in dispute.¹³⁷ *Pathwaie* was the end product of Thomas Styward’s efforts to compile a ‘collection, gathered from most excellent souldiers, as Italian, Germaine, Swizzers, French, & English’, which he hoped would ‘induce to the profiting of the Common wealth’, presumably through the instruction of military achievements that could be adopted by the English.¹³⁸ *Pathwaie* was printed twice in 1581, and again in 1582, and while the first two editions focused on intelligence gathered from the above-mentioned countries, the third edition included a translation of Luis Gutierrez de la Vega’s *De re militari*, a discourse ‘lately found in the Forte in Ireland, where the Italians and Spaniards had fortified themselves’.¹³⁹ The title page advertises this new content, stating that ‘the third booke: comprehendeth the very right order of the Spaniards, how to traine, March, and Encampe, with divers Tables therein contained’.¹⁴⁰ The addition of the newly discovered Spanish treatise to an already popular military handbook suggests that there was a growing interest in Spanish military procedure,

¹³⁶ Whetstone, *Reputation*, A2r.

¹³⁷ Thomas Styward, *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (T. East for Myles Jenyns, London, 1581), A2r.

¹³⁸ Styward, *Pathwaie*, A2r.

¹³⁹ Thomas Styward, *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (3rd Edition), (T. E. for Milonis Jenyns, London, 1582), title page.

¹⁴⁰ Styward, *The Pathwaie* (3rd Edition), title page.

and its inclusion in a handbook about military excellence indicates that the Spanish military capabilities were regarded highly at the start of the 1580s. However, their ‘Morall government’ had been lambasted throughout the decade, as we have seen with the associations between the Spanish and dishonesty, greed and brutality, and it seems that this instance of the Spaniard fleeing in the night is intended to highlight the lack of moral standing in the Spaniard. Although this altercation took place in 1580, Whetstone clearly states that the themes that it represents are worthy of consideration in 1585 – namely the Spaniard’s arrogant bravado when he claims that the Spanish ‘shall presently have the spoile of rich England’, and his cowardice in the face of English reprisal as ‘[his] brags vanished like bubbles, & he himself slipt away without giving any bon-giorno’.¹⁴¹ While Whetstone considers this to reflect his low moral character, it is also apparent that this is detailing a cowardly act on the part of the Spaniard, something that Whetstone does not appear to focus on, and would not be considered significant in this investigation if the trait had not been present in other pamphlets printed in 1585.

The two texts detailing the escape of captured English ships, also published in 1585, contained further implications of Spanish cowardice. *The Primrose of London* recounts an encounter between an English cargo ship and the Spanish military in May of that year, as does *The general imbarment of English Ships*, and both are written by participants of the two miraculous escapes. The title page of *The Primrose* advertises the tale of how ‘97. Spaniards came aboard the same ship, the course of the skirmish, and how by their valiancie they [the English] discomfited them’.¹⁴² It is further described how, after two days in the Bay of Bilbao, a Spanish pinnace approached the *Primrose* carrying the Spanish Corregidor and six of his men, who proceeded to speak ‘very friendly to the maister of the Shippe [...] and he in courteous wise bad them welcome’.¹⁴³ The maister then makes ‘the best cheere that he could’, offering the Spaniards

¹⁴¹ Whetstone, *Reputation*, A3r.

¹⁴² Humphrey Mote, *The Primrose of London* (Thomas Nelson, London, 1585), Ar.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, A2r.

‘béere, béefe and bisket’, after which four of the Spaniards depart in the pinnace, leaving three aboard.¹⁴⁴ Upon his return, the Corregidor brings a further 23 Spaniards in the pinnace, accompanied by a ‘ship boate wherein was 70 persons’.¹⁴⁵ The maister, seeing the multitude of Spanish, requests that no more should come aboard – a request granted by the Corregidor.¹⁴⁶ However, ‘on a sodaine they came foorth of the boate [...] every Spaniard taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a Drum wherewith to triumph over them’.¹⁴⁷ We can see, then, that the opening of this text reinforces a motif becoming familiar in the 1580s, the dishonesty and untrustworthiness of the Spanish, again warning the English about the nefarious nature of the Spaniard and his allies in England. However, the following section presents an unfamiliar trait ascribed to the Spaniards. It is stated that the English ‘resolved themselves either to defend the maister, and generally to shun that daunger, or els to die [...] then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentors hands [...]’.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, it is noted that the attack by the English merchants and mariners was so unexpected that the Spaniards were overcome and ‘many of them [were] very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in the one side, but now they tumbled as fast over the boord on both sides [...] some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towards the Citie’.¹⁴⁹ This short quote that highlights the ‘haste’ with which the Spanish retreat paints a detailed picture of this instance of Spanish cowardice which, in this case, is conflated with incompetence – both traits that would have encouraged English bravery when faced with the much larger Spanish forces. That the Spaniards were coming ‘not so fast’ suggests their growing timidity towards the English on board the ship, whilst their fast tumbling overboard into their boats, and even the sea, to beat a hasty retreat, is clearly a comment on the cowardly

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., A2v.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Mote, *Primrose*, A3r.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

nature of their defeat. Thus the suggestion in this account is that, even when outnumbered four-to-one, the English seamen beat the Spanish soldiers into retreat, suggesting both weakness and cowardice on the part of the Spaniards.

This theme is also present in *The general imbarment of English Ships*, in which the escape of the 'Violet' is related. The pamphlet describes how, on 25 May, the Violet was preparing for her return to England from Saint Sebastian when 'there came unto them the Chorage of Dore [Corregidor], the Captaine of the Towne, so called, with the kinges Commission to stay the Ship, & take the sailes a shore'.¹⁵⁰ However, the following day the news of the escape of the Primrose reached the crew of the Violet, and the escape 'so encouraged [them] [...] that every man in the Ship bound himself to other to stand to al extremeties, and when time and wind served, either to loose [their] lives, or find a passage'.¹⁵¹ It is further reported that the Spanish had surrounded the ship with six thousand men, both on shore and water, yet the Violet still made passage 'through the midst of [the] enemy, after which the Spanish offered truce, and eighteen thousand crownes, if the English would concede to not escape'.¹⁵² There follows several pages of verse detailing the Spanish positions: on tower walls, the harbour blocks, the watchtower, the castle, and in 'a great Pinnase of twenty Tunnes' containing fifty armed soldiers, all to stay the English ship.¹⁵³ Yet the ship managed to make its passage through the bay, and 'The Pinnase that on other side did lie with souldiors there: Was gone before our going out, and did not come us neere'.¹⁵⁴ Finally, after all the Spanish arms are proven ineffective, a pinnace approaches waving a flag of truce and promising freedom and riches if the ship will return to captivity.¹⁵⁵ The presentation of this tale is interesting, as the Spanish do not act in an

¹⁵⁰ R.D., *A true Report of the general Imbarment of all the English Shippes, under the domin of the kinge of Spaine* (John Wolfe for Thomas Butter, London, 1585), A4r-A4v.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., A4v.

¹⁵² Ibid., B1r.

¹⁵³ Ibid., B2r.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., B3v.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., B3v-B4r.

obviously cowardly manner, yet the inclusion of the soldiers in the pinnace leaving towards the end of the account of the escape may leave the reader or hearer with that impression. Furthermore, the final act of the Spanish, threatening, bribing and finally practically begging the English to not escape, turns the might of the Spanish into a kind of farce, degrading them to the English audience.

It is noteworthy that these reports include providence in their reporting of English victory. In *The Primrose* it is noted that after the skirmish the English, realising it was unwise to remain in Spanish waters, ‘set up sayles, and by God’s providence avoided all daunger, brought home the rest of their goodes [...]’, while the escape of the *Violet* is attributed to divine intervention as ‘it pleased God to geve us [the English] a gale of wind for passage, and so we adventured our liberty through the midst of our enemies’.¹⁵⁶ This attribution of victory to God is unsurprising as providence was a common trope in early modern news pamphlets. David Randall has suggested that these news reports, in which much of the Englishmen’s experience of war was filtered between 1570 and 1637 (the years of domestic peace) constituted a new genre of writing that included ‘distinctive, genre-dependent characteristics’.¹⁵⁷ One example of this distinctiveness, argues Randall, was the presentation of the operation of providence on the battlefield which, he argues, was a significant variation of the English providentialism apparent in England in this period.¹⁵⁸ While he forms his main argument around instances of experimental providentialism, such as soldiers actions or changing emotions, and how these went ‘considerably beyond the norms’ of England’s providential culture at the time, he also discusses the ‘special providences’ which were more likely to ‘operate through “secondary

¹⁵⁶ Mote, *Primrose*, A3v; R.D., *Imbarrement*, A3r.

¹⁵⁷ David Randall, ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal* (Vol. 35, Issue 4, 2004), pp.1053-54.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.1054. He takes his understanding of English providential culture in England from Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Special providence can also be read as ‘specific’ providence, and a brief overview of the difference between ‘general’ and ‘specific’ providence in Early Modern terms can be found in Natalie Mears, ‘Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England’ in *Journal of British Studies*, (Vol. 51, no. 1, 2012), p.6.

causes”, unlikely or seemingly miraculous natural events’.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the cowardly retreat of the Spanish from *The Primrose* was an example of ‘general’ experimental providence, as the escape of the English was possible due to the unexpected cowardice of the Spaniards, while the winds that carried the English through their enemies to safety was an example of God’s ‘special’ providence, providing the necessary weather conditions for the English to safely escape before the Spanish could rally a second attack. This inclusion of providential victory is significant as it strengthens the Hispanophobic implications of the texts. It suggests that although the Spanish should have been strong due to the number of men that they had in comparison to the English forces, their loss was inevitable as the English Protestants had God on their side. The role of the anti-Spanish sentiment in these texts, then, is seemingly to reassure the English and bolster their resolve as hostilities with Spain began and the threat posed to the English increased.

When considering the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in English cheap print, these pamphlets discussing cowardice are particularly interesting, due to their format and the timing of their release. It is apparent that the potential for a naval attack on England was conceived several years before the appearance of the Spanish Armada off English shores in 1588. Nuno Martins has noted that in 1583 Álvaro de Bazán, the Marquess of Santa Cruz, wrote a letter to King Philip from Angra de Heroísmo in Terceira, on August 9, 1583, regarding the need to begin construction of a powerful Armada.¹⁶⁰ Although little came from this suggestion, Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker have noted that the election of Pope Sixtus V in May 1585 provided a new spur for the fleet building project.¹⁶¹ Martin and Parker comment that the new Pope intended to bring about some new, great achievement for the Catholic Church, and within the

¹⁵⁹ Randall, ‘Providence’, pp.1054 and 1066.

¹⁶⁰ Nuno Ornelas Martins, *The Cambridge Revival of Political Economy* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2013), p.315.

¹⁶¹ Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised Edition* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999), p.89.

month had twice mentioned the potential for English invasion to the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Enrique de Guzmán y Ribera, the second Count of Olivares.¹⁶² It seems, from the orders of the King printed at the end of the pamphlet, that this had the desired effect. By 19 May, Philip had ‘caused a great fleete to be put in readines in the haven of Lisbon’, and sent orders for the ‘staying and arresting [...] of all the shipping that may be found upon the coast’, both for the enlargement of the Armada and to gather ‘armour, victuals, and munition’ for the soldiers.¹⁶³ It is therefore possible that these texts were printed to disseminate information regarding both Philip II’s strategy of impounding foreign vessels, and the courage with which the Spanish were repelled by the English on this occasion. It appears, from the story of the Violet, that the apparent acts of extreme bravery displayed by the crew of the Primrose ‘so encouraged’ the crew of the Violet that they were also inspired to attempt escape.¹⁶⁴ The publication of these valiant escapes was intended to inspire the crews of future merchant voyages to show equal courage in the face of the Spanish threat, as Mote informed the reader of his motivation, stating that by publishing ‘the trueth [of the English escape] it may be generally knowne to the rest of the English shippes, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie adventure to do the like: to the honor of the realme’.¹⁶⁵ Thus, although news of the victory of the Primrose would likely have reached the Violet via oral dissemination, as the two events were only a day or so apart, the pamphlets discussing these victories could communicate the tales to a much wider audience back in England.

The format of these publications is pertinent when considering the audience for the texts, and the role played by the anti-Spanish sentiment found within. These two pamphlets are the shortest in the collection under investigation, *The Primrose* having five pages, and

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Mote, *Primrose*, A4r.

¹⁶⁴ R.D., *Imbarrement*, A4v.

¹⁶⁵ Mote, *Primrose*, A2r.

Imbarrement running to nine. This would have made them the cheapest in the collection since, as already discussed, the paper was the most expensive part of the printing process.¹⁶⁶ Thus, they would have been the most affordable and, accordingly, more likely to have been accessible to the lower orders in society. Both Joad Raymond and Eamon Duffy suggest that the shorter pamphlets that only used one or two sheets of paper would have only cost between 1*d* and 2*d*, meaning that they would have been accessible to a wide section of society.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, these are two of only six titles which use woodcuts on the title page in this investigation. According to Cressy, literacy was limited to less than a third of the population in sixteenth century England.¹⁶⁸ Thus it can be asserted that a woodcut on the title page, coupled with the short length of these texts, would have made them appealing and accessible to most levels of society. Additionally, the woodcuts were depicting an English galleon sailing the high seas, which would surely have been of interest to current and future seamen, amongst other social groups. Cheryl A. Fury has found evidence from the Admiralty Court depositions that suggests that literacy was extremely widespread among officers and some seamen, but the crew of a ship, as with all other trades, had a social hierarchy, and ordinary seamen claimed that they were ‘simple men... [with] like skill’, suggesting that they may have achieved semi-literacy at best.¹⁶⁹ Thus the inclusion of this imagery may have made the pamphlet more appealing to these ordinary seamen, potentially increasing the circulation of the text, and consequently aiding the dissemination of the Hispanophobic content. It is therefore apparent that these tales of English glory at the expense of the cowardly Spanish may have served to bolster the English resolve in the face of the perceived increase of the threat of Spain in 1585.

¹⁶⁶ Introduction, p.1.

¹⁶⁷ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p.72; Eamon Duffy, ‘The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England’ *The Seventeenth Century*, 1:1 (1986), p.31.

¹⁶⁸ David Cressy, ‘Literacy in context: meaning and measurement in early modern England’ in John Brewer and Roy Porter(eds) *Consumption and the World of Goods* p.307.

¹⁶⁹ Cheryl A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), pp.8/9 and p.16.

Conclusions

From analysis of the texts produced between 1584 and 1586 it is evident that there was indeed a continuity in themes but a change in focus regarding the anti-Spanish sentiment present in the printed news pamphlets produced in London at this time. There were three texts in 1584 that associate the Spanish with travel and exploration, but these were the only ones in the period 1584 – 1586. The only printed navigational text in this period was a reprint of Cortés's already popular book, *The Arte of Navigation*, while Hakluyt's *Discourse* was produced to encourage backing for Raleigh's planned expedition to the New World and was rife with Hispanophobic propaganda. Hakluyt's text incorporated arguments intended to show the cruel and dishonest nature of Spanish colonisation alongside the economically beneficial and morally superior methods being proposed by Hakluyt and Raleigh. This is interesting as the Raleigh expedition went ahead in 1585, and a further voyage was made in 1586, yet accounts of these did not appear in print, and no further work associating the Spanish with this topic was produced until Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in 1589.¹⁷⁰ This demonstrates that the role played by the association of the Spanish with navigation and exploration, namely to spur English voyages of discovery and colonisation, was not useful to propagate with the advent of war with Spain in 1585. This is indicative of a change in perceived priorities of the pamphleteers in this period. The promotion of English expansion into New World territories would have taken valuable manpower and resources away from the war effort, and thus it seems that the English print market was more concerned with material relating to defeating the Spanish and their allies on home soil rather than foreign lands.

This idea that the pamphlets produced between 1584 and 1586 were more concerned with domestic defence rather than external expansion is also evident in anecdotal texts such as *An*

¹⁷⁰ John Hill Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina: From 1584 to 1851* (Genealogical Publishing Company Inc, Baltimore, 1993), p.25.

Historicall Discourse and Honourable Reputation, which suggested that Spanish bravado was merely bluster and their pride would inevitably lead to the proverbial fall, thus bolstering the English resolve in the face of the Spanish Empire. Both pamphlets also discussed the brutality of the Spanish, relating their violent actions to the ‘more than Turkish cruelty’ they displayed in the conquest as first suggested by Las Casas in 1552, demonstrating that the turn from ‘ethos’ to ‘ethnos’ is evident in the middle of the decade, implying that the animosity growing between England and Spain was seemingly irreconcilable. Furthermore, the introduction of the theme of cowardice in the pamphlets, not associated with the Spanish before 1585, reinforces the idea that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment seems to have changed and was more focused on steeling the English in the face of Spanish attack rather than merely being cautious of infiltration by their religious orders. This, again, was surely in reaction to the greatly increased physical threat posed by Spain in this period, and the propagation of stories in which the inept Spanish were bested by the outnumbered English on foreign shores would have been useful to fortify the English resolve. The inclusion of God’s providence in these victories would have further cemented the idea of the Spanish ‘other’ in the English reader or hearer, suggesting that the Spanish Catholics were destined to be defeated. The emerging motif of pride can also be seen as a tool to encourage English bravado as, apart from *The explanation of the true and lawful right and title, of [...] Anthonie the first*, all other instances of Spanish pride were followed by the proverbial fall, which would have no doubt comforted the English with rumour of Philip’s great fleet beginning to circulate. Moreover, this allusion to the biblical adage, coupled with the providential victories of the English, would have instilled courage in the English when faced with the might of the Spanish military. Thus it seems that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment in cheaply printed texts produced in London between 1584 and 1586 changed with the political climate, seemingly used to promote Hispanophobic ideas that would be useful in the defence of England with the onset of war. It will now be considered whether the pamphlets

printed in 1587 and 1588, a critical point in Anglo-Iberian relations, showed continuations of these themes, and to what ends they may have been perpetuated. Furthermore, there will be analysis of the pamphlets produced in the immediate aftermath of the Armada in 1588, to ascertain whether there is a shift in the focus of anti-Spanish sentiment that reflects the recent English victory, and how this appears to portray the dynamic between the two countries.

Chapter 3 – A necessary national narrative

The years 1587 and 1588 saw an escalation of Anglo-Iberian hostilities, which led to changes in the ways in which both the Spanish and the English were presented in the pamphlets produced in these years.¹ In December 1586 a news-letter from Flanders communicated ‘news from Dunkirk’ to the Queen and her advisors, stating that ‘[t]he King of Spain makes ready 800 ships and 100,000 fighting men [...and] Italy aids him with 50 great ships; ‘Civill’ with 40; Lisbon with 30. Moreover John Urtis told me divers times that they prepared to invade England’.² Furthermore, in early 1587, a royalist spy in the household of the Duke of Guise overheard a conversation discussing the need to capture the town of Boulogne, as it would be needed to ‘receive and shelter the reinforcements they were expecting from Spain’, alluding to the need for a safe Channel port for the Spanish fleet to shelter in.³ However, as David Loades has noted, although Elizabeth had plenty of information from her spies in Lisbon and Madrid, she could not be sure that the Armada that Philip was preparing was to be aimed at her, as her informants did not have access to the circles in which policy decisions were made.⁴ Still, it is apparent that the threat posed by a potential Spanish attack had increased at the start of this period, as plans were being enacted to provide assistance to the invading fleet, and the English government was evidently aware of these developments. Indeed, Peter Marshall has noted that councillors like Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham held that the Catholic victories abroad, and the course of English Protestantism in England, were ‘entwined strands of the same fate’,

¹ De Lamar Jensen, ‘The Spanish Armada: The Worst -Kept Secret in Europe’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 19:4 (1988), pp.621-641; R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (1966), pp.383-386; Neil Hanson, *The Confident Hope of a Miracle: The True History of the Spanish Armada* (Doubleday, New York, 2003), pp.61-67.

² ‘Elizabeth: December 1586, 26-31’, in Sophie Crawford Lomas and Allen B Hinds (eds) *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Volume 21, Part 2, June 1586-March 1587* (His Majesty’s Stationary Office, London, 1927), pp. 287-305. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol21/no2/pp.287-305> [accessed 25 May 2019].

³ Colin Martin, Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised Edition* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999), p.104.

⁴ David Loades, *The Making of the Elizabethan Navy 1540-1590* (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2009), p.185.

essentially suggesting they were concerned about victorious Catholic forces turning their attentions to England as early as 1584.⁵

This chapter explores the subtle ways in which the negative traits being ascribed to the Spanish in the pamphlets changed, and how this furthered the development of a national narrative that included all Elizabeth's subjects. The traits associated with the Spanish that have been considered previously were still present, but they seem to have been employed to evoke different responses from their audience, thus changing the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in these years. This chapter will demonstrate how the theme of dishonesty was again closely associated with Spain's political manoeuvres, and that this was apparent in both their current actions and their historic foreign policy, as was the case with *The Joyfull Entrie* in chapter one, and *Politique Discourse* in chapter two. This chapter will also demonstrate that the representation of Spanish cowardice changed to place greater emphasis on outright cowardice rather than the ineptitude that was insinuated in chapter two. Pamphlets like *Newes out of the coast of Spain* reported Francis Drake's recent victories over the Spanish in the 'New World', and emphasised their cowardly nature. This section will also consider why these were the first pamphlets to discuss the achievements of Drake. Kenneth Andrews notes that the political connotations of English exploration meant that Drake's previous endeavours, performed when England's relationship with Spain was stable, were necessarily kept secret to maintain diplomatic relations, and this will be considered when discussing why these reports of Spanish cowardice were produced in 1587 as the hostilities between the two countries increased.⁶ Moreover, this chapter will explore how Adrian Hastings' theory, that nationalist sentiment is often created by a prolonged external threat, could be seen to support an emerging

⁵ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017), p.556.

⁶ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement: Maritime enterprises and the genesis of the British Empire 1480-1630* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984), p.12.

sense of an English ‘self’, built in opposition to the cowardly Spanish ‘other’ and necessary to unite the English when the threat of Spanish invasion was looming. The inclusion of providentialism in these pamphlets will also be examined further, to demonstrate that the inclusion of this trope was intended to further develop the idea of ‘self’ in England. Alexandra Walsham suggests that providentialism was connected with the complicated doctrine of predestination, and it will be demonstrated that this had the potential to strengthen Protestant feeling, and consequently, facilitate the progress of the concept of an English Protestant ‘self’.⁷

The role of Spanish brutality will be considered further, as there was continuation of the use of Las Casas’s rhetorical polemic, and this again placed the barbarous nature of the Spanish ‘other’ within an historical framework, a device that was also employed in the discussion of cowardice and dishonesty. The relevance of this for the creation of a concept of ‘self’ will be discussed in relation to Anthony Smith’s theories about the utility of ‘historical memories’ in identity construction.⁸ Paul Hammer’s comments about the portrayal of English victories will also be explored, and it will be demonstrated how these contributed to the development of an English ‘self’.⁹ Furthermore, evidence of changes in attitudes towards English Catholic nobles will be examined. Sandeep Kaushick’s study of Thomas Tresham will be discussed in order to assess to what extent there was a concerted effort to build a nationalist narrative, one that included English Catholics more fully in the national consciousness in this time of heightened national security.¹⁰ Finally, the changing role of exploration and navigation associated with the Spanish will be explored. There was only pamphlet discussing the Spanish colonial

⁷ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), p.15. For a succinct explanation of the difference between ‘special’ or ‘particular’ providence and ‘general’ or ‘universal’ providence, see Natalie Mears, ‘Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England’ in *Journal of British Studies* 51:1 (2012), p. 6.

⁸ Anthony D Smith, *National Identity* (University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1991), p.14.

⁹ Paul E.J. Hammer, ‘War’ in Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heale (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013), p.458.

¹⁰ Sandeep Kaushick, ‘Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State’ in *Midland History* 21 (1996), pp.42-47

achievements, even though expeditions to challenge the Spanish hegemony in the New World were undertaken in 1585, and this chapter will demonstrate that this was due to the changing political situation.

Cowardice

The trait of cowardice was again present in the texts printed in 1587 and 1588, yet there was a marked change in the presentation of this pre- and post- Armada. In 1587, the trait of cowardice is again closely linked with ideas of ineptitude, bolstering the English for the imminent attack. However, after the defeat of the Armada the focus is that of simple cowardice, and the tone is mocking, suggesting that derision of the Spanish rather than bolstering the English is the primary role of this trait once the imminent danger has passed. It is becoming apparent that the political relationship between England and Spain in this decade was reflected in the pamphlets produced, and that this in turn was shaping how an English idea of ‘self’ was developing in the texts, based on their opposition to the Spanish ‘other’. *The Primrose of London* and *The genrall imbarrement of English Shippes*, discussed in chapter two, presented the Spanish as both cowardly and inept, although *Primrose* implied more ineptitude than cowardice on the part of the Spanish. This trait is also apparent in the pamphlets produced in 1587, and once again the Spaniards incompetence is highlighted above their cowardice, although both themes are present. In *Newes out of the Coast of Spain*, a text by Henry Haslop that relates Sir Francis Drake’s voyage to Cadiz and the Americas in 1585/86, it is reported that some of the Spaniards fled to Port Royall, along with twenty French ships, but more noticeable is the account of ‘60 shippes, and divers other small shipping’ that the small English crew managed to dispatch over the course of two days.¹¹ The body of the pamphlet itself is made up of captain’s ‘letters’ and ‘reports’ of the battle, with the reproduction of a letter from Thomas Fenner, who captained

¹¹ Henry Haslop, *Newes out of the Coast of Spain* (W. How for Henry Haslop, London, 1587), A4r.

the Dreadnought on the Cadiz expedition, and Francis Drake himself. Fenner's report details the Spanish forces that the English fleet were faced with: six Gallies (galleons); sixty ships and 'divers other small shipping'; twenty French ships and 'some Spaniards' that fled to Port Royal; and two further galleons that came from Port Royal, along with two others from 'S. Marie Port'.¹² Yet according to Fenner, the small fleet of 23 sails that Drake commanded managed to take thirty-eight of these vessels before nightfall, including twenty Dutch hulkes, a 1400 tonne ship, a 1000 tone ship and numerous other smaller ships carrying victuals.¹³ By presenting the skill of the much-outnumbered English against the Spanish in this way, reproducing the battle report sent back by Fenner, Haslop is inferring a level of Spanish incompetence and presenting the image of the triumphant English – a conception of identity that would be useful to instil in English minds in a year when the threat of Spanish invasion was ever present.¹⁴

Unfortunately there is very little information regarding Haslop, or Henry Hassellup, aside from his entries in the registers of the Stationers Company, so it is necessary to consider his commentary in the text for any indication of his motives for printing these letters, or what role the anti-Spanish sentiment within was intended to perform.¹⁵ In the 'Epistle dedicatorie' prefacing *Newes*, Haslop states that his reason for publishing the text is 'for the comfort of my countrymen'.¹⁶ This suggests that, by 1587, Anglo-Spanish relations had deteriorated to the extent that reports of piracy against Spanish vessels were applauded, as it appears that these attacks brought comfort to the English people. In previous years it was considered dangerous

¹² Ibid., A4r-A4v.

¹³ Ibid., A4v.

¹⁴ Edward Harris, *A sermon preached at Brocket Hall, before the right vvorshipfull, Sir Iohn Brocket, and other gentlemen there assembled for the trayning of souldiers* (Thomas Orwin for John Daldern and William Haw, London, 1588)

¹⁵ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 AD Volume II* (Privately Printed, London, 1875), p.24b states that he was a miller born to Jhon Hassellup of York. The other works registered to Haslop are *The Seafaringe looking glasse teaching [t]he art of navigation* (1587), *unfoldinge the misterie of our Redemption by CHRISTE* (1587), and *The most fortunate and honourable services for England performed by Sir FRAUNCIS DRAKE* (1587).

¹⁶ Haslop, *Newes*, A2r.

to attack the ports controlled by the Spanish Empire, as retaliation was almost certain. John Parry argues that Drake's earliest escapades in the Caribbean blurred the line between piracy and privateering, as although he always claimed that the attacks were retaliation for the injuries done to him by Spanish officials at San Juan de Ulúa, he never obtained formal letters of reprisal from the Lord Admiral.¹⁷ Thus Drake was effectively committing acts of piracy, attacking and raiding Spanish ships and ports without authorisation in peacetime, therefore placing undue stress on the delicate diplomatic peace between England and Spain in the early 1570s.¹⁸ Moreover, both R.B. Wernham and Francisco J. Borge note that Queen Elizabeth approved Drake's voyage, including the piratical acts that he performed during the circumnavigation.¹⁹ As Kenneth Andrews has suggested, English expansionism was necessarily intertwined with political considerations, and Drake's voyage in 1577 was only approved because Elizabeth's relations with King Philip had taken a turn for the worse in that summer.²⁰ Furthermore, Andrews states that there was no printed report of the circumnavigation until 1589 because Hakluyt 'agreed under pressure not to publish an account of this voyage'.²¹ It is plausible, then, that there are no printed accounts of Drake's 'victories' in the Spanish territories before the mid-1580s because they were suppressed in order to help maintain the tenuous peace between the two nations. However, Anglo-Spanish relations worsened in the first half of the 1580s, deteriorating into war in 1585, negating the need to maintain the fragile diplomatic relationship with Spain. Thus it seems that by the end of the decade reports of Drake's activities in Spanish territories were allowed for publication, and Haslop seems assured that the publication of these tales of piracy resulting in Spanish losses

¹⁷ John H. Parry, 'Drake and the World Encompassed' in Norman J.W. Thrower (ed) *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580* (University of California Press, London, 1984), p.2.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Wernham, *Before the Armada*, p.351; Francisco J. Borge, *A New World for a New Nation: The Promotion of America in Early Modern England* (Peter Lang, Bern, 2007), p.36.

²⁰ Andrews, *Trade*, p.12.

²¹ K.R. Andrews, 'Latin America' in D.B. Quinn (ed), *The Hakluyt Handbook Volume 1* (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1974), p.240.

would provide ‘comfort’ to his fellow Englishmen.²² While there are various meanings, the word ‘comfort’ has been used to suggest something that will strengthen, encourage, or support since the thirteenth century, so it seems likely that this would be its application in this instance.²³ Thus, the decision to publish this text about Drake’s privateering exploits in 1587 could be attributed to the ever-worsening Anglo-Spanish relationship and the increasing need to consider the defence of England. It has already been argued that the creation of the Spanish ‘other’ in this decade was a useful trope that helped the development of an English ‘self’ and a rudimentary form of nationalist sentiment. The pamphlets considered so far suggest that the physical threat posed by Spain was perceived to be steadily growing throughout the 1580s.²⁴ The alleged increase in the danger posed by the Spanish is pertinent, as Adrian Hastings has suggested that a nationalist sentiment arises when a nation feels its character or importance threatened by external attack, particularly if this threat is sustained.²⁵ It seems, therefore, that the stories that implied Spanish ineptitude and highlighted English victory that were sold alongside texts ‘othering’ the Spaniard could have encouraged the development of a national sentiment that bolstered a fractured English society in the face of a dangerous and persistent enemy, creating an image of the brave and competent English ‘self’ in opposition to the developing Spanish ‘other’. Furthermore, reports of Spanish ineptitude and cowardice built on the news of the escape of the *Primrose* and the *Violet*, reported at the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish war in the Spring of 1585, potentially reinforced these constructs in the developing national consciousness, thus fortifying the English resolve. As was the case with the miraculous

²² Haslop, *Newes*, A2r.

²³ ‘comfort, v.’ *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/36891 [Accessed 19 August 2019]

²⁴ In the early 1580s there was a focus on the spiritual threat posed by Spain, shown in the pamphlets relating to the arrival of the Jesuits in 1580. Concerns over the threat posed by Spain in the middle years of the decade turned to the impounding of English ships by Philip, suggesting the physical aspect was becoming more pressing, and the pamphlets in 1587 – 88 seem to show a greater concern for the potential invasion of England, and the means by which this danger may be mitigated by the exploits of Francis Drake.

²⁵ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), pp.3-4.

stories of escape related in *The Primrose* and *Imbarrment*, the fortunate outcome is not only attributed to the cowardice and ineptitude of the Spanish in the face of English bravery, but also to the will of God. Thomas Fenner stated that it might seem ‘miraculous’ that the English fleet were victorious with nominal casualties, considering the large Spanish force and the enemy’s ‘convenient’ position, but he noted that ‘our God wil, and hath alwaies made his infinite power to all papists apparant, and his name by us [...] to be continually glorified’.²⁶ Thus, as with the abovementioned pamphlets, the suggestion is that this nation, united under Protestantism, was sure to be victorious, as they had God on their side. This is an example of the what David Randall suggests was ‘experimental providentialism [pushed] considerably beyond the norms of England’s consensually providential culture’.²⁷ As discussed in chapter two, this is suggesting that the precise means of God’s intervention on the battlefield, displayed in the soldiers’ actions and in their changing emotions, was producing a ‘significant variation of English providentialism’ by presenting the operation of this on the battlefield.²⁸ Thus, as Alexandra Walsham argued, the inclusion of tales of miraculous victory against the odds could have made the concept of God’s intervention, and therefore favour, more accessible to the English populous.²⁹ Walsham has noted that there was an intimate link between dispensations of providence and the enigma of predestination, suggesting that ‘particular providences’ were the Lord’s chosen way of communicating with the predestinate elite.³⁰ Notably, though, she points out that the majority of English society had no understanding of providentialism and its importance in the reformed religion according to the Elizabethan clergy.³¹ The constant search for signs on the battlefield, and the explanation that victory was undoubtedly due to God’s will,

²⁶ Haslop, *Newes*, B1v.

²⁷ David Randall, ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35: 4 (2004), p.1054.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.1054, discussed in chapter 2 p.170.

²⁹ Walsham, *Providence*, p.15.

³⁰ *Ibid.* For a succinct explanation of the difference between ‘special’ or ‘particular’ providence and ‘general’ or ‘universal’ providence, see Mears, ‘Public Worship’, p. 6.

³¹ Walsham, *Providence*, p.20.

would have both comforted the Protestant English, as it was a sign of God's favour, and further embedded the Reformed doctrine throughout those who read or heard these tales. Thus the role of the anti-Spanish sentiment in these texts was seemingly to both bolster the English resolve to fight the much larger Spanish fleet, and also further disseminate some of the more complicated doctrinal points in a manner in which the English commons could comprehend more easily, thus strengthening the Protestant aspect of English concepts of 'self'.

The second pamphlet that related the exploits of Drake in Spanish territories, *The true and perfect Newes* written by Thomas Greepe, was registered with the Stationers' Company on 15 June 1587, the same day as Haslop's *Newes*.³² As is the case with Haslop, we have no further information about who Greepe was, and he does not appear to have produced any work other than this short text written in verse form. We can, however, ascertain the intended audience for the text from Greepe's dedicatory preface in which he states that he wrote the pamphlet because although the intended recipient - George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland – would be aware of Drake's voyage,

[...] the vulgar sorte of people in the Realme having hearde, and yet wanting the veritie of the same, may by the pamphlet be the better advertised. The which by howe much the playner it is written by mee, the better it is to be understoode.³³

He then addressed the reader, stating that his account is 'not pend in lofty verse, nor curiously handled, but playnely and truely, so that it may be well understood of the Reader'.³⁴ Thus, the preamble is quite clear regarding the intended audience for this piece – the multitude, rather than the merchants, noblemen and councillors who would already be aware of the recent accomplishments of Drake. This provides further evidence of the changing role of anti-Spanish sentiment in the latter half of the 1580s as their printing is clearly intended as patriotic

³² Thomas Greepe, *The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant employtes atchived and doone by that valiaunt Knight, Syr Fraunces Drake* (John Charlewood for Tho Hackett, London, 1587).

³³ *Ibid.*, A2r.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, A3r.

propaganda, as tales of England's naval victories over Spain would undoubtedly have bolstered the English in the face of the imminent threat that Spain posed in 1587. As with *The Primrose* and *Imbarrement*, Greepe's work is relatively short, at twenty-four pages, suggesting that it was at the cheaper end of the print market and thus produced with wide dissemination in mind. Furthermore, it is written in verse – a form which would have been more accessible to the semi-literate and illiterate members of society, ensuring that these tales of English bravery and Spanish cowardice would be transmitted as far as possible. As Tessa Watt has so effectively displayed in her work, there was a close relationship between pamphlets and oral culture in early modern England, as 'favourite stories floated from one medium to the other'.³⁵ Moreover, she argues that broadsides bridged the divide between orality and text, and the popularity of these means that the verse form of Greepe's pamphlet would likely have spread the tales of Drake's victories beyond that of a prose text.³⁶ It is noteworthy that, along with the tales of present victories, Greepe also includes some examples from classical and biblical stories. In his preface 'To the Reader' he equates his own efforts to the great writers of past ages, asking

how shoulde we know the woorthy deedes of our Elders, if those learned Poets and Historiographers had not sette them downe in wryting, as Iosephus for the state of the Jewes: Homer and Euripides for the Grecians: Titus Livius for the Romaines: Quintus Curtius for the life of Alexander the great, and so of all others. At what time heretofore was there ever any English manne that did the like.³⁷

Further to this, when relating the danger of experienced by the land forces, he recalls further biblical precedents:

As God shut up the Lyons Jawes,
From noying his Prophet *Daniell*:
And eke preserved from tyrantes pawes,
The threé children of Israell.
And saved them in the Oven so hotte:

³⁵ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), p.257.

³⁶ For discussion of the popularity of broadsides, and their relationship to visual and oral culture, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp.33-38.

³⁷ Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, A3r.

So he convayd away their shotte.³⁸

Thus we can see how Greepe is helping to shape the nascent Drake myth, as he not only tells of his heroic adventures, but then places these within a historical framework in which Drake is the most recent in a line of Christian champions who have overcome heretics to lead their people to glory.

This utilisation of an historical framework to support the central argument of a work was common in the sixteenth century, and is clearly apparent in the work of Holinshead and Foxe, both reprinted in the 1580s.³⁹ Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman suggest that Foxe's efforts in expanding, re-organising and reprinting his work were, in part, due to his 'mounting apprehension of Catholic aggression', and his presentation of the trials of historical Protestant martyrs fed into his apocalyptic narrative in which the recent atrocities of the French and Spanish Catholics on the continent were evidence of Satan's fury in the final days before the return of Christ.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Haller has argued that it is 'clear how and why the situation in which the nation presently found itself had come about and... [justified] whatever course the nation... might take in its own defense and for the accomplishment of its destiny'.⁴¹ Holinshead's text was more focused on the temporal history of England, and Paul Hammer has argued that his portrayal of English victories in the *Chronicles* provided 'patriotic encouragement' about the innate 'valiancie' of the English.⁴² This is noteworthy when we consider how, when attempting to understand the development of the concept of the 'self', and the corresponding creation of the 'other' in national consciousness, Anthony Smith considers 'common myths

³⁸ Ibid., B4v.

³⁹ Raphael Holinshead, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (Henry Denham, London, 1587); John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church* (John Daye, London, 1583).

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Evenden, Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011), p.280.

⁴¹ William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1963), p.14.

⁴² Hammer, 'War', p.458.

and historical memories' to be a vital component.⁴³ If this were the case, it is apparent that the association of Drake's exploits with these biblical and historical heroes would develop the historical memory of Drake, and ultimately play a part in the development of an English 'self' in opposition to the Spanish 'other'. This creation of Drake the hero may also be seen in *Newes*, when Haslop states that his reason for writing is the hope that the relations of the deeds performed by Francis Drake may encourage those 'such as have not yet seene the honor and daunger, [so they] may be spurred forward to reape in this harvest of renowne'.⁴⁴ Drake was not the only privateer in this period, yet it was only tales of his victories over the Spanish that were widely reported by his contemporaries. Whether this was intentional, or simply that Drake's voyages were filled with more sensational stories than others, the 'harvest of renown' that he reaped certainly added to the creation of the myth in which Drake bested the Spanish at every turn.

As mentioned, there was likely some state censorship surrounding Drake's adventures for the maintenance of diplomatic peace in the late 1570s and the beginning of the 1580s. However, it can also be argued that this lack of reporting of the voyage to the Americas was due to a need to place Drake's exploits in a positive light. The expedition was less successful than the printed accounts suggest - his negotiations produced only small ransoms from the towns he attacked, and his investors ended up losing money, yet the English accounts presented his voyage as a resounding triumph over Spain.⁴⁵ As with Haslop's *Newes*, Greepe's *Perfect Newes* presented a positive account of Drake's voyage in an attempt to 'comfort' his countrymen in the face of the Spanish threat, and bolster them against the present danger.⁴⁶ In his preface to his readers he stated that, from these victories which Drake had achieved, 'the enemie [may] see what

⁴³ Smith, *National Identity*, p.14.

⁴⁴ Haslop, *Newes*, A2r.

⁴⁵ Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998), p.278.

⁴⁶ Haslop, *Newes*, A2r.

woulde come to passe, if our gracious Queene woulde bende her whole force against them’, suggesting that part of the intent of this work may have been to suggest a national unity based in loyalty to the Queen, and strengthen the English will in the event of a Spanish attack.⁴⁷

The verse itself gives account of each of the ports that Drake attacks, beginning with Santa Iago, where Drake and his men planned an attack from both their ships and the shore. Greepe describes how

Their foes having intelligence
They were beset by sea and land:
They dare not proove experience,
The Drake by force for to withstand.
They fled that night and durst not stay
Preventing so theyr Enemies pray.⁴⁸

Unlike the pamphlets discussed previously that relate to the cowardly nature of the Spaniards, this poem makes no reference to Spanish incompetence, suggesting instead that they simply took flight at the prospect of the advancing English raiders. Furthermore, it is implied that the Spanish are the ‘pray’ (or prey), placing the English in the role of the hunters. The insinuation that the English are the predators could have strengthened English courage in the current political climate. The verses recounting the actions of the Spaniards at Domingo and Pray are more scathing, as they recount how the Spanish soldiers ‘left theyr Townes and ranne away’, leaving only the Friars to face the English.⁴⁹ The following verse incorporates more of the negative traits that, by this time, would be familiar anti-Spanish rhetoric to the English audience, suggesting that these themes of dishonesty and cowardice were being repeated throughout the decade to embed a Hispanophobic attitude in England. Dishonesty, which has so far been closely associated with both the Spanish and the Jesuits, is highlighted once again.

⁴⁷ Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, A3v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, B1v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, B2r.

In this instance the trait of dishonesty is being associated with the Spanish Catholic religion more generally when it is noted that the Spanish friars

[...] had promist them before
If that they would fight for theyr masse:
For all theyr sinnes they had in store,
They should be pardoned more and lesse.⁵⁰

This section clearly refers to one of the perceived evils of the Roman Catholic Church, as it suggests that the friars were offering indulgences in return for the protection provided by the soldiers. As one of the integral points of Catholic doctrine that was first attacked by Luther, the sale or trade of indulgences in this manner would reinforce the anti-Catholic aspect of Hispanophobic sentiment in the poem by highlighting their ‘otherness’ in religious matters. The verse continues by claiming that

[...] they so sore did feare the Drake
They let theyr Fryers stand to stake.⁵¹

This alludes to another familiar trope used to describe the Spanish – their cowardice, in this case demonstrated by their lack of loyalty to their countrymen in the face of danger. These familiar traits may have been included to give credence to the less familiar accusation of cowardice, which in this case is unrelated to ineptitude and thus was less plausible than the previous examples, especially when Spain’s fearsome military reputation was taken into account.

Cowardice is also used in the section relating to the English encounter with the Spanish at Santa Domingo. The town is again described as being heavily fortified, and the English soldiers outnumbered five to one.⁵² However, this does not deter the courageous Englishmen:

Their Gunner priming of his péce,
Sawe them come running in a rage.
Let Linstocke fall, away he flées,

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., B3r.

And all the rest as for a wage,
To save theyr lives if it might bée:
Our English Souldiers made them flee
Then sore afrayd they gan to trudge,
Some with fardle and some with packe:
Unto the Woods for theyr refuge,
To shroud themselves they did not slacke.⁵³

This section seems particularly contemptuous towards the Spanish, suggesting that, although they had a five-to-one advantage against the English, the Spanish fled the town so quickly it was as if they were being paid to do so. It is interesting to note that the second verse uses imagery similar to that of *The Spanish Colonie*. Las Casas's text is littered with stories of the native Amerindians fleeing from the conquistadors to the surrounding countryside:

And forasmuch, as all the people which coulde flee, hid themselves in the mountaynes, and mounted on the toppes of them, fled from the men [...]⁵⁴

[...] they fled for feare up into a mountaine.⁵⁵

[...] some of them fled into the mountaines, as making full account to bee killed.⁵⁶

While Greepe's verse might simply be conveying the details that he had been provided with, his choice of words could be a further attempt to deride the Spanish, mocking them for retreating, and pointing to the irony of this in the face of the accounts of the conquest. Moreover, this could be seen to be contributing to the construction of Drake's heroic legacy, showing how he punished the Spanish by doing to them as they did to the native inhabitants of the Americas.

From here they move to Cartagena, which is presented as the most challenging attack so far. Greepe describes how the town 'was strong [and] well fenced about', and protected by four hundred soldiers and four hundred Indian scouts, 'besides their townesmen in aray'.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid., B3r-B3v.

⁵⁴ Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie* (William Broome, London, 1583), A3r.

⁵⁵ Ibid., L4r.

⁵⁶ Ibid., P2r.

⁵⁷ Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, B4r.

Moreover, it is stated that the town has five pieces of ‘good ordenaunce’ on sconces protecting it, as well as three Galleys with ‘fifteene peeces of good Brasse’, suggesting that it was extremely well fortified by both land and sea.⁵⁸ This would make the following verse even more triumphant, when the reader or hearer is told how

From Sconce to Sconce then they [the Spanish] retyre.
Theyr lofty harts right soone were quailde:
They left their holdes and fled for feare,
Then with theyr héeles they best prevaile.
And as they fled straung newes they tell:
These be no men but féendes of hell.⁵⁹

This description of the Englishmen as ‘féendes of hell’ again draws parallels with Las Casas’s hyperbole. In his text he compares the Spanish with devils on numerous occasions, calling them ‘[t]hese divels incarnate’, ‘tyrants and divels’, ‘not [...] Christians but divels’, and stating that the indigenous population all call the Spanish ‘in their language, yares, that is to say, divels’.⁶⁰ As with the previous section, it is not possible to determine whether Greepe intended to draw these parallels with Las Casas as the imagery of men as ‘féendes of hell’ was a common theme in literature. However, it is likely that this was included as a further point from which the Spanish could be mocked and derided by suggesting that they were as afraid of the English as they would be of soldiers sent by the devil himself.

The cowardice and incompetence of the Spanish is once again highlighted in *The copie of a letter sent out of England*, a pamphlet that allegedly recounts the events of the Armada attack written by an anonymous Spaniard and found in the possessions of Richard Leigh, a seminary priest. This pamphlet, printed after the attack of the Armada in 1588, focuses on those who took part in the battle and their cowardly actions. The anonymous author states that the Spanish navy has ‘above 160. ships’ but after one day of ‘the furious and continuall shot of the English

⁵⁸ Ibid. In his sense, the word sconce is taken as meaning ‘a small fort or earthwork defending a ford, pass, or castle gate’, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary.

⁵⁹ Ibid., B4v.

⁶⁰ Casas, *Colonie*, L1v, R2v, and G4r.

[the Spanish] fled without any returning'.⁶¹ It is further described how the English 'for nine days together [...] forced them to flie, and destroyed, sonke, and tooke in three days fight, divers of the greatest shippes'.⁶² Moreover, the author laments that this 'deeply blemisheth the honor of Spaine [...] that in all the time of these fights [...] the Spaniards did never take, or sink, any English ship or boate, or break any mast, or take any one man prisoner'.⁶³ Accordingly, this leads the captured Spaniards to reflect that 'in all these fights Christ shewed himself a Lutheran'.⁶⁴ This section is worthy of consideration, as it suggests that there is still need to discredit the Spanish, and bolster English resolve, even after such an apparently decisive victory. Furthermore, this propagandist tract appears to be an attempt to develop the burgeoning nationalist sentiment in England.⁶⁵ Printed after the defeat of the Armada, it seems that this text is trying to urge some form of unity amongst the English population, perhaps in readiness for the potential of a second attack. The title page announces that this text is a copy of a letter which,

although sent to Don Bernadin Mendoza, [...] by good hap, the Copies therof [...] were found in the chamber of one Robert Leigh a Seminarie Priest, who was lately executed for high treason committed in the time that the Spanish Armada was on the seas [...]

However, it seems unusual that a letter written by a Spanish ally, and addressed to a prominent Spanish ambassador, would portray such a pessimistic account of the fate of the Spanish fleet, juxtaposed with the triumph achieved by the English. This is likely because the letter was not, as the title page suggests, written by or in the care of Richard Leigh, but was rather a propagandist endeavour written at the behest of William Cecil Lord Burghley, the principal

⁶¹ Anon., *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernadin Mendoza* (J. Voutrollier for Richard Field, London, 1588), C2r.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2000), p.385.

⁶⁶ Anon., *Copie*, title page.

secretary to the Queen.⁶⁷ The timing of this text, which seems to have been written after the attack of the Armada, as it includes speculation on the battle and suggests that even after their defeat, suggests that the government still perceived Spain to be a threat to English shores. The publication of this text also makes it apparent that there was government intervention in the production and dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes throughout society. This suggests that Eric Griffin's proposition that a 'consciousness of crisis' led to conservative elites 'guiding' the growing urban populace through the effective use of 'mass media' is, in fact, a more suitable assessment of the development of a proto-public sphere in late Elizabethan England than the model proposed by Habermas.⁶⁸ If we consider Burghley's involvement it is interesting that, as with Las Casas's propagandist tract, this text also attempts to divorce the Spanish from their religion to some extent, suggesting that the 'other' by which an English 'self' might be formed, is the Spaniard in particular, rather than simply Catholics in general. In the pamphlet, it is suggested that

it hath pleased God [...] to put in the hearts of all persons here [in England], one like mynde, & courage to withstand the intended Invasion, as well in such as we accompted Catholiques, as also in the Heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all the earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be seen betwixt the Catholique, and the heretique. But in this case there appeared such a sympathie, concurrence, and consent of all sortes of persons, without respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all strangers as it were with one heart and one body.⁶⁹

Thus it is apparent that this was a concerted attempt to make known that the English Catholics were equally poised to contribute to the war effort and repel any Spanish invasion as the Protestants, regardless of their religious affiliations. The author then proceeded to explain how

⁶⁷ David Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power Behind the Throne* (A&C Black, London, 2007), pp.188-89

⁶⁸ Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009), p.43. For discussion of Habermas and Griffin see Introduction, pp.45-47.

⁶⁹ Anon., *Copie*, Bv.

many of the principal Catholic gentlemen were detained on the Isle of Ely, yet this was not to prevent them from joining forces with the invading Spanish army.⁷⁰ He suggests that they are detained in order to

Make it knowen to all our friends and countrimen in Spaine. and Flaunders, yea even to yourself [...] that there should be no hope to have any of them, or of their friends, to assist these great Armies [...] For I myself have heard that the best of those that were sent to Elie did make offers [...] that they would adventure their lives in defence of the Queene [...] Yea divers of them did offer that in this quarrell of invading of the Realme with Strangers, they would present their owne bodies in the foremost rankes with their countrie men against all strangers.⁷¹

Although the author does not mention the Catholic prisoners in Ely by name, one of the inmates to which he is referring is undoubtedly Thomas Tresham, who was imprisoned here four times between 1581 and 1588.⁷² Tresham has been identified as one of the leading Catholic spokesmen to promote loyalty to the state and, as noted by Sandeep Kaushick, he devoted much effort to building a ‘traditional web of service connections’ with and between English Catholics from the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign.⁷³ It is plausible, then, that Tresham’s apparent loyalty to crown and state would have been known to his national network of Catholics, and consequently, ideas of Catholic allegiance to the crown may have already been circulating nationally. Thus, when the author states that God has ‘put in the hearts of all persons here, one like mynde, & courage to withstand the intended Invasion’, his inclusion of Catholics and Heretics in this sentiment suggests that this was intended to propagate the idea that the English Catholics were loyal to the state, separating them from the Spanish Catholic ‘other’ in this case.⁷⁴ Therefore, the anti-Spanish sentiment in this text is related to the idea that Catholic Englishmen displayed loyalty to their monarch and state above their religion. The function of

⁷⁰ Ibid., B2r.

⁷¹ Ibid., B2r.

⁷² Francis Young, ‘The Bishop’s Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577–1597’ in *British Catholic History* 32:2 (2014), p.195.

⁷³ Kaushick, ‘Resistance’, pp.42-47 gives a detailed analysis of the connections and influence of Tresham from the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign until the 1580s.

⁷⁴ Anon., *Copie*, B1v.

this would have been to promote the picture of a united, national sense of Hispanophobia that encompassed all Englishmen - a useful narrative to promote as it 'others' the Spanish further by separating English Catholics loyalties from them. By suggesting English Catholics would stand with the Protestants against Spanish invasion, the pamphlet is propagating the idea that religious affinity does not outweigh nationalist sentiment when it came to the defence of the realm, providing further evidence of Eric Griffin's argument that negative Spanish traits were increasingly associated ethnic rather than religiopolitical divisions, and that this was an officially authorised narrative being used to construct a Spanish 'other'.⁷⁵

While this text vaunts the loyalty of the elite English Catholics, it likewise denigrates the Spanish for their disloyalty which, it is suggested, is born from cowardice. The text reports the actions of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, suggesting that the Spanish commander-in-chief

was lodged in the bottome of his ship for his safetie, and to a great touch to the Commanders of the Spanish Navie, that they never woulde turne their ships, nor stay them, to defend any of their owne shippes that were forced to tarry behind, but suffered divers to perish [...].⁷⁶

It seems, from these extracts, that this text is promoting ideas of national unity by creating a definitive division between the English 'self' and the Spanish 'other' which is not anchored to religious doctrine. Although the pamphlet states that the defeat was 'God's will', and that this showed God to be a Lutheran, there is clearly a strong suggestion that the entire English population, Catholic and Protestant, were united when faced with the threat posed by the Spanish Empire.⁷⁷ Furthermore, this is another example of the providential framework that the English pamphleteers used to demonstrate God's favour for the English. It is therefore apparent that, unlike the pamphlets discussed from 1587, this tract is attempting to create a sense of a

⁷⁵ Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009), p.48.

⁷⁶ Anon., *Copie*, C2v.

⁷⁷ Ibid., C2r.

united English along national lines, by defining the ‘self’ as a group that encompassed both English Protestants and Catholics alike in the defence of the realm, against the decisively Spanish ‘other’.

The inclusion of these tales of English bravery juxtaposed with Spanish cowardice or ineptitude could be seen to perform two functions. Although the threat of the Armada had passed, and the defeat appeared to be decisive, there was still a significant threat posed by the Spanish in the subsequent years. It has been argued by Adrian Hastings that a protracted external threat is often a factor in the creation of nationalist sentiment, and accordingly, the idea of an English ‘self’.⁷⁸ That this was perceived as a prolonged threat is evident in the proposed bill of subsidy, to be granted for four years, which was debated in the parliament assembled on 4 February 1589.⁷⁹ It is telling that this parliament was summoned on 18 September 1588, but was delayed by Elizabeth, as in the aftermath of the Armada the topics of religion and foreign policy would be high on the agenda for the Commons, posing a threat to her royal supremacy in these matters.⁸⁰ The debating of religion was vetoed immediately, with the Lord Treasurer Sir Christopher Hatton, who spoke on Elizabeth’s behalf at the opening of parliament, stating that the assembled Lords and Commons should not ‘so much as once meddle with anie such matters or causes of religion, excepte it be to bridle all those, whether papists or puritanes, which are therewithall discontented’.⁸¹ It could be suggested that this was an effort to establish some form of ‘national’ sentiment that encompassed both sides of the religious divide, in as much as the Burghley pamphlet was seemingly attempting to include English Catholics in the national narrative. Thus, this disregard for religious debate could have reinforced the idea that national

⁷⁸ Hastings, *Construction*, p.4.

⁷⁹ Rosemary Sgroi, ‘1589’, *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History* [Accessed 17/07/2018], <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/parliament/1589>.

⁸⁰ Sgroi, ‘1589’.

⁸¹ Terence Hartley, *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, Vol. 2 1585-1589* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1995), pp. 419-420.

unity was more important than religious divides in this turbulent time, as was suggested in the analysis of *The copie of a letter sent out of England*. Yet it is more likely that this was in order to protect the doctrines of the newly established Church of England from the hotter sort of Protestants, as the pressure for further reform increased.⁸² However, the debate surrounding foreign policy was considered, and is once again telling of the official line and its contradiction with wider opinion. The call for double subsidy, needed to finance an attack on the remnants of the Armada, which it was thought was sheltering in the ports of Lisbon and Seville, was met by opposition in parliament.⁸³ The subsidy bill received its third reading in the Commons on 10 March, and a speech attributed to Henry Jackman warned against setting a precedent ‘dangerous both to our selves and our posteritie’ by voting double subsidies once the immediate threat of invasion had already been averted.⁸⁴ Although the bill passed, the opposition provides evidence of the wider consensus, that the threat posed by Spain had abated. Thus it seems that pamphlets such as *Copie* may have continued to denigrate the Spanish and include English recusants in the national narrative, in order to keep the momentum of national security at the fore of the minds of the multitude.

Although it might be argued that, at sixty pages, this text may have been inaccessible both intellectually and economically to the majority of the population, it seems unlikely that Burghley would have gone to the effort of producing it as a piece of propaganda if that were the case. However, the reason for the apparent popularity of this pamphlet may have been simply its timing and subject matter. Joad Raymond has noted that the involvement of England in Continental wars had led to expansion of the news market in the 1580s and the demand for,

⁸² Michael P. Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2018), pp.44-45

⁸³ Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995), p.331.

⁸⁴ Sgroi, ‘1589’.

and supply of news increased throughout the decade.⁸⁵ The pamphlet pertained to the most pressing news of the time, and it was supposedly written by an English traitor to the Spanish ambassador Mendoza (whose name would have been familiar to many readers), so would therefore have been of interest to a broad section of society, meaning the anti-Spanish sentiment could potentially be widely disseminated. Thus it seems that the pamphlets which highlighted the cowardice or incompetence of the Spanish in this period did so to bolster English resolve in the face of the Armada, and to maintain a vigilance in the aftermath. As suggested, the effect of this fits in with Hastings' theory regarding the place of an extended external threat in the development of nationhood and a national consciousness.⁸⁶

Brutality

The trait of brutality is once again prominent in the years 1587 and 1588 and is closely associated with Spanish invasion and colonial practices. One of the first pamphlets printed in 1587 to address the brutal nature of the Spaniards, *The Complaint of England*, again conjures the imagery used by Las Casas in *The Spanish Colonie*.⁸⁷ There is no available information about the author, William Lightfoot, but the pamphlet itself is a diatribe against surviving Catholics in England, and their association with the Spanish, as is evident from the title page which highlights that 'the practice of Traitious Papists [...] are in Divinitie unlawfull', and that 'they feare not the mischief of Spanish invasion [...] the Spaniards outrages, in his exactions raised upon Naples, and his tyrannies executed in the Indies'.⁸⁸ It is clear from his language that he views Elizabeth's toleration of English Catholics to be dangerous, and that the potential for Spanish invasion must be taken more seriously than this treatment of Catholic survival

⁸⁵ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), pp.100-103

⁸⁶ Hastings, *Construction*, pp.3-4.

⁸⁷ William Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England* (John Wolfe, London, 1587); Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2008), p.211.

⁸⁸ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, Title page.

implies. However, Lightfoot does not reference the Spanish directly until approximately two-thirds of the way through the text when he suggests the reader ‘Consider what he hath done in the kingdom of Naples and in the Indies, and trust him accordingly’.⁸⁹ Lightfoot then lists the abuses perpetrated by the Spaniards, concluding that if what has been said does not alter the view of the Spaniards then nothing will.⁹⁰

Lightfoot relates ‘the execrable tyrannies which the Spaniards have shewed on the Indians’, reiterating the words of Las Casas when he suggests that the Spaniards left the Indies ‘dispeopled’, and their lands ‘nowe remaine as a wildernes abandoned & desolate, being before as populous as was possible’.⁹¹ He further references Las Casas in his relation of the conquest of the Americas, stating that

[w]ithin the space of forty yeres, they as in a common butchery slaughtered of innocent lambs, above twelve millions, men, women, & children. At their first arrival they were intertained with performance of al serviceable curtesies [...] but after they were too well acquainted with their savage cruelties, they fled from them as from hatefull furies broke loose out of hell.⁹²

We can see the inspiration for Lightfoot’s summary of the Spaniards’ decimation of the Indies in *The Spanish Colonie*. In Las Casas’s opening section he discusses the arrival of the Spanish in the New World. He begins by describing the inhabitants, who are ‘very simple, without [...] craft, or malice’, and that ‘upon these lambes so meeke [...] entered the Spanish’.⁹³ He proceeds to state that Hispaniola and the surrounding islands ‘contayn above two thousand leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laide waste’, and that in ‘the space of [...] 40. Yeeres, by

⁸⁹ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, G2v-G3r.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, G3r-H3r.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, G4r.

⁹² *Ibid.* In *The Spanish Colonie* Las Casas’ text is translated as ‘We are able to yeeld a good and certaine accompt, that there is within the space of the said 40. yeeres, by those said tyrannies & divlish doings of the Spaniards [put] to death uniuistly and tyrannously more then twelve Millions of soules, men, women, and children [...] Nowe after sundry other forces, violences, and tormentes, which they wrought against them: the Indians beganne to perceiue, that those were not men discended from heaven. Some of them therefore hid their victuals: others hid their wives and children: some others fledde into the mountaynes, to separate them selues a farre off from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation’. A2r-A3r.

⁹³ Casas, *Colonie*, A1r-v.

those said tyrannies & divlish doings of the Spaniards [put] to death unjustly and tyrannously more than twelve Millions of soules, men, women, and children'.⁹⁴ In the section titled 'Of the Ile of Hispaniola', Las Casas describes how the natives were disembowelled, beheaded, roasted and broiled. Lightfoot paraphrases this hyperbolic language when he discusses the Spaniards laying wagers on who could gut or decapitate a native with one blow, or murdering them by 'broiling them on gredirons'.⁹⁵ Over the next three pages, the text summarises several other sections of Las Casas' polemic, which detail the barbaric deeds performed by the Spanish in the New World. After an equally scathing overview of the conquest of Mexico, Lightfoot finishes his anti-Spanish tirade by stating that

It is impossible for me to utter in words the merciless dealings of the Spaniards in the Indies, the gastly remembrance whereof is able to daunt the stoutest courage. So that after this show it is altogether superfluous to bring upon the stage the wicked practices of the holie Inquisition [...]⁹⁶

This is noteworthy as Lightfoot is placing the Spaniards at the apex of villainy and barbarousness, as was the case with the original English translation of Las Casas in 1583. By comparing the deeds of the Spaniards with the 'holy' inquisition, it might be suggested that Lightfoot was using a similar tactic to Miggrode in his translation of Las Casas by removing the religious aspect of the Spanish cruelty. By using the term 'holie Inquisition', Lightfoot is somewhat separating the Spanish from the Inquisition here, suggesting to the reader that the Spanish in general are more brutal than the Inquisition. It can therefore be suggested that, by commenting that the practices of the Inquisition would be 'superfluous' in the 'New World', Lightfoot is somewhat separating the Spanish from their religion, implying that they are even more brutal than other members of the Catholic Church.

⁹⁴ Ibid., A2r.

⁹⁵ Ibid., A3v; Lightfoote, *Complaint*, G4r-v.

⁹⁶ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, H2r.

It is necessary to reflect on the content of the entire text to investigate the role of anti-Spanish sentiment, and the inclusion of comparisons to the Inquisition. Although some of the pamphlets investigated, such as *The Copie of a letter* and *The Holy Bull or Crusado of Rome* (discussed below), seem to be attempting to include English Catholics in the construction of an English ‘self’ that was oppositional to the Spanish ‘other’, this was not Lightfoot’s intent with his text.⁹⁷

The title page to *Complaint* is clear regarding its contents, stating that in this text

it is clearely proved that the practises of Traitrous Papists against the state of this Realme, and the person of her Maiestie, are in Divinitie unlawfull, odious in Nature, and ridiculous in pollicie.⁹⁸

Furthermore, as Mottram discusses in *Empire and Nation*, the majority of the text seems to use the rhetoric of nationhood in order to identify Elizabethan England with its Protestant Church in the face of numerous Papist plots.⁹⁹ It therefore seems implausible that Lightfoot would intentionally attempt to change the perception of English Catholics to that of a lesser threat than their Spanish counterparts. Moreover, although they are mentioned on the Title Page, the Spanish do not feature until page fifty-three, suggesting that their inclusion was intended to bolster the anti-Catholic rhetoric, rather than attempt to alter it, as appeared to be the case in *The Spanish Colonie* and *Copie*, discussed above. While it is apparent that the text was not virulently anti-Spanish, their inclusion on the Title Page would have advertised and helped disseminate the Hispanophobic sentiment within. It is also noteworthy that all three pamphlets were long for their genre, and indeed, amongst the pamphlets under investigation for this study. *Copie* was the shortest, at sixty pages, then *Complaint* at seventy, and finally *Colonie* at one hundred and fifty pages. The utility of *Copie* and *Colonie* in the dissemination of Hispanophobic sentiment has already been discussed. *Colonie* has been included in the

⁹⁷ Anon., *The Holy Bull and Crusado of Rome* (John Wolfe, London, 1588).

⁹⁸ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, A1r.

⁹⁹ Mottram, *Empire and Nation*, p.211.

investigation as its anti-Spanish contents have clearly influenced the development of Hispanophobic attitudes in the 1580s, and *Copie* was influential due to its sensational and news-related content, so would probably have been disseminated orally, thus influencing the growing national consciousness in this decade.¹⁰⁰ However, *Complaint* was more obtuse, using the rhetorical device of prosopopoeia by using the voice of ‘England’ herself to convey a nationalist sentiment. The personification of an inanimate thing was common in the Tudor period, and so would not be completely alien.¹⁰¹ However, as Gavin Alexander establishes in his chapter about prosopopoeia, it was primarily used in works of literature or rhetorical theory, and therefore may not have been an effective means to disseminate ideas to the wider sections of society that consumed pamphlets but were unable to afford or access literary works.¹⁰² Furthermore, the inclusion of the Spanish so late in the pamphlet suggests that the Hispanophobia in this text would only have influenced those with the literacy levels advanced enough to read it. Thus, it seems likely that the anti-Spanish sentiment in this text was intended to add weight to the anti-Catholic rhetoric, rather than develop Hispanophobia specifically.

The brutal nature of the Spanish is not referenced again until the end of 1588, several weeks after the defeat of the Armada, and this time in a format that was truly accessible to all – a single sheet broadside. As discussed in the introduction, ballads were not included in this study more broadly as there are problems with dating these texts. However, we do have the correct date of publication for Thomas Deloney’s *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes*, which was first printed in November 1588. Deloney was a yeoman of the Weaver’s

¹⁰⁰ Sandra Clarke, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (The Athlone Press Ltd, London, 1983), p.38; Joad Raymond, *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2013), p.19.

¹⁰¹ Mottram, *Empire and Nation*, p.107 and p.153 discuss Richard Morison’s use of prosopopoeia in *A Lamentation in Whiche is SheWed what Ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon* (London, 1536) and John Bale’s personification of England in his play *King Johan*, performed in the late 1530s but not published until 1838.

¹⁰² Gavin Alexander ‘Prosopopoeia’ in Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, Katrin Ettenhuber (eds), *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007), pp.102-106.

Company who published ballads to supplement his income, and many of these were based on popular or romance topics suggesting that his work reflected popular stories of the later 1580s.¹⁰³ Thus it can be assumed that his work was popular and the Hispanophobic attitudes within would have been disseminated widely. The verse describes the whips that were allegedly found on the Spanish ships, intended for the torture of all Protestant English men and women.¹⁰⁴ As with the two pamphlets mentioned above, the brutal nature of the Spanish is once again related to the accounts of their conquest of the ‘New World’. Deloney, writes that the conquistadors

With cruell Cures in shamefull sorte
the men both rent and teare
And set the ladies great with childe
upright against a tree,
And shoot them through with pearcing darts,
such would their practice be.¹⁰⁵

This again evokes the descriptions used by Las Casas when he states that the Spanish ‘taught their houndes, fierce dogs, to teare them [the natives] in peeces at the first viewe’ and did not spare ‘women with childe, [or] them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces’.¹⁰⁶ However, as with *Comparison*, this text is firmly associating the Spanish with Catholicism. The opening verses, in which Deloney warns of the deceitful nature of the Spaniards and their religion, will be discussed in the dishonesty section below, but the ballad continues by associating the brutality of the Spanish with the history of the Catholic Church, reminding the English of how the Spanish Catholics spiritual ‘ancestors’, the Romans, treated

¹⁰³ Roger A. Ladd, ‘Thomas Deloney and the London Weavers' Company’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Winter, 2001), pp.981-982.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Deloney, *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes which the Spanyards has prepared to whippe and tormant English men and women* (Thomas Orwin and Thomas Gubbin, London, 1588).

¹⁰⁵ Deloney, *Ballet*.

¹⁰⁶ Casas, *The Spanish Colonie*, A3V-A4r.

the ancient Britons. When discussing the whips found on Spanish ships Deloney notes that the Romans ‘sometime like practise use[d]’, telling the story of Boudicca.¹⁰⁷ He asks

Did [the Romans] not first abuse them all
by lust and lecherie:
And after stript them naked all,
and whipt them in such sorte:
That it would grieve each Christian heart
to heare that just reporte.¹⁰⁸

Thus, the ballad is again utilising an historical framework to reinforce the idea of a brutal Spanish religious ancestry, asking the reader or hearer

Thinke you the Romish Spanyards now
Would not shewe their desent.¹⁰⁹

This section of the ballad is particularly interesting as it compares the Spanish and English ancestry, noting how invading Romans in ancient England treated widowed warrior Queen Boucicca and her daughters. It has already been suggested that Greepe’s verse utilised an historical framework in which examples of bravery displayed by the righteous were associated with the deeds of Drake, providing what Hammer described as ‘patriotic encouragement’ about the innate ‘valiancie’ of the English.¹¹⁰ This section in Deloney’s verse is especially interesting as it references an English Queen defeated at the hands of the religious ancestors of the Catholic Spanish – the Romans. However, unlike Greepe, this verse is providing ‘patriotic encouragement’ by displaying the valiance of the English despite their defeat, insinuating Hispanophobic attitudes by linking the Spanish to the barbaric acts of the Romans. As was discussed in the analysis of *The Spanish Colonie* in chapter one, the Spanish had developed their own historical framework in which their Visigothic ancestry had formed their pious self-identity, based in part, on their dedication to the Roman Catholic faith. They created a history

¹⁰⁷ Deloney, *Ballet*.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Hammer, ‘War’, p.458.

of Visigothic lineage that was intended to prove that the Spain was ‘more ancient in splendour and philosophy than Greece’.¹¹¹ Moreover, this history claimed that the Spanish monarchy were the ‘Most Christian Princes’.¹¹² Ingmar Söhrman discusses how the first Visigothic rulers of the Iberian Peninsula had ‘managed to persuade the Visigoths to become Catholics’, converting from their Arian roots.¹¹³ While Amy Fuller has noted that there is some debate regarding who was responsible for the Visigothic conversion, it is accepted that it was one of the two sons of Leovigild, the first Visigothic ruler.¹¹⁴ Thus, while the Spanish were using history to create an identity in which they are the saviours of Catholicism, the English were highlighting Spain’s Roman Catholic religious heritage to show their brutal descent. Therefore, this suggestion that the Spanish intended to literally whip the English, as their religious predecessors had done to those ‘Brittaines bolde in heart’ in the first century, helped to further the idea that the Spaniard was the ‘other’ against which a brave and resilient English ‘self’ could be created.¹¹⁵

This link between the barbarity of the Spanish and their Roman Catholic culture is made again in *An Exhortation: To stirre up the minds of all her Majesties faithfull subjects, to defend their Countrey in this dangerous time, from the invasion of Enemies*. The text was a call to arms for the English, asking that they maintain vigilance against the allies of the Pope after the defeat of the Armada, providing a warning for the English not to become complacent in victory. The author, Anthony Marten, was ‘a sewer at the royal court’ but was also a translator whose work

¹¹¹ J.N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in history and legend* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Ontario, 2009), pp.140-141.

¹¹² Ibid., p.141.

¹¹³ Ingmar Söhrman, ‘Goths as a Legitimizing Symbol in Medieval Spain’ *Romance Studies*, 35:1 (2017), p.51.

¹¹⁴ Amy Fuller, ‘Rebel with a Cause? From traitor prince to exemplary martyr: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s representation of San Hermenegido’ *European Review of History*, 16:6 (2009), p.893.

¹¹⁵ Deloney, *Ballet*.

progressed to apocalyptic anti-Catholic rhetoric.¹¹⁶ In the text, Marten suggests that Englishmen strengthen themselves

[a]gainst the princes of the Nations, which have entred into League with the whore of Babylon, who hath sworne your destruction: And will not be satisfied with the bloud of many dayes battaile, nor with the lands you holde, nor with the goods which ye possesse, nor with the faire houses which ye have builded [...] But after they have taken their vile pleasure of your wives, your sonnes and daughters, they will utterly destroy you.¹¹⁷

However, unlike the texts analysed previously and likely due to Marten's religious ideology, this text foregrounds the religious association of the Spanish above their nature when it comes to their propensity for brutality. Although this text associates the Spanish firmly with the Pope, and therefore the Catholic Church generally, it also discusses the potential benefits of all Christians fighting as one. Marten asserts that although

we be here removed in a corner from the rest of the world, and may be measured with a span [...] we beene ever as readie, as any other of the mightiest, and richest kingdoms, to travel over sea and land, to spend our lives, lands, and goods, to resist the furie and invasion of the Turks, & other heathen Nations.¹¹⁸

Once again it is apparent that the utilisation of a historical example is an attempt to bolster the English. By presenting a united front in the face of the threat from the 'other' – in this instance the Turks – Marten was potentially inferring that in this present crisis – the invasion by Spain – a united Christian nation, encompassing both Protestants and Catholics, was the key to victory.

Along with using the contemporary situation to suggest that the brutality of the coming battle would not be enough to quench the bloodthirsty Spaniards, and the historic evidence of the

¹¹⁶ M. Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2016), p.200.

¹¹⁷ Anthonie Marten, *An Exhortation: To stirre up the minds of all her Majesties faithfull subjects, to defend their Countrey in this dangerous time, from the invasion of Enemies* (John Windet, London, 1588), A2v.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, B2r-B2v.

English uniting against the threat of a common enemy, Marten's text also uses historical parallels to highlight the inherent nature of their brutality, as we have seen in *The Spanish Colonie*, *The Complaint of England* and *The True and Perfect Newes*. Marten proposes that the Spaniards are not 'minded to carrie you away; as the Assirians, Egyptians & Romans did the Israeites into captivitie'.¹¹⁹ Thus, the intent of this text can be seen to be similar to that of *Spanish whippes* in that it utilises an historical framework to link the Spanish with the actions of the early Roman Christians, but in this case they are portrayed as even more brutal than the Romans, with whom they are being compared. In fact the text, like *The Spanish Colonie* and *Complaint*, appears to be placing the Spanish at the apex of cruelty and barbarity, asking

[w]as there ever any Nation in the world so barbarous, or people so bloudie, or prince so cruel before this time [...] ¹²⁰

The brutality of the Spanish is, once again, referred to in *The Copie of a Letter Sent Out of England*. In this pamphlet there is an account of certain 'principall Gentlemen' who had been detained on the Isle of Ely during the attack of the Armada.¹²¹ It seems that the intent behind this section is to highlight the barbaric nature of the Spaniards in comparison to the English, as it is stated that the English Catholics are 'favourably used [and] not pursued to death for their religion, as they say it was used in Queene Maries time, and as it is daily used [...] most rigorously and barbarously in Spaine against the Englishmen'.¹²² According to John Coffey, this was true to a certain degree. Although, from 1570 onwards, a swathe of legislation was put in place to try to curb the numbers of Catholic adherents in England, this was punishable by large fines and imprisonment, but not by death.¹²³ Moreover, the new laws did not necessarily result in punishment when put into practice. The courts were 'agonisingly slow', enforcement

¹¹⁹ Ibid., A2v.

¹²⁰ Ibid., A3r.

¹²¹ Anon., *Copie*, B1v – B2r.

¹²² Ibid., B2v.

¹²³ John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2014), p.87.

varied from place to place depending on whether the government of the region relied on the co-operation of recusants and church papists, and it has even been suggested that within the ruling classes there were large sections that were ‘more or less indifferent to the internal Catholic menace’.¹²⁴ However, the ‘daily’ use of execution against the English in Spain is a clear exaggeration, adding to the growing corpus of texts in this investigation that assigned excessive brutality to the Spanish in particular. It is suggested by Henry Kamen that the best measure for the fate of foreigners at the hands of the Spanish is from the tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition in the Canary Islands, as they were a regular port of call for Englishmen. Although it does seem that the persecution of English sailors was irregularly high between 1586-1596, the auto de fé held at Las Palmas in 1587 was the first time that English sailors had been tried, and of the fourteen that stood accused, only one was put to death, and he was the only Englishman recorded to have been executed in this tribunal.¹²⁵ Of course, the Canaries Inquisition captured many more Englishmen – forty four recorded between 1574 and 1624 – yet these were simply detained, and many ‘saved their skin by “spontaneous” conversion’.¹²⁶ Thus, although there was clearly some religious persecution of English Protestants in Spain at the time that this pamphlet was written, it was a far cry from the daily executions suggested, showing the exaggeration used by propagandists in order to amplify the association of the Spanish with brutality.

The brutality discussed in *The Holy Bull and Crusado of Rome* is also associated with religious doctrine, and can also be seen to be trying to separate the English Catholics from their Spanish counterparts. The text is a reproduction of the 1573 *Bull of the Holy Crusade* re-issued by Pope

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.87.

¹²⁵ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision (Fourth Edition)* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2014), p.344. An auto de fé was a form of public punishment in the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.344; See William Lithgow, *Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations* (Cosimo, Inc., New York, 2005), pp.260-285 for his account of detainment, torture, and eventual release in Spain in 1620.

Gregory XIII that granted papal indulgences to the faithful for their financial support in the wars against the infidels, with commentary on each section of the Bull which the title page suggests is a comparison ‘with the testimony of the holy scriptures, to the great benefite and profit of all good Christians’.¹²⁷ Although the preface notes that ‘this Bulle, and a certayne pamphlet made at Lisbon, [was] by one Michael Eytzinger translated’, it is clear that this relates only to the original text of the Bull and the short section titled *A Briefe discourse of the power and might of the Spanish Armado* reproduced at the beginning of the pamphlet due to the strong anti-Spanish sentiment apparent in the preface and commentary.¹²⁸ Michael Eytzinger or Michael von Aitzing was an Austrian born Catholic who lived in the Netherlands for twenty-three years before moving to Cologne in 1581.¹²⁹ When Gebhard Truchsess, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, had converted to Protestantism, Eytzinger began to present the events of 1580-83 in a *Relatio historica* from the Catholic point of view in 1583.¹³⁰ It seems unlikely, then, that Eytzinger would produce an anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish text in England in the year of the Armada attack. However, it is plausible that the original printer Richard Schilders, printer to the states of Sealand (Zeeland), authored the opening preface and commentary throughout the pamphlet. Schilders was a Calvinist born in Enghien in Hainaut, a town that lies half-way between Antwerp and Valenciennes and was therefore in the very centre of the religious troubles of 1567.¹³¹ Schilders arrived in London in in Spring of 1567, probably as a refugee from the religious persecution of the Eighty Years’ War, and was admitted brother

¹²⁷ Sabine Hyland, *The Chankas and the Priest: A Tale of Murder and Exile in Highland Peru* (Penn State Press, University Park, 2016) via

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oAQgDAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> Due to COVID restrictions it was not possible to access this book in print and therefore a Google Books version was used. Unfortunately no page numbers are available; Anon., *The Holy Bull*, title page.

¹²⁸ Anon., *The Holy Bull*, Bv.

¹²⁹ Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013), p.19.

¹³⁰ Karl H. Salzmann, "Aitzing, Michael Freiherr von" in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie 1* (1953), pp. 119-120 [online version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118644173.html#ndbcontent>

¹³¹ J.Dover Wilson, ‘Richard Schilders and the English Puritans’ in *The Library*, Vol TBS-11, Issue 1 (1909), p.70. pp. 65–134

to the Stationers' Company 3 May 1568.¹³² He left London in 1580, but Dover Wilson notes that from around this time the 'printers in chief to the Puritan movement [in England] were Robert Waldegrave and Richard Schilders'.¹³³ It is therefore apparent that the prefatory text and commentary were more likely the work of Schilders rather than Eytzinger.

In the opening paragraph it is suggested that a note found in the 'Spanishe Armado' tells of the plans of the Spaniards,

which were to roote out, and Murther without any respect of religion, all the Inhabitants of England, or of the countries where they should land, even from the age of seven or tenne yeares upwards, and so to take away from the face of the earth those which they call Lutherians [...] and to use them as they doo use their Indian slaves: whose life is more wretched then a thousand deaths.¹³⁴

In this extract we see not only the representation of the Spaniards' brutal intent, but also another reference back to the Las Casas text. The assertion that those who are not killed by the Spanish are to be used as slaves could be seen as suggesting, as Las Casas did, that the intent of the Spanish invasion is based on economic gain, rather than spiritual conversion, and their brutality indiscriminate. Furthermore, their bloodlust is placed above all else, as it is suggested that they will murder all Englishmen, regardless of their religion.

This insistence that the Spanish are more brutal than all others is continued in the prefatory texts to Eytzinger's translation of *The Holy Bull*, when the translator states that he has translated this work 'to the ende that all men [...] might understand and perceive in what perill we altogether (aswell Papists as others) have been [...]', suggesting that the threat posed by the Spanish outweighs all others, even that from the Catholics in general, who were so feared at the beginning of the decade.¹³⁵ This short introduction is concluded with the wish that

¹³² Dover Wilson, 'Richard Schilders', pp.70-71.

¹³³ Dover Wilson, 'Richard Schilders', p.69. For a detailed discussion of Schilders' work and affiliations see pp.72-79.

¹³⁴ Anon., *The Holy Bull*, A4v.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

The Lord of his goodnesse take pittie on the countries, to the ende their hearts may be induced to unities of the Provinces, and a perpetuall peace against the Murthers, Robberies, Rapes, Spoyles, and all manner of horrible acts of the cruell Spaniards, and their adherents.¹³⁶

Although the accusations of murder and theft have been attributed to the nature of the Spanish throughout the decade it is noteworthy that, in a text specifically about a piece of Catholic doctrine, the translator decides to reference ‘Spanish’ adherents specifically. Thus, the text is once again placing the Spanish at the apex of villainy, above the Catholics in general. It could be argued, then, that by suggesting the Spaniards intent was ‘to roote out, and Murther without any respect of religion, all the Inhabitants of England’ the publication of the Bull with anti-Spanish commentary in 1588 may have been a further attempt to include the English Catholics in the English national narrative, as was discussed regarding Burghley’s propagandist tract, *Copie*.¹³⁷ However, this was clearly not the intent of the majority of pamphleteers in this decade, and *An Historicall Dialogue touching Antichrist and Popery*, printed in 1589, again warned that the remaining English Catholics were not to be trusted, regardless of how earnestly they protested loyalty to the Queen, as ‘papists [were] the solicitors, papists the prosecutors of this war, papists the soldiers’, a sentiment that Peter Marshall argues was concurrent with the state viewpoint at the time.¹³⁸ It seems, therefore, that this attempt to include English Catholics in the developing idea of an English ‘self’ was short lived, with the only examples being in the pamphlets of 1588. This suggests that this presentation of unity may have been purely a

¹³⁶ Ibid., B1r.

¹³⁷ Although this study has only found two pamphlets that attempt to include English Catholics into the developing national narrative, it must be considered that the survival rates of Catholicism were high and therefore other attempts were likely evident in other sources that have not been considered in this investigation. In *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.14, Alison Shell has noted that there has been a continued underestimation of Catholic population, influence and importance, which would suggest that Catholic loyalists in England would have been valued for their influence and therefore attempts to include them in the English narrative would have been more numerous than this survey suggests.

¹³⁸ Marshall, *Heretics*, pp.566-67. Thomas Rogers, *An Historicall Dialogue Touchinge Antichrist and Popery* (John Windet, London, 1589), F8r.

reaction to the Armada attack, attempting to ensure that the English Catholics would uphold their promises of loyalty to Queen and State.

Dishonesty

The theme of dishonesty was present in pamphlet literature that discussed the Spanish throughout the 1580s, although the focus of this changed slightly in relation to the perceived threat posed by Spain. In the opening years of the decade it was closely associated with both the Jesuits and the Spanish political actors and their allies, reflecting the concerns about the recent Jesuit missions and the expansion of the Spanish Empire to include Portugal, as well as the recent attempt on William of Orange's life. In the latter half of 1588, the pointedly titled *A Packe of Spanish Lyes* was printed, which again concerned itself with the deceitful nature of Spanish officials and their allies across Europe. The pamphlet is comprised of reproductions of letters sent by Spanish informants in Spain, France and England about the outcome and immediate aftermath of the Armada attack.¹³⁹ This text was similar in style to *Newes from Antwerp* and *Letters conteyning sundry devises, touching the state of Flaunders and Portingall*, discussed in chapter one, printing evidence of the supposed deceitful nature of the Spanish and their allies. However, *Sundry Devises* simply related the contents of the letters, leaving it to the reader to extrapolate meaning from it, while *Newes* used marginal notes to explain the ways in which the letters displayed the apparent dishonesty of the authors. *Spanish Lyes* expanded on this format, printing two columns on each page: one which gave the content of the letter under scrutiny, the other giving a response that pointed to the lies apparent therein. It seems that this format was adopted to present the false reports in the clearest possible manner, and to provide a running commentary of the truth in each case, and was not a usual practice in pamphleteering. In fact, Joad Raymond has noted that relatively few pamphlets appeared in double-columns,

¹³⁹ Anon., *A Packe of Spanish Lyes* (Deputies of Christopher Barker, London, 1588).

and that *The London Gazette*, not printed until 1677, was one of the forerunners of this format.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the main points are marked with a footnote style of reference, with (a) in the letter column corresponding with (a) in the explanatory column, allowing the reader to easily follow the argument. Again, this is similar to the style used in *Newes*, which utilises a numerical referencing system for the explanatory marginal notes. This device is also apparent in *The Holy Bull*, printed in 1588, which uses alphabetical references in the text which correspond with the refutation provided by the author, and also prints the original text juxtaposed by the refutation on each page. Although the two-column format was relatively rare in this period, this dialogue style within pamphlets was not uncommon, and can also be seen in the refutations to the Campion tract, discussed in chapter one, in which each point raised by Campion is printed for the reader, and then refuted by the author.¹⁴¹ It can be argued that this device was used because it would be familiar to all levels of reader, as catechisms were produced in this manner, thus those learning to read would have been comfortable with this format, meaning that it had the potential to reach the widest possible audience.

The lies to which the title page refers are that the Armada has defeated the English and that Sir Francis Drake has been taken prisoner, by Diego Peres, the postmaster of Logroño, and John Gamarra (aka Juan de Gamarra, a Spanish merchant). The pamphlet opens with a brief introduction, given the heading ‘From Spaine’, in which it is suggested that this is

[t]he true relation of the succes of the Catholike armye against their enemies, by letters of the Postmaster of Logrono of the iiiii. Of September, and by letters from Roan of the one & thirtieth of August, (^a) and by letters from Paris of the Kings Embassadour there: wherein hee declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great Nobles of Englande, and howe the Queene is in the fielde with an armie, (^b) and of a certine mutinie which is amonet the Queenes army [...]¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.363.

¹⁴¹ William Charke, *An answer to a seditious Pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite, conteyning ix. Articles heere inserted and set downe at large, with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect* (Christopher Barker, London, 1580).

¹⁴² Anon., *Lyes*, A2r.

It is noteworthy that the short pamphlet is cited throughout, and each Spanish letter is accompanied by an English retort, often a good deal longer than the original Spanish claim, followed by the analysis of the pertinent sections which have been footnoted. In the author's rebuttal to these claims, his footnotes argue that it was not Drake that was captured, but rather that 'hee tooke Pedro de Valdez, and 400.moe Spanish prisoners at one time', adding that if Mendoza requires it, he shall have the truth of this in Pedro de Valdez's own hand, highlighting the Spaniard's lies and proving the veracity of the English account.¹⁴³ In regard to the alleged army mutiny, the author states that '[i]t is so false that there was any mutinie in the Q. Armie' and '[i]n the Armie was never any fray or discord', once again refuting the Spanish account.¹⁴⁴ The following letters and reports, dated between 31 August and 5 September 1588, all address the events of the Armada attack, and each discusses the fate of Drake at the hands of the Spanish, and the alleged success of the Spanish fleet in the endeavour. Each Spanish lie is picked out and answered by a footnote, making the contents of the text, and the ways in which the author intends it to be understood, clear to the reader. It can be argued that this device made the contents of this pamphlet accessible to less accomplished readers, and the length of the text – only sixteen pages – means that it was likely accessible and affordable to a wide-ranging section of society, making it a prime piece of anti-Spanish propaganda. Although the author is unknown, we do know that Lord Burghley sent a copy of this to Walsingham on 30th December with a letter which states that he sends, 'translated out of the Spanish, lies which I have termed a Pack of Spanish Lies [...]', suggesting that this, like *Copie*, was conceived by Burghley as a piece of Hispanophobic propaganda, and written at his behest.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, Stroud, 1994), p.196.

In *The copie of a letter sent out of England*, the author argues that all English Catholics ‘are not persued to death for their religion, as they say it was used in Queene Maries time’, but rather that

they which have bene executed, have bene found to have wandered in the Realme secretly, & in a disguised maner [...] and doe use many meanes to entice all people [...] not onely to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of Rome, but to induce them by vowes and others to renounce, their obedience to the Queen [...] tending to make the facts of all such holy Priests as are sent with Commission to winne mens soules to be direct treasons against the Queene [...]¹⁴⁶

The author proceeds to state that ‘all such Priests, Jesuits, Seminaries and others that are perswaded by them’ are executed not for their religion, but for their attempts ‘to perswade the Queenes subjects to forsake their Allegiance’ and thus commit treason.¹⁴⁷ This pamphlet – another propagandist effort overseen by Burghley – returns to the earlier associations of the theme of dishonesty, as discussed in chapters one and two, by relating Spanish dishonesty with their religious doctrine. The intent of this appears slightly different though, as this suggests that it is not belief in the religion itself that poses a threat to English society, but rather the political allegiance of the Spanish allies in England. This suggests that intention is to draw the focus of the reader to the dangers of Catholics aligned with the Spanish Crown, once again seemingly attempting to separate the English Catholics who show loyalty to the Queen from those supporting the Spanish invasion. Furthermore, it appears to be an attempt to justify the violence against the Catholics in England by highlighting that it was not the indiscriminate execution of men on religious grounds, but rather the reasoned punishment of traitors to the English state – an important distinction if we consider that theory that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment in 1588 was to promote Hispanophobia for the defence of England against the dishonest and brutal Spanish ‘other’.

¹⁴⁶ Anon., *Copie*, B2v-B3r.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, B3r.

It does indeed seem that the execution of English Catholics was closely related to the threat posed by their Spanish allies, rather than dedication to their religion. In the six years between 1586 and 1591, eighty-six priests and their assistants were executed, with thirty-one of these - just over one-third – killed in 1588.¹⁴⁸ When considering this in relation to the claim that those Catholic nobles who swore allegiance to the Queen were detained ‘altogether without any imprisonment, other then they are not suffered to depart into the towne, or countrey’, and that they were ‘favourably used [and] not pursued to death for their religion’, it could be suggested that this rise in executions was intended as a deterrent for those whose political allegiance lay with Spain, rather than those who were privately practicing Catholicism.¹⁴⁹ If it is taken into consideration that this text was the work of Lord Burghley, it seems that there may have been some intent to create a divide in the English imagination between loyal English Catholics and those dishonest missionaries whose allegiance was to the Spanish Crown, creating a form of nationalist sentiment that was not based on religious ideology, but rather national allegiance. It is possible, therefore, that the attack of the Armada, and the continued threat posed by Spain in its aftermath, highlighted the need to utilise the English Catholics in defence of the realm, or at very least, keep them content in order to maintain their loyalty. In this case, the propagandists attempted to communicate this, potentially creating a national narrative in which religious ideology was less important than national allegiance – a means by which an idea of ‘self’ that encompassed both Protestants and Catholics could be founded in English society.

While the deceit of those loyal to Spain was lambasted and punished, it was not below the pamphleteers to use dishonesty to create some form of united English community that would be needed to defend England against the continued threat of Spain. In *Copie* it is noted that there are

¹⁴⁸ Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2003), p.140.

¹⁴⁹ Anon., *Copie*, B2v.

great numbers of Ships of the subjects of the Realme, as of London, and other port townes and cities, that voluntarily this yeare were armed, able to make a full Navie of themselves for an armie, & all at the proper costs of the Burgesses, for certain moneths, with men, victuall, and munitiō [...] a thing never in any former age heard of, otherwise then that such ships were alwayes hired, waged, & victualled by the kings of the Realme[...]¹⁵⁰

However, the voluntary nature of this military endeavour may be called into question when we consider the instigation of ‘ship money’ in 1588, and the apparent reactions of the local governments in respect of this. In late March, a ship levy was proclaimed that ordered forty named ports and towns to provide forty-nine ships and twenty pinnaces, all fully fitted out at local expense.¹⁵¹ However, James McDermott has found that many of these towns expressed their objection on the grounds of poverty, or existing commitments to men and ships, with only Lyme Regis, Weymouth and, reluctantly, Exeter, taking immediate action on this new edict.¹⁵² Thus, although the levies were instructed to join their division in the fleet by 25 April, the deadline was only met by a handful of ports, suggesting that this defence initiative was far less popular or voluntary than *Copie* had insinuated.¹⁵³ Although it had provided around eighty ships, and the equivalent of four parliamentary subsidiaries to the treasury, it was generally an unpopular solution, with Lord Burghley stating in July 1588 that ‘a general murmur of people and discontented people will increase to the comfort of the enemy’.¹⁵⁴ It therefore seems that the united front presented in *Copie* was hyperbolic, intended to promote the idea of a united England, serving to achieve the same goal of defeating the Spanish, and sacrificing all to do so. Furthermore, it was no doubt intended to present this unity to the Spanish. As Burghley noted, discontent amongst the English would weaken their defences, and thus provide a spur

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., B4r.

¹⁵¹ James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: The Necessary Quarrel* (Yale University Press, London, 2005), p.199

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.200.

¹⁵⁴ Michael S. Kimmel, *Absolutism and its Discontents: State and Society in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Transaction, Inc., New Brunswick, 1988), p.169.

for their enemies. Although this pamphlet was printed after the defeat of the Armada, the threat posed by Spain had not abated, and it was imperative that the defences remained as strong – and united – as possible.¹⁵⁵ It is unsurprising, then, that this was a propagandist piece written by Burghley, as discussed above, and that the nationalist sentiment that was apparent in England during the Armada attack presented both Protestants and Catholics as an integral part of the national narrative.

There is further evidence of this English dishonesty in what appears to be an effort to include the wealthy Catholic recusants in the English narrative at this time. When discussing the ‘certain Catholic Principall Gentlemen’ who were detained in the Bishop’s Palace at Ely in the summer of 1588, the author of *Copie* notes that they are held for ‘their crime of recusancy’, rather than for any fear that they would assist the invading Catholic forces.¹⁵⁶ To add further credence to this claim, it is noted that the author himself has

heard that the best of those that were sent to Elie did make offers [...] that they would adventure their lives in defence of the Queene [...] Yea divers of them did offer that in this quarrell of invading of the Realme with Strangers, they would present their owne bodies in the foremost rankes with their countrie men against all strangers.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, it is made clear that their detention in the Bishops palace is exceptionally lenient, that they are ‘altogether without any imprisonment, other then they are not suffered to depart into the towne, or countrey’.¹⁵⁸ Some of these wealthy Catholic laymen were transferred from Wisbech, a move which was due to them causing trouble amongst the inmates there.¹⁵⁹ However, Francis Young has argued that there is no evidence of this, suggesting instead that

¹⁵⁵ Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised Edition* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999), p.245.

¹⁵⁶ Anon., *Copie*, B2v.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., B2r.

¹⁵⁸ Anon., *Copie*, B2v.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas M McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, Farnham, 2012), p.20.

the impending attack of the Armada was the primary reason for the establishment of a dedicated prison for lay Catholics in the summer of 1588.¹⁶⁰ As discussed in the section on brutality, there may be some plausibility in the argument that, at this time, it was useful for the propagandists to include English Catholics within texts relating to the construction of a national consciousness at this time, for defence of the realm.

Lightfoot also highlights the dishonesty of the Spaniards in *Complaint*, but he frames it in a political sense again, giving a relatively detailed account of the actions of the Spanish in Naples:

Consider what he hath done in the kingdome of *Naples* [...] and trust him accordingly. When *Naples* came to his hands, it had in it ten Princes, nine chiefe Officers, nineteene Dukes, one & twenty Marquises, three & thirty Earles, besides of Barons and Lords a great number [...] after it had bene defended a longe time against the Emperour by *Francis* the french king: under whose regiment the people had retained theyr accustomed franchises & liberties [...] The Spaniardes at their first comming shewed themselves most pliable in their behaviors, promising golden mountaines, & vowing all service to the Neapolitanes for the defense of their country & continuance of their freedomes.¹⁶¹

This short section accuses the Spanish of similar dishonest behaviour as seen in *The Joyfull Entrie*, discussed in chapter one. That text highlighted the dishonesty of the Spanish political machinations, as it was assured that the self-governance of the region would be maintained after the Spanish Monarchy took control of the Duchy of Brabant, yet in practice the jurisdiction of Catholic Bishoprics increased, and all local power and decision-making was transferred to the Spanish and their collaborators. Similarly, in this instance the inference is that the vast numbers of Neapolitan nobles were led to believe that the Spanish would maintain their ‘freedomes’. It is further noted that

by cloked amity [the Spaniards] crept into credit: so that divers of the chiefe of them were employed in the strongest fortresses, & best fensed castles in the country. The king of *Spaine* to curry favor with [the noblemen] and to rock suspition a

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, G3r.

sleepe, appointed the Prince of *Salerne* their owne countriman to be his Lieutenant. During the while he was sole governour they enjoyed all benefits that they had afore time[...] ¹⁶²

again echoing the sentiment in *Joyfull Entry*, which stated that ‘that we shal not meddle ourselves, nor suffer to be medled with the foraine lawes and judgements’, suggesting that they would be autonomous and rule themselves, just as was implied by the appointment of the Prince in Naples. ¹⁶³ However, Lightfoote goes on to point out that

Not longe after he sent thither one *Don Pietro* a Spaniard, whom he joyned in commission with the Prince. This fellow sought by raising false reports of the Prince to discredit him with y^e king and commons: and by indirect practises to indaunger his life. ¹⁶⁴

Thus it seems that the negative trait of political dishonesty, ascribed to the Spanish, is being cast within an historical framework, in which the Spanish Monarchy are shown to be corrupt and dishonest in their dealings with the indigenous people of their Imperial dominions. This, it might be suggested, performed a similar role to that of the shared myths and history that Smith claims are necessary for the creation of national sentiment. ¹⁶⁵ The reinforcement of Spain’s history over the last century, evident in the disregard shown for their promises to their subjects, helped embed their ‘otherness’ against the perceived truth of the English Protestant ideology.

The motif of dishonesty is highlighted again in *Spanish Whippes*, when Deloney mockingly states that

[t]hey say they seeke for Englands good,
and wish the people well:
They say they are such holie men,
all other they excell.
They bragge that they are Catholikes,
and Christes only Spouse:
And what so ere they take in hand,
the holie Pope allowes.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ R.V.S., *Joyfull Entrie*, A3v.

¹⁶⁴ Lightfoot, *Complaint*, G3r.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, p.14.

These holie men, these sacred Saints,
and these that thinke no ill:
See how they fought against all right,
to murder, spoyle and kill.
Our noble Queene and Countrie first,
they did prepare to spoyle:
To ruinate our lives and lands,
with trouble and turmoyle.¹⁶⁶

This source combines the religious and political aspects of Hispanophobic rhetoric by suggesting that the attack of the Armada was based on their intent to act for ‘Englands good’, presumably referring to the intent of converting her subjects back to Catholicism. Yet it is stated that the means by which this would have been achieved was through the murder of the English people and the ‘spoyle’ of English lands, which in the eyes of her inhabitants, would run contrary to the stated intent of working for the good of England, highlighting the deceitful nature of both their religious and political dealings with the English. Little is known of Thomas Deloney in either a personal or professional capacity, but he was one of the most popular ballad-writers in the late sixteenth century, although some of his contemporaries considered him to be a vulgar, ballad-writing hack whose work comprised mainly of reports of murders and executions, along with other historical figures and events.¹⁶⁷ His association with salacious current affairs, along with the format of his writing – single-sheet verse – meant that his subject matter would likely have been aimed at the widest possible readership, and would have been affordable. Moreover, his work lent itself to oral dissemination as well, meaning that the anti-Spanish sentiment present in this work could have achieved the widest audience of all the texts in the collection under investigation. It is possible, then, that this work consolidated in the mind of the reader the ideas regarding Spanish dishonesty that had been conveyed in the larger works

¹⁶⁶ Deloney, *Ballet*.

¹⁶⁷ Marie Loughlin, Sandra Bell and Patricia Brace (eds), *The Broadview Anthology of Sixteenth-Century Poetry and Prose* (Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2011), p.1238.

discussed, and potentially spread Hispanophobic sentiment to a wider audience who may not have come into contact with many of the texts under investigation.

Certaine English verses penned by David Gwyn also offers a warning against aligning with the deceitful Spaniard, recounting how the Spanish Crown deceived the Portuguese nobles during the succession crisis of 1580. His pamphlet recounts how the Duke of Braganza and the Count of Cascais

[...] sold their native land,
to Philip king of Spaine:
Who having Portugall in hand,
as king therein did raigne.
Who sudainly did turne his face,
from this good duke and Coundie:
And gave no credit to their race,
wherein they knew the follie.¹⁶⁸

This part of the verse discusses how the King of Spain promised a level of autonomy to the Portuguese after the Iberian Union, but reneged on his word after the event, similar to the accounts already discussed of both Brabant and Naples. Gwynn asserts that the Duke of Braganza and the Count of Cascais had joined with Philip in his machinations to annex Portugal to Spain, yet as soon as he had achieved his goal he ‘turned his face’ from them, once again highlighting the dishonest nature of the Spanish. Gwynn himself had recently escaped Spanish captivity, having been a galley slave for approximately eleven years, and thus would have been in the Spanish fleet when they annexed Portugal, making him an eye witness to the dastardly deeds of the Spanish as far as the English audience could see.¹⁶⁹ It is therefore apparent that the assertions of Spanish deceit in this pamphlet would likely have achieved the widest

¹⁶⁸ David Gwyn, *Certaine English verses penned by David Gwyn* (Richard Hudson, London, 1588), A3v.

¹⁶⁹ There is very little information available regarding David Gwynne other than the recounting of his claims of mutiny aboard the Spanish ship that led to his escape. The story is repeated in David Armine Howarth, *The Voyage of the Armada: The Spanish Story* (Penguin, London, 1981), p.112; Duff Hart Davis, *Armada* (Bantam Press, New Providence, 1988), p.93; John Charles de Villamar Roberts, *Devon and the Armada* (Gooday Publishers, London, 1988), p.85; and John Roger Scott Whiting, *The Enterprise of England: The Spanish Armada* (Alan Sutton, Stroud, 1988), p.9.

dissemination possible – it was purported to be a true, first-hand account of the deeds of the Spanish, it was only sixteen pages long, and it was written in verse – all of which would have made it appealing and accessible at even the lowest levels of society.

Pride

The theme of pride, and its associations for the early modern Englishman, have been considered in chapter two. Yet the presentation of this theme, and therefore the role played by the anti-Spanish sentiment, changed in the period 1587 to 1588. The biblical adage ‘Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall’ was exploited to its greatest extent in the second half of 1588, with pamphlets remarking on the arrogance of the Spanish prior to the invasion of the Armada, and their subsequent defeat.¹⁷⁰ *The Holy Bull*, a reproduction of Pope Gregory XIII’s bull of 1585 regarding indulgences that was printed in 1588, states clearly on its title page that this pamphlet also includes

a briefe declaration [...] which was founde in the Armado of Spaine, of the prowde presumption of the Spaniarde: which through the instigation of the aforesaide Bulle, hath taken in hand the setting forth of the invincible Army (as they terme it) out of Portingale [...] Which Armado is come to confusion through the hand of the Almighty.¹⁷¹

This refers to a short pamphlet, translated and reproduced before the main body of the text begins to analyse the Bull itself, which notes the ships, men, and victuals that are preparing to leave the port of Lisbon in May 1588. It seems that the only reason to reproduce this information is in order to mock the Spaniards for their pride – the sin of which, it is insinuated, has been punished by the hand of the Almighty in the orchestration of their defeat, once again

¹⁷⁰ Proverbs 16:18, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languges. VVith moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (s.n., Geneva, 1562), p.242.

¹⁷¹ Anon., *Holy Bull*, A2r.

highlighting the providential aspect of England's victory. This idea that their proud nature has incurred the wrath of God is also evident in *Copie*, in which the author states that

such is our calamitie, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke for our sinnes, or els for confounding of our bold opinions, and presumptions of our owne strength, to put in the hearts of all persons here, one like mynde, & courage to withstand the intended Invasion [...].¹⁷²

It is interesting to note that the author of *Copie*, whilst attributing the victory of the English to the fact that 'in all these fights Christ shewed himselfe a Lutheran', also suggests that God has put into the hearts of all Englishmen one like mind.¹⁷³ This alludes to the idea that there was already some unified national sentiment when it came to opinions of the Spanish, and that this was not necessarily associated with religion at this time. It is important to remember, however, that this pamphlet was not written by a Spaniard at all, but was a propagandist effort by Lord Burghley. Thus the Hispanophobic sentiment regarding the pride of the Spanish prior to their defeat, and the unity of the English, would have been carefully constructed to disseminate the ideas of England's providential victory and Spain's inevitable defeat. Between 1550 and 1600 there are over five hundred texts digitised on EEBO that discuss proverbs, and John Considine has noted that collections of proverbs and wise sayings, known as 'wisdom-literature', sold very well in early modern England.¹⁷⁴

The short preface 'To the Reader' in *Holy Bull* proceeds to explain that the Spanish pamphlet 'very arrogantly describe[s] the Royall army, and provision of the King of Spayne [...] with disdaynefull Lattin verse at the end of the same Pamphlet'.¹⁷⁵ The Latin verse is seemingly a taunt to the English, being titled 'The Colonese to the Englese, sendeth this doughty Emprese', followed by the rhyming couplet:

¹⁷² Anon., *Copie*, B1v.

¹⁷³ Ibid., C2r.

¹⁷⁴ John Considine, "Wisdom-Literature in Early Modern England" *Renaissance Studies* 13:3 (1999), p.329.

¹⁷⁵ Anon., *Holy Bull*, A3r.

Thou England which the Romish lawes, long time hast now rejected,
Shalt learne ere long to Spanish yoke, thy necke shall be subjected.¹⁷⁶

This, it seems, is a warning from the colonised Spanish territories to England about the consequences of Spanish invasion and rule. This verse is also reproduced in the anonymously authored *A true discourse of the armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled in the haven of Lisbon*, a pamphlet that reproduces the details of the ships, men and victuals that were prepared for the Armada attack.¹⁷⁷ This pamphlet, published in 1588, states on the title page that the added verses were ‘printed on the first page of the Dutch copy [...] with answers to them, and to Don Bernadin de Mendoza’.¹⁷⁸ The retort, presumably penned by an Englishman, is titled ‘The Englishman to the Spaniard, of that Romish Brothell, the very dotard’.¹⁷⁹ There follows ten rhyming couplets, one of which relates directly to the prideful nature that the English have attributed to the Spanish:

Great triumphs dost thou (Spaniard) tell, & terribly thy conquests boast
Yet doo both losse & shame thee haunt, & hunt thee home to Spanish coast.¹⁸⁰

Again, this reinforces the warning of pride coming before a fall. The proud nature of the Spanish is further referred to in the preface of *A true discourse*. The ‘Epistle to the Reader’ opens with an admonition against pride in general, suggesting that

It hath beene alwayes a continuall practise of the wicked and ungodly, not onely neglecting the almightie to trust in their owne might: but relying on themselves and their own power and glory and boast thereof unto the world.¹⁸¹

The preface then tells that this pamphlet has been

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., A4r.

¹⁷⁷ Anon., *A true discourse of the armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled in the haven of Lisbon, in the kingdom of Portugall, in the year 1588. against England* (John Wolfe, London, 1588).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., A2r.

¹⁷⁹ Anon., *Holy Bull*, A4r.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Anon., *A true discourse*, A3r.

published [...] to all besides ourselves, in Italian, Spanishe, Dutch, and French, and yet to them thereby to discourage us: for these he telleth, he hath this many huge shippes, so many thousands of armed men, such multitude of munition as no man could deliver us out of his hand [...] ¹⁸²

Thus, the author deduces that this prideful boasting of Philip's Armada is a tactic to dissuade those who may ally themselves with the English, for the might of Spain will undoubtedly defeat them all. As this was published after the English victory, it seems that it is again intended to show the futility of Spain's pride prior to the attack, and their inevitable fall due to this.

The theme of pride is also present in *Newes out of the Coast of Spain*, but the link with the Spanish is a little more obscure. In his opening paragraph, Haslop notes the great things that the Lord has done for the Realm, noting that 'he cut off Achtiophell in his pride, and preserved David in his prosperitie'.¹⁸³ Achitophel was one of David's advisors, who betrayed him and gave counsel to Absalom when he revolted, and the Lord rendered his counsel useless and thus quelled his pride.¹⁸⁴ While this appears to have no direct association with anti-Spanish sentiment, the broadside *A prayer meete to be sayd of all true Subjectes for our Queene Elizabeth, and for the present stare* included the exhortation 'Confound and bring to naught the attemptes of these and the like enemies, as thou didest at Babel. Infold them in the folly of their owne counsels, as thou didest Achitophel', suggesting that his biblical legacy, and political machinations, were well known.¹⁸⁵ A further pamphlet, produced in 1629 and entitled *Achitophel, or, the Picture of a wicked politician, etc.* suggests that the dastardly political nature of this biblical figure preceded him.¹⁸⁶ Thus it is apparent that the story was well known,

¹⁸² Ibid., A5r.

¹⁸³ Haslop, *Newes*, A3r.

¹⁸⁴ 2 Samuel 15:12, 'And Absalom sent for Ahithophel the Gilonite, Davids counsellor, from his citie, even from Giloh, while he offered sacrifices: and the conspiracie was strong, for the people encreased continually with Absalom'; 2 Samuel 15:31, And one tolde David, saying, Ahithophel is among the conspirators with Absalom. And David sayde, O Lord, I pray thee turne the counsell of Ahithophel into foolishnesse'. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_2-Samuel-15-12/ [Accessed 27/10/2018]

¹⁸⁵ Anon., *A prayer meete to be sayd of all true Subiectes for our Queene Elizabeth, and for the present stare*. (Richard Jhones, London, 1586).

¹⁸⁶ Nathanael Carpenter, *Achitophel, or, the Picture of a wicked politician, etc* (Printed for M.S., 1629).

and Haslop is insinuating here that Philip, like Achitophel, was ‘cut off in his pride’ with the defeat his territories suffered at the hand of Drake and Elizabeth, like David, will prevail. It seems, then, that the inclusion of this by Haslop is pointing towards the inevitable prosperity of England and the eventual downfall of both Phillip and his Empire at the command of God, further reinforcing the providential aspects of the Hispanophobic propaganda pamphlets.

Navigation and Exploration

In the pamphlets regarding travel and navigation examined in the previous chapters, we have seen how promotion of English exploration had been advertised by the emulation of the Spanish, with the goal of ‘planting’ new English colonies in the ‘New World’. Although the only travel-orientated pamphlet in this period follows a similar format to those that were produced previously, the intent behind publication may be seen to be quite different when we consider the diplomatic relations between the two countries. On April 13, 1587, a translation of *New Mexico. Otherwise, The voiage of Anthony of Espeio* was dedicated to ‘maister Henrie Anderson Merchant’, by an unknown friend, ‘A.F.’.¹⁸⁷ The pamphlet details the journey north from New Spain, and the subsequent Spanish discovery of ‘a Lande of 15. Provinces, replenished with townes and villages, with houses of 4. or 5. stories height’.¹⁸⁸ The text gives details of the distances between towns, the nature of the indigenous people and the natural resources that can be found in the area, similar to the other promotional travel pamphlets discussed previously. Thus it seems plausible that the publication of this pamphlet was for the purposes of encouraging English exploration and settlement in the ‘New World’, as is the case with the promotional pamphlets considered in chapter one. However, it is noteworthy that Anderson served as sheriff, alderman and mayor of Newcastle, as well as being a Levant and

¹⁸⁷ Juan González de Mendoza, *New Mexico. Otherwise, The voiage of Anthony of Espeio* (Thomas East for Thomas Cadman, London, 1587), A2v.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, A2v.

Muscovy merchant, and a privateer.¹⁸⁹ The fact that he was recognised as both a merchant and privateer is significant, as it provides background evidence that this text may not have been produced for the simple purpose of promoting English settlement, but could rather be pointing to recently settled Spanish colonies for the English to raid.

Since the staying of English merchant ships by Philip, and the subsequent commencement of Anglo-Iberian hostilities in the summer of 1585, the Lord Admiral had been licensing merchants to ‘set forth armed vessels’ to recoup their losses from Spanish ships.¹⁹⁰ Kenneth R. Andrews notes that after reports of the successes of Sir Francis Drake, who sailed for the West Indies in September 1585, were related back to England, enthusiasm for these privateering ventures rose to ‘fever pitch’.¹⁹¹ Thus, by the time this text was published in 1587, privateering would likely have been a well-established course of action for those undertaking merchant voyages. However, the encouragement to seek these profits may not have been simply for the gain of the individual merchants. Henry Haslop notes in his *Newes out of the Coast of Spain* that Drake ‘labored to enrich us by their impoverishment, and made us strong by their weakening’, suggesting that these voyages did not just benefit the sailors involved, but rather served to benefit the whole of England in their defence against the Spanish in these turbulent times.¹⁹² Given the timing of this publication it is apparent that any attacks on the Spanish fleet, or disruption to their trade routes and economy, would have been encouraged by the government in defence of the realm, as is indicated by the increasingly informal way in which letters of reprisal were obtained. As Andrews notes, after the embargo on English ships in 1585, the government instructed the Lord Admiral to provide letters of reprisal to those merchants

¹⁸⁹ Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569-1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2006), p.61; Theodore K. Rabb, *The Emergence of International Business, 1200-1800: Enterprise and empire* (Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, 1957), p.111.

¹⁹⁰ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1964), p.3.

¹⁹¹ Andrews, *Privateering*, p.3.

¹⁹² Haslop, *Newes*, A3v.

who proved their losses to his satisfaction.¹⁹³ As these reprisal attacks against Spanish ships were classed as private ventures, the English government was not technically committing itself to an act of war, thus they could still attempt to repair diplomatic Anglo-Spanish relations at a governmental level.¹⁹⁴ This, however, was not to happen as Elizabeth had hoped, and Andrews argues that before long ‘it became obvious to all that the two countries were in fact, if not in law, at war’.¹⁹⁵ Thus the procedure for obtaining these licenses became more and more lax until some were confident to sail without formal approval, safe in the knowledge that objection from any quarter would be unlikely.¹⁹⁶ It might be suggested, then, that unlike previous texts, the particulars of this Spanish voyage were not published to encourage English colonial ventures, but more to show newly conquered territories of the Spanish, in order to further disrupt their economic and naval capacity and thus their military potential.

This hypothesis, that expansionist ventures were discouraged when war broke out, is further supported by the lack of texts produced before 1589 regarding the colonial enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. As was discussed in chapter one, there was an increased interest in exploration and colonisation evident at the beginning of the decade, and Richard Hakluyt produced *Divers Voyages* to help promote financing and support for the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The voyage was successful, and subsequently, the expedition was related by George Peckham in *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found landes: by that valiaunt and worthy gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight*.¹⁹⁷ Following this success, Hakluyt immediately produced his *Discourse on Western Planting* in 1584 in support of Raleigh’s voyage to set up a colony in

¹⁹³ Andrews, *Privateering*, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p.4.

¹⁹⁷ George Peckham, in *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found landes: by that valiaunt and worthy gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* (John Charlewood, London, 1583).

North America, which went ahead in 1585. Despite the success of this expedition, no pamphlets related this until *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, printed in 1588.¹⁹⁸ It could therefore be argued that after the outbreak of war in 1585 the resources needed to embark on a voyage of discovery were better placed to defend the English, and thus the role of these texts changed from encouraging emulation of the Spanish achievements in the ‘New World’ to weakening the Spanish by disrupting their trade and profits with privateering voyages, reflected in the texts printed – or more importantly not printed – in the early years of the Anglo-Spanish war.

Conclusions

The years 1587 and 1588 saw a development in the creation of the Spanish ‘other’ in English national consciousness as reflected in the texts, which can be attributed to the political situation and the way it was presented in the pamphlets during this time. Although it is problematic to ascertain the audience for pamphlets in this period, it can be assumed that the contents of those that reflected current affairs, both domestic and foreign, would be of universal interest. Furthermore, the intensification of the war with Spain made these pamphlets relevant to all sections of society, meaning that the concept of the Spanish ‘other’, and consequently an English ‘self’, could be more widely disseminated than in previous texts. For example, the theme of dishonesty was closely associated with the religious aspect of anti-Spanish sentiment in the early years of the decade, so the themes of ‘otherness’ associated with the Spanish would not necessarily have resonated with English Catholics. The theme of ineptitude or cowardice was utilised in the middle years of the 1580s, when war broke out, and the tales of English bravery encouraged fortitude amongst the English with the coming invasion looming. Moreover, the imminence of the potential invasion in 1587-1588 saw incompetence turn into

¹⁹⁸ Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (R. Robinson, London, 1588).

full blown cowardice in 1587s *The True and Perfect News* – a concept against which the stout courage of the English 'self' could be formed – a useful concept considering likelihood of the coming attack at this time.

In previous years, the brutality of the Spanish had been mostly confined to accounts of the conquest, and was again in *The Complaint of England* (which was also anti-Catholic in nature). Thus, the concept of the English 'self' in these texts, and its construction in opposition to the Spanish, was unlikely to have impacted English Catholics or those below the merchant classes whose interest in the intricacies of colonial practice were minimal. However, there are instances in *The copie of a letter sent out of England* and *The Holy Bull*, both printed in 1588, that seem to be attempting to include the English Catholics in the national narrative, an anomaly that this study has only found in this year. It can be argued then, that this was in the interest of the defence of the realm, as it was imperative that English Catholics did not assist the coming invaders, and thus spreading propaganda to this effect was in the best interests of the nation, as opposed to earlier pamphlets that demonised Catholicism along with the Spanish. There is only one pamphlet relating the Spanish to exploration and navigation in this period, suggesting that its role was not to encourage English exploration, an observation supported by the lack of texts reporting on Raleigh's expedition to colonise North America. It seems a likely explanation for this is that the efforts of merchant explorers, and those who would invest in such ventures, were considered to be better used in the defence of England in these turbulent years, and thus this text may have been printed to encourage privateering above voyages of discovery and colonisation. Thus, the navigational detail and geographical information included in *New Mexico* could have been an effort to encourage more voyages intended to damage Spain's colonial enterprises, and therefore, economic stability. Finally, the trait of pride is continued in texts in this period. The emphasis is firmly on the arrogance of the Spanish prior to the Armada attack, and their resounding defeat, highlighting the 'pride before a fall' motif, which was

potentially used to illustrate that the Spanish Catholic ‘other’ will always fail, as God’s providence favours the English Protestants. Although *The Holy Bull* includes both the theme of English unity and the providential fall of the Spanish after their prideful boasts, this inclusion of all of Elizabeth’s subjects in the national narrative, regardless of religion, was short lived, as we shall see in chapter four, which will explore the role played by the anti-Spanish sentiment in the pamphlets produced in 1589-90.

Chapter Four: Towards an English Empire

This chapter investigates how the focus and role of anti-Spanish sentiment changed after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the closing years of the 1580s. By the end of September 1588, the decision had been made to launch a counterattack, targeting the remaining Spanish ships. On 20 September 1588, the Queen's principal secretary, Lord Burghley, noted down the conclusions of a meeting attended by Councillors, sailors and soldiers, called by the Queen to decide how best to do this, listing the objectives as '(1) to attempt to burn the ships in Lisbon and Seville; (2) to take Lisbon; (3) to take the Islands [the Azores]'.¹ However, the expedition suffered set-backs from the start, and by the beginning of July 1589 they had returned to England unsuccessful.² Thus, even after the defeat of the Armada, the threat posed by Spain was still a matter of potential concern in England, evident in the proposed bill of subsidy debated in the parliament assembled on 4 February 1589.³ This investigation has demonstrated that the traits of brutality, dishonesty, pride and cowardice were used to present the Spaniards negatively, discussing how the anti-Spanish sentiment in the pamphlets was closely related to the political developments in the 1580s. Furthermore, it has been argued that the development of the Spanish 'other' was a means by which the English could conceive of a sense of 'self', and that this was intended to bolster English courage in the event of Spanish invasion.

The previous chapter explored the idea that some texts were produced to include English Catholics in a nationalist narrative, with pamphlets such as *The copie of a letter sent out of England* and *The Holy Bull* implying that the English would be loyal to the Queen and, in the

¹ R.B. Wernham, 'Introduction' in R.B. Wernham (ed) *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589* (Temple Smith, Aldershot, 1988), pp.xiv-xv.

² Ibid., p.lv.

³ Rosemary Sgroi, '1589', *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History* [Accessed 17/07/2018], <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/parliament/1589>.

event of attack, they would ‘present their own bodies in the foremost ranks with their countrymen against all strangers’.⁴ However, the only instances of this inclusion of English Catholics found so far were in 1588, and therefore it seems that creating an English ‘self’ that was based in national, rather than spiritual allegiance, was unlikely to be a significant role of the anti-Spanish sentiment found in the texts. Thus, this chapter explores the utilisation of the negative traits of dishonesty, brutality, cowardice and pride in 1589 and 1590, and their continuing association with the political events. It will examine how, after the immediate threat of the Armada had passed, there was still an attempt to utilise anti-Spanish sentiment in pamphlets to continue ‘othering’ the Spaniard, demonstrating that this was still a construct that encouraged the development of the English ‘self’ in the national consciousness.

This chapter will begin by considering the trait of dishonesty in association with the Spanish, a theme that has consistently been present in the texts thus far, associated with Spanish political actors and adherents to Catholicism alike. However, the implications of this trait, and consequently its role, have changed over the course of the 1580s. The chapter will demonstrate that the association of the trait of dishonesty with the Spanish was continued, but the focus of this in some pamphlets appeared to be to emphasise the virtue of the English, suggesting that the dishonest Spanish ‘other’ was being employed to progress the idea of the virtuous English ‘self’. Moreover, this was developed in tandem with the trait of Spanish pride, mocking the Spanish for their brags of victory, proven false once their defeat had been reported. This section will also consider the emphasis on ‘truth’ in the pamphlets discussing the English expedition to Portugal in 1589. As discussed by Wallace MacCaffery and R.B. Wernham, the expedition was a failure due to the lack of provisions that were originally promised, and this chapter will demonstrate the presentation of Spanish ‘lies’ alongside pamphlets pertaining to the ‘truth’ of

⁴ Anon., *Copie*, B2r.

the English expedition may have been intended to exonerate the English actors, and what this may have achieved.⁵

This chapter will also examine how the trait of pride was presented after the defeat of the Armada. The section will demonstrate that Spanish pride was, once again, placed within an historical framework. This suggests that historical instances of Spanish pride had the potential to cement the ‘otherness’ of the Spaniard, as per Anthony Smith’s theory about historical memory in the development of nationalist sentiment.⁶ Moreover, the inclusion of Spain’s Visigothic history will be considered, as the recurrence of this theme throughout this investigation suggests that subverting the nationalist history of Spain further derided them, and the repetition of their barbarous ancestry cemented the idea of Spanish ‘otherness’. Furthermore, the theme of pride, developed in chapter three, will be discussed in relation to the promotion of exploration. This chapter will demonstrate that the predicted decline of the Spanish Empire fuelled the promotion of English imperial aspirations, a topic that was absent from pamphlets since the outbreak of war in 1585.

The chapter will also examine how the trait of cowardice was employed, and whether this was still an effective anti-Spanish theme in the years after the Armada attack. It will be argued that it was still utilised to present the idea of a cowardly Spanish ‘other’ in opposition to the brave English ‘self’, but that the emphasis of this changed to reflect the current political climate. Paul Hammer argues that there was a national ‘desire’ to retaliate after the Armada attack, and it will be argued that pamphlets presenting the competence of the English against the cowardly Spanish may have been intended to garner support for the proposed Portuguese expedition.⁷ However, the idea that the continuation of the trait of cowardice was simply derisory will also

⁵ Wallace T. MacCaffery, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2014), p.91; R.B. Wernham, ‘Introduction’, p.iii.

⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1991), p.14.

⁷ Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999), p.82.

be explored, as some texts appeared to use this trope simply for entertainment and, as Eric Griffin notes, inclusion of this humorous trait would have improved the reception of the work.⁸ The theme of brutality will also be considered in relation to cowardice, investigating how Las Casas' hyperbolic language was appropriated, but in this instance reversing the original roles and describing the Spanish captain Don Pedro de Valdez as a lamb, the significance of which will be explored in relation to Bruce Boehrer's work on representations of sheep and lambs in early modern England.⁹ Finally, pamphlets relating to navigation and exploration will be investigated to consider whether the role played by the texts suggests a return to the promotion of English expansionism.

Dishonesty

The theme of dishonesty has been associated with Spain's political actors and their allies throughout the decade, and this is continued in the final two years under investigation. In 1589 *An answer to the untruthes, published and printed in Spaine* was printed, the second pamphlet to reproduce the 'lies' published in Spain about the defeat of the Armada.¹⁰ The first pamphlet to discuss this, *A Packe of Spanish Lyes*, printed in 1588 and discussed in chapter three, was a short, sixteen-page text that did not reference the translator or the original author, and there was no dedicatory preface or epistle.¹¹ *An answer to the untruths*, however, was much longer – sixty-four pages – and was prefaced by a dedication to Charles Howard, the Lord High Admiral of the English fleet, from the translator James Lea.¹² There is then a further dedicatory epistle addressed to Queen Elizabeth, written by the author who can only be identified as D.F.R. de M. That these two pamphlets, essentially publishing contents of the same letters, were

⁸ Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2009), p.64.

⁹ Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011), p.164.

¹⁰ D.F.R. de M., *An answer to the untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie.* (John Jackson for Tho Cadman, London, 1589).

¹¹ Anon., *A Packe of Spanish Lyes* (Deputies of Christopher Barker, London, 1588).

¹² D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, A2r-A2v.

released so close together suggests that the subject matter – the defeat of the Armada and the untrustworthiness of the Spaniard – was still popular. However, unlike the majority of pamphlets in this decade, this production of work relating to a popular topic was not simply for profit. Alexandra Halsaz, Sandra Clarke and Richard Streckfuss have all discussed the popularity of pamphlets that reported current affairs, shown by the increased production of news quartos at the end of the sixteenth century, but their production is closely linked with their profitability¹³ However, as these pamphlets were likely printed as propaganda at the behest of Lord Burghley it is probable that their value was in their ideological message rather than any profit to be made. As discussed in chapter one, printed letters were a common form of news transmission in this period so it can be argued that these were an ideal way to disseminate anti-Spanish propaganda framed as true reports.¹⁴ Due to the differences in length, and therefore the price of the pamphlets, it can be argued that they may have been produced with different audiences in mind, *Spanish Lyes* being only sixteen pages and therefore likely much cheaper than the longer Lea translation, if Joad Raymond's discussion of the price of paper in printing costs is taken into consideration.¹⁵ Moreover, *Spanish Lyes* was printed in a two-column format, with simple commentary running alongside the printed letters, while *An answer to the untruths* gives lengthy rebuttals provided after each letter's reproduction. This suggests that the second pamphlet was produced with a more literate and, therefore, elite audience in mind. This is supported by the dedication of this pamphlet to Admiral Lord Howard by Lea, suggesting that this work may have been produced to garner patronage as well as profit similar to the translation of *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, which will be

¹³ Alexandra Halsaz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), p.15; Sandra Clarke, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (The Athlone Press Ltd, London, 1983), p.38; Richard Streckfuss, 'News before Newspapers', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75: 1, (1998), p.85.

¹⁴ See p.71.

¹⁵ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p.72.

discussed later in this chapter. Sadly, there is no record of Lea other than the attribution of this translation, meaning that his motive for this text, besides profit, is undiscoverable. D.F.R. de M.'s motives seem clearer, as the epistle focuses almost entirely on the virtue of truth, detailing both biblical and physical instances of truth overcoming deceit, after which the author states that he gives all of these examples '[so]that they who shall read my answer may knowe [...] that my intent is to deale in truth and not to flatter your Majesty, you being an enemy to adulation.'¹⁶ It seems that this epistle highlights two of the traits under consideration in this investigation, pride and dishonesty, as this statement is portraying a humble Queen, in contrast to the prideful nature of the Spanish. It is apparent that these two themes are necessarily entwined within this text, as it can be argued that the readiness of the Spanish to believe these lies is due to their prideful nature, and the unwillingness to admit their defeat.

The association between deceit, pride and ultimate downfall is evident in the first 'answer' provided by the author. Unlike the format found in *Spanish Lyes*, and indeed the rest of this pamphlet, this opening response is not preceded by a letter, but is rather a general riposte to the former Spanish Ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, with reference to the letter printed in *Spanish Lyes* 'from London, which the Embassadour of our soveraigne Lord the King resident in Paris, had from thence'.¹⁷ This 'answer' begins with reference to the veracity of this letter, and the readiness with which the ambassador related the contents back to Spain. The author begins by remarking that he marvels that 'a man of so noble lineage [...] should have your ears so opened to heare the rumors and lies, which the scoffing & gibing flatterers do write you'.¹⁸ He then highlights Mendoza's vanity in his eagerness to believe these 'flatterers', noting that the reports of the retreat of Lord Howard were written as 'a matter most certaine, by persons of credit from London', and while he cannot know who these men were, he 'leastwise [knows]

¹⁶ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, A3v.

¹⁷ Anon., *Lyes*, B1r.

¹⁸ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, B1v.

that if our Honor were in London, we might sing the song of Don Pedro – More enemies than friends have compassed his person. For in truth I know not so much as one in that citie, that is your friend'.¹⁹ Thus, the author is suggesting that the prideful vanity of Mendoza led him to put his faith in deceitful flatterers with no loyalty, leading him to relate false news, and ultimately undermining his credibility with the Spanish elite. As was the case with *Spanish Lyes*, the 'answer' then picks apart each of the untruths related by Mendoza – the retreat of Lord Howard, the capture and death of Drake, the Queen's instructions to her army, the number and location of the English land forces, and the fate of the Spanish ships. Each of these has a lengthy rebuttal, much more detailed than that found in *Spanish Lyes*, demonstrating the falsehood of the Spanish account. Towards the end of this first 'answer', the author returns to the source of Mendoza's information – his friends in London, stating that he 'thought also heere to advertise you more at large [...] concerning the few friends which heer you have [...] that you are to make no account of them, no, not to thinke that you have a friend in London.'²⁰ Interestingly, his reasoning for this seems to be the idea that loyalty is founded more in a perceived national identity than a religious one, similar to the propagandistic Burghley pamphlet discussed in chapter three.²¹ While the Burghley text was suggesting that English Catholic nobility would stand in defence of their Queen, the author here is arguing that all of Mendoza's 'friends' in London, presumably meaning those who share his religious beliefs, would be more inclined to protect their kin and countrymen than conspire with the former ambassador. There is some evidence to suggest that when the English were threatened, their loyalty was founded in national interest, rather than religion. A case study of English Catholic nobility by Michael Questier shows how Viscount Montague placed the defence of the realm before his religious beliefs, citing a letter from the privy council, thanking him for his speedy

¹⁹ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, B1v.

²⁰ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, B4v.

²¹ Chapter 3, pp.192-194.

arrival at the coast when there were reports of foreign ships sighted in 1587.²² It is also claimed that he turned up to Tilbury with around 200 men to assist with defence against the Armada.²³ Thus, the warning of the author seems plausible when he advises Mendoza to ‘make no account’ of his so-called friends (presumably referring to his English informants), noting

May you bee persuaded that your friends heere, should open their doores to their enemies, to the end to rob them of their goodes? for in very truth, not one in this kingdome (though he had a safe conduct from your Honor) should have escaped from being robbed, slaine, or dishonoured. If this then be true, how can you hope for any friends heer?²⁴

This short section again implies the pride and dishonesty of Mendoza. The author is insinuating that, in the event of a Spanish invasion, Mendoza’s promises of safety for his ‘friends’ will be revealed as untrue and only Mendoza himself will be granted safe passage. Moreover, the author is mocking Mendoza’s by suggesting that his unerring belief in his power over English Catholics was part of the reason for the defeat of the Spanish invasion, insinuating his prideful assumption of loyalty is unfounded. The role here could be a further attempt to create an English idea of ‘self’ by suggesting that the deceitful Spanish ‘other’ holds no sway over the English, regardless of their religious affiliation.

The next ‘answer’ deals with the letter written by the Spanish merchant, Juan de Gamarra, and once again links the theme of pride with dishonesty. The author begins by addressing the apparent lies of Gamarra by drawing parallels with his trade. The author states that Gamarra,

being a marchant of cloth, will become a marchant of wines; and proclaiming wine, you sell vinegar, giving very cheape, that which hath cost you so deere: and you sell victorie, being no victor; and you promise palme, yours being the nettle.²⁵

He then links this with the dishonesty shown in Gamarra’s letter, noting that the claim that the Spanish ‘woon 46. ships, 20. soonke, and 26. taken’ at ‘Luxaten a port in Scotland’ is fabricated

²² Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006), p.167.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.168.

²⁴ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, B4v.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, C2r.

‘for the English Navie was not at al so far as Scotland’.²⁶ He also associates this dishonesty with the theme of pride, beginning by highlighting the humility of the English monarch. He suggests that the Queen had ordered her navy ‘not to leave hir owne ports unguarded’, and that this shows ‘the humilitie of the Queenes Majestie, in that she would not put hir selfe so much to offend, as to defend hir owne.’²⁷ This could be seen as a jibe directed at the actions of the Spaniards in the battle, as described in *The copie of a letter sent out of England*, discussed in chapter three. In the summary of the battle it is stated that ‘the Commanders of the Spanish Navie [...] never would turne their ships, nor stay them, to defend any of their owne shippes that were forced to tarry behind, but suffered divers to perish’, suggesting that despite the prideful bragging of the Spanish prior to their ‘offence’ on England, they displayed a lack of courage to defend their own – actions in complete opposition to those being ascribed to the Queen in *An answer*.²⁸ This is worthy of consideration as it again highlights that the pride of the Spanish led to their downfall. The author suggests that the Queen humbly decided not to chase the Spanish when she knew she could win the battle, but rather chose to protect her subjects, unlike the Spanish commanders. This, it is claimed, led directly to her victory, as

God resisteth the proud, and giveth his grace to the humble: and so as God saw humilitie in his servant Elizabeth, he raised hir up, and gave hir the victorie over hir enimies.²⁹

Here, again, is the suggestion that the English victory and, accordingly, Spanish defeat, relied as much on divine providence as it did on the courage and skill of the English people, as was the case with *The Violet* and *The Primrose*, discussed in chapter two, and *Newes out of the coast of Spain* and *The copie of a letter sent out of England* in chapter three. In his final answer, to the Postmaster of Bordeaux, the author stated that those which

Lord Howard [...] Francis Drake, and manie others [...] made not an end of, [...] the rest did the sea, the rocks, the sand, the heavens, the fowle, and the fish: and

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., C2v.

²⁸ Anon., *Copie*, C2v.

²⁹ D.F.R. de M., *An answer*, C2 v.

now lastly he delivereth thee, of the untruths wherein thine enimies boasted and slandered thee [...] ³⁰

To add weight to this claim of divine favour, the biblical story of David is referenced again.

The author addressed England herself, exclaiming

O England, England, and how art thou bound to give immortal thanks to God, in seeing thyself persecuted [...] by so many, an evident signe and probable token, that thou art the citie of the most highest [...] The troubles of the just (saith David) are great, and added forthwith, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all. Even so thee (O England) hath the Lord delivered from all troubles: from so mightie an Armada, from so much death [...] ³¹

It can be argued that this reference to David is inexorably linked with the virtue of truth and divine favour, as opposed to the deceit and consequent punishment of Achitophel, the treacherous liar who betrayed David, as was discussed in chapter three.³² The association of the English with the ‘true’ religion directly links with the theme we have seen throughout this thesis, that a defining aspect of anti-Spanish sentiment in this decade related to the dishonesty of the Spanish faith. However, this text marries this religious deceit with the dishonesty of the Spanish as a general personality trait, as it is mostly concerned with the worldly lies that the Spanish are propagating.

While the contents in *An answer* associated England and Elizabeth with David, *The Spanish Masquerado* by Robert Greene connected the Spanish to Achitophel.³³ Greene was a prolific writer in the 1580s, known for his diverse output that included both poetry and prose in the genres of romance, drama, repentance literature and true-crime fiction.³⁴ Kirk Melnikoff notes that Greene’s writing career was ‘the product of professional necessity’, highlighting that Greene did not prefer one publisher but rather regularly pursued ‘the best possible price for his

³⁰ Ibid., D4v.

³¹ Ibid., *An answer*, D4r.

³² 2 Samuel 15:12, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_2-Samuel-15-12/ [Accessed 27/10/2018].

³³ Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado* (Roger Ward for Thomas Cadman, London, 1589).

³⁴ Kirk Melnikoff, *Robert Greene* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2017), ‘Introduction’. Due to current circumstances the print version of this text could not be accessed, so the Kindle version had to be viewed. Unfortunately, there are no page numbers to reference, so section headings have been provided as a guide.

manuscript'.³⁵ Thus it is not possible to decipher Greene's motives for publication as it appears he produced work for profit, but we can adduce that the subject matter was popular and profitable in the year after the Armada defeat. The pamphlet is a masque that presents 'effectuallie, in certaine breefe sentences and Mottos, the pride and insolencie of the Spanish estate: with the disgrace conceived by their losse, and the dismaide confusion of their troubled thoughts'.³⁶ In his text, Greene connects the motifs of pride and dishonesty in his discussion of the Spanish clergy. The prideful displays of the clergy are discussed below, and it is suggested that their pride makes them dissatisfied with their limits in ecclesiastical power, suggesting that they seek to 'entermeddle with kingdoms and states'.³⁷ In this, Greene likens them to Achitophel, asking the reader to judge whether it is befitting of

a Subject, an inferior, nay a Cleargy man who shoulde be humble, and give [...] those honors to God, that belong to God: But the Devill [...] hardeneth their heartes [...], and maketh them shameless with Achitophell, to give wicked counsel against the trueth [...]³⁸

This section again shows the link between pride and deceit when discussing the Spanish, as Achitophel's pride led him to believe that his deceit would not be uncovered, leading to his downfall. This suggests that the clergy are deceiving Philip by their insistence that the Catholic faith is superior to the 'true' faith of Protestantism. This is made clear by the way Greene describes the relationship between the clergy and Philip, as it is suggested that 'poore Phillip' has been set in opposition 'against the trueth [...], ayming especially at our most gracious Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth [...and] the puritie of the Gospell: giving counsel with Achitophell against David'.³⁹ This suggests that it is Phillip who is being deceived, and when it comes to matters of dishonesty, the onus is placed on the clergy and the Catholic religion, rather than the Spanish monarch. This is similar to the suggestion in *An answer* that Mendoza has also been

³⁵ Melnikoff, *Robert Greene*, 'Introduction' and 'Greene's Life'.

³⁶ Greene, *Masquerado*, Title Page.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, C3r.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

duped by the reports of his inferiors. If we take this similarity into account, it might be argued that the role of this particular aspect of anti-Spanish sentiment in 1589 was two-fold. Not only does it reinforce the association between the Spanish and their dishonest nature, but it also insinuates the weakness of the Spanish elite by suggesting that both Mendoza and the King of Spain are easily confounded by their advisors and informants. Portraying the feeble-mindedness of the Spanish monarch and elites in these texts may have been useful to bolster the English amid rumours of a further Spanish invasion, as weak enemy leadership would suggest that an easier battle was at hand.

Greene also comments on the dishonesty of the Spanish in *Masquerado*, linking it with their brutality. When he discusses the conquest of the 'New World', he describes how they duped the natives in order to imprison them. In his section about the Viceregens of the Indies, he notes that when the inhabitants of the 'New World' fled into the mountains and woods to escape the Spanish, they were persuaded 'to come and yield with promise of life and libertie: who no sooner were in his reach, and circuit with his Souldiours, breaking his oath, [...] caused his Souldiers to apprehend their Nobility as prisoners [...]'.⁴⁰ This idea of deceit as a military tactic is also evident in *A declaration of the causes, which mooved the chiefe commanders of the navie of her most excellent Majestie the Queene of England*. Here, the author Robert Beale presents the reasons for the restrictions of trade imposed on the Hanse merchants by England. Although the majority of the pamphlet is concerned with this, Beale does briefly discuss diplomatic relations between England and Spain, suggesting that Parma used deceit to frustrate the preparations of the English defences:

[... Queen Elizabeth] sent to Parma very noble and excellent Ambassadors, who being delayed from day to day, from moneth to moneth, without any thing accomplished, she notwithstanding took it patiently, and suffered so farre these dangerous delays, that the Spanish Souldiers panting with haste and greedinesse

⁴⁰ Ibid., Elv.

for the blood and butcherie of her Majestie, and people most deare unto her, were come upon her coates, and before her doores.⁴¹

The implication here is that Parma intentionally delayed negotiations in order to halt the English preparations for war while Philip was planning his naval attack. According to Wallace T. MacCaffrey this is only partly true. He argues that the negotiations that took place between early 1586 and the spring of 1588 were genuine efforts on the part of Parma to come to some form of diplomatic peace.⁴² However, by May it seems Parma had accepted the decision of Philip to proceed with the invasion, despite his reservations regarding the Armada strategy and the inadequacy of his own resources, and begun to spin out the negotiations further in order to buy time, with no intention of reaching an agreement.⁴³ Whether this was the case or not, it seems that Beale was intending to publicise that the deceit of the Spanish was causing ‘dangerous delays’ to England’s preparation for the imminent attack of the Armada.⁴⁴

The weakness of the Spanish fleet and its commanders is again noted in *The copie of a letter sent from sea*.⁴⁵ The pamphlet was only ten pages long, and related the contents of letters sent to England from Drake’s voyage to the West Indies, along with his attack on Cadiz in 1587, ‘written by a Gentleman of his companie to one of his freends, as the verie truth of this expedition and successe’.⁴⁶ The dedicatory epistle is signed ‘T.F.’, who it can be assumed was Thomas Fenner, a captain of one of the English ships and a companion of Drake. Fenner had been sailing with Drake since his Cadiz expedition of 1585-86, and is named in the seemingly popular pamphlet *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Fraunces Drakes West Indian voyage*, in which he is listed under the inventory of ships and their captains as ‘Maister Thomas Venner

⁴¹ Robert Beale, *A declaration of the causes, which mooved the chiefe commanders of the navie of her most excellent Majestie the Queene of England* (Deputies of Christopher Barker, London, 1589), B1r.

⁴² Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2014), pp.391-398

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.398.

⁴⁴ Beale, *A declaration*, B1r.

⁴⁵ T.F., *The copie of a letter sent from sea by a Gentleman*, (Richard Field, London, 1589).

⁴⁶ Henry Haslop, *Newes out of the Coast of Spain* (W. How for Henry Haslop, London, 1587), A3r.

Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure.⁴⁷ Fenner was appointed a deputy commander to Drake on the Portuguese expedition, meaning that if any ‘mishap’ should befall Drake, Fenner would take his place.⁴⁸ Fenner was mentioned again in 1587 in Haslop’s *Newes out of the coast of Spain*, this time in a much more substantial manner. These mentions of Fenner in previous pamphlets are noteworthy as they suggest that his name and pedigree would likely have been known to those reading this text, and his correspondence would therefore be understood as truthful accounts of the exploits of Drake. He relates the news from the beginning of the Portuguese expedition in this correspondence, noting that

the Duke of Medina is banished from Court for ever [...and the King] doth grievously take the death of his men, for they were the chiefe souldiers of all his forces in Italie and elsewhere [...]⁴⁹

It can be assumed that the reader would be comforted that the elites in charge of the Spanish forces were decimated and weak, further bolstering the English resolve in the event of another invasion. The veracity of the matter is commented on by Fenner himself, as he states after his relation of this news that ‘[a]ll these [matters] I have conferred with others that have fallen into my hands since, and found it to be the perfect truth’.⁵⁰

As noted above, the Fenner pamphlet contains little Hispanophobic sentiment regarding their deceitful nature, only presenting this as a means to support the evidence provided in the English accounts of the Armada attack. Yet it does reinforce the apparent weakened state of the Spanish fleet and insinuates their cowardice, as ‘they tremble at the sight of three English ships, and are all in a mutinie [...]’.⁵¹ As has already been suggested, this idea of a weak Spanish military in disarray would have helped maintain the feeling that, in the event of further Spanish invasion,

⁴⁷ Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage*. (Richard Field, London, 1589), B1r-B2v.

⁴⁸ ‘Appointment of deputy commanders’ in Wernham (ed) *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, p.88.

⁴⁹ T.F., *The copie of a letter sent from sea*, A3v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, A3v.

⁵¹ T.F., *The copie of a letter sent from sea*, A4r.

the English would likely be victorious once again. However, it is interesting to consider how this motif of weakness is related to dishonesty in this text, as this reproduction of Fenner's correspondence came at a time when the 'lies' printed by the Spanish in their letters was an apparent hot topic, as discussed above. Yet when it came to English correspondence, the opposite is the case, and the 'truth' of these documents is pushed to the fore. The utility of this is apparent when we consider the anonymously authored *A true coppie of a discourse written by a Gentleman* which, the title page states, was published 'for the better satisfaction of all such things, as having been seduced by a particular report, have entered into conceipts tending to the discredit of the enterprise, and Actors of the same'.⁵² The original intent of the expedition was to destroy the remaining ships of the Spanish fleet, a majority of which - around sixty - were at Santander.⁵³ Yet Drake decided to attack A Coruña, taking the lower town with ease, but they were defeated when they attempted to take the fortified upper town.⁵⁴ The following attempt on Lisbon was equally unsuccessful, as the Spanish had made ample preparations for defence having had the warning from A Coruña that Drake was approaching.⁵⁵ This, combined with the sickness of the mariners, led Drake to hesitate with his fleet at the mouth of the Tagus, forcing Norris, who had earlier landed his force north of Lisbon, to retreat and re-embark, as without Drake's assistance they were unprepared for the siege that lay ahead if they continued.⁵⁶ The letter is dated '[f]rom London the 30. of August. 1589.', and the author states in his preface 'To the Reader' that this report had been sent to him 'almost 4. moneths sithence', suggesting that the text was published at the end of the year, when manuscript reports of the

⁵² Anon., *A true Coppie of a discourse written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spain and Portingale* (Thomas woodcock, London, 1589), A1r.

⁵³ MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, p.92.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.90.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.91.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; Wernham, *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, p.lii.

expedition would no doubt have been received.⁵⁷ Thus, his explanation that he printed the letter to illuminate ‘the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set thereon [...] preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this Journey before the request of my particular friend’ suggests that this text was printed to expose the ‘truth’ of the adventure above the opinions of those debating its worth.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the outcome of the expedition damaged the emerging nationalist narrative of providential English Protestant superiority, and the ease with which the English might achieve the imperial aspirations suggested by Hakluyt throughout the decade. Thus, the author highlights the shortcomings of the expedition in a manner that absolves the actors, presumably in an attempt to preserve the legacy of Drake. When discussing the weakness of the Spanish, the author notes that

had [the expedition] been set out on such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demaund, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people in the world. For hath not the want of 8. of the 12. peeces of Artillerie which was promised unto the Adventure, lost her Majestie the possession of the Groyne, and many other places [...]. It was also resolved to have sent 600. English horse of the Lowe Countries, whereof we had not one [...] Did wee not want seven of the thirteene old Companies, we should have had from thence: foure of the ten dutch Companies: & sixe of their men of warre for the sea [...] which I may justly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had [...] ⁵⁹

By demonstrating that the failure of the venture was due to the lack of promised reinforcements, gleaned from correspondence written by those with first-hand experience, this pamphlet was attempting to maintain the providential narrative that had been presented in the texts relating to Spanish affairs since the outbreak of war in 1585, and the associated sense of national pride in the victories gained over the spectre of Spain. Furthermore, by showing that the onus of defeat lay squarely at the feet of the Queen and her decisions regarding the provision of the

⁵⁷ Anon., *A true Coppie*, I1v and A2r. In his discussion of letter writing in the late 1580s and early 1590s, Paul Voss found that the average letter took almost a week to get from France to England, suggesting that more reports of the failed Portuguese expedition would have reached England by the beginning of August. Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Marlowe & the Birth of Journalism* (Duchesne University Press, Pittsburgh, 2001), p.36.

⁵⁸ Anon., *A true Coppie*, A2r.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, B3r.

military forces, the author is protecting the ‘high reputation of the Actors’ as he intended.⁶⁰ Drake’s exploits in this decade had turned his legacy into the foundations of a seafaring legend, one in which the emerging sense of English imperial aspirations could draw inspiration from. It can therefore be suggested that, although they contain only a small amount of directly Hispanophobic content, the role played by these ‘true’ reports found in the correspondence of English participants in the Anglo-Spanish war are equally as important as the outright anti-Spanish texts when it came to the construction of a nationalist narrative that could unite the English and instil belief in the emerging imperial identity.

Pride

The theme of pride in the closing years of the decade was almost exclusively associated with mocking the Spaniard and reinforcing the idea that pride goes before a fall. In early 1589 *A Politike Discourse* was printed in London by John Wolfe.⁶¹ The pamphlet, translated from French by Frances Mar, was a commentary about the allegiances of the French monarchy, intended to show how a French alliance with the English would be preferable to a partnership with the Catholic League and the Spanish crown.⁶² The original French author is unknown, but the Title Page informs the reader that it was composed by ‘a French Gentleman, against those of the League, which went about to perswade the King to breake the Allyance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine’.⁶³ The association of the re-formed League with Spain, and the purpose of this, has been noted by Lisa Ferraro Parmelee in *Good Newes from Fraunce*.⁶⁴ She explains that since the death of Francois, duc d’Anjou in June 1584 the Guise family had been reformulating the Catholic League of the 1570s with a specific goal in mind – to exclude the

⁶⁰ Anon., *A true Coppie*, A2r.

⁶¹ The original pamphlet, *Discours politique, tres-excellent pour le temps present*, attributed simply to ‘Gentil-homme francois’, was also printed in London in 1588 by John Wolfe.

⁶² Frances Mar, *A politike discourse most excellent for this time present* (John Wolfe, London, 1589).

⁶³ Mar, *A politike discourse*, Title Page.

⁶⁴ Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-league Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (University of Rochester Press, Rochester, 1996), pp.11-12.

Protestant Henri of Navarre from the French succession, in favour of the Catholic Charles of Bourbon.⁶⁵ Mark Greengrass has presented a detailed account of those present at the meetings in Nancy, Joinville and Reims between September 1584 and March 1585, noting that the result was an agreement in December 1584 to support Bourbon, financed in part by Philip II.⁶⁶ The significance of this in the timing of publication is clear. After 1584, the League members installed themselves in Paris's major institutions, but S. Annette Finley-Croswhite argues that this spiritual onslaught reached a climax after the assassinations at Blois in December 1588.⁶⁷ She notes that this led to the majority of the major non-Protestant towns in France adopting the Catholic League's cause, a pertinent point when considering the timing of the English translations. In 1588 at least four pamphlets were printed in London about this increasing conflict between the Duke of Guise and King Henri III, suggesting that the growing friction between the Catholic League and the French Monarch was of interest, and therefore profitable to the print trade.⁶⁸

A second translation of *Discours politique* was registered with the Company of Stationers on 7th April 1589, shortly after Mar's *A politike discourse*. This was Robert Ashley's translation, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, and his preface 'to the Reader' notes that when he had

fully finished [this translation], there came into my hands another translation thereof, done by an Italian [...] But some being not satisfied with this former translation, done by a stranger, and in some places [...] estraunged from our English phrase, were desirous of my copie [...]⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.12.

⁶⁶ Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability (Second Edition)* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2013), p.42.

⁶⁷ S. Annette Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999), p.11.

⁶⁸ Michel Hurault, *A discourse upon the present estate of France* (J. Wolfe, London, 1588); Anon., *A caveat for France, upon the present evils that it now suffereth* (John Wolfe, London, 1588); John Udall, *The true remedie against famine and warres* (Robert Waldegrave, London, 1588); Anon., *A declaration of the kings pleasure* (Tomas Orwin, London, 1588).

⁶⁹ Anon. trans Robert Ashley, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*. (John Wolfe, London, 1589), A2v-A3r.

It therefore seems that this translation was published soon after the Mar version, placing *A Politike Discourse* in the opening weeks of 1589. As these two versions were published close together, like *Spanish Lyes* and *An answer*, discussed above, it is apparent that the subject matter – namely the nature of the Spanish, and their ‘otherness’ when compared with the English – was popular, and therefore profitable. It is noteworthy that Ashley suggests that the former translation is problematic, as the translator was a ‘stranger’, and thus his language was unsuitable for the expectations or abilities of English readers. Yet close reading of the opening sentence of both pamphlets makes clear that this may not be the full motivation behind this second translation. In Mar’s original translation, the opening lines recount how

Sylla (a Romane Captaine) intending to perswade Bocchus to the betraying, which hee practised, of Jugurth, grounded chiefly his perswasion upon this point, that a man had never enough friends.⁷⁰

Whereas in Ashley’s translation, the opening sentence reads

Sylla (a Romaine Captaine) going about to induce Bocchus to that marchandice which he practised of Jugurth, grounds his perswasion chiefly on this maxime: That never man had friends enough.⁷¹

It is apparent from this comparison that the original text by Mar is acceptable, and perhaps clearer than Ashley’s reworking. It has been suggested by Frances A. Yates that Mar was actually Francisco Marquino, a regular translator of French documents for Wolfe, thus his language skills were adequate for the English market.⁷² While it is possible that Ashley’s reasoning for his work – Mar being a ‘stranger’ – was the spur for this second version, it is plausible that the translation was produced to gain patronage and profit. Sir William Hatton, to whom the work is dedicated, had previously been Sir Anthony Ashley’s travelling companion – Robert Ashley’s brother.⁷³ It is apparent that in his mid-twenties Ashley was in financial

⁷⁰ Anon., *A Politike Discourse*, B1r.

⁷¹ Anon., *A Comparison*, B1r.

⁷² Frances A. Yates *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011), p.176.

⁷³ John Rouse Bloxam, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford: From the Foundation of the College. New series, Vol III* (H. Frowde, Oxford, 1901), p.94.

difficulty, so the dedication of this pamphlet to gain Sir Hatton's patronage seems the most plausible explanation for his decision to publish this work, rather than the claim that the previous translation was unacceptable to the English reader.⁷⁴ It is also noteworthy that in February 1589 two pamphlets were registered concerning the assassination of Guise, suggesting that the deteriorating political situation in France was undoubtedly known to English audiences.⁷⁵ This provides evidence that the subject matter was an up-to-date commentary regarding current foreign affairs, and consequently, Ashley's translation would have been a profitable endeavour and the likely reason behind his efforts.

Regardless of whether Ashley's reasons for translation were personal or nationalist, there was still much interest in the recent defeat of the Armada, and the need to guard against any further Spanish invasion was apparent in 1589. In Ashley's preface he stated that it was produced because

it containeth the memorable, and valiant deedes of our renowned Ancestors, in that noble Realme of France; together with a rehearsall of the Spanish braveries: that the view of the one, and remembrance of the other, may stirre up that courage which ought still remaine in our English harts; that we do not degenerate from our noble Progenitors, but with an earnest emulation followe those happie footsteps of our famous forefathers: and learne to despise those magnificent Dom Diegos and Spanish Cavalieros, whose doughtiest deedes are bragges and boastinges, and themselves (for the most part) shadowes without substaunce [...]⁷⁶

This section is especially noteworthy as Ashley not only suggests that he translated the text to maintain the courage of the English after the Armada defeat, but links this directly with hatred of the Spanish. Here we see again the use of an historical framework to reinforce the message of the pamphlet, as was the case in Greepe's *Perfect News* and Marten's *Exhortation*, analysed in chapter three. Much of the argument for the continued amity of the French and English

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.94.

⁷⁵ *A letter from the king, to his court of Parliament of Burdeaux, touching the death of the duke of Guyse* (T.Orwin, London, 1589) was entered on 8 February 1589, and *Directions from the king, to the governors of the provinces, concerning the death of the Duke of Guyse* (John Woolfe, London, 1589) was entered on 12 February.

⁷⁶ Anon., *A Comparison*, A4r.

nations was based on an historical friendship. It discusses the cultural exchange between the ancient Gauls and Britons, and recounts the many ways in which the English had supported the French, or shown kindness and leniency in victory, even suggesting that ‘conformitie of maners’ of the two nations – the ways in which the English and French are similar, such as their ‘generous’ nature – is due to the Saxon heritage in the French crown.⁷⁷ This presentation of a shared history can be seen to reinforce Spanish ‘otherness’, by promoting a common historical memory of the English with the French. When considering how a nationalist sentiment arises, Anthony Smith has argued that shared myths and histories provide a basis for this.⁷⁸ Thus, by presenting a shared history of both the English individually (in their past victories and treatment of the French), and their shared history of friendship with the French, this text is promoting the English ‘self’ by highlighting the ‘otherness’ of the Spaniard.

The first half of *A Comparison* focuses on the relationship between England and France, and argues that, despite their historic battles, the English should be considered a better ally than the Spanish. The rise in allegiance to the Catholic League meant that France’s political and religious position was uncertain, and a close relationship with Spain would have severe repercussions for French Protestants. Thus, the pamphlet highlights the positive aspects of the Anglo-French relationship throughout history, propagating an anti-Catholic message that is rooted in Hispanophobic sentiment. When the pamphlet moves on to discussing the history of Spain, it suggests that ‘men carrie alwaies imprinted in their manners, the vertuous or vitious qualitie of their ancestors. So that having knowen the originall of the Spaniardes, it will be a good opening to the discourses ensuing’.⁷⁹ The text proceeds to name all the peoples who have ruled over Spain – the Vandals, the Goths, the Moors, and the Saracens, noting that ‘the Gothes and Vandales, are counted cruell, the Moores perfidious and revengefull, the Saracens proud,

⁷⁷ Ibid., B4r; C1v-C4r and C1r.

⁷⁸ Smith, *National Identity*, p.14.

⁷⁹ Anon., *A Comparison*, D2r.

and villanous in their manner of living'.⁸⁰ Thus, the author gives historical precedents for the negative traits being ascribed to the Spanish in this decade; their deceit, their brutality, and their pride – the latter being attributed to their Saracen forefathers, once again demonstrating the turn from 'ethos' to 'ethnos' posited by Eric Griffin.⁸¹ This racialisation is echoed by Edward Daunce in *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State*. Nothing is known of Daunce other than his authorship of this pamphlet, which is a diatribe against the Spanish Empire that begins with a brief history of the Spanish state, followed by several pages regarding the political dealings of Spain in recent history, mostly relating to France and England, and the dishonest manner in which Spain conducts its foreign affairs. The text then moves to tyranny and cruelty, both in Europe and the 'New World' and a description of how the Spanish have disregarded the unwritten laws of Nations. The narrative then turns to history, suggesting that the ancestry of the Spanish is by nature cruel, referencing the Goths, Vandals and Mores, and breaking Spain down by region to evidence that it was born from savagery in all areas, and also predicting that this diversity will lead to its downfall. In the text, Daunce states that 'Spaine is of great antiquitie [...] but when we shall consider the significations of her and her first inhabitants we shall find her age no ornament [...]', suggesting that as we find evidence of England's virtue in her history, so too can be found the roots of Spanish traits in their past.⁸² This is especially noteworthy when considered in light of the recent histories that the Spanish were producing during the early modern period about their Visigothic ancestry, discussed in chapter one.⁸³ By subverting the nationalist history that Spain had propagated in the sixteenth century – namely their claim to ultimate religious piety due to their ancestral lineage – the text

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Eric Griffin, 'From Ethos to Ethnos: Hispanizing "the Spaniard" in the Old World and the New', *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2:1 (2002), pp.69-116.

⁸² Edward Daunce, *A Briefe Discourse of the Spanish State, with a Dialogue annexed intituled Philobasilis* (Richard Field: London, 1590), A4v – B1r.

⁸³ J.N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in history and legend* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Ontario, 2009), pp.140-159.

is denigrating the Spanish by challenging their claims to a superior lineage and, conversely, promoting an idea of national pride in English history.

Daunce's association between Spanish ancestry and their pride can be seen to be reinforcing the ideas of an English 'self'. The development of this trait, and its' association with the biblical adage 'pride goeth before destruction' over the course of the Anglo-Spanish war, can be seen in Daunce's discussion of Spanish pride. Chapter two demonstrated how the pamphlets began utilising the trait of Spanish pride to propagate Hispanophobia, associating the Spanish with the original sin and thus casting aspersions on their piety. Chapter three highlighted the links being made between Spanish pride in their Armada and their providential defeat, suggesting that the trait was being used in 1588 and 1589 to bolster English resolve against further invasion, yet this focused almost entirely on the events of the Armada. Finally, in 1590, Daunce incorporates detailed discussion of the history of Spain, rather than simply referencing their recent defeat. He spends two pages recounting the expansion of the Spanish Empire since the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, detailing the aggressive manner in which (he argues) the Spanish acquired their new territories.⁸⁴ The pride with which Philip held these achievements is clear in his royal motto, 'Non Sufficit Orbis' (the world is not enough), and the disdain at this claim is evident in the conclusions of Daunce.⁸⁵ He remarks that although Philip may seem to 'exceedeth in greatnes and revenues, the mightiest kings in Europe', he notes that 'as all things had their risings, so had they also their fall [...and] I gather thereby and the former circumstances, that the empire of Spaine declineth', thus predicting that this pride in their imperial expansion, made at any cost, will precede the fall of their Empire.⁸⁶ This echoes the previous English imperial narrative presented by Hakluyt at the beginning of the decade. In his *Discourse* he presented a Spanish method of conquest and colonisation that was impious and

⁸⁴ Daunce, *Discourse*, F2r-F2v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, B1r.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, F3r.

unjust, and therefore would lead to their downfall.⁸⁷ Conversely, attempts by the English to colonise the Americas were promoted as godly, and the benefits of these voyages of exploration were presented alongside Hakluyt's disparaging view of Spanish practices.⁸⁸ This suggests that the role of the anti-Spanish sentiment presented here is partly a return to the promotion of English expansion by denigrating Spain's prideful imperial aspirations.

The association of the Spanish with the abovementioned biblical adage is apparent again in *A Skeltonicall Salutation*, a short pamphlet written in verse in which the anonymous author asks

King Philip

O waspish King,
Wheres now thy sting,
Thy dart, or sling,
Or strong bow-string,
That should us wring,
And underbring [...] ⁸⁹

The reference to Philip as a 'waspish King' is interesting here, as there appears to be the belief that wasps would feed on the dead flesh of venomous snakes, which Claude Paradin's book of arms and their meanings, published in 1591, claimed would 'make their stings more venomous, and therefore the wounds received [...] are the more perillous and dangerous'.⁹⁰ *The heroicall deuises of M. Claudius Paradin* (see fig. 3 below for illustration) further elucidates this point in its inclusion of a wasp device, noting the character of the house that would sport them would be 'wickedly bent' with a 'despightfull nature', taking pleasure in their enemies downfall until

⁸⁷ Richard Hakluyt, David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds), *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and manifolde commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne Diccoueries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584, known as Discourse of Western Planting*. (Hakluyt Society, London, 1993). Chapter 11 (p.52) presents the brutality of the Spanish conquest, and lines 1249-1260 discuss the potential of a native revolt, supported by the English, against the small numbers of Spanish reported in chapter 8 (p.44).

⁸⁸ See Quinn and Quinn (eds), *Discourse*, chapter one (pp.8-12), in which Hakluyt discusses the vital role that the Church of England would play in English colonial aspirations through the conversion of the native inhabitants of the Americas.

⁸⁹ Anon., *A Skeltonicall salutation, or condigne gratulation, and just vexation of the Spanish nation* (T.Orwin for Toby Cooke, 1589), A2r.

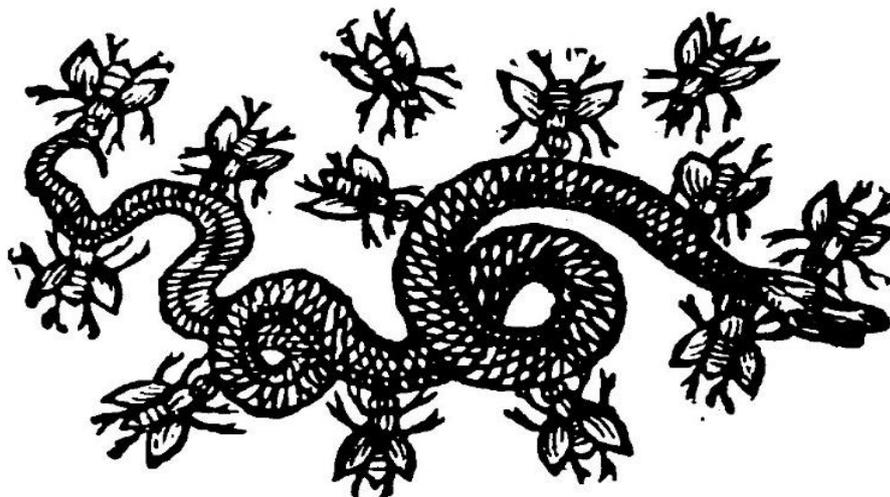
⁹⁰ Claude Paradin, *The heroicall deuises of M. Claudius Paradin Canon of Beauieu. Whereunto are added the Lord Gabriel Symeons and others. Translated out of Latin into English by P.S* (William Kearney, London, 1591), G4v.

they ‘bring him to his grave with sorrow’.⁹¹ This suggests that the allusion to Philip as a ‘Waspish King’ was intended to highlight the danger posed by the Spanish Empire as it grew and ‘devoured’ other nations, each victory adding to Spain’s ‘venom’.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Transfundit pasta venenum.

The Waspes after they haue fed of the
serpent, powre out their poison.



Some there are in the world so wickedly bent, & of such a despighfull nature, that they are maruellously delighted in gathering together, all kind of deadly calumnies y^e poisoned tongues can vtter, y^e afterwards if any chance to be pursued by them, they sting him sore, & if they may by any meanes, they wil bring him to his graue with sorrow. Wherein they imitate the waspes, which feeding vpon y^e serpent with great greedines, make their stings more venomous, and therefore the wounds receiued by them are the more perillous & dangerous.

Celsa

⁹² Figure 3.

⁹² Paradin, *Historicall Devises*, G4v

It has also been noted by Moretti that in the biblical language of Revelation, Jesuits and missionary priests were called ‘locusts’ and ‘venomed wasps’ in late sixteenth century Protestant discourse, thus there may have been an association of the metaphorically ‘waspish’ king with the dangerous and dishonest Catholics infiltrating England at this time.⁹³ Clearly, there is a much anti-Spanish sentiment in these six lines. The association of Philip with a wasp possibly insinuates that his territorial conquests are the snakes eaten by him, each one making him ‘more perillous & dangerous’. Yet the verse is mocking, asking Philip where his dangerous sting, or any other of his offensive weapons that he bragged about as a means to subjugate the English are, in light of his recent defeat.

The next section of the verse is equally scathing, mocking Philip’s unwarranted pride. After his previous brags about the fleet that he has amassed for the invasion of England, the satirical poet then asks of Philip

O pufte with pride,
What foolish guide
Made thee provide
To over-ride
This land so wide
From side to side,
And then untried,
Away to slide,
And not to abide [...] ⁹⁴

This extract highlights Philip’s prideful assumption that he would ‘over-ride’ England, asking what ‘foolish guide’ led him to believe that he would be victorious. This is noteworthy as it could be interpreted as referencing the story of Absalom and Achitophel again, as we have seen in *Newes out of the coast of Spain*, discussed in chapter three. In the biblical story Achitophel is deceitful, and following David’s prayers, the Lord ‘decreed that Ahithophel’s

⁹³ Arthur F. Marotti, ‘Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies’ in A. Marotti (ed) *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1999), pp.33-34, n.91.

⁹⁴ Anon., *Skeltonicall*, A2r.

sound advice be nullified, in order that the Lord might bring ruin upon Absalom'.⁹⁵ The reference in *Newes* uses the biblical story to highlight the triumph of David after the frustration of Achitophel's deceitful plans, whereas the author of *Skeltonicall Salutation* appears to suggest that Philip, like Absalom, received bad advice that led to his downfall. The story is most famously related in the work of John Dryden in the late seventeenth century, who used the tale as a political allegory, casting the Earl of Monmouth as Absalom, the challenger to David's throne, and the Earl of Shaftesbury as 'the false Achitophel'.⁹⁶ Yet the association of Achitophel and Philip in *Newes* and *The Spanish Masquerado* suggests it is plausible that the early modern reader or hearer may have understood the allegorical reference insinuating that Philip (implied here to be Absalom attempting to usurp David), was given bad advice (by Achitophel) and thus was 'cut off in his pride'.⁹⁷ The verse then continues to mock Philip and his fleet, highlighting both the Spanish retreat and their lack of counter-attack:

But all in a ring
Away to fling?
O conquering,
O vanquishing
With fast flying,
And no replying,
For feare of Frying!⁹⁸

Thus, the Spanish King 'pufte with pride' is accused of following a 'foolish guide', which led to the 'fast flying' of the Spanish fleet – a further reference to the now familiar trope of pride coming before a fall.⁹⁹ The suggestion that the Spanish retreat for fear of their fate at English hands shows how closely the themes of pride and cowardice were linked in the pamphlets at the close of the decade. The reference to the Spanish ships 'fast flying [with] no replying' can

⁹⁵ Song-Mi Suzie Park, 'The Frustration of Wisdom: Wisdom, Counsel, and Divine Will in 2 Samuel 17:1-23' in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128: 3 (2009), p.454.

⁹⁶ P. Kyle McCarter, 'Plots, True or False': The Succession Narrative as Court Apologetic', *Union Seminary Review* 35: 4 (1981), p.356.

⁹⁷ Haslop, *Newes*, A3r.

⁹⁸ Anon., *Skeltonicall*, A2r – A2v.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

be seen as an attempt to maintain the courage of the English, as the imminent danger of attack had passed. By suggesting that the Spanish had not ‘replied’, the author is maintaining the feeling of victory, and the subsequent self-confidence in the might of the English. It also seems that this, in combination with the reference to Achithophel, could reinforce the providential narrative of the Anglo-Spanish war. This was first utilised in *The Primrose* in 1585 and was developed in the pamphlets discussing the Armada defeat in chapter three.¹⁰⁰ It seems then, that the attribution of victory to God’s providence could have reinforced the idea of an English Protestant ‘self’ in opposition to the Spanish, Catholic ‘other’, themes that may have been inferred when reading or hearing *A Skeltonicall Salutation*.

If we return to Ashley’s reasoning for his translation of *A Comparison*, it seems that this version was also intended to bolster the English and ‘stirre up that courage which ought still remaine in our English harts’.¹⁰¹ The language used in *A Skeltonicall Salutation* was short, and written in verse, suggesting that it was accessible to a broad section of society. It is also worth considering the language used by Ashley to introduce his ideas regarding the nature of the Spaniard, in order to better understand the reception of the ideas in this text. The Spanish ‘braveries’ that Ashley is juxtaposing against the valiance of the English pertains to the contemporary meaning of the word - displaying ‘defiance’ or ‘boasting’, suggesting that the remembrance of their boastful nature, in relation to their recent defeat, may help to strengthen the English in the face of the continued threat posed by Spain.¹⁰² Similarly, when Ashley hopes that this text will encourage the English to despise ‘Spanish Cavalieros’, he is presumably using the word in the Elizabethan pejorative sense to mean a ‘roistering or swaggering fellow’ – someone arrogant or self-important – rather than the more common reference to a horseman or

¹⁰⁰ Humphrey Mote, *The Primrose of London* (Thomas Nelson, London, 1585), A3v.

¹⁰¹ Anon., *A Comparison*, A4r.

¹⁰² ‘Bravery’ at www.oed.com/view/Entry/22798?redirectedFrom=Bravery#eid [08/08/2018]

a knight.¹⁰³ The reference to the ‘magnificent Dom Diegos’ is equally noteworthy, as it highlights the popularity of translated Spanish literary. The story of Dom Diego and Ginevra was translated and printed twice in 1567, on both occasions being part of larger literary works, suggesting that the intended audience was elite, and the work to be read for pleasure.¹⁰⁴ The next publication of the story was by George Whetstone in 1576 – again, part of his larger collection titled *The rocke of regard*. This was Whetstone’s first work to be published, but his later works were known for their moralising subject matter, suggesting that he found the theme of true, honest love in this story to be worthy of reproduction. However, in the same year ‘Dom Diego’ is also referenced in George Gascoigne’s *The Spoyle of Antwerp*, but this time in a less romantic light. When describing the aftermath of the sack of Antwerp, Gascoigne remarks that there ‘is now no money or treasure to be found therein, but onely in the hands of murderers and strompets: for every Dom Diego must walk jetting up & down the streetes with his harlotte by him in her cheine and bracelettes of golde’.¹⁰⁵ This pamphlet was only twenty-eight pages in length, and discussed current foreign affairs in a sensational manner, suggesting that the target audience was the lower social orders, potentially literate commons. It seems, therefore, that this use of the term Dom Diego in a scornful sense, relating to pride and arrogance, rather than honesty and love, was perhaps the more common understanding to the lower orders, and was therefore a useful reference for the dissemination of Hispanophobic sentiment. It is finally remarked that the Spaniards’ ‘doughtiest deeds are bragges and boastinges [...] shadowes without substaunce [...]’, again suggesting that the Spanish are not to be feared.¹⁰⁶ The trait of pride here is closely linked with the theme of cowardice and ineptitude. The military reputation

¹⁰³ ‘Cavalier’ at www.oed.com/view/Entry/29229#eid9887105 [08/08/2018]

¹⁰⁴ Matteo Bandello, *Certaine tragicall discourses written out of Frenche and Latin, by Geffraie Fenton* (Thomas Marshe, London, 1567), Ll1r. – Qq1r.; William Painter, *The second tome of the Palace of pleasure* (Henry Bynneman for Nicholas England, London, 1567), IIIi2r – TTTt2r. The story itself is a romance in which Dom Diego and Ginerva fall in love, but are torn asunder by jealousy only to be reunited and married.

¹⁰⁵ George Gascoigne, *The spoyle of Antwerpe* (J. Charlewood for Richard Jones, London, 1576), C3r.

¹⁰⁶ Anon., *A Comparison*, A4r.

of the Spanish preceded them, and therefore to present them as cowardly or inept may have been a means by which to comfort the English when faced with such a formidable enemy. This could be what Ashley intended when discussing the boastful nature of the Spanish, suggesting that brags of their most valiant deeds were unfounded in the hopes that it would give continued courage to the English should the Spanish attempt another attack.

In *The Spanish Masquerado* Greene also discussed the pride of the Spanish in the section pertaining to ‘The Cleargie of Spain, mounted richly on their Jennets’.¹⁰⁷ Greene describes an elderly Phillip, ‘ready to step from his Scepter to the Grave’, whose unbridled ambition and covetousness has been cooled by age, yet ‘his Cleargie make supply by their perswasions’, spreading discontent because ‘litle England’ has suppressed the Catholic faith.¹⁰⁸ According to Greene, this meddling in the affairs of kingdoms and states by the clergy is due to them being ‘puffed up not onely with [their] blind zeale, but with the Spirite of pride, which filleth them with aspiring ambition’, asking whether ‘this becommeth a Subject, an inferiour, nay a Cleargie man who should be humble’.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the pride of the Spanish is noted again in the section pertaining to the ‘The Princes, noble men, and other men of name that of their free will offered themselves adventurers in this Spanish attempt’.¹¹⁰ It is suggested that these volunteers were ‘mooved first with blinde zeale of religion, then with desire of honour, [and] Thirdly for hope of preferment’ after the conquest.¹¹¹ Yet in hindsight, they saw their prideful error in ‘seeing our [English] Ships like little Pinasses, and their huge Barkes built like Castles, overpouring ours’ when they were defeated, after which they then ‘in their owne consciences confest that God was on our side’.¹¹² It is apparent then, that throughout the text Greene is

¹⁰⁷ Greene, *Masquerado*, C2v.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., C3r.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., D4v.

¹¹¹ Ibid., E1r.

¹¹² Ibid.

suggesting that this proud nature is shored up by their blind religious zeal, concluding that there can be no doubt that God was on the side of the reformers, even in the minds of the Spanish. This statement echoes the propagandist rhetoric employed by Burghley in *Copie* when he states that the outcome shows God to be a Lutheran.¹¹³ Both examples profess that it is the Spanish themselves that admit this, showing that this theme may have encouraged the idea of a Protestant ‘self’ identity in England – if the Spanish Catholics can agree that God’s providence favoured the Protestant cause, surely the English Catholics must also agree. Thus this pamphlet, produced in the aftermath of the Armada, when the benefit of including Catholics in the nationalist narrative had passed, is firmly associating the trait of pride with the otherness of the Spanish and their vainglorious belief in the superiority of the Roman Catholic faith. Furthermore, it appears to be attempting to show that this belief in the Catholic Church is futile, as displayed by the English victory, and therefore could be seen to be strengthening the Protestant English identity that Elizabeth was intent on establishing.

The pride of the Spanish is further elucidated in *The birth, purpose, and mortall wound of the Romish holie League*, a work that has been occasionally attributed to the translator James Lea.¹¹⁴ Here, however, the reference is more subtle than the previous examples, and is one that leans toward ridicule. The pamphlet, as the title suggests, tells of the birth of the Holy League at the behest of Satan, actioned by the hand of the Pope.¹¹⁵ It begins with four pages of prose, an introduction of sorts, in which it is noted that Satan instructs the Pope regarding who shall form this League, stating ‘Touching the Princes thou shalt consider, I need give small instructions: onlie this I charge that thou be sodain and circumspect to assemble thy Synode [...]’ and as soon as these words were uttered a ‘Senate of sacrilegious Shavelings were

¹¹³ Anon., *Copie*, C2r.

¹¹⁴ <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99842447e/eebo-99842447e-7100-13>

¹¹⁵ I.L., *The birth, purpose, and mortall wound of the Romish holie League* (T. Orwin for Thomas Cadman, London, 1589), A2r – A2v.

assembled'.¹¹⁶ This short section is significant as it is clearly insinuating that the Princes who should be chosen for this diabolical company are obvious, and none could be more so than the self-styled champion of the Catholic faith – the Spanish monarch. Their pride is then referred to, as 'it was concluded, how this League now named Holie, shuld also prove mightie in operation against the Princes professing the Gospell', suggesting that it was a foregone conclusion among the Catholic League that their endeavours would be triumphant.¹¹⁷ This prophecy, and the ultimate purpose of the League, is illuminated by the description of the 'huge and mightie shippes, readie to joyne with the bloodie Guise, and also to unite them to the Prince of Parma, that in a moment they might swallow up little England [...]'- clearly the 'purpose' of the Holy League in his text.¹¹⁸ However, as is the case with many of the texts under consideration in this investigation, this pride leads to a fall. The end of this preamble notes that 'all is in vaine: for the breath of the Lords mouth [...] scattered those proud shippes', referring to the 'mortal wound' in the title – the defeat of the Armada. Thus, this allegorical propaganda text is insinuating that this providential defeat of the Spanish is the blow that will condemn them, and the Holy League, to destruction, further reinforcing the idea that the Protestant English were favoured by God.¹¹⁹

Throughout this pamphlet the theme of cowardice and ineptitude is closely intertwined with the motif of pride, as the Spaniards' proud behaviour is predictably followed by the fall, which is usually instigated by their own ineptitude. In the verse the reader or listener is told that

[...] hugie Shippes, as earst were never seene,
Proud Spayne prepares for to invade our Lande:
And all against the most renowndest Queene,
That ever yet bare Sceptre in her hand.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ibid., A2v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., A3r.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., A2v.

¹²⁰ Ibid., B1r.

This short extract again highlights the oppositional nature of the Hispanophobia present in the text, noting the pride of the Spanish ‘other’ against England’s renowned Queen. It can be assumed that in this sense ‘renowndest’ pertains to someone held in high esteem or repute, rather than just well known, and is therefore the opposite of ‘Proud Spayne’, who should be held in low regard due to their prideful nature.¹²¹ This section is interesting as it conflates nation and monarch, suggesting that the Spanish invaded ‘our Lande [...] all against the most renowndest Queen’ as, Martina Mittag has argued that this conflation of the Sovereign and the Realm contributed to the ‘unification of England, especially in the Armada years’.¹²² That the pamphlets were translating royal virtue into national virtue, by equating the Queen and the Realm, further strengthens the providential aspect of Hispanophobia. It ascribes the theory of Divine Right (or Will in Mittag’s explanation) to the nation, suggesting that it was God’s will that the English should prevail as they have been chosen by God as much as Elizabeth had.¹²³ This providential theme is continued in the next verse when the author describes the defeat of the Armada:

But worthely in thy great judgements just,
Of thy good will thou didst confound their pride,
And made them feel the smart of their ambitious lust,
Not daring long our royall Shippes abide [...]¹²⁴

Here the implication is that their defeat was the direct result of God’s judgement, as He teaches the error of their ‘ambitious lust’ by scattering the fleet that was the source of Spanish pride, once again employing the providential aspect of their defeat. Also, we see the association between Spanish pride and greed, as the reason ascribed to the invasion was their desire to own English territory, as was apparent in the ballad *Spanish Whippes* discussed in chapter three.

¹²¹ "renowned, adj. and n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/162515 [Accessed 24/06 2019].

¹²² Martina Mittag, ‘National Identity and the Sovereign in Anti-Spanish Pamphlets 1558-1625’ in Herbert Grabes (ed), *Writing the Early Modern English Nation* (Rodopi, Amsterdam-Atlanta, 2001), p.112.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ I.L., *The birth, purpose and mortall wound*, B1r.

The associations of greed change throughout the decade, from dishonesty, to brutality, and then pride, suggesting that the role played by the themes changed in relation to the perceived threat that Spain posed. In this instance the ambition of Spain, implying their greed through constant Imperial expansion, is confounded along with their pride, suggesting that like Daunce, the author is predicting the beginning of the end for the Spanish Empire.

Although the theme of pride is present throughout the decade in association with the Spanish, it is apparent that its role, in relation to the anti-Spanish sentiment found in the pamphlets, changed over the decade. At the start of the 1580s the inherent pride of the Spanish was a trait that was used to highlight the ‘otherness’ of the Spanish Catholics against the humility of the English Protestants. Yet when hostilities intensified in 1585, this trait could be used as an example of the biblical adage that pride comes before a fall, strengthening the resolve of the English in the face of the military might of the Spanish Empire. Finally, after the defeat of the Armada, the fate of the Spanish fleet was linked with the providential victory of the English. Interestingly this satirical little pamphlet, produced towards the end of the decade, incorporates all three conceptions of the danger and vanity of the trait of pride. As mentioned above, the efficacy of including Catholics in the construction of a nationalist narrative had passed, and there is a return to incorporating anti-Catholic sentiment in the general Hispanophobic content, after the brief separation found in *The copie of a letter sent out of England* and *The Holy Bull*, discussed in chapter three. This suggests that the providential aspect of English victory is being firmly associated with English Protestantism and their adherence to the ‘true’ religion.

Cowardice

The link between Spanish pride and their apparent cowardice in defeat is evident in many of the pamphlets at the close of the 1580s. We have seen that the theme of Spanish cowardice and ineptitude has been closely linked with the threat posed by Spain – their ineptitude was highlighted in 1585-86, and this was expanded into a portrayal of outright cowardice in 1587-

88. As argued in chapter three, this may have been to try to ‘comfort’ the English population when faced with the formidable Spanish military force, and give them the courage to oppose the imminent invasion. However, this theme is still present in the months after the defeat of the Armada. The reason for this is twofold: firstly, the pamphlet market, as already suggested, was largely driven by profit, and the recent English victory would have garnered interest throughout the nation, thus printed accounts of Spanish defeat would likely have been a profitable endeavour. Secondly, it seems that there was concern in parliament that the threat from Spain had not abated, thus it was expedient to maintain the staunch courage needed to either repel any further invasion, or mount a counterattack against the decimated Spanish fleet, a point that will be discussed in more detail below.

In the preface to *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Fraunces Drakes West Indian Voyage*

Thomas Cates notes that

although it be nowe a yeare and a halfe sithence the voyage ended, whereby some men will say, that it is nowe no newe matter: yet the present time considered, how doubtfull some of our meaner sort of people are of the Spanish preparations, I thinke this Discourse a very fit thing to be published, that they may see what great victories a fewe English men have made upon great numbers of Spaniards, even at home in their owne countreyes. The beholding whereof will much encourage those, who by fame and bare wordes are made to doubt much more than there is cause why they should.¹²⁵

However, the author of this pamphlet is debatable. The dedicatory preface, by Cates, attributes the work firstly to Walter Bigges, who allegedly died upon leaving Cartagena leaving the narrative to be finished by Lieutenant Maister Croftes, but Cates is unsure of this.¹²⁶ The pamphlet itself is a detailed summary of Francis Drake’s voyage to Cadiz and the Americas in 1585/86. When investigating the role of cowardice in this pamphlet, it is interesting to consider it in comparison with Greepe’s *The true and perfect newes*, discussed in the previous chapter.

¹²⁵ Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse*, A4v.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, A3r.

Although both are conveying the same voyage, the pace and emphasis of each was strikingly different. Both pamphlets claim, in their prefaces, to be produced for ‘the vulgar sort’, or ‘the meaner sort’ of people suggesting that they were produced with a low status, common audience in mind.¹²⁷ However, the representations of Spanish cowardice are emphasised much more in the Greepe text than the Bigges’ account. If we consider the accounts of the Spanish on the modern-day Cape Verde island of Santiago, the descriptions of the towns of Saint Iago, Pray, and Santa Domingo are much fuller in the Bigges pamphlet, detailing the local geography and flora, whereas the Greepe pamphlet simply relates the interplay between the Spanish and English.¹²⁸ For example, Greepe only dedicates one page – five short verses – to the events at ‘Sancto Yuago’, concentrating on the material goods and victuals that the English find, and the fact that the Spanish had ‘fled that night and durst not stay’.¹²⁹ Bigges, however, gives a lengthy five-page description of ‘S. Iago’, in which he describes the lay of the land; the valley between the mountains in which a brook of fresh water can be found; a further valley in which gardens have been planted, and the native ‘cochos nuts’ and ‘plantens’ which grow amongst the more recognisable fruits and herbs.¹³⁰ Thus, the focus of each narrative seems very different, with Bigges’ account being more in line with earlier travel pamphlets, highlighting the natural features of the land and their bounty, which will be considered in more detail in the section about Navigation and Exploration. Although Bigges mentioned the conduct of the Spanish in this territory, it was brief. In his account of the English coming upon Domingo, Bigges notes that in this town ‘the Governor and the Bishop with all the better sort were lodged’, but they found the place ‘abandoned, & the people fled into the mountaines’.¹³¹ It is noteworthy that Greepe’s verse states that the Spanish soldiers ‘left theyr Townes and ranne away’, but the

¹²⁷ Ibid.; Thomas Greepe, *The true and perfect newes of the worthy and valiant employtes atchived and doone by that valiaunt Knight, Syr Fraunces Drake* (John Charlewood for Tho Hackett, London, 1587), A2r.

¹²⁸ Bigges, *Summarie*, C2r-D1r; Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, B1v-B3v.

¹²⁹ Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, B.i.v.

¹³⁰ Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse*, Cijv-Ciiijr.

¹³¹ Ibid., C4v.

friars remained, having told the soldiers that ‘If they would fight for their masse: For all their sinnes they had in store, They should be pardoned more and lesse’.¹³² Yet it is claimed that the soldiers ‘so sore did feare the Drake, They let their Friars stand to stake’.¹³³ Interestingly, this detail regarding the friars is absent from Bigges account. This may be due to the compilers of the Bigges account deeming it less pertinent to their narrative, which could provide evidence about the role of anti-Spanish sentiment in these two accounts of the same events.

When Greepe’s work was published, the attack of the Armada was on the horizon, thus any suggestion that the English, led by Drake, would strike fear into Spanish hearts, might strengthen English courage in the face of imminent invasion. However, the Bigges pamphlet, as stated, was published over a year after the defeat of the Armada, and seems to highlight the ease with which the English troops over-ran Spanish territories. As with the travel pamphlets discussed in previous chapters, the role of this pamphlet was, in part, an attempt to encourage English exploration into ‘New World’ territories. In 1589 Richard Hakluyt compiled a much-extended version of his earlier work, *Divers Voyages*, entitled *The principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation*.¹³⁴ At 439 pages, the book would have been expensive and therefore only accessible to the newly emerging merchant classes and above, and is too long for consideration in this investigation. Yet the fact that Hakluyt decided to compile this text, and went to the expense of printing it, suggests that the English imperial aspirations present at the beginning of the decade were once again under consideration now that the imminent threat posed by Spain had passed. Accordingly, the re-telling of the Drake voyage could have been produced to help with this construction of a nationalist narrative based on English expansion, a point that will be discussed in the ‘navigation and exploration’ section

¹³² Greepe, *Perfect Newes*, B2r.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation* (George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1589).

below. Yet it is equally, if not more plausible, that the tales of Drake's victories over the Spanish were intended to garner financial support for the Portuguese expedition being planned to destroy the remaining Armada ships in Lisbon and Seville, the preparations for which were well underway.¹³⁵ Paul Hammer has suggested that there was a 'national English desire [...] to strike back after the Spanish naval attack of the previous year', and that the Portugal expedition was the opportunity to do this.¹³⁶ However, the desire for retribution and the means to achieve it are seemingly very different things, and this national desire seems to have been inconsequential to those who were concerned with financing the expedition. As discussed in the previous chapter, the decision to pass a bill for double subsidies for the London companies, which was needed to help finance any counter-attack on the remnants of the Spanish fleet sheltering in Lisbon and Seville, was met by opposition in the Commons.¹³⁷ Although the bill passed, this was still nowhere near enough money to finance the proposed expedition. In December 1588, a forced loan of around fifty thousand pounds was served to the counties as

London citizens went off into the country to avoid paying [...] and a considerable number of gentlemen [...] had to be interviewed by the privy council before they would yield what was required of them. Domestic loans were [...] paid unwillingly [...]¹³⁸

Thus it seems possible that by reprinting the accounts of Drake's past glories, the intent was to maintain the fighting spirit that had been instilled in the nationalist narrative during these first years of the Anglo-Spanish war. Considering the state of Elizabeth's finances, and the struggle that Burghley was facing to raise the necessary funds for a counter-attack, it is also likely that the reproduction of these tales of English victory over the Spanish cowards was a means to encourage the merchant companies and London gentlemen to provide the funds requested of

¹³⁵ Wernham, 'Introduction', pp.xiv-xv.

¹³⁶ Hammer, *Polarisation*, p.82.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 3, pp.158-159.

¹³⁸ Theodore B. Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999), pp.21-22; R.B. Wernham, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition of 1589', *English Historical review* 66:258 (1951), p.5.

them.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the lack of resources available to the Crown meant that the Portuguese expedition needed to be financed by private adventurers for the most part.¹⁴⁰ The reprinting of the success of the West Indian expedition would have refreshed the memories of the wealth and kudos that a private adventurer could earn by taking part in such a voyage, as the accounts portrayed the expedition to be a resounding success.

In *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation* the author juxtaposes the ineptitude of the Spanish against the valiant deeds of the English and the French that have been recorded by poets and historians over the centuries. Notably, when the French author discussed the battle of Poitiers, he noted the

English prowesse in winning of the victorie, as of their courtesie and mildnesse in using of it moderately; which makes mee the more freely to speake of their vertue, and roundly to confesse that the smal number on their side, have made their victories the more notable and renowned.¹⁴¹

He then proceeded to consider the Spanish military history, sarcastically suggesting that it would be

[...] against reason to request the Spaniardes, in this comparison, to furnish us with like examples of their prowesse and valiancie, for they are discharged of so doing by that rule of law which sayth, that none is bound to the execution of thinges which are impossible.¹⁴²

He supports this observation with Aristotle's theory regarding climate and its association with the nature of the inhabitants.¹⁴³ He argues that 'Nations which inhabite colde countries are [...] indued with a more hautie and stout courage then others'.¹⁴⁴ If the philosophical writings of Aristotle were not enough reason to 'put backe the Spaniarde from that place which he pretends to have amongst the warlike Nations', he suggests the reader consider 'that before this last

¹³⁹ For details of the dire financial situation of Elizabeth's government, and the struggle faced by Burghley to raise the funds needed, see Wernham, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition', pp.2-5.

¹⁴⁰ Wernham, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition', p.6.

¹⁴¹ Anon., *A Comparison*, E4v.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Pierre Pellegrin trans. E. Zoli Filotas, 'Natural Slavery' in Marguerite Deslauriers, Pierre Destrée (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle's Politics* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013), p.106.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., *A Comparison*, F1r.

hundred years, the Spanish Nation was had in no reputation for feates of armes.¹⁴⁵ He continues by referring the reader to the Histories to consider ‘how often the Princes of Spaine have placed the chiefest strength of their armies, in bandes of the Spanish Nation, [and] they have alwayes received the overthrow’, citing the battles of Ravenna and Serizoles, and how when the Spanish have gained the advantage over the French, ‘they ought to thanke the Almaynes, and Englishmen for it’.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, the author is suggesting that the Spanish have never been a strong military force, regardless of their martial reputation. This utilisation of historical framework to shore up the observations of the author is common in this period, as has been shown in previous chapters which dealt with material from *The Joyfull Entry*, *Divers Voyages*, *The true and perfect newes*, and *Spanish Whippes*, among others. It is apparent, then, that the original French author is going to great lengths to display the historic nature of military ineptitude in the Spanish, compared with the legacy of bravery and humility in the English.

The trait of cowardice was still useful to perpetuate after the attack of the Armada, as it kept the English courage buoyed in the face of a further potential invasion as the war with Spain continued. Yet Robert Greene seemingly disagrees with the possibility of another attack, instead referencing the cowardice of the Spanish purely as a means to mock them. In *Masquerado*, Greene states that

[...] none glories more in his Chivalrie then the Spaniard: But I suppose his religion and his stomack be equally poysed: the one false, the other faint, that what they attempt, is not to be overcome with prowess [...] for their service in warres is either by pollicy to circumvent by perjurie, to intyse by treason, to undermine, or by some litle martiall practise to weaken the enemy, whom if they finde valiantly to resist, their brave once cooled, they seldom or never dare give a fresh Incounter whereupon these the Nobles of Spain [...] choose rather fearfully to seek out S. James of Compostella, then valiantly with Scipio to swear revenge with the sword.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., F2r.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Greene, *Masquerado*, D1r.

This section combines two of the traits that were ascribed to the Spanish in this decade – their cowardice (or faint stomach) and the dishonest nature of both their natural disposition and their ‘false’ religion. Greene is arguing that the military prowess that they were renowned for was achieved by nefarious means, and when they did use their martial abilities they were easily overcome by a courageous enemy. Furthermore, it is noted that when they are beaten, they retreat, seeking solace from their false saints rather than using their alleged martial prowess to avenge their defeat. Greene goes so far as to suggest that when their bravery is ‘cooled, they seldom or never dare give a fresh Incounter’.¹⁴⁸ Anthony Esler has noted that the Spanish tercios (infantry) were ‘military legend’ in the sixteenth century due to their discipline, tactical brilliance, and long string of victories.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, Henry J. Webb argues that they were ‘the admiration of all professional soldiers’ and ‘the terror of Europe’, suggesting that Greene’s dismissal of retaliation was unrealistic.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, the continual accusations of cowardice, ineptitude and unwillingness to retaliate were clearly propagandist rhetoric designed to undermine the Spanish and maintain English courage. As Greene’s text was originally written as a pageant to be performed through the City of London, it may be assumed that a certain degree of dramatic license was used in order to make its contents more entertaining, and in the months following the defeat of the Armada, any reference to the cowardly Spaniards hiding behind their false idols in Spain would likely have improved the reception of the work.¹⁵¹ If we also consider that Greene himself stated that this work was an attempt to profess his religious identity, it could be argued that the jibe about the Spanish nobles turning to Saint James of Compestella in fear after their defeat is more than simply another derisive comment, it is asserting the superiority of Protestantism.¹⁵² By highlighting that the Spanish, after their defeat,

¹⁴⁸ Greene, *Masquerado*, D1r.

¹⁴⁹ Anthony Esler, ‘Robert Greene and The Spanish Armada’ in *ELH* 32:3 (1965), p.329.

¹⁵⁰ Henry J. Webb, ‘Military Newsbooks during the Age of Elizabeth’ in *English Studies* (Vol. XXXIII, 1952), p.247.

¹⁵¹ Griffin, *Renaissance Drama*, p.64.

¹⁵² Greene, *Spanish Masquerado*, A3r.

hid behind their Saints at home rather than ride with them into vengeful battle, Greene was insinuating that the Spanish knew that their false idols would not protect them, and that God was with the Protestant forces.

This mocking of the Spaniards returning home, fearful of returning to English shores, is also present in *A Skeltonicall Salutation*. The anonymous author poses the question whether the Spanish will ‘hurt us still’, or

[I]f you will remaine,
In Castile, or Spaine,
And not venture againe,
Our force to restraine,
If you so it please,
You shall take your ease,
To cure your disease,
You have got by the seas.
And though we be pore,
We will come to your shore.
And knocke at your dore,
As oft heretofore.¹⁵³

It seems, as was the case with Greene’s work, that this anonymous poet doubts the intent of the Spanish to return and attempt a second invasion, instead focusing on the cowardly nature of the Spanish and their apparent unreadiness to launch a further attack. It is interesting that the poem notes the need for the Spanish to rest and ‘cure your disease, You have got by the seas’, as this could be another underhanded jibe at the ineptitude of the Spanish in comparison to the English seamen.¹⁵⁴ The Spanish were noted for their seafaring and exploration, while the English navy was still in its infancy, so to suggest that the Spanish had to rest and recuperate after their skirmish at sea, yet the English were ready to ‘come to your shore [...] And spare you the cost, Which of late you have lost’, is an insult to both their perceived wealth and seafaring legacy.¹⁵⁵ This, however, is another example of propagandist posturing. While the

¹⁵³ Anon., *Skeltonicall*, A2v – A3r.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, A2v.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

verse mocks the Spanish need to recuperate after their voyage, insinuating that the English are a superior force as they are ready to ‘come to your shore. And knocke at your dore’, a letter from Sir John Hawkins to Burghley in September 1588 shows that this was not the case.

Hawkins states that

The companies do fall sick daily [...] and our ships utterly unfitted and unmet to follow any enterprise from hence without a thorough new trimming, refreshing, and new furnishing with provisions, grounding, and fresh men [...]¹⁵⁶

Therefore, it seems that the English are also in need of recuperation and repairs, suggesting that this presentation of immediate readiness was purely to maintain the hopeful narrative that the English will defeat the Spanish, both at home and abroad whenever the need arises, although this was to prove unrealistic.¹⁵⁷ The language used in the verse insinuates that, like Greene, the author was sceptical of another invasion by the Spanish – echoing the opinion of Burghley in the immediate aftermath of the attack when he wrote to Walsingham that he was ‘not of the opinion that the Spanish fleet [would] suddenly return’.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, although this juxtaposing of the cowardly Spanish and competent English could have kept the fighting spirit alive in the national imagination if it were needed, it seems that this fear of retaliation was not shared by all the councillors and commentators. As discussed in chapter three, the call for double subsidies to mount a counterattack was met with opposition, suggesting that parliament was divided about the course of action that should be taken and the threat still posed by Spain. Therefore, the role of cowardice in this text may be seen to have changed from the encouragement of defence, as seen in previous years. As this text was only sixteen pages long, and written in verse, it is likely to have reached the largest audience possible, and the mocking

¹⁵⁶ Wernham (ed), *The Expedition of Sir John Norris*, pp.5-6.

¹⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the Queen and her councillors were equally hopeful in their outlook, and preparations were made for the Portugal Expedition to make sail on 1 February 1589. However, financial, diplomatic and logistical problems prevented departure until 18 April, casting doubt over the professed readiness of the English fleet. This suggests, however, that the rhetoric of the pamphlet actually reflected the general consensus at the time and was not, therefore, using cowardice as a means to bolster English resolve as it had been in previous years. A full account of the preparations for retaliation can be found in Wernham (ed), *The Expedition of Sir John Norris*, pp.xi-xxxvi.

¹⁵⁸ Wernham (ed), *The Expedition of Sir John Norris*, pp.4-5.

of the Spanish cowardice with the parallel lauding of the English could have reinforced the burgeoning ideas of nationalism, self, and otherness already considered in previous chapters.

Greene also notes the cowardice of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Commander of the Spanish Fleet, and the incompetence of Don Pedro de Valdez, the General of the Andalusian unit of the Army. The retreat of Medina Sidonia and the capture of Valdez were undoubtedly the most prestigious points in the battle, as far as the English were concerned, so it is unsurprising that we find reference to these again in 1589.¹⁵⁹ In his section regarding Medina Sidonia, Greene opens with a story of Julius Caesar, who when sent by the Senate against the Gauls, stated ‘In Gallium (quoth he) quesiturus aut Sepulchrum, aut honorem’.¹⁶⁰ Greene then argues that the valiant sentiment of either taking Gaul with honour, or dying in the process, was not shared by Medina Sidona, for ‘though he was sent by his Prince and Sovereigne, as Generall of all his forces, yet he chose rather to return with dishonour, then with valiant Caesar to seeke a Sepulcher in England’.¹⁶¹ This comparison is noteworthy as it reinforces the link between the Spanish and their Roman Catholic roots, a tactic we have already seen in Thomas Deloney’s ballad *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes*.¹⁶² However, in Deloney’s verse he is highlighting the brutality of Romans as a means to explain the natural propensity for violence displayed by the Spanish, whereas Greene is lauding the legendary Roman General, and using this to further deride the cowardly Spanish. By comparing the imperial successes of Caesar with the defeat of Medina Sidonia, Greene is further ridiculing the Spanish military efforts against England, suggesting that their cowardice is even more dishonourable when their

¹⁵⁹ Medina Sidona’s retreat was noted in Anon., *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernadin Mendoza* (J. Voutrollier for Richard Field, London, 1588), Ciir, and Valdez’s capture featured in Anon., *A Packe of Spanish Lyes* (Deputies of Christopher Barker, London, 1588), A2v.

¹⁶⁰ Greene, *Masquerado*, D1v, loosely translated as ‘Into Gaul, with Honour, or Death’.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, D1v.

¹⁶² Thomas Deloney, *A new Ballet of the straunge and most cruell Whippes which the Spanyard has prepared to whippe and tormant English men and women* (Thomas Orwin and Thomas Gubbin, London, 1588).

aspiration to Roman Catholic legacy is taken into account. Greepe further elucidates his point by recounting the strength of the Spanish invasion, stating how they came

with a mightie Fleete, well provided with martiall furniture [...] as might have amazed the greatest Monarch in the whole world to encounter [...] And with him the Admirall Don Martines de Ricaldo, Pedro de Valdes, Martin Bretendona, Gomes de Medina and others [...] ¹⁶³

Yet he then remarks that as soon as they

came alongst our Coaste, and were incountered with our Fleete, filled with Noble Men of invincible courage, [...] Medina the greate Champion of Spaine, tooke the lower end of the Ship, Ricaldo his bed, whereas our Lord Admirall, the Lord Charles Haward, stood upon the upon the upper decke, resolutely and valiantly encouraging his men to fight for the honour of their Countrie.¹⁶⁴

As was the case with *The copie of a letter sent out of England*, discussed in chapter three, this criticism of Medina Sidonia is juxtaposed with the bravery displayed by the English, again reinforcing the ‘otherness’ of the Spaniard in the developing English national consciousness. Furthermore, Greene’s description of Spain’s ‘mightie Fleete’, and its venerable commanders, lent weight to the recently conceived narrative of Spain’s ineptitude when it came to military manoeuvres.

The incompetence of the Spanish is again suggested in the following two sections of the pamphlet, which describe the parts played by Don Martines de Ricaldo and Don Pedro de Valdez in the invasion. The former is treated with brevity, the suggestion being that as soon as the Spaniard saw the fierceness with which the English fought, and gained the knowledge that God was with them and provided courage to fight against the Spanish ‘multitudes, [...] Martines fearfull, shrunke away’, ultimately exposing his naturally cowardly nature.¹⁶⁵ The latter, however, is held under greater scrutiny, not least for his impressive reputation prior to the battle. Greene takes the surrender of Valdez as a literary gift, setting up the fall with a

¹⁶³ Greene, *Masquerado*, D1v.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, D2r.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, D3r.

description of his impressive martial abilities, courage and resolution, and suggesting that Medina, Ricaldo and the rest relied much upon ‘his pollicie, and prowess’, and that his ‘brave words [...] and martiall threates, was of surpassing great hope amongst the Spaniard.’¹⁶⁶ The military character of Valdez is further shored up by the description of his 1330 tonne vessel, which was furnished with ‘fifty Cannons’, yet apparently his ship was one of the first to be taken without ‘making anye resistance at all, or shewing any point of honourable resolution, [Valdez] not so much as drawing his sword in defense’.¹⁶⁷ Greene elaborates this point further, noting that upon

coming to the skirmish, a few bullats had bruised his Ship, and spoiled his tacklings, but submisse he yielded without one stroke, having three hundered and fortie men of war, and a hundred and eighteene Mariners: or without one denial with shot, having fiftie Cannons in his ship: He that like a Lion came storming from Spaine, humbly like a Lambe crouched to our Admirall [...]¹⁶⁸

This imagery of Valdez embarking upon the invasion like a lion, but submitting to Admiral Howard like a lamb, is worthy of consideration. The lion was associated closely with notions of royalty, bravery and fierceness, all attributes associated with rulership in the early modern period, and thus this association would have been understood by those who read or heard the *Masquerado*.¹⁶⁹ It is noteworthy here to consider how the work would have been received. As mentioned, there is no record that Greene’s work was ever performed as intended, but Anthony Esler has argued that the symbolism used in this text would have been understood by his early modern audience. He suggests that the popularity of the text (demonstrated by its achieving two editions in the same year) means that it is likely that the contents reflected the lives and opinions of the audience, and therefore these symbolic animal references would have been

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., D3v.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., D3v - D4r.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., D4r.

¹⁶⁹ Susan Maxwell, ‘Every Living Beast: Collecting Animals and Art in Early Modern Munich’ in Pia F. Cuneo (ed), *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2017), p.50.

easily comprehended by all levels of English society.¹⁷⁰ He also notes that ‘the Elizabethan public had long since been saturated with most of the ideas presented in this book’, and therefore the allegorical meaning would have been clear to the audience.¹⁷¹ This is apparent when we consider that the symbolism used evokes the imagery employed on three occasions by Las Casas. In the opening pages to his treatise, Las Casas describes the inhabitants of the ‘New World’, noting their innocence and mild nature.¹⁷² He then tells how ‘[u]pon these lambes so meeke, so qualified & endowed of their maker and creator [...] entered the Spanish [...] as wolves, as lions, & as tiges’.¹⁷³ Later in the text he notes the nature of the indigenous inhabitants of Venezuela, stating that they were ‘very amiable, & meeke as lambes’ until the arrival of the Spanish who ‘[showed] them selves more unnaturall and fierce, then [...] ramping Lions’.¹⁷⁴ He uses this imagery once again when describing a Spanish ambush of Amerindians in ‘Newe Grenado’, recounting how the Spanish enclosed the Amerindians and ‘set then like unto Tigres and Lions, upon these lambes so meeke [...]’.¹⁷⁵ This utilisation of Las Casas’s imagery can also be seen in *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, discussed in the brutality section below, and throughout the texts analysed in the previous chapters. While the references to the Spanish as lions is consistent with Las Casas, the reference to lambs is utilised differently by Greene in this instance. The lamb of course traditionally symbolises Christ in biblical terms, and therefore would be used to represent ideas of innocence, as we have seen with Las Casas’ references to the gentle and meek inhabitants of the Americas.¹⁷⁶ It seems, however, that Greene is subverting Las Casas’ imagery by suggesting that Valdez is like a lamb in the bestial sense of the word, describing an individual who is unsteady, weak, and helpless,

¹⁷⁰ Esler, ‘Robert Greene’, pp.315-316.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp.316.

¹⁷² Casas, *Colonie*, A1r - A1v.

¹⁷³ Ibid., A1v.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., I1v.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., L4v.

¹⁷⁶ ‘The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world’, John 1:29 www.kingjamesbibleonline.org [21/10/2018].

especially when separated from the rest of its group. In his chapter ‘Vulgar Sheep’, Bruce Boehrer notes that sheep, lambs, ewes and rams illustrate a ‘conventional series of concepts’ in Shakespearian works, suggesting that their association with ‘pathetic helplessness, endangered innocence, sacrificial submission, bleating obedience [and] errant stupidity’ would have been widely comprehended in late Elizabethan England.¹⁷⁷ It seems, therefore, that this might be another jibe at the cowardly incompetence of the Spanish, suggesting that despite his mighty reputation, one of their most trusted and feared Generals was, in reality, as helpless and frightened as a lone lamb when faced with the brave English Fleet.

As already mentioned, Greene had stated that this was his attempt to discover his ‘conscience in religion’ in his preface, and as Griffin noted, this work was to be his public ‘religious profession’.¹⁷⁸ Thus biblical imagery, and the suggestion that God was on the side of the victorious is unsurprisingly used throughout the text, especially in the abovementioned sections discussing the Armada attack itself. However, Greene also uses classical references to illustrate his point, especially in the sections relating to the Spanish military leaders. He likens the forces of Medina Sidonia to the mighty army of Xerxes, the ruler of the Persian Empire who, according to Richard Stoneman, is most famously remembered as the king who failed to conquer Greece – the villain of a heroic story of resistance.¹⁷⁹ Thus we see how Greene utilised classical legends to imply the satirical meaning intended. Greene continues his classical references, noting that Medina Sidonia lacks the integrity and honour of Caesar, wasting his military advantage and fleeing dishonourably.¹⁸⁰ He compares Commander Don Martines de Ricaldo to Caligula, suggesting that Ricaldo’s fleet was well provisioned enough that ‘if hee

¹⁷⁷ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p.164.

¹⁷⁸ Griffin, *Renaissance Drama*, p.64; Greene, *Masquerado*, A3r.

¹⁷⁹ Richard Stoneman, *Xerxes: A Persian Life* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2015), p.1.

¹⁸⁰ Greene, *Masquerado*, D1v.

shoulde with Gyantes, intend to warre against Mars and Jupiter' he had the means to succeed, referencing the Greek myth in which the famously strong Titans (or giants) warred against Jupiter, suggesting that Ricaldo's forces were equal in strength to the Titans, yet his cowardly retreat left him more dishonoured than had he simply 'gathered cockles on the westerne shoare'.¹⁸¹ Yet it is Valdez who is placed on the highest pedestal, with the hopes pinned on his reputation likened to the faith that the Romans placed in their great leaders. Greene associates him with Horatio Cocles (who defended Rome by single-handedly holding the bridge into the city against Lars Porsenna), Torquastus (who was known for great deeds of bravery) and Scipio (who famously beat Hannibal).¹⁸² Furthermore, there is the expectation that he would write to the Spanish Monarch soon after his arrival, quoting 'Veni, vidi, vici' (Julius Caesar's famous victory quote), suggesting their prideful nature as it implies that it was expected that Valdez would be victorious.¹⁸³ However, his disgrace in submission to his enemy is amplified by its comparison to the staunchness of 'Cato Uticensis [who] chose rather to murther himself, then to fall into the hands of Caesar his Enemie' or 'Cleopatra a woman, [who] suffered rather death by stinging of Aspickes, then she would submit to her foe', suggesting that his cowardice in surrender is despicable in comparison to either his supposed Roman Catholic predecessors or, perhaps even worse, a woman.¹⁸⁴ Thus Greene is suggesting that this cowardly act of surrender is the greatest disgrace of all, demonstrated by the historical examples he has cited. It might be supposed that the regular classical references, alongside his use of Latin throughout, suggest that the audience for this text was predominantly the elite or the clergy. However, Esler posits that the structure of the text was borrowed from the developing English masque and that in

¹⁸¹ Ibid., D2r. The reference to Caligula here is clearly mocking, as the famous tale suggests that the Roman Emperor Caligula intended to invade England, but upon arrival simply instructed his men to collect shells on the shore and then retreated without attempting any invasion. Analysis of the story can be found in Aloys Winterling, *Caligula: A Biography* (University of California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles, 2011), pp.117-18.

¹⁸² Greene, *Masquerado*, D3v.

¹⁸³ Ibid., D3v; all references to Roman leaders can be found in Nora Goldschmidt, *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius' Annales and Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013), p.185; p.162 and p.102.

¹⁸⁴ Greene, *Masquerado*, D4r.

Greene's time the script of the masque was becoming increasingly recognised, meaning that the structure and symbolism was becoming widely known.¹⁸⁵ It is entirely possible, then, that the themes of cowardice and ineptitude found within could have been transmitted to a large number of people in the capital, regardless of social status or literacy levels. Sadly, there is no evidence as to whether this masque was ever performed and, consequently, what kind of reception it enjoyed throughout society.¹⁸⁶ However, as it was written as a piece to be performed for public entertainment, it will be assumed that the themes of Spanish dishonour, cowardice, and ineptitude found within were intended to reach the widest possible audience, and the tales of Spanish defeat could have bolstered the English resolve for both the counterattack being planned by Drake and Norris, and the possibility of a second attempt by the Spanish to invade England.

The idea of a weak and helpless Spanish military is reiterated in *The birth, purpose and mortal wound*, which when discussing the composition of the 'Holie League' being created at the behest of Satan, suggested that

he the Spanish King which Phillip hath to name,
Must be the chiefest of this League, and maister of the game.
He hath great store of gold, and will not spare for cost:
He can supply the Guizes want, which now is farre in debt [...]¹⁸⁷

The verse proceeds to talk of the Duke of Guise's pivotal role in subduing Henri of Navarre, but then notes

there is a greater foe, and she of greater might;
Gainst who or dearest Guize, nor scarsely Spaine I weene
May well prevaile, to put her from her right;
She rules brave Britaine Isle, I meane the English Queene;
Gainst her my sonne, this League must joyne in one,
For all too weake our Spayne will be alone.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Esler, 'Robert Greene', pp.317.

¹⁸⁶ Griffin, *Renaissance Drama*, p.64.

¹⁸⁷ I.L., *The birth, purpose and mortal wound*, A4r.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., A4v.

Thus the author of this verse is suggesting that without the help of the French Duke of Guise, Philip would be unable to overcome the English defences, as they were too weak, contrary to their fierce military reputation. This suggestion of Spanish weakness versus their reputation for military prowess is discussed further in *A true Coppie of a discourse written by a Gentleman*.¹⁸⁹ The text is a defence of the recent expedition, which ended with a decimated English crew limping home after suffering defeat at both A Coruña and Lisbon.¹⁹⁰ Before he recounts the events of the expedition in his first-hand account, the author discusses the ‘victories of the Spaniards of late years’, noting that

if we consider what warres they be that have made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to have been none other, than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders: whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightiness, as they have undertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people united and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom, what successe their invincible Armie had the last year.¹⁹¹

This extract is interesting as it references campaigns in which the Spaniards fought against well-equipped and organised enemies, yet the author reduces these to hollow victories won by default. Although the Reconquista was a slow process, which was, in the words of Joseph O’Callaghan, ‘characterised by a slow and intermittent advance from one river frontier to another [...] accompanied by the colonisation or repopulation of occupied territory’, it was a long fought war against well-armed and trained adversaries.¹⁹² The indigenous Americans, most notably the Aztecs, were also well armed and tactical, but Ross Hassig argues that the Spanish weapons had greater range and their use of horses secured their victory, although they

¹⁸⁹ Anon., *A true Coppie of a discourse written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spain and Portingale* (Thomas woodcock, London, 1589).

¹⁹⁰ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1992), pp.90-91.

¹⁹¹ Anon., *A true Coppie*, Alr.

¹⁹² Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2013), p.19.

also had assistance from indigenous military auxiliaries.¹⁹³ Finally, the campaign in the Netherlands, beginning in 1566, was still being fought, suggesting that the Netherlanders were far from unarmed and yielding as the author claims. The suggestion that the English are not so easily defeated, with reference again to the recent defeat of the Armada, might be an attempt to mitigate any rumours regarding the recent defeat of Drake in the Portuguese expedition, and it is plausible that this is the intent of the anti-Spanish sentiment here – the insinuation that, if the martial histories of both countries is examined, the Spanish are historic losers, while the recent English defeat was simply an anomaly.

Brutality

The theme of brutality is still being utilised as a means to warn the English about the potential aftermath of a Spanish invasion at the end of the decade. In *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, the anonymous French author argues that anyone who thinks that the brutality displayed against the Low Countries by the Spanish was simply due to Catholic religious zeal, and thus exceptional, should acquaint themselves with the conquest of the Americas. It is stated that the Spaniards were

transformed into Lions, Panthers, Tiges, and other savage beasts. The Indians and Americans are poore, and simple ones: such as by good conversation, and godly perswasions, might easily be wonne unto Christ [...] But in truth we may well say that this new Indian and American world hath not beene so much unknowen in times past: as the new and enormous cruelties, which these divels incarnate comming out of Spaine, do there put in practice.¹⁹⁴

It is apparent that the hyperbolic language used in this section on the cruelty of the Spaniards is again reminiscent of Las Casas' polemical text, discussed in chapter one. The comparison of the Spanish with lions and tigers, and the suggestion that the inhabitants were merely simple,

¹⁹³ Ross Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2014), p.119; Yanna Yannakakis, 'From Indian Conquerors to LocalIndians' in Laura E. Matthew, Michel R. Oudijk (eds) *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2007), p.227.

¹⁹⁴ Anon., *A Comparison*, D4r.

meeke creatures, ripe for instruction in Christian doctrine, is one of the key components of *The Spanish Colonie*. On the second page of the main body of his tract Las Casas describes the pure, good natured manner of the Amerindians, and notes that

[u]pon these lambes so mecke, so qualified & endewed of their maker and creator [...] entered the Spanish incontinent as they knew them, as wolves, as lions, & as tigres most cruel of long time famished [...] ¹⁹⁵

Referencing Las Casas has become a recognisable trope in texts discussing the nature of the Spanish, as can be seen in the analysis of the theme of brutality in the previous chapters. In *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage* it is stated that the English left a note in the 'Spittle house' for the colonists, who had fled the town, outlining

the great discontentment and scorne we took at [...] their refraining to come to unto us, as also at the rude manner of killing, and savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes, found by them stragling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and his heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place in a most brutish and most beastly manner. ¹⁹⁶

This, again, is reminiscent of a passage written by Las Casas that discusses how the Spanish 'made sport' of killing the indigenous people, suggesting that they

layed wagers with such as with one thrust of a sworde would [...] bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a sworde would most redily [...] cut off his head, or that would best pearce his entrals at one stroke. ¹⁹⁷

Whether the link was intentional or not, it can be argued that the vivid imagery and specific language presented in *Summarie* mimics that of *The Spanish Colonie*, showing how the tract, written in 1552 about deeds performed in the first two decades of the 1500s, was the foundation for the barbaric motif in anti-Spanish sentiment printed in the 1580s and beyond. This description of Spanish brutality by Cates is also noteworthy as the treatment of the Englishman's body is reminiscent of Aztec sacrificial ceremonies described by the Spanish. In

¹⁹⁵ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie* (William Broome, London, 1583), A1v.

¹⁹⁶ Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse*, D2r.

¹⁹⁷ Casas, *Colonie*, A3v.

his first-hand account of the conquest, Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes a sacrifice he witnessed:

they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts [...] cut off the arms and feet [...] and] their entrails and feet, they threw to the tigers and lions [...]

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It can be suggested that this similarity was intended to further disparage the Spanish by comparing their barbaric deeds to the sacrificial rituals of the indigenous people they were supposed to be converting.¹⁹⁹ Thus the anti-Spanish sentiment in this example was used to both continue the dissemination of ideas about the Spaniards' excessive brutality, and also to subvert their own ideas of self by suggesting their behaviour was just as savage (and therefore ungodly) as that of the native inhabitants of the Americas, despite the fact that the primary goal of the conquest was to convert the indigenous Americans and instruct them in Catholicism.

In *Comparison* the author notes the brutality of the Spanish, but traces this to a much earlier period, cementing the inherent nature of this trait for the English audience. He suggests that

is not this a testimonie of their cordiall Spanish amitie, which they used in times past to our ancestors, (according to their cruell nature) that having wonne the battell of our men, they slue afterwards all the prisoners they had in their hands [...]²⁰⁰

In Daunce's *Brief Discourse*, this historic brutality of the Spaniards is detailed over two pages. He suggests that these acts are 'rare in the highest degree of beastliness' under normal circumstances, but commonplace for the Spaniards. To reinforce the extreme and apparently incessant barbarity of the Spanish, Daunce states he will not bother to detail

murthering the Nobilitie of the sacred order of Burgundi, their cutting out, and searing with hot irons the tongues of honest Citizens, their drawing the mouthes of some a sunder with other instruments, their wilfull murthering a father [...] for

¹⁹⁸ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain, Volume 3* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010), p.150.

¹⁹⁹ An account of the sacrifice that he witnessed, and his feelings about the religion that inspired these, can be found in Díaz, *The True History*, pp.149-154.

²⁰⁰ Anon., *A Comparison*, Elr.

lodging his sonne one night, their banishing of chast matrons, for receiving their husbands, an act condemned by no good law, for the inseparable bonds of their love: their furious beastliness at Turnace upon the citizens and a widow named Potier whom the slue with her daughter and neece; and their massacring with bullets the unarmed people at Ipre beholding a godly minister put to death: [...]²⁰¹

Rather, he will 'touch onley their barbarous inhumanity towards the naked Indians, a people very tractable, if they had found good maisters, and such as had skill and honestie'.²⁰² He then posits

had their intention bene to have learned those simple soules the true knowledge of God, [...] they would [...] have bin conversant with them in all mildnesse and humanitie: pietie being no better way taught then by demonstration: but as they could seeme no others then they were: no more could the Indians gather grapes of thornes: in respect whereof though at the first this naked people might have been moulded into anie forme, yet after they had tasted the Spanish Creados, they abandoned their company, with all rites and ceremonies of the Romish religion [...]²⁰³

In presenting this idea, that the 'Spiritual Conquest' of the Americas could have been achieved successfully by more peaceful means if it were done without the influence of Catholicism, Daunce appears to be echoing the sentiments of Hakluyt in his 1584 text *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, suggesting a return to ideas of English expansion in the aftermath of the Armada. As we have seen in chapter three, the budding imperial aspirations of England, evident in the pamphlets at the beginning of the decade, were put on hold with the commencement of the Anglo-Iberian war in 1585. The increase in granting licenses for privateering voyages, combined with the seemingly guaranteed prize of Spanish booty, meant that exploration and colonisation was a less appealing prospect for merchants and their crew in the middle of the decade. It seems that Daunce, writing at the beginning of the 1590s, may be attempting to reassert an interest in English long-term colonial ventures, promoting ideas of an

²⁰¹ Daunce, *A Briefe Discourse*, D1v.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid., D2r.

English imperial future, rather than the instant gratification to be had from privateering in the Spanish territories.

Navigation and Exploration

In 1589 the pamphlet describing Drake's expedition to the Caribbean, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Fraunces Drakes West Indian Voyage*, was the only text that specifically discussed the Spanish overseas territories. However, unlike the *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru*, discussed in chapter one, this pamphlet did not laud the Spanish discoveries, suggesting that it was not intended to spur the English to emulate Spanish colonisation in the 'New World'.²⁰⁴ In fact the text, discussed above, could be classed as what David Randall has termed 'printed battlefield reports' – the popular reports on English victories in their foreign battles.²⁰⁵ It was a detailed first-hand account of Drake's raids in the Cape Verde Islands and Spanish ports in the Caribbean intended, presumably, to relate the success of Drake against the Spanish in their own territories. David Beers Quinn has suggested that the 'rash of privateers' that roamed western European waters since the staying of English ships by Philip in 1585 gave a new, national prestige to these 'converted merchantmen', noting that the flurry of pamphlets lauding these privateering sailors appeared in the first half of the 1590s.²⁰⁶ However, the pamphlet did not just provide details of Spanish ports taken and the riches earned by the privateers. It also included details about the local flora and fauna, and the native villages encountered en route, suggesting that this may have provided some inspiration for the re-ignition of England's imperial aspirations once the threat of Spanish invasion had passed. However, as this text was entered into the Stationer's Register on 27 November 1588, just as

²⁰⁴ As discussed in the exploration and navigation section in chapter 1 some texts, such as *The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru* and *The Arte of Navigation*, could be classed as Hispanophilic, lauding the success of the Spanish and thus encouraging the English to emulate their success.

²⁰⁵ David Randall, 'Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35: 4 (2004), p.1053.

²⁰⁶ David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1974), pp.222-23.

parliament was attempting to raise funds for the Portuguese expedition, it seems that this pamphlet was well timed to encourage investment for this voyage.

The suggestion that the pamphlet encouraged interest in English colonial ventures, is more plausible if we consider some of the other publications relating to navigation and exploration in 1589. The fifth edition of Cortés' *The Arte of Navigation* was printed in 1589 – the second to be printed in this decade, the first being before the outbreak of war in 1584.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, the first edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* was printed in this year, a work that encompassed the notable English voyages of exploration from 'The voyage of Helena [...] daughter of Coelus King of Britaine [...] to Jerusalem. Anno 337' to 'The voyage of William Michelson, and William Mace, with a ship called The Dogge, to the bay of Mexico. Anno 1589'.²⁰⁸ As Anthony Payne points out, Hakluyt's 1582 pamphlet, *Divers Voyages*, was a collection of informative documents that was intended to assist English explorers in their colonisation attempts in North America, and his 1584 manuscript, *A Discourse of Western Planting*, elaborated 'ambitious colonial projects in North America and opportunities to undermine the Spanish American empire'.²⁰⁹ If the works of Hakluyt are considered as a whole, it is apparent that he drew on the histories of exclusively English exploration, utilising an historical framework that showed the English as capable of achieving an empire as the Spanish had been. By considering the timings of these accounts of colonial exploration it is possible to deduce the role they may have performed. As mentioned above, in the years between 1585 and 1589 the profits of privateering, and the ease with which licences could be obtained for this, made it a much more attractive prospect for merchant adventures to invest in than uncertain

²⁰⁷ The first edition was Martín Cortés, *The Arte of Navigation* (Richard Jugge, London, 1561). Jugge issued new editions in 1572, 1579. The Widow of Richard Jugge printed the 5th edition in 1584.

²⁰⁸ Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1589), *5v and *8r.

²⁰⁹ Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A guide to his books and to those associated with him 1580-1625* (Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London, 2008), pp.6-7.

colonial enterprises. Furthermore, English priorities clearly changed with the commencement of war, and English expansionist aspirations were put on hold as the resources were needed for the war effort. Karen Ordahl Kupperman notes that the supply ships intended to relieve the Roanoke colonists in June 1585 were redirected to Newfoundland to warn the English there about the outbreak of war, while Samuel Bawlf states that Elizabeth consented to Drake's second voyage – the great Pacific enterprise – in 1584, but when hostilities commenced she changed his mission to the sacking of Philip's Caribbean possessions.²¹⁰ However, after the danger of the Armada attack had passed, and the Portuguese expedition of 1589 had failed to significantly damage Philip's remaining fleet, it seems it was considered useful to promote the voyages of exploration again. Therefore, by combining the two topics, Bigges' account may be seen to be reinforcing ideas of an English 'self' that was based on 'othering' the inept and cruel Spaniard and promoting English imperial aspirations in the Spanish 'New World'.

Conclusions

Although the immediate threat of the Armada attack had passed, in the years 1589 and 1590 there were still several texts printed in London that utilised the Hispanophobic rhetoric that was present in the years leading up to 1588. In chapter three it was suggested that there was benefit in including the English Catholic nobility in a developing national narrative that cast the Spanish Catholic as the 'other' against which an English 'self' could be formed. While there was still evidence of this in *An answer to the untruths*, this was the only instance of this trope being used, suggesting that its inclusion was directly linked to the threat posed by Spain in 1588, and the necessity of including English Catholics for the defence of the realm. Also, there was a continuation of the rhetoric of providential victory in this text implying that it was an English Protestant 'self' that secured victory against the Spanish.

²¹⁰ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, 2007), p.23; Samuel Bawlf, *The Secret Voyage of Sir Francis Drake* (Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver, 2003), p.5.

Interestingly, the trait of cowardice and ineptitude is still present at the end of the decade, when it might be argued, its utility in bolstering the English in the face of the mighty Spanish army had passed. However, this trait was closely associated with that of pride in 1589 and 1590, and almost every discussion of the defeat of the Armada is preceded by a consideration of their arrogance prior to the attack. Thus it seems that this was also linked with providential victory for the English, as the associations of Philip with Achitophel suggest – God chastised Achitophel for his pride as he did the Spanish monarch for his, insinuating that the victorious Protestant Queen Elizabeth had God’s divine favour, much as David did. Furthermore, there was debate among Elizabeth’s councillors as to whether the threat of Spain had really abated, so the continuation of this theme was useful to maintain the fighting spirit of the English, should need arise.

The pride of the Spanish, and this leading to their defeat, is the prevailing theme at the close of the decade. While this may have been useful for the reasons stated above, it also seems that this may have been linked with a much bigger implication for the English. As has been shown in previous chapters, anti-Spanish sentiment was closely associated with imperial aspirations by some pamphleteers. Thus, the associations between Spanish brutality and conquest made by Daunce, and the use of Las Casas’ rhetoric by Greene and Bigges, as well as the anonymous author of *A Comparison*, made the case for a more peaceful, Protestant method of colonisation presented by Hakluyt earlier in the decade. Finally, the pride of the Spanish, and the prediction that the Spanish Empire was beginning to decline, leading to its inevitable fall, is taken to its most dramatic conclusion by Daunce when he predicts the fall after noting Philip considered himself one of the mightiest kings in Europe. It is therefore apparent that although the traits ascribed to the Spanish throughout the decade were all still present, the role played by them can be seen to have changed in relation to the political situation, and accordingly, the perceived threat posed by Spain in the years 1589-1590.

Conclusion

This thesis has investigated how pamphlet literature produced in London in the 1580s reflected diplomatic relations between England and Spain, demonstrating that the language used to describe the Spanish was closely associated with the political developments between the two countries. The project has explored associations between the Spanish and the negative characteristics of dishonesty, brutality, and pride that were circulating Europe in the late medieval period. The introduction of the trait of cowardice has also been identified in the pamphlet literature of the 1580s. This project has established that the anti-Spanish content of the texts developed the concept of the Spanish ‘other’ in the English national consciousness, an ‘other’ that was beginning to be based on ethnic rather than religiopolitical differences and was thus irreconcilable. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that emphasis and association of these traits changed over the course of the decade, reflecting the political developments between England and Spain in the 1580s. The study examined the use of negative traits associated with the Spanish in pamphlet literature, establishing that the texts were accessible to a broad section of English society, and therefore ideal for the dissemination of Hispanophobic attitudes. The thesis has demonstrated that the focus of the four negative traits, found in the forty-four pamphlets interrogated, changed over the course of the decade, indicating that their association with the Spanish was intended to elicit different reactions from the audience depending on the context and timing of the pamphlet. The investigation found that the traits of dishonesty and brutality were associated with the Spaniards and their allies throughout the decade, whereas the traits of cowardice and pride were not discussed until 1584. Moreover, exploring the theme of navigation and exploration established that the publication of texts that discussed Spanish achievements in this area was closely related to Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, providing further insight into the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment and its relationship to English imperial aspirations and identity construction.

Texts printed between 1580 and 1582 portrayed the dishonesty of Spain's political actions in the Low Countries and the potential dangers posed by Jesuit missionaries that arrived in England in 1580. Philip II's recent annexation of Portugal greatly increased Spain's economic and military might and implications of dishonesty, levelled at Spanish officials and their allies, were intended to highlight the potential threat posed by Spain. By illuminating the ways in which the Spanish Catholic allies in the Netherlands had allegedly deceived the inhabitants, the pamphlets posed a warning for the English about what their future would be if the Spanish Empire continued to expand. This trait was also useful to caution the English about the arrival of Jesuit missionaries who could potentially subvert loyalist English Catholics. Increases in recusancy fines in the opening years of the decade were enacted due to the perceived threat posed by the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries, leading to a division between loyalist English Catholics and those who pledged allegiance to the Pope. Thus, the close associations drawn between the Jesuits and the Spanish in the opening years of the decade, and the accusations of dishonesty levelled at both, was the beginning of a conceptual division in which English Catholicism was 'chosen'. Allegiance to the monarch rather than the Pope was central to Catholic survival in the latter years of the sixteenth century, demonstrating a shift in the English Catholic mentality that linked them with ideas of 'Englishness' over continental Catholicism, suggesting that the Spaniards' religious allegiance was key in the differentiation of the 'other' in the early years of the decade.

Moreover, in the translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Brief account of the destruction of the Indies* in 1583, the trait of dishonesty was combined with that of excessive brutality, and the actions of the conquistadors in the 'New World' displayed that the conquest was performed using extreme violence with a lack of regard for the spiritual conversion of the indigenous peoples, implying their professed motivation was dishonest and was carried out with excessive cruelty. The slight amendment to Las Casas' original text, which changed the word 'Christian'

for ‘Spaniard’, focused the anti-Spanish sentiment by insinuating that the excessive brutality of the conquistadors was a manifestation of their naturally barbaric nature. Making reference to their Visigothic ancestry placed new emphasis on the ethnic foundations of Spanish brutality, assisting in the creation of a naturally barbaric Spanish ‘other’ into the English national consciousness. Thus, as England’s expansionist policies were being developed in competition with Spain, the construction of a cruel and deceitful Spanish ‘other’ was a means by which the English promoters of these expeditions could garner support, suggesting an alternative Protestant method of colonisation that employed kindness and friendship, as opposed to cruelty and subjugation, presented as a specifically ‘English’ approach to colonisation. However, it was apparent that this expansionist drive was underpinned by admiration and emulation of the Spanish success in the ‘New World’, with the publication of translated works by Agustín de Zárate and Pedro de Medina. However, there was evidence of growing distain for the Spanish in the prefatory material that suggests this emulation was masked by repudiation of the text’s Spanish origins, suggesting that England’s imperial aspirations were being shaped by Spain’s prior achievements, but that this emulation was obfuscated in the texts.

By considering pamphlets that promoted English expansion, the thesis has demonstrated that the association of the Spanish with brutality was continued in 1584, when Richard Hakluyt utilised much of Las Casas’ hyperbolic language to support his proposal for expeditions to the ‘New World’. The contents of *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* demonstrate the desire to embark on English voyages of exploration, with the stated goal of propagating the Protestant faith and expanding England’s trading networks to benefit the economy. The text emphasises the deceitful and barbaric nature of the Spanish conquest in order to promote English voyages, and the Spanish method of colonisation was presented as oppositional to the peaceful Protestant one being promoted by Hakluyt, demonstrating that the creation of a Spanish ‘other’ was a useful construct when garnering interest in English expeditions. Yet the reprinting of Cortés’

Arte of Navigation in 1584, which included the laudatory preface originally written by Richard Eden in the first edition, printed in 1561, suggests that there was still some desire to emulate the imperial success achieved by Spain in the sixteenth century. However, with the outbreak of war in 1585 the focus of anti-Spanish sentiment in the texts changed, as did the intended audience. The investigation identified that the promotion of English expansionism was eschewed after 1585, as texts focused on ‘othering’ the Spaniard for domestic defence. It has been established that there was a growing interest in news related pamphlets in the 1580s, so those discussing current affairs, both domestic and foreign, were of universal interest. Furthermore, the commencement of war with Spain made these pamphlets relevant to all sections of society, thus the concept of the Spanish ‘other’, and consequently an English ‘self’, could be more widely disseminated than in previous texts. While dishonesty was still associated with the Spaniards’ religion and the arrival of the Jesuits in the middle years of the decade, the trait was more closely associated with Spanish military manoeuvres in 1585, insinuating the Spaniards’ bravado was nothing more than boasts, a beneficial idea to propagate as the threat posed by Spain to English shores increased. This trait was presented with the introduction of Spanish pride, implying that the Spaniards’ confidence in their military might was misplaced, an inclusion that was clearly intended to bolster English courage as Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations deteriorated into war. Therefore, the anti-Spanish content of the pamphlets printed in 1585 and 1586 was closely related to political developments, introducing themes that would be useful to instil in the national consciousness if Spanish hostilities escalated. Furthermore, the investigation found that the introduction of the trait of cowardice in 1585 was also intended to provide courage to the English when faced with Spanish hostilities. In the pamphlets reporting the escape of two English ships, implications of Spanish incompetence and cowardice bolstered English fortitude to repel the Spanish as the war progressed, while the providential

aspect of the escape assisted the development of an English 'self', as these demonstrated God's favour for the English Protestants.

The portrayal of Spanish brutality was continued between 1584 and 1586, and each instance of this was linked back to the 1583 translation of Las Casas' polemic, indicating the importance of this text in the development of the anti-Spanish 'Black Legend' in the propagandist tracts of the 1580s. However, the context and implications of Spanish brutality developed, suggesting that its efficacy as Hispanophobic propaganda was conceived of differently as the political climate changed. As mentioned above, the brutality portrayed in Hakluyt's manuscript was used to demonstrate the cruelty of the conquistadors to denigrate Spanish colonial practices, with the intent of promoting English expansionism. While the inclusion of Spanish brutality in 1586 was again associated with the exaggerated language of Las Casas, the ethnic dimension of this was developed as the Spanish were associated with 'Turkish wickedness', an accusation first suggested by Las Casas in his 1552 polemic but developed by the propagandist *Apologie* of William of Orange in 1580. Thus, it is apparent that the turn from 'ethos' to 'ethnos' was being instilled in the English consciousness, further 'othering' the Spanish by developing the idea that differences between the two countries were drawn along ethnic lines, and therefore irreconcilable. Moreover, there was reiteration of the brutality displayed by the Spanish in the Low Countries, again echoing the warning presented by the preface to *The Spanish Colonie*, suggesting that this change in focus was intended to demonstrate the danger that the Spanish posed to English Protestants with the commencement of war.

The association of the Spaniard with pride was first identified in the pamphlets under investigation between 1584 and 1586, and the inclusion of this trait again reflected the political developments in the second half of the 1580s. The Spanish were mocked for their pride, and the implication that pride comes before a fall was introduced in the texts, but this trait was not as prevalent as brutality, dishonesty or cowardice in this period. However, towards the end of

the decade the mocking tone was combined with the proverbial fall, and the themes were utilised in tandem. The texts produced between 1587 and 1588 referenced the biblical adage ‘pride goeth before destruction’, while mocking the cowardice of the Spanish military leaders after the defeat of the Spanish fleet. The study found that the trait of cowardice was again present in the pamphlets printed in 1587, indicating that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment between 1585 and 1587 was still to prepare the English in the event of Spanish invasion and therefore closely associated with political developments. Furthermore, the reports of the continued threat posed by Spain were assisting the development of a unifying nationalist sentiment in England, as a prolonged external threat is one of the components of the construction of nationalism considered in this investigation. This nationalist sentiment was strengthened by texts recounting the successes of Sir Francis Drake against the Spanish in the ‘New World’, as these presented Drake in an historical framework, demonstrating that he was the most recent in a line of Christian champions that led the English to glory against heretics and heathens. The investigation found that this, coupled with the attribution of victory to God’s providence again, fostered the burgeoning idea of an English ‘self’, by creating associations with myths and historical memories, another important component of identity construction. Moreover, as the pamphlets were placing these historical examples in the context of the present conflict, the pamphlets appealed to a broad cross-section of society as they were reporting news of Drake’s successes.

The trait of cowardice was found again in the pamphlets produced after the Armada attack in 1588, demonstrating that the pamphlets were still closely associated with the diplomatic relationship between England and Spain. Although the battle was over, the war continued, and therefore mocking the cowardice of the Spaniards was still useful for the future defence of the realm, should Spain mount another attack. Thus, again, the anti-Spanish sentiment included in the pamphlets was closely associated with the political situation in England. This attempt to

maintain English resolve after the attack was evident in the inclusion of reports of English Catholic loyalty to the Queen. While this was not a new development – the Catholic loyalists had been keen to demonstrate their allegiance and separate themselves from the Spanish influenced Jesuits from the beginning of the 1580s - the emphasis on this in 1588 suggests that this was a propagandist effort produced at a time when the government was having difficulty in raising funds to mount a counterattack against Spain. Thus, the implication of nationalist sentiment felt by English Catholics was intended to include them in the construction of an English ‘self’ rooted in national, rather than religious concerns, further developing the ethnic differences between the two nations in an attempt to create an illusion of unity needed to continue to defend against further Spanish hostilities, and also raise the funds to mount an offensive against them.

The investigation found that inclusion of Spanish brutality in 1587 was again influenced by Las Casas’ descriptions of the conquistadors in the ‘New World’. This again demonstrated how integral Las Casas’ polemic was in the conception and dissemination of the ‘Black Legend’ creating a Spanish ‘other’ based on the excessive nature of their barbarous actions. However, brutality was only included in one pamphlet in 1587, and this was associated more broadly with Catholic brutality, discussing events in Naples and the Indies. This suggests that once again the association with brutality was intended to provide a warning to the English to guard against both Spanish and Catholic invasion and colonisation, reflecting a growing concern about the role played by surviving Catholics in England. This was contrary to the other pamphlets that discussed Catholics in 1587, suggesting that the instances where Spanish brutality was discussed related to differing perceptions about the imminent invasion in the public sphere. In the months preceding the invasion it would have been imperative to maintain English courage in the face of the much larger Spanish forces, and pamphlets discussing the Spaniards’ brutal actions could have promoted fear over bravery, thus its inclusion would have

been counterproductive. However, when the immediate danger had passed, the pamphlets in 1588 once again returned to this theme. The thesis established that there was continuity in the implication of Spanish pride in 1588, utilising this to mock them for their alleged cowardice and develop the narrative that pride goes before a fall. There was an emphasis on the vainglorious way in which the Spanish advertised their mighty fleet prior to the invasion, which was followed by their swift retreat when their defeat became apparent. This was coupled with references to England's providential victory, which were reinforced with the insinuation of Spain's proverbial fall, inferring that the English were God's chosen people, and further developing the concept of an English 'self', constructed in opposition to the Spanish 'other'. It was established that this mocking tone of anti-Spanish sentiment was also apparent in texts that discussed the dishonesty of the Spaniard in 1587 and 1588, cementing the construct of an English 'self' that was superior to the Spanish 'other' in the national consciousness. Moreover, the trait of dishonesty, which was associated with both Spain's political actors and Catholic beliefs, again referenced Las Casas in the suggestion that these apparently pious men allowed the murder and destruction of the 'New World' inhabitants. This repeated return to the behaviour of the Spaniards in the conquest of the Americas further developed the 'Black Legend', cementing the concept of the Spanish 'other' in English national consciousness, and the utility of this was demonstrated in the post-Armada context of 1589 and 1590.

The trait of dishonesty was still present in the pamphlets at the close of the decade, but in most cases the focus emphasised the virtue of the English, suggesting that the dishonest Spanish 'other' was being employed to progress the idea of the virtuous English 'self'. The traits of dishonesty and pride were again ascribed to the Spanish, and association with biblical figures such as Absalom and Achitophel reinforced the idea that the English were morally superior. The association of Spanish dishonesty with English virtue is apparent in several texts in 1589, demonstrating that this was intended to strengthen the concept of the victorious English 'self',

a notion apparent in the pamphlets that discuss the failure of the Portuguese expedition to attack the remnants of the Spanish fleet. While there was still concern about the threat posed by Spain as the war continued, this defeat could damage English morale. Therefore, texts that reported the ‘truth’ of the defeat, based on the lack of support from England rather than the actions of Drake and his men, maintained the legacy of Drake and demonstrated that it was not the loss of God’s divine favour that had led to it. Thus, the role played by these ‘true’ reports of English victory are equally as important as the outright anti-Spanish texts when it came to the construction of a nationalist narrative that could unite the English and instil belief in the emerging imperial identity. The trait of pride was again associated with Spain’s barbarous ancestry in 1589 and 1590. In 1589 reference to the pride of the Saracens once again reinforced the ethnic dimension of Spanish ‘otherness’, implying that the pride of the Spanish was inherent and was closely associated with barbarity. Furthermore, there was the implication that Spanish pride preceded their fall and, consequently, that the empire of Spain was in decline. There was continuation in the mocking of the prideful posturing of the Spanish prior to the Armada, and their cowardice and ineptitude, which inevitably led to their defeat. The investigation found that associations with the trait of pride, which was increasingly evoked in the pamphlets between 1585 and 1590, can be seen to perform two functions. In 1586 and 1587 this would have been a useful idea to bolster the courage of the English prior to the invasion, as it suggests that the prideful Spanish would naturally suffer defeat. However, in the years 1589 and 1590 this concept was appropriate to help reignite English imperial aspirations.

The project established that reports of English voyages of exploration were not printed between 1585 and 1589, as the Naval resources required were sequestered for the war effort. However, in 1589, Hakluyt produced his *Principall Navigations*, a book intended to demonstrate England’s historical seafaring success and reignite interest in English exploration, while Las Casas’ graphic descriptions of the Spanish conquest were again repeated in several pamphlets

produced in this period. Also in 1589, Walter Bigges' account of Drake's successful raids in the 'New World' presented the ease with which Drake bested the Spanish in their own territories, but also provided thorough descriptions of the land, animals and inhabitants that he encountered. Thus, these texts demonstrated the apparent ease with which the English could realise their imperial aspirations, suggesting that the role of anti-Spanish sentiment at the end of the 1580s was, in part, to promote the specifically 'English' method of colonisation. Moreover, these tales of Drake's privateering success can be seen as a turn away from the earlier texts that promoted imitation of Spanish colonial successes. Thus, lucrative privateering ventures were being promoted over colonial aspirations, suggesting 'disavowed emulation' of the Spanish was changing into outright competition in matters of exploration and colonisation.

This investigation into the role played by anti-Spanish sentiment in the pamphlets produced in England between 1580 and 1590 has demonstrated that the anti-Spanish sentiment in the texts was closely related to Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, reflecting the political climate at the time of printing. The trait of dishonesty was incorporated as a warning to highlight the threat posed by Spain, both spiritually and physically, and this appears to be its function in the early years of the decade. However, when coupled with the trait of pride in the texts, the association with dishonesty appears to be implying the inevitable downfall of the Spanish Empire, yet when dishonesty was presented alongside brutality it was denoting the unjust nature of the Spanish conquest, promoting an idea of a specifically 'English' method of colonisation that was built in opposition to the cruel Spanish 'other'. The trait of brutality was intrinsically linked with Las Casas' hyperbolic descriptions of the Spanish conquest and the dissemination of the nascent 'Black Legend' in England, useful in the promotion of English expansionism and to provide a warning about the nature of the Spaniard as hostilities commenced. This also developed a concept of an English 'self', that was virtuous and just as opposed to the deceitful Spanish 'other'. However, the conspicuous lack of reference to brutality in 1587 suggests that,

with Spanish attack on the horizon, this theme was counter-productive when the defence of England was the most pressing matter. Thus it is clear that the focus of anti-Spanish sentiment in the texts changed throughout the decade to reflect the priorities of the English as the relationship with Spain deteriorated. Furthermore, the anti-Spanish sentiment found in pamphlets printed in England in the 1580s can be seen to be creating the Spanish 'other' that formed the basis of the 'Black Legend' in early modern England, a concept against which the idea of an English 'self' could be constructed in order to begin the process of imperial expansion.

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