WILL YOU TURN TURK HERE: THE MAKINGS OF IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA

by

CAITLIN ELIZABETH O'GRADY

(Under the Direction of Benjamin Ehlers)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of Elizabethan and Jacobean (1558-1625) drama in establishing an English national identity. England's burgeoning trade relationship with the Ottoman Empire brought merchants into contact with exotic commodities and the mystical religion of Islam. This new relationship with the East caused religious anxieties towards Muslims in an England already engaged in religious warfare with Catholic Spain. These fears towards Islam presented themselves in pamphlets, proclamations, poems, and captivity narratives. To explore the dangers of crossing boundaries, this thesis chronologically examines dramas engaging with the East, published by Thomas Heywood, Robert Daborne, and Philip Massinger. Scenes of piracy, captivity, and conversion demonstrate the dangers of crossing the geographical boundaries from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and the moral boundaries of illicit piracy and sex. These works also demonstrate the fluidity of conversion by blurring the lines between privateer and pirate, English and Ottoman, and Christian and Muslim.

INDEX WORDS: Elizabethan, Jacobean, English, Ottoman, Drama, Islam, Muslim, Christian, Heywood, Daborne, Massinger, Piracy, Conversion

WILL YOU TURN TURK HERE: THE MAKINGS OF IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA

by

CAITLIN ELIZABETH O'GRADY

B.A., The University of Georgia, 2015

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ART

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2017

© 2017

Caitlin Elizabeth O'Grady

All Rights Reserved

WILL YOU TURN TURK HERE: THE MAKINGS OF IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA

by

CAITLIN ELIZABETH O'GRADY

Major Professor:	Benjamin Ehlers
Committee:	Sujata Iyengar
	Miriam Jacobson
	Jennifer Palmer

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2017

DEDICATION

For Idamae O’Grady

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Dr. Benjamin Ehlers for his continued support of my thesis and research. His suggestions, motivation, and knowledge helped guide my writing, and I could not imagine a more involved advisor. I would like to thank the rest of my committee, Dr. Jennifer Palmer, Dr. Sujata Iyengar, and Dr. Miriam Jacobson for their helpful comments and encouragement on this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The allure of the exotic East tantalized an early modern England eager to expand commercial networks in the Mediterranean. The English draw towards the Islamic world began in earnest when merchants initiated a trade business with Morocco and Syria in the mid-sixteenth century. Henry VIII was a proud supporter of these ventures, often appareling himself in a Turkish fashion, outfitted in silks, velvets, turbans, and scimitars acquired through Ottoman exchange.[1] However, it was under Elizabeth's sovereignty that trade flourished in the East. Elizabeth received a letter in late September 1579 from Ottoman Sultan Murad III in response to the arrival of William Harborne, an Englishman, in Constantinople.[2] The sultan's alliance with the Sultana of Anletār allowed for a seventeen-year communication between the young Ottoman and the English queen, and the establishment of a profitable trade network.[3] However, this unlikely connection, forged as a result of England's limited commercial access in Catholic Europe, also exposed Englishmen to the threat of conversion by Muslims in the East.[4] England's burgeoning trade relationship with the Ottoman Empire coupled with the influx of foreign emissaries to London shaped a trend in theatrical storytelling to focus on piracy, captivity, and conversion.

---

[1] Jerry Brotton, *The Sultan and the Queen: The Untold Story of Elizabeth and Islam*, (New York: Viking, 2016), 4.

[2] This was the first communication between the sultan and the queen. Brotton, *The Sultan and the Queen*, 1.

[3] Sultana of Anletār is a name referring to Elizabeth I.

[4] Elizabethan subjects were unfamiliar with the term Muslim, as its first recorded use in English was in 1615. There were various other terms employed to describe Ottomans in the early modern period: "Mahometans," "Ottomites," "Saracens," "Persians," "Moors," "Pagans," "Turks." Brotton, *The Sultan and the Queen*, 5. [*See* Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013),1.]

With the outlawing of privateering in 1604 under James I, piracy became a lucrative profession for unemployed English sailors. Barbary piracy also posed a threat to English merchants in the Mediterranean who faced captivity and conversion as a result of plundering at sea. Early modern dramatists such as Thomas Heywood, Robert Daborne, and Philip Massinger incorporated pirates into their works, and dazzled early modern audiences with swashbuckling characters on the stage.[5] However, the illegality of piracy made characters such as Captain Ward and Grimaldi villains on the stage. The piracy of fictionalized characters on the stage resulted from the conversion of loyal crown subjects to renegades, and mirrored the Islamic conversion of Christians. In the early modern period, pirate was synonymous with "plunderer," "raider," and "despoiler."[6] This piratical description extends to Muslim stereotypes of the period, including barbarism through the ravaging of cities and people.[7] While piracy was not a catchall term for Islamic converts, several early modern works portray piracy as the first stage of Islamic conversion.

While there are several early modern works that engage with the concept of "turning Turk," Thomas Heywood's drama *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II*, Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk*, and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* engage directly with the topic of privateering and piracy, particularly how piracy prefigures Islamic conversion.[8] Heywood's adventure drama, *The Fair Maid of the West*, navigates England's tumultuous relationship with Spain during the prolonged Anglo-Spanish Wars of the late sixteenth century, and the budding

---

[5] Piracy was not only a popular topic of "Turkish Theater," but extended to the composition of early modern works. Without copyright laws, playwrights pirated information from one another's works. Plays also function as a form of piracy because they hijack the audience into occupying a different world during a performance.

[6] "pirate, n.". OED Online. March 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/Entry/144494?rskey=J38xCd&result=1 (accessed March 15, 2017).

[7] [*See* Robert Greene, *Selimus*, *Emperor of the Turks*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, from *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.); Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*, ed. Anthony B. Dawson, (London: Methuen Drama, 1997).]

[8] "Turning" is a reference to conversion, particularly in association with Islamic conversion.

trade connections with England's Ottoman allies. Bess Bridges, a tavern mistress turned Elizabethan privateer, seeks to reclaim the body of her lost love, Spencer, from the Spanish in Cadiz. Her cross-dressing, fearsome demeanor, and diplomatic prowess allow Bess to defeat the Spanish in Part I, where more seasoned sailors such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Ralegh failed. Part II of the play explores Bess' interactions in the Moroccan court of Fez, where she charms Mullisheg with her beauty and intelligence. Spencer, presumed dead at the blade of the Spanish, appears in Fez, where they are reunited and wed with the blessing of the sultan. Bess and Spencer narrowly escape from the plotted sexual liaison meant to defile them at the hands of Mullisheg and his wife Tota. The English nobility overawes the Moroccan court, which grants the lovers leave of Fez. The couple faces another separation when attacked by French pirates, but reunite happily at the culmination of the play. Heywood's adventure play explores themes of privateering, piracy, diplomacy, and sexuality, and serves to portray England as a virtuous and successful global power.[9]

Robert Daborne's early Jacobean play, *A Christian Turned Turk*, drew inspiration from the real life piracy and Islamic conversion of Captain John Ward, Englishman turned renegade. Ward commits atrocities at sea, plundering European merchant ships for wealth and captives to sell at the Tunisian marketplace. The attempts of captives to bring Ward back to the Christian fold fail, and he converts to Islam in an attempt to marry the seductive and beautiful Voada, a Turkish woman. Voada does not reciprocate Ward's feelings, and instead loves Fidelio, a cross-dressed Alizia, whose sailor disguise protects her from defilement. However, Voada blames Ward for Alizia's death, and subsequently claims he violently abused her. His lack of sway over the Tunisian viceroy and captain of the janissaries leads to his eternal damnation, though he

[9] Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II. Regents Renaissance Drama Series*, Ed. Robert K. Turner, J., (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

delivers an anti-Muslim speech and implores the audience to be wary of the dangers of conversion. Daborne's play demonstrates Ward's position as neither fully English due to his piracy and Islamic conversion, or Muslim, because of his position as a pawn of the Tunisian court.[10]

Philip Massinger's late Jacobean play, *The Renegado*, is set in the North African port city of Tunis, and explores the problematic relationship between Christian Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean. Antonio Grimaldi, the title character, abandons his Venetian Christian identity for the life of a Barbary Corsair in service to Asambeg, the Viceroy of Tunis. Grimaldi and his pirates capture the virtuous and pious Paulina, and sell her to Asambeg's harem, where the viceroy is arrested by her beauty and chastity and refuses to defile her. However, the protagonist of the play is Vitelli, a Venetian gentleman disguised as a merchant, who travels to Tunis accompanied by a Jesuit priest, Francisco, and servant, Gazet, in an attempt to rescue his virtuous sister from sexual incontinency. While in Tunis, Vitelli faces seduction by Donusa, a Turkish princess, who threatens his Christian spirituality and masculinity. Their forbidden love leads to imprisonment, and Donusa subsequently attempts to convert Vitelli to Islam in order to obtain a legally sanctioned marriage. In a surprising turn of events, Vitelli converts Donusa to Christianity. Simultaneously, Asambeg's irritable disposition ends Grimaldi's piratical career, and is the catalyst behind Grimaldi's conversion to Christianity. His remorse for his actions as a Barbary corsair initiates the organization of the escape of Vitelli, Donusa, and Paulina from Tunis to Italy with the help of Francisco. Massinger's tragicomedy explores themes of trade, captivity, sexuality, and conversion, and serves as an example of the redemptive power of

[10] Robert Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, from *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Christianity.[11] These plays work together to provide an understanding of what it meant to be an English Christian in a time characterized by political and religious disquietude domestically and internationally. They serve to examine theatrical tropes such as piracy, apostasy, sexual transgression, and Islamic conversion popular in the "Turkish theater" canon. These plays help to create a standard English national identity that contrasted the perception of the East as exotic and barbarous.[12]

In addition to theatrical representations of Muslims, pamphlets, proclamations, captivity narratives, and travel accounts circulated in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These sources demonstrate the widespread fear of Islamic conversion, and the consequences for disobeying the authority of the English crown. Several proclamations published during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods introduce the increasing number of merchants turned pirates during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Privateer Richard Bishop expressed the resentment seafarers felt for the king's new laws regarding piracy and privateering; the king "hath lessened by this general peace the flourishing employment that we seafaring men do bleed for at sea."[13] His sentiments convey the discontent that merchants felt with the outlawing of privateering and dismantling of the English navy, as employment opportunities dwindled.[14] In response to increasing mercantile discontent, James issued a proclamation in 1603 to repress piracies on the sea in order to maintain an unstable peace with Spain. James' abhorrence of piracy led to strict consequences for sailors engaging in illicit

[11] A tragicomedy is a literary genre that combines the conventions of comedy and tragedy. Oftentimes, tragicomedies are serious works that have a favorable ending.
[12] Philip Massinger, *The Renegado*, Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, from *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
[13] As cited in Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean*, (New York: Riverhead Books, 2010), 20.
[14] Tinniswood notes that the English navy, the envy of Europe, outfitted a mere thirty-seven ships by 1607. Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 20.

activities including the confiscation of cargo and the possibility of execution.[15] Captain Ward represents one such Englishman turned renegade in the seventeenth century, however, he eludes capture and the penalties mediated for his actions.[16] The 1605 publication of the *Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce* detailed James' attempts at peaceful negotiations with Philip III of Spain.[17] This treatise stipulated that both England and Spain abstain from plundering on sea and by land. This document reflects the end of government-sanctioned seizures of Spanish goods, and the English interference with Spanish trade routes in the Atlantic. Despite James' attempts to terminate English privateering and piracy, sailors sought ways to accrue wealth at sea, even if that meant travelling to the Levant to seek a sanctuary for pirates.

Piracy was an important part of English popular culture in the early modern period as pamphlets, ballads, and poems circulated in print culture.[18] Many pamphlets published during the early years of the Jacobean period claimed to report true accounts of renegades, those who converted from Christianity to Islam. Early modern pamphlets serve to elucidate the political and religious climate of the period from the perspective of the Englishman, as well as general misconceptions about Islam. Andrew Barker's 1609 pamphlet, *A true and certaine report of the beginning, proceedings, overthrows, and now present estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker…*,

---

[15] England and Wales. Sovereign, *By the King. A proclamation to represse all piracies and depredations upon the sea*, (Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, 1603), Folger Shakespeare Library, Early English Books Online (accessed March 15, 2017).

[16] Several other notorious pirates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left legacies equally as interesting as Captain Ward. The 1583 execution of Thomas Walton (alias Purser) and Clinton Atkinson (alias Clinton) litters Elizabethan *Calendar of State Papers* and inspired the publication of several popular ballads. Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime*, (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010), 18.

[17] *Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce concluded in the names of the most high and mighty kings, and princes Iames by the grace of God, King of great Britaine, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and Philip the third, King of Spaine, &c. and Albertus and Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archdukes of Austrice, Dukes of Burgundie, &c. In a treatie at London the 18. day of August after the old stile in the yeere of our Lord God 1604. Translated out of Latine into English.* 1605, British Library, Early English Books Online (accessed March 15, 2017).

[18] Ballads written on Captain Ward's infamous piracy, such as *The Famous sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow*, circulated in the 1620s. Poems immortalized other pirates including Purser and Clinton, such as the 1583 ballad *Clinton's Lamentacyon* and the 1586 work *The Confessions of the 9 Rovers, Clinton and Purser beinge chief*. Both of these poems are now lost. [*See* Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*.]

and Anthony Nixon's *Newes from sea, of two notorious pyrates Ward the Englishman, and Danseker the Dutchman…* chronicle the dangers of Islamic conversion and piracy.[19] Both of these pamphlets grapple with the rumbustious life of Captain John Ward, and his acquisitions and exploits at sea. While both these pamphlets provide useful information into an early modern understanding of Ward's conversion, the information they provide is likely unreliable due to their entertainment value.[20] Various merchant accounts similarly provide compelling information about European encounters with pirates in the Mediterranean. John Fox's narrative, published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principle Navigations* in 1589, details his daring escape from Alexandria with English slaves captured in the Mediterranean by Barbary corsairs.[21] While these primary sources coupled with theatrical works illuminate the early modern fears associated with the exoticism of the East, historical and theatrical secondary materials explore anxieties towards trade, piracy, and conversion in the Ottoman Empire.

Colonial and postcolonial theories provide a multiethnic and interdisciplinary introduction into England's interactions with the East in the early modern period. Edward Said's pivotal work *Orientalism* provides the bedrock for many contemporary examinations of the

---

[19] Andrew Barker, *A true and certaine report of the beginning, proceedings, ouerthrowes, and now present estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous pirates from their first setting foorth to this present time. As also the firing of 25. saile of the Tunis, men of warre: together with the death of diuers of Wards chiefe captaines. Published by Andrew Barker master of a ship, who was taken by the confederates of Ward, and by them some time detained prisoner, 1609*, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Early English Books Online (accessed November 2015).; Anthony Nixon, *Nevves from sea, of tvvo notorious pyrats Ward the Englishman, and Danseker the Dutchman VVith a true relation of all or the most piraces [sic] by them committed vnto the sixt of Aprill, 1609*, Henry E. Library and Art Gallery, Early English Books Online (accessed November 2015).

[20] Daborne's work used these publications as inspiration for his stage version of the infamous pirate captain; however, he referenced these sources loosely, as his play embellishes many accounts of Ward not included in the pamphlets. Daniel Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 26.

[21] John Fox, *The worthy enterprise of John Fox, an Englishman, in delivering 266 Christians out of captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, the third of January 1577,* Ed. By Daniel J. Vitkus, from *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

intersection between East and West in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[22] While largely a critique of the European understandings and misconceptions of orientalism from the eighteenth century onwards, Said defined "orientalism" as a "Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[23] This watershed examination of orientalism does little by way of examining the East prior to the eighteenth century, and lacks theater as representative of his argument. Recent scholarship on colonialism and postcolonialism by Ania Loomba clarifies the early modern relationship between trade and colonialism, particularly in the Mediterranean. Common misconceptions about colonialism locate Spanish and English imperial ventures to the Americas, whereas English ventures in the East were solely mercantile.[24] However, she argues that European violence in North and South Africa indicates the fluidity of colonial ideologies, rather than an absence of desire for domination.[25] Europe's aspiration for colonial supremacy transformed the connection between literature and colonialism. Loomba argues that literature's connection to colonial discourse began with Plato, and navigated the line between real and imaginary. This division helped to establish literature as a place of "transculturation," which she defines as works that absorbed and appropriated aspects of "otherness" to develop new genres and identities.[26] Loomba's work opens the door for new avenues of colonial study such as the interconnection between early colonialism and modern globalization. Her work provides a foundation for the understanding of the diverse interactions occurring between Europe and the

---

[22] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[23] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[24] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Third Edition, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 25. [*See* Irfan Habib, *Confronting Colonialism: Resistance and Modernization Under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, (New York: Anthem Press, 2002).]
[25] Loomba distinguishes between the terms colonialism and imperialism. She defines imperialism as the process that leads to domination of another region, but its origin is in the metropolis; whereas colonialism is what actually occurs in the colonies as a result of imperialism (28). Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 25.
[26] Loomba attributes the creation of travel narratives in early modern Europe to an amalgamation of fictive information and contemporary observations. Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 82.

Mediterranean in the early modern period, which is a popular discourse in contemporary publications.

There are three main bodies of scholarship that explore early modern English commercial networks with the Ottoman Empire: works on early modern theatrical representations of Anglo-Ottoman contacts, poetry and rhetoric, and historical monographs on piracy, trade, and captivity.[27] Scholars such as Daniel Vitkus and Matthew Dimmock provide interdisciplinary examinations of the Anglo-Ottoman relationship during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras.[28] The marriage of these divergent fields of scholarship allows for a greater contextualization and understanding of the production of dramas interacting with the Ottoman Empire, and their relationship to foreign nations and the anxieties associated with exoticism. This interdisciplinary examination seeks to demonstrate the fluidity of conversion from pirate to Muslim, and the dangers of crossing both moral and geographical boundaries.[29]

Literary scholars producing works on early modern theater and its connection to the Mediterranean, such as Daniel Vitkus and Jonathan Burton, often examine English religious anxieties, particularly the fear of conversion by the Turk. They additionally focus on stereotypical characterizations of the Turk as barbaric and seductive, which appear as a common thread amongst what Burton terms the "Turkish Plays."[30] The subgenre of "Turkish Plays" is an important area of inquiry because it reveals English stereotypes that arose in conjunction with

---

[27] [*See* Miriam Jacobson, *Barbarous Antiquity: Reorienting the Past in the Poetry of Early Modern England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).]

[28] [*See* Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).; Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*.; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2005).]

[29] [*See* Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).]

[30] Burton refers to early modern English theater engaging with the Ottoman Empire as "Turkish." Though not all references to Islam in these works are Ottoman, he denotes this subgenre as "Turkish" because Islam and notions of "Turkishness" were synonymous during this period, and because England's misguided understanding of Islam stemmed from their mercantile relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 13.

Anglo-Ottoman trade networks, and further reveals the construction of English religious anxieties towards apostasy. This scholarship seeks to answer questions about the role of female sexuality in the Mediterranean as well as the purpose of vilifying Muslims on the stage.[31]

Scholars such as Daniel Vitkus, Jonathan Burton, and Jane Hwang Degenhardt engage in conversations surrounding English religious anxieties on the stage, and the threat Muslim characters posed to Christianity. Vitkus' 2003 monograph initiates this interest in forging relationships with the Turks. He argues that burgeoning English contacts with the Ottomans facilitated the transformation of England into an empire. He expands this argument to include the importance of the early modern theater in impressing upon an audience the new exchanges with the "other," and to prepare them for the possibility of "perilous encounters of bodies, minds, faiths, and desires."[32] His critical examination of plays such as Shakespeare's *Othello* and Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II* identify English anxieties towards Muslims stemming from mercantile connections, principally the perception of Islam as seductive in its ability to convert Christians, which is a topic that Burton's work similarly engages with. Burton's monograph investigates several early modern dramas, and briefly engages with Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk*, in which he argues that Muslim women often appeared as seductresses who drew unwitting Christian men towards damnation.[33] He diverges from Vitkus' work with his exploration of English perceptions and representations of Islam as a byproduct of England's splintered religious system and its belated entrance onto the global stage.[34]

---

[31] [*See* Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).]

[32] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, xiv.

[33] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 127.

[34] Burton's work is also the most vocal about the reimagining of Said's scholarship. Burton works to distinguish sixteenth and seventeenth century representations of the Turk from nineteenth century Orientalism. He argues that the variety of images of Muslims produced by the English during the early modern period range from praiseworthy to controversial (12). This is an important distinction because it diverges from the idea that there was only one

Degenhardt's 2010 publication furthers both Vitkus' and Burton's examinations of Islam as a religion of seduction. Her work engages with dramas such as *Othello* and *The Renegado* in its exploration of "interfaith" sexual encounters and subsequent conversion through the use of "gendered models of seduction, resistance, and redemption."[35] Vitkus, Burton, and Degenhardt focus on varying aspects of the Anglo-Ottoman relationship, but are in agreement on the seductive nature of Islam perpetuated in the "Turkish Plays."

The groundbreaking works of Daniel J. Vitkus are central to this examination, particularly *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean*. This thesis expands on Vitkus' examination of emergent English identity through colonization and Anglo-Ottoman trade by concentrating on the connection between piracy and conversion. While Vitkus similarly emphasizes the formation of an English national identity, he argues that this was a byproduct of an emergent empire. However, this work diverges from Vitkus' central thesis because when plays such as Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* appeared in print, England's colonial empire lay far in the future.[36] The Spanish success in the New World during the sixteenth century perpetuated competition with the English. However, the English were largely unsuccessful in establishing permanent settlements in North America, relegating their efforts to privateering. England faced significant setbacks in the New World with the abandoned Roanoke Colony in 1590 and the failure of Jamestown in 1610.[37] This first push towards colonization did not extend to the Ottoman Empire. James Mather argues that the English were guests in the

---

pervasive perception of the Turk. Heywood, Daborne, and Massinger's plays indicate that the concept of Turk was fluid. Piracy prefigured Islamic conversion in the case of Ward and Grimaldi, and their barbarity associates them with the violence and unpredictability of the Turk. However, Heywood's drama portrays the king of Fez as an easily charmed and merciful Turk. Burton, *Traffic and Turning*.

[35] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 27.

[36] [*See* James A. Williamson, *The Foundation and Growth of the British Empire*, (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1916).]

[37] The establishment of Jamestown in 1607 by the Virginia Company was meant to establish a market overseas, particularly for the cultivation of tobacco. However, Jamestown was a highly unsuccessful venture. By 1609-1610 more than half of the colonists perished due to disease and starvation.

Mediterranean, noting the renowned reputation of the Ottoman Empire in a period when British questions of empire were still unfamiliar. Mather argues that by the dissolution of the Levant Company in the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was rapidly declining, which prefigured a time when the British occupied the Mediterranean not as guests, but as colonizers.[38] With the British failing to establish strongholds in North America, and trading as guests of the Ottoman Empire, this thesis argues that English identity emerged in opposition to Spanish and Mediterranean imperialism, as both posed a religious threat to the Protestant nation.

Said's work shaped the discussion of East and West, with implications for the scholarship on piracy, trade, and captivity. The establishment of trade networks in the Mediterranean, particularly the Levant Company, brought the English into contact with Muslims both domestically and internationally. While not all equally interested in piracy, these books examine the problems piracy posed to English mercantilism, such as the decrease in lucrative trade outposts and the potential for Barbary captivity. These works seek to demonstrate the importance and dangers of Anglo-Ottoman trade relations. With the exception of Adrian Tinniswood's *Pirates of Barbary*, Edward Said's Orientalist theory figures, though minutely, in these works. James Mather agrees with Said's assertion that Anti-Islamic thought was pervasive in the "West" from Islam's inception; however, he seeks to demonstrate how sympathetic ideas co-existed with Anti-Islamic thought and were contingent upon current patterns in politics.[39] This is a similar assertion to Burton's reimagining of Said because it perpetuates the notion that more sympathetic views of Islam existed.

Scholars such as Linda Colley, James Mather, and Alison Games, all engage in discourse surrounding the dangers of trade with the Ottoman Empire. Colley's work *Captives*, published

[38] James Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 14.
[39] Mather, *Pashas*, 11.

in 2002, is a comprehensive examination of captivity in the Mediterranean, America, and India. She characterizes her book as both a micro and macro narrative that contrasts the global perspective of Britain with the individual.[40] In doing so, she focuses on the narratives of individuals often forgotten in history. It is through these narratives that her exploration of the conflicting emotions in Britain towards Muslims reveals itself. In part, these captivity narratives portray Muslims as demons due to their often harsh treatment of captives, but there is a recognition that Mediterranean trade was a necessary evil in order to sustain England's lucrative trade network.[41] Mather similarly examines English commercial relations with the Mediterranean in his 2009 publication, although, he does not engage at length with discourse on captivity. His work seeks to answer the questions about the origins of the encounter between English merchants and the East, as well as to discover the reasoning behind the brevity of the trade relationship.[42] Mather's monograph is an important complement to Colley's work through their mutual examination of the Anglo-Ottoman trade relations that brought English merchants to the Mediterranean, making them vulnerable to capture and captivity by Barbary corsairs. However, he argues that this trade was a byproduct of a collaborative effort rather than a network predicated on European authority.[43] Alison Games' 2010 publication, *The Web of Empire*, delves into England's commercial expansion in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She argues that England remained on the sidelines of global expansion in the sixteenth century, due to military weakness, fiscal constraints, and religious uniformity.[44] However, England forged a

[40] Linda Colley, *Captives*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 17.
[41] Colley does not engage with theater in this book, but it is very possible that English playwrights and audiences were familiar with these narratives, as they circulated in England during the early modern period. These narratives likely functioned as a reference that made Muslim characteristics feel familiar to an audience.
[42] Mather, *Pashas*, 9.
[43] Mather portrays English traders as the guests of the Sultan rather than the supreme mercantile force.
[44] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7.

web of global connections through English migration and exploration, which situated England within a global community of opportunity. She cites the explorations of Patrick Copeland and Thomas Dale as evidence for England's struggle to advance in a competitive global market. Her work is a useful companion to Colley and Mather's publications through her examination of England's seafaring voyages to create trade networks and expand imperial power outside of England. The works on piracy, trade, and captivity provide a complement to theatrical studies by better helping to situate the dramas within a historical context. It is the convergence of these bodies of scholarship that help to elucidate the fear of crossing boundaries in the "Turkish Plays."

While the spectacle of watching swashbuckling pirates and exaggerated Islamic conversion onstage tantalized and terrified early modern audiences, these dramas drew inspiration from real life commercial relationships between England and the Ottoman Empire. The dramatic works of Heywood, Daborne, and Massinger demonstrate the dangers associated with crossing boundaries. These boundaries were not only geographical, as demonstrated through seafaring and marketplace trade in North African port cities, but also sexual, moral, and religious. These plays demonstrate the fluidity of conversion, as characters turn renegade pirate, which prefigures Islamic conversion. This work seeks to demonstrate how loyalty to the crown, legal trade, sexual continency, and Christianity function as tools in the creation of identity. The plays' collectively demonstrate how English national identity emerged as a result of open hostilities with Spain, lucrative trade with the Ottoman Empire, and England's colonial aspirations.

CHAPTER 2

THE IMAGINED ENGLAND: THOMAS HEYWOOD'S *FAIR MAID OF THE WEST, PARTS I AND II*

Thomas Heywood's swashbuckling and salacious adventure drama drew inspiration from the prolonged and costly Anglo-Spanish Wars during a period of religious disquietude between Protestant England and Catholic Spain.[45] His *Fair Maid of the West* plays engage in cross-cultural encounters between a triumphant England and the adversarial powers of Spain and the Ottoman Empire. The setting of Part I occurs amidst England's post-Armada attacks on Spanish port cities, particularly the failed English assault on Cadiz in 1596.[46] The engagement with foreign warfare and diplomatic exchanges in the Mediterranean recalls the reign of Elizabeth I who sought to defeat Catholic Spain and establish lucrative markets in the Mediterranean.[47] The virtuous and charismatic female protagonist, Bess Bridges, functions as a refashioning of the queen by exercising authority over her male counterparts in Spanish encounters and her diplomatic prowess in the Moroccan court. While this play examines Bess as a successful Queen Elizabeth, Heywood also addresses two of the most potent threats to English sovereignty in the early modern period—Catholicism and Islam. According to Vitkus, Protestant ideology equated

[45] While never a formally declared engagement, the Anglo-Spanish Wars lasted from 1585-1604. This conflict was in part a reaction to the English privateering of Spanish merchant vessels, and a response to the Earl of Leicester's expedition into the Netherlands in opposition to Habsburg rule. The conflict formally ended with the Treaty of London in 1604 signed by King James I of England and the Spanish monarch Philip III.

[46] Heywood's sequel to Part I of the play appeared twenty-five years after the original publication, returning to Mullisheg's court in Fez (136). Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 128.

[47] The chartering of the Levant Company in 1581 established commercial centers in Aleppo, Constantinople, and Alexandria.

the dangers of the pope and the sultan with the inevitable appearance of the Antichrist.[48] While Heywood's play examines the intersection of Catholicism and Islam as foreign enemies of Protestant England, his work does not engage with the fear of conversion as other early modern works imply.[49] Rather, this work serves as a commentary on English dominance in an international theater by imagining an England that is noble, virtuous, and militarily capable of defeating foreign adversaries, chiefly Spain and the Ottoman Empire.[50] Elizabeth's failure to end the elongated and expensive war with Spain and dominate the commercial relationship with the Ottoman Empire demonstrates England's shortcomings on the global stage. Through the agency exhibited by Bess, Heywood's play reimagines England as a triumphant and influential world power.

At the beginning of the play Heywood fashions Bess Bridges, an upwardly mobile tavern mistress, as a substitute for Queen Elizabeth, as evidenced by her namesake and chaste reputation. Upon the English defeat of Spanish naval forces in Act IV, Bess implores the merchantmen to "pray for English Bess."[51] Bess appears to conflate herself with the queen by purposefully making it unclear to an audience if she is referencing herself or the monarch. This uncertainty is evident in the reply of the Spanish captain who declares, "I know not whom you mean, but be't your queen,/Famous Elizabeth, I shall report/She and her subjects both are

[48] Vitkus notes that according to Protestant theology, the Devil, pope, and Turk all sought to convert "good" Protestants to a state of eternal damnation (77). Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 77.
[49] The theatrical works of Daborne and Massinger engage with the fear of conversion posed through increasing contacts with the Ottoman Empire.
[50] As noted by Joseph Courtland in *A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances by Thomas Heywood*, "most available commentary [on *The Fair Maid of the West*] consists of nothing more than a short plot summary of the piece accompanied by an opinion as to when the text of Part 1 was actually written." Courtland focuses on Elizabethan England's colonial drive, particularly the commercial crisis and Moroccan Alliance of 1600. Joseph Courtland, *A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances by Thomas Heywood*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), 91
[51] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.120.

merciful."[52] The Spaniard unwittingly understands "English Bess" as a reference to England's sovereign, demonstrated through his acknowledgement of the queen as benevolent.[53] Despite the apparent difference in class hierarchy between Bess and the queen, Heywood uses the name Bess interchangeably to denote the similarities in virtue and female agency demonstrated by both women. Joseph Courtland argues that Bess is not of inferior social rank, but resembles a member of the English working class. He cites Bess' birth into an elevated estate, and her father's subsequent bankruptcy as the reason for her working-class appearance. However, it is her "bourgeois virtues," beauty, and managerial authority in the tavern that qualify her as a merchant class Englishwoman.[54] Her chaste reputation, while arguably a hallmark of her higher-class status, further links Bess to the queen. Bess' purity features prominently in Parts I and II of the play. As Spencer readies for departure to the Azores, he reminds Bess:

> Join to thy beauty virtue. Many suitors
> I know will tempt thee; beauty's a shrewd bait,
> But unto that if thou adds't chastity,
> Thou shalt o'ercome all scandal.[55]

Spencer claims that Bess' purity will prevent her from falling prey to impure suitors.[56] He suggests that chastity functions as a powerful tool against scandal and amoral pursuers. This further links Bess to Elizabeth through the queen's reputation of virginity due to her unmarried and childless existence. While Elizabeth received several offers of marriage, she chose to remain unwed as a political tool to demonstrate her commitment to the English people. Bess' marriage to Spencer at the end of the play suggests the fulfillment of her role as a woman. She fulfills the

---

[52] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I,* IV.iv.121-123.
[53] Queen Elizabeth I was often referred to as Bess, which is thought to reference a childhood nickname.
[54] Courtland, *A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances*, 99.
[55] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I,* I.iii.56-59.
[56] This excerpt foreshadows Bess' encounter with amoral characters in Part II of the play, as her beauty and virtue prove alluring bait for King Mullisheg and the Duke of Florence.

role of successful privateer and diplomat, while also maintaining traditional gender expectations, unlike the queen.

The parallels between the virtuous Bess and Elizabeth are further expanded through Bess' contacts with the Mediterranean world. In Part I, Act V, King Mullisheg of Fez conflates the chaste character of Bess with the English queen. It is in this scene where Bess employs her virginity to protect herself from the exoticism of the Moroccan court as Spencer predicted earlier in the play. Bess divulges her Christian name to the king, who responds with wonderment at the resemblance to the queen:

> The virgin queen, so famous through the world,
> The mighty empress of the maiden isle,
> Whose predecessors have o'errun great France,
> Whose powerful hand doth still support the Dutch
> And keeps the potent King of Spain in awe…[57]

Mullisheg's awestruck response alludes to Elizabeth's infamous reputation within Europe and the Mediterranean. While the king acknowledges Elizabeth's purity be deeming her the "virgin queen," his reaction characterizes Elizabeth as a credible monarch through her involvement and successes in foreign affairs. The king recalls the English "predecessors" who successfully besieged the French. The reference to France potentially recollects two recent English victories against the European power: England's acquisition of Calais, a French port city, during the Hundred Years' War or the recognition of King Henry V as heir to the French throne following the Battle of Agincourt in 1415.[58] Elizabeth is additionally recognized for her involvement in the

[57] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, V.i.89-93.

[58] England acquired Calais in 1347 under Edward III, and became a thriving port city for the export of English wool. In 1557 Philip II, husband of Mary Tudor, involved England in an ongoing war with France. This led to the eventual loss of Calais in 1558 as the Duke of Guise attacked the bombarded city, and reclaimed England's last continental foothold for France.

Dutch-Spanish wars as an ally of the Netherlands.[59] Bess' accomplishments in the play mirror the success of Queen Elizabeth on a global stage, as she advanced England's position against the Spanish and demonstrated seaborne power through her relations in Cadiz and Fez. Mullisheg's association of Bess with Elizabeth provides her with a foothold in the Moroccan court through her ability to negotiate the release of Christian captives, crown sanctioned marriage to Spencer, and the ability to depart Fez with her virtue intact.

Although Bess is a refashioning of the queen for the popular masses, their dissimilarities play a significant role in enhancing the notion of English triumph in an international theater. Although the play purports the recognition of Elizabeth's reign globally, as evidenced by the Spanish and Moroccan references to her monarchy, her notoriety does not displace concerns about the queen's femininity and the undertaking of a traditionally male monarch position.[60] Scottish Protestant reformer John Knox demonstrates concerns towards female monarchy in his 1558 publication *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.*[61] This polemical treatise aimed at disparaging the rule of contemporary Catholic monarchs such as Marie de Guise, Mary Queen of Scots, and Mary Tudor. However, its criticism of female authority, particularly within the church and on the throne, extended to the rule of female monarchs more broadly. Knox argues that "To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire above any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnat to nature, cotumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinace, and finallie it is the subversion

[59] Philip II sought to quell the spread of Protestantism in the Spanish held Low Countries in the sixteenth century. As Spanish relations with England deteriorated due to religious differences, England's commercial relations with the Netherland heightened growing tensions. Elizabeth sough to maintain mercantile relationships with the Low Countries, which allied her against the Spanish power. [*See* James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: the Necessary Quarrel*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).]

[60] Although Elizabeth succeeds her sister Mary Tudor to the throne of England, her unwed status positions her as a threat to traditional masculinity.

[61] The publication of this work from Geneva, Switzerland was originally anonymous.

of good order, of all equitie and justice."[62] His vehement remarks vilify female monarchy as subverting Biblical authority. This passage also suggests that female rule is contrary to God's ordained universe because it is unnatural for a woman to supersede a man. He further blames the "wicked[ness]" of women for the political and religious unrest in England, as he views the warfare and religious dissenters as the result of female authority.[63]

This play attempts to combat this gendered criticism by depicting Bess as a cross between traditional understandings of femininity and an autonomous woman. Heywood outfits Bess in male garments in order for her to pursue privateering ventures against the Spanish. The first instance of cross-dressing occurs in Act II where Bess is outfitted in male garb to play a trick on Roughman, a gentleman. She declares, "Methinks I have a manly spirit in me/In this man's habit."[64] Donning the garments of a man commands her respect from her male counterparts because she appears as an equal. Earlier in the work, Roughman disrespects Bess due to her societal position as a barmaid. However, when she tricks Roughman through the adoption of male clothing his actions befit an equal in status. Her ability to adopt a masculine façade recalls Elizabeth's famed Tilbury Speech on the eve of the Spanish Armada in 1588. She proclaimed to the troops, "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and a king of England too."[65] Elizabeth addressed Knox's perceived shortcomings of a female monarch, but reinvigorated herself by referring to her role as "king" rather than queen. Whereas both women adopt traditionally male roles in an attempt to overcome their sexuality, Bess is able to clothe herself in a male habit while Elizabeth costumes

---

[62] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, 1558, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Early English Books Online, B1, (accessed November 2015).
[63] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, A2.
[64] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, II.iii.5-6.
[65] "Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech: July 1588," *Learning Timelines: Sources from History*, British Library, (accessed November 15, 2015).

herself in feminine attire. This disguise allows Bess to find personal success against the Spanish through privateering ventures, thereby exercising English authority over Catholic powers. In contrast, Elizabeth supports figures such as Walter Ralegh and the Earl of Essex who actively engaged in naval competition.

The resurgence of the late Spanish Armada in 1596 is a significant component of Part I of this work because it enables England to appear victorious in Cadiz, and serves as the catalyst for Bess' privateering. The play commences with a commentary on the fateful sinking of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The dialogue between two English sea captains acknowledges that to launch for attack on Spain they must put to sea "When the wind's fair."[66] This reference recalls the poor weather that prevented the Armada from reaching England during its first attempt.[67] Mr. Carrol, a gentleman, attributes the success of England to:

> The great success at Cales under the conduct
> Of such a noble general hath put heart
> Into the English; they are all on fire
> To purchase from the Spaniard. If their carracks
> Come deeply laden, we shall tug with them
> For golden spoil.[68]

Mr. Carrol's assertion suggests that England's success in 1588 against the Spanish resulted from the blockade of Spanish vessels in Calais.[69] England capitalized on the failure of the Spanish fleet to rendezvous at the port of Calais. England had a significant seafaring advantage over Spain, but lacked the manpower to prevent a land assault. Their victory at sea, however, demonstrated the inability of Spanish forces to outfit and communicate effectively with the

---

[66] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I,* I.i.1.

[67] [*See* Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada*, Second Edition, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).]

[68] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I*, I.i.5-10.

[69] Calais (Cales) was a port city situated in the north of France, and functioned as a thriving center for the wool trade. It was annexed by Edward III in 1347, and was an important territorial possession of the English crown until its recapture by the French in 1558.

troops. For Spanish commander Medina-Sidonia, Calais was a haven from both poor weather and English naval forces. In an attempt to bolster Spanish forces, Medina-Sidonia and Parma sought to rendezvous in Calais. However, Parma's army failed to embark from Flanders twenty-five miles away due to depleted provisions and a miscommunication between commanders.[70] This left Medina-Sidonia's fleet vulnerable to attack by the English. In response to Spanish exposure, English naval officers Sir Frances Drake, Lord Howard, and Hawkins launched fire ships, which dislodged Spanish forces from the enclosed port.[71] In addition to Carrol's claim of English success at Calais, he also makes reference to Elizabethan privateering with the acquisition of "golden spoil." A carrack was a Spanish galleon used for European trade particularly in the Mediterranean and Baltic regions. It was a common occurrence for Elizabethan merchant vessels to seize and loot Spanish ships for gold and other commodities crossing from the Mediterranean and Atlantic. Heywood's opening scene foreshadows Bess' successful privateering ventures against the Spanish during the resurgence of the Armada in the 1590s, and alludes to the previous English failures in the capture of Cadiz.

In the late 1590s, the Battle of Cadiz was originally an English defensive attack against the perceived threat of a Spanish takeover. The primary goal of this venture was to overwhelm the Spanish ships in port to prevent them from funding the war against England; however, this attack, led by Essex and Charles Howard, was a disaster for the English. Rather than containing and looting Spanish vessels at Port, the English successfully burned and pillaged the city of Cadiz. R.B. Wernham argues that the opportunity to gain wealth through plunder inspired English merchantmen to join the assault. The ships were of little concern to these merchantmen,

---

[70] Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada*, 168.

[71] Eyewitness accounts of the English bombardment of Gravelines and Calais demonstrate a contradiction of how many English vessels successfully engaged with the Spanish. In a calculation by Camden, fifteen English ships engaged in the action, whereas an observer from the Spanish ship *San Martin* suggests that there were twenty-four English vessels present. McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada*, 272.

as personal and portable booty existed in the stores and houses of Cadiz.[72] These merchantmen are prime examples of Elizabethan privateers who sought both personal financial gain and the glorification of England. Kenneth Andrews distinguishes between privateering and semi-official expeditions as the first was completely financed and regulated by private individuals, whereas the latter was a national undertaking where the interests of the queen dominated.[73] The raid of Cadiz exemplifies the convergence of privateering and crown sanctioned expedition as Essex launched it as a military operation, but the merchantmen took advantage of the opportunity for financial gain. The failure of Essex to capture the Spanish galleons in this raid proved costly to England, as military expenditures outweighed the financial gains. Bess' later success against Spanish merchantmen in the play atones for England's military failure. In response to England's attempted raid, Medina-Sidonia burned the Spanish fleet at Cadiz rather than succumb to English naval power. A Spanish fleet of "thirty-four ships laden for the West Indies, the two Lisbon galleons, the three Ragusan argosies, three treasure frigates, and numerous smaller craft," burned in the port of Cadiz. [74] England's 1597 attack on Fayal, a Spanish stronghold in the Azores, resulted from the Spanish maneuver of burning the bullion rather than allowing the English to privateer the stores. In Heywood's adventure drama, the Battle of Cadiz acts as the foundation for Spencer's ill-fated voyage to atone for English shortcomings.

England's victories against the Spanish foe begin in Act II, demonstrating England's triumph despite several failures throughout the engagement with Spain. An English captain describes the triumphant attack on Fayal claiming that "…with danger on my person/Enforc'd

---

[72] R.B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain 1595-1603*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 105.
[73] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 5.
[74] Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas*, 106.

the Spaniard to a swift retreat,/And beat them from their fort…"[75] The Earl of Essex and Walter Ralegh, serving as rear admiral, led a combined Anglo-Dutch naval raid against the Spanish island of Fayal in late 1597.[76] This attack resulted from the English loss at the Battle of Cadiz in 1596. While the English captain presumes success at Fayal by causing the Spaniards to retreat from their fortifications, Spencer suggests that this counterattack is equally unsuccessful in garnering plunder from Spanish galleons. Spencer, recovering from an injury in the assault, seeks passage to England; however, he is informed that the English fleet sailed. Spencer acknowledges that "…when the beaten Spaniards shall return,/They'll spoil whom they can find."[77] Spencer is referencing the inability of the English to eradicate the Spanish merchant fleet, as the fleet will return and despoil any Englishmen left at Fayal. The Island Voyages proved less successful for England than the Battle of Cadiz. Walter Ralegh acted as commander in the assault in the absence of Essex. The citizens and Spanish merchant ships fled Fayal with the crown's valuables before England landed to burn the town. The Island Voyages sailed in response to intelligence on the launching of a second Armada; however, this information proved presumptuous and secondhand. Elizabeth, infuriated by England's inability to overcome a weak and impoverished Spain, found it problematic that Essex undertook this venture based on flimsy excuses, unsubstantiated intelligence, and in doing so, left England unfortified against the second Armada.[78] The underlying difficulties in purging the Spanish enemy and Spencer's problematic position as an Englishman in Fayal prove the catalyst for Bess' successful privateering ventures.

Bess' engagement with the Spanish following Spencer's presumed death promotes her image as a triumphant refashioning of Queen Elizabeth, as she succeeds in privateering Spanish

[75] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I,* II.ii.21-23.
[76] Fayal was employed by the Spanish as a stopping point for the Spanish bullion mined in the South American colonies used to finance the Anglo-Spanish war. Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy,* 120.
[77] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, II.v.21-21.
[78] Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas*, 191.

merchant ships. Privateering is closely linked to Elizabethan England because it served as a spark for the Spanish Armada due to the English sailors' preoccupation with profiting from confiscated Spanish cargo.[79] Privateering was not an illegal pursuit under Elizabeth, as it occurred in the interests of the crown and with foreknowledge by the monarch. However, the crown opposed mercantile engagement in piracy.[80] John Appleby defines piracy as a felony often accompanied by violence. Seafaring piracy ranged from small-scale theft by individuals to ambitious plundering operated by large groups of men functioning as a naval force.[81] Bess' voyage to the Azores, while undertaken to recover Spencer's body and despoil the Spanish fleet, functions as a combination of piracy and privateering. She does not have the express permission of the crown to undertake this recovery, but her successes against the Spanish glorify England. Bess is not the only example of female piracy in the early modern period, as women were engaged in a "criminal partnership" with merchantmen. Appleby argues that pirate culture prevented women from engaging in crimes at sea, unless disguised. However, women often engaged in the bartering of stolen goods on land and the creation of commercial relationships.[82] In Heywood's drama, Bess engages in a sea battle that exemplifies her privateering and diplomatic prowess. Following her defeat of the Spaniards, she negotiates a prisoner exchange for English captives. She exclaims, "Your ship is forfeit to us and your goods,/So live…"[83] She succeeds in capturing an elusive Spanish merchant vessel that survived the Battle of Cadiz, and rescues English captives held by the enemy. Bess' piratical voyage to recover Spencer's body in

[79] Despite the perception of privateering as a staunchly Elizabethan trait, it was a popular profession by the mid-sixteenth century. As McDermott notes, letters of marque and reprisals date back to Edward I and his proclamation allowing for the seizure of Castilian cargo (13). McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada*, 13.
[80] Privateers paid out a portion of their loot to the queen.
[81] John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 9.
[82] Appleby, *Women and English Pirates*, 51-52.
[83] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.118-119.

Fayal is more lucrative for England than the military campaign of Essex and Ralegh because she succeeds in recovering English prisoners. This scene further promotes the seafaring dominance of England through Bess' defeat of an elusive Spanish galleon.

Bess' venture in Spanish ports serves as a moralizing mission and reprisal voyage for Spencer's body. Upon Bess' arrival in Fayal, the Spanish inhabitants notify her of the burning and burial of Spencer's corpse for heresy, as Spain was an overwhelmingly Catholic nation, and Spencer an English Protestant. A Spaniard relates to Bess that "…o'er [Spencer was] rais'd a goodly monument,/But when the English navy were sail'd thence/…They straight remov'd his body from the church."[84] The English erected a monument to honor the nobility of Spencer, but the Spaniards removed his body from the church for poisoning hallowed Catholic ground. Bess responds, "Our mourning we will turn into revenge./And since the Church hath censur'd so my Spencer,/Bestow upon the Church some few cast pieces."[85] Bess' journey morphs into a moralizing mission that is religiously fueled by the Catholic defilement of Spencer's corpse. The "Church" referenced in Bess' castigation is the Catholic Church, the religion of Spain in the sixteenth century. The "cast pieces" referenced here are cannon shot. Bess' cannon fire serves to demonstrate English dominance against the Spaniards by destroying the Catholic Church, where Essex and Ralegh failed. In addition to figuratively destroying the Catholic Church, Bess also destroys Spanish authority over Spencer's body. Voyages to recover Protestant bodies from the enemy increased during the sixteenth century. Kenneth Andrews notes that "[w]ell over two hundred vessels made reprisal voyages in the three years 1589-91."[86] The difference in authority between Bess' voyage and other reprisal voyages was that Bess lacked authority from the

[84] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.40-44.
[85] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.61-63.
[86] As cited in Claire Jowitt, "Elizabeth Among the Pirates: Gender and the Politics of Piracy in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*, Part I," *Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, Ed. Charles Beem, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 133.

monarch to undertake this enterprise, which made her journey one of piracy. Despite her lack of official documentation, Bess proves more loyal than commissioned naval officers such as Ralegh, enacting her revenge on England's Spanish enemies by her own hands. Bess meets success in her reprisal voyage through the destruction of the church, and by extension glorifies England through the defeat of Spanish adversaries.

England's dominance is further exemplified by Bess' success against the Spanish in the Azores while clothed as a man. Upon Bess' arrival in Fayal, a Spaniard relates England's failure to garner monetary wealth from the fleet and the city. He states, "Since English Ralegh won and spoil'd it first,/The town's re-edified and fort new built…"[87] Bess comes to Fayal only after its refortification. Ralegh and his men succeeded in the destruction of the town, but failed in their privateering venture. Unlike Ralegh and Essex, Bess is victorious in privateering from the Spanish fleet at Fayal. Fayal's ability to refortify swiftly suggests a complete English failure. However, unlike her male counterparts, Bess bravely engages Spanish merchant ships at sea, exclaiming, "I'll have a Spaniard's life.—Advance your targets,/And now cry all, 'Board, board! Amain for England!'"[88] Her battle cry denotes her intentions to glorify England through defeat of Spain. While Bess does claim victory during her piratical engagements, she does so only with the façade of a man. This suggests in part that Bess can only achieve success against England's enemies cross-dressed as a man, rather than performing stereotypically feminine behaviors. Unlike Elizabeth, Bess dons male garments to reinforce traditional gender roles. Appleby argues that the presence of women aboard pirate ships compromised morale and male companionship on the seas.[89] Bess is unable to vanquish the Spanish as a woman, therefore donning a male

[87] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.31-32.
[88] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iv.104-105.
[89] Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, 52.

guise. This scene functions as a championing of England's naval force on an international arena, and displaces Bess' success on Elizabeth.

With the culmination of Bess' adventures in Spain, the play crosses geographical borders from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean, which occupies the remainder of Part I and Part II of Heywood's drama. The introduction of Mullisheg to the audience occurs briefly in Act IV, but functions as a foreshadowing for Bess' foreign contacts with the Moroccan court in Act V. In this scene, Mullisheg acknowledges the Christian freedom of traffic in the Mediterranean; however, if they "…conceal/The least part of our custom due to us,/[they] Shall forfeit ship and goods."[90] The Moroccan court utilized forfeited European goods to resupply the depleted treasury due to a period of prolonged war. It was not uncommon for Barbary ports to contain European vessels with nothing to aid in the release of captives or commodities. Historian Jack D'Amico examines the history between the English and Moroccan Moors of the sixteenth century to reveal the burgeoning trading partnership that sometimes included the risk of capture or detainment. During the late sixteenth century, England acquired commodities such as dates, sugar, gold, and saltpeter from Morocco, and the East obtained iron and military weaponry from England.[91] Despite the establishment of the Barbary Company in 1585 to help regulate trade, much of the Mediterranean exchange remained unregulated.[92] The Levant Company, established in 1581, also sought to facilitate English trade with the East. James Mather notes that "the Levant Company's trade encouraged Britons to come to the region in unprecedented numbers

[90] Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West Part I*, IV.iii.17-19.

[91] As cited in Jean E. Howard, "An English Lass Amid the Moors: Gender, race, sexuality, and national identity in Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*," *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, Ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, (London: Routledge, 1994), 112.

[92] Elizabeth I established the Barbary Company in 1585 as a way to benefit from an exclusive trade partnership with Morocco for a period of 12 years. A charter granted to the Earls of Leicester and Warwick gave express permission for overseeing this lucrative trade network.

and...spawned their first sustained contacts with the world of Islam."[93] England sought to expand their markets in the Mediterranean through the establishment of various trade initiatives. Mullisheg's reference to his relationship with European Christians, more specifically Protestant Christians, underscores the increasingly tumultuous and lucrative contacts between East and West. The "wars" Mullisheg points to in this passage suggest the aftermath of the 1571 Battle of Lepanto for Morocco.[94] The Ottomans desperately needed English supplies in 1571, particularly wool for uniforms and tin for weaponry. These were goods that Catholic powers such as Spain failed to supply to the infidel due to a papal mandate.[95] Mullisheg's acknowledgement of the need for increased trade with England demonstrates the Moroccan reliance on European commodities, which demonstrates English authority in foreign trade agreements.

Heywood opens Part II of his drama with reference to English anxieties towards the East, particularly aspects of captivity, conversion, and seduction; however, these anxieties are not the centerpiece of Part II, rather they are the stage by which Bess and the other Englishmen at Mullisheg's court demonstrate English cunning and triumph over the Turk.[96] Alison Games investigates the dangers of the Mediterranean world for English travelers in what she calls the "trifecta of captivity, conversion, and enslavement."[97] When trade relations with the Mediterranean developed, the English represented a minority of travellers and traders in the

---

[93] Mather, *Pashas,* 3.

[94] The Battle of Lepanto was a decisive victory for the Holy League (Republic of Venice, Spain, the papacy) over the Ottoman galley fleet. The battle was a response to the Ottoman capture of Venice and Cyprus months prior. Over the next several years, the Ottoman Empire rebuilt their naval forces, and resumed the seizure of significant North African port cities. In 1574 the Ottomans captured Tunis, followed by the capture of Fez in 1576. The capture of Fez completed their conquests in Morocco, begun under the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent. This placed the North African coast under Ottoman authority.

[95] Trade in armaments and military raw materials to the Mediterranean were expressly forbidden to European Catholic nations. Mather, *Pashas*, 34-34.

[96] These anxieties are further explored in the works of Daborne and Massinger.

[97] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 64.

Levant region.[98] English merchants in the Levant lost their religious privileges to practice Protestantism, and became vulnerable to attack by Barbary corsairs, religious conversion, and enslavement as a result of capture in the Ottoman Empire. Conversion was arguably the greatest fear as it stripped a Christian man of faith and masculinity through circumcision and castration. Forced conversion of English captives was unlikely; however, captives received enticements to abandon Christianity. English captives faced arduous enslavement, and while converting to Islam was not a guarantee of ending the period of bondage, the burden of work lessened and converts avoided the harshest work on Ottoman galleys.[99] Conversion was oftentimes considered a fate worse than death, "…death by martyrdom offered the chance for salvation, converting to Islam set one on a path of irredeemable damnation."[100] It was stories of forced conversions and bondage that stirred up religious anxieties towards Muslims and created a fascination with the exotic. Heywood draws on the mystery of the exotic to contrast the virtuosity of Bess and her English counterparts with the sinful nature of Mullisheg's court.

Captivity and the punishments meted out to Christian captives occupy a majority of Part I, Act V; however, it is not the fear of enslavement that Heywood draws upon, but rather Bess' chaste character as incentive to free Christian merchants from captivity. There were a total of at least 20,000 British and Irish captives held in North Africa between the early seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries.[101] Captivity in North Africa did not preclude certain death or forced conversion, as a variety of uncertain fates awaited captives. It was not uncommon for men and women captured by North African corsairs to undergo physical torture, mental incapacity, loss of contact with their home country, and the possibility of death. However, captive experiences in

[98] The Levant region occupies present day Syria, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, and Jordan.
[99] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 73.
[100] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 1.
[101] Colley, *Captives*, 56.

Barbary often involved brief enslavement and a swift return on receipt of a ransom. Opportunities however arose in North Africa for captives to convert to Islam and assimilate into Mediterranean culture through mercantilism and marriage.[102] While in Fez, Clem, an Englishman attendant on Bess, interacts with French and Italian captives in the court of Mullisheg. The Italian merchant implores Clem to petition Bess for the release of his men, "Some of my men for a little outrage done/Are sentenc'd to the galleys."[103] Clem does not understand this sentence, and confuses galley for gallows. Extensive amounts of captivity experiences existed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but any healthy European male captured by corsairs within the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century was at a heightened risk of becoming a galley slave. The only benefit to this arduous arrangement was its short-term impact due to the laborious and highly dangerous job. Many enslaved in this manner faced "heart-attacks, ruptures, broken limbs, malnutrition and insufficient rations of water to replace what the rowers sweated out."[104] This is the fate the Italian merchant references in the play. Bess' interference on behalf of the Christian captives garners unexpected results. Bess implores Mullisheg that a sentence to the galleys is "A censure too severe for Christians."[105] She uses her faith and virtue to entice Mullisheg to release the Christian prisoners. While the perceived threat of captivity and conversion heightened English religious anxieties during the early modern period, Bess demonstrates European diplomacy in arguing for the release of Christian captives, although not exclusively English.

It is in this same scene where Bashaw Joffer relays his anxieties of Christian conversion. He states that one of the captives is "A Christian preacher, one that would convert/Your Moors

[102] Colley, *Captives*, 62.
[103] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I*, V.i.143-144.
[104] Colley, *Captives,* 60.
[105] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I*, V.ii.69.

and turn them to a new belief."[106] His fear towards releasing Christian captives suggests a belief in the convertibility of Muslims. Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar suggest that Joffer's fear of conversion is not unfounded. In a 1572 English translation, Sebastian Munster reflects that "the Turkes compel no man to the denial of his religion" which explains "the diverse sects of people…found amongst the Turkes…"[107] The Muslims' relative acceptance of divergent religions is not reciprocated by Europeans. In 1612, William Lithgow criticized the Ottomans and Catholics for their unfair treatment of British pilgrims to holy sites such as Jerusalem. MacLean and Matar note that Lithgow's critique occurs during a period of increased expulsion of Moriscos from Spain.[108] The relative religious tolerance of the Muslims during the early modern period contrasts the European religious fanaticism occurring around Europe during the Reformation. Joffer's fear exemplifies the Muslim fear of Christian conversion that is generally left out of Christian texts. This moment also foreshadows Joffer's subsequent conversion to Christianity following a brief period of captivity in Florence. Joffer's warning towards Christian conversion suggests Heywood's imagining of Muslims as convertible, and the potential for England to spread Protestantism as a moralizing mission.

Part II of the play further expands English anxieties to explore the powers of Muslim seduction and the English ability to resist. Mullisheg and his wife Tota plan to recruit members of the English party into helping them deceive Spencer and Bess following their Moroccan court sanctioned marriage. Part I culminates with Mullisheg blessing the consummation of Bess' marriage, but both Moroccan rulers attempt to subvert this consummation by performing a 'bed-

---

[106] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part I*, V.ii.73-74.

[107] As cited in Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 165-166.

[108] MacLean and Matar also note that during the early seventeenth century, approximately 6,000 Christians, friars, and monks celebrated Easter in the center of Islamic Jerusalem without persecution (164). Maclean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 164.

trick.'[109] Mullisheg pens a letter to Goodlack, Spencer's friend, stating "To make Bess mine, some secret means devise./To thy own height and heart I'll make thee rise."[110] Mullisheg promises Goodlack a higher station within the Moroccan court for carrying out this deception. Heywood is engaging with traditional English anxieties of Muslim seduction, particularly the vulnerability of Christian men. Degenhardt argues that "…female sexual constancy served as an important model for Christian resistance to Islam."[111] It is Bess' sexual constancy that is at stake in this episode, and the reason that the English party instead dupes Mullisheg and Tota into engaging in sexual relations with each other. This episode transforms the seductiveness of Islam into an opportunity for Christian success against Muslim adversaries.[112] It is Bess' unwavering fidelity to Spencer and Spencer's honorable return to Moroccan court that convinces Mullisheg to let them depart. He exclaims, "Those virtues you have taught us by your deeds,/We futurely will strive to imitate."[113] Bess overcomes Mullisheg's 'bed-trick' by remaining virtuous, which Heywood portrays as an English ideal by contrasting the Moroccan court's trickery and sexual deviancy with the fidelity and loyalty of the English characters.

Bess' chastity is a significant theme of Part II, and further underscores her parallel with Elizabeth by avoiding defilement; however, her role as wife separates her from the queen's unwed status. The Duke of Florence touts Bess' virtue, "The fairest maid ne'er pattern'd in her life,/So fair a virgin and so chaste a wife."[114] The Duke consciously refers to Bess as a "wife," which separates her from Elizabeth who by the 1590s was well past marriageable age and

---

[109] A bed-trick is a plot device characteristic of many early modern dramas. It is the substitution of one partner in a sexual act for another person. It is going to bed with someone that is mistaken for another character.
[110] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part II*, I.i.309-310.
[111] Many early modern dramas examine male conversion and female resistance. It is typically the Muslim woman who is portrayed as the seductress of Christian men, whereas English women are able to resist defilement. This play portrays both Mullisheg and Tota as seductive. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 17.
[112] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 17.
[113] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part II*, III.iii.179-180.
[114] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part II,* V.iv.199-200.

childbearing years. By the culmination of Part II, Bess fulfills the traditional female expectation of marriage. Bess' marriage underscores Elizabeth's decision to remain unwed as a decision that caused her later reign to fall apart. Elizabeth's decision to marry England as her only husband secured her reign in the early years, but her childless status led to the end of the Tudor line. Elizabeth's reign saw the successful defeat of the Armada in 1588, but created problems of succession as her death approached. A prolonged and expensive war with Spain, poor weather, failed crops, and an outbreak of disease plagued Elizabeth's England in the 1590s. In contrast, Bess is able to defeat the Spanish at Cadiz, diplomatically negotiate the release of Christian captives, and retain her purity throughout the play, whereas Elizabeth's reign ended in defeat. Bess rejuvenates a declining Elizabeth by succeeding where she failed.

The death of Elizabeth's closest advisors, costly wars with Spain, and the crown's vulnerability without a male heir troubled the latter half of Elizabeth's reign.[115] Heywood's work depicts England as a victorious and global competitor in the 1590s; however, this is not the England that existed under Elizabeth's waning authority. He reimagines England's accomplishments through the character of Bess Bridges, and her success against the Spanish and Ottomans, as well as the fulfillment of traditional female roles. Bess crosses the geographical boundaries of the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and faces potential captivity and defilement in Fez. Heywood's work demonstrates successful cross-cultural encounters for England, and the formation of an English national identity founded upon naval and mercantile superiority.

[115] Elizabeth lost Robert Dudley, the First Earl of Leicester in 1588, followed by the passing of William Cecil, first Baron of Burghley in 1598.

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING ENGLISHNESS AMIDST PIRACY AND CONVERSION IN ROBERT DABORNE'S *A CHRISTIAN TURNED TURK*

The publication of Robert Daborne's early Jacobean piratical drama occurred amidst changes to the previously legal privateering system.[116] *A Christian Turned Turk* exemplifies the dangers of converting to piracy, and the susceptibility of pirates to Islamic conversion, as demonstrated through the figure of Captain John Ward. The printing of this play occurred only once in 1612 for performance by the Rossetter's Queens Revels Company at the indoor Whitefriars Hall Theater.[117] The publication and performance of this work followed in the wake of the outlawing of previously lucrative privateering business and alterations to the established English navy. In the wake of the Spanish Armada of 1588, estimates suggest that "one hundred prizes were brought into English ports every year: together with their cargoes of wines and calicos and sugar and spices, their value amounted to some £200,000…"[118] Privateering enriched English merchants during Elizabeth's reign, particularly the commodities seized from Spanish merchant vessels in the Atlantic. This prosperity at sea enticed merchants like Ward to engage in English privateering networks. The subsequent outlawing of privateering in 1604 following the accession of James I to the English throne declared the seizure of goods illegal,

---

[116] James I outlawed privateering in 1604 to create an unstable peace with Spain in the wake of the costly Anglo-Spanish Wars. This outlawing of privateering promoted piracy as a way of garnering stolen goods, particularly from the Spanish.

[117] Indoor theaters were unique in their ability to operate year-round, and catered to a smaller and often wealthier audience. These theaters additionally offered a more intimate setting with the use of artificial light, which allowed performances at varying hours, compared to outdoor theaters that relied on natural light. Vitkus, introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 24. [*See* "Shakespeare's Theater," Folger Shakespeare Library, http://www.folger.edu/shakespeares-theater (accessed November 17, 2015).]

[118] Tinniswood, *Pirates of* Barbary, 18.

rendering privateers unemployed.[119] Simultaneously, James dismantled the English navy, making it difficult for men to retain or seek employment in a naval capacity. These shifting seafaring practices likely inspired Captain Ward's dramatic Islamic conversion, and solidified his nefarious reputation on the stage. Daborne's commentary on the dangers of Islamic conversion demonstrates the importance of maintaining an English identity in a time plagued by religious disquietude. This work champions England as a virtuous and peaceful country by examining what Englishness was not: disloyal to the crown, Muslim, and sexually incontinent.[120] This commentary on conversion serves as a cautionary tale to English readers about the dangers of crossing legal boundaries to engage in piracy and religious boundaries through the fate of English apostates.

Captain John Ward (c.1553-1623) began his seafaring career as a fisherman from Faversham, Kent turned English privateer prior to its outlawing. Rumors circulated in pamphlets published in 1609 that Ward served aboard the *Lion's Whelp* in a naval capacity after the outlawing of privateering ended his lucrative career. This particular vessel sought to rid pirates from the English Channel. Ward's crewmates characterized him as a "morose character, given to heavy drinking and self-pity."[121] His tepid personality is further explored in Andrew Barker's 1609 pamphlet *A True and Certaine Report*, where the author characterizes his subject, for work as "…persisting as before, in his melancholy disposition, not contented, with [what] good and honest meanes was allowed him…"[122] Barker presumes that Ward's discontent amongst the Channel fleet caused him to desire the wealth and notoriety found in piracy. His discontent

[119] This proclamation declared the seizure of Spanish goods by English merchants illegal, and those engaging in continued attacks were reprobates and enemies of the crown. [*See* Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 19.]
[120] Ward's piracy and conversion dissociate him from an English identity through his apostasy, piracy, and sexual transgression, whereas Bess exemplifies a virtuous and Protestant English subject through her defeat of Spanish and Mediterranean adversaries.
[121] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 20.
[122] Barker, *A true and certaine* report, B.3.

likely stemmed from a combination of the king's armistice with Spain and the putrid conditions aboard the crown's vessels. English ships were an unsavory place due to overcrowding, despoiled food, and dysentery. Historians credit Sir Walter Ralegh with comparing "his majesty's ships as if it were to be slaves in the galleys."[123] The galleys are a reference to the punishment inflicted on captives in the Mediterranean. Ward's service aboard the *Lion's Whelp* ended with the promise of gaining wealth through other seafaring means.

According to Barker's embellished account of Ward, a wealthy Catholic unwittingly offered Ward an escape from his mundane existence in the Channel squadron. It is rumored that Ward plundered the Catholic's vessel with the aid of several crewmembers under his tutelage.[124] Ward's piracy later extended to French and Spanish shipping before setting up a base in Tunis along the Barbary Coast of North Africa. Tunis was famously a haven for outlaws and outcasts, making it an enticing port for renegades such as Ward. Tunis also functioned as a strategic Ottoman stronghold. It served as a fortification against European Christian powers in the Mediterranean, a military base for the largely uncolonized region, and the location of a thriving slave market. [125] It was at this base where Ward engaged with other Barbary Corsairs, and by 1606 he acquired a twenty-eight-gun ship and a crew of over five hundred men.[126] David Ransome characterizes Ward as "one of those European renegades who introduced the Barbary corsairs to the advantages for piracy of the berton or heavily armed square-rigged ship from northern waters."[127] This statement suggests that Ward belonged to a community of pirates

---

[123] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 21.

[124] Reports suggest that the Catholic gentleman sought help in transporting his family's wealth and goods to France from Portsmouth. Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 23-24.

[125] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 27-28.

[126] "Ward, John (*c.*1553–1623?)," David R. Ransome, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/article/28690 (accessed October 28, 2015).

[127] "Ward, John," David Ransome, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

rather than a community that was religious or national in scope. Ward's adoption of piratical behavior in Tunis separated him from his English upbringing. Many attempts to negotiate Ward's capture and return to England, where he left a wife and child, failed. By 1612 Ward assumed Mediterranean customs, such as bigamy, and by all accounts lived the rest of his life working as a tool for the Ottoman Empire. As a testament to his fame and notoriety, he adopted the name Issouf Reis according to Venetian sources, but was also known as Captain Wardiyya according to a late seventeenth century source from Tunisia.[128]

It is Ward's dramatic conversion to Islam while in Tunis that occupied early modern English popular culture in the form of pamphlets, poems, and plays. By 1610 word of Ward's apostasy reached England. His conversion was "the ultimate betrayal," far worse than the crimes of "robbery" or "murder."[129] A satirical poem published in 1612 by Samuel Rowlands states, "Thou wicked lump of only sin, and shame,/(Renouncing Christian faith and Christian name),/A villain, worse than he that Christ betray'd…"[130] Rowlands considers the Muslim faith villainous and sinful, and compares Ward to Christ's betrayer, Judas. Ward's renunciation of the "Christian name" references his rejection of his English name, and the adoption of the various names he inherited in the Mediterranean. The exoticism of the East posed a significant threat to Protestantism in the minds of an early modern readership. For an English audience, the mysticism of Islam included idolatrous worship of Mahomet, the seduction of chaste men and women, and barbarity at the hands of the Turk.

Two particular pamphlets published in 1609 engaged heavily with English stereotypes of Muslims, and inspired Daborne's theatrical work. Andrew Barker's *A true and certaine report*

---

[128] "Ward, John," David Ransome, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[129] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 44.
[130] Samuel Rowlands, "To a Reprobate Pirate That Hath Renounced Christ and Is Turn'd Turk," 1612, As cited in Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 44.

attempts to depict the truth of Ward's piracy and conversion. Barker served as an English sailor who claimed to understand firsthand the violence associated with Ward's piracy. He was held for ransom in Tunis in 1608 following the capture of his merchant vessel by Ward's pirate crew.[131] Barker's publication the following year attempted to present the real life Captain Ward, an Englishman turned renegade pirate. He portrayed Ward's crew as rapacious, noting, "So then since that al men do know, it is a bad *fare* where nothing is *bought,* and a great many of these *Buiers,* I will leaue their *Sodomie,* and the rest of their *crying sinnes* (which I feare their *Atheisme* hath led them into) to the *Iudgement* of the *Iust Reuenger,* and not giue them to be talked of further."[132] Barker described Ward with many of the stereotypes associated with pirates of the period: "concupiscent," "covetous," a "sodomite," and an "atheist." This description paints Ward as debauched and areligious. This pamphlet emerged a year prior to Ward's known Islamic conversion in 1610. Barker conflates Ward with atheism because he is somewhat of an intermediary, neither Protestant nor Muslim. Daborne incorporates many of these stereotypes into his work by fashioning Ward as a sexually liberal and areligious renegade. Even within the confines of the play, Ward is never fully Turk. He outwardly converts onstage, but he is neither accepted as a Christian by the European characters nor as a Muslim by his Ottoman allies.

Similar to Barker's illustration of Ward as an apostate, Anthony Nixon's 1609 work *Newes from Sea* depicts Ward as an areligious and non-English figure. Unlike Barker, it is unlikely that Nixon ever engaged with Ward or his pirate crew in the Mediterranean. He was a low-quality writer commissioned to produce a popular piece on Ward's piracy by Nathaniel

[131] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 20.
[132] Andrew Barker, *A true and certaine report*, C.2.

Butter, the publisher of the First Quarto edition of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.[133] Nixon's captivating and embellished tale garnered a reprint as sales from the first print soared.[134] This low-caliber commission demonstrates the notoriety of Ward in seventeenth-century English popular culture, as this tract was a best seller. Nixon's work diverges from Barker's more realistic portrayal of Ward by portraying him with more Mediterranean characteristics. He notes that, "His respect and regarde is reported to be such with the Turke, as he is made equall in estimation with the *Bashaw."*[135] This depiction of Ward compares him to a Bashaw or Pasha. A pasha was a high-ranking Turkish officer, and considered the most exalted title in the Ottoman Empire.[136] James Mather reimagines this term rather differently, defining pashas as travellers and traders from Europe that engaged with the exoticism of the Mediterranean.[137] These divergent definitions paint Ward as both a merchant and a Turk. Nixon's pamphlet further promotes Ward as a Turk rather than a European Christian through his focus on Ward's overindulgent lifestyle. Nixon stated, "…he hath built a very stately house, farre more fit for a Prince, then a pirate…"[138] Ward's wealth is comparable to a Tunisian prince rather than a base pirate. It is not inconceivable that Ward enjoyed the wealth and status garnered through his piracy rather than engaging in escapades at sea. Nixon further separates Ward from his English heritage by comparing him to a Bashaw rather than a renegade pirate because the former suggests the adoption of Mediterranean customs and culture.

---

[133] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 43.

[134] The reprint appeared as *Ward and Danseker, Two Notorious Pirates*. Dansiker was a Dutch pirate captain whose name is often coupled with Ward's due to his notorious reputation. He appears in both Barker's pamphlet and Daborne's play in a minor capacity. Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 43.

[135] Nixon, *Nevves from sea, D*

[136] "pasha, n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxygsu-uga1.galileo.usg.edu/view/Entry/138404?redirectedFrom=pasha (accessed October 28, 2015).

[137] Mather, *Pashas,* 3-4.

[138] Nixon, *Newes from Sea*, Document Image 12.

While Daborne's play acknowledges the perception of Ward as a pirate in popular culture, it diverges from this discussion to examine his departure from an English national identity through Islamic conversion. The Chorus acknowledges the notoriety of Ward's infamous conversion from English privateer to Barbary pirate in several early seventeenth-century publications by exclaiming, "What heretofore set others' pens awork,/Was Ward turned pirate; ours is Ward turned Turk."[139] Ward's engagement in Barbary piracy garners brief attention at the beginning of the play with his interaction with French merchant vessels. It is possible that piracy does not constitute the makeup of this play because piracy itself was not an "evil pursuit," but the conversion of English sailors to Islam was a condemnable crime.[140] English piracy in the Mediterranean was an increasing problem, such that by 1607 the Turks sent an emissary to London to voice their discontent. [141] Piracy was a pardonable act under the sovereignty of James I, and English retirement after amassing a fortune from plundering was an alluring opportunity. The king offered amnesty to English pirates in 1612 if they surrendered their immoral pursuits in exchange for allowing them to keep the plunder obtained at sea. [142] Piracy was not specific to England; Mediterranean pirates and privateers plagued the English chartered Levant Company since its inception in 1581. As recorded in the Domestic Calendar of State papers, "The Turkish pirates do great harm to our ships in the Mediterranean; if they are not destroyed, the Levant trade will be at an end."[143] This exemplifies the fear associated with Ottoman piracy because it targeted lucrative trade networks. Piracy against merchant ships was not a European phenomenon, but extended into the Mediterranean and New World routes. This

[139] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, Prologue. 7-8.
[140] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 149.
[141] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 103.
[142] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 151.
[143] Mather, *Pashas*, 69.

is a likely reason why the Chorus of Daborne's play appears unconcerned with Ward's piracy. Ward's Islamic conversion on the other hand posed a more potent threat to English Protestantism. Unlike North African corsairs who functioned as nominal agents of the Ottoman Empire, Ward's conversion demonstrates a greater threat to salvation for renegades, as he turned on his Christian faith and fellow Europeans.

The topic of Ward's conversion appealed to an English audience due to the burgeoning trade relationship with the Ottoman Empire, which brought Islam to the shores of England. Mercantilism brought commodities such as sugar, spices, and silks from the East as well as stories of captivity and conversion published in print. Jane Degenhardt notes that the "imagined" threat of conversion that permeated English popular culture, particularly theater, was a combination of commercial, religious, and cultural threats from the Ottoman Empire.[144] Piracy itself is not the objectionable issue within this work because this practice extended throughout the Tudor monarchy in England.[145] However, conversion as a byproduct of piracy posed a significant threat to English ideas of Christianity and loyalty to the crown because it represented the shedding of all ties with the West, and the adoption of Mediterranean corsairing, which often included the capture of European merchants.

The play further examines captivity as a consequence of piracy and expanding trade networks in the East. Throughout the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, Britain's most contentious contacts with Islam took place amongst the "Barbary powers:" Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunisia. Between the years 1600 to 1640 Barbary corsairs seized upwards of eight hundred English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish merchant vessels in the Mediterranean, not only confiscating their cargoes, but forcing the crew and passengers into

---

[144] Degenhardt , *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 2.
[145] [*See* McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada*.]

captivity.[146] Unlike English pirates such as Ward who operated outside the bounds of law, North African corsairs were not "independent agents operating outside of their home communities' laws, so much as a vital and officially recognised part of their revenue-raising machinery."[147] Barbary attacks aimed to confiscate Christian shipping, especially targeting countries considered enemies of North Africa. It is during this seventeenth-century upswing in pirate attacks that Ward undertakes Ottoman piracy and captivity measures against European Christians sailing along the coast of North Africa.

In a potent moment from scene seven of the play, Ward sells several European men into captivity in Tunis. This moment similarly functions as an attempt to return Ward to the fold of Christianity, and abandon the overindulgent Mediterranean lifestyle. The captives attempt to save Ward from the path of eternal damnation by willingly accepting their captivity in exchange for his conversion. Ferdinand, a French captive, implores Ward:

> …We'll forgive all our wrongs, with patience row
> At the unwieldy oar; we will forget
> That we were sold by you, and think we set
> Our bodies 'gainst your soul, the dearest purchase
> Of your Redeemer, that we regained you so.
> Leave but this path damnation guides you to.[148]

This scene speaks to English anxieties of conversion by demonstrating Ferdinand's position that Islamic conversion was a worse fate than enslavement. Jane Degenhardt argues that "In the minds of early modern English people, there was one thing worse than dying at the hands of Turks: conversion."[149] Conversion meant a complete abandonment of Christian principles, and was unalterable. Both captivity and death by martyrdom were preferable fates than willingly

[146] Colley, *Captives*, 43-44.
[147] Colley, *Captives*, 44-45.
[148] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 259-265.
[149] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 1.

converting. Ferdinand's concerns echo the damnable nature of Islamic conversion, likely because as a captive he is not forced to adopt Islam, whereas Ward voluntarily joins the Ottomans. Ferdinand also alludes to the fate of captives as galley slaves through his reference to "row[ing]" and "oar."[150] The phrase "row at the unwieldy oar" is also a potential reference to the persistence of the European captives to save Ward from his treasonous behavior. Not only did merchants fear captivity from Barbary corsairs, but there was the added threat of capture by renegade English Christians.

Mercantilism in the Mediterranean was a lucrative yet unpredictable profession with the threat of death and capture by pirates, and it is this instability that Daborne incorporates into the scenes of captivity. It was the captives that returned to England either as a result of ransom or at the mercy of their captors that shared stories of "trauma, endurance, and discovery," with family and friends, often censoring the true horrors of their captivity.[151] Authority figures compelled some captives to retell their stories publicly as a way of disseminating anxiety, but more often former captives retold their stories in print. One such printed narrative is *The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox*, printed in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in 1589. This narrative details Fox's escape from imprisonment in Alexandria with 266 English galley slaves. Fox begins by detailing the horrific capture of an English merchant ship and the valor of the men aboard in the face of Turkish adversaries. Fox attributes the most valiant actions onboard *The Three Half Moons* to the English boatswain. Fox recalls, "But chiefly the boatswain showed himself valiant above the rest, for he fared amongst the Turks like a wood lion…till at last there came a shot from the Turks which brake his whistle asunder and smote him on the breast, so that he fell down…encouraging them likewise to win praise by death rather than to live captives in misery

[150] [*See* Colley, *Captives*, 60.]
[151] Colley, *Captives*, 75.

and shame…"[152] The valor of the English boatswain in this narrative calls to mind a particular scene between Ward's pirates and a French merchant vessel. The gallantry of the Englishmen in the face of Islamic adversaries seems an appropriate addition to the narrative because it portrays the English Christians as courageous and devout, which mirrors Lemot's actions in the play. Lemot is a French gentleman aboard a merchant vessel that is overrun by Ward's crew. After receiving a terminal injury, Lemot implores his men, "Courage, brave countrymen! What's nature's part/May fall; what's heaven's can never."[153] His exclamation echoes the bravery of the boatswain in Fox's account through his gallantry despite inevitable death from his wounds. Despite being victimized by Ward's pirates, Lemot encourages the French crew to maintain faith in Christianity. This moment functions as both a commentary on Christianity as well as demonstrating how captivity stories functioned as a source of inspiration for speeches, sermons, ballads, and plays.[154]

The previous scene demonstrates the targeting of European merchant vessels at sea. In the opening scene, Ward's ship engages in a sea battle with the French merchant vessel. The French vessel hoped to find protection with Ward's ship against Barbary corsairs. This was Ward's tactic for acquiring European captives. This practice resembled that of some Moroccan corsairs that sailed under the Algerian flag in an attempt to ensnare trusting victims before deploying boarding parties to capture the ship.[155] Rather than provide the French crew with protection, Ward declares, "Yes, we'll succor her, and suck her, too—as dry as a usurer's/palm!"[156] Ward quips that he will "succor" the vessel, or provide assistance, by seizing

[152] Fox, *The worthy enterprise of John Fox*, 60.
[153] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, IV.4-5.
[154] Colley, *Captives*, 75.
[155] Colley, *Captives*, 73.
[156] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, I.87-88.

and plundering the ship. He compares his role to a "usurer," or a person that loaned money at exceptionally high interest rates. It is this French crew commanded by Captain Davy that are made captives and later sold into slavery.

The scene of pursuance is a possible reference to Anthony Nixon's *Newes from Sea* where he relates the story of a Christian crew overtaken by corsairs in league with Captain Ward. This particular crew refused to yield to their Turkish adversaries despite being significantly outnumbered. A crew member relates, "we were *Englishmen* and Christians, who whilest we had either power or abilitie to resist, would not pesantly yéeld vp our freedom to any Pagan breahing. But what of all things we least doubted (séeing they who hayled vs were Turkes) it was that Christians and our Countrymen, should do seruices amongst Infidels."[157] This account parallels the scene in which Ward's crew encounters the French merchant vessel and threatens to "suck" the ship dry. The reactions of the Frenchmen in the play mirror those of the Englishmen described in the passage. Lemot rallies his crew to resist the coercions and violence of the Turks by declaring, "At least let this all thoughts of fear dispel:/Truth fights 'gainst theft, and heaven opposes hell."[158] Ward's inevitable overpowering of Lemot's crew means certain captivity for the Frenchmen, which parallels the English crew's unwillingness to surrender to pirates in Nixon's pamphlet. Lemot states that "truth" will fight against "theft," suggesting his interest in pursuing honest trade in the Mediterranean. This contrasts Ward's dishonest means of commodifying people and goods garnered from European ships. Lemot further declares that "heaven opposes hell." This is a reference to the ideas of salvation and damnation, where martyrdom ultimately leads to salvation as opposed to the irredeemability of Islamic conversion suggested by the conclusion of Daborne's play, as no apostate can reach heaven in that state.

[157] Nixon, *Newes from Sea*, Document Image 14.
[158] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, II. 71-72.

Lemot disallows his crew to engage the infidels willingly, as this posed a risk of potential conversion. Similarly, the English crew referenced in Nixon's work refuses to willingly concede their freedom. This willingness to fight against the infidel is a result of the importance of maintaining a moral Christian identity rather than engaging in heathenism.

Furthering the commentary on captivity and slavery in the play, Daborne includes interactions in the slave market in scene six where the captured French crew is sold to Benwash the Jew.[159] Late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century anti-Semitism in parts of Western Europe caused the migration of Jewish refugees to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire held a wide appeal for "…Jewish immigrants because of its religious tolerance, cultural pluralism, and multiethnic society, as well as the economic opportunities it provided."[160] Jewish merchants functioned as middlemen in the purchase of slaves and commodities obtained by Barbary corsairs. They were also raised to positions of power within the Ottoman Empire such as private bankers, commercial agents, and financial advisors.[161] Benwash serves as the middleman in the Tunisian slave market. In the market, Ward asks Benwash, "You'll give me my price, sir?"[162] The protestations of Raymond against the sale of his sons are to no avail as Benwash offers, "I'll give thirty crowns for this old beast to be revenged on him."[163] This marketplace exchange is a pivotal moment because Ward and Benwash are both European converts to Islam, and this scene reproduces the sale of European Christians into Ottoman slavery for a profit.

---

[159] "Daborne's Jew has certainly not been 'washed' or baptized. On the contrary, he has converted to Islam, and 'Ben-' is an Anglicized rendering of the Arabic combining form 'ibn,' meaning 'son of.' 'Benwash' is therefore the son of 'wash,' waste water, or stale urine. In early modern English, to wash something also meant to paint it over lightly (132)." Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 132.
[160] Vitkus, Introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 36.
[161] Vitkus, Introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 36.
[162] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VI. 229.
[163] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VI. 263.

The slave market was both a place of multi-ethnic exchange, and a source of great prosperity within the Mediterranean. Nabil Matar highlights the affluence of the slave market in the introduction of Daniel Vitkus' edited work *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*. Mediterranean rulers often accrued wealth at the hands of Tunisian privateers in order to spur social and urban changes. With the wealth acquired from Tunisian privateers such as Captain Ward, the emperor, Yusuf Dey, built the Tunisian marketplace, a mosque and school, as well as the infamous Tunisian slave market. This wealth was also spent on potable water for the city and roads for increased trade.[164] The slave market scene is even more significant due to Ward's hand in its creation. Furthering the depiction of Ward's investment in the creation of a burgeoning slave market is the "Ballad of Ward and Danseker" printed anonymously in 1609. This ballad explores Ward's rejection of Christian principles and adoption of Turkish customs such as participation in the dishonorable slave trade. The ballad declares:

> The riches he hath gained,
> And by bloodshed obtained,
> Well may suffice for to maintain a king;
> His fellows all were valiant wights,
> Fit to be made prince's knights,
> But that their lives do base dishonors bring.[165]

This ballad speaks to the vast amounts of wealth Ward acquired through his privateering ventures, and how he lived an opulent life at the expense of his captives. This poem further serves to criminalize Ward's violent actions against European merchants through which he built his wealth. He is further selling Christian Europeans to the Turks by way of the slave market, which diverges from an English Christian identity because he adopted the dishonorable practice

---

[164] Nabil Matar, *Introduction* to *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 9.

[165] The term "wight" refers to a strong and courageous person. "The Ballad of Ward and Danseker," as cited in the Introduction of *Three Turk Plays*, Vitkus, 26.

of allying himself with the Turks rather than the English nation. Nixon further explores the sale of European Christians in the Mediterranean slave market.

As the continuation of the Englishmen's resistance at sea, Nixon examines how opposition was met with death threats and impending captivity. He relates that, "…what Christian soeuer they met, (be he of what Country soeuer) if hée submitted it not vpon the first sommons, or durst be so hardy, as to outdare them with the least of breath betokening death: if he were taken he should die a slaue, if not taken, they would s[...]ke them in the sea."[166] This passage suggests that Christians functioned as the main targets for Barbary violence. Christians refusing capture were slain, and those captured faced impending death during captivity. Daborne's play engages with ideas of Christian resistance at sea, particularly through the character of Lemot, but captivity and the slave market also function as a means of commodifying Christians. The acquisition of commodities through plunder extended to captives, as the auction of commodities occurred in the Tunisian marketplace. Oftentimes slavers forced captives to stand half-naked in a public market while buyers assessed their flesh and musculature until an auctioneer officially completed the sale.[167] It is this undressing and assessment of captives that equates them with commodities. Linda Colley notes that all slaves, regardless of their region, underwent commodification as a result of displacement from their homes and stripped of all influence over the most vital aspects of their lives including faith.[168] She furthers this assertion by examining the *Qur'an* and the recommendation that "kindness be shown to slaves." However, slaves were still of inferior rank to their captors, and were sold, inherited, or even

[166] Nixon, *Newes from Sea*, Document Image 15.
[167] Colley, *Captives*, 65.
[168] Colley, *Captives*, 59.

gifted at whim.[169] The commodification of Christian captives in Daborne's play is likely a parallel anxiety to Islamic conversion for English Christians because it strips them of any sense of Englishness, whether through religion or personal autonomy. Attacks at sea made these fears more potent as the English were defenseless in the Mediterranean unless traveling with a larger fleet for protection. At the time of the play's publication, England was at odds with the Mediterranean. While capture was a significant risk in the sixteenth century due to increased trade relations, King James generated a more significant risk of capture. James' peace with Spain in 1604 allied England with the most prominent Christian empire of the seventeenth century, but Spain was also the state most in conflict with the Ottoman Empire.[170] This sparked a significant increase in the seizure of English merchant vessels. By 1616, estimates suggest that Algiers confiscated well over 450 English merchant vessels, and likewise between 1610 to 1630, the seafaring counties of Devon and Cornwall lost nearly a fifth of their merchant ships to Barbary corsairs.[171] The increased risk of capture, and therefore the growth of captives, heightened English anxieties towards the Mediterranean as the Turks infringed upon Christianity, nation, and autonomy.[172]

Ward's piracy and the sale of European captives is a significant component of the beginning of the play, but in scene seven there is a shift from Barbary piracy to the ambiguous

---

[169] "…both white and black slaves in North Africa lived more diverse lives, and sometimes much freer lives, than the majority of plantation slaves in the Caribbean or American South. Slaves under Islamic law could marry with their owner's permission and own property (59)." Colley, *Captives*, 59.

[170] Colley, *Captives*, 49.

[171] Colley, *Captives*, 49.

[172] While Barbary captivity was a significant fear amongst early modern peoples, England was not innocent of enslaving Africans. While the population of Africans in England remained relatively small in the early seventeenth century, Englishmen such as John Hawkyns profited from trafficking in human commodities during the mid-sixteenth century. His first triangular journey in 1562-3 brought 300 inhabitants of Guinea to England. By the late sixteenth century elite families began to invest in human capital as a form of outward wealth. While the English slave trade did not become an organized and lucrative profession until the eighteenth century, England similarly participated in the captivity they feared from their Muslim trading partners. [*See* Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504*, (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1984), 8-9.]

nature of Ward's religion and the question of Islamic conversion. It is in this scene where a Turkish janissary, Crosman, alongside Muslim converts Benwash and the Governor of Tunis attempt to convert Ward through political means. The Governor bribes, "You are the man we covet, with so high a favor/Hath spake out, so impartial worthy,/We should do wrong to merit, not gracing you."[173] It is Ward's notorious reputation and lucrative piracy that warrant this attempt to convert him by "gracing" him with political office and abundant wealth for his compliance. Englishmen who did voluntarily convert, or *Turn Turk*, often did so because of the attraction of economic opportunity and possibility for political advancement.[174] Islamic conversion of Christians increased significantly during the early modern period, which perpetuated English anxieties of conversion due to its exoticism and promise of wealth. Adult conversion to Islam was rarely forced despite English publications to the contrary. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "…many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of English subjects willingly converted to Islam."[175] In the late sixteenth century diary of Levant trader John Sanderson, he notes, "…many Englishmen, old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others."[176] Ward does not easily convert to Islam, despite the multitude of enticements offered to him. He is already prosperous due to his piracy, and the promise of economic opportunity does little to convince him of the necessity of converting. Benwash believes Ward's unwillingness to convert stems from his Christian faith, and uses his own conversion experience as a means of promoting Islam: "If this religion were so damnable/As others make it, that God which owes the right/Profanes by

[173] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 3-5.
[174] Burton states that the term *Turn Turk* arose in the early sixteenth century as a result of the growing interest in pursuing wealth and status in the Islamic world, thereby ridding themselves of Christianity. Islamic converts were said to *Turn Turk*, with *Turk* representing any Muslim rather than subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 16.
[175] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 111.
[176] Mather, *Pashas*, 90.

this, would soon destroy it quite."[177] To which Ward replies, "That's easily answered: heaven is merciful."[178] The English often perceived the Islamic world as corrupt, treacherous, and seductive in contrast with the perception of England as morally superior due to Christianity.[179] Ward notes that heaven's mercy sustained Islam rather than God's acceptance of it. He does not explicitly say that his refusal to convert relates to Christianity, as his areligious actions of piracy earlier in the play contrast this notion. However, his refusal to convert suggests an unwillingness to part with his last ties to Englishness. Converting would inevitably strip him of all Englishness by the renunciation of Christianity and becoming an enemy of England.

It is the beguilement of a woman that eventually lures Ward to apostasy rather than the political inducements of the Turkish men. Contemporary scholars who examined Daborne's play agree that Ward's apostasy stems from female seduction; however, Jonathan Burton further argues that Daborne "…places responsibility for Ward's apostasy squarely and exclusively on the woman, rewriting the sexual dynamic of apostasy from its male-male scenario in the traveler's tales to the more familiar patriarchal model of temptation and fall."[180] He perceives Voada as an Eve figure that is responsible for the loss of paradise, or Ward's conversion, which is consistent with Renaissance accounts of Adam's fall. While this is a fair comparison, this seduction also calls to mind the biblical story of Samson and Delilah in which Delilah uses the powers of seduction to gain access to the truth of Samson's strength at the behest of the

---

[177] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 38-40.

[178] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 41.

[179] The English perceived themselves to be morally upright compared to the Turks despite the fact that they were notoriously rambunctious drinkers and were patrons of the theater, which some considered provocative. Daniel Vitkus additionally notes that "…Muslims bathed more often than the English who lacked the institution of the public bath (the Muslim practices of head-shaving and ritual ablution also encouraged a level of personal hygiene unknown to England)." Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 111.

[180] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 137. [*See* Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 15; Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 156.]

Philistines, and cuts his hair, thereby depleting his strength.[181] The story of Samson and Delilah seems a more appropriate comparison because Delilah's seduction is at the behest of the Philistines, whereas Eve partakes of the fruit because the snake dupes her. In the play, it is Crosman's exclamation to, "Work in my sister presently," that is the catalyst behind Voada's seduction and Ward's conversion.[182] While it is Voada's seduction that eventually convinces Ward to convert, it is unfair to state that the Turkish men played no role in this, as they use Voada as the seductress, much like the Philistines used Delilah as a pawn in Samson's demise. Crosman does acknowledge his failure to convert Ward, and the necessity of a female in this undertaking, stating, "T'must be a woman's act, to whom there's nought/That is impossible."[183] He underscores the inability of men at conversion, but acknowledges the female ability to undertake the impossible, likely through sensuality. Despite his failure, it is Crosman who calls upon Voada to convert Ward through seduction, thereby demonstrating his willingness to use her as a tool in Ward's conversion.

Voada's seduction and Ward's religious conversion occur in a private scene where she implores him to *turn Turk* in order to gain sexual access to her. Voada uses her beauty and allure to entice Ward, who is quick to utter, "If ever breast did feel the power of love,/Or beauty make a conquest of poor man,/I am thy captive, by heaven, by my religion."[184] This is the first instance in which Ward alludes to his "religion," which presumably is Christianity as Voada refers to him as a "Christian" in this scene. Ward still harbors a sense of Englishness despite his disloyalty to the crown through piracy and abhorrence of other European Christians. He has not yet abandoned his Christianity or sexual continency, both of which Voada strips him of through her

[181] The story of Samson and Delilah ends with Samson's plea to God to restore his strength in order to avenge himself against the Philistines. He collapses the temple he is shackled to, thereby killing the Philistines and himself.
[182] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 191.
[183] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 86-87.
[184] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 109-111.

seduction. Voada manipulates Ward by asserting, "But you must be one if you enjoy me./If then your thoughts answer to what you speak,/Turn Turk—I am yours."[185] Ward proposes to swear an oath to demonstrate his undying affections for Voada, and claims to disbelieve the barbaric characterizations of Islam. However, if Ward intends to enjoy sexual intercourse with Voada he must religiously convert in order to demonstrate the truth of his affections. Characterizations of Muslim women as seductive abound in early modern dramas including Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* and Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*.[186] Seduction, especially by Muslim women, is a common theme throughout early modern dramas that engage with the Mediterranean. Degenhardt argues that the play distorts the piratical and conversion stories of Ward disseminated in pamphlets, but instead focuses on his conversion, which demonstrates the theater's unique tendency to "…link Christian-Muslim conversion to interfaith sexual attraction and intercourse."[187] This suggests the perpetuation of Islam as a religion of seduction occurred onstage. Neither Barker nor Nixon's pamphlets address the sensuality of Muslim women, and the several ballads composed about Ward fail to examine his conversion as a result of female seduction. It is the theater that transforms the story of Ward's piracy into a story of conversion and seduction that ultimately brings about his demise.

---

[185] Ward is not the only character that turns Turk for a woman. Benwash the Jew turns Turk in an attempt to prevent himself from being cuckolded by his Mediterranean wife. He says, "Thou hast forgot how dear/I bought my liberty, renounced my law/(The law of Moses), turned Turk—all to keep/My bed free from these Mahometan dogs,/I would not be a monster, Rabshake—a man-beast,/A cuckold" (VI. 73-78). Christian characters are not the only converts seduced into becoming Muslim in the play, but Benwash is an example of how a Jewish character is also seduced into converting in order to protect himself from being cuckolded. Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 125-127.

[186] Massinger's *The Renegado* demonstrates a conversion attempt by Donusa of Venetian merchant Vitelli. Dissimilar to Ward, he is able to resist conversion, and instead converts Donusa to Christianity. Likewise in Heywood's adventure drama, Tota, the Queen of Fez, is unable to enact a bed-trick upon Spencer, the husband of English Bess. Both of these early Caroline plays demonstrate failed seduction attempts by Muslim women.

[187] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion* and *Christian Resistance*, 15.

Prior to Ward undergoing official conversion, he demonstrates some hesitation about abandoning his English identity. After the departure of Voada, and Ward's agreement to convert, he says:

> What is't I lose by this my change? My country?
> Already 'tis to me impossible.
> My name is scandalled? What is one island
> Compared to the Eastern Monarchy?[188]

Ward recognizes that converting will cost him England, and his ability to receive amnesty for his piracy, as well as his reputation in posterity. Piracy made Ward a notorious figure in England by 1609 when Barker and Nixon published their famous pamphlets. Ward questions the outcome of losing the favor of the comparatively inconsequential England, but inheriting the favor of the expansive Ottoman Empire.[189] Ward's piracy distanced him from an English identity, but voluntarily adopting Islam was an unalterable crime.[190] Ward's hesitancy to convert suggests his uneasiness about casting off his English identity, but it is Voada's promise of sexual access that sets in motion his ultimate downfall.

Ward undergoes a ceremonial conversion experience to symbolize his outward acceptance of Islam and the shedding of his English Christian identity. This outward conversion occurs through a dumb-show, where Ward swears an oath on Mahomet's head.[191] He enters the scene outfitted in a "Christian habit," which he exchanges for "the habit of a free-born Turk."[192]

---

[188] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VII. 179-182.

[189] [*See* Mather, *Pashas*.]

[190] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 44.

[191] A dumb show was a part of a play where actions took precedence over speech, often in an attempt to demonstrate the story to the audience where words were insufficient.

[192] Daniel Vitkus elaborates on the use of Mahomet's head in his footnotes of the play. He states that, Mahomet's head was a standard stage property in English theater. It was likely an exaggerated and turbaned head of a Turk. In addition, the representation of Mahomet in this scene as an idol dates back to medieval romances such as the *Chanson de Roland*. This notion of Mahomet as a pagan god appeared in several English works that dealt with the Mediterranean throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, VIII. 18. [*See* Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*, 236.]

This new habit outwardly defines him as a Turk, as the turban and sword characterize him as Muslim. The dumb-show is particularly effective in signifying Ward's outward conversion because the "turning" of clothing embodies the idea of *turning Turk*. George Sandys, an English traveller, recorded in his book, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom: 1610*, how Christians converting to Islam "threw 'away their bonnets' and received a 'change of rayments.'"[193] This shedding of Christian garments represents the shedding of an English Christian identity in favor of Islamic customs. The acceptance and wearing of the turban signified a convert's entrance into the Islamic community.[194] This outward acceptance of Islam signified the physical conversion that typically accompanied these rituals.

Ward undergoes the ceremonial conversion to Islam and assumes the outward habit of a Turk; however, he does not undergo the accompanying physical conversion of circumcision. Circumcision was often an accompanying part of the conversion ceremony.[195] While this ritual does not occur onstage during the dumb-show, Sares, Dansiker's captain relays the story of this physical conversion. He states, "I saw him Turk to the circumcision./Marry, therein I heard he played the Jew with 'em,/Made 'em come to the cutting of an ape's tail."[196] Sares alludes to the fact that Ward outwits the priests performing this ritual by substituting an ape's tail for his own foreskin. Sares also relays that Ward "played the Jew" in this ceremony. Both Jews and Muslims underwent the ritual of circumcision.[197] This is also a reference to the anti-Semitic stereotype held by many early modern Christians that Jews were deceptive. Ward "'played (ie.

---

[193] As Cited in Maclean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World,* 218.
[194] Maclean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 218.
[195] For the purposes of the play, the ritual of circumcision occurred offstage. [*See* Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 46.]
[196] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, IX. 2-4.
[197] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*, 237.

faked) the part of a circumcised Jew, cheating them of his foreskin."[198] Ward's deception plays an important role in the maintenance of his 'manhood.' Circumcision represented the irreversible nature of Islamic conversion, as it was a physical shedding of masculinity. His role as the "Jew" is an essential component of the preservation of Christian manhood that remains unblemished from his outward conversion to Islam.[199] Ward's conversion to Turk is irreversible regardless of the state of his physical conversion; however, this moment represents the engrained preservation of "Christian manhood," which distinguishes him from his Turkish counterparts.

It is only after Ward's conversion that Voada reveals her seduction as a ruse to influence Ward's conversion. This scene is important because it demonstrates the consequence of abandoning Christianity and adopting Islam through her betrayal of Ward. Voada declares to Ward "…I hate thee more/Than all thy wealth made me love thee before."[200] Her hatred for Ward stems from her love for Fidelio.[201] Her love for Fidelio and repudiation of Ward suggests that her seduction is simply a tactic to gain Islamic converts because it was never Ward she desired, but the wealth he provided her from his piracy. It is his conversion coupled with her resentment that ultimately leads to his downfall. He concocts a plan where Voada will kill Fidelio as a way to avenge himself for her betrayal. Ward has Voada believe that a skipper is planning to sneak Fidelio aboard his ship. She falls prey to this trap, and Alizia ends up slain. It is at this moment that Voada attempts to kill Ward, and where he inadvertently wounds her. Voada claims that:

> He hath not only slain his innocent page,
> But thus assailed my life. Lay hands on him,
> Dear countrymen! Revenge my wrongs, my blood,

[198] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*, 237.
[199] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 229.
[200] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, XI. 26-27.
[201] Alizia is the sister of slain Frenchman, Lemot. She cross-dresses herself as the page Fidelio to protect her chastity, and is the object of Voada's affections.

On this false runagate.[202]

Not only does Voada falsely accuse Ward of murdering Fidelio, but she accuses him of accosting her. She terms Ward a "false runagate," accusing him of a counterfeit conversion. Ward turned renegade after abandoning Christianity for Islam; however, Voada accuses him of a false conversion to Islam. It is here where the distinction is made between Muslims and Muslim converts. It is Voada's accusations and the support of Turkish military officers that condemn Ward to death despite his insistence that he is innocent. He implores the Governor and the Turks to "Give her no ear. She is all woman—dissimulation./I am a Turk, and I do crave the law."[203] He attempts to expose Voada's deceptions by imploring the Turks to ignore the musings of a woman because she is dishonest, as represented by her "false" seduction. Despite the fact that Ward is a Muslim convert, he is not treated equally under the law. He is given no voice with which to defend himself. This demonstrates the Turkish perception of Ward as trapped somewhere between Turk and Christian.

In the final scene of the play, Ward expresses his resentment towards the Turks for their betrayal, which suggests the duplicity of the Turks. Ward scourges the Muslims for treating him unjustly before he kills himself, and is torn piecemeal by the Muslims. This barbaric death reconfirms many of the stereotypes an early modern English audience believed about Muslims, particularly their violent natures:

> You're slaves of Mahomet,
> Ungrateful curs, that have repaid me thus
> For all the service that I have done for you.
> He that hath brought more treasure to your shore
> Than all Arabia yields! He that hath shown you

[202] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, XV. 89-92.
[203] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, XVI. 240-241.

The way to conquer Europe…[204]

In this moment, Ward curses his captors for their betrayal of him. Not only did he *turn Turk*, but his piracy brought them great wealth and acclaim. Ward's conversion also caused him to turn against Christian Europe to aid the Turks. The betrayal of Ward by the Turks suggests the anxiety that his conversion caused. Ward cannot be trusted by the Turks due to his conversion, but the betrayal of Voada also implies Ward's inability to trust the Turks. Commerce and piracy were the common bonds that tied Ward's interests to the Turks, but even these bonds are unable to permanently link him to the Ottomans. In 1605, the real life Ward was fashioning a relationship with Uthman Dey, who was eager to amass Christian renegades in piracy against Christendom.[205] Ward and Dey forged a relationship built on the common interest of piracy, and it was with Dey that Ward shared his prizes. Ward accepted a minor position in the Tunisian court, but his real value was not his administrative abilities, but his success at sea.[206] Commerce failed to link Ward to the Turks at the conclusion of the play because his commerce was no longer fruitful due to his lust for Voada. If Ward accepted conversion as a political agreement rather than as a result of seduction, this betrayal might be less severe. Jane Degenhardt argues that conversion as a result of sensuality is a one-way process, where the Christian man is able to become Muslim through the transgression of his body, but this irreversible intercourse makes him unable to reenter the Christian community.[207] The betrayal of Ward suggests the consequence of a breakdown in commercial relations due to his sexual transgressions.

Ward's final act of the play is to deliver an urgent warning to English Christians about the dangers and irreversibility of apostasy. He declares that:

---

[204] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, XVI. 296-301.
[205] The character Carosmen in Daborne's play is aptly named to represent Uthman Dey or Kara Osman Dey.
[206] Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, 34-35.
[207] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 15.

> …O may I be the last of my country
> That trust unto your treacheries, seducing treacheries…
> That die to hell, and live far worse than slaves,
> Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just,
> And that despair attends on blood and lust."[208]

Ward's death seemingly befits the conclusion of the play because it serves as justice for his crimes against his English identity. Ward's disloyalty to the crown through piracy, religious conversion, and sexual intercourse put him outside the bounds of an English Christian community. *Turning Turk* is a damnable act that condemns him to an eternity in hell, which is a fate worse than Barbary captivity because death as a Christian captive offered the chance of martyrdom and salvation in exchange for "implacable faith."[209] Barbara Fuchs argues for the play's real stakes: "minimizing the role of the European pirates as double agents vis-à-vis the supreme perfidy of their final conversion."[210] Fuchs emphasizes that Ward's conversion is his ultimate damnation rather than piracy. However, his demise acts as retribution for his piracy. This idea expands to examine how the casting off of all things constitutive of an English identity is what ultimately damns Ward. His greed acts in conjunction with his sexual deviance to cause his downfall as he states in the final line of his warning: "despair attends on blood and lust." The "blood" references Ward's desire to ensnare captives and dominate the seas, and his "lust" alludes to his craving for Voada. These final lines precede his death, and function as a warning to an English audience about the dangers of casting off an English identity and adopting the customs of the Turk.[211]

---

[208] Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, XVI. 315-321.

[209] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 1.

[210] Barbara Fuchs, "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation," *ELH* 67(1), (Johns Hopkins university Press: 45-69, 2000), http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/pdf/30031906.pdf (accessed November 15, 2015), 52.

[211] Ward's death at the conclusion of the play is a theatrical convention adopted by Daborne to showcase the finite nature of apostasy, and functions as a symbol of the death of Ward's English identity rather than a literal death, as the real life Ward died in Tunis of natural causes in 1623.

The outlawing of privateering following the accession of James I to the throne of England effectively left many former crown sanctioned sailors unemployed. Daborne's work depicts the aftermath of the illegality of privateering practices, particularly through the character of John Ward, a real life naval seaman turned renegade pirate for the Ottoman Empire. His work reimagines Ward's marauding lifestyle and subsequent Islamic conversion as permanent and irreversible. Ward straddles the line between English Christian and Barbary corsair, but is separated from both cultures through his willingness to cross the boundaries of loyal English citizen to rogue Muslim, and the geographical distance from the Atlantic to the North African coast. Unlike the successful cross-cultural encounters depicted in Heywood's adventure drama, Daborne's work serves as a cautionary tale for English Christians engaging with the Ottoman Empire. Bess demonstrates the advantages of loyalty and fidelity through her successful encounters with Spain and the Ottoman Empire, whereas Ward reveals the risks associated with attempted Islamic conversion-he is never fully accepted and trusted by his Ottoman contacts. Daborne's work similarly establishes the terms of maintaining an English identity, but in contrast to Heywood's work, an English identity emerges in opposition to Ward's piracy, disloyalty, and sexual incontinency.

CHAPTER 4

CATHOLIC RESISTANCE: ESTABLISHING A CHRISTIAN IDENTITY IN PHILIP MASSINGER'S *THE RENEGADO*

"And what in Tunis?/Will you turn Turk here?"[212] Vitelli's address to his servant exemplifies the fear of conversion associated with Islam in the early modern period by positioning the Turk in contrast to Christendom.[213] Philip Massinger's late Jacobean play, *The Renegado*, serves as a redemptive tale that upholds the importance of maintaining a Christian identity in the face of Muslim temptation.[214] The composition of this play occurred in late 1623 or early 1624 as a work intended for performance by Christopher Beeston's companies at the Cockpit playhouse, renamed the Phoenix playhouse after a disastrous fire destroyed the original theater.[215] The original staging of Massinger's play occurred between December 1623 and October 1624, and was likely performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Company who occupied the theater from 1622 until 1625.[216] The Cockpit was a private indoor theater that catered to a limited audience including members of the gentry, compared to outdoor public theaters such as

---

[212] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.i.37-38. [*See* Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 16 for further examination of "Turning Turk."]

[213] In the early modern period the term Turk extended to persons of the Ottoman Empire, but became synonymous with Muslim, as the association of Turk with Muslim power occurred c1300. The term extended to stereotypical characterizations of Turks, particularly their barbarity, tyrannical rule, and savagery. "Turk, n.1". OED Online. March 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/Entry/207622?rskey=xz7ZmG&result=1 (accessed March 14, 2017).

[214] The protagonist's address to his servant also functions as a question posed to an audience influenced by Mediterranean contacts. Jane Degenhardt notes that the distance between the Ottoman Empire and England was practically across the globe; however, English Christians faced constant exposure to Ottoman influences through food, clothing, sermons, pamphlets, and fears created as a result of these trade relationships. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance,* 1.

[214] Vitkus notes that the date of composition is uncertain, but the late Jacobean period is evidenced by Sir Henry Herbert's license for performance on April 17, 1624. Daniel J. Vitkus, Introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 40.

[215] The public theaters underwent a temporary closing in 1625 following the death of King James I. Vitkus, Introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 40.

the Red Bull.[217] Despite the limited audience, all classes understood the implications of this work, particularly the dangers of contact with the Ottoman Empire as evidenced through the many pamphlets and captivity narratives circulating in London during the early seventeenth century. This play deals in common English anxieties about Islam by demonstrating attempted physical and spiritual conversions of Christian characters, and threats to female virtue.[218] However, unlike Heywood and Daborne's earlier publications, Massinger's protagonist is a Venetian Catholic rather than an English Protestant, which suggests that it was better to be any denomination of Christian rather than Muslim. The barbarity and sexual incontinency of Muslims in Massinger's tragicomedy serves to underscore the common ground that Catholics and Protestants shared, despite rampant anti-Catholic sentiment in England during the early modern period.[219] His choice to incorporate Venetian Catholics shifts focus from England's traditional rival Spain to Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance. *The Renegado* thus challenges familiar prejudices against Catholicism by demonstrating Christian virtues in the face of Islamic temptation that cross denominational boundaries.[220]

The play itself opens in a marketplace in Tunis where Vitelli poses as a merchantman in an attempt to recover his virtuous sister, taken captive by the pirate Grimaldi, and sold as a slave

---

[216] This theater is distinguished from contemporary theaters due to its origin as a cockpit: which was a structure housing cockfights as a source of entertainment. Beeston converted this building into a theater to improve the profits of his acting troupe. [*See* Frances Teague, "The Phoenix and the Cockpit-in-Court Playhouses," from *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theater*, Ed. Richard Dutton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 240.]

[218] Paulina, the protagonist's virtuous sister, resists sexual advances from Asambeg, the viceroy of Tunis, through the protection of an enchanted amulet.

[219] [*See* Madeline Dobey, *Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language, and Culture in French Orientalism*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).]

[220] Massinger's work drew inspiration from Cervantes' comedy *Los Baños de Argel* and "The Captive's Story" from *Don Quixote, Part I*, as well as the failed Spanish match of 1623. Several scholars argue that *The Renegado* was in part based on the events of the summer of 1623. Charles I of England and Buckingham went to Spain to negotiate and finalize the alliance, which was largely unpopular in Protestant England. Claire Jowitt argues that the romance and religious fortitude of Vitelli and Donusa in the play parallels that of Charles I and the Infanta, Maria Anna in that both are torn between love and religion. The comparison between the characters and Charles ends here, as Vitelli is successful in converting Donusa, where Charles fails in "wooing" the Infanta. Vitkus, Introduction to *Three Turk Plays*, 41. [*See* Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*, 187; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).]

to the viceroy of Tunis. The protagonist's Christian identity is in part shaped by his participation in legal trade in Tunis compared to the illegality of piracy demonstrated by Grimaldi, the play's *renegado*. Jonathan Burton notes that the term *traffique* entered sixteenth-century English vocabulary as a result of Mediterranean contacts, and described the "transportation of merchandise for the purpose of trade between distant or distinct communities."[221] The increase in the transportation of merchandise resulted from the chartering of the Levant Company under Elizabeth I and renewed under James I in 1606. James encouraged legal trade, and abhorred the practice of piracy, as evidenced in the provisions published during his reign. In the first year of James' monarchy, a proclamation to repress piracy warned of the consequences of the illegal venture. The proclamation first stated that "no man of Warre be furnished or set out to Sea by any of Majesties subjects under paine of Death and confiscation of Lands and Goods…"[222] Any ship not mandated by the monarch that engaged in piracy practices was liable to have their cargoes seized and the possibility of a death sentence. While this mandate was originally put into place to protect England's uncertain relationship with Spain, this also extended to Mediterranean trade. Vitelli's legal trade in the Tunisian marketplace is in accordance with England's proclamations regarding trade practices, and is elaborated further in Act I of the play.

In the play, the Tunisian marketplace functions as a place of legal trade as well as a haven for pirates such as Grimaldi. Vitelli and his servant Gazet act as merchants within this marketplace, selling their wares to European and Ottoman purchasers alike. Gazet bellows, "What do you lack? Your choice China dishes, your pure Venetian/crystal of all sorts, of all neat

[221] Burton notes that the term *traffique* appears in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* in 1589. The word either derives from Latin roots *tra/trans* (across) and *facere* (to do or make) or Arabic root *traffaqa* ("to seek profit"). Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 15.
[222] England and Wales. Sovereign, *By the King.*

and new fashions, from the mirror of the/madam to the private utensil of her chambermaid…"[223] The wares at this particular booth are diverse in nature, ranging from china to European clothing and crystal. This scene echoes the diverse range of goods England legally imported from the Mediterranean in the early seventeenth century to feed the growing "retail frenzy." The Levant region provided England with "carpets and cloves, opium and copper, elephant's teeth and squirrel skins."[224] Mather notes that the Levantine trade thrived on two staple commodities: currants and silk.[225] An early modern Venetian source catalogues the increase in Mediterranean imports to parts of Europe noting that by 1604, London merchants in the Levant region were annually turning over nearly 250,000 crowns. Daniel Vitkus argues that this number indicated England's entrance onto the global scene of merchant capitalism.[226] Vitelli's participation in this new form of trade in Tunis contributes to his Christian identity because he is practicing legal trade sanctioned by the crown rather than piracy.

Commerce in the Mediterranean was a lucrative yet highly unpredictable profession as European confrontations with Barbary corsairs was a likely reality. While the title of the play alludes to piracy, this is only a subplot of the work that functions as a commentary on morality. Grimaldi is first introduced late in Act I when he appears in the Tunisian marketplace. In an exchange with his crew, he exclaims "…ravished virgins/To slavery sold for coin to feed our

---

[223] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.iii.1-3.

[224] Mather, *Pashas*, 55.

[225] Currants were popular in foods, cookbooks, and apothecaries, and were among the most familiar luxury items from the Mediterranean. Silk imports were also increasingly popular, and became the most valuable raw material imported from the East. Mather, *Pashas*, 55-56.

[226] Merchant capitalism refers to an early phase in the development of capitalism as it pertains to an economic system. Daniel Vitkus, "The Common Market of All the World: English Theater, the Global System, and the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Empire," from *Global Traffic: Discourse and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, Ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 26.

riots,/We will have no compunction."[227] He is devoid of a moral Christian identity, and instead focused on the profits derived from sexual exploits and the sale of stolen merchandise. A Turk in the marketplace comments on Grimaldi's piracy by noting, "He receives profits/From the prizes he brings in, and that excuses/Whatever he commits."[228] North African pirates were not repudiated for their actions against foreign merchants, but were often officially recognized as "revenue-raising machinery" that shared profits seized from the cargo and captives found in North African territory.[229] State sponsored corsairs often operated on behalf of the Barbary States: Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, and Salee.[230] Although piracy was not specific to the Mediterranean, oftentimes both the corsair and state benefited from the seizure of European cargo, whereas English piracy was an independent pursuit. This is why the Turk overlooks Grimaldi's sexual indiscretions, because his prizes brought wealth to Tunis. Grimaldi remains separated from a Christian identity through his immoral actions towards Paulina and his participation in piracy practices against European vessels.

Grimaldi's piracy was an interesting topic for an English audience because it was not absolute; he straddles the line between Muslim and Christian, much like Captain Ward at the conclusion of Daborne's play. Following Grimaldi's abduction of the virtuous Paulina, Vitelli's sister, and his success on the seas, he is dispatched to Malta by the Tunisian court to subdue the Knights of Malta. Malta was a Christian polity during the late sixteenth century, and oftentimes engaged in piracy practices against Muslim and Greek ships.[231] The viceroy of Tunis

---

[227] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.iii.72-74.
[228] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.iii.93-95.
[229] Colley, *Captives*, 44-45.
[230] Christopher Harding, "*Hostis Humani Generis*-The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea," from *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 29.
[231] Harding, "*Hostis Humani Generis*," 30.

commissions Grimaldi to participate in the siege of Malta, which he fails to accomplish. He relates to the Viceroy of Tunis that:

> These Knights of Malta, but a handful to
> Your armies that drink up rivers, have stood
> Your fury at the height, and with their crosses
> Struck pale our horned moons…[232]

Grimaldi references the 1565 siege of Malta in which the Knights Hospitaller withstood a Turkish attack.[233] This was a significant achievement for European Christians as they successfully repelled their Turkish enemies. Grimaldi references the power of Christianity over the Ottomans in this episode by stating that the Knights of Malta overcame the "horned moons" with their "crosses." The horned moon is a reference to the crescent moon, an ancient symbol associated with Islam and adopted by the Ottoman Empire. The failure of Grimaldi to defeat the Maltese dissociates him from the Turks because Asambeg regards it as a betrayal, on account of Grimaldi's admiration for the knights.[234] This betrayal marks Grimaldi as redeemable because he concedes to the power of the knights. This scene is also significant because the knights are Catholics rather than Protestants, which deviates from the traditional championing of Protestantism over Islam in English drama. The playwright invites the English audience to view the heroic knights as allies of the war against Islam.

Grimaldi's piracy further separates him from a Christian identity through the abduction of the virtuous Paulina and her subsequent captivity. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, England's contact with the Ottoman Empire exposed them to both lucrative trade networks and the menace of the seas: pirates. Linda Colley argues that Barbary

---

[232] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.v.64-67.

[233] The Knights Hospitaller was a Roman Catholic military order. It is important to note that the janissaries that attacked Malta were taken from Christian nations as children and raised as Muslim warriors. This provides an interesting parallel to Grimaldi's "renegade" status as he converted from Christian to Turk. The janissaries are in some manner "renegades" as well, as they were born Christians and raised as Muslims.

[234] Asambeg accuses Grimaldi of disparaging the Turks.

corsairs "…converted the sea from an emblem of commerce, freedom, power and proud British identity, into a source of menace and potential slavery."[235] Prior to the seventeenth century, the English largely remained unexposed to Islam and the threat pirating posed to commerce and the liberties of English merchants and travellers to the East. While the seizure of English merchants and cargo occurred during the sixteenth century, the accession of James I to England's throne coupled with significant changes in naval effectiveness greatly increased the risk of capture. James' uneasy peace with the Spanish as a result of the Treaty of London allied England with the Ottoman's greatest Christian enemy, Spain.[236] Male fishermen and merchants, as argued in the previous chapters, faced the threat of capture and enslavement in corsair galleys. However, women were largely left out of this grand captivity narrative. Several captivity narratives published during the seventeenth century noted that women and children were victims of captivity, but they were largely undocumented accounts.[237] Perceptions of men as victims of the sexual threat of Islam pervaded captivity accounts, but there are no records indicating that captive women faced the same threat. It is during the moment of increased captivity of European travellers and merchants to the Mediterranean that Grimaldi captures Paulina, which also functions as a commentary on sexuality.[238]

In a potent scene from Act V of the play, Paulina comments on her abduction and the state of her virtue. She notes that:

> My chastity preserved by miracle…
> Revenge it on accursed Grimaldi's soul,
> That in his rape of me gave a beginning

[235] Colley, *Captives*, 47.
[236] Colley, *Captives*, 49.
[237] The first female captivity narrative was published in 1769 by Elizabeth Marsh. Colley, *Captives*, 128.
[238] Captivity was also a significant threat that Muslims faced. Mediterranean captives seized by European fleets varied in nationality and were part of the slave labor force emerging in Europe. Nabil Matar, "Piracy and Captivity in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Perspective from Barbary," from *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 60-61.

To all the miseries that since have followed![239]

Paulina preserves her chastity despite facing slavery at the hands of Asambeg. Paulina is unique in that the fear of slavery was atypical for female characters, but she proves successful in remaining virtuous whereas many "Turkish Plays" underscore the downfall of Christian men, as evidenced by Ward's execution in the final scene of Daborne's play. Paulina notes that Grimaldi is to blame for her "rape." Rape in the early modern period had several variations including the act of taking a person by force, particularly women, with the intent to sexually violate them.[240] Paulina notes that this violation was the catalyst behind the miseries she and her brother Vitelli endured in Tunis. If Paulina lost her virtue to Asambeg, she also risked shedding her Christian identity for her lack of sexual continency. However, it is interesting to note that it is not Paulina's faith alone that protects her from violation.

Paulina's virtue is in part spared due to her Christian faith, but an amulet imbued with powers simultaneously protects her virginity. Francisco, a Jesuit priest, recounts to Vitelli how Paulina's virtue remained unscathed from Muslim threats. He declares, "I oft have told you/Of a relic that I gave her which has power,/…To keep the owner free from violence."[241] Paulina's amulet has the ability to protect her virtue from defilement through the power of prayer. It is interesting that Massinger chose to incorporate the relic into his play as both Protestantism and Islam repudiated the use of relics for their supposed mysticism. In the early 1620s, some English Protestants began to embrace sacramental worship despite the fact that Protestant theologians saw relics as idolatrous and often associated with "Catholic Whoredom."[242] As Frances Dolan

---

[239] Massinger, *The Renegado*, V.ii.69-78.

[240] "rape, n.3". OED Online. March 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158145?rskey=oWNLjC&result=3&isAdvanced=false (accessed April 2016).

[241] Massinger, *The Renegado*, 146-149.

[242] Degenhardt also argues that this amulet functioned as an outward manifestation of Paulina's virginity. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance,* 134.

argues, "the tendency for Catholic women to worship false idols, or to assign talismanic powers to 'trinkets and toys,' was understood to derive from their ignorance, vanity, and superstition."[243] The Catholic Church in England prior to the Reformation provided supernatural aid for problems of daily life. Women were able to borrow relics that afforded help in periods of distress, and were able to participate in rituals of comfort and prayer.[244] Paulina's use of the amulet to protect her chastity highlights the association between women and Catholicism. Degenhardt argues that the play deviates from the Protestant rejection of relics to conflate a Catholic woman's use of an amulet with her morality.[245] The amulet functions as an outward manifestation of Paulina's faith and virtue that is palpable to Muslim men. Asambeg states "Ravish her, I dare not:/The magic that she wears about her neck,/I think defends her."[246] It is Paulina's Christianity that ultimately protects her from sexual inconstancy and conversion by the Turk. Despite Protestantism's repudiation of Catholic idolatry, this scene functions as a commentary on the necessity of maintaining a Christian identity, as resistance to Eastern seduction is a non-denominational pursuit.

Paulina's virtue functions as the converse of the Muslim seductress Donusa who represents sexual incontinency and the seductive powers of Eastern women. Warnings against the seduction of Islam demonstrate the anxieties towards conversion and the implications of the loss of a Christian identity. Francisco warns Vitelli of the dangers of seduction posed by Muslim women:

> You are young
> And may be tempted, and these Turkish dames

[243] As cited in Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 134.
[244] Crawford notes that women frequently lit candles in devotion to the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the dead, as well as practicing piety through prayer. Women were also able to borrow relics including the girdle of a saint to aid in childbirth. Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 24.
[245] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 134.
[246] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.v.161-63.

(Like English mastiffs that increase their fierceness
By being chained up), from the restraint of freedom,
If lust once fire their blood from a fair object,
Will run a course the fiends themselves would shake at
To enjoy their wanton ends.[247]

Francisco compares the lust of Turkish women to the English mastiff, originally used for hunting and sport, such as bear baiting, to demonstrate the ferocity of female lust when unleashed upon an unwitting bystander.[248] Muslim women became associated with promiscuity and seduction on the stage as a result of the exoticism of the East discovered through increased trade networks. Degenhardt notes that the stage often cast Muslims as sexual predators; the Muslim women were cast as foreign temptresses, while Muslim men were lustful rapists.[249] The play introduces both categories of sexual predation through the Muslim characters Donusa and Asambeg. Donusa typifies the Muslim seductress through her use of sensuality as a tool for religious conversion and the enticements of the East.[250] This idea implies that the stage helped to shape the belief that Islam was a religion of seduction as a means of conversion. Female seduction is a significant component of Massinger's play that prefigures a religious conversion to follow.

Donusa's seduction of Vitelli in the Tunisian marketplace ultimately leads to his sexual undoing. While Vitelli at first seems reluctant to engage in intercourse with Donusa, his fleshly desires overcome his Christian morals. He exclaims, "Though the Devil/Stood by and roared, I follow! Now I find/That virtue's but a word…"[251] Unlike Paulina's repudiation of sexual incontinency as corrupting of virtue, Vitelli abandons virtue as irrelevant in the face of sexual desire. He also uses the devil as a comparison to the sinfulness of Muslim seduction. The

[247] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.iii.7-13.
[248] Bear baiting was a blood sport in which animals tormented a chained bear, such as dogs. The location of this popular sport was in Southwark, London in the same district as the theater, as both were unsavory institutions.
[249] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 14.
[250] The characterization of Muslim women as seductive extends to both Daborne and Heywood's works.
[251] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.iv.134-36.

protagonist recognizes that lust is sinful, but is unable to overcome temptation when faced with Muslim seduction. This moment is reminiscent of the devil's seduction of Eve in the Garden of Eden. Eve recognized that eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil was sinful, but the allure of the forbidden fruit eventually overpowered her obedience to God. This is similar to Vitelli's recognition of his actions as sinful, and the overpowering of lust. The protagonist's failure to remain sexually continent suggests the possibility of conversion, as Vitelli willingly yielded to Muslim seduction.[252]

Seduction is not exclusive to sexual transgressions, but also extends to the seduction of the East. Donusa seduces Vitelli with promises of Eastern wealth such as "bags stuffed with imperial coin" and "gems for which the slavish Indian dives."[253] While he originally repudiates these tokens, he eventually dons fine Turkish clothing and accepts the offer of wealth. He exclaims to Francisco and Gazet:

> My rich habit
> Deserves least admiration. There's nothing
> That can fall in the compass of your wishes
> Though it were to redeem a thousand slaves
> From the Turkish galleys…"[254]

Vitelli appears to fall prey to the seductions of the East by outwardly dressing as a Turk rather than a European merchant. Such garb did not always indicate a religious conversion: travellers such as George Sandys, Thomas Coryat, and the Shirley brothers remained Protestant, but chose to have their portraits painted in full Turkish attire.[255] Sixteenth century Levant Company

---

[252] Other early modern dramas such as Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* also explore the consequences of yielding to Muslim seduction. Ward's engagement in intercourse with Voada is the beginning of his demise. He knowingly chooses to convert after this encounter, which marks him as irredeemable.

[253] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.iv.83-84.

[254] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.vi.29-33.

[255] The 1607 play, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, drew inspiration from the real-life adventures of the Shirley Brothers. Dennis Britton, "Muslim Conversion and Circumcision as Theater," from *Religion and Drama in*

accountant John Sanderson noted in his diary, some travellers fell prey to the allure of the East adopting both the turban and Islam. He wrote, "many Englishmen, old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others."[256] Sanderson's experiences in the Mediterranean were not unique; many men chose to yield to the material wealth the Islamic world offered rather than fear the imperceptible dangers of conversion. Peter Eston, a Somerset farmer, left England in 1611 to pursue the profession of Barbary corsair. His success in the Mediterranean brought him a fortune of 100,000 crowns, with an additional £4,000 pension annually.[257] Other English renegades, such as Sampson Denball and John Ward, adopted Eastern names and terrorized English fleets in the Mediterranean. For English renegades, it was the promise of prosperity that influenced their apostasy. While Vitelli is not completely a renegade, he does succumb to the exoticism of the East by adopting lavish clothing and accumulating wealth. Vitelli's submission to the enticements of the East is problematic for his Christian identity because it opens the door for Islamic conversion.

It is Francisco, the Jesuit priest, who convinces Vitelli of his folly, and is ultimately able to prevent a spiritual conversion. Upon glimpsing Vitelli in his Turkish apparel, Francisco exclaims the he is "strangely metamorphosed," both through his attire and his attitude toward Muslim wealth.[258] Francisco's comment implies the dangers of adopting Turkish habits and customs, as there was a potential irreversibility associated with conversion. Thomas Becon's late sixteenth century commentary on fashion explored the association of clothing with apostasy, particularly fashions popular in the Mediterranean. His work suggested that "Turkes Apparell"

Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage, Ed. By Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson, (England: Ashgate, 2011), 80.

[256] As cited in Mather, *Pashas*, 90.

[257] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 149.

[258] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.vi.20.

ultimately led the wearer to become "right Turkes and Infydels in…lyfe, conuersation, and manners."[259] The donning of Turkish garments was the precursor to a more permanent conversion, as implied by Francisco's fear of Vitelli's metamorphoses. Francisco further declares that "They steer not the right course, nor traffic well,/That seek a passage to reach heaven through hell."[260] This statement suggests that Vitelli's immoral actions exclude him from salvation. Sexual continence and the maintenance of a Christian identity ultimately lead to salvation, whereas Islamic conversion is irredeemable. It is through Francisco's role as Christian confessor that Vitelli casts off his Turkish habit to return to the fold of Christendom. The protagonists says "Let it suffice you have made me see my follies/And wrought, perhaps, compunction; for I would not/Appear an hypocrite."[261] Vitelli references the hypocrisy of his bodily transgressions because he arrived in Tunis under the guise of a merchantman in order to rescue his virtuous sister. It is interesting that it is the counsel of a Jesuit that redeems Vitelli from certain damnation through conversion.[262] Degenhardt notes that Jesuitical customs were staunchly contested by the English when exercised against Protestants; however, Jesuit practices are tolerated in the play as a means to resist Islam.[263] Jesuits were understood as anti-heroes in Protestant England, as demonstrated by the publication of several anti-Jesuit pamphlets following *The Renegado's* early performances. These tracts associated Jesuits with "conniving

---

[259] Britton argues that the fears of *Turning Turk* expressed in Becon's writing were manifest on the stage through costume. He notes, "it was on the stage…that English apostasy was explicitly visualized through a change of costumes…" As cited in Britton, "Muslim Conversion and Circumcision as Theater," 81.

[260] Massinger, *The Renegado*, II.vi.45-46.

[261] Massinger, *The Renegado*, III.ii.4-6.

[262] The Jesuits are a male religious order of the Catholic Church. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Jesuits in the mid-sixteenth century in response to a conversion experience that occurred as a result of his injuries in the Battle of Pamplona. The Jesuit order advocated missionary, educational, and charitable pursuits.

[263] Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 131.

methods of infiltration and conversion, assassination plans, and covert Catholic rebellions."[264] Massinger's inclusion of a Jesuit priest as the redeemer of Vitelli implies that a Christian identity was preferable to that of a Muslim identity despite the English disdain for Jesuitical practices. It also displaces the responsibility for conversion from the Jesuits onto the Muslim characters.

While Francisco's intercession prevents the protagonist from undergoing a spiritual conversion to Islam, the play further comments on the anxiety of physical conversion through castration and the loss of Christian manhood. Vitelli asks his servant Gazet, "And what in Tunis?/Will you turn Turk here?"[265] Gazet associates *turning Turk* with the fear of circumcision. The conflation of castration and circumcision in early modern understanding, posed a physical threat to European Christian men who did not undergo the practice as a matter of religion.[266] Gazet's response to Vitelli exemplifies this fear: "No, so I should lose/A collop of that part my Doll enjoined me/To bring home as she left it…"[267] Gazet associates Islamic conversion with the loss of a "collop," a piece of flesh. This moment represents the engrained notion of preserving Christian manhood, which distinguishes the Christian characters from their Turkish counterparts. Undergoing a physical transformation destabilized Christian manhood through the conversion of the male genitalia. This is why Vitelli's adoption of Turkish garments is extremely problematic, because it symbolized the beginnings of an outward conversion to Islam, which was a precursor to physical transformation.[268] Degenhardt argues that circumcision was a

---

[264] Jesuits faced accusations of conspiracy in several prominent events including the 1605 Gunpowder Plot. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 130.

[265] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.i.37-38.

[266] Burton also notes that castration and circumcision were tropes of comedic plays, such as the tragicomic *Renegado*. Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 153.

[267] Massinger, *The Renegado*, I.i.38-40.

[268] Dennis Britton elaborates on the conflation of clothing and circumcision/castration. He argues that the turban in particular was an outwardly visible identifier of Islam, whereas religious faith and circumcision were invisible. This distinction is made clearer on the English stage since the actor was not expected to reveal his anatomy in order to authenticate Islamic conversion (English actors were likely uncircumcised as it was not a common practice amongst

fait accompli, or a permanent marker of conversion, in several early modern plays; however, Vitelli's avoidance of circumcision perpetuates the notion that his sexual transgression is not permanently manifest through circumcision.[269] While Vitelli undergoes an outward conversion through his Turkish garments, he maintains his Christian identity by refusing to undergo physical conversion. However, the play also incorporates an English eunuch to serve as the clichéd cautionary tale of conversion.

Carazie, the eunuch, is the only English character in the play, and represents the loss of Christian manhood and identity through physical dismemberment. While Vitelli's pursues the seduction of Donusa, Gazet seeks social mobility in the Ottoman court, and subsequently faces emasculation through Carazie's trickery. Carazie dupes Gazet into believing that the position of court eunuch is a privilege that can be purchased. The eunuch notes, "It is but parting with/A precious stone or two…"[270] Gazet mistakenly believes this is a reference to money and wares rather than his testicles, and subsequently exclaims, "I am made! an eunuch!"[271] Barbara Fuchs argues that being "made" economically constituted the *unmaking* of the man.[272] Gazet does not comprehend that his economic "making" will emasculate him and dissociate him from a Christian identity through physical conversion. For an early modern audience, this scene exemplified the fears of Mediterranean travel, as the perceived result of contact was captivity coupled with castration and Islamic conversion. While the play concerns itself with the physical

---

Christians). Britton furthers this argument by noting the importance of costumes in alerting the audience to an Islamic character or a circumcised male body. Britton, "Muslim Conversion and Circumcision as Theater," 79.

[269] Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* associates his sexual transgression with physical transformation, and demonstrates the irredeemable nature of Islamic conversion. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 132.

[270] Massinger, *The Renegado*, III.iv.51-52.

[271] Massinger, *The Renegado*, III.iv.56.

[272] Fuchs uses the term "made" in the context of the self-made man. Fuchs further argues that Gazet's ambition for social mobility is problematic for his masculinity because he is overreaching his station. Barbara Fuchs, "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation," *ELH* 67(1), (Johns Hopkins University Press: 45-69, 2000), http://www.jstor.org/stable/30031906, 64.

implications of conversion, Massinger returns to spiritual transformation and Vitelli's resistance towards Islam.

The imprisonment of Vitelli and Donusa for their sexual relationship occurs in the penultimate act of the play, and represents the maintenance of Vitelli's Christian identity in the face of Muslim opposition. Both Asambeg and Donusa implore the protagonist to undergo Islamic conversion. However, Vitelli's refusal to submit further redeems him of his previous bodily transgressions, and reconfirms his Christian faith. His abhorrence of Islam as a religion of deception and sorcery substantiates many of the stereotypes that an early modern English audience believed about Muslims:

> I will not foul my mouth to speak the sorceries
> Of your seducer, his base birth, his whoredoms,
> His strange impostures; nor deliver how
> He taught a pigeon to feed in his ear,
> Then made his credulous followers believe
> It was an angel that instructed him
> In the framing of the Alcoran.[273]

In this episode, Vitelli draws upon European misconceptions of Islam and the prophet Mahomet. The protagonist equates Islamic faith with the occult. Vitelli references the "base birth" of Mahomet, which is part of the European mythology of Islam. Sixteenth century Swiss author, Theodore Bibliander, composed a piece of theological discourse on Mahomet. While this text largely attempted to portray Mahomet as a reformer, Bibliander passed judgment on the prophet's life and birth. Bibliander deems Mahomet's parents as "Persian idolater" and a "Jew."[274] Anti-Semitic stereotypes that Jews were notoriously deceptive existed in Christian Europe during the early modern period coupled with the Protestant repudiation of idolatrous practices. Vitelli further draws on European misconceptions of Islam when he cites the story of

[273] Massinger, *The Renegado*, IV.iii.125-131.
[274] Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, 90.

the pigeon. English traveller Thomas Coryat famously despised Muslims in his narratives, often repeating popular mythologies that were centuries old by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[275] In one such oration, Coryat states that the prophet taught a bird to eat meat from his ear.[276] As Vitelli notes, the European misconception was that Mahomet duped his followers into believing that the pigeon represented an angel whispering the entirety of the Qur'an into his ear. Vitelli draws upon European mythologies of Islam to demonstrate the converse of a Christian identity by defining Islam as a religion of "sorceries." This episode displays Vitelli's ability to maintain a Christian identity in the face of Muslim opposition.

Many of the Turkish plays conclude with the irreversible nature of Islamic conversion; however, Massinger contrasts this convention by depicting the Christian conversion of Donusa as a means of restoring the body and furthering Christian identity. In this scene, the protagonist requests Gazet bring water to the prison in order to "baptize" Donusa. He claims that this ritual "…washes off/Stains and pollutions from the things we wear."[277] This polysemic line refers to both the literal garments of a Muslim as well as sin by denoting that baptism cleanses the soul of sin as well as the body of Muslim vestiges. Following Vitelli's symbolic baptism of Donusa, she responds:

> I am another woman—till this minute
> I never lived, nor durst think how to die.
> How long have I been blind! Yet on the sudden
> By this blest means I feel the films of error
> Ta'en from my soul's eyes.[278]

This sudden conversion is a restoration of both Donusa's body and soul manifested through a Christian identity. Donusa's exclamation alludes to her spiritual death prior to this lay baptism.

---

[275] Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, 3.
[276] Dimmock notes that for an early modern English audience, Muslims and Islam were non-existent, and only Mahomet and Mahometanism were authentic (1). Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, 2.
[277] Massinger, *The Renegado*, V.iii.112-113.
[278] Massinger, *The Renegado*, V.iii.121-25.

This transformation washes away Donusa's sins, particularly her sexual incontinency. This baptism scene reflects the redeemability of Muslims through Christian conversion.[279] Degenhardt notes that baptism received substantial attention and debate in the early modern period. Calvinists, while maintaining the practice of infant baptism, emphasized the role of predestination in salvation. Vitelli's use of baptism as a restorative entity echoes the importance of sacraments in Catholicism as a vehicle for grace.[280] Similar to the use of the amulet in protecting Paulina's chastity and the counsel of the Jesuit priest in reaffirming the protagonist's Christian identity, baptism is an acceptable practice so long as it is used to preserve Christian identity over that of Islam. It also represents a displacement of fears from Catholicism to Islam by openly using a Catholic ritual to cleanse Donusa of her Muslim vestiges. While the baptism scene functions as a means of furthering Christian identity through the restoration of body and soul, Grimaldi's return to Christianity similarly champions the restorative ability of Christianity.

Grimaldi's piracy contrasts his return to the Christian fold, which demonstrates Christianity's redemptive nature.[281] Similar to Vitelli's redemption through the intercession of the Jesuit priest, Grimaldi also finds redemption through his confession of misdeeds to Francisco. Francisco encourages Grimaldi to seek penance through his deeds, "Purchase it/By zealous undertakings, and no more/'Twill be remembered."[282] Grimaldi's reconversion to Christianity can only be completed through the enactment of good works, which was a distinctly Catholic notion. Protestantism posited that the achievement of salvation was through faith alone,

---

[279] This scene similarly recalls Jesus' healing of the blind man.

[280] Degenhardt states that in the latter part of the sixteenth century religious reformers, such as Thomas Cartwright, opposed lay baptism as a Catholic practice that needed eradication (140). Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance*, 139.

[281] Massinger's redemptive conclusion contrasts the irreversibility of Ward's conversion in Daborne's play. This difference suggests that Ward's conversion was absolute. He attacked European merchants and sold them in the Tunisian slave market, whereas Grimaldi fails in his endeavors against the Christians in Malta.

[282] Massinger, *The Renegado*, IV.i.86-88.

whereas Catholicism advanced the idea that salvation was a combination of faith and good works. It is interesting that Francisco uses the word "purchase" in regards to Grimaldi's salvation, as it is reminiscent of the Catholic sale of indulgences. Indulgences were a way to reduce the amount of suffering a person underwent in purgatory for their sins. Beginning in the late Middle Ages, pardoners sold indulgences to unwitting people; however, the Reformation condemned this act. Restrictions on the sale of indulgences during the mid-sixteenth century Council of Trent limited this practice. Francisco's use of "purchase" alludes to this Catholic tradition. However, Grimaldi interprets "purchase" more literally in the sense of the redemption of captives. He seeks to gain pardon for his misdeeds not through indulgences, but by "Deliver[ing] from the oar and win[ning] as many" merchants as he took captive during his piracy.[283] He furthers his good works at the conclusion of the play by engineering the escape of the Venetian Christian characters from Tunis. Grimaldi's willingness to shed his renegade identity for a Christian identity demonstrates the desired outcome of reconversion of European renegades.

The relationship between Protestant England and Catholic Spain in the early modern period was contentious due to years of religious warfare and naval escapades. Massinger's work effectively displaces the English anxieties induced by proximity to Spain by using Venetian Catholics as the champions of Christianity over the infidel. His use of Catholic characters contrasts the previous dramas that examined the resistance and conversion of English characters. Massinger's work served to demonstrate the importance of Christianity, regardless of denomination, in preserving Christian spirituality and manhood in the Mediterranean. The Catholic Paulina, like the English Bess, demonstrates the enduring value of chastity across the

[283] Massinger, *The Renegado*, IV.i.102.

lines of the Reformation. This work served to establish an identity in contrast to the Ottoman characters by demonstrating the importance of legal trade in the Tunisian marketplace, resistance to Islamic temptations, both physical and spiritual, and the redeemability of Christianity through Grimaldi's reconversion. While not a decisively English identity, Massinger's work establishes a united European Christendom in contrast to the savagery of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

British mercantile engagements with the Ottoman Empire thrust England into a globalized market of lucrative trade. The Ottoman Empire provided England with an ally and beneficial trading partner, as European Catholic ports remained closed to English merchants. Commerce with the Ottoman Empire brought exotic commodities such as silks, spices, and currants to the shores of England, and with it the mystical religion of Islam. Islam was both a fascinating and terrifying religion that threatened merchants with captivity and conversion at sea. Stories of piracy and imprisonment published in pamphlets, narratives, and plays colored the British perception of the Mediterranean. Matar and Maclean note that the most sinister and barbarous accounts of Muslims in English popular culture centered on North African port cities. The seizure of English merchants fueled this image, as Barbary corsairs preyed upon the trade routes of merchant ships in the Levant.[284]

The exoticism of the Mediterranean was difficult for an early modern readership to comprehend. Terms such as "Mahometan," "Turk," and "Saracen" arose to describe Islam's competing theological position. Matthew Dimmock argues that shared Abrahamic roots connected Christianity to Islam, making Mahomet a familiar figure to the early modern English. Islam became the "dark double" of Christianity, reflecting Christian moral faults.[285] The dramatic works of Heywood, Daborne, and Massinger reflect on this religious misconception by enacting onstage the anxieties stirred up by the mystical East. Scenes of piracy, captivity, and

[284] Piracy and the seizure of captives extended to Britons and other European sailors in addition to North African corsairs. MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*, 230.
[285] Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, 1.

conversion demonstrate the dangers of crossing the geographical boundaries from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and the moral boundaries of illicit piracy and sex. These works also blur the line between privateering and piracy, English and Ottoman, Christian and Muslim, and man and woman. At a moment when English ships extended their reach around the globe, anxieties concerning the unfamiliar East informed the construction of their emerging national identity.

These plays, when examined chronologically, reveal the formation of national identity as a result of England's shifting presence on the global stage. The composition of Heywood's salacious adventure drama occurred amidst protracted and open war with Spain and the development of a commercial relationship with the Ottoman Empire. His work depicts England as a patriotic and global competitor in the 1590s, despite England's failure to establish successful colonies in the Atlantic and its inconsequential status in the Mediterranean. Daborne's play appeared in print following the renewal of the Levant charter in 1606. As commercial relationships expanded, so did the growing threat from Barbary corsairs, which created anxieties towards captivity and conversion that circulated in English popular culture. His work reveals the risks associated with attempted Islamic conversion: having rejected the faith and culture of his homeland, Ward is never fully accepted by his Ottoman contacts. Massinger's publication came twenty years after the Treaty of London and the Gunpowder Plot. While England continued to compete with Spain in financial terms, and anti-Catholic rhetoric remained the norm, Catholicism waned as a direct threat to English Protestantism. English colonies such as Virginia began to stabilize, and England embarked on the settlement of Plymouth Colony.[286] Massinger's play reflects this shifting relationship with Spain by depicting a united Christendom against the lure of the East. These works collectively demonstrate how English national identity emerged as

[286] Founded in 1620 by Puritan Separatists, the Plymouth Colony was the first municipality of New England.

a result of open hostilities with Spain, lucrative trade with the Ottoman Empire, and England's colonial aspirations.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce concluded in the names of the most high and mighty kings, and princes Iames by the grace of God, King of great Britaine, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and Philip the third, King of Spaine, &c. and Albertus and Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archdukes of Austrice, Dukes of Burgundie, &c. In a treatie at London the 18. day of August after the old stile in the yeere of our Lord God 1604. Translated out of Latine into English. 1605. British Library. Early English Books Online (accessed March 15, 2017).

"The Ballad of Ward and Danseker." As cited in the "Introduction" of *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*. Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Barker, Andrew. *A true and certaine report of the beginning, proceedings, ouerthrowes, and now present estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous pirates from their first setting foorth to this present time. As also the firing of 25. saile of the Tunis, men of warre: together with the death of diuers of Wards chiefe captaines. Published by Andrew Barker master of a ship, who was taken by the confederates of Ward, and by them some time detained prisoner. 1609*. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Early English Books Online (accessed November 2015).

Daborne, Robert. *A Christian Turned Turk*. Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus. From *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

"Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech: July 1588." *Learning Timelines: Sources from History*. British Library (accessed November 15, 2015).

England and Wales. Sovereign. *By the King. A proclamation to represse all piracies and depredations upon the sea*. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, 1603. Folger Shakespeare Library. Early English Books Online (accessed March 15, 2017).

Fox, John. *The worthy enterprise of John Fox, an Englishman, in delivering 266 Christians out of captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, the third of January 1577.* Ed. By Daniel J. Vitkus. From *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Greene, Robert. *Selimus*, *Emperor of the Turks*. Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus. From *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Heywood, Thomas. *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II. Regents Renaissance Drama Series*. Ed. Robert K. Turner, J. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Knox, John. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. 1558. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Early English Books Online. B1 (accessed November 2015).

Marlowe, Christopher. *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*. Ed. Anthony B. Dawson. London: Methuen Drama, 1997.

Massinger, Philip. *The Renegado*. Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus. From *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Nixon, Anthony. *Nevves from sea, of tvvo notorious pyrats Ward the Englishman, and Danseker the Dutchman VVith a true relation of all or the most piraces [sic] by them committed vnto the sixt of Aprill. 1609*. Henry E. Library and Art Gallery. Early English Books Online (accessed November 2015).

Rowlands, Samuel. "To a Reprobate Pirate That Hath Renounced Christ and Is Turn'd Turk," 1612. As cited in Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the Seventeenth- Century Mediterranean*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2010.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Andrews, Kenneth R. *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Appleby, John C. *Women and English Piracy 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.

Britton, Dennis. "Muslim Conversion and Circumcision as Theater." From *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*. Ed. By Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson. England: Ashgate, 2011.

Brotton, Jerry. *The Sultan and the Queen: The Untold Story of Elizabeth and Islam*. New York: Viking, 2016.

Brummett, Palmira. *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Colley, Linda. *Captives*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.

Courtland, Joseph. *A Cultural Studies Approach to Two Exotic Citizen Romances by Thomas Heywood*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001.

Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Degenhardt, Jane Hwang. *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

Dimmock, Matthew. *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Dimmock, Matthew. *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2005.

Dobey, Madeline. *Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language, and Culture in French Orientalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504*. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1984.

Fuchs, Barbara "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation," *ELH* 67(1), (Johns Hopkins university Press: 45-69, 2000), http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/pdf/30031906.pdf (accessed November 15, 2015).

Games, Alison. *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Habib, Irfan. *Confronting Colonialism: Resistance and Modernization Under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*. New York: Anthem Press, 2002.

Harding, Christopher. "*Hostis Humani Generis*-The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea." From *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*. Ed. Claire Jowitt. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Howard, Jean E. "An English Lass Amid the Moors: Gender, race, sexuality, and national identity in Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*," *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker. London: Routledge, 1994.

Jacobson, Miriam. *Barbarous Antiquity: Reorienting the Past in the Poetry of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Jowitt, Claire. "Elizabeth Among the Pirates: Gender and the Politics of Piracy in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*, Part I." *Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*. Ed. Charles Beem. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Jowitt, Claire. *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime*. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Third Edition. New York: Routledge, 2015.

MacLean, Gerald and Nabil Matar. *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Martin, Colin and Geoffrey Parker. *The Spanish Armada*. Second Edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Matar, Nabil. *Introduction* to *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. Ed. Daniel J. Vitkus. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Matar, Nabil. "Piracy and Captivity in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Perspective from Barbary." From *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*. Ed. Claire Jowitt. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Mather, James. *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

McDermott, James. *England and the Spanish Armada: the Necessary Quarrel*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

"pasha, n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxygsu-uga1.galileo.usg.edu/view/Entry/138404?redirectedFrom=pasha (accessed October 28, 2015).

"pirate, n.". OED Online. March 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/Entry/144494?rskey=J38xCd&result=1 (accessed March 15, 2017).

"rape, n.3". OED Online. March 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158145?rskey=oWNLjC&result=3&isAdvanced=false (accessed April 2016).

Redworth, Glyn. *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

"Shakespeare's Theater." Folger Shakespeare Library. http://www.folger.edu/shakespeares-theater (accessed November 17, 2015).

Teague, Frances. “The Phoenix and the Cockpit-in-Court Playhouses.” From *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theater*. Ed. Richard Dutton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Tinniswood, Adrian. *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2010.

Turk, n.1". OED Online. March 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/Entry/207622?rskey=xz7ZmG&result=1 (accessed March 14, 2017).

Vitkus, Daniel. “The Common Market of All the World: English Theater, the Global System, and the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Empire.” from *Global Traffic: Discourse and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*. Ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Vitkus, Daniel. *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Vitkus, Daniel. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Ward, John (*c.*1553–1623?).” David R. Ransome. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: OUP, 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/article/28690 (accessed October 28, 2015).

Wernham, R.B. *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain 1595-1603*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Williamson, James A. *The Foundation and Growth of the British Empire*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1916